

A list of landscapes that have been attributed to ‘Capability’ Brown

This list, now in its third edition (11th November, 2015), has been compiled by John Phibbs from the work of others, primarily Dorothy Stroud, but also Peter Willis, Roger Turner, Nick Owen, Karen Lynch, David Brown, and, in particular, my collaborator, Steffie Shields, who has checked and added to its drafts. The lists have also been shown to and commented on by the County Gardens Trusts. Great credit is due to all parties for their help. The list of attributions to Brown has elicited a good deal of correspondence for which I am very grateful, and among many others, thanks are due to Don Josey, Surrey Gardens Trust; Terence Reeves-Smyth and Patrick Bowe from Ireland; S.V. Gregory, Staffordshire Gardens Trust; Christine Hodgetts, Warwickshire Gardens Trust; the Dorset Gardens Trust; Jane Furze, Min Wood, Tony Matthews, Dr Patrick Eyres, Michael Cousins, Jenifer White, Barbara Deason, Wendy Bishop.

Many correspondents have written with material about what Brown might have done at various places. I have to emphasise that the attributions list attempts to include all the places where he might have offered advice. It does not begin to ask whether that advice was acted on. The determination of what might have been done at any of these places is a separate process and will always be open to question.

The aim of this list is to assess the likelihood of each and all of the attributions that have been made to Brown. At this stage we have rejected none of them. Instead we have tried to make the case for each. Our aim is to foster further research on those sites where we regard attributions as still unsubstantiated.

The difficulties that attend apparently straight-forward attributions are greatly multiplied when one comes to the many sites that are undocumented. Such attributions are often impossible to verify directly. For that reason, this paper has assigned percentage points to different classes of evidence, so allowing an attribution to be judged as more or less probable. The percentage points are clumsy and arbitrary and it is very much to be hoped that every questionable attribution will be further qualified as a result of this publication.

It is not the case that every landscape on this list should be regarded as a worthwhile attribution. As things stand, most 18th century landscapes in the country will garner an attribution probability of 10 – 20% from this assessment and any landscape should be discounted until its probability rating exceeds 30%. On the other hand anything rating a 70% probability or above should be accepted as a valid attribution, and anything in the middle ground (35%-65%) requires further evidence for a confident attribution, but might be adopted for the tercentenary celebration.

The evidence is classed as follows:

100% = Direct references to Brown having advised at a site, including accounts (**A**); correspondence (**C**); and signed plans or pictures (**P**). This will include sites like Cannon Hall and Gibside where we know he advised, but he is unlikely to have been paid by the owner, and his advice seems to have had no effect on the design

95% = contemporary references to Brown having worked there (**R**) (eg Worksop)

90% = references within 20 years of his death to Brown's having worked there (**2**) (eg Brightling, from Repton)

30% = references within 50 years of his death (**5**) (eg Hartwell)

30% = ambiguous or vague contemporary references to Brown having been there (**V**) (eg Woodside); an additional 10% given to sites where there are two independent but ambiguous sources for the attribution (**VV**)

30% = ambiguous accounts or plans (**D**) (eg Brown's Drummond's accounts where we know the owner but not the site)

20% = ambiguous references within 20 years of his death to Brown's having been there (**2?**)

15% = work carried out at a time when Brown might have expected to be involved (**I**) (eg when in the area anyway)

10% = an owner known to have been a client of Brown's on another site (**O**)

10% = work showing characteristics of Brown's style, as delineated in J. L. Phibbs 'The Assassination of Capability Brown' (Debois Landscape Survey Group, 1996) (**S**). This is a complex matter of connoisseurship, meriting an additional 10% if a site displays these characteristics. An attribution based on characteristics alone must be regarded as unreliable.

10% = attribution made over five decades after Brown's death (**9**).

The list will not exclude sites that have been destroyed, or damaged irretrievably since Brown's day. It does not provide a comprehensive account of the evidence, even where a sound attribution made by Stroud could now be supported by additional material. Above all, it does not attempt to assess what Brown might have done on any site, nor why he might have done it – that will be the principal legacy of the tercentenary celebration.

Attributions are always difficult, but wherever a sound attribution has been made the scholar responsible has been acknowledged (eg 100%, Stroud)

Brown's account book has a letter V on the spine. This is most easily read as meaning the fifth volume of his accounts, which suggests that he may have started noting his business in 1739 when he left Kirkharle. The accounts in the surviving volume begin shortly before 1764, however they do not cover all Brown's business from 1764 until his death. There are three main exceptions: firstly, it appears that commissions begun before 1764 were recorded in earlier volumes, even if they continued to run after 1764 – i.e. Brown continued to make entries on the pages in earlier volumes until those pages were filled; secondly, some commissions that began after 1764 were not included (for example Richmond, Braunschweig; and Laeken); thirdly the accounts that are recorded in this volume are not necessarily complete. It should also be noted that the first sixteen entries are in something close to alphabetical order by owner: Bute, Codrington, Bridgewater, Coventry, Colebrooke, Dickens, Gower, Griffin, Holt, Howard, George III, Marlborough, Milton, Northampton, Shelburne, Wodehouse. While the payments from the king seem to be out of place, it seems likely that the rest were either existing contracts brought forward from earlier account books where the page was more or less full or relatively new contracts that had been recorded on slips pending the purchase of the new volume.

Brown's own accounts at Drummonds' bank (now digitized by RBS and available on line) cannot be taken as a complete record either – it is clear that a good deal of money came directly to Brown as cash and was not banked.

The difficulties in interpreting these accounts are illustrated by the Althorp attribution. Brown's account book cites work at Wimbledon from 1765 and the balance of evidence suggests that all the transactions listed there do relate to Wimbledon. There was however an earlier series of transactions with Lord Spencer from 1759. If the interpretation of Brown's account book given here is correct, then these transactions are likely to relate to another site (viz Althorp) and to have been recorded in an earlier, lost, account book. The difficulty is only exacerbated with the observation that neither Brown's Drummonds' accounts, nor his account book, record all those payments from Lord Spencer that are listed in the latter's account with Hoare's bank.

Abbreviations

Brown – David Brown, *pers. comm.*.

Brown's account book – held at RHS Lindley Library, London

Brown's Drummonds' accounts – now held by the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS) in Edinburgh

Hinde - Thomas Hinde *Capability Brown the story of a master gardener* (London: Hutchinson, 1986)

Shields – the great Steffie Shields

Stroud - Dorothy Stroud *Capability Brown* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975)

Stroud papers - Dorothy Stroud's papers, at the Soane Museum, London. After Dorothy Stroud had published her book on Brown, she was recognized as the authority, and received correspondence from many people who had found something out about Brown and thought of her as the natural recipient. She did not publish all this material, but that which relates to attributions is incorporated into this paper.

Turner - Roger Turner *Capability Brown and the eighteenth century English landscape* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2nd ed. 1999)

Willis - Peter Willis 'Capability Brown's account with Drummond's Bank, 1753-1783' *Architectural History*, Volume 27, 1984

Adderbury House, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Addington Place, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

Allerton, Yorks – 40% (D;S)

Stroud has suggested that Brown worked on Allerton for Lord Stourton, see Stroud p.199. Colvin & Moggridge, who have worked on the park, did not find any reference to Brown there and Stapleton now seems a more likely attribution for Lord Stourton's estate, see below. However both sites have Brownian elements in the design of the landscape.

Alnwick Castle, Northumberland – 100%, Stroud (C)

Shields has found a rough plan in the Castle archives which she believes to be in Brown's hand. Colin Shrimpton 'A History of Alnwick Parks and Pleasure Grounds' (Heritage House, 2006) has reported several references to Brown working at

Alnwick, and has noted that his foreman Cornelius Griffin was in charge of one of the workforces, but without giving any references. Brown and his wife dined at the castle in 1770. This information is from Nick Owen.

Althorp, Northants – 65% (A)

In Brown's accounts f.37:

The Right Hon.^{ble} the Lord Vis.^t Spencer at Wimbledon in Surrey

In July 1765 Rec^d the first payment 500.0.0

1766 September the 8th Received of his

Lordship By a Draft on Hoare & Co

Of the 2nd & 3rd Payment 100.0.0

This Acc.^t settled and a Bond given for the Balance

March the 2: 1779 Rec^d of Lord Spencer

A draft on Hoare for May the 22 200.0.0

Rec^d of his Lord^p 200.0.0

£400.0.0

Due to Balance 100.0.0

Thomas Squires Bill for the Rail Fence at Wimbledon Park 42.3.9

John Watridges Bill for Painting the above Fence 13.0.10

Disbursed by G Baustreed in this year to July the 8 1780 90.13.0

In the Wood & Various Parts of the Park

£245.17.7

This confused account does not tally with the payments to Brown's Drummonds' accounts, by and large earlier:

31 December 1759 By d^o rec^d of John Spencer Esq^r 800.00.00

8 July 1760 By d^o rec^d Spencer's bill on Hoare & Co. 1,000.00.00

18 April 1761 By d^o rec^d of Lord Spencer p Parker 1,000.00.00

19 December 1761 By Cash rec^d of Lord Spencer 1,000.00.00

29 January 1763 By Cash rec^d of Lord Spencer 1,000.00.00

4 November 1766 Spencer on Hoare 1,000.00.00

Brown's account book therefore cites work at Wimbledon from 1765 and the balance of evidence suggests that all the transactions listed in this account book do relate to Wimbledon, as the title of the page suggests. If the interpretation of Brown's account book given above is correct, then the earlier series of transactions from 1759 - 1763 are likely to relate to another site (viz Althorp) and hence would have been recorded in an earlier, lost, account book, even if payments for this site continued after 1764.

In a letter of 1/7/1977, to Stroud from Leslie Harris, he transcribed the following from John Spencer's account at Hoare's Bank, showing that the scale of the transactions was about twice that recorded in Brown's Drummonds' accounts – a useful reminder of how incomplete a record of Brown's business these accounts provide:

Ledger Z161 Feb 8 1759 Lancelot Brown £800

Ledger A266 July 13 1759 Lancelot Brown £500

Ledger A267 Dec 7 1759 Lancelot Brown £800

Ledger B77 Apr 16 1761 Lancelot Brown £1000

Ledger B78 Dec 21 1761 Lancelot Brown £1000

Ledger B387 Feb 3 1763 Lancelot Brown £1000

Ledger C129 Jun 17 1763 Lancelot Brown £875

Ledger C130 Jan 4 1764 Lancelot Brown £500

Ledger C231 Apr 26 1765 Lancelot Brown £1000

Ledger C232 July 23 1765 Lancelot Brown £453

Ledger C468 Dec 20 1765 Lancelot Brown £500

Ledger D133 Nov 4 1766 Lancelot Brown £1000

Louise Pickering of the Museum, Hoare's Bank, has verified these entries. John Spencer was made Viscount Spencer in 1761. and Earl Spencer in 1765. David Brown knows these accounts however and has suggested that they all relate to Wimbledon.

See also Alan Fletcher 'An early ha-ha?' *Garden History* 19:2 p.151 Samuel Lapidge had a contract for work at Althorp in 1787 (British Library, Althorp LI, pp.6-7). Henry Holland took over the contract and continued work at Althorp from c.1790. The presence of Lapidge and Holland (Brown's executor and son-in-law respectively) give some additional weight to the attribution.

Amphill, Bedfordshire – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Ancaster Lodge, Richmond, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

Ansley Hall, Warwickshire – 45% (D;I)

Brown's Drummonds' accounts have an entry:

'26 October 1764 By d^o rec^d Ludford on Bigger 400.00.00'

John Ludford was the owner of Ansley, and William Chambers designed a Chinese temple for him in 1767. There was also a hermitage in the park, and the poet Thomas Warton wrote verse there, see *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* Vol. ix p.144. In addition there was a cave-like grotto that survives behind the cricket pitch. Christine Hodgetts and the research team at Warwickshire Gardens Trust have found that the walled garden may have been built in 1761, Ansley Mill and a new barn in 1768, and works continued until at least 1781. Ansley Hall was acquired by the Ansley Colliery Co. in c1879. However it is not certain that this John Ludford was the Ludford who paid Brown and further research will be required for a robust attribution.

Appuldurcombe, IOW – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Ashburnham Place, Sussex – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Ashridge, Herts – 100%, Stroud (A)

Aske Hall, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Aston Hall, Yorks – 100%, Stroud papers (A)

Extract from Lord Holderness's accounts (British Library Egerton 3497 f.52)

'4 Feb 1760 Paid Mr Brown for surveying Aston Estate...'

Brown's friend the poet, Rev. William Mason was the vicar of the parish, and the church and his garden formed part of the landscape.

Astrop, Northamptonshire – 100%, Stroud (I;S;V)

There has in the past been some suggestion that the poem cited by Stroud did not refer to Lancelot, but to another local designer called Brown. This suggestion has not been substantiated and seems most unlikely.

Audley End, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Aynho, Northants – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Badminton, Gloucs – 100%, Stroud (P)

See David Brown 'Lancelot and his Associates', *Garden History* 29:1 (2001) p.5

Basildon, Berks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Battle Abbey, Sussex – 20% (9;S)

Willis suggested this attribution, and there is much in the parkland that is in his style. However there is no evidence that Brown was involved. See the entry on Cowdray below.

Bavington, Northumberland – 25% (9;I)

Bavington was bought by Admiral Delaval, of Seaton Delaval, and left to George Shafto. The lake is attributed to Brown, see Adrian Woodhouse *Capability Brown of Kirkharle 1716-1783* (Kirkharle Courtyard, 2000). However no stronger evidence is adduced.

Beaudesert, Staffs – 10% (9)

The evidence (Stroud p.217) is not robust. It has several times proved to be the case that a landscape has been wrongly attributed to Brown because it is mentioned in a 'book', when the book is actually one of Repton's red books - as may have been the case here, for we know that Repton produced a red book for Beaudesert in 1814. William Emes did work here however, see the entry for Byrkley, below.

Beechwood, Herts – 100%, Stroud (P)

Beesthorpe Hall, Notts - 10% (9)

The following has been contributed by Adrian Woodhouse: Rev Samuel Hole, Dean of Rochester and occupant of Cauntton Hall for over 50 years until 1904, was a prolific letter writer and after his death a selection was published (*The Letters of Samuel Reynolds Hole, Dean of Rochester* ed, with a memoir, G. A. B. Dewar (London : George Allen & Sons, 1907)). He described his own house and its neighbour Beesthorpe (p.53), and mentioned the tradition that Brown had been responsible for the landscape around the house. Given the 1907 date of the book, Rev Hole's reference was almost certainly the source of the Arthur Mee's attribution to Brown, published two decades later (Arthur Mee *Nottinghamshire The Midland Stronghold* (Hodder, 1938)).

Belhus, Essex – 100%, Stroud (C)

Belmont, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A;R)

Belvoir Castle, Leics – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Benham, Berks – 100%, Stroud (A;C;R)

Benwell Tower, Northumberland – 45% (5;I)

See Stroud p.42 who cites John Hodgson. Robert Shafto and Brown were friends (Stroud p.170) and Stroud records some 18th century trees around the house. See also the entry for Bavington, above. Nick Owen has found an advertisement for

the sale of Benwell Tower in 1771 in which the property was described as 'A Lawn & Plantations neatly laid out with Serpentine Walks & Flowering Shrubs'.

Berrington Hall, Herefordshire – 100%, Stroud (A)

Birdsall, Yorks – 10% (9)

Stroud noted 'a finished plan of c1740-60 in neat professional hand with colour wash'. Her note is amongst her Brown papers. This may simply have been misfiled by her. The landscape has loosely Brownian elements, but seems to have been laid out after his time. Note that Thomas White worked at Woodend, next to Birdsall in 1776.

Blackheath, London – 30% (D)

See under Enmore, below.

Blenheim, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Boarstall, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Bowood, Wilts – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Branches, Suffolk – 100%, Stroud (A)

Brentford, Middlesex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Brightling, Sussex – 90% (2)

Repton's discussion of Brown's proposal for Brightling (which he knew as Rose Hill) is unequivocal. His red book was written in (1806): 'After so frequently admiring and defending Mr Brown's plans for other places, it is with regret that I must condemn that proposed for Rose hill; which, had it been completed, would have sacrificed all comfort to prospect, and for the sake of an extensive view, would have rendered the house almost uninhabitable.

The proposed additions to the South West are replete with absurdity. The Entrance in that aspect would have been impracticable, and the Views in that direction would have required the destruction of those trees by which alone the site is made in any degree habitable, and which having braved the storms for more than a century, are become the natural defenders of the Place. A house in this Situation can only have comfort by turning from the Prospect; yet Mr Brown seems to have thought that a fine view from the windows was paramount to every other consideration ... some parts of Mr. Brown's plan having been misunderstood, whilst others have (fortunately) not been adopted.'

In 1784 Brown's son, also Lancelot, married Frances Fuller, the sister of Rose Fuller of Brightling. There is no reason to doubt this attribution.

Broadlands, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Brocket Hall, Herts – 100%, Lynch (2;I)

Karen Lynch has reported that Amabel Polwarth, née Yorke, patron of Brown at Wimpole and Wrest, visited Brocket Hall on 7th July 1785 and noted 'Brocket Hall is an elegant modern House in a very pretty Park laid out by Brown' (West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Vyner MSS, Acc 2299/8). There can be no doubt that Amabel Polwarth was referring to Capability Brown. She knew him and the reference is plain. However the landscape has hitherto been reasonably attributed to Woods, see *Garden History* 15:2 p.115.

Woods and Brown worked on the same landscape several times – Woods after Brown at Audley End (Fiona Cowell 'Richard Woods (?1716-1793: a preliminary account' *Garden History* 15:1 (1987) pp.44-50) – but more or less at the same

time at Wardour and elsewhere. However the 100% overlooks the possibility that Amabel Polwarth may have been misinformed.

Brocklesby, Lincs – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Buckingham Palace, London – 100% (P)

See John Harris *Sir William Chambers* pp.217-8, Brown's designs for works on the gardens are in the Buckingham Palace portfolio.

Burgate Manor, Hants – 50% (D;O;S)

John Bulkeley Coventry paid substantial sums into Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'17 August 1756 By d ^o rec ^d of John Bulkeley Coventry Esq ^r	200.00.00'
'26 July 1757 By d ^o rec ^d of J. B. Coventry	300.00.00'
'29 August 1757 J ⁿ Bulkeley Coventry	300.00.00'
'26 September 1757 By d ^o rec ^d of Mr Coventry p Palmer	100.00.00'
'2 December 1757 By d ^o rec ^d of John Bulkeley Coventry Esq ^r	200.00.00'
'2 February 1758 By d ^o rec ^d of Jn Bulkeley Coventry Esq ^r	200.00.00'

Burgate Manor is the only country property Coventry is known to have owned. John Bulkeley Coventry, youngest son of William, 5th Earl of Coventry, inherited from his cousin James Coventry Bulkeley. However some doubt is cast on this attribution because James did not die until 1764. He then left Burgate to his sister Anne for life. After her death it went to John. It has therefore been suggested that these payments might have been for Springhill, where John may have been resident in the 1750s. On the other hand, James' will had been made by 1756 and John will have known that he was to inherit. He is hardly likely to have spent this amount of money on a property that he did not own, nor are James or Anne likely to have undertaken the improvements underway at Burgate at this date.

Burghley, Northants – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Burton, Sussex – 100%, Willis (A)

Willis proposed Burton or Bodecton Park on the basis of a payment of £200.00.00 from Richard Biddulph on 26th July 1758 in Brown's Drummonds' accounts. Repton's red book for the park (March 1798) does not refer to Brown but was principally concerned with a site for the new house.

Burton Constable, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Burton Pynsent, Somerset – 100%, Stroud (C)

Besides the advice that Brown offered on the column, Nick Owen has noted that his surveyor John Spyers appears to have been paid on July 17th 1774: 'Paid Mr. Speers, Maps £10-0-0' Chatham Papers (PRO 30/8/71 fol. 113).

Byram, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Byrkley Park, Staffs – 10% (9)

This site is attributed to Brown by the PGUK database, on the grounds that it was owned by Brown's client at Fisherwick, the 1st Marquess of Donegall, which he appears to have bought in 1777. Brown had undertaken to complete his 1776 contract for Fisherwick (Staffordshire County Record Office Bundle M/761/8) in January 1779, but the account seems not to have been settled until 30th March 1781 (Lindley accounts). There were subsequent payments, but these were channelled through Lord Donegall's agent for Fisherwick, Mr Talbot, and included 'the New Green House & Work done in 1782' (presumably the Orangery at Fisherwick rather than anything at Byrkley). In short Brown's accounts do not indicate payment for any other site besides Fisherwick.

There appears to be some circumstantial support for an attribution in Repton's comment: 'What Brown acknowledged concerning the forest of Needwood, I confess of the little forest of Hainault, it has been the school from whence I have drawn those lessons of beauty, which I am now called upon to teach others.' Humphry Repton, red book for Claybury (20th July 1791). Repton's facts here are however wildly astray. He was recalling a letter that Anna Seward had written in which she claimed that it was William Emes who drew inspiration from Needwood, and Brown, and perhaps Repton, from Hainault. See Anna Seward to Humphry Repton (15th July, 1789), 'Much, indeed, should I have liked making a *trio* with you and Mr Knight, in exploring the labyrinths of Hainault Forest. Emes made the same declaration about being indebted to our Needwood for lessons in the elements of picturesque gardening, which Brown avowed concerning that of Hainault...?' [*Letters of Anna Seward*, ed. Archibald Constable 6 vols. (Edinburgh: 1811) Vol.II p.309]. Seward presumably had her information from her friend Francis Mundy who annotated his *Needwood Forest* (John Jackson, 1776) with the comment, 'Mr. EMES, who ornamented Beaudesart, the seat of Ld Paget, which is seen from the Forest, and who has obtained great reputation for his Taste in ornamental Gardening, has frequently assured the Author, that he took his best hints from the scenes of Needwood.'

In short, without more evidence, this must be regarded as a dubious attribution.

Cadland, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

See Stroud pp.177-178 for the changing names of this estate.

Cannon Hall , Yorks – 100% (C)

Brown certainly visited and advised here, however there is no evidence that he was paid by the owner (Walter Spencer-Stanhope) or that his advice was taken. See Anna Maria Pickering *Annals of a Yorkshire House from the papers of a Macaroni* (John Lane, 1911) Vol. 2 p.119 [Mr Beaumont of Whitley (1752-1831), letter to Walter Spencer-Stanhope of 1778] 'Mr Brown in consequence of the night air was much incommoded with asthma. I attended him on Wednesday to Cannon Hall where he paid you some compliments, but objected a little to your new planted avenue ... He has not given me his opinion on the 'capabilities' of the place'

Capheaton, Northumberland – 20% (9;I)

The English Heritage Register description mentions Brown's possible involvement in, but notes that 'There is no documentary evidence however of Brown's personal involvement.' The park was developed in his time however. Brown is usually linked to the Capheaton lake, which was probably made while he was still at Kirkharle. The family archives are extensive and so far no mention of Brown has emerged. Nick Owen has noted that William Joyce (the nurseryman and designer based in Gateshead) drew a plan for a layout at Capheaton, and supplied trees and flowers. See Peter Willis *Capability Brown and the Northern Landscape* (Tyne & Wear County Council Museums 1983), pp 11-14. Pevsner *Buildings of England Northumberland* (2002) also dismisses the attribution.

Cardiff Castle, Glamorgan – 100%, Stroud (A)

Casewick, Lincs – 25% (9;I)

Shields has noted a crescent of oaks at Casewick, named 'Brown's Oaks', on the British Geological Survey. The site is next door to Burghley, and its owner, John Linton, was indirectly related to Brown: John Brown, son of Lancelot, married Mary Linton and they lived at Stirtloe House, Buckden from c1802.

Castle Ashby, Northants – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Caunton Manor, Notts – 30% (D)

This was the seat of the Holes, and a Hole does appear in Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'18 November 1762 By do[cash] rec ^d of Hole & Co Note	50.00.00
d ^o	50.00.00
d ^o	50.00.00
d ^o	50.00.00

d ^o	50.00.00
d ^o	50.00.00
d ^o	100.00.00
d ^o	100.00.00'

So far as can be ascertained, there was no bank called Hole & Co. However the reference to 'Hole' in Brown's Drummond's accounts is unlikely to apply to Caunton, and the attribution should be regarded as very much more shaky than the 30% probability given here. Some confusion has been caused by Dean Hole's attribution of Beesthorpe Hall to Brown (see above).

Caversham, Berks – 100%, Stroud (C)

Chalfont, Bucks – 100%, Willis (2;A)

Willis has found that Charles Churchill paid Brown £35.00.00, this was deposited with Brown's Drummond's accounts on 6 November 1760. See also *Gardener's Magazine* Vol. 4 (1828) p.119 'Charles Churchill, Esq. ... with some assistance from Brown, and, I think, Richmond, laid out and planted the park...'

Charlecote, Warks - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Charlton, Wilts – 100% Stroud (C)

Chatsworth, Derbys – 100% Stroud (C)

Chenies, Bucks – 100%, (C)

Brown knew the owner (the Duke of Bedford) and must have negotiated with the estate to create the view from Latimer to the church at Chenies see George Mason *An Essay on Design in Gardening* (1768) p.130 'He made a view to Chenies church from Latimers (Bucks) as natural and picturesque as can well be imagined.' In a later footnote [p.132] Mason added: '*The foliage necessary to be removed for obtaining a view of Chenies church did not belong to the proprietor of Latimers, but to the Duke of Bedford: consequently an uncommon degree of caution was observed in making use of the Duke's permission for an opening.' This view would not have been cut if it had not also benefited the Chenies landscape. By this date George Mason had become very hostile to Brownian design, see the entry Porter's Park below, and though he was not always well-informed about Brown's work, he appears to have discussed the landscaping at Latimer with Brown himself.

Chevening, Kent – 30%, (V)

The Correspondence of William Pitt ed.Wm.Stanhope Taylor and John Henry Pringle. 4 vols. (1839) Vol 4 p.430 Footnote, quotes letter from Lord Chatham to Lady Stanhope (1777): 'I will not fail to obey your Ladyship's commands by writing to Brown. I do so with particular pleasure, persuaded that you cannot take any other advice so intelligent or more honest.'

The letter shows that Lady Stanhope was anxious to employ Brown. Christina Taylor has recently explored the archive and has not found any reference to a payment to him, nor is there any reference in Brown's own account book or any obvious reference in his accounts with Drummonds'. See also Hinde p.177.

Cheverells, Herts – 45%,(I;O;S)

Cheverells is now in separate ownership but was, in Brown's day, a dependency and part of the extensive Beechwood landscape. It has been listed separately because it is a considerable manor house in its own right, has Brownian elements in the design, and did play a part in the views to and from Beechwood.

Palace Gardens, Chichester, Sussex – 20% (9;S)

An 18th century water-colour, signed L. Brown, has come to light. This shows the cathedral from the Palace Gardens. The painting is endorsed on the back as the work of Lancelot Brown and is reasonably supposed to be his. The gardens were being developed in the 18th century, and Richard Meynell has commented that the painting shows the Royal Chantry before its extension wing to the south and alterations to the west gable, changes that took place in the late 18th century. Even if, as seems quite possible, the painting is Brown's, it does not guarantee that he was working on the Palace Gardens.

Nothing has been found in the archives (including cathedral archives) to suggest Brown's involvement.

This attribution deserves further research.

Chilham Castle, Kent – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Chillingham, Northumberland – 10% (9)

Chillingham has been enthusiastically recommended by several correspondents, usually on the strength of a supposed friendship between Brown and Chillingham's famous agent, John Bailey. Brown is said to have worked there in 1752 when Great Wood was felled and a wall was built around Inner Park. At this date however Bailey would have been two years old. Indeed Bailey did not move to Chillingham until after Brown's death. More research might yet throw more light on the attribution which is for the present unsubstantiated.

Chillington, Staffs – 100%, Stroud (C)

Church Stretton, Shrops – 95% (R)

Brown was asked to visit by Professor Mainwaring, and duly did. His comment that 'the whole was laid out to great advantage' was recorded (see Joseph Cradock *Literary and Miscellaneous memoirs* 4 vols. (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828; 1st ed. 1826) Vol.I p.82). It seems likely that he may have given informal advice to the Professor, who had been very gracious to Brown when his scheme for the Backs at Cambridge was shelved.

Chute Lodge, Wilts - 95% (R)

Stroud's evidence is an advertisement for the sale of Chute with 'extensive plantations and rises, in the best taste, by Brown & Emes'. This is not in itself conclusive, but in addition one notes that the house was built by Robert Taylor, c.1768 for John Freeman of the East India Company, the brother of Sambrooke Freeman, for whom Brown worked at Fawley Court (1764-6).

Clandon, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (C;P)

Clapham Park, Surrey - 30% (V)

Mrs Penelope Pitt paid Brown at least £3,600.0.0 from 1757 to 1763. She had inherited Clapham Park from her brother Sir Richard Atkins, who died unmarried in 1756. It has been suggested that she commissioned Brown to work at Clapham Park, having settled there after her separation from her husband George Pitt in 1764. However, she seems actually to have settled at West Hill, which makes this attribution less likely. See Stratfieldsaye and West Hill, below.

Claremont, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Cliveden, Bucks - 55% (I;S;V)

Brown's account book has an entry for Mr O'Bryen, then the owner of Cliveden and the adjacent Taplow Court

*fol.98	Mr O'Bryan Esq ^r Taplow
	Mr Spyers time & Expenses taking Plans of Taplow
	my Journeys there
1778	Feb ^r the 7 – Received on Account £100.00.00

Stroud read this as 'taking Plans of Taplow etc.' and assumed that the reference might also be to Cliveden. However it seems unlikely that Cliveden would be referred to as secondary to the lesser estate of Taplow. However Shields has described the Russian valley approach as Brownian, and Brown was obviously working for the family.

Clumber, Notts – 100%, Seymour (A)

Brown was paid £170.10.00 in 1764 (i.e. 150 guineas); see General Account of Earl of Lincoln, 1764, NUMD NeC 4323. Lord Lincoln had begun to develop the estate in 1759, and the lake and a good deal of planting survives from that time. See Susanne Seymour, 'The 'Spirit of planting': eighteenth century parkland 'improvement' on the Duke of Newcastle's north Nottinghamshire estates', *East Midland Geographer* Vol.XII parts 1 & 2 (June & December 1989) pp.6-13; also Susanne Seymour 'Eighteenth-century parkland 'improvement' on the Dukeries estates of north Nottinghamshire (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1988).

Cole Green, Herts – 100%, Stroud (C)

Compton Place, Sussex – 100% Stroud papers (A)

A note in Stroud's papers, sent by John Greenacombe from the Chatsworth Archives, reads: 'ref. Compton Place Archives, box Q Waste book of Expences etc relative to the late Earl of Northampton.

'1766, 21 Feb. To Lancelot Brown in full of his bill and agreement as per voucher £416-10-0.' Note that this bill does not show up in Brown's Drummonds' accounts, which might suggest that the contract had begun before 1764 and so appeared in an earlier account book.

Compton Verney, Warwickshire – 100%, Stroud (A)

Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Coombe Abbey, Warwickshire – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Coopersale, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Copt Hall, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Corsham Court, Wilts – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Cowdray Park, Sussex - 100%, Willis (A)

Willis made the attribution of Cowdray on the evidence of Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'13 January 1772 By Cash rec ^d of Lord Vis Montagu p letter	300.00.00'
'14 January 1772 of Lord Vis Montagu	200.00.00'
'12 January 1773 of Lord Vis Montagu	200.00.00'
'16 January 1773 of d ^o p Robert Figg	150.00.00'
'2 June 1774 of Lord Vs Montagu	150.00.00'
'16 June 1774	150.00.00'

Willis suggested that these payments might equally have referred to Battle Abbey, but Lord Montagu had not acquired the estate at this date, which makes the attribution to Battle unlikely.

Crewe Hall, Cheshire – 10% (R)

Stroud's attribution was based on a reading of a note made by Lord Verulam on his 1769 tour: 'the three fronts [of the house] look into a park which has been admirably laid out by Mr. Brown' [H.M.C., Verulam]. Joy Uings of Cheshire Gardens Trust has pointed out that her reading was incorrect. Because Crewe has for so long been confidently attributed to Brown, it will be worth giving the relevant extracts from Verulam's journal in full:

'[21st October] The situation of Crewe hall is flat and has been without a park, which the present Mr Crewe is now laying out under the direction of Mr Eames; his plan is already begun upon and promises to add much or rather to make a beauty, where before it was wanting, to the present situation.... From hence to Trentham, Lord Gower's. the two fronts look into a park which has been admirably laid out by Mr Brown. The walks, the water, and the woods, from which you have some noble prospects, are all of them in their way beautiful, and render this place one of the most complete in point of situation of any in Staffordshire that we have yet seen....' Lord Verulam 'A tour in Wales, 1769', *HMC Reports on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorbamby* (London: 1906) p.273.

In short, this attribution cannot be regarded as sound.

Croome Court, Worcs – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Cuffnells, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A)

Danson, Kent – 10%, Brown (S)

This was held to be a Brown by Stroud on the basis of a plan which has now been attributed, by David Brown, to Nathaniel Richmond. There is no evidence that Brown was involved, however the design is broadly in his style.

Denham Place, Bucks - 100%, Stroud (A;9)

Stroud's source for this attribution was Pevsner's *Buildings of England Buckinghamshire* (1960). This was supported by Willis who found a payment from the owner, Benjamin Way, in Brown's Drummonds' accounts.

'4 September 1773 Way on Child 600.00.00'

It should be noted that this 'Way' might have been Mr Way, apparently the steward/bailiff of the Earl of Abingdon at Rycote, Oxfordshire, for whom Brown was working from 1770 – 1776 or longer. However there is no payment from the Earl of Abingdon recorded in Brown's account book at the Lindley Library for 1773.

Digswell, Herts – 100%, Stroud (A)

Dinefwr (Newton Castle), Carn – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk – 20% (9;S)

This landscape is attributed to Brown on the English Heritage Register. It looks like a Brown, and it is so regarded by the owners, but, despite a search of the estate records, there is no documentary evidence to support the claim.

Ditchley, Oxon – 20% (9;S)

This is a controversial attribution. Stroud did not support her attribution with any evidence, and a thorough search of the archive, published in *Garden History* 39:2, 40:1 and 41:1, has led Michael Cousins to conclude that Brown did not work at Ditchley. See in particular *Garden History* 41:1 p.40. However there remain two scraps of evidence in Brown's favour. 1st the connection between Blenheim and Ditchley, via the Ditchley Gate at Blenheim; second the fact that, *pace* Cousins, a certain amount of Brownian work did take place in the early 1770s, and third (and perhaps most significant) there is a bill in the Ditchley accounts for plants from Brown and Williamson. There are two surprising things about this bill. First it was for the relatively trifling sum of six guineas and not just for fruit trees, but for radish and cauliflower seeds, and second the statement was dated 1781 (and paid in 1783). Nonetheless it seems hardly credible that there should be a second set of nurserymen called Williamson & Brown when Lancelot Brown and John Williamson do seem to have traded in partnership as nurserymen. Bills recur at several landscapes, all of them, so far as is known, ones where Brown himself had a

commission. Some of this evidence has been gathered by Mark Laird (see Mark Laird *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden English Pleasure Grounds 1720-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) pp.136, 142 etc.), who concluded of Syon House 'that John Williamson, whom Brown had used at Petworth, was the supplier to the earl, may be circumstantial evidence of Brown's early involvement.' Steffie Shields adds that Williamson was supplying furze at Brocklesby in the 1770s. Michael Cousins points out a further problem with this bill, namely that it is made out to, and was settled by, the Hon^{ble} Mr Phipps, the brother-in-law of the owner Charles Dillon-Lee, who married Henrietta Phipps in 1776. Thus it may not refer to Ditchley at all.

One possible conclusion is that, whether or not Brown was involved with Ditchley at an earlier stage, he was asked for his advice on the walled garden in 1780/81, and revived his connection with John Williamson's nursery in order to supply the plants, the bill being settled by the Hon. Henry Phipps on behalf of his sister. However this is altogether too speculative for a positive attribution.

Ditton, Berks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Doddington, Cheshire – 100%, Stroud (A)

Dodington, Gloucs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Dornford, Oxon – 30% (D)

It seems likely that, as Stroud suggests (Stroud p.223) the reference in Brown's account was to Woodeaton, see below.

Dover Street, London – 30% (D)

Brown's Drummonds' accounts have payments from the Hon Miss Chetwynd:

'29 August 1761 By Cash rec ^d of the Hon. Miss Chetwynd	100.00.00'
'27 March 1762 By Cash rec ^d of Miss Chetwynd	87.01.00'

This may have been Deborah Chetwynd, daughter of William, afterwards Viscount Chetwynd, who had the office of the king's sempstress. She had a London address at Dover Street. See John Wilson Croker, *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her second husband, the Hon. George Berkeley; from 1712 to 1767* 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1824) Vol. II pp.256-62.

Down, Blandford St Mary, Dorset – 10% (9)

This attribution was made in 2013 (J. Gregory, S.Spooner, and Tom Williamson *Lancelot 'Capability' Brown: A research impact review prepared for English Heritage by the Landscape Group, University of East Anglia* English Heritage report series No. 50-2013 (2013), appendix 1, p. 59 on the basis of an attribution by Jane Brown. Exhaustive study by Sarah Fitzgerald and Min Wood of the Dorset Garden Trust has failed to substantiate the claim and this attribution remains insecure. Down was the house of Thomas 'Diamond' Pitt (died 1725), the grandfather of Pitt the Elder. The house was burnt down in 1941.

Downham Hall, Suffolk – 10% (9)

This attribution was made in 2013 (J. Gregory, S.Spooner, and Tom Williamson *Lancelot 'Capability' Brown: A research impact review prepared for English Heritage by the Landscape Group, University of East Anglia* English Heritage report series No. 50-2013 (2013), appendix 1, p. 59 on the basis of an attribution by David Brown. David Brown himself (*pers. com.*) is unaware of any connection between the site and Capability Brown however, and this attribution remains unsubstantiated.

Dunham Massey, Cheshire – 65% (I;O;S;V)

Lord Stamford was one of those who in 1758 signed the petition to have Brown given an official post in the Royal Gardens (Stroud p.121). Stamford's two greatest estates were Dunham Massey and Enville, Sandy Haynes, the archivist at Enville, has not found any reference to Brown's working there (though the unsigned and so-called 'Shenstone' plan is in his style, see Enville, below). On the other hand, New Park at Dunham is entirely in Brown's style (for similar examples elsewhere, see J.L.Phibbs 'Field sports and Brownian design', *Garden History* 40: 1 p.62). New Park was laid out from 1759, see for example the schedule 'of lands bought by Isaac Shaw for the use of Lady Stamford to make a new coach road from the High Park to the

parish church (John Rylands Library, EGR 11/5/4/21), dated 1760. This road, shown on an accompanying plan, is now known as the 'Green Walk', which runs from the New Park to Bowdon parish church of St Mary's; see also 'Plan of Green Walk 1759' (John Rylands Library EGR 11/5/4/7).

Dyrham, Herts – 100%, Brown (A)

David Brown has discovered that the payments from General Keppel recorded in Brown's account book were for Dyrham, rather than Eldon:

'October The 4 1765	Received of the Hon. ^{ble} General Keppell	250.0.0
In March 1766	Received of the General	300.0.0
	October the 9 th Rec ^d of the General	200.0.0
1767	In March Rec ^d of the General	250.0.0
	October the 30 Received	200.0.0
1769	Jan. ^{ry} the 15 Received	250.0.0
	the 21 st Received the Balance of the Contract	<u>10.0.0</u>
		£1460.0.0'

Ealing Place, London – 95% (R)

Stroud cites Repton's attribution: 'Brown, whose work this appears to have been, surrounded the whole place by a narrow belt, or screen, of plantation'. See Humphry Repton *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816), republished in *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* ed. J. C. Loudon (London and Edinburgh: Longman & Co. and A. & C. Black, 1840) p.477.

Eaton Hall, Cheshire – 100%, Stroud (A)

Stroud cited Lord Verulam's tour, 1768, and the attribution is confirmed by two entries in Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'28 April 1761	By d ^o rec ^d of Lord Grosvenor	500.00.00'
'27 January 1763	By d ^o rec ^d of Lord Grosvenor p Carlington	300.00.00'

Ecton, Northants – 45% (D;I)

Mrs Montague stayed at least once with Ambrose Isted (elsewhere 'Ested', 'Istead'), the owner of Ecton, on her way to her northern estates. He was friendly with a set of people who knew and employed Brown. Brown's Drummonds' accounts have a single payment from Mr Eisted for £150.00 on 1st October 1761. The gazebo at Ecton is generally attributed to Sanderson Miller and Isted was at work on the house and landscape at this time. The documentary argument for an attribution is strong, however the landscape that survives is not in Brown's style.

Edgbaston, Warwickshire – 100%, Stroud (A)

Egremont House, London – 100%, Stroud papers (A)

Adam Mickle was working on the garden for Brown at the beginning of 1763. Trees for the work were bought from John Williamson. The accounts for this work are with the Petworth papers.

Eldon, or Elvedon, Suffolk – 10% (9)

David Brown (*pers comm.*) has reported that General Keppel, who paid £1,460.00.00 to Brown in 1765 was General William Keppel of Dyrham, Hertfordshire (see above), David Brown has found the payment in Keppel's accounts. Elvedon was owned by Admiral Augustus Keppel, his brother. This attribution, originally made by Stroud, should therefore be regarded as unsafe.

Elford, Staffs – 30% (D)

Brown's Drummonds' accounts have three series of payments by William Sawrey

'26 September 1778	By Cash rec ^d of W ^m Sawrey	20.00.00
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	of D°	100.00.00
	of D°	40.10.00'
'1 October 1778	Barrow on Brown p Sawrey	31.10.00
	Salmon on Carter p D°	20.00.00
	Barker on Elton p D°	768.00.00'
'10 October 1778	Williams on Turner p Sawrey	15.00.00'

In addition Brown paid the Rev. Wm Sawrey from 1779-1783. It seems just possible that both accounts refer to the same man, and that this was the Rev William Sawrey (d.1792), the Rector of Elford, Staffs (1745-1792) and perpetual curate of Tamworth. His position appears to have been in the gift of the Earl of Suffolk. Elford Hall was commissioned by the 11th Earl of Suffolk who died in 1757 and finished by his son (Brown's client at Charlton) in about 1758. The walled garden here survives, as does the walled garden (which was designed by Brown) at Charlton. The documentary evidence is too weak to guarantee an attribution, but the connection deserves further research.

Elsworth, Cambs - 25% (I; O)

Shields has pointed out that Brown became Lord of the Manor of Fenstanton with authority over Elsworth. She has noted a grove of 18th century trees there and some fine veteran poplars. This requires further research for a more positive attribution.

Elvaston Castle, Derbys – 100%, Shields (C)

Shields has based this attribution on an article by Vivian Russell in the Daily Telegraph (19th Jan 2002). Russell wrote that Brown was consulted by 3rd Earl of Harrington, but declined the commission on account of the lack of 'capability' in such a flat site *'The place is so flat and there is such a want of capability in it'*. However he presented the Earl with 6 cedars of Lebanon seedlings and suggested two avenues of trees which were planted on the east side of the house. It seems clear from this account that Brown was consulted. This attribution deserves further research.

Enmore Castle, Somerset – 30% (D)

Brown's Drummonds' accounts have a payment from the Countess of Egmont:

'20 June 1772 of the Countess of Egmont p Henry Drummond Esq 84.00.00'

The Countess was the second wife of the Earl of Egmont and a Compton by birth. Their seat was Castle Ashby. This payment might either have been for Enmore Castle or for her villa in Blackheath. Little at Enmore today has the character of a Brown design. However the bill is in guineas (suggesting that it was for a plan, rather than a contract) and it is a substantial amount for a plan (most were either 30 or 50 guineas). This makes it *a priori* more likely that the bill relates to a country estate (i.e. Enmore). This attribution deserves a higher percentage probability and would repay further research.

Enville, Staffs – 50% (O;S;V)

Sandy Haynes has not found any evidence that Brown worked at Enville. However one proposed design of c1754, the so-called 'Shenstone Plan', kept at the house, shows a design for the Sheep Walk that was in Brown's style, and has Brownian cartography, with a degree of sophistication which is likely to have been beyond the powers of William Shenstone, to whom the plan is usually attributed. Shields believes the plan to be Brown's, and to date from mid-1750's. Its cartography is comparable with the Uppark plan, also unsigned but of a similar period, and with other Brown plans. She also attributes to Brown some markings for cascades on an earlier survey plan.

Escot, Devon – 20% (2?)

Rev. Swete *A Picturesque Tour of Devon* (1794) appears to attribute this landscape to Brown: 'Here, instead of the Oval pond in front of the house Mr. Brown would have raised his viewless dams and expanded his sheet of water ... I have now found that the picture which I drew had been absolutely realized: that for several years the marsh had assumed the face of a lake ... the weight of the water however after a flood occasioned by continued rains, was too powerful for the resistance made by the dams – they yielded ...'. The flood referred to took place on 12th October 1753 but Swete's account is ambiguous – the lake he imagined had been made, but it is not clear that Brown had designed it.

Other accounts of Escot do point to Brownian planting. Richard Polwhele *The History of Devonshire* (1793-1806) mentioned in 1797: 'a fine gravel walk, that winds amidst a variety of shrubs' from the Orangery to the Aviary; recorded that 'The firs,

as well as the forest trees, are very large, tall, and branching' and noticed 'majestic clumps of beech and oak which embellished the park'.

The attribution has been complicated by the 'Plan of intended piece of water', Devon Record Office, 961M/E28. This has also been attributed to Brown, but the annotations on the plan clearly post-date him and David Brown has attributed this drawing, which is in Brown's style, to Nathaniel Richmond (1724-1784). This also provides some circumstantial evidence for Brown's involvement, given that Richmond had worked as a foreman for Brown. Note that the lake referred to by Swete was not the design of the 'intended piece of water', which is narrow and looks like a river; in addition, the first payments to Richmond from Brown's Drummonds' accounts were not made until 1754.

That said, there is nothing in the landscape today to suggest Brown's hand.

Euston, Suffolk – 100%, Stroud (A)

Eywood, Herefordshire – 100%, Stroud (A)

Fawley Court, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A;R)

Stroud cites Mrs Lybbe Powys' diary of 1771, and this attribution is confirmed by entries in Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'10 April 1764 By d ^o rec ^d of Sambroke Freman	100.00.00'	
'17 April 1764 By d ^o rec ^d of d ^o		50.00.00'
'5 May 1764 By d ^o rec ^d of Sambroke Freman Esq ^r		50.00.00'
'27 July 1764 By d ^o rec ^d of Samb Freman		70.00.00'
'28 June 1766 of Sambrooke Freeman		77.07.00'

Fawsley, Northants – 100%, Stroud (A;R)

Stroud cites Horace Walpole who mentioned Brown's work at Fawsley in 1763. This attribution is supported by two entries in Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'30 August 1766 Watkins on Sawbridge p Lucy Knightley	388.00.00'	
and, given that the entry is 'Watkins on Sawbridge', another payment 10 years earlier:		
'2 October 1756 By d ^o rec ^d Watkins bill on Sawbridge	14.00.00'	

Fenstanton, Cambs – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Finmere Rectory, Bucks – 45% (9;I;O;S)

Stroud's source for this attribution appears to come from an account of Lord Selborne, made 100 years after Brown's death. However there is field evidence for landscaping in Brown's day and in his style. This was recorded in a letter that Miss Anna Hulbert wrote to Dorothy Stroud: "... there is still something left of Brown's garden ... there is still a "long slope of turf" the 1830 house being built at the top, while the old one stood at the bottom. (We had a print of the old Rectory, a thatched house I think, which showed a cedar of which the stump still survives. We gave it to the church when we left but I suspect it is lost by now.) This long lawn has a "waist" formed by a clump of old yew trees on one side and a Turkey oak on the other (at least I think it's a Turkey oak ...) and whether you look at it from the bottom or the top, the effect is of a "long perspective ". Near the site of the old house is another magnificent cedar, the bottom rather concealed by Victorian-type shrubs but still forming a landmark at the bottom of the lawn. We loved our trees and more than once employed tree surgeons to preserve them. All the "experts" said the cedar and the Turkey oak must have been planted in the middle of the 18th century so I feel sure they must have been Brown's planting." Yew was used, presumably by Brown to create a 'waist' in the vista at the Saxon Deities at Stowe.

Fisherwick, Staffs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Fitzroy Farm, London – 100%, Deason (2;2)

Barbara Deason has found two independent references to Brown's involvement with Fitzroy Farm, Hampstead, both written within 20 years of his death. This makes an attribution very likely. Brown's client would have been Charles Fitzroy, created Baron Southampton in 1780 and a grandson of the 2nd Duke of Grafton. Brown had worked for the family at Euston and Wakefield Lodge

In addition Steffie Shields has found two accounts for Hon. Gen. Charles Fitzroy

1770, Feb 22nd, To Lan'l. Brown £ 94-7

1775, Oct 30th, To Lan'l. Brown £120

The whereabouts of these accounts is currently uncertain.

Flamberts, London – 100%, Stroud (A)

See Luton Hoo, below.

Fornham Genevieve, Suffolk – 100%, Stroud (C)

Garrick's Villa, London – 55% (I;S;V)

Stroud does not give a source for this attribution, but Garrick and Brown were personal friends, and the tunnel under the road is very much in Brown's style.

Gatton, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

Gayhurst, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (2;R)

Stroud made the attribution on the basis of Horace Walpole's reference in his 'Journal of visits to Country Seats' *The Walpole Society* 16, (1927-1928). See also *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* ed. J. C. Loudon, (1840) p.70 'Gayhurst. The water in the park, though it consists of several pieces of different levels, has the effect of being in one single sheet when seen from the house: this was very ingeniously executed by Mr. Brown'

Gibside, Co. Durham – 100%, Stroud (C)

Glympton, Oxon – 20% (9;S)

This site was attributed to Brown by Laurence Whistler, see Pevsner *Buildings of England Oxon* (2001), and Turner has adopted the idea. It has Brownian features. However any firm attribution must wait on further research.

Godolphin's, St James', London – 95% (R)

Karen Lynch has supplied this from *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* (July 30 1783): 'A great genius, said the late Lady Maynard, does not shut the door like an ordinary man. Apply this to the little ground of Lord Godolphin in St. James's Park: it was laid out by capability Brown, and though an object of the smallest kind, is able to exemplify his transcendent ability.'

Goldsborough, Yorkshire – 25% (I;O)

The site was owned by a Lascelles and has been suggested by Shields. However it requires further research.

Gosfield, Essex – 40% (I;V)

The attribution is made on the PGUK database, but no evidence is given..

There are three possible lines of connection with Brown.

First, the owner, Robert Nugent (1702 – 1788) was a great friend of Sanderson Miller, Brown's collaborator, and Brown must therefore have been known to Nugent, see Lilian Dickens and Mary Stanton *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence* (London: John Murray, 1910). Nugent was a great friend of Lord Temple's and was obviously interested in landscape, boasting to Miller (16th June 1748) 'the place is greatly altered, the Lawns are greater, the water is greater, the Plantations are much greater and the House indoors is hardly to be known again.'

Second, Sanderson Miller, is attributed with additions to the west front of the house in 1755 for Lord Nugent, and certainly advised on the laying out of the grounds in 1750, see Jennifer Meir *Sanderson Miller and his Landscapes* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2006) p.172. Thus Nugent was active in the Gosfield landscape over a long period.

Third, one might ask where Brown had first come across the Lapidge family. The estate papers in Herts. Record Office (6890) include the farm bailiff's accounts (1758-1760) and a Mr Lapidge was hard at work on the large lake from April 4th. It seems quite possible that he had been working there in previous years, the last payment is in September 1758.

In 1759 Richard Woods recommended William Lapidge to Sir William Lee for Hartwell, Bucks as a 'very good gardener'. William had two sons, also gardeners, whom he wished to be employed under him [John Harvey *Early Nurserymen* (Phillimore, 1974) p.97]. He is thought to have been the same man and the father of Samuel Lapidge (Brown's foreman and executor).

The owner, Robert Nugent had been asked by the Earl of Essex to help at Cassiobury in 1756: 4 March 1756 'He [N – assumed to be the MP Robert Nugent] is en affaire réglée with Lady [assumed to be Essex]: at a supper there a few nights ago of two-and-twenty people, they were talking of his going to [assumed to be Cassiobury] to direct some alterations: Mrs N. in the softest infantine voice called out, 'My Lady -, don't let him do anything out of doors, but you will find him delightful within!' *Horace Walpole's Correspondence* ed. W.S.Lewis, 1961-1983 Vol. 37 p.447. In consequence, presumably, Samuel Lapidge is to be found working at Cassiobury, probably on 'New Waters' *inter alia* from the spring of 1758 until the end of 1759 (Herts Record Office REC. Acc. 1758-9).

Samuel Lapidge first crops up in Brown's Drummonds' accounts with a first single payment in 1767.

None of this circumstantial evidence is sufficient to secure the attribution. See also the entry on Hartwell, below.

Gray's Inn Walks – 100%, Jacques (C)

Brown's involvement with the walks was published by David Jacques: 'The chief ornament' of Gray's Inn: the walks from Bacon to Brown' *Garden History* Vol.XVII part 1 (1989).

Great Saxham, Suffolk – 10% (9)

Pevsner *Buildings of England Suffolk* (1974) offers this attribution but does not provide evidence for it.

Grimsthorpe, Lincs – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Grove House, Roehampton, London – 20% (I;S)

The entry on the English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens suggests that Brown may have worked here, but gives no evidence. Grove House was designed by James Wyatt and built in 1792 for Sir Joshua Vanneck (Brown's client at Heveningham), and by 1804 it was owned by William Gosling, the banker. It is next door to Mount Clare, see below.

Hackwood, Hampshire – 40% (S;V)

Alicia Amherst, Lady Rockley *A History of Gardening in England*, 3rd ed. (London: John Murray, 1910) p.253 'At Hackwood Park, in Hampshire, Brown effected various changes, which were thus spoken of a few years later: "Alterations on a considerable scale" were carried out, particularly on the south side of the house, where there had been a garden "in the old style, with terraces, ascended by flights of steps, and adorned with statues on pedestals, a great reservoir of water, angular

ramparts &c.; the view from the house was also interrupted by high yew hedges skirting long and formal avenues. Nature has now regained her rights; the avenues have been broken into walks and glades, and several distant views admitted.”

Sally Miller, chair of the Hampshire Gardens Trust recording group has commented that the Brownian/Reptonian changes to the park have been attributed to William Orde Powlett, 2nd Baron Bolton, 1813-c.1824, and that no known designer has been identified, but a William Brown did a survey in the early 19th century, which might account for Amherst’s attribution. It would be helpful to find the source from which Lady Rockley was quoting.

A further contribution in Brown’s idiom is the 18th century pavilion at Basing House (then a celebrated ruin and part of the estate), akin to the ones at Roche Abbey and Wardour Castle.

Hainton, Lincs - 100% (O;V;P)

Stroud made the attribution on the basis of an unsigned pencil sketch of c1780. However Shields, who has studied it, has established that the plan at Hainton is in ink and titled: ‘A plan for the intended Alterations at the Seat of George Heneage Esq in Lincolnshire - 1763 by L. Brown’. The outline of a second lake was drawn by William Emes (in c1780) onto the plan in pencil. This overlay may have confused Stroud. Heneage was the son-in-law of Lord Petre at Thorndon and the work was undertaken by the nurseryman William Perfect of Pontefract.

Haldon, Devon – 10% (9)

Haldon has been suggested but without evidence (info. Charlie Taverner). It seems possible that this could be a confusion with Mamhead.

Hallingbury, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Hampton Court, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Hanwell, London – 100%, Stroud (A)

Harewood, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Hartburn Vicarage, Northumberland – 25% (9;I)

Stroud suggested this possibility (Stroud p.43) without committing herself to an attribution.

Harleyford, Bucks – 35% (9;I;S)

Stroud gives no evidence for her attribution, however the design is Brownian, and Brown did work on a number of houses designed by Taylor. The site was however worked on by Nathaniel Richmond.

Hartwell, Bucks - 30% (9;D)

Stroud’s attribution here has been questioned and there can be no doubt that the dominant hand at Hartwell is that of Woods, rather than Brown. However the attribution to Brown in W. H. Smyth *Aedes hartwellianae* (1851) is emphatic. In addition Brown made a single payment to Samuel Lapidge in 1767, two years before he began making regular payments to him. Lapidge was a gardener at Hartwell (it is not known when he left) and the 1767 payment suggests that Brown had a small contract there. Note that Brown had also billed George Byng Esqr at Wrotham Park for ‘A Survey of the Park & Gardens &c &c there taken by Sam Lapidge in 1765 containing – Acres’, but this payment does not recur in Brown’s Drummonds’ accounts.

Halswell, Somerset – 95% (R)

Karen Lynch has found a comment by the Rev John Swete, usually a reliable source: ‘S^r Charles Tynte’s [Halswell in margin] ... where Nature and Mr Brown seem to have exerted themselves in their best stile’[Leeds University Library Special Collections MS Trv q 4 SWE Rev John Swete ‘Tour through England and Scotland... 1783-4’ Vol I fol.6].Tynte is

usually reckoned to have worked on his own property as an amateur with advice from his friends Henry Hoare and Coplestone Warre Bampfylde. The percentage may be misleadingly high.

Hatfield Forest, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Hatfield Forest formed a part of Brown's Hallingbury contract.

Hawnes (Haynes), Beds – 100%, Stroud (C)

Hayes, Kent – 20% (I;O)

Stroud was aware of Brown's visits to Hayes to see William Pitt, but did not conclude that he was working there in any capacity.

Hesleyside, Northumberland – 50% (9;I;V)

Stroud made this attribution on dubious and circumstantial evidence. Nick Owen has noted that there are plans from Brown's era (the principal one is dated 1776) but these are not in Brown's hand, and the landscape is not markedly in his style. There may be confusion in that there is a contract of employment as a gardener for a George Brown, dated 1715. However there is no evidence that this was a relative. The attribution is likely to be less sound than its probability suggests.

Heveningham, Suffolk – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Mamhead.

Hewell Grange, Worcs – 100%, Willis (2?;A;I)

Brown's work here is mentioned by Repton in his red book (1811): 'Whether Hewell was originally formed & planted by this ingenious self taught Landscape Gardener, or by one of his school; it certainly bears strong marks of his System and Practice, & furnishes examples of its 5 leading defects.' Repton does not seem to have been sure whether or not Brown had preceded him here, however it is clear that he did. See Brown's Drummond's Account:

'3 August 1768 of L^d Plymouth p Hoare & Co £345.08.00'

Michael Cousins reports that Brown had also received £420 between 1760 and 1761, presumably for a separate earlier contract.

Highclere Castle, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Highcliffe, Dorset – 100%, Stroud (A)

Hill Park (Valence), Kent – 100%, Stroud (A)

Hills, Sussex – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Stroud noted in her papers that there is: "A plan for the intended Alteration of Hills in Sussex, the seat of the Right Viscount Irwin [initialed L.B. for Lancelot "Capability" Brown] 120 ins to 1 m. 42 x 56 West Sussex C.R.O. amongst the Horsham Museum Mss. They also hold a letter written at that time by one of Irwin's retainers, complaining about Brown's work, and a book of prose with water colour sketches of the grounds ..."

The plan covers approximately 100 acres of land, half a mile west of Horsham (now built over). The plan gives some field names, reference to house, offices, courts, kitchen garden, approach to house, a stream bridge, foot bridges, gravel walks and new road through the grounds. It has a compass with four points.' The existence of this plan has been confirmed.

Hilton, Cambs – 100% Stroud (A)

Himley, Staffs – 100% Stroud (A;P)

Hinchingbroke, Cambs – 25% (I;S)

Stroud has drawn attention to Brown's ties with the Earl of Sandwich, owner of Hinchinbroke (Stroud pp.158-9). There is Brown-date planting in the park and it was the home of the Huntingdon elm, which Brown used elsewhere, eg at Wimpole.

Holkham, Norfolk – 100%, Stroud (2?;A)

Humphry Repton's account is ambiguous: 'Mr. Brown, after his death, was immediately succeeded by a numerous herd of his foremen and working gardeners, who from having executed his designs, become *consulted*, as well as *employed*, in the several works which he had entrusted them to superintend. Among these, one person had deservedly acquired great credit at Harewood, at Holkham, and other places, by the execution of gravel walks, the planting of shrubberies, and other details belonging to pleasure grounds, which were generally divided from the park by a sunk fence, or *ha! ha!* and happy would it have been for the country, and the art, if he had confined his talents within such boundary.' Humphry Repton *An Inquiry into the changes of taste in Landscape Gardening* (1806), republished in *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.*, ed. J. C. Loudon (London and Edinburgh: Longman & Co. and A. & C. Black, 1840) p.328. However Stroud found that Brown's work began in 1762. She did not give her source for this date, but annual payments were made to Brown for at least three years and are recorded in the estate accounts.

Holland Park, London – 75%, (D;I;V)

British Library Pakenham correspondence 'Sir I am hard at Work at digging Gravel, & have made a Bargain for 800 Load of Ballast which will move above 2000 Load of Earth. If you could come here Saturday to put in but a few Stakes, it would be a great Guidance to me, & save much future Trouble. I am, Sir, your most Humble Serv^t H.Fox

August. 20. 1755'

The impression this letter gives is that Brown was close by (at his home in Hammersmith) and could easily have come to site. The presence of gravel also suggests a site in the London area.

Note that the date is unclear, the photocopy in the British Library is incomplete, and the letter itself may be damaged. However Henry Fox was created Baron Holland of Foxley in 1763.

Michael Cousins has found that in 1758 Brown was paid £208 19s 6d by Henry Fox, and this does confirm that Brown did work for him, though it still does not confirm that the site was indeed Holland Park. Kim Wilkie however has commented that an attribution to Brown for Henry Fox's lake at Holland Park is not unreasonable. The 75% probability may be too high – we now know that Brown worked for Henry Fox, but we are no closer to knowing whether this work was done at Holland Park.

Hornby Castle, Yorks - 55% (D;O;S)

Hornby Castle was owned by Lord Holderness, one of Brown's constant clients, and this is the basis of the reference in Stroud's papers. Brown's friend the Rev. William Mason also advised at Hornby (*The Harcourt Papers* ed. E. H. Harcourt (1880-1905) VI p.68 (12th July 1780)). The management plan, written by LUC, has drawn attention to the Brownian character of the bridge and landscape, and English Heritage have endorsed this with their consultation report, 23rd June 2014, which refers to money paid to Brown, and presumes this was for Hornby.

Horseforth Park, Yorkshire – 30%, (V)

Jane Furze has suggested Horseforth. The owner Walter Spencer Stanhope certainly knew Brown and, on 18th April 1778, rode up the Leeds Liverpool canal with him. The following year on 20th August 1779 he noted in his diary: 'went to Horsforth in the evening, Capability Brown, his son Beaumont Mon(s/f)itt, Rastrick, my uncle and aunt dine with me, went to the Green.' (Sp. St. 60633) After Brown's death, in 1789 he employed Adam Mickle, one of Brown's foremen, to work at his other house, Cannon Hall. This is insufficient for an attribution, but the Spencer Stanhope archive is voluminous. Jane has pointed out that it was split by the West Yorkshire Archives service, and the Horsforth Hall/Stanhope material went to Bradford while the Cannon Hall/Spencer papers went to Sheffield. There are many

letters and accounts however which refer to both places. There may be a good deal of value for Brownian research still to be uncovered here.

Howsham, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Note that Howsham was omitted from Stroud's 1975 list, presumably in error, since she included it in earlier editions.

Hunstrete House, Somerset – 20%, (9;S)

Bryan Little suggested this attribution in 1975 in a letter to Stroud, collected in the Stroud papers: '... an estate map suggests some very Brownish treatment of the park, lake etc at Hunstrete House, Marksbury, nr. Bath which belonged to the Pophams.' The plan is in the Somerset County Record Office.

Hyde Park, London – 10% (9)

The attribution is made by PGUK, but no evidence is given.

Ickworth, Suffolk – 100%, Stroud (A)

Ingestre, Staffs – 100%, Stroud (A;R;P)

Ingress Abbey, Kent – 100%, Willis (A)

See Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'26 May 1763 By d ^o rec ^d of John Calcraft	200.00.00'
'6 March 1764 By d ^o rec ^d of J ⁿ Calcraft	300.00.00'
'30 October 1771 of John Calcraft Esq ^r p Lee & Co	500.00.00'

John Calcraft also owned Leeds Abbey and the last of these three payments was for work there. See Brown's account book:

1771	'June the 22 nd Received of John Calcroft Esqr in Acct of the Works at Leeds Abbey	£500.00.00
	'Nov ^r Rec ^d	£500.00.00
1772	in June Rec ^d	£1,000.00.00

See the whole Account as deliver'd to his Executors & Sworn to by Mr Brown, before a Master in Chancery.'

If the analysis of Brown's account book, given at the head of this paper, is correct, then the 1763 and 1764 payments have to be for a different site, and Ingress is the only other landscape owned by Calcraft.

Kelston, Gloucs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Kew, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Kiddington, Oxon - 100% (2;5;I;S)

Stroud noted that this was attributed to Brown by John Penn in his *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Stoke Park in Buckinghamshire* (London: 1813), see Stroud p.47. Shields has noted that it was also attributed by Rev. William Mavor *New Description of Blenheim*, 11th edition (Oxford: 1820): 'When a youth, Brown had been employed for some years in the gardens of Kiddington House, in this vicinity. After he acquired celebrity, he was called in to improve that place, which he did to considerable effect. It was observed to him, however, in the prosecution of this work, that he could never command extensive prospects from the house. "I will make it" replied he "so agreeable that no-one will wish to look beyond it" The landscape was being transformed from 1740 and is very much in his style.

Kimberley, Norfolk – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Kimbolton, Cambs – 10% (9)

The attribution is made by Turner, who proposes that Brown worked at Kimbolton in 1773. Brown is also referred to in the PGUK database entry but without any evidence. There is no evidence for this attribution, Joseph Spence was working on the landscape in 1750.

King's Weston, Gloucs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Kirkharle, Northumberland – 100%, Stroud (P)

Kirtlington, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Knowsley, Lancs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Kyre Park, Worcs – 20% (9;S)

Kyre has been attributed to Brown by the owners, and Brown's involvement was first mooted in 1924, see Richard Lockett *A Survey of historic parks and gardens in Worcestershire* (Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust, 1997) p.157. Brown is also referred to in the PGUK database entry. The landscape was developed during Brown's time, however no evidence for his involvement has been produced, and the landscaping has also been attributed to John Davenport (d.1795).

Lacock Abbey, Wilts – 100%, Willis (A)

Laeken, Brussels – 100% (C;P)

Laeken was known to Brown as Schoonenberg, and is now the Royal Palace. Brown's plan and correspondence relating to the project survive in Vienna, see Anne van Ypersele de Strihou and Pal van Ypersele de Strihou, *Laeken un château de l'Europe des Lumières* (Brussels: Duculot, 1991).

Laleham, London – 100%, Stroud (A)

Langley, Norfolk – 100%, Stroud (P)

Langley Park, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Note that Brown worked at Langley for Charles, 3rd Duke of Marlborough, though his principal client was the 4th. See BL Add 75433 accounts fol.52 the 3rd Duke borrowed £50 from Lord Cobham's steward in 1745 (since he had no money of his own he borrowed on the strength of his inheritance).

Latimer, Bucks – 100% (R;S)

See George Mason *An Essay on Design in Gardening* (1795 ed.) p.129 'BROWN always appeared to myself as in the light of an egregious mannerist, who, from having acquired a facility in shaping surfaces, grew fond of exhibiting that talent without due regard to nature, and left marks of his intrusion wherever he went. His *new* plantations were generally void [p.130] of genius, taste, and propriety; but I have seen instances of his managing *old* ones much better. He made a view to Cheneys church from Latimers (Bucks) as natural and picturesque as can well be imagined. Yet at the same place he had stuffed a very narrow vale by the side of an artificial river with those crowded circular clumps of firs *alone*, that Mr Price attributes to him. The incongruity of this plan struck most of the neighbouring gentlemen, but was defended by the artist himself, under the shelter of the epithet playful - - - totally misapplied. Fortunately the soil did not suit the firs: they all died within a twelvemonth, and the place was happily rid of them. ... [p.132] Scenes, where the hand of art is invisible, are often supposed to be entirely natural. Of a design that might rank with those, and which was executed by BROWN, I have

produced an example. In that instance indeed (from a particular* cause) his control over nature was exceedingly limited. It might also have been the case in other places; and he might have finished specimens of the better taste from having wanted the privilege of thoroughly displaying his own.*The foliage necessary to be removed for obtaining a view of Cheneys church did not belong to the proprietor of Latimers, but to the Duke of Bedford: consequently an uncommon degree of caution was observed in making use of the Duke's permission for an opening.

The landscaping in the Chess valley survives and is very much in Brown's style.

Lee Priory, Kent - 10% (2?)

Stroud made this attribution on the basis of a comment from Horace Walpole that the grounds were 'much improved under the direction of Richmond', scholar of Brown. This reference is insufficient for an attribution.

Lee (Dacre House), Lewisham, London - 95% (R)

Stroud's attribution is based on a letter written by a contemporary and must be regarded as sound. The location of this house has been in doubt, however in Daniel Paterson *A New and Accurate Description of the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain* (London: 1799) p.7 under "London to Hithe" he gives Leigh Place, near New Cross as the "seat of Sir Samuel Fludyer".

Jenifer White has noted that Dacres Wood Nature Reserve, Forest Hill SE 23, is a surviving fragment of the landscape.

Leeds Abbey, Kent - 100%, Stroud (A;R)

Littlegrove, London - 100%, Stroud (A)

Llewani, Denbighshire - 100%, Stroud (A)

Note that the entry for Lleweny Hall in Brown's account book fol.153, reads

'The Honourable Thomas Fitzmaurice esqr Lleweny Hall, St Asaph,

1782 A Journey there in September & the Plan - agreed for both at £100.00.00

Settled by the Executors'

The sum of money involved and the word 'both' might imply that general plans for two estates had been commissioned for £50.00.00 each. However the word 'both' might equally apply to the journey and the plan, though in that case the client appears to have been heavily over-charged for the journey. Perhaps Brown was involved with the factory that Fitzmaurice set up at Llewani.

Longford Castle, Wilts - 100%, Stroud (A)

Longleat, Wilts - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Lowther Castle, Cumbria - 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Luton Hoo, Beds - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Note that Brown's Drummond's accounts show that he worked for Francis Hearne before Lord Bute bought the estate in 1763 (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1763, Vol. 33 p.515) for £111,000.00.00:

'HERNE, FRANCIS*. Presumably Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire 1756-7 and Flambards, Middlesex 1769-1770

5 December 1756 By do recd of Francis Herne Esqr	150.00.00
28 May 1757 By do recd of Francis Herne Esqr	200.00.00
29 August 1757 By do recd of Francis Herne Esqr	200.00.00
19 May 1769 of Francis Hearne Esq	500.00.00
15 August 1769 of Francis Hearne	1,000.00.00
15 February 1770 of Francis Hearne	1,500.00.00'

The situation at Luton Hoo is further complicated by an estate there owned by the Earl of Holderness and sold to Hearne for £12,000/-/- in 1760 (see British Library Egerton 3497). This land appears to have lain on the east side of the London Road (A1081) and may have included New Inn Farm, which was incorporated into the parkland by Hearne. The Earl of Holderness's land may have been surveyed by Brown in 1759/1760 immediately before its sale. This doubt is further discussed under Shillington below, however it does not affect the certainty of the attribution to Luton.

In addition Shields has found a plan for a summer house amongst the Luton papers, kept in the Bute Archive, Mount Stewart, Isle of Bute. This is not apparently in Brown's hand, but the design was built at Wallington (the Owl House in the walled garden) and in the walled garden at Talacre. Brown is the single most likely common factor between these three and this therefore lends some credence to the attributions to Talacre and to Wallington.

Madingley, Cambs - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Maiden Early, Berks - 100%, Stroud (A)

Mamhead, Devon - 100%, Stroud (C)

Mareham, Lincs - 10% (9)

Terence R. Leach *Lincolnshire County Houses and Their Families* Part One (Lincoln: Lacey, 1990) p.30 has suggested that in December 1939 Brown may have been working for Bennet Langton on the enclosure of Mareham in Lincolnshire, close to Tumbly, the home of Bridget Wayet, whom Brown was to marry in 1754. See the entry under Oxcombe below.

Melton Constable, Norfolk - 100%, Stroud (A)

Milton Abbey, Dorset - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Moccas, Herefordshire - 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Moor Park, Herts - 100%, Stroud (R;V)

Mount Clare, London - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

In the Stroud papers, there is a letter from Mary Clive of Whitfield, Allenmore, Herefordshire, dated August 17th 1949: '... I have just come across a letter to the Mrs George Clive whose husband built Mount Clare, referring to Brown's work in the grounds but not mentioning the house. Isn't it tantalising anyway, all she says is "Jack Holroyd does not like Brown's plan - would have it open to sheep instead of mowing which is very expensive and is as much offended with the bason as was Quin." The letter is not dated but I imagine it about 1768.'

Muckross, Killarney - 30% [D]

Brown paid a Thomas Herbert small sums in 1757, 1760 and 1762, and was paid £180.00.00 by him on 10th January 1758. The Herberts were a far-flung landed family, but it has been difficult to pin any Thomas down to any estate. One possibility is Thomas Herbert of Muckross.

A branch of the Herbert family had moved out to Kerry from Montgomery in the 17th century, and Edward Herbert had settled on the Muckross peninsula by 1735. His descendants became very wealthy from copper mining during the 18th century and Thomas Herbert bought the estate at Muckross in 1770. He appears however to have been living there beforehand, and Arthur Young visited to inspect Herbert's agricultural improvements in 1776.

The attribution is a distant possibility, but may encourage other Thomas Herberts to come forward.

Navestock, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Newnham Paddox, Warks – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Newton Park, Somerset – 100%, Stroud (C;R)

Normanton, Rutland – 25% (I;O)

This was a seat of the Dukes of Ancaster (see Grimsthorpe above) from c1760, and was planted in Brownian style: 'Normington [Normanton], in the same neighbourhood [as Burghley], exhibits a similar instance (though on a smaller scale) of the deformity of those fine figures, the oval and the circle, when applied to plantation.' [W. S. Gilpin *Practical Hints on Landscape Gardening* (London: T. Cadell, 1832) p.131]

North Cray Place, Kent – 100%, Stroud (A)

North Stoneham, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A)

Nuneham Courtenay, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Oakley, Shrops – 100%, Stroud (A)

Overstone, Northants – 65% (I;S;S;V)

Shields has reported a letter from Sir Thomas Drury Bart MP (1712-1759), who purchased Overstone in 1757

‘ Hammersmith May the 16th 1758

Sir,

I am sorry I was from home when you did me the honour to call at Hammersmith, I should have waited on you in Town but am obliged to set out on a Journey into Sussex the Morrow morning early, however shall take the first opportunity on my Return & am sir

Your most obed: servant

Lancelot Brown’ [Norfolk CRO MC 184/8/6,646 x9 Lothian of Blickling]

This is most readily interpreted as an approach made to Brown to work at Overstone. The place was being improved at the time, and it has 18th century trees and earthworks in a broadly Brownian style.

Oxcombe, Lincs – 30% (V) Shields

Shields has found a letter from Bennet Langton (1696-1769) to Joseph Banks II (8 Dec 1739): "I am very sorry, Sir, that I have not at present any sets to spare, having when in the country promised my brother Turnor a good many for his ground at Kirm(on)d, and the rest to Mr Morley, who is to enclose a large walk at Oxcomb(e)... Upon my going to Marham a little before I left the country I had some discourse with Mr Brown concerning enclosing the several, who was satisfied that it would be of the greatest benefit imaginable to the town in general and to all our interests in particular..." [Lincoln Record Society Vol.45 Letters and Papers of Banks p.183]. Bennet Langton's father George Langton was also a barrister of the Middle Temple whose wife Mary Tyndale's family came from Langley Castle Northumberland, some 15 miles from Kirkharle. Shields has provided good evidence for the argument that Brown settled briefly in Lincolnshire after leaving Northumberland, see Shields 'Mr Brown Engineer?: Lancelot Brown's early work at Grimsthorpe Castle and Stowe', *Garden History* 34:2 (2006). The attribution is more certain therefore than its low probability percentage suggests.

Packington, Warks – 100%, Stroud (P)

Park Place, Oxon – 10% (9)

The attribution is made in the PGUK database, but no evidence is given.

Patshull – 55% (D;I;S)

Stroud attributed this site to Brown on the basis of an undated bill to Lord Pigot in Brown's account book:

'Lord Pigot

To a general Plan for the Place, & Journies £52.10.00'.

The landscape at Patshull was being developed from the 1750s and is in a Brownian style. Sir George Pigot, Governor of Madras, sold his family seat, Peplow Hall, and bought the estate in 1765. He was ennobled as Baron Pigot, the following year. Stroud was dubious about her attribution, but there is no reason to suppose that it is unsound.

Paultons, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A)

Peper Harow, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Amongst Stroud's papers there is a note that two plans and an elevation for Peper Harrow were sold at Christie's, 1983. In addition there is an unsigned and undated sketch for the entry at the Surrey C.R.O. Its cartography is Brownian.

Michael Cousins has noted that Brown was paid £750 in 1755 by the Middletons, which, assuming that it was for this site, predates current thinking of when he worked there (Turner states that Brown was there in 1757-8).

Peterborough House, London – 100%, Stroud (A)

This is listed by Stroud as 'Fulham'. Brown's client was the Earl of Peterborough.

Petworth, Sussex – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Pishiobury, Herts – 50% (9;S;V)

See John Edwin Cussans *History of Herts* (London: Chatto & Windus 1870-1881) Vol. 1 p.80: 'It is situated about half a mile from the high-road, south of Sawbridgeworth, and is approached by an avenue of trees, which leads through a park of considerable extent. There were three magnificent avenues leading from the high-road to the Mansion, two of which were entirely removed, and the continuity of the third destroyed, by Mr Milles acting on the advice of the well known "Capability Brown," who also superintended the construction of the piece of ornamental water.' The landscape is an interesting one, and very much in Brown's style. Milles employed James Wyatt to remodel the house 1782-4.

Porter's Park, Herts - 95% (R)

There is a letter from Lord Howe in the Pakenham correspondence:

Porters Lodge Dec^r 18 1773

'Sir

Your letter of the 16: has given me much pleasure; in the hope that the amendment in your state of health you have lately experienced, will be productive of your intire establishment.

My ambition to benefit by your lights is upon a matter of so little importance, that, were it for no other reason, I by no means wish you to inconvenience yourself in regard to the time you may intend me the favor of seeing you here. But when you shall have formed your arrangements for that purpose, I can always contrive to disengage myself to conform to them. I shall naturally go to Town at the meeting of Parliament. But my hope is to be able to return here early in the Spring. and I apprehend it will be by no means advisable for you to be much abroad, until the severity of the Spring Season is past.

However, upon a few days notice, I shall be always ready to attend you earlier or later, as it sutes you: and have only to beg you will be guided therein by your own convenience, which will be the most agreeable testimony of the consideration you are so obliging as to express for Sir

your very obed^t ... Howe

Richard Earl Howe (Admiral Howe) 1725-1799, succeeded his brother as 4th Viscount in 1758. He married in 1758, and was created Earl in 1788. In her *Capability Brown*, Dorothy Stroud gives this letter as evidence for Brown's work at Wrotham, but it seems clear enough as an invitation to work at Porter's. Porter's had been owned by George Mason, author of *An Essay on Design in Gardening* (1768 and 1795).

Mason dedicated his second edition to the daughter of Earl Howe, wrote Howe's biography - *The life of Richard Earl Howe* (London: 1803) and had sold Porter's to him in 1772. Having parted with it, Mason moved to another house on the estate.

In the 'Assassination' notes (Debois), it is proposed that Mason might have met Brown at Porter's and that this might account for the aggressive hostility against Brown that was to emerge in the second edition of Mason's essay.

The house and pleasure ground now sit within a large housing estate, put up in 1994, and a golf course. Occasional 18th century Oaks survive amongst the houses, with some fine Beeches that might have ornamented a riding.

Prior Park, Somerset – 100%, Stroud (A;2)

Pull Court, Worcs – 20% (9;S)

The PGUK database links this site to Brown, and Pevsner *Buildings of England Worcestershire* (2007) has noted 'The landscaping of the park is...attributed, without documentation, to Capability Brown.'

Martin Roberts has contributed a great deal of research and suggests that the key period for Brown might have been 1765-1766 when Pull was home to the chancellor of the exchequer. He has also found underground brick arched culverts which appear Brownian in character.

Pusey, Oxon – 20% (S;9)

Pusey has been attributed as a possible Brown by Mavis Batey (in conversation). It has some Brownian features.

Putney Heath, London – 100%, Stroud (A)

Radley, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A)

Ragley, Warks – 95% (R)

Stroud made this attribution on the basis of a reference in Walpole's correspondence (20th August 1758). There is no reason to suppose it is unreliable, and Ragley is very much Brownian in style.

Ravenscourt Park, formerly Paddenswick Manor, Hammersmith – 20% (I;S)

Turner made this attribution, which is supported by Shields. The client would have been Thomas Corbett, who had been secretary to Lord Torrington, for whom Brown worked at Southill, and also secretary to Lord Anson at the Admiralty. The estate was greatly improved in a Brownian style while Brown was living in Hammersmith.

Ranelagh House, London – 100%, Stroud (A)

This is listed by Stroud as 'Fulham'. Brown's client was Philip Stephens.

Redgrave, Suffolk - 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Revesby, Lincs – 30% (I;O)

Brown knew Joseph Banks II (the letter from Thomas Brown referring to this friendship is cited under Woburn, below), and Shields has found one tantalising sporting reference (Lincoln Record Society Volume 45), a letter from Lewis Dymoke to Joseph Banks II, indicating a Mr Brown at "Screilsby" in October 1739 hunting a deer onto Banks' land at Revesby. Banks was the agent for Grimsthorpe, and Shields has found that Brown's wife Bridget Wayet's parents rented a house at Tumbly on Revesby estate. Banks II and the Duke of Ancaster are connected with the name 'Brown' in an account drawn up after Banks's death in March 1741, with his son William Banks as executor: '1743 March 19 Balance of Brown's Acct Bertie's & Banks Annuits Ec Arrears of Rents £689.14s 1d'.

The situation is confused by the fact that a Henry Browne acted as Banks II's agent. However, the two Brown[e]s appear to be consistently differentiated by the two spellings in Banks II's accounts for the significant period during which Lancelot Brown is argued to have been living in Lincolnshire. See Shields 'Mr Brown Engineer': Lancelot Brown's early work at Grimsthorpe Castle and Stowe', *Garden History* 34:2 (2006).

Richmond, Braunschweig, Germany – 100%, Stroud (C)

See Marcus Kohler 'The German Legacy: Richmond in Braunschweig', *Garden History* 29:1 (2001) pp29-35.

Richmond, Surrey - 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Richmond Hill, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

Amongst the Stroud papers there is a letter from Gilbert Turner, Borough Librarian for Central Richmond Reference Library, in which he referred to 'Thos: Richardson's map of Richmond which showed Frederick Nicolai's House

'A messuage offices stable yard and garden measuring 1 rood, 36 perches in the occupation of Frederick Nicolai Esq situate on the north east side of Hill street and abutting south west thereon north east on a copyhold garden of the said Crofton Ross part of No. 331 north west on a freehold messuage and garden of James Clitherow Esq. No.314 and a freehold garden of Mary Brown No. 330 and south east on a freehold coach house stable and garden of the said Crofton Ross No. 323.'

Ripley Castle, Yorks - 10% (9)

There is a letter in the Stroud papers dated 7.11.1972 from Ripley Castle, Ripley, Harrogate. HG3 3AY. This claims that there are no papers relating to Capability Brown, however family tradition has it that he laid out the park and grounds.

Rise, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Rothley, Northumberland - 100%, Stroud (C;P)

Note that this is part of the Wallington estate and is linked into it by an extensive system of ridings. Brown's drawings for the Low Lake, Banqueting House and causeway are held in the Wallington archives and his work on the Low Lake is mentioned in the estate accounts.

Rycote, Oxon – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

St James' Park, London – 100%, Stroud (C;P)

St. John's College, Cambs – 100%, Stroud (C)

Sandbeck, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Sandleford, Berks – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Scampston, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Scrivelsby, Lincs – 10% (9) Shields

Brown is not mentioned in Repton's red book for Scrivelsby (October 10th 1790), but see Shields 'Mr Brown Engineer': Lancelot Brown's early work at Grimsthorpe Castle and Stowe', *Garden History* 34:2 (2006), where Brown seems to have been hunting on the estate. The owner, Lewis Dymoke (1669-1760) King's Champion, MP for Lincoln, and a contemporary of Brown's first patron Sir William Loraine in parliament, was involved in land drainage with his neighbour Joseph Banks II at Revesby. It seems possible therefore that Brown advised Dymoke on drainage, see Oxcombe and Revesby above. This evidence, as it stands, is insufficient however for a positive attribution.

Sharpham, Devon - 35% (9;I;S)

The landscape at Sharpham was laid out while Taylor was working on the house, c1764-5. It is not listed in Brown's account book, but he may have been commissioned immediately before beginning that volume. It was first claimed as a Brown in c1920 in a lecture given by Mr Parker, of which a transcript survives at the house. The landscape is Brownian and has great sophistication, the owner was very wealthy, and Brown was by then the country's preferred landscape gardener.

Sheffield Place, Sussex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Sherborne, Dorset – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Shillinglee, Sussex – 100%, Lynch (A)

Karen Lynch has found the following account in the British Library (Heal,74.2)

'The R^t Hon^{ble} the Lord Winterton P^r to Lancelot Brown

To a Survey Paid to Brown with his expenses up and down at 4^d p^r Acre

£12.13.0 [759 acres]

To a general Plan for the Place very large & very troublesome £40.0.0

To various times being at Shillinglee Park to view it in order to make a Plan

to several times being there to mark Timber and to men trying the ground &c &c

my Journeys & the mens time &c £31.10.0

£84.3.0

Feb the 11th 1762 Rec^d of the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lord Winterton the above bill & all demands by me Lancelot Brown'

Shillington, Beds – 30% (V)

A letter from Howard Colvin to Stroud in the Stroud papers (8/11/1974) advised her of an entry in the Lord Holderness acts. (British Library Egerton MS 3497)

'1760 Paid Mr Brown for surveying Aston Estate £100, and the Bedfordshire Estate £50 £150'

Round figure sums such as this are usually for general plans for a single estate

The Earl of Holderness owned two estates in Bedfordshire, one abutting Luton Hoo, and Shitlington (now bowdlerized to Shillington). Both were sold in 1760, the first to Francis Hearne, and the second to Mr Musgrave. The Luton land would have been quite inappropriate for any kind of house or landscape, since it abutted Luton Hoo, where Brown was also working. Gordon's map of Bedfordshire (1736) (Bedfordshire CRO Z50/143/183) shows a house at Shillington but no gardens, while a 1777 estate plan shows farming enclosures. Historic features surviving today include a slightly serpentine canal, a walled garden and occasional 18th century, or earlier, trees.

One might conclude either that the Earl had asked Brown to survey his land as a preliminary to selling it; or that he specifically asked for a plan for Shillington in 1759, but decided to sell. On balance, given the round figure that was paid, the latter seems more likely. The attribution is therefore more probable than its percentage probability suggests.

Shortgrove, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A)

Shugborough, Staffs - 40% (I;V)

There are two separate, but ambiguous documentary leads for this attribution: first, Lord Verulam's account of 22nd October 1769: '... From hence we went to Shuchborough belonging to Mr Anson, elder brother of the late Lord Anson, who left his fortune and some of his eastern curiosities to this gentleman.... The grounds are laid out in the very extremity of Mr. Brown's taste, are well watered and prettily interspersed with ruins and buildings, chiefly Chinese' ['A tour in Wales, 1769', HMC Reports on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury (London: 1906) p.273; Michael Cousins notes that the Verulam MS is now in the Hertfordshire Record Office]; second, an entry in Brown's Drummonds' accounts: '1 February 1763 By d^o rec^d [Ansons] bill on Colebrooke 50.00.00' – the entry is hard to decipher but could be

'Anson'. Michael Cousins has pointed out a problem with this evidence: the name could equally well be Atkins or Allen, particularly as Thomas Anson banked with the relatively short-lived Henson-Brown & Co.

Brown had worked for Admiral Anson at Moor Park from about 1753, and on the Admiral's death without heirs in 1762, his brother Thomas Anson, the owner of Shugborough, inherited his large fortune. He then commissioned the Greek Revival monuments in the park, made encroachments on Cannock Chase and planted trees, as described in 1769: 'Those lands he is.. .taking from the common.. .about a mile distant from his house at Shugborough and.. .the summitt of the view from thence, and upon such summit he has already planted a good quantity of young Scotch Firrs' [Staffordshire C.R.O. D603/K/5/26f52].

The attribution to Brown is supported by his work elsewhere in the area: at Tixall and Fisherwick for example, but Michael Cousins has shown that this is not robust.

Slane Castle, Ireland – 100%, Stroud (P)

Terence Reeves-Smyth has confirmed Stroud's attribution. Brown sent a set of drawings to William Burton Conyngham for the remodelling of Slane. His drawings are undated, but were probably made between 1781 and 1783 (though claims have been made that they date around 1770). The first is a design for a new stable yard elevation signed 'Lancelot Brown, Slane Castle, Co Meath. Stables Elevation'. This was a two storey range with central frontispiece consisting of a crenellated triangular pediment with central quatrefoil over an arch - the basis of what was built. He also produced two other elevations and a ground plan for the house on which someone has written 'A specimen of Capability Brown's skill in Architecture'. These elevations proposed Gothicking the entrance facade and a similar treatment of the new south facade. The landscaping was carried out by John Sutherland in the late 1780s (see *The Gardener's Magazine* 1 (1824) p.149). It was one of his earliest large commissions. In 1818 Lewis Kennedy made some further alterations.

Sledmere, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (P)

South Audley St., London – 100%, Stroud (A)

South Stoneham, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A)

Southill, Beds – 100%, Stroud (A)

Brown's work at Southill from 1777-8 is recorded in his account book. Karen Lynch has found an earlier reference: Nottingham University Archives PwF2256/1: Torrington at Southill to Duke of Portland 16 Nov 1764 'Lancelot Brown came here yesterday... the plan he has not yet finished...'

Springhill, Worcs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Stanmore, London – 100% (2;O)

See Humphry Repton's red book for Brandesbury (March 1st to 14th, 1789): 'No general plan of Embellishment can perhaps be devised more eligible than that so often adopted by my great predecessor M^r. BROWN, viz. to surround a paddock by a fence inclosing a Shrubbery, & gravel walk. This idea is most happily executed at M^r. Drummond's delightful villa of Stanmore.' See also Alan W. Ball *The Countryside Lies Sleeping, 1651-1950: paintings, prints, and drawings of Pinner, Stanmore, and other former villages now in the London Borough of Harrow* (Harrow: Riverhill Press, 1981) which has an anonymous painting, undated but early, showing planting and the lake with a terminal temple and sham bridge similar to Brown's at Scampston, Yorks.

Repton was later to become directly critical of Brown's work as he characterized it here, but in this context, and given Brown's association with the Drummonds, there is no reason to doubt the attribution.

Stanstead, Sussex – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Stapleford, Leics – 100%, (A)

There is an entry for this in Brown's account book:

‘The Earl of Harborough at Stapleford near Melton Mowbray,

1775 a Journey there & a General Plan for the Alteration of the Place

wrote Oct the 27th that the above was £31.10.00

1776 In October Received by the hand of Mr John Clarke of Burleigh the above £31.10.0 which he Paid to W^m Ireland for me & in full of all Demands for the Earl of Harborough Lancelot Brown’

Stapleton, Yorks – 100% (A)

See Allerton, above, and Stroud p. 198.

Brown’s accounts, fol.160 has ‘the Right Honorable the Lord Stourton for Stourton House in Yorkshire

M^r Spyers expences to & from Stourton House in Yorkshire, from [Oct?] the 31st to Dec^r the 4 1782
£8.15.00

there in October 1782 myself

Received by S. Lapidge & accounted for to the Executors £69.10.00’

In Stroud’s papers she acknowledged that this was ‘now identified by Derek Linstrum’ as the park ‘later called Stapleton Park’.

In March 1764 Richard Woods was at work for Edward Lascelles at Stapleton ‘Mr. Woods has staked out the ground and the road [at Stapleton] in such a manner as I think the gardener cannot possibly err’, and Perfect had been there setting out ‘land to be planted’ in 1763. See Fiona Cowell ‘Richard Woods (?1716-93): a preliminary account Part 1. ‘Woods surveyor at Chertsey in Surrey and at London stile’, *Garden History* Vol.14 no.2 (Autumn 1986) p.97. However Lascelles sold to Charles Philip, Lord Stourton, who was renting the estate by 1782, and it was noted in 1899 that ‘Lord Stourton is said to have planted at Stapleton, during his possession, at least one hundred thousand trees, to have considerably enlarged the Park, and improved the mansion house ...’

Lord Stourton sold the estate to Hon Edward Petre in 1800. See Charles Botolph Joseph Stourton *The History of the Noble House of Stourton* (1899).

In the light of this evidence and the Brownian character of the design, an attribution seems certain.

Stoke Park, Bucks – 90% (2)

Stroud derived this attribution from Penn’s *An historical and descriptive account of Stoke Park ... containing information relative to that place supplied by the family now in possession* □. with many additional particulars (1813) ‘...In ... 1758 ... a plan for modernising Stoke was drawn by another genius the celebrated Brown who had long lived with Lord Cobham assisting him in the improvements at Stow. This plan, having remained at the old House [ie Stoke] when purchased [by Penn], is in the possession of the present owner; and had in common with that afterwards adopted, the object of producing the appearance of a natural river, by linking five quadrangular pieces of water more suited to the taste of former times. Brown was born in 1716 (the same year with the poet of Stoke) at a house, now no longer in existence ... and it has been said that the first piece of water which he formed was at Lady Mostyn’s in Oxon. It was, however, in consequence of an enquiry made near this time by Lord Cobham from a nurseryman whether he knew of any one who could continue with him at Stow, able to converse instructively on his favourite pursuit, but free from the vanity and conceit which had rendered his former assistants disinclined to alterations upon which he had determined, that Brown, already a landscape gardener, became an inmate of that princely mansion. So that though Lord Cobham zealously patronised him, he there allowed him no opportunity of substituting any designs of his own to those of others.

p.48n ‘such uncommonly few notices concerning him in books of reference... furnish materials to the biographer’

p.66 The grounds at Stoke Park were modernised by Richmond (as before mentioned) on a plan not much dissimilar to that of Brown [see p.33-40]

The illustration opposite p.43 shows the grounds of Stoke ‘as modernised by Richmond’ and ‘of the old House’. This modernising is given as in the year 1766, but the text continues ‘But the reputation of Brown now, at its height [1771] having made him known to the new possessor of Stoke Place in the immediate vicinity; he was invited back to the county in which he had so long resided, to alter and adorn the grounds. This patron was General, afterwards Field Marshal, Sir George Howard, KB, who was then preparing to establish himself on this newly purchased estate ... ‘To hang his trophies on his garden gate ... This respected officer ... entered much into the spirit of the art of Brown who on his part it must be acknowledged did justice to his employer; exhibiting in his grounds a very pleasing specimen of his taste and skill’

The park is Brownian and there is no reason to doubt this attribution.

Stoke Place, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (2;A)

See Stoke Park above

Stowe, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Stratfieldsaye, Hants – 100% (A) Willis

Brown's Drummonds' accounts has a series of payments all of which may relate to Penelope Pitt, the wife of George Pitt of Stratfieldsaye. The two were not legally separated until 1764. See Dorset C.R.O. D/PIT F13 19th July 1764 deed of separation of George Pitt [later 1st Lord Rivers], and his wife Penelope, née Atkins. It has been suggested therefore that some of the payments may have been for West Hill, the house to which Mrs Pitt moved after the divorce, or Clapham Park, which she had inherited in 1756. However it is not clear that Mrs Pitt lived at Clapham after her marriage, and she did not buy West Hill until 1759 (it is not clear when she began building her house there).

The length and scale of the commission and the regular payments point to extensive landscaping, rather than building work, and Stratfieldsaye itself is an extensive landscape and thoroughly Brownian in character.

That said, the record of the accounts does change from the 19/7/1762 entry, with substantial payments through Denneson and on behalf of Fawkes. This does not affect Willis' attribution to Stratfieldsaye, but it makes plausible a second commission for another place.

'27 June 1757 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt	300.00.00	
24 October 1759 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt	500.00.00	
25 February 1760 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt	300.00.00	
5 May 1760 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt	300.00.00	
9 March 1761 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt	200.00.00	
14 May 1761 By d ^o rec ^d of Pen Pitt	200.00.00	
9 June 1761 By d ^o rec ^d of Penelope Pitt	500.00.00	
28 June 1762 By d ^o rec ^d of Penelope Pitt	100.00.00	
19 July 1762 By d ^o rec ^d Denneson's bill on Lease p Pitt	100.00.00	
By d ^o rec ^d Denneson's bill on Lease p Pitt	100.00.00	
By d ^o rec ^d Denneson's bill on Lease p Pitt	100.00.00	
By d ^o rec ^d Denneson's bill on Lease p Pitt	100.00.00	
9 March 1763 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt p Fawkes	900.00.00	
10 March 1763 By d ^o rec ^d of Pen. Pitt	400.00.00	
21 March 1763 By d ^o rec ^d of Mrs Pitt p Fawkes	100.00.00'	

Sutton Park, North Yorks. – 10% (9)

The family here used to attribute Sutton Park to Brown, but no further evidence has yet been provided.

Swynnerton, Staffs – 50% (S;S;V)

Stroud made this attribution on the basis of an unsigned and undated plan, kept at the house. Keith Goodway has since suggested (in conversation) that the plan might be by William Eames, who was active in the area at the time and had a similar cartographic style. The design is Brownian however. In fact in several respects it provides a paradigm for what Brown was trying to do with landscape.

Syon Hill, London – 75% (I;O;S;S;V)

The owner, the 4th Earl of Holderness employed Brown at several of his estates, if not all, and was one of the signatories on the 1758 petition for Brown to be given a royal appointment. He had Syon Hill House rebuilt in 1755 as an 'elegant little villa', see A Robertson *Great Road to Bath* (1792). In his accounts a series of entries relate, or appear to relate, to Syon Hill
British Library Egerton 3497

16 May 1755	Paid Mr Phipps for the Purchase of his House and Lands at Sion Hill	£3000	and for the Fisheries to the House	£300	- which is Convey'd to Lord Holderness and his Heirs	£3300/-/-
2 Sept 1756	Paid Mr Samuel Browne drawn on me	£300/-/-				

2 Sept 1756	Paid Lewis Kennedy drawn on me	£150/-/-
14 Sept 1756	Paid Mr Lancelot Browne drawn on me	£200/-/-
27 Sept 1756	Paid Lewis Kennedy drawn on me	£68/15/-
15 March 1757	Paid Lancelot Brown drawn on me	£140/-/-
15 March 1757	Paid Samuel Brown drawn on me	£286/9/-
28 June 1757	Paid Lewis Kennedy drawn on me	£150/-/-
9 Sept 1758	Paid Lancelot Brown drawn on me	£185/-/-

To judge from plans and documents that describe the estate, which is now built over, it was thoroughly in Brown's style and there is no reason to doubt the attribution. See for example John Harris, *Le Rouge's Sion Hill: A Garden by Brown* *The London Gardener* Vol5. 1999-2000, and 'Sion Hill: A Postscript' *The London Gardener* Vol6. 2000-01.

Syon House, London – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Talacre, Flintshire – 45% (I;O;S;S)

Shields has made this attribution with contributions from Sarah Furze on two grounds; first that there is a family tie between Talacre and Kiddington. Brown's client at the latter is thought by Stroud to have been Sir Charles Browne (d. 1751). His daughter Barbara married Sir Edward Mostyn of Talacre and inherited Kiddington in 1754, and after her husband's death in 1775 returned to live at Talacre. Talacre was therefore a place of which she was fond. Secondly, a building at Talacre is a close copy of the Owl House in the walled garden at Wallington, which is attributed to Brown. This connection is discussed under Luton, above. One might add that the landscape at Talacre is a fine one and is in a Brownian style.

Taplow Court, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

See the entry on Cliveden, above.

Tatton, Cheshire – 50% (2?;V)

It has long been suggested that there was correspondence from Brown in the Tatton papers, and this correspondence has been uncovered by Shields. It seems that Brown had been invited to advise at Tatton, and that he did provide a gardener. Unfortunately the first letter is undated and we do not currently have an unarguable indication that he did advise.

'to Samuel Egerton esq at Tatton Park near Knutsford
Trentham

Sir,

I was honoured by your Message at this Place and so Sorry that my Time is as to render it impossible for my Duty to you at Tatton Having been detained by several places. I hope soon ...ble Opportunity will present which will be a great Pleasure Sir
Your most obed. serv^t

Lancelot Brown' [The University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Tatton papers (EGT/3/7/6/2/44)]

'to Samuel Egerton[?]

Sir

This informs you, I have found a Gardener that will answer to your Purpose he is ready & waits for your Orders, when and in what Manner you cou'd have him come to Tatton Park. I am Sir

Yr Your most Obed. Servant

Lancelot Brown

Hammersmith Sep 22 1757

The Survey of Fisherwick is not come yet.' [*ibid.* EGT/3/7/6/2/44/1]

It is at least possible that Tatton was the 'gentleman's place in Cheshire' of which Price spoke: 'there is an avenue of oaks situated much in the manner I have described [along the edge of a wood]; Mr. Brown absolutely condemned it; but it now

stands, a noble monument of the triumph of the natural feelings of the owner, over the narrow and systematic ideas of a professed improver. [Uvedale Price *Essays on the Picturesque* (1810 ed.) Vol. 1 Part 2 pp.249-250].

Temple Newsam, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Testwood, Hants – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Thame, Oxon – 100%, Willis (A)

Brown's client was Philip, 6th Viscount Wenman (succeeded 1729). Payments are recorded in Brown's Drummonds' accounts:

'29 March 1758 By d ^o rec ^d Wenman's bill on Child	100.00.00
23 August 1759 By d ^o rec ^d of Lady Wenman p Howland	200.00.00'

The Backs, Cambridge – 100%, Stroud (C;P)

See *The Sussex Advertiser* (17 Oct 1785): '...there are a few things at Cambridge far superior to... Oxford... as Kings College chapel, the new quadrangle at Trinity, the intended improvements of Capability Brown...'

The Hoo, Herts – 100%, Stroud (A)

The Grove, Herts – 55% (D;I;S)

Brown's Drummonds' accounts have a series of entries all of which may relate to Thomas Hyde:

13 July 1771 of Thomas Hyde p Dimsdale & Co	320.00.00
16 January 1772 of Thmas Hide of Dimsdale & Co	230.00.00
24 February 1772 of Thomas Hide p Dimsdale	50.00.00
24 July 1773 of Wm Radford p Hide &c	65.00.00
27 July 1773 Willes on Croft p D ^o	110.15.00
30 July 1773 By Cash rec ^d Fisher on Eastgate p Radford p Hyde & Co	20.03.06
do in d ^o p do	4.01.06
Boon on Dimsdale p D ^o	40.00.00
1 February 1774 of Hyde & Compns	317.18.00
5 February 1774 Fisher on Eastgate p d ^o	3.18.00

This may be Thomas Hyde Villiers (1709-1786) of the Grove, who had been enobled to Baron Hyde in 1756. He was appointed Chancellor to the Duchy of Lancaster in 1771 and this seems to have precipitated his second landscaping campaign at the Grove; he became Earl of Clarendon in 1776. Payments from a Willes and a Ratford appear elsewhere in the accounts. There is no record of a Thomas Hyde/Hide bank, but Dimsdale, Fowler, Barnard & Dimsdale, established 1760, was subsumed within the Nat West Bank. There is no record of a Croft or Eastgate bank, but (probably irrelevant) Brown paid Edward Craft in 1756 and 1758.

Hyde's landscaping in this period included the western section of Templepan Wood, the northern section of Juniper Hill, and may have included the Seats of the Druids and the ruined tower. The Grove was visited by Amabel Yorke from 1776 to 1782, who each time noted the new buildings in her diary: '11th June 1776 'the Temple of Pan, a pretty new Building'; 29th June 1777 'saw the new building called an Arcadian Mausoleum & the Scotch Seat, painted with Highland Arms & Plaids.'; 27th June 1782 'Walk'd in the Evening to the new Ionic Building.' 28th June 1782 'Drove to the Temple of Pan, & the ruin'd Mausoleum' [West Yorkshire Archive Service. Vyner MSS, Acc. 2299 MS Diaries of Amabel Yorke (1769-1827), information from Karen Lynch].

Thoresby, Notts – 100%, Stroud (2;S)

Thorncroft Manor, Surrey - 30% (5)

The house, by Sir Robert Taylor was built in 1772, and the grounds and Shell Bridge have been attributed to Brown (see the English Heritage listing for the bridge). No grounds for the attribution are given however, and there is no reference to the owner (Mr Boulton) in Brown's accounts. Several members of the Surrey County Gardens Trust have reviewed the evidence for this attribution, and this is summarised here, with many thanks to the SCGT. The attribution was first made in James and Harriet Dallaway *Etchings of Views in the Vicarage of Leatherhead* (London: 1821). James Dallaway was an antiquarian and author but was criticised in his lifetime for lack of accuracy.

Although there is a good spread of survey maps, sales particulars and OS plans from 1629 to the present day. There is no suggestion of anything other than modest changes close around the house and towards the River Mole in the period 1765 to 1849. These changes were carried out over about 18 acres to the north and east of the house including a new water channel and the two islands, together with a few more acres with walled garden and ornamental garden walks to the southwest. The ornamental Shell Bridge links the two islands and was presumably made at the same time.

A formidable amount of additional research by Don Josey, for the Surrey County Gardens Trust, has greatly clarified the history of the landscape, but has not strengthened the attribution to Brown, which remains unsubstantiated.

Thorndon, Essex – 100%, Stroud (A;P)

Tixall, Staffs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Tong Castle, Shrops – 100%, Stroud (A)

Tottenham, Wilts – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Treasury House, London – 100%, Turner (C)

Turner pointed out that the Treasury Garden became one of Brown's responsibilities, with an income of £40.00.00/year, when he became Master Gardener to George III in 1764. Dr Simon Thurley has suggested that this is most likely to have been the garden at 10 Downing Street, the prime minister then carrying the title 'first lord of the Treasury'.

Trentham, Staffs – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Tumby, Lincs – 40% (9;V)

Shields has made this attribution, considering that an essence of Brownian planting survives, but more because Brown's wife Bridget Wayet's parents, rented a house in Tumby, see Shields "Mr Brown Engineer?: Lancelot Brown's early work at Grimsthorpe Castle and Stowe", *Garden History* 34:2 (2006).

Tusmore, Oxon – 30% (D)

There is an entry in Brown's Drummonds' accounts for a William Farmer:

'10 May 1769 of Wm Farmer Esq	84.00.00'
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The size of the payment, and the fact that the sum was in guineas, strongly indicates that this was for a substantial plan. One possibility, the son of the 1st Earl of Pomfret (Easton Neston), a William Fermor, was born in 1723 but died in 1749, and the more likely client is William Fermor at Tusmore, Oxon (1737-1806). David Lambert has noted Thomas Jeffrey's county plan of 1768 where the owner of Tusmore is shown as 'Farmer', and Adam's drawings for Tusmore (Soane Museum) are inscribed 'Mr Farmer'. William Fermor's mother, Lady Browne, was a friend of Horace Walpole, who visited Tusmore and described it as a 'charming seat'. Work began on the landscape in 1769, which matches the payment to Brown. The parkland at Tusmore has largely reverted to arable and does not show much Brownian influence today,

however the pleasure ground, with its lake looks, from a distance, to be in his style. This attribution deserves further research.

Tyberton Court – 30% (5)

David Whitehead *Survey of Historic Parks & Gardens in Herefordshire* (Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust, 2001) p.384 quotes a letter from Daniel Lee-Warner, written in 1821, that 'Capability Brown was so much struck with the Grandeur and Beauty of Tiberton, that he ranked it almost the finest situation in the county.' Tyberton is a few miles south of Moccas Court and he might have visited without giving any advice. David Whitehead makes no suggestion that he might have been involved there. One should also note that the letter was written nearly 40 years after Brown's death and 50 years after his Moccas commission. The 30% probability may be over-optimistic therefore.

Ugbrooke, Devon – 100%, Stroud (P)

The Stroud papers have a letter from Charles Clifford (Jan 25th 1940): 'When I get the opportunity I will pack up Lancelot Brown's plan for the lay-out of the park at Ugbrooke & send it to you in order that it may be photographed.' In her book, Stroud noted that the plan had disappeared in 1951. However an incomplete copy of part of the plan survives (info. Simon Bonvoisin). The park remains thoroughly Brownian in character.

Uppark, Sussex – 55% (I;V;S)

An estate plan of 1750 in the West Sussex C.R.O. has been attributed to Brown by David Jacques, *inter alia*. Shields believes the unsigned plan bears resemblance to other plans including Enville. Like these, it is on four conjoined sheets (others were sometimes on more than four) of drawing paper with the same scale.

Brown's work is not directly mentioned in Repton's red book (Nov 1810), though that does refer in general terms to the past history of the place.

Upper Gatton, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

Vale Mascal, Kent – 15% (I)

This estate ran along the River Cray. The house was built c1746, and the landscape at Vale Mascal was built between 1760 and 1775. It is attributed to Brown, who did a good deal of work in the area, see <http://www.bexley.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=3208>. The Bath House (c1766) survives.

Wakefield Lodge, Northants – 100%, Stroud (A)

Stroud made this attribution without explaining why. However there can be no doubt that Brown worked here. Philip Masters has told me that the earliest firm evidence of Brown's work at Wakefield dates from December 1750. Nine separate payments were made between then and May 1755, totalling £702.10.00. One was for 'the Work at Wakefield Lodge' but all of the rest were for 'upon Acct of the water at Wakefield' or 'making the water at Wakefield'. There seems little doubt that 'making the water' comprised the construction of the dam at the eastern end of the present Upper Lake to create its present extent, and the construction of Lower Lake.

Wallington, Northumberland – 60% (O;S;S;V)

Since there is no doubt that Brown designed at least one of the Rothley lakes, and Rothley forms a part of the Wallington estate, it may not be necessary to ask whether he worked at Wallington as well. However there are several reasons for supposing that he did. First is the Owl House, c1766, a gazebo above the walled garden, now used as an office by the head gardener, and possibly designed by Brown, see the entry under Luton, above. Second there is a series of ridings that link Rothley to Wallington and were presumably made at the same time as the lakes. Ridings are characteristic of Brown's style and rapidly fell out of use after his death.

Wardour Castle, Wilts – 100%, Stroud (A;C;P)

Warwick Castle, Warks – 100%, Stroud (C;R)

Wentworth Castle, Yorks – 65% (9;S;V;VV)

This has been a controversial attribution. There is no reference to Brown in the estate accounts and the best documentary evidence is in the two editions of George Mason's *An Essay on Design in Gardening*

In the first, published in 1768, Mason praised the water at Wentworth Castle: 'juster models of artificial disposition are by no means wanting ... Wentworth-Castle will shew you, how rivers can be imitated.' (p.50)

In the second, published in 1795, after Brown had died and in the first days of the Picturesque controversy, the passage is given a very different character: 'I will not pretend to give an opinion about BROWN's made rivers, because I have seen very few - - - at least knowing them to be *his*. Perhaps he made that [river] at Wentworth-Castle, which from a very imperfect view of it I had commended in the first edition of the essay: nor do I now retract the commendation, though I have omitted repeating it merely on account of my insufficient acquaintance with that considerable piece of work. Why BROWN should be charged with all the defects of those, that have called themselves his followers, I have seen no good reason alleged, nor can I suppose it possible to produce one.'(pp.130-131). The inference to be drawn here is that Mason had mistakenly supposed that the water at Wentworth was not designed by Brown, and that he had been corrected. When he came to publish his second edition he found himself in a difficult position, and so qualified his praise 'which from a very imperfect view of it I had commended...' and made his excuses. It is hard to put any other interpretation on the two versions.

Dr Patrick Eyres has found an independent second source for the attribution in Joseph Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District* (London: Bemrose & Sons, 1883), pp. 444-446: "But this style of gardening had its day, and a new fashion came into vogue, called the natural, irregular or landscape style. Quite a rage set in and in a few years many of the gardens of our nobility underwent quite a transformation, the terraces, avenues, and geometric figures being superseded by greater variety of landscape, in which the natural beauties of the situation were made to play a prominent part. William Earl of Strafford, in the next generation, became a convert to this idea, and called in the aid of Launcelot Brown, the most eminent landscape gardener of the day, and under his superintendence the grounds at Stainborough [renamed Wentworth Castle in 1731] were re-formed and entirely changed. The terraces and gardens as then existing were altered, - the approaches which were then straight, regular, and exact, were removed, and others introduced, in which winding walks, easy and graceful slopes, and other changes were made, in which nature and ease were consulted, and they were altered as we see them at the present day. Water was made to play a more prominent part, and the beauties of the landscape, as forming a part of the whole, brought into requisition. The serpentine canal and the other sheets of water, so judiciously disposed, were introduced, and with what success those of our readers who know the place may judge, At the time Brown - Capability Brown - who possessed that force of genius which rendered him, according to Mason, - "The living leader of thy powers, / Great nature," was making these improvements, the elegant south front of the mansion had been erected by Lord Strafford from his own designs, and such was the completeness and character of its architectural details as a whole that the Hon. Horace Walpole says in his work "On Modern Gardening" ...".

The landscape at Wentworth Castle is thoroughly Brownian in character and very much of a piece with early works like Croome and Wootton.

See also the entries on Latimer and Porter's.

Weald, Essex – 10% (9)

Weald was erroneously attributed to Brown by the author in the Assassination notes, and this false attribution misled Turner.

Well, Lincs - 25% (I;O)

Shields has suggested this possible attribution. The landscape is in his style, with lakes on two tiers, and Brownian planting including plane trees, which are otherwise uncommon in this area.

Samuel Dashwood lived at Well Vale Hall from 1752 and may have employed Brown, c 1753 – 1755, when Brown was in the county. In January 1753 'Mr Brown' accompanied Sir Francis Dashwood to a meeting in Lincoln to discuss the River

Witham Navigation [Reference: Lincs RO. Courts of Sewers Minutes]. John Wayet, Brown's brother-in-law was later elected as one of Boston's four commissioners responsible for this major scheme. It was later owned by Sir Francis Dashwood, of West Wycombe and Hell Fire Club fame, who inherited nearby Claxby Grange, and later acquired Well. He is known to have consulted Brown re Ealing Place. See also the entry below on West Wycombe, and Steffie Shields 'Mr Brown Engineer': Lancelot Brown's early work at Grimsthorpe Castle and Stowe', *Garden History* 34:2 (2006)

Wenvoe Castle, near Cardiff – 10% (9)

Bettina Harden has suggested this attribution. The present castle was designed by Robert Adam in 1776 and built, with modifications to Adam's plan, in 1776-77. Brown's son-in-law Henry Holland is credited with the Stable block, from about 1780 – that is, at a time when he was still working on projects with Brown.

West Hill, London – 100%. Stroud (A;R)

Stroud made this attribution on the basis of William Angus *Seats of the nobility and gentry in Great Britain and Wales, in a collection of select views...* (London: 1787) where it is illustrated (Pl 50) and attributed to Brown. The landscape was later worked on by Humphry Repton, but his red book does not survive. The estate was sold in 1759 by the duke of Bedford to Mrs Penelope Pitt. Mrs Pitt built West Hill House, but did not extend the grounds, which then ran from West Hill to what are now Gressenhall Road and Granville Road in the south. Stroud appears to have assumed that the owner was Daniel Rucker, on the basis of Angus' description.

See 'West Hill estate', Wandsworth local history service

See also Dorset County Record Office D/PIT F13 19th July 1764 deed of separation of George Pitt and his wife Penelope, née Atkins.

Peter Willis assumed that these payments were part of a contract with her husband George Pitt (created 1st Baron Rivers 1776) for Stratfieldsaye, Hampshire (see above). However the two were separated in 1764, and it has been suggested that she, rather than George, was the client because the commission was for the place to which she moved after her divorce. At any rate, with two strong independent strands of evidence, Stroud's attribution seems secure.

West Wycombe, Bucks – 55% (I;O;V)

On 21st July 1753 the estate papers have a proposal for 'one Browne, a surveyor' to view the premises (see Michael Symes 'Flintwork, freedom and Fantasy: the landscape at West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire' *Garden History* 33:1 (2005) p.15. the landscape was then being altered and Sir Francis Dashwood, the owner, was Brown's client at Ealing. Undoubtedly the surveyor is likely to be Capability Brown, but this is not a certainty.

Weston Park, Staffs – 100% Stroud (A;C;P)

Whitley Beaumont, Yorks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Widdicombe, Devon – 50% (9;S;V)

Stroud made this attribution on the basis of an account for £113.00.00 which was held at the house. This has now disappeared. The grounds are modest in size and have been greatly altered by tree-planting since the 18th century. However there are still beech that look contemporary with Brown, and a long riding that runs down to the sea.

Wilton, Wilts – 100%, Stroud (A)

Wimbledon, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

The history and location of this commission have been superbly teased out by Tony Matthews. Stroud supposed that this was Wimbledon House, off Parkside Gardens. However Brown's client, the Liverpool MP, Sir Ellis Cunliffe (1717-1767), bought another house in 1766. This stood on Church Lane, and Brown's commission seems to have come to an end with Cunliffe's death the following year (the final payment recorded in Brown's Drummonds' accounts is for £135.17.00 in 1768). Cunliffe's brother then sold the estate in 1770. It was subsequently demolished and the grounds were merged with

those of the neighbouring Belvedere House. This is not to be confused with Brown's much bigger commission at Wimbledon House. The latter stood on the site of a manor house which was replaced first by the Duchess of Marlborough's House, and then by Henry Holland's Spencer House (1785).

Wimbledon House, Surrey – 100%, Stroud (A)

Wimpole, Cambs – 100% Stroud (A;C;P)

Woburn Abbey, Beds – 40% (O;V)

Several sources, including Turner, cite Woburn Abbey as a Brown. The evidence is as follows.

First, Brown did effectively work for the Duke of Bedford at Chenies when he negotiated with him over the view from Latimer; 'He made a view to Chenies church from Latimers (Bucks) as natural and picturesque as can well be imagined.' See George Mason *An Essay on Design in Gardening* (1795) p.130 and Latimer, above.

Second, on 11th March 1767 Brown was digging stone for the Earl of Bute (Luton Hoo) at a pit where the Duke of Bedford's men were working and was obviously in communication with the Duke's men, as appears in a letter he then wrote to Bute (Packenham correspondence in the British Library)

Third, Stroud p.205 referred to a letter from Thomas Brown (c1761-1829), son of Capability, written from Conington in Cambridgeshire (5th September, 1810) to Sir Joseph Banks about a monstrous pig and reminding him that they had met sometime before at Woburn and Holkham, and that his father was an old friend of Banks, see Warren R. Dawson *The Banks letters* (London: British Museum, 1958) p.175). It seems likely from this that Brown was received at Woburn Abbey, and that on one occasion at least he took his son with him. Thomas himself had a career in the church. Brown's son Lancelot (1748-1802) had also written to Sir Joseph in 1778, apparently after a visit to Appuldurcombe, which suggests that his sons did sometimes accompany Brown on his tours.

Fourth, Brown's leading foreman, after Samuel Lapidge, was William Ireland. John Claudius Loudon *Arboretum et fruticetum Britannicum* (1838) 8 Vols. Vol.4 p.2183 mentions an Ireland as the head gardener at Woburn in 1743, when the Evergreens were planted. His grandson was the forester there at time of Loudon's writing. Brown's Ireland may have been the father. A William Ireland, presumably Brown's man, is recorded working at Southill, Bedfordshire after Brown's death - Loudon noted that Brown's William Ireland had gone either to Woburn or Southill. See also Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* vol. IV, pp115-116 (1828), where it is noted that the same Ireland went to work for Samuel Whitbread and that his sons worked at Woburn.

It seems possible that Brown saw Ireland's work at Woburn and offered him work.

Note that he may have been the same William Ireland who was a gardener at Wallington in 1744, and left his cottage in Cambo in 1751 (Northumberland C.R.O. 672/2/20 Journal 1744-1762). However Brown's William Ireland did not begin to be paid from Brown's Drummonds' accounts until 1768.

Fifth, Brown did a great deal of work in Bedfordshire, and this might have been first stimulated by working for the county's leading estate, as seems to have happened with Blenheim in Oxon.

None of this is sufficient for a confident attribution.

Wolterton, Norfolk – 40% (5;S)

W.S.Gilpin noticed the phenomenon of building two sets of ha-has, making three fields instead of two (effectively a gigantic terracing arrangement), which he had found at Kirtlington and Wolterton – other examples from within Brown's *oeuvre* include Blenheim, Eywood and Hewell Grange. Gilpin was equally critical of the same arrangement when he found it at Beningbrough, and Sophie Piebenge has said that there, as at Kirtlington, he recommended screening the first sunk fence with a wall that was to run alongside a terrace walk, and incorporating the area beyond the wall into the parkland as sheep pasture.

Repton recorded Brown's double ha-ha in his red book for Hewell Grange (25th January 1812): 'The lawn at Hewell was not only intersected by deep sunk fences, but a sunk fence had been made at a certain distance from the lake which not only separated the Lawn from the water, but prevented the cattle from coming near it...' – at Hewell in short, the Lawn covered more than one field, lay between the house and the lake, and was grazed.

At any rate Gilpin regarded this as an 'arrangement of Mr Brown's', and condemned it as: 'as destructive of cheerfulness as it is destitute of taste, viz. the enclosing by a sunk fence a large portion of ground beyond the dress lawn (from which it is separated by the same expedient), and planting both the sides, while the remote front is left open to admit the distant view. Within this sunk fence, but on the outside of the plantation, a monotonous walk leads you round the confines of this cheerless patch of coarse grass, which, being neither ornamented nor fed, is intended as an apparent continuation of the velvet turf surrounding the mansion. A stronger instance of mistaken theory and practice in the art of gardening, I think, is scarcely to be met with. I trust this arrangement is improved at Wolterton, in Norfolk, and at Kirklington, near Woodstock, by substituting a terrace, and carrying the walk in a varied line through the plantation, now grown into fine trees, and by the planting of groups of ornamental shrubs in the enclosure at the one place, and at the other by throwing it open to the sheep, according to the different circumstances of each.' [W. S. Gilpin *Practical Hints on Landscape Gardening* (London: T. Cadell, 1832) pp.87-88].

Gilpin returned to the same theme later in the book, where his attribution to Brown is unambiguous: 'this necessity of life and motion to constitute cheerfulness is manifested in several places laid out by Brown, where a lawn, surrounded by a sunk fence, and closed on two sides with corresponding rows of trees like blinkers, being left in a state of nature, but unoccupied by cattle, throws a veil of monotonous dullness over the scene, which no ray of cheerfulness can perpetrate. Such was the case at Woolterton, in Norfolk, and at Kirtlington Park, near Woodstock.' [*ibid.* p.187]

Although a good deal of research has been done at Wolterton, led by Tom Williamson, no contract or payment to Brown has been discovered, however the 'arrangement' is one that Brown used.

Woodchester, Gloucs – 100%, Stroud (A)

Woodeaton – 50% (D;I;S)

Stroud (p.223) proposed that the reference in Brown's account book (f.132): 'John Weyland Esq. a General Plan for the Alterations of his seat near Dornford in Oxon sent in November 1775 £31.10.00' might be a reference to Woodeaton, rather than Dornford. In 1775 John Weyland had the old manor house taken down, and the house now known as Woodeaton Manor was built. Arthur Young rated the house as well-suited to a gentleman farmer (*General view of the Agriculture of Oxon* (1813) p.18) with stabling for sixteen horses. In fact John Weyland was often cited by Young for his agricultural improvements. Bailey Bird of Norwich made a plan of the estate in 1786 and it looks Brownian (Christchurch archives).

Dornford House itself had been burnt down in 1770 and there may have been no prospect of a reconstruction. The coincidence of dates and the character of the place make this a more likely attribution than its percentage probability suggests.

Woodside, Berks – 40% (S;V)

In 1769 John Parnell attributed Woodside, then owned by Mr Hamersley, to Brown, but without entire confidence: 'from Old Windsor I trotted on to the Place Gen' Montague alias Lady Grandison has lately Purchas'd from the Duchess of Roxborough or Duke I know not which house finely scituated & a charming Desmesne to be able to purchase in so populous a part a Deal of coppice wood and very Pritty Rides - with a Cabriole Drive round the whole. I believe near 100 acres from hence a turn to the Right brought me to Mr Hamersleys in Old Windsor Wood happy scituation where a man has as much wood Round him and in his Eye as he can possibly Desire & tho not his own from its being the ornament of the Royal Park can be under no apprehension of seeing it cutt down [f.157] the Lawn before his hous which points to the forest is laid out with great Propriety I believe by Brown there is a sunk fence very near the House so that the House stands in Pleasure Ground finely kept. the cattle approach within a hundred yards. but never nearer to poach the ground or Dirty it or hurt the Exotics &c ornamenting the spot on which the House stands this is a most pleasing way of uniting neatness Beauty and utility. the Inventor of the Sunk Fence holds most certainly the Highest Place in the annals of Elegant Improvement.' [John Parnell, 'Journal of a Tour thro' England and Wales' (1769) (London School of Economics Coll. Misc.38), Vol. II ff.156-157].

Woodsome Hall, Yorks – 10% (9)

This site is attributed to Brown on the PGUK database, and the English Heritage Listing: 'The terrace was laid out in the mid C18, by Lancelot Brown for the Legge family.' No evidence is given. It was the family seat of the Earl of Dartmouth,

who was in correspondence with Lord Hardwicke about the improvements at Wimpole, see David Adshead *Wimpole Architectural drawings and topographical views* (National Trust, 2007), and whose estate at Sandwell was laid out by William Emes.

See N. Pevsner *The Buildings of England* (1967) and L. Ambler *Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire* (1913).

Worsop, Notts – 100% (2;I)

Brown's friend, the Rev William Mason was carrying on a lively dispute with his friend the Rev William Gilpin on the merit of Scots pine. He wrote to him on 14th June 1791: 'were you now with me I would out of revenge carry you to Worsop manner, where about forty years ago Lord Peter's great Clumper scatterd thousands of them [Scots Pine] on the side of Sherwood forest in various Patches, the better taste of the Duchess of Norfolk employd Brown some fifteen years after to cloth all the shelving Hill, w^{ch} these wretches had not occupied, so as to form one large connected Wood, with Oaks, Elms &c. the Idea was a good one, & Brown's plantations are now as tall & flourishing as Lord Peter's. But so discordant an effect no Plantation surely did ever produce. This I do not say to convince you, because I know you will not be convinced, I say it merely to assert my own opinion, that Scotch firs accord with no other Tree in the creation.' [Bodleian MS Eng. Misc. d.571 Correspondence between W. Gilpin and W. Mason ff.155, 155v].

Gilpin replied a fortnight later: 'that L^d Peter's woods, (of w^h I have heard, tho I never saw y^m) sh^d be disgusting I can readily believe: but it is not because Scotch-firs & deciduous trees are mixed: but because they are mixed in patches, instead of masses...' [ibid. f.160]. Brown's planting survives in part today and the attribution cannot be doubted.

Mason offers two dates for Brown's work here. On one count Lord Petre died in 1742 and therefore Brown was working here in about 1758, on the other it was about 40 years before 1791, i.e. 1751. At any rate, he seems to have been certain it was in the 1750s.

Wootton Place Rectory, Oxon – 10% (9)

This has long been attributed to Brown, and it still has 18th century trees set around a paddock in Brownian style. However there is no evidence for the attribution, and it may be that there has been a confusion with Wotton, Bucks (see below).

Wotton, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (A)

Wrest, Beds – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Wrotham, Herts – 100%, Stroud (A)

Wycombe Abbey, Bucks – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Wynnstay, Denbighshire – 100%, Stroud (A;C)

Youngsbury, Herts – 100% Stroud (A;P)

Hertfordshire Gardens Trust are transcribing the planting and other garden details from David Barclay's memorandum book, in the Norfolk Archives.