

LOVE MARBLE HILL

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MARBLE HILL REVIVED: *a review of the evidence for an historic garden restoration*

Definition: Restoration

To return a place to a known earlier state, on the basis of compelling evidence, without conjecture.

(Conservation Principles, English Heritage 2008)

Definition: Pleasure Garden or Pleasure Ground

When we talk of pleasure gardens in the 17th and 18th century we may tend to think of urban spaces such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh, with their emphasis on urban sociability, music, spectacle and the stylised pleasures of the masquerade.

But the term was used much more widely throughout the period to denote any kind of garden dedicated to leisure rather than labour, to pleasure rather than productivity.

(British Library)

English Heritage (EH) is looking to restore a “lost transitional garden” of the 1720s to the Grade II* landscape of Marble Hill Park (MHP), based on a supposed “accurate survey” of the 1750.

This garden is part of a larger project called Marble Hill Revived (MHR).

EH has been awarded £4.08m by the Big Lottery and the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) to implement MHR.

Love Marble Hill (LMH) contests EH’s evidence to support the installation of this “lost transitional garden”, and find its conclusions conjectural.

LMH proposes an alternative theory, based on (a) a reappraisal of existing evidence and (b) conclusions arrived at from the examination of new evidence.

LMH contends that EH’s “pleasure garden” only ever existed on paper as an unimplemented garden design proposal of 1750.

Rather, the landscape as can be seen at Marble Hill today more truly reflects the elegant simplicity of the gardens in Howard’s time – woodland quarters to either side of the house, a lawn extending down to the river, framed by trees to either side.

AN INDEPENDENT REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

LMH is calling for an independent review of both EH’s research and its own.

We believe our alternative version of the history of Marble Hill fits all the known facts, including some crucial ones overlooked by English Heritage.

If, however, for the sake of argument, it is said that there are two valid but irreconcilable versions of events, then to choose one rather than the other would be, by definition, conjecture.

It is on the basis of conjecture that English Heritage is planning to drastically change the character of the south end of the park which is Grade II* registered.

The following organisations are on record as supporting MHR: The Gardens Trust; The London Parks and Gardens Trust; The Thames Landscape Strategy; The Environment Trust; Pope's Grotto Preservation Trust; Chiswick House & Gardens Trust; and The Marble Hill Society.

Orleans Gallery has been named as the MHR educational partner.

LMH seeks a review of EH's research and conclusions and asks that each organisation gives due consideration to LMH's research.

In this document, LMH will:

1. examine the EH evidence and the conclusions drawn there from
2. introduce new evidence resulting from LMH's research

ENGLISH HERITAGE'S CONSERVATION PRINCIPLES

To quote from EH's conservation policies and guidance (2008):

*Para. 130. Restoration may, however, bring gains by revealing other heritage values, such as the integrity and quality of an earlier and more important phase in the evolution of a place, which makes a particular contribution to its significance. Careful assessment of the values of the elements affected is essential. **Where the significance of a place is the result of centuries of change, restoration to some earlier stage in its evolution is most unlikely to meet this criterion.***

Marble Hill Park is not a living museum like Ham House or Hampton Court. It has evolved over the centuries from a private residence into a public park with none of the formal features of the early 18th century.

*Para. 132. Judgement is needed in determining the level of information specific to the place required to justify restoration. **For example, reinstatement of an historic garden requires compelling evidence of its planned layout and hard materials.***

As this document will demonstrate, EH has not proved that its c. 1750 "accurate survey" is that of a garden that was ever implemented either in whole or in part.

*Para. 136. The more radical the restoration, the more likely it is to introduce an element of incongruity. The reversal of relatively minor but harmful changes, to restore a place to a form in which it recently existed as a complete entity, is unlikely to contradict this criterion. **By contrast, the restoration of isolated parts of a place to an earlier form, except as legible elements of an otherwise new design, would produce an apparently historic entity that had never previously existed, which would lack integrity.***

The proposed formal banks of trees in straight lines is out of keeping with the informality of the rest of the Park and will impact on the sense of openness that is a characteristic of the park.

*Para. 161. Balanced and justifiable decisions about change in the historic environment **depend upon understanding who values a place and why they do so**, leading to a clear statement of its significance and, with it, the ability to understand the impact of the proposed change on that significance.*

It is regrettable that the restoration of the House is being ‘held hostage’ as part of a project that includes a “restoration” of a garden in a park that the vast majority of users, according to EH’s own research, grade as 4 or 5 on a satisfaction scale of 1-5.

THE STANDARD OF EVIDENCE REQUIRED

Changes to the MHP’s Grade II* landscape are based on documentary research undertaken primarily by Emily Parker, EH Landscape Advisor, and landscape history consultant Dr David Jacques. All of this work has been overseen by John Watkins, EH Head of Landscape.

As the guardian of the country’s National Heritage Collection, EH has an obligation to protect historical assets. Authenticity is key:

We don’t exaggerate or make things up for entertainment’s sake. Instead through careful research, we separate fact from fiction and bring fascinating truth to light.

(English Heritage website, Vision & Values)

Marble Hill House and Park are of great significance. As EH’s Landscape Investigations Report (2016) states:

Marble Hill House is Listed Grade I and the Ice House, White Lodge and Stable Block are Listed Grade II.

The Park is Grade II on the Historic England Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest. It is included in the Richmond Hill view which is protected by Act of Parliament.*

Twickenham and Marble Hill have been designated an Archaeological Priority Area (APA). The Thames and its foreshore are also an APA.

Several other local designations apply. It is classified as: Metropolitan Open Land; a Thames Policy Area (including Thames Landscape Strategy); a Site of Local Importance for Nature Conservation and lies within the Twickenham Riverside Conservation Area.

There are many designations, therefore, to be considered before making the significant changes that make up MHR.

With reference to the National Planning Policy Framework for Grade II* landscapes:

16. Conserving and enhancing the historic environment

*Para 194. Any harm to, or loss of, the significance of a designated heritage asset (from its alteration or destruction, or from development within its setting), should require **clear and convincing justification**.*

Substantial harm to or loss of:

(a) grade II listed buildings, or grade II registered parks or gardens, should be exceptional;

(b) assets of the highest significance, notably scheduled monuments, protected wreck sites, registered battlefields, grade I and II listed buildings, **grade I and II* registered parks and gardens**, and World Heritage Sites, should be **wholly exceptional**.*

LMH argues that EH's conclusions have been arrived at using evidence that does not meet the standards of the above criteria.

Re-landscaping should not be permitted in the absence of research that demonstrates "beyond all reasonable doubt" (Alex Sydney, EH Head of Investment) the existence of a "lost transitional garden."

*Para 195. Where a proposed development will lead to substantial harm to (or total loss of significance of) a designated heritage asset, local planning authorities should refuse consent, **unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss**.*

Marble Hill Park, as distinct from Marble Hill House, was registered Grade II* in 1987. The park is the product of three centuries of evolution, but EH intend to obliterate as much of the post-18th century landscape as possible, including the east-west vista currently a feature of the lower section of the park, and the historic woodland quarters which date from the mid 1700s.

LOVE MARBLE HILL'S RESEARCH

LMH's year-long research includes the inspection of some 1,000+ documents from: the Lothian Blickling Archive; the Hobart Papers; the Argyll Papers; published and unpublished correspondence between Howard and her social circle; court rolls from the National Archives; peer review papers; contemporary images; and land deeds.

Extensive background research also covers the following material: maps and surveys from 1635 onwards; documents held at Richmond Local Studies Library; past and present EH literature on the subject of MH, to include a report from 1991 published to support a previous attempt to re-landscape Marble Hill Park according to Augustin Heckel's drawing of 1749; Lincoln's Inn Archives.

SUMMARY OF KEY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

In this document, LMH will be exploring the following in more detail:

1. Court rolls from 1749 relating to a long-running land access dispute, spanning some three decades.

This litigation related to a 12-foot track that ran across Marble Hill Park, between the house and the river, and a subsequent right of way called the Terrace Way.

Evidence from these court rolls undermines EH's interpretation of archival letters and accounts with respect to the installation of 'pleasure gardens' in the mid 1720s.

2. The two drawings of the Marble Hill estate, dating from 1749 and 1749-50 respectively.

LMH's contends that the so-called 'draft' drawing of 1749 was indeed a land survey, prepared by Argyll on Howard's behalf for use in a land-related court case of 1749.

This land survey was subsequently overdrawn in early 1750 with a garden design proposal from the Duke of Argyll, incorporating existing features and proposing new ones.

A more finished 'master' version of the garden design proposal was then drawn up, almost identical to the draft.

There is no evidence to suggest this proposal was every implemented in Howard's lifetime.

3. Charles Bridgeman

There is no evidence to underpin the assertion that Bridgeman was closely involved in the laying out of any gardens at Marble Hill (MH) beyond a single visit to MH in the summer of 1724 and his written intention in September 1724 to draw a plan. The existence of such a plan has never been confirmed.

4. Alexander Pope

Pope's supposed key design influence centres around an early unsigned and undated garden design, attributed to Pope by EH and that EH accepts was never executed. This plan was supposedly drawn up following Bridgeman's visit in September 1724. However, the plan incorporates land in Marble Hole Shot which Howard did not own at the time, so the 1724 date is questionable.

There is evidence for small-scale works at the estate for which Pope had a supervisory role in Howard's absence.

However, there is no evidence that Pope was the much quoted "master" and "contriver" (*A Pastoral Dialogue*, Swift, 1727) of a pleasure garden laid out at MHP.

5. Henrietta Howard

Howard's decades-long precarious financial circumstances and her duties at the Royal Court call into question whether she would have had the funds and the opportunity for such an enterprise at the time EH contends the gardens were laid out.

It was not until two years after the death of her second husband in 1746 that Howard took up permanent residence in Marble Hill.

Extensive renovation works to the house began in 1750, with funds now at Howard's disposal. This coincided with the Duke of Argyll proposing an elaborate garden design for the hitherto relatively simple landscape. There is no evidence to suggest that proposal was ever implemented in Howard's lifetime.

6. The Duke of Argyll

LMH contends that in 1750 the Duke of Argyll had his cartographer James Dorret draw up a garden design proposal (see point 2 above).

It is this proposal that has been interpreted by EH as being an “accurate survey”.

The Duke of Argyll is largely absent from EH’s evidence. He is present merely as a financial liaison between Howard and the Prince of Wales/King. As recently as the landscape history ‘seminar/symposium’ of June 2018, EH landscape historian Emily Parker is on record as saying Argyll’s role is “not completely understood.”

LMH will explore Argyll’s status as a gardener/horticulturalist of note. His estate at Whitton Park was very close to Marble Hill.

7. Jonathan Swift

Swift, well known as a satirist, wrote *A Pastoral Dialogue* in 1727, in which he mockingly called his friend Pope the “master” and “contriver” of MH.

EH’s literal interpretation of this poem takes no account of: Swift as a satirist; the relationship between Pope and Swift; and the political backdrop against which the poem was written.

8. Historic England’s archaeological fieldworks

These were carried out on the basis that the garden drawing was used as a legal document in 1752, and therefore was “an accurate survey”. Inconclusive findings were interpreted accordingly.

9. Augustin Heckel’s 1749 drawing of Marble Hill

A contemporary engraving from c.1749 does not show a landscape as depicted on the “accurate survey”. Rather it shows a simple landscape, similar to today’s Grade II* listed landscape.

10. The absence of correspondence

Though Howard and her circle engaged in extensive and regular correspondence, there is a notable absence of contemporary correspondence that makes any reference to the notable key features of the supposed pleasure garden at Marble Hill. By contrast, other gardens with accepted provenance are well documented.

Visitor accounts dating from the 1760s onwards make reference to lawns, trees and a grotto with a flowery surround. There is no mention of a ninepin bowling alley, planted palisades surrounding an oval bowling lawn, serpentine walks, wildernesses or a 40ft in diameter flower garden, all key features of EH’s garden “restoration”.

11. Land ownership

The land that makes up the Marble Hill Estate was purchased over the span of almost three decades.

For the “accurate survey” of c.1750 to be a representation of what had been on the ground since the mid 1720s, Howard would have been laying out her garden on land for which she had neither title nor lease, with two rights of way cutting through it.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MARBLE HILL HOUSE/PARK

In 1723 the Prince of Wales gifted his mistress Howard £11,500 in South Sea Stock.

The Earl of Islay (also Ilay or Illay, later the 3rd Duke of Argyll, Argyll as he will be called) was made trustee and in early 1724 began the acquisition of land at Marble Hill in Twickenham.

At this time, Argyll was developing his own estate at nearby Whitton.

The series of land purchases would take Argyll over two decades due to the complexity of landownership at the site.

Following the initial plot purchases in Marble Hill Shot, Argyll commissioned Roger Morris and Lord Herbert to erect the house, a Palladian villa. Morris was at that time under patronage of Argyll's brother, John.

Construction of the house would take place from June 1724, with a final payment for the "naked carcass" of the house in June 1729.

This five-year-long construction of the house was due to the fact that in 1727 work stopped for almost two years. During this period, it stood without a roof and internal features (staircase, ceilings) not yet having being completed.

This extended hiatus in construction was directly related to the death of George I in 1727. There followed a period of uncertainty for Howard. It was not known if she would keep her position at Court. To compound this financial uncertainty, her husband, Charles Howard, was without income. In February 1728, he sought a legal separation from Howard, and Howard believed he might lay claim to Marble Hill as part of a future divorce settlement.

At the same time, Morris had taken up the position (by Royal Appointment) of 'Clerk of Works', and was occupied with Richmond Lodge from 1727-29.

Howard wrote to Jonathan Swift in 1731, saying that she thought she might now be able to spend more time at Marble Hill, now that her situation is more stable:

Hampton Court, June 29, 1731

I shall now often visit Marble Hill: my time is become very much my own, and I shall see it without the dread of being obliged to sell it to answer the engagements I had put myself under to avoid a "greater evil."

(Swift.J, Volume 12)

Howard: a largely absent owner

Howard had been the mistress of Prince of Wales, later King George II, since c. 1714. This entailed daily attendance at court. Summers were spent between Hampton Court Palace, Windsor and Richmond Lodge, and the remainder of the year spent serving the royal household in Leicester Square.

Howard was therefore largely absent from Marble Hill till the 1730s (when her relationship with the King ended) with little opportunity to spend on the development of her estate

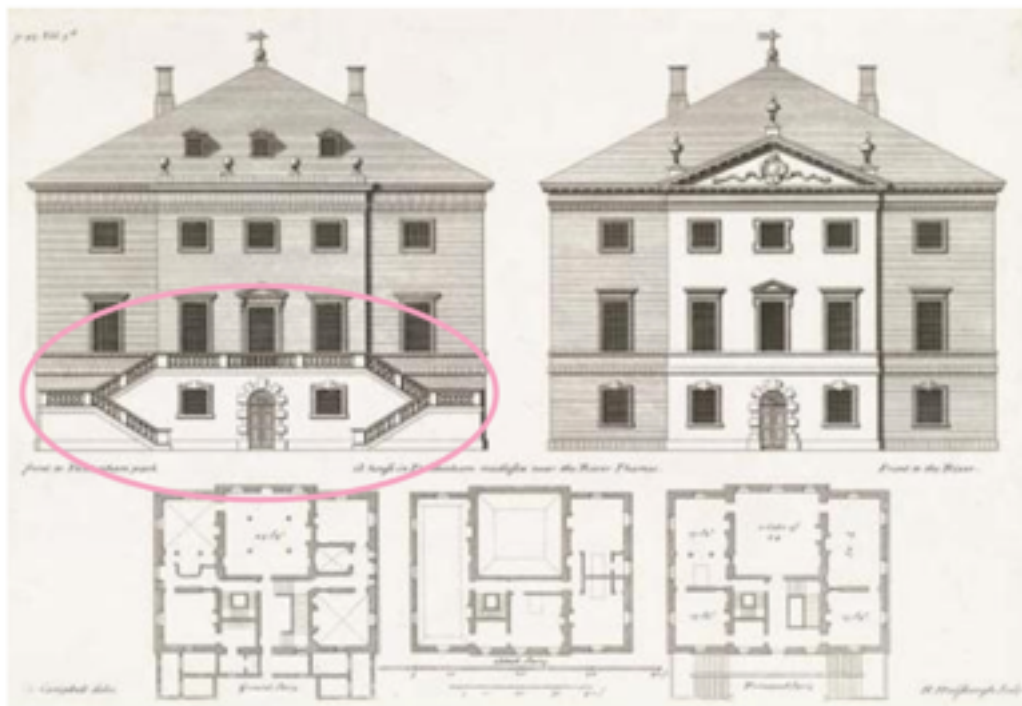
beyond the construction of the house, which itself had taken much longer than originally anticipated.

Howard's lack of funds

Howard's lack of funds both during and post the construction of the house prevented further extensive development of the estate.

Indeed, her finances were strained to the extent that plans for an exterior staircase on the villa's façade, a key element of the Palladian design, were abandoned (see below).

(Below: Norfolk Records Office)



Swift mocked Howard's depleted pocket in his poem of 1727 and wondered whether Howard would have to sell the house to a South Sea Broker.

Howard's finances briefly improved when she benefited from an inheritance from her brother in law and then remarried in 1735. Her second husband died in 1746.

After her death, Horace Walpole wrote to Lord Stafford:

I have not yet heard if her will is opened; but it will surprise those who thought her rich

(Strawberry Hill, July 29, 1767)

All of the above (the extended hiatus in construction, Howard being largely absent, a well documented lack of funds and a lengthy right of way dispute) made the construction of an elaborate 'pleasure garden' (EH's "lost transitional garden" as shown in the EH-termed "accurate survey") unlikely.

Howard's land-related disputes with her neighbours

The building of Marble Hill house took place against a background of extended land-related disputes, relating to both title and access. These would form a constant backdrop until the mid 1750s, as Howard (or Argyll, on her behalf) gradually acquired various parcels of land.

In 1726 Howard planted 122 trees in her neighbour's meadow without permission and was told to pay damages. This resulted in Thomas Vernon, an MP and local landowner who had previously sold land to Howard, refusing to release further important plots.

After Vernon's death in 1726, Howard obtained his will which included his deed titles and leases. Howard then pursued his widow in an attempt to obtain land (15th March, 1726, MC3 606 – 001).

In 1739, another neighbour Mr Plomer threatened Howard with legal action at the Court of Chancery after she withdrew his right of passage through her garden ground, leaving him cut off. Plomer's will, including details of his land titles, as obtained by Howard, is also recorded in her estate papers.

From 1749-1750 Howard sought an injunction against Sarah Alton and several other neighbouring landowners at MH. Howard did not want them exercising their rights of way through garden ground (see Court Rolls section).

Within the same year Howard pursued new tenant John Fridenberg through the courts. Howard's brother tried to resolve the dispute amicably but Howard insisted that he take up the litigation on her behalf. The dispute lasted seven years.

THE 'DESIGN' OF THE MARBLE HILL PARK

Several noted gardeners showed an early interest in the laying out of Howard's estate:

In the western outskirts of London you would have had to be outstanding to compete with the likes of Lord Peterborough and Lord Islay (later Duke of Argyll), and of course all nurserymen.

(David Jacques, Garden History Journal 1986, pg. 77-80).

The Duke of Argyll, a respected gardener and horticulturalist, was to be a constant in Howard's relationship with Marble Hill for almost three decades.

It was Argyll, LMH contends, who was to present Howard with an elaborate garden proposal in 1750, soon after she had taken up full-time residence for the first time, and acquired essential garden ground. There was also the mistaken assumption that the right of way issues had been resolved.

Another notable local was the Earl of Peterborough. He referred to himself, in an undated letter (attributed to 1723-4), as Howard's "gallant gardiner."

He subsequently wrote to Pope (in an undated letter, similarly attributed to 1723-4) that he was:

impatient to hear what she intended for this autumn as no time is to be lost either if she intends to build out houses or prepare for planting.

Peterborough progressed no further. He wrote to Howard (letter undated, likely to be mid 1720s):

I dislike my rivals amongst the living, more than those amongst the dead, must I yield to Lord Herbert and Lord Illay [Argyll]. [...] I am to be layed aside as an extravagant person. [...] may every tree prosper, planted by whatever hand, your unfortunate gardiner and architect degraded and turned off.

1. CHARLES BRIDGEMAN

The pleasure ground and the wider landscape were developed by Alexander Pope and Charles Bridgeman in response to new ideas about the gardens of the villas of the 'ancients' which were later epitomised by the published designs in Robert Castell's Villas of the Ancients Illustrated (1728).

EH HLF 2nd round application

Bridgeman was the Royal Gardener serving both the prince and the king. He held this position from 1728 onwards, having been assistant to the previous Royal Gardener since 1726.

Howard and Bridgeman would almost certainly have known each other via the courts at Windsor, Richmond Lodge and Hampton Court.

The two shared a common friend in Pope, and in the summer of 1724, all three met at MH.

At this point (June 1724), construction of the house had only just begun. Works on the building would not be completed until mid 1729.

Correspondence

On 28th September 1724, Bridgeman wrote to Pope: "I've begun a plann," asking if the two could meet. It is not clear from the letter if the 'plann' was intended for Marble Hill.

In the letter, Bridgeman excused the delay in producing a plan, writing that he has just been tasked with an unexpected important commission.

In an undated letter to Bridgeman, Pope signed off by writing:

I hope you will fix that matter with Mrs. Howard.

(Willis, P., Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape)

It can only be speculated what 'that matter' that needed 'fixing' was.

Subsequent to the single visit and the two-letter exchange, there is no further evidence whatsoever of any involvement on Bridgeman's part. No records (bills, receipts, drawings) are to be found in Sarah Bridgeman's extensive archive relating to her husband's work.

EH acknowledges the lack of any further evidence.

Howard “recommending” Charles Bridgeman

Key Findings in EH’s official documentary research paper:

No known documentary evidence survives to show his exact involvement but it is thought that Bridgeman took Pope’s ideas and turned them into a workable design. Elements of the finished design (c1749 garden drawing) are comparable to Bridgeman’s designs in other gardens. Howard later recommended him to her friend the Duchess of Queensbury, demonstrating her knowledge and satisfaction in his work.

LMH challenges EH’s interpretation of Howard having “recommended” Bridgeman to the Duchess of Queensberry and therefore what, according to EH’s conjectural conclusion, it “demonstrated.”

The Duchess of Queensberry had been seeking Bridgeman’s advice on the management of her estate at Amesbury. The Duchess thought him “heroic.” However, she had been recently banished from court, along with the poet and playwright John Gay, following a disagreement regarding royal censorship of one of Gay’s plays.

On August 20th 1730, the Duchess of Queensbury and Gay wrote jointly to Howard, asking for her assistance:

We wonder we have heard nothing from Mr Bridgeman, if you chance to see him pray tell him so.

Howard replied from Windsor on August 22nd

Mr Bridgeman is here [Windsor], I have spoken to him about the gardens. He says they are kept as they ought to be, and at very reasonable expense, but he will soon bring me the account, and a positive agreement, if it be such as the duchess approves.

Howard was clearly acting as a ‘facilitator’ in a conversation that had already been initiated between the Duchess of Queensbury and Bridgeman. To summarise: Howard was at court, Bridgeman was at court, could Howard pass on a message?

For EH to interpret this simple exchange as a “recommendation” from Howard based on her “satisfaction in his [Bridgeman’s] work” is a conjectural leap with no basis in fact.

2. ALEXANDER POPE

Pope and Howard met at court c.1715-6.

Pope moved to Twickenham in 1719, renting a house from Thomas Vernon, a local landowner who also owned parcels of land at Marble Hill.

Pope had a pronounced interest in garden theory. His own gardens would become “a mecca for tourists” (Jacques D, Garden History Journal 1986, pg. 77-80), opening to the public in 1725.

In her book, *The English Garden Tour*, Mavis Batey writes:

After Pope's death his garden became a place of pilgrimage.

As with Pope's river frontage garden nothing was allowed to detract from the Palladian views of the moving river scenery; the more formal gardens were behind the houses. Henrietta Howard had to keep within a strict budget and 'amiable simplicity' also suited her purse.

(M. Batey and D. Lambert, *The English Garden Tour*, pg.148, 1990)

Absence of visitor accounts

Pope opened his garden to visitors in the mid 1720s. Visitors often arrived at Pope's house by river (there was a jetty at the end of his garden).

If arriving via Richmond, they would have passed Marble Hill, with a clear view of its gardens.

There are no visitor accounts whatsoever that make mention of 'Pope's garden' at Marble Hill.

Absence of correspondence

There is extensive correspondence in the Howard archive, likewise in that of Pope and their social circle.

Pope also wrote extensively to Joseph Spence on garden-related matters.

There is no mention in any correspondence of Pope having laid out or advocated the garden at Marble Hill.

Pope and the drawing up of garden plans

Pope drew up garden plans for his wide circle of friends, many of whom owned large estates.

Lord Digby at Sherborne was no exception. Pope wrote in 1724:

I have been amusing myself with drawing; but it is a question whether my Lord Digby would not be better amused than to execute it.

(Several Hundred Unpublished Letters, and Other Materials, 1886, pg. 300).

Pope's plans were rarely executed. However, he "would not stop giving advice, sometimes one senses, to unwilling recipients." (Jacques D, *Garden History Journal* 1986, pg. 77-80).

Lord Bathurst wrote to Howard from Cirencester in July 1734:

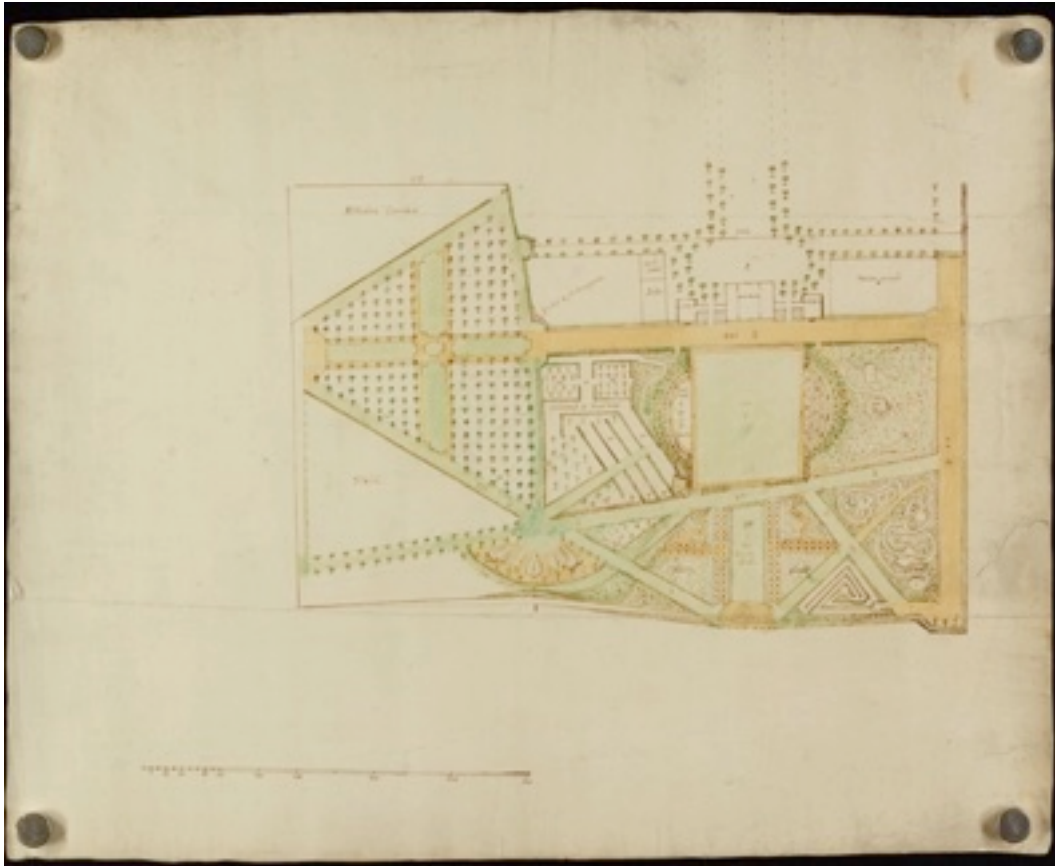
Pope endeavours to find faults here, but can not; and instead of admiring (as he ought to do) what is already executed, he is every day drawing me a plan for some new building or other, and then is violently angry that it is not set up the next morning.

[Vol. i. p. 178.]

That Pope might be lobbying Howard to adopt his garden design ideas is therefore entirely in character.

An early garden design for Marble Hill

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/3)



The undated, unsigned plan (above) could feasibly be an unimplemented Pope/Bridgeman hybrid proposal. However, this is by no means verifiable.

As Mavis Batey writes in her 1999 book *Alexander Pope: the poet and the landscape*:

A possible explanation for the origin of the unsigned plan is that it was first sketched by Pope but the draughtsmanship and measurements were worked up by Bridgeman, who had already surveyed the ground with him. The design could not have been by Bridgeman [...] it has none of Bridgeman's professional unity of design.

Batey continues:

The 'plann' of 1724 seems rather contrary as a design by someone who in the garden essay in 'The Guardian' [Pope, 1713] had maintained that 'all Art consists in the Imitation and Study of Nature'; it does, however, tie up with Pope's neighbour, Batty Langley's ideas on the 'arti-natural' style which he had first set put in his 'Practical Geometry' of 1726 and expanded and illustrated in his 'New Principles of Gardening' in 1728.

The draughtsmanship on the unattributed plan is very similar to that seen on attributed Langley plans.

Batty Langley (1696-1751) was of a local family:

[...] his father, Daniel, was a local jobbing gardener who had worked for Thomas Vernon [Pope's landlord] at Twickenham Park as did Batty for a time. Batty is recorded as occupying some land at Cross Deep next door to Alexander Pope's garden, which he possibly cultivated for nursery stock. [...] He made something of a name for himself, largely through self promotion and the publication of a number of books on gardening and architecture.

(Alexander Pope's Twickenham, 1719-1744, Anthony Beckles Willson, 2018 edition)

In any event, Howard was to ignore this unattributed (Bridgeman? Pope ? Langley? hybrid?) plan. Her long absences from Marble Hill, attending on the Prince of Wales/King, combined with her strained financial circumstances, did not work in any would-be designer's favour.

In addition to this, the estate's landholdings at the time were small.

Pope's 'practical' role at Marble Hill

As already stated, there is no mention in any of the correspondence between Pope and Howard in the time period 1724-30 (or indeed subsequently) of the extensive pleasure gardens that were, according to EH, in the process of being laid out in the mid to late 1720s.

Rather, such correspondence as exists, deals with altogether more everyday matters.

In 1726, Pope wrote to Howard, congratulating her:

upon the increase of your family, for your Cow is this morning very happily deliver'd of the better sort, I mean a female calf...

Pope had celebrated this event with friends at Marble Hill:

Mrs Susan offer'd us wine upon the occasion, and upon such an occasion we could not refuse it. Our entertainment consisted of flesh and fish, and the lettuce of a Greek Island, called Cos.

(Butt: Pope 2:435-6)

Pope, living nearby, was also able to assist Howard with certain practical matters, amongst them on-going legal disputes with her neighbours.

Howard sought Pope's help in March 1725 to ease matters with his landlord Mr Vernon after Howard planted 122 trees on Vernon's land 'in the ditch meadow' in his 'wheat field' and 'meadow'. This resulted in damages being awarded to Vernon. (NRO: MC3 606 – 001).

Pope mediated between Howard and Vernon in 1726 and again in 1739 between Howard and another landowner at Marble Hill, Mr Plomer. This latter dispute was about a long-contested right of way that ran across Howard's estate, between the house and the river.

EH's documentary evidence linking Pope to a "lost transitional garden" at Marble Hill

The main documentary evidence relied on by EH to demonstrate that MH's "lost transitional garden" was heavily influenced by Pope is as follows:

(i) Mention of Pope in Financial Accounts

Two written accounts exist in a "Bricklayers and Carpenters Bill" of Argyll/Morris:

June 10th 1725

Providing, by order of Mr Pope

For 12 oak posts for ye railing in ye meadow and 13 oak rails

For 7 stakes and a pile to drive in ye Thames

For a style and stops at ye Thames side

For 2 men 2 days work

For 12 oak pails at ye great gate ditch and nails

For a man and day working ye pails ye mount

(NRO: NRS 8862 057)

January 16th 1725

*For a garden roll, stuff work and iron work **by the order of Mr Pope***

(NRO: NRS 8862 058)

The above lists primarily relate to fencing and the construction of the Terrace Way (see Court Rolls section), and not the creation of a pleasure garden as concluded by EH.

Pope lived locally. Howard was largely absent. Pope facilitated simple garden-related matters on Howard's behalf.

(ii) An undated letter written by Pope to Martha Blount, written from Sherborne, most likely in the summer of 1724

Blount was Pope's gardening companion/correspondent. He "cultivated her appreciation of landscape's psychological nuances", (*Resemblance & Disgrace: Alexander Pope and the deformation of Culture*, pg. 110).

This letter is mainly a description of the Sherborne estate. There is no mention in it of either Marble Hill or Howard.

Madam – I promised you an account of Sherborne before I had seen it, or knew what I undertook. [...]The gardens are so irregular, that it is very hard to give an exact idea of them, but by plan. [...]

I hope this long letter will be some entertainment to you. I was pleased not a little in writing it; but do not let any lady hence imagine that my head is so full of any gardens as to forget hers. The greatest proof I could give her to the contrary is, that I have spent many hours in studying for hers and in drawing new plans for her. I shall soon come home, and have nothing to say when we meet, having here told you all that has pleased me.

(*Several Hundred Unpublished Letters, and Other Materials*, 1886, pg. 300)

EH contend that Pope's "any lady" is Howard. This is entirely conjectural. There has been no mention of Howard in the letter. The "any lady" could be Blount herself, and the plans those of Sherbourne, to which Pope has referred to earlier on in the letter.

(iii) Jonathan Swift's 'A Pastoral Dialogue', 1727

Jonathan Swift wrote this poem in response to King George I's death. It consists of a series of exchanges between Marble Hill House and Richmond Lodge, the latter home to the erstwhile Prince of Wales, the former home to his mistress.

EH has interpreted Swift's description in the poem of Pope as the "master" and "contriver" at Marble Hill literally.

However, Swift was a satirist, and it is well documented that Swift and Pope engaged in an on-going dialogue of satirical poems.

This poem was also written against a backdrop of political change, shifting power and new allegiances. Is Swift mocking Pope precisely because he is not the "master" and "contriver" at Marble Hill, but has no doubt shown aspirations towards being so? It is also to be noted that construction work at MH had been put on hold at this time, and the house was to remain unfinished for another two years.

Nothing can be deduced from the landscape descriptions contained in the poem: "plantations," "groves," and "gardens" are too generic to point to anything other than a non-arable landscape.

MARBLE HILL

*Some South-Sea broker from the city
Will purchase me, the more's the pity
Lay all my fine **plantations** waste
To fit them to his vulgar taste
Chang'd for the worse in ev'ry part
My master Pope will break his heart.*

[...]

MARBLE HILL

*Then let him come and take a nap
In summer on my verdant lap
Prefer our villas, where the Thames is,
To Kensington, or hot St. James's;
Nor shall I dull in silence sit;
For 'tis to me he owes his wit;
My **groves**, my **echoes**, and my **birds**,
Have taught him his poetic words.
We **gardens**, and you **wildernesses**,
Assist all poets in distresses.*

A myth is born

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when the myth of a Pope/Bridgeman collaboration at Marble Hill was born.

It appears to be c.50 years after Howard's death, in the mid 1820s. It first appears in footnotes in various volumes of correspondence and is subsequently written into papers, as one landscape historian quotes the previous one. And so it continues.

The Bridgeman/Pope letter of September 1724 was likely the catalyst, coupled with Howard's documented friendship with Pope and the record of Pope having ordered fencing and a garden roller in 1725.

Swift's *A Pastoral Dialogue* poem of 1727 in which he mocked his close friend Pope, referring to him as 'master' and 'contriver' of Marble Hill, likely fuelled the myth too.

EH's Landscape Team has recommended Peter Willis' book *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden (2002)* as a source of information.

In it, Willis writes that the:

new king had employed Bridgeman at Marble Hill
(pg.36)

Willis cites no evidence to support this theory.

Willis further writes, though with not as much assertion as above:

*He [Bridgeman] had returned to Broad Street the previous Friday and on Saturday began a 'plann' for Pope , **presumably (though not necessarily)** of Marble Hill.*
(pg.78)

Various other contemporary landscape historians, including David Jacques, Mavis Batey and David Lambert among others, have similarly connected Bridgeman and Pope with the landscape at Marble Hill.

In *The English Garden Tour (1990)*, Batey and Lambert write:

*The many 18th century prints of Marble Hill from the river show Pope's 'amiable simplicity' in the garden with grass terraces and arcs of trees **probably** planned by Bridgeman.*
(pg.151).

Dr David Jacques, the consultant landscape historian engaged by EH on Marble Hill Revived, is one of the more assertive proponents of the Pope/Bridgeman laying out of gardens.

In *Gardens of Court and Country (2017)*, he states,

Pope and Bridgeman were that year [1724] collaborating on Mrs Henrietta Howard's gardens at Marble Hill
(pg.254).

The evidence Jacques cites is the order for the garden roller and the letter in which Pope writes to Martha Blount stating that he is busy "studying & in drawing new plan".

It is only by going back to primary sources, however, and viewing documentary evidence in its entirety, that one can begin to disassemble the myth of the Pope/Bridgeman garden of the 1720s.

3. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, DUKE OF ARGYLL

The Duke of Argyll was appointed by the Prince of Wales to be the legal owner of the Marble Hill estate, in order, it is believed, to protect it from Howard's first husband. Argyll's ownership lasted from 1724-48.

Argyll receives just one mention in EH's HLF application.

However, at the EH Landscape 'symposium/seminar' in June 2018, EH Landscape Advisor Emily Parker acknowledged that Argyll's role at Marble Hill "isn't fully understood."

Born at Ham House into an aristocratic Scottish family, Argyll belonged to a group of Scottish influencers active in and around "Twickenhamshire": James Gibbs, James Johnston (at Orleans House next door to Marble Hill) and Colen Campbell were part of this set.

Argyll was the dominant political leader in Scotland in his day, having been appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland by Queen Anne in 1705.

An accomplished horticulturalist

Argyll was a keen amateur horticulturist, and a founding member of the Scottish Improvers Society, a group dedicated to the scientific progress of agriculture techniques.

William Woollett's drawing of 1757 (below) shows Argyll wearing a gardening apron, showing his garden to visitors. Horace Walpole called him the "treemonger of Whitton." He had talent for cultivating exotic plant species. Trees originating from his nursery formed part of what was to become Kew Gardens.



Whitton Park and Whitton Dean

In 1722, Argyll inherited an estate near Marble Hill called Whitton Park, where he laid out extensive gardens from 1724 onwards.

Argyll lived on the first floor of a large 'greenhouse', completed in 1726-7, with the main house not being finished until c.1735. With its trademark 'Gibbs' Surround' above the door and window arches, similarities can be found with the greenhouse at Marble Hill, as seen in a surviving photograph from the early 1900s and recorded in a 'repairs' estate paper. (NRO: nrs 8862 026)

In 1739, Argyll began work on the neighbouring Whitton Dean estate, where he built a Palladian-style villa for his mistress, similar to his own larger estate at Whitton Park (both shown below on the Rocque map of 1746, Whitton Park left, Whitton Dean right).

(Below: British Library)



The garden at Whitton Dean included wildernesses and serpentine paths. Plans show it to be very similar to the one shown on so-called "accurate survey" drawings of Marble Hill, drawings that LMH contend show a 1750 garden design proposal by the Duke of Argyll.

Argyll - unfashionable and set in his ways?

EH dates the garden depicted in its Marble Hill "accurate survey" to the mid-1720s. This is based on its assertion that wildernesses and serpentine paths were out of fashion by the end of the 1720s:

What I am looking at when I see this plan is a garden of the 1720s. By the 1750s, garden design had moved on a lot. [...] I would say [it dates from at the latest] 1730.

EH consultant David Jacques, Landscape seminar/symposium June 2018

The so-called “accurate survey” certainly does show a garden of a design in the style of ‘the villas of the ancients’ (see below).

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/1)



This would have been eminently suitable for a Palladian villa such as Marble Hill, irrespective of the vagaries of changing garden fashion.

It is also a garden of a design suitable for the Palladian villa that Argyll had completed at Whitton Park in 1735.

It is also, most significantly, of a design very similar to the garden Argyll had laid out at Whitton Dean for his mistress in the very late 1730s/early 1740s (see Rocque 1746 below), at a time when EH historic landscape consultant David Jacques states that no-one would be laying out such a garden as “garden design had moved on a lot” by this stage.

(Below: British Library)



See (4) of the section ‘Documentary Evidence’ below for evidence linking Argyll to the two garden design drawings of 1749-50 and 1750 respectively.

Neither Pope nor Bridgeman, but Argyll and Lord Herbert?

Whilst it is not clear who executed the stepped terraces and sited trees at MH in the mid-late 1720s, existing estate papers provide some insight.

Lord Peterborough withdrew from MH in the face of heavy competition in 1723/4, writing to Howard:

I dislike my rivals among the living, more than those amongst the dead, must I yield to Lord Herbert and Duke Ilay [Argyll] ...[] ... I can even wish well to the house, and garden under all these mortifications May every tree prosper, planted by whatever hand.

Peterborough signed off “your unfortunate gardiner”. Subsequently, Lord Herbert was to receive a payment from Argyll and Morris for measuring the estate on 11th October 1725 (8862 057).

There are no payments within the archives to Bridgeman or Pope.

In the early 1750s, an affidavit was drawn up to support Howard in a right-of-way dispute. She was seeking an injunction against John Fridenberg, a merchant who had moved into a dwelling to the east of Howard’s garden ground.

The legal document states:

About thirty three years since, the present Duke of Argyll purchased a field called Marble the Hill, upon part of which he his Grace erected an house, and planned out the rest for a garden continuing possessed there of till the year 1748, or 1749.

(8899 051/52).

Was Peterborough’s prediction correct, and he was laid to one side in favour of Herbert and Argyll?

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

1. EARLY ESTATE RECEIPTS 1724-1728

In a 2017 presentation, EH Landscape Historian Emily Parker states:

The landscape [as it exists today] is a ‘degraded’ survivor of a very fleeting moment in the construction of ‘ancient gardens’ before landscape garden proliferated and after formal gardens were beginning to become unfashionable.

Many garden elements are found in payments to Roger Morris, 4 buildings means the garden design was executed and Morris responsible for large-scale ideas such as the mount and ha-ha.

EH's assertion that early pleasure gardens were executed at MH largely revolve around two bills. The first runs from September 1724 to October 1725 and is signed off by Argyll and Morris. The second is made out by Morris from December 1728.

LMH would contend, however, that these receipts provide no evidence for the existence of a "lost transitional garden."

sRather, they detail works of an altogether more practical nature, relating primarily to fencing and the construction of the Terrace Way (see Court Rolls).

(i) September 1724-October 1725

Carpenters work performed by Roger Morris for the Rt Hon ye Lord Islay (Argyll) at Marble Hill

Sept 29th 1724

4 rod of 4ft railing at 8/13 per rod of gates measuring in ...

For a pair of hinges and lock and latch to the same

For 51 rod of one sixth of 5ft railing at 15 pieces per rod

For 5 barr'd gate latch with 5ft rails

For a pair of hooks and thimbles to hang of same

For a harp and staples and padlock

October 1st 1724

For hammers for ye gardeners

For mallet to drive stakes with

For 2 pairs of hinges in ye 5ft fences to ye gate and 2 padlocks, 2 hasps and 4 staples

October 7th 1724

For 2 men half a day work working of gate to ye lowes and of ye ground and for 2 oak rails

For 2 latches in ye 5ft fence to ye 2 gates

For nailing ye slabs up at ye 4ft fence and nails

October 24th 1724

For 7 land ties of oak stuff work and spikes and oak to lay in walls

November 2nd 1724

For a man labourer ½ day working ye gate and nails

January 16th 1725

For a garden roll, stuff work and iron work by the order of Mr Pope

January 18th 1725

For a door at ye end of ye house and nails

February 5th 1725

For a lock and hinges nails putting up

For moving ye four ft fence and putting up again and nails

March 5th 1725

For a new gate and 2 Padlocks for ye same

9th February 1725

For a pair of hinges, a padlock, hasp and staples for ye 2 lump locks and putting in

18th February 1725

For a strong 5 barr'd gate 2 large locks at ye same

For rails and pails and stops and fitting up ye gate

For hooks, thimbles, staple and a padlock with 4 keys

£50

March 19th 1725

Brought from the other side

For 2 barrows for ye gardeners

April 7th 1725

For a staple for the gate

For working of lump locks and putting them in again

April 24th 1725

For 380ft of oak railing for ye yew hedge at one penny per foot

For 56 stakes at 9 ? per stake 10ft long

For 2 men 2 days work

For 40 small spikes and 20 nails

May 3^d 1725

For working ye ditch gate in ye garden and nails

For grindstone and trough pitch'd iron work

June 10th 1725

Providing, by order of Mr Pope

For 12 oak posts for ye railing in ye meadow and 13 oak rails

For 7 stakes and a pile to drive in ye Thames

For a style and stops at ye Thames side

For 2 men 2 days work

For 12 oak pails at ye great gate ditch and nails

For a man and day working ye pails ye mount

£57^{rs}18^s09

*The measuring of ground ye 2nd of August 1725 for Honorable Reeves Lord
Burningham*

October 11th 1725 then by the hands of Honorable Henry Lord Herbert

Full contents of Bill, Mr Roger Morris

[The bill below is undated]

120ft of Deal Railing Cross ye Bolling Green x Stakes

Bricklayers Bill for the Mount Wall two wells & digging

£91'17'3

(NRO: Nrs 8862 058/ Nrs 8862 057)

The Argyll/Morris bill of works relates to many of items that were subsequently mentioned in Howard's court case of 1749. They were items required to enclose her estate in the mid 1720s: railings, latches, gates, padlocks and styles. Some also relate to the construction of the new Terrace Way, the alternative access way that Howard had agreed to provide for her neighbours. (See section (3) below, Court Rolls)

There is, however, one exception: a garden roller "by the order of Mr Pope" in January 1725. This was a basic piece of equipment for any landowner, and not specifically related to the laying out of an elaborate pleasure garden.

The above roller could be related to work with paths/grass. The receipts mention 'ye bolling green'.

In the 18th century, 'bowling green' was a generic term for a finely laid lawn.

The term is used once in the Morris/Argyll receipt of 1725:

120 ft of deal railing cross ye Bolling Green

A lawned area is not evidence for a wider pleasure garden.

(ii) December 1728

During the period 1727-8 works all but ceased at MH. This coincided with a difficult period in Howard's circumstances as her husband Charles sought a separation.

The second document cited by EH as evidence for the laying out of a pleasure garden is a receipt for monies paid, signed by Morris and dated 18th December 1728:

Rev'd of the Honorable Mrs Howard two hundred pounds on account of furnishing the principal story two sweep walls and 4 buildings in the garden at Marble Hill. Roger Morriss

(NRO: nrs 8862 066)

EH Landscape Historian Emily Parker arrives at the following conclusion:

In 1728, a receipt for a payment of £200, describes part of Morris' work as '4 buildings in the garden at Marble Hill'

Looking at the plan of c.1752, it is easy to speculate two of the buildings this receipt refers to; the Ice House Seat and the Green House both sit in close proximity to house and appear to have been built in complimentary classical style

These four buildings may also have included the China Room, which was built to display Henrietta's exhaustive china collection (this was originally a separate building but it was amalgamated into the service wing before this survey).

The other building built by Morris is more difficult to identify, it could perhaps be the Coach House, although this was located in another corner of the estate and not 'in the garden' as described in Morris' bill, or perhaps it referred to the Ice House which still survives

[...]

We have no additional evidence for the Ice House Seat other than what we can see on the plan, although due to this drawing, its size and location. It is probably something like this one which is at Wrest Park

In spite of reaching the above 'inconclusive' conclusion regarding the Ice House Seat, EH includes it in its Documentary Research sheet for Garden Features, despite the 1728 receipt and the 1781 repairs bill for the 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire making no specific mention of it. Furthermore, it is clearly absent from Sauthier's map of 1786, in spite of this being listed by EH as 'visual reference' for its existence.

EH has been unable to identify definitively the "4 buildings" in the garden referred to in the receipt. Later (undated, but post 1749) estate papers refer to repairs to the "four buildings in the manazery & the seedhouse" plus the "gardeners room". These related to the "henhouse" "seed house" and "gardeners room". (NRO:nrs 8862 026)

Other estate papers suggest architect Matthew Brettingham undertook linking the China Room to the service wing of the House when he carried out extensive works at the estate from early 1750. Records exist of works to partition walls and numerous windows (NRO: nrs 8862 006/12)

Many of the 'offices' (outbuildings) are referred to in the Brettingham receipts: a scullery, a dairy, a privy in the garden, circular sheds and a bake-house. Any of these could relate to the "4 buildings in the garden" on the Morris receipt from December 1725.

2. UNDATED GARDEN MAINTENANCE 'CONTRACTS' - 1749 ONWARDS

There are only three estate papers in the archive that outline garden-related maintenance duties: the first is a comprehensive breakdown of gardening duties; the second is an estimate of costs relating to those duties; and the third is a gardening contract drawn up for Daniel Crofts including the same duties. (NRO: nrs 8862-051/8862-005/8862-048)

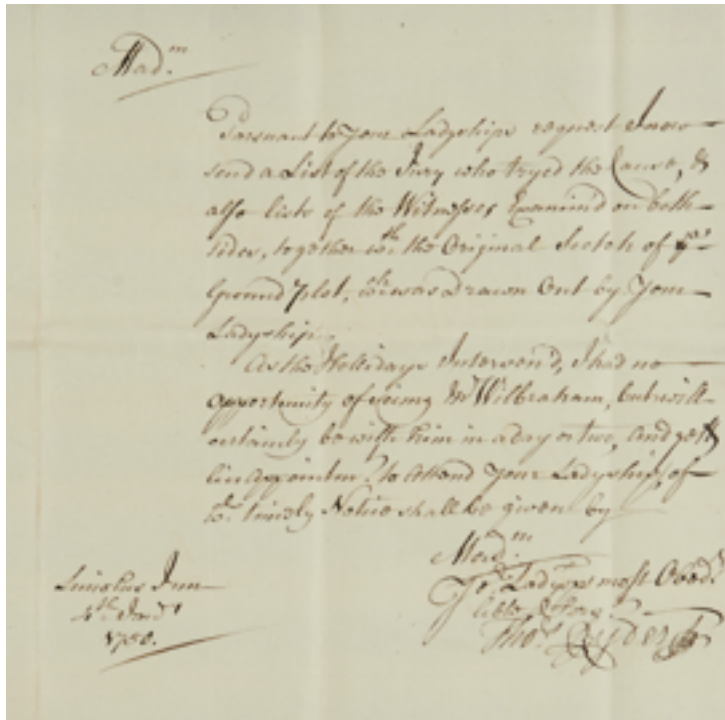
All are undated. EH, however, dates them as being "from 1731 onwards", and that they are therefore evidence of the existence of the "lost transitional garden" of its "accurate survey" having been in place since the late 1720s/early 1730s.

Thomas Ryder (1731-1812)

LMH's research has identified the member of Howard's legal team who drew up the aforementioned documents. And the gentleman in question was born in 1731, the "onwards" date of the EH research.

A handwriting examiner has compared the handwriting in the 'maintenance contracts' to that of Thomas Ryder of Lincoln's Inn.

Thomas Ryder wrote a signed letter to Howard in January 1750 (see below), in which he wrote of returning the "original sketch of your ground plot".



(Above: Norfolk Records Office NRS 8899 048)

The sketch - the EH-termed “draft” survey, but before, according to LMH’s research, it had been overdrawn with a garden design proposal (see section [4] below) - had been used in a 1749 court case.

Note that it is described in Ryder’s letter as a drawing of a ‘ground plot’ i.e. land parcels, boundaries and so forth, as this was what the case was about. It would certainly not have been necessary to represent such fine detail as to show beehouses, for example.

The handwriting examiner’s conclusion is that it is “highly probable” (the highest level of certainty at which a handwriting examiner can testify) that the letter of 1750 and the gardening ‘contracts’ were written by the same person.

Thomas Ryder was born in 1731, and was the nephew of Sir Dudley Ryder (1691-1756).

In the 1730s, Sir Dudley Ryder was Solicitor General and subsequently Attorney General. In 1754, he was made a Privy Councillor and Chief Justice of the King’s Bench. Horace Walpole described him as “a man of singular goodness and integrity, of the highest reputation in his profession.”

There are records of correspondence between Howard and Sir Dudley.

His nephew Thomas Ryder was admitted to the Inn in 1749, aged 18, and was called to the Bar in 1757.

Frances Bellis, Assistant Librarian, Lincoln’s Inn wrote in an email of September 2018:

Becoming a member of an Inn of Court, being “admitted”, was the first step to become a barrister since this was the first condition for being called to the bar.

Then one's legal education was a bit do-it-yourself by reading law books, a very few would have been to university, perhaps working in an attorney's office or in a barrister's chambers as a pupil getting on the job training and experience.

Bar students would do anything and everything to gain knowledge of the law and had plenty of time as one had to be a member for seven years before you could be called.

Your idea that he helped his uncle in his practice in a practical way is probably right. As to the gardening contract I would say that Sir Dudley probably drew it up and Thomas simply wrote it out, as a clerk would, thus learning property law at the same time.

This evidence places all the gardening contracts that EH states date from "1731 onwards" to post 1749 at the very earliest. LMH contends that, based on their content, a more likely date is post 1761 (the year Argyll died).

The Sweet Walk

Aside from the handwriting examination putting them in Thomas Ryder's hand and therefore post 1749 at the earliest, there is a more obvious clue as to the date of the documents: the repeated reference to the sweet walk (for more details, see below). This was a 7.5 acre area of land adjacent to Montpelier Row purchased by Howard in 1748.

Daniel Crofts

The garden contract was drawn up for Daniel Crofts (sometimes Craftes/Croftes).

Crofts was Argyll's nurseryman and gardener at nearby Whitton Park from the 1720s onwards. He was recognised in Argyll's will with the gift of a year's extra salary, suggesting he stayed in the duke's employment until Argyll's death in 1761.

Paper iii (see below) includes Crofts' board and wages. As Argyll died in 1761, it is likely that the various garden papers were drawn up after the duke's death, when Crofts sought new employment prior to the sale of Argyll's Whitton Park estate.

Transcripts of the 'gardening contracts'

(i) Gardening Duties (written by Thomas Ryder b.1731)

Article proposed to a man to keep Lady Suffolk's Gardens on the following manner.

The kitchen garden is to supply the house with all sorts of gardening things that way be wanted.

All dung to be found by the gardener.

All sorts of gardening seeds to be supplied of the gardeners expense.

All tools and utensils for all the gardens to be found by the gardener and he is to be answerable that these utensils ye which awte be delivered to him shall be constantly kept in repair by him and be made good in every respect in care Lady Suffolk and he should part.

All nails shreds, brooms and everything relating to gardening in general to be at the gardeners expense.

The pleasure garden to be kept constantly well secure, the gravel walks clean and constantly rolled and the quarters in good order.

Any new considerable work to be at Lady Suffolks expense any trifling alterations to be included in his. Lady Suffolk will pay no bills from him of any paid whatsoever.

(NRO: nrs 8862-005)

(ii) Daniel Crofts' Contract (written by Thomas Ryder b.1731)

*A proposal of an agreement ye Dan Craftes Gardener that he ye said Dan Croftes shall undertake to perform all ye work that is necessary to be done in ye gardens belonging to my Lady Suffolk at Marble Hill in the parish of Twickenham, **that is to mow ye lawns and all ye grass that is within ye gardens, to keep the quarters all clean from weeds and gravel walks rold and cleaned constantly** to take proper care of the greenhouse plants that is necessary, and **to do everything that is requisite to the fruit trees**, to find all labour and utensils for the man, nails, shreds, tools seeds, plants dung and everything else that is necessary and to furnish my Lady Suffolk with the produce of the said gardens whenever required at her town and country house.*

Upon consideration that my Lady Suffolk shall pay or course to be paid to the said Dan ye Crafts the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly and further that ye said Dan ye Crofts shall have the use of all the utensils that is now made use of upon ye premises.

According to an inventory that shall be made and he the said Dan ye Craftes further agrees that in case my Lady Suffolk and he should part that anything as pots, glasses or any other utensils be that should be broke or not disclosed according to ye inventory, that he said Dan ye Craftes agrees to make good and he the said Dan ye Craftes further agrees that he shall not on any instances take any of the bale or other fruits out of ye said gardens.

(NRO: nrs 8862-048)

(iii) Cost estimate (written by Ryder, most likely on Crofts' instruction)

In Estimation of the lowest price it can be kept by ye year to keep it as it ought to be kept.

5 men 3 quarters of year of 8th 6 week - 75,0,0

9 men the winter the quarter at Ditto - 15, 0, 0

An allowance for myself wages and board-wages - 30,0,0

Load 30 dung by tho brooms, tons, Nails [?] To for wall

Thee keeping ye glass in repair gardin work pots, matts, Butts for ye house and other tools, to arduous to mention 10,0,0

£130.0.0

The Ice House Orange Tubs and Repairing the fences Excluded ie about the Grounds.

Proposals for keeping the gardens of the Right Honorable Countess of Suffolk at Marble Hill by the Year.

*I Undertake to keep of the pleasure ground about ye house **that to say Grass and Gravel wilderness quarters Trees and shrubbery**, to find all Labour, tools and materials for caring on ye same, **The Sweet Walk nursery and plantations about Montpellier Row, to keep ye tame, clean and Hansom** the nursery to be planted and kept with what cuttings, Ripe seeds our own garden and plantation will afford in there proper seasons likewise to water ye same as they require it.*

***Likewise to find all flower seeds for the borders and plantations** up, by putting in such plants as the nursery will afford in proper places where they are wanted.*

As also to leave her ladyships tools in ye same condition as ye found them.

***As likewise the kitchen garden** to find all Labour, seeds, tools, dung, materials for the same, I will bind myself to put in [?] sod of dung each year keep up ye frames and glasses for the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds per year to be paid quarterly , but all the alterations new works for my lady to handle herself, only if she thinks proper I will see them executed to her order by giving my attendance and advice to ye same as also to see her things took care of while absent, or in town at ye same as otherways when a hired servant as also if my lady wants fruit trees planted either against ye walls or in ye ground to find them herself. But every thing else that's wanting in a kitchen in there proper seasons to afford ye same.*

(NRO:nrs 8862-051)

Garden elements referenced in the 'gardening contracts'

The three papers are concentrated on three areas: the Kitchen Garden, the Sweet Walk and the Pleasure Ground.

(i) The Kitchen Garden

Much is made of supplying the house with produce and proving seeds and the use of dung.

(ii) The Sweet Walk

The aromatic plantation away from the house needed to be kept "tame, clean and handsom". This suggests the 'contract' drawn up after the area was well established.

The land on which the Sweet Walk was established only formed part of the estate from 1748. It is absent from Roque's 1754 map.

English Heritage includes an extract relating to Sweet Walk duties to establish the pleasure ground "Flower Garden" seen on the c1750 drawing in its Documentary Research Table for Garden Features:

Flower Garden/Planting

The contract for Howard's gardener includes proving flower seeds for the 'borders' and keep up the 'plantations' by putting plants from the nursery as needed.

The contract states:

The Sweet Walk nursery and plantations about Montpellier Row, to keep ye tame, clean and Hansom the nursery to be planted and kept with what cuttings, Ripe seeds our own garden and plantation will afford in there proper seasons likewise to water ye same as they require it.

It clearly relates specifically to the Sweet Walk, and is not evidence therefore of the existence of the substantial 40-ft in diameter flower garden of the “accurate survey”.

(iii) Pleasure Grounds

The only duties pertaining to the pleasure garden include keeping it secure, mowing the grass, keeping the quarters clean from weeds, rolling/cleaning the gravel walks and taking care of the greenhouse plants.

Again, this is not therefore evidence of extensive pleasure gardens, but indicative of the relatively simple landscape that LMH contends was present at Marble Hill at this time.

(iv) Wildernesses v. Quarters

The term “wilderness” associated with ‘transitional gardens’ of the 1720s is often used by EH in regard to Marble Hill. However the term “wilderness quarters” only appears once. The woodlands are more commonly referred to as “the quarters” as they are today.

The quarters are first recorded by Rocque on his map of 1754 (below: British Library):



They are strikingly similar to the park’s surviving woodland quarters. The Historic England Listing for Marble Hill Park incorrectly states:

By 1850 the pleasure grounds were known as the 'Quarters' and were the work of Jonathan Peel who planted them up as a backdrop to his rectangular formal flower garden set to the south of the mansion below the 'Quarters'

(Banks 1985).

(<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000400>)

However, as has been shown earlier, the “quarters” are referred to three times in the ‘gardening contracts’ of the 1750s/60s. Notably there is no mention of serpentine paths running through them, and the ‘irregular wilderness’ as seen on the 1750 garden drawing (below) do not resemble four “quarters”.

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/1)



Absent from the ‘gardening contracts’

It is significant that, despite gardening duties being clearly defined in the maintenance ‘contracts’, there is no mention of maintaining the following elements of EH’s “accurate survey” of its “transitional garden”:

1. the ninepin alley and its extensive surrounding planting
2. the planted palisades that border an oval lawn
3. the 40-ft wide circular flower garden
4. the serpentine paths

With respect to (2), the palisades would have been particularly high maintenance.

With respect to (3), landscape historian and leading authority in his field Mark Laird wrote in an EH-commissioned report (obtained via an FOI request) that:

The suggestion of ‘a central flower bed’ is acknowledged in the first sketch [EH’s “draft” survey]. However, the scale (up to 40 feet across) would make designing and managing a single bed quite problematic.

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/1)



This was a singularly large flowerbed (see above), supposedly in place for some 25 years at the time Thomas Ryder was drawing up a list of gardening duties. Yet there is no mention relating to its upkeep.

With respect to (4), gravel paths were commonplace in 18th century estates. It is documented that the Terrace Way, for example, had a gravel surface. The inclusion of maintenance to gravel walks is not evidence for an elaborate system of wilderness walks.

Rather, LMH would contend, the 'contracts' relate to a pleasure garden that consisted of lawn, gravel paths and wooded quarters, a productive Kitchen Garden and large aromatic plantation (the Sweet Walk) a good distance away from the garden ground.

Garden maintenance mid 1720s-1750s

Prior to Crofts' arrival post 1749 (more likely post 1761) there is but one mention of a gardener at Marble Hill the reference can be found in Swift's poem of 1727:

*Him twice a week here I expect
To rattle Moody for neglect
An idle rogue, who spends his quartridge
In tipping at the Dog and Partridge*

A neglectful drunk, if Swift is to be believed, not a gardener of great standing capable of managing an expansive "transitional garden".

3. THE 1749 COURT ROLLS AND THE RIGHT-OF-WAY DISPUTE

Court rolls from the 1749 litigation *The Countess of Suffolk v Sarah Alton and the Several* provide a comprehensive eyewitness account of the Marble Hill estate. The testimony of the defendant Sarah Alton and the complainant Howard paint an oral picture of the estate both in 1749 and in the mid 1720s, when land that comprised the estate was being purchased/ leased piecemeal by the Duke of Argyll.

The mid 1720s marks the start of this long-running right-of-way dispute and, more crucially, the exact time English Heritage state the historically significant "transitional garden" had already been laid out.

The text of the 1749 court rolls runs to approximately 50,000 words and focuses primarily on the garden ground between the house and the river.

Notably, this evidence is completely absent from English Heritage's research.

The Tract Way or 12-ft track

In the 1749 litigation, Howard was attempting to stop her neighbour, Alton, from using a right of way through her estate and sought an injunction at court.

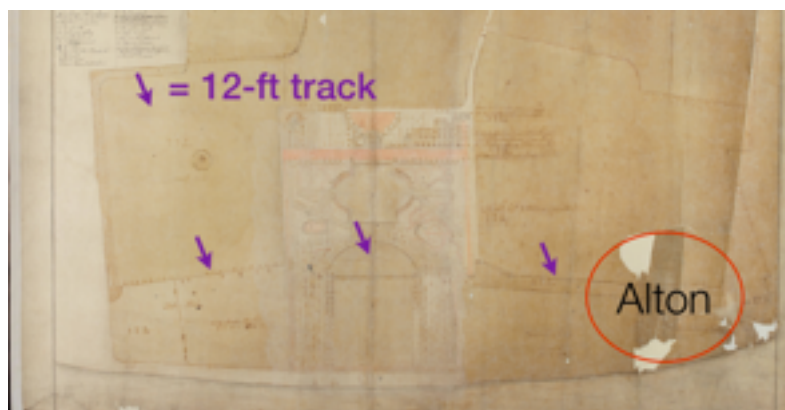
Transcripts state that when the field Marble Hill Shot was acquired by Argyll in the mid 1720s, a house was erected and Howard was "desirous to lay out some grounds for a garden."

Howard testified that she was "totally ignorant of what right or tithe the owners and proprietors of the land adjoining might have to pass over the tract way."

The neighbour, Alton, testified it "was well known to the complainant [Howard] and publicly and notoriously known that it had been time out of mind a common way for all persons."

The 'tract way' was a 12ft-wide track which ran the width of Howard's garden ground, between the house and the river. It was a continuation of Riverside, the road that to this day still runs along the riverside, from the bottom of Church Lane in Twickenham to the bottom of Orleans Road.

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/001)



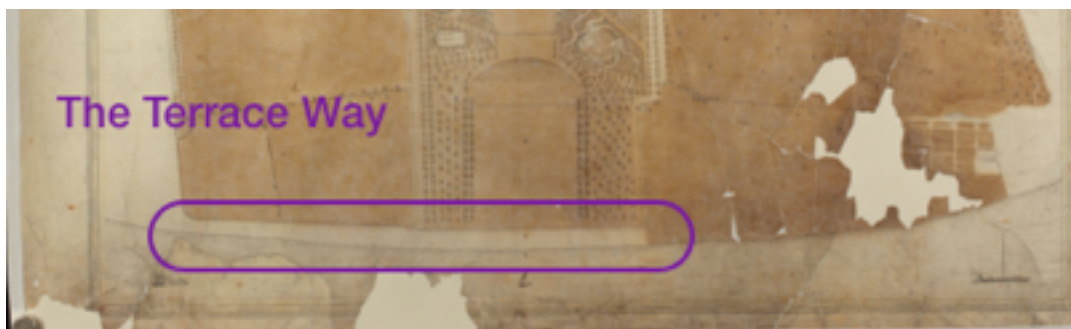
In the 1720s, it allowed carriages, wagons, livestock and pedestrians to reach the smallholdings that stood in the south east corner of the current Marble Hill Park. In 1749, the land on which these smallholdings stood did not form part of the Marble Hill estate, and would not do so until it was acquired in the 1752 by Howard's brother.

Laying out gardens before the dispute was settled would have been impossible as the track ran directly mid-way between the house and river and was used by carriages and wagons.

1726: the New Way, or Terrace Way

Howard had previously in the mid 1720s given an undertaking to construct an alternative route at the bottom of the intended garden ground along the river's edge: a "new way" or "terras way."

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/1)



The Terrace Way had to be "raised at considerable height" and at "great expense" according to Howard's 1749 testimony.

The Terrace Way was nearing completion in Spring 1726 when Captain John Gray wrote to Howard (at Court, at Leicester House) regarding the waste of large quantities of garden turf:

[...] I wish I had known soon enough that your ladyship also wanted a large quantity of turfe being some thousands spoiled by your delaying instructing your road which now almost done and next week shall begin to have it graveled (March 17th 1726, NRO: nrs 24429 001).

Captain Gray was a significant local landowner. Between 1718-1721 he built 23 houses in Montpelier Row, neighbouring Marble Hill:

Initially these were built to lease to season visitors in Twickenham. Those in Montpelier Row were for the major gentry.

(Alexander Pope's Twickenham, 1719-1744, Anthony Beckles Willson, 2018 edition)

It is to be noted that the lawn is therefore not yet laid at the estate by March 1726, at a time when EH states that the "lost transitional garden" was already implemented.

Terraces

In the 1749 litigation, Sarah Alton accused Howard of taking "the common way so that she could build terraces."

The stepped terraces are the only 'pleasure garden' feature mentioned in the 1749 court case.

Similarly, they are the only feature mentioned by Twickenham garden designer, Batty Langley, in his book of 1728 *New Principals of Gardening*:

I observe the errors in the slopes of the garden of the Honorable Mrs Howard.

(Perhaps Langley was still smarting from his garden design proposal of c.1724 having been rejected?)

Mount

There is mention of a 'mount' on the Argyll/Morris Bricklayers and Carpenters Bill of June 1725. This is the same bill that also mentions Pope's name. The bill is for labour:

for a man and day working ye pails ye mount.

(June 10th 1725 NRO: nrs 8862 057).

It can be speculated that the earth dug out for the stepped lawn terraces was used to create this new passage or "mount" – "a raised terrace at the end of the garden." (D.Jacques, *Gardens of the Court and Country*)

The undated receipt archived alongside the 1724-5 receipts also mentions the mount, more specifically the 'mount wall':

120ft of Deal Railing Cross ye Bolling Green x Stakes

Bricklayers Bill for the Mount Wall two wells & digging

£91'17'3

This is a bill for over £90, a substantial amount of money in the 1720s. This was a sizeable job that had been undertaken.

English Heritage has notably failed to understand the nature of the "mount," instead speculating that it might be for the icehouse.

Pope's role

The role Pope played in devising or laying out Marble Hill's landscape, therefore, did not extend beyond assisting Howard whilst she was away at Court. He assisted with the new track or Terrace Way, with the enclosing her estate and brokered negotiations with neighbours in relation to their use of the track and their forfeiting their rights to the old passage.

Boundary ditches

Alton testified in 1749 that the garden ground was "separate from the lands on either side of it by a hedge and ditch with large timber trees growing in the hedge groves some of which are still remaining and standing and the bank still visible."

This is further supported by an earlier dispute between her neighbour Vernon and Howard on March 15th 1726. A letter documents that Howard had planted 122 trees on Vernon's land "in the ditch meadow" in his "wheat field" and "meadow." Damages were awarded to Vernon as a result (NRO: MC3 606 – 001).

These pre-existing boundary ditches have been interpreted by EH as Bridgeman ha-ha's:

The majority of this garden area was enclosed by a ha-ha the construction of which was being overseen by Roger Morris in 1725.

(York House Society Presentation notes)

However the "hedge" was "put in 40 years ago" in 1709, according to Sarah Alton's 1749 testimony, and was sited in an ancient land boundary ditch.

The court hears that "outbuildings" were erected contemporaneously with the house on the garden ground. These are likely the "four buildings in the garden" which feature in a receipt by Roger Morris in December 1728.

English Heritage speculates that the "four buildings" included the 'icehouse seat', for which no evidence has been found other than on the c.1750 garden design proposal.

Mr Plomer and the 1739 dispute

Once the "commodious" Terrace Way was completed in spring of 1726, Howard's neighbours were able to pass through the garden ground along the river's edge with wheeled carriages and livestock, whilst still using the 12ft track as a foot passage.

In April 1738 James Ashe, tenant of a plot of the headland, died.

At this time Howard withdrew rights to the Terrace Way previously afforded to Ashe. This is documented in the court rolls and in a letter from Plomer to Pope, dated 10th August 1739:

I can not get them [the Howards] to sign a common covenant to support me in the use of the new way, as was promised to be done when we consented to the laying the old one into her garden, which my lady could not have done without our compliance.

Plomer told Pope that he would take action in the Court of Chancery and invoke the old right to the 12ft track if Howard denied him future access to the Terrace Way:

I had never parted with my property in the manner I did, was it not for the Faith and Trust I repos'd in your self.

(NRO: nrs 22976 001)

Many tenants had given up land along the river in the mid 1720s so that Howard could enclose the 12ft track and erect the new Terrace Way with the promise of free passage.

In 1739, however, Howard slowly began shutting down access to the Terrace Way as older tenants from adjoining lands died. To complete her estate running down to the river, Howard also needed to acquire key plots in the lower garden ground (the Charity Land, Crown Land and John Izard's land) which were soon to be released.

Sarah Alton's death in 1750

Following Plomer's death in 1747, Sarah Alton inherited his land. In 1749, she was accused at court of tearing down "palings" after an unsuccessful attempt at breaking the locks on the gates which prevented her from passing along the Terrace Way on 15th November 1748.

The litigation ended in early 1750 when Sarah Alton died suddenly.

A few months later, two entries appear in the Earl of Buckingham's Land Schedule document dated 18th April 1750:

Copy License to Mrs Sarah Alton to demise

and

all the land in Dole Mead owned by John Hierons having been surrendered by John Izard 1 ½ acres

(NRO: nrs 8549 019)

Howard's ownership of key land parcels was nearing completion: plots of land stretching down to the river in front of the house were being acquired and the issues regarding the right of way looked to be resolved, the main litigants having all passed away.

Unknown to Howard at this time, by the end of 1750 a further protracted dispute about the Terrace Way would be underway. A neighbouring tenant, John Fridenburg, believed "he has right to pass with carriages of all kinds, and insists upon it" (Ryder to Howard, 7 Oct 1750, 8990 049). It would take seven years to resolve this case.

Howard's estate at Marble Hill was subject to access disputes spanning over 30 years. In all of this detailed litigation, there is no mention of elaborate pleasure gardens.

4. THE TWO ESTATE DRAWINGS OF 1749 AND 1750

English Heritage's interpretation

These two almost identical drawings (one of which EH terms a "draft") are central to EH's "restoration" project as they are, according to EH, "accurate surveys." Their content underpins several elements of the "lost transitional garden" as they are the sole documentary record of certain landscape elements ever having existed.

See below for (1) the EH-termed "draft" and (2) the more finished version



(Above: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/001)



(Above: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/1)

EH gives enormous weight to the content of these two drawings. This was based on the EH theory (revised since June 2018) that they were legal documents used either in a 1752-57 litigation or as documents pertaining to a legal land transfer in 1752 when Howard signed Marble Hill over to her brother to facilitate legal matters in the right-of-way dispute with John Fridenberg.

(Just as Plomer and Alton had before him, John Fridenberg was also intent on invoking his right-of-way across Howard's garden ground. Howard would argue at court that owing to the fact Fridenberg did not own land directly on either side of garden ground then he had no right of passage, despite the fact he lived in an adjacent property. The Court case lasted from October 1751 to 1757.)

Although neither theory was supported by evidence (supporting documents from the legal case or the land transfer), both were well publicised and featured in EH's garden tours at Marble Hill, in presentations and were included in EH literature about MHR.

EH's Emily Parker wrote on The London Parks and Gardens Trust website:

It has been suggested, therefore, that the plan in the Norfolk Record Office is a survey of the estate in 1752 before the land was transferred to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, perhaps to help with the upcoming legal dispute. As a detailed

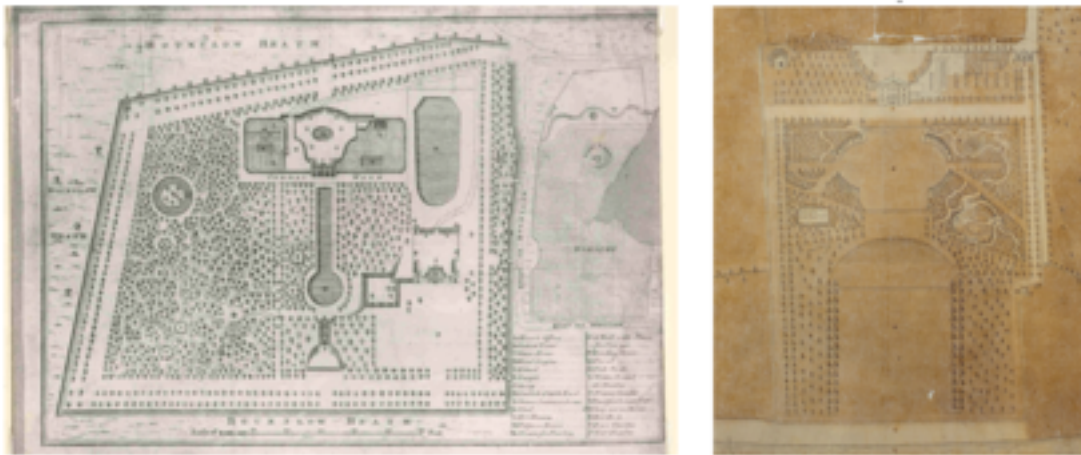
survey of the estate drawn to settle a legal dispute rather than as a proposal or projected idea, it shows exactly how the garden was laid out in around 1752.

EH has, however, recently (June 2018) revised its long-held ‘accurate survey to settle a legal dispute’ theory to one of an “estate plan”. This is as a result of LMH’s having dated the drawings to 1749 and 1750 respectively, and having confirmed the draughtsman as James Dorret (the Duke of Argyll’s valet/cartographer).

Love Marble Hill’s research findings: James Dorret and the Duke of Argyll

The two drawings of Marble Hill that EH terms “accurate surveys” have been identified by LMH as having been drawn up by the Duke of Argyll’s valet/cartographer, James Dorret:

1. There are significant stylistic similarities between the execution of the garden shown in the “surveys” and Dorret’s signed 1766 plan of Argyll’s estate at Whitton Park.



2. The paper used for the two drawings is that used by Dorret in his mapping work. (Below: National Library of Scotland)



3. On the reverse of the EH-termed 'draft' drawing are sketches of the Bay of Glenglus and the Ayrshire coastline. Dorret's Concise Map of Scotland was first published in April 1750. It had been commissioned by Argyll.

(Below: Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/002)



(Above: National Library of Scotland)

The James Dorett attribution was made by LMH. EH has accepted this authorship, but has only revised its conclusion from the drawings being "accurate surveys" to the drawings

being “accurate estate plans”. To paraphrase EH: Dorret was a surveyor not a designer, the drawing is therefore a survey and not a garden design.

It is to be noted, however, that many garden designers employed - and still do - draughtsmen.

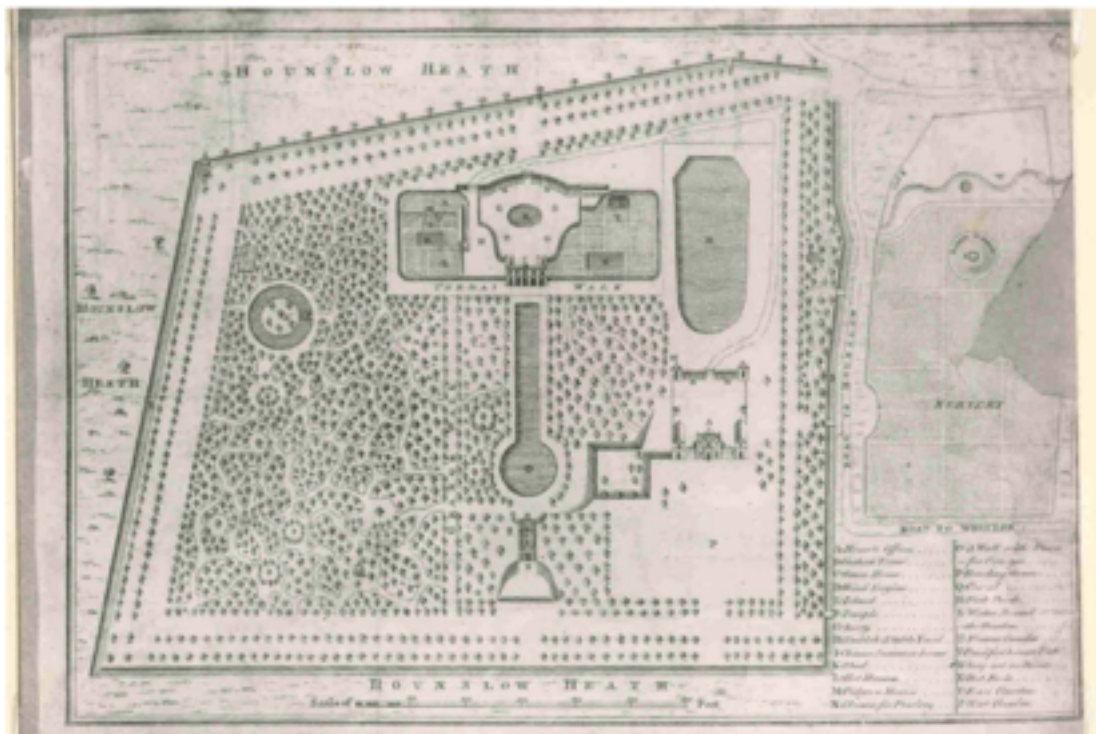
Dorret was also Argyll’s valet, his ‘personal assistant.’ Drawing up a garden design proposal on behalf of his master would have fallen within both his remit and his expertise.

English Heritage’s revised theory, June 2018: a “parting gift”

As of June 2018, EH now puts forward a revised theory based on the new dates attributed to the drawings: the more ‘finished’ drawing could have been Argyll’s “parting gift” to Howard when the estate was transferred to her name.

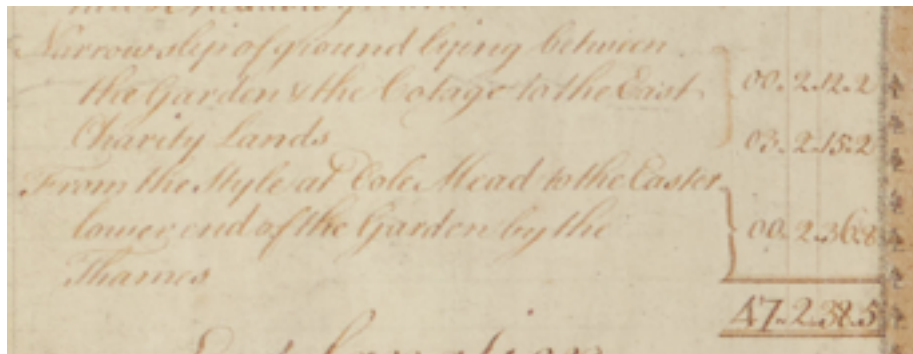
However, estate plans that might be termed “parting gifts” were typically not drawn on large sheets of cartographer’s brown tracing-like paper. This 1750 drawing is very much a ‘working document’, not an elegant gift.

An example of a formal estate plan is that of Whitton Park (see below), drawn up by the very same draughtsman, James Dorret relating to the sale of the estate on the death of Argyll in 1766. It bears no resemblance to the 1750 drawing of Marble Hill, other than in style.



Furthermore, LMH is unable to find an “estate plan” with an ‘explanation’, as is found on both the 1749 and 1750 drawings. A ‘key’, but not an ‘explanation.’ ‘Explanations’, however, can be occasionally found on garden design proposals, as their function is to explain proposed new design features.

It is notable that the Schedule of Land (see below Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/001) recorded on the c1750 garden design is 47¼ acres. This only applied to Howard's land holdings for a short period, from 8th November 1749 – 2nd October 1751.



The cartouche in the top right-hand corner of the drawing (see below Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/001) clearly states that it shows all land and enclosures belonging to The Countess of Suffolk.



When Argyll transferred the estate over to Howard on 31st March 1748, the total acreage was only 38¾ acres. If the garden design were a “parting gift” of an “estate plan” as Jacques speculated at the June 2018 historic landscape seminar/symposium, the acreage would have been incorrect.

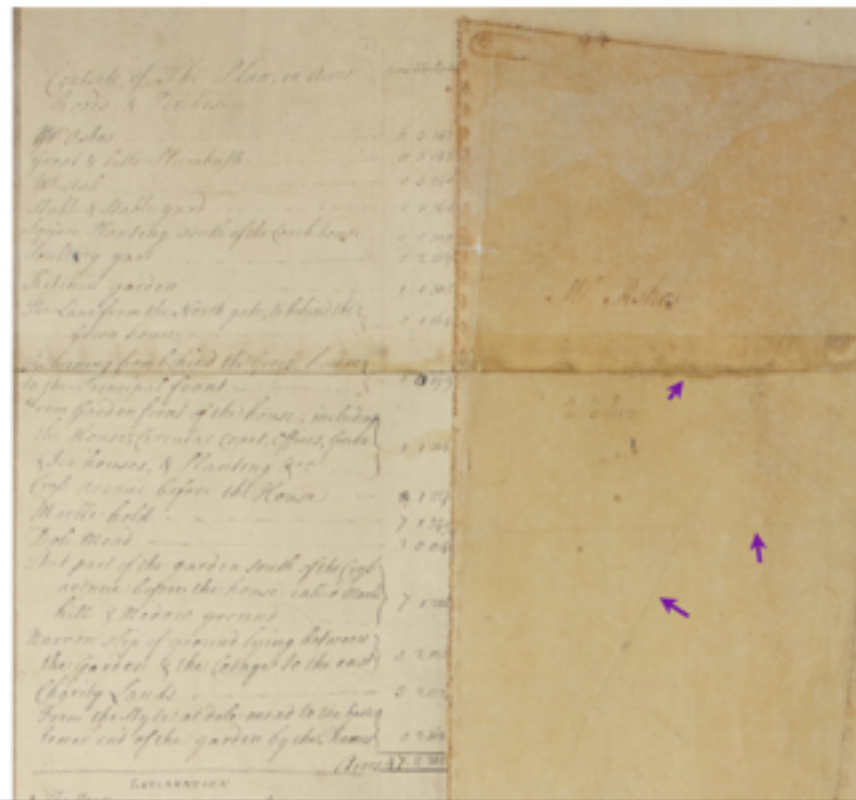
The 1749-1750 drawing: a ‘hybrid’ drawing

LMH proposes the following theory: the EH-termed “draft” drawing is in fact ‘two drawings in one.’

(i) a survey of 1749

The 1749 drawing began life as a survey - a basic land sketch of the plots that made up the Marble Hill estate, to also include some of those surrounding the estate. Its function as a survey is clear from the survey lines and other annotations (size of land parcels) present on

the drawing. These can be faintly seen, drawn on the various plots (see below. Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/001).



This survey was prepared in 1749 by James Dorret, no doubt on Argyll's instructions, for the court case of the same year in which Howard was involved: *The Countess of Suffolk v Sarah Alton and the Several*.

A January 1750 signed letter from a member of Howard's legal team, Thomas Ryder, details the return of the survey to Howard:

Lincoln's Inn 4th January 1750,

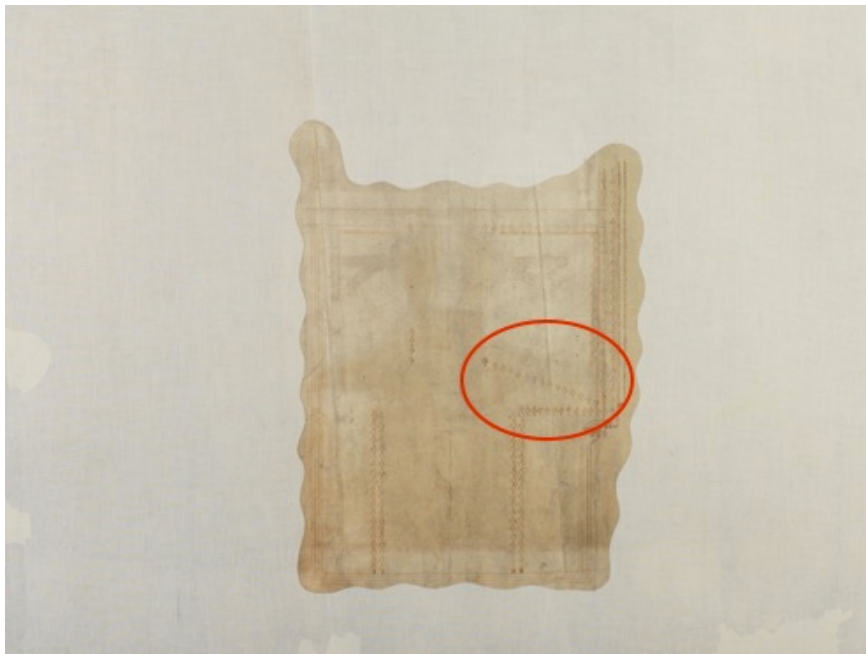
Pursuant to your ladyship's request I now send a list of the jury who tried this case and also lists of witnesses examined on both sides together with your original sketch of your ground plot. Which was drawn out by your ladyship.

(NRO: nrs 8899 048)

LMH proposes that this accurate land plot survey was then used as a 'template' on which the Duke of Argyll worked out ideas for a garden design proposal for Marble Hill.

(ii) a draft garden design proposal of 1750

On the reverse of the land plot survey are sketches drawn by Argyll's valet/cartographer: alongside sketches of the Bay of Glenglus and Ayrshire coastline (no doubt draft sketches related to his 1750 Concise Map of Scotland) is what appears to be a 'working out' of a feature of the pleasure garden design (below Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/002).



On the main side, the central section of this hybrid 1749 land plot survey/1750 garden design proposal - where EH's "lost transitional garden" is depicted - also has a much lighter background colour than the rest of the drawing. It would appear that whatever was originally drawn in this area (likely a basic land plot sketch) had been 'erased' so that a 'draft' garden design proposal could be drawn up. (Below Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/2/001)



This was being drawn up in early 1750, when Howard wrongly thought that the right of way dispute had ended with the death of the defendant Sarah Alton. At this time, Howard had also purchased an important plot of lower garden ground.

The 1750 drawing: a 'master' copy

A 'master' copy was then produced.

This garden design proposal showed existing garden features (for example, the grotto and the icehouse).

However, it was also suggesting the addition of several new ones, amongst them: the palisades, the nine-pin alley, the more extensive tree planting down to the river, the 40-ft wide flower garden bed, the sinuous paths around the existing grotto, the ice-house seat, the beehouses and large irregular wildernesses.

No estate papers, written accounts, letters or pictorial evidence indicate that any of these new design elements listed above (with the exception of the beehouses, see below for more details) were ever implemented.

EH has repeatedly focused on the idea that the garden design is an "accurate survey" because it includes a Land Schedule Table with exact measurements.

It is notable, however, that only features with known provenance appear in the table, for example, the Kitchen Garden, Greenhouse and offices.

Measurements are omitted from many features included in the "explanation." This is because they were proposed ideas and not on the ground to be measured.

All the evidence, LMH contends, points towards the pleasure garden as shown on these drawings being a garden design proposal of 1750.

5. THE AUGUSTIN HECKEL DRAWING OF 1749

In 1749, the respected local artist Augustin Heckel, well known for his depiction of topographical scenes, drew the only known image of Marble Hill contemporary to Howard's ownership of the estate: *A View of Marble Hill*.

Heckel drew a very simple landscape, with trees and stepped terraces (see below Richmond Borough Art Collection).



However, what is particularly notable about his drawing is the inclusion of figures mid-way between the house and river: they appear to be walking along the 12-foot track.



The testimony of defendant Alton and complainant Howard corroborate what Augustin Heckel committed to canvas in his *A View of Marble Hill*, drawn while these very court proceedings were underway.

LMH commissioned a computer generated image of Heckel's drawing (see below), with the tree avenues plotted according to EH's 1750 "accurate survey."



The view of the house is clearly different, with the rows of trees considerably narrowing the panoramic open vista.

EH consultant landscape historian David Jacques, June 2018, EH Landscape history seminar/symposium:

What he [Heckel] apparently shows is that the plantations are stepped, but I think that's not quite right, because if you look at the 1750 plan. [...] Why Heckel did it like that I'm really not quite sure. [...] There are problems with the Heckel drawing.

LMH would contend that the problem does not lie with Heckel. Rather it lies with EH's insistence on the 1749 and 1750 drawings being "accurate".

6. THE BRETTINGHAM RECEIPTS OF 1750-1

In 1750, the architect Matthew Brettingham was brought in to make substantial alterations to the house. Working alongside Brettingham was Argyll's carpenter, Charles Ross.

No fewer than 226 major and minor works took place between 1750-1 (NRO: 8862 006-13).

This marked a new era for Howard. Marble Hill was now her primary residence, and apart from the addition in 1739 of the China Room (a two-story cottage to the east of the house), the house itself had been left largely untouched since its completion in 1729.

Also, in early 1750, with the death of Sarah Alton, it was looking like the right of way dispute had finally been resolved. In addition, Howard had recently acquired a significant plot of garden ground. It was during this period of activity and change that Argyll drew up his garden design proposal of 1750.

The addition of dormer windows and the removal of balconies

Significant changes are made to the south side of the house facing the river:

(i) Dormer windows were added to the servant quarters in the roof:

4 windows in the attick in room [...] shoring up head of windows in attick story and fixing dead shores and lintels in the walls

These dormer windows are not present on either Augustin Heckel's 1749 drawing or the 1750 'master' plan.

(ii) the 'Juliet' balconies to the 2nd floor two flanking windows were removed:

3½ days work pulling quarters all round the windows behind the architraves [...] filling up windows and sashes

Julius Bryan writes in the *EH Marble Hill Guide Book* (2002):

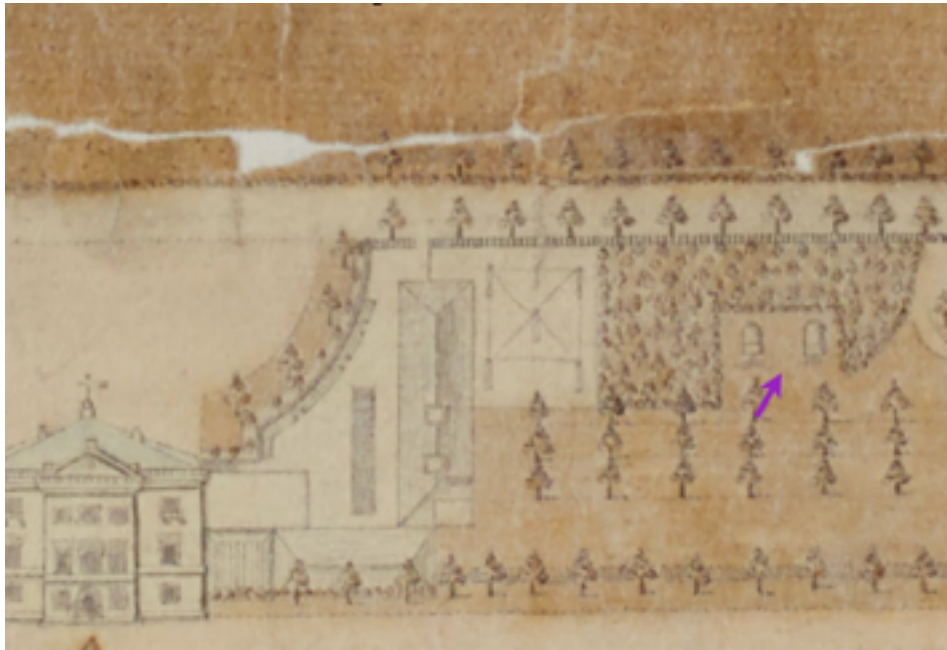
An engraving of 1749 [Heckel] reveals that the windows on the river front opened onto a balcony, unlike in Campbell's published design, from which one could enjoy a view of the Thames and Richmond Hill. This was removed in 1750 when the full-length window was reduced to a square.

On the 1750 drawing, these balconies are shown still in place. They can also be seen on the 1749 Augustin Heckel drawing. (See both images below.)



Beehouses

Two beehouses (beehives) are shown on the 1750 garden design proposal (see below Norfolk Record Office NRO MC184/10/01), located in a relatively prominent position east of the house.



The middle decades of the 1700s saw great advances in the art of beekeeping. As already mentioned, Argyll was a founding member of the Scottish Improvers Society, a group dedicated to the scientific progress of agriculture techniques.

Argyll would have therefore in all probability been aware of the new developments, coming mainly from continental Europe, which allowed bees to be preserved when harvesting the honey. Prior to this, each bee colony was destroyed at harvest time, along with the queen.

Beehives of this new 'continental' design would have been an up-to-date 'scientific' addition to his garden design proposal drawn up for Howard. Howard is also on record as always having displayed keen interest in her estate 'produce.'

Beehives are drawn on Argyll's 1750 garden proposal yet the materials needed to build them only appear in estate papers two years later in October 1752:

*21st October Materials for the beehouses
(NRO: nrs 8862 040)*

Prior to this date, there had been no mention of beehives or honey in any of the detailed 'produce' accounts for the estate.

Yet these hives are shown in place on the so-called "accurate survey" of 1750, in spite of the fact that the beehouses and the second floor balconies never coexisted.

This undermines EH's assertion that the 1750 drawing is an "accurate survey."

The house as it was in early 1750 is accurately represented, complete with its balconies. However, the gardens are not accurately represented - the beehouses, LMH contends, formed part of Argyll's garden design proposal, and were not put in place (in an unspecified location on the estate) until over two years later, in October 1752.

7. VISITOR ACCOUNTS FROM THE 1760s

Two written accounts of Howard's garden were published in the 1760s.

(i) **Joel-Henrietta Pye** *A Short Account of the Principal Seats and Gardens in and about Twickenham* was the first guide book to Twickenham. It was written by Joel-Henrietta Pye and published in 1760. In it, she wrote:

Is most properly stiled Marble Hill, for such it resembles, in a fine green lawn, open to the River, adorned on each side by a beautiful Grove of Chestnut Trees; the House is as white as Snow, a small building without wings, but of a most pleasing Appearance; the Garden is very pleasant; there is an Alley of flowering shrubs, which leads with an easy Descent down to a very fine Grotto, there is also a smaller Grotto from whence there is a fine view of Richmond Hill.

Pye has clearly walked the grounds. Yet there is no mention of multiple serpentine paths, a ninepin alley, an oval lawn surrounded by 10-ft palisades or a 40ft in diameter flower garden.

This is in complete contrast to Pye's detailed descriptions of Twickenham Houses, for example, Radnor House and Pope's Villa.

Pye's lack of detail is indicative of a simple landscape - "the Garden is very pleasant" was her response to her surroundings. No other detail (palisades, a 40-foot in diameter flower garden, a nine-pin alley, an orchard complete with beehouses) was given as there was no other detail to be given.

Significantly, Pye's description of the Grotto does not reflect the layout of the area as shown on the 1750 drawing. It is to be noted that the archeological fieldworks did not find anything to indicate the presence of the serpentine paths as shown on the drawing either.

It is also significant that Pye describes the house as being "open to the River". As Bamber Gascoigne and Jonathon Ditchburn write in the introduction to their 1981 book *Images of Twickenham*:

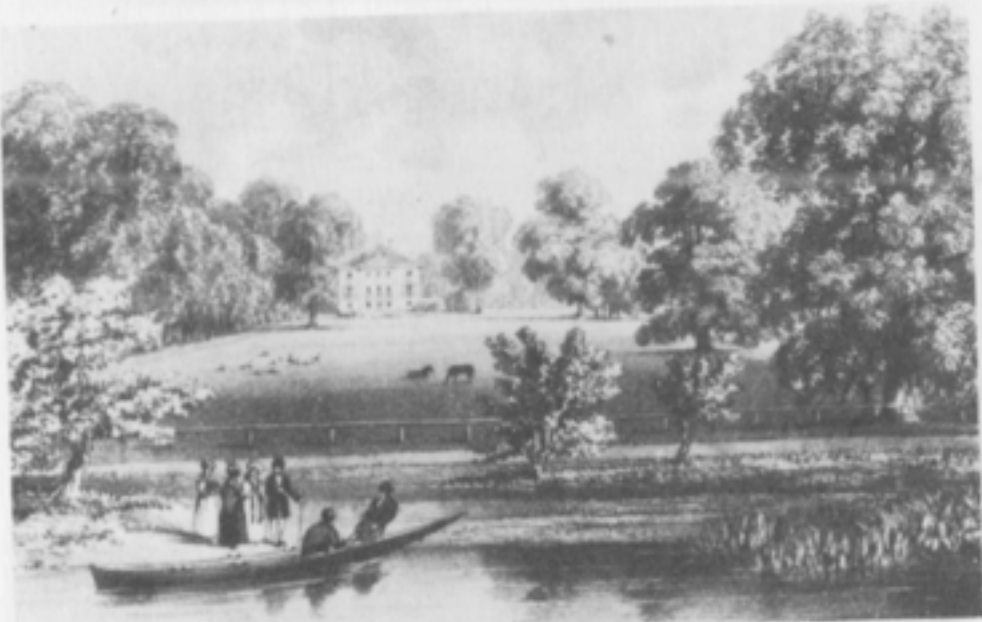
The Twickenham houses which gave such a sense of satisfaction to observers and owners alike have always been best seen from the river - not surprisingly, since they themselves had been placed so as to see the river.

The planting of groves as shown on the 1750 drawing would have narrowed this view. In this respect, as in others, Pye's 1760 description tallies with the Heckel's 1749 drawing.

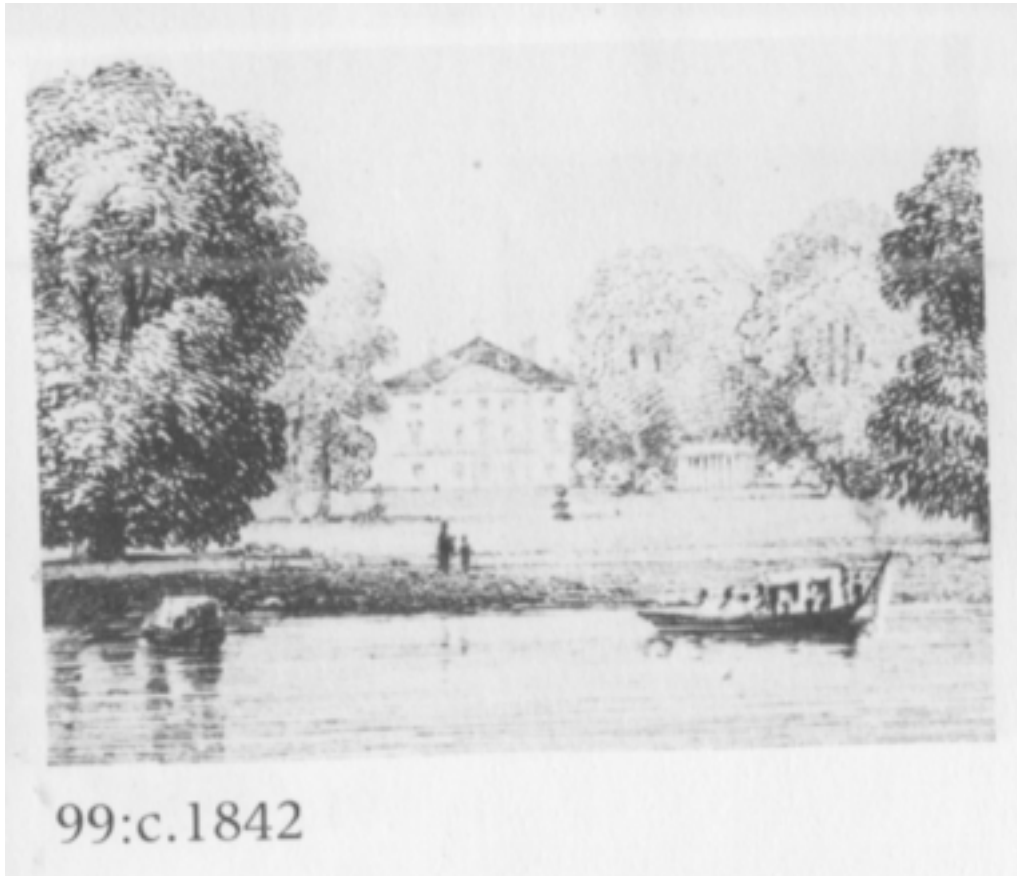
Pye's description also tallies with images from the early 19th century (as shown in the 'Gallery' section of *Images of Twickenham*):



96:1815



98:1837



(ii) **Anonymous** An unattributed description from a Thames River Tour, from 1764 stated:

But among all the Villas of this neighbourhood, Lady Suffolk's, wh we sail past, on the left, a little below Twickenham, makes the best appearance from the river. It stands in a woody recess, with fine lawn descending to the water, & adorned with wood well-disposed...

Again, there is no mention of the extensive garden features drawn on the 1750 EH-termed “accurate survey”. At the very least, the 10ft-tall ‘palisades’ surrounding the ‘oval lawn’ would have been visible from the river.

8. A POEM OF 1764

Mark Laird’s ‘Historic Planting Analysis’ report: “minimal archival evidence”

English Heritage commissioned a report (*Marble Hill Historic Planting Analysis*, November 2016, obtained via an FOI request) from Garden Historian and Historic Landscape Consultant Mark Laird.

Laird was tasked with creating a ‘planting list’ for Marble Hill. This is took place in the context of what Laird terms “the very minimal archival evidence of what was planted in Henrietta Howard’s pleasure ground.”

In comparison with other historic locations “where site and archival evidence offered ample proof of a particular planting style”, providing such a list for the ‘restoration’ at Marble Hill proved particularly challenging:

At Marble Hill, by comparison, there is not even minimal data from which to generate a conjectural palette based on a generic list.

LMH would contend that there is “minimal data” because in reality there was ‘minimal planting’, as borne out by the garden maintenance ‘contracts’ dated to post 1749.

“Conjectural planting”

In his introduction, Laird further highlights the lack of data:

Because an analysis of site-specific and analogous data for ornamental plantings at Marble Hill contends with such speculative frameworks [due to the absence of documentation], it proves impossible to reach a conclusive ‘design intent’. The search for analogies needs to be framed more broadly. Rather than confining the search to the 1720s - as part of the effort ‘to reinterpret and rediscover the lost landscape designs of Charles Bridgeman and Alexander Pope’ - it makes sense to go beyond the 1720s and beyond these two designers as agents [...] It becomes ‘evocation’ in lieu of restoration.

This can be achieved, Laird feels, “by developing an innovative approach to conjectural planting.”

There is a 1764 poem entitled *Marble-Hill* by Anna Chamber, Countess Temple.

English Heritage has referenced this poem as an example that demonstrates how the pleasure gardens were extensively planted. In contrast, Laird characterises it as “tenuous evidence.”

In it, Chamber describes the area surrounding the grotto.

It is to be noted that, as with the 1760 Pye account, this is the only area of the supposedly elaborately laid out ‘pleasure gardens’ to be described.

In her poem, Chamber describes ravens flocking to Marble Hill to celebrate May Day. Laird analyses her poem:

While reference to roses, jasmines and lilacs seems to allude to an intermixture of flowering shrubs with evergreens, it is unlikely these were all actually blooming on May Day. (Could they have been grown, perhaps, in tubs in the greenhouse for separate display?) Is this poetic license or a fanciful displacement of time or place? Does the May-Day enamel ring true? Or is it equally fanciful?

Such conundrums require a degree of conjectural imagining [...].

Palisades, the grotto, flower gardens and “conjectural imagining”

Laird’s report encounters a similar lack of evidence throughout.

The palisades:

It is not clear on the c.1752 plan whether the hedges were high palisades or a “Dwarf Yew Hedge” or of hornbeam. Whether the under-plantings were all evergreens or all deciduous, or alternatively ‘intermixed’, is also unclear.

The grotto:

Without detailed data on the structure of the grotto, and lacking precise topographical information, it has only proved possible to sketch out the rudiments of an idea. For example, in the [...] report by Historic England, the section entitled 'The Pleasure Grounds' points to degrees of uncertainty in relating the c.1752 plan to current conditions:

['The Grotto'] is shown with an east facing entrance with curving flanking walls to the west of the actual grotto location, approached from the east by a slightly curving, apparently edged path through a circular feature. It is likely that the grotto was rather awkward to depict and its apparent displacement the result of trying to represent it clearly.

The flower gardens:

The report by Historic England points to some uncertainties in this area:

According to the maps, the area [...] was known as 'The Flower Garden' and a slightly more densely shaded area in the centre may indicate a central flower bed amidst shrub planting. This had sinuous paths around it that were [...] probably surfaced. It is just possible that some of the scarps recorded, or some of the gaps between features, related to these paths, but the whole area was very disturbed so this was difficult to demonstrate.

[...] the scale (up to 40 feet across) would make designing and managing a single bed quite problematic.

The "conjectural imaginings" necessary to 'restore' EH's "lost transitional garden" are contrary to its own definition of 'restoration':

Definition: Restoration

To return a place to a known earlier state, on the basis of compelling evidence, without conjecture.

(p72, Conservation Principles, English Heritage 2008)

As Mark Laird states:

[...] any strict 'restoration' is not an option, since even a 'conjectural reconstruction' of the original plantings seems elusive.

9. MAPS AND SURVEYS

(i) John Rocque (1746, 1754)

John Rocque (c.1709-1762) was the foremost cartographer of the period. His brother was a landscape gardener and, as a young man, Rocque assisted his brother in drawing up garden designs. He initially called himself a 'drawer of gardens' or Land Surveyor, and his first published work was a survey of Richmond House and its gardens, published in 1734.

However, he is best known for his Map of London, a 10-year project published in 1746. The map has been described as the most detailed and accurate map of 18th-century London

ever produced, and in 1751 Rocque was appointed cartographer to Frederick, Prince of Wales. His pioneering methods were to have a lasting influence on map-makers.

In addition to the map of central London, a separate map of the “Country Near Ten Miles Round” was also published in 1746.

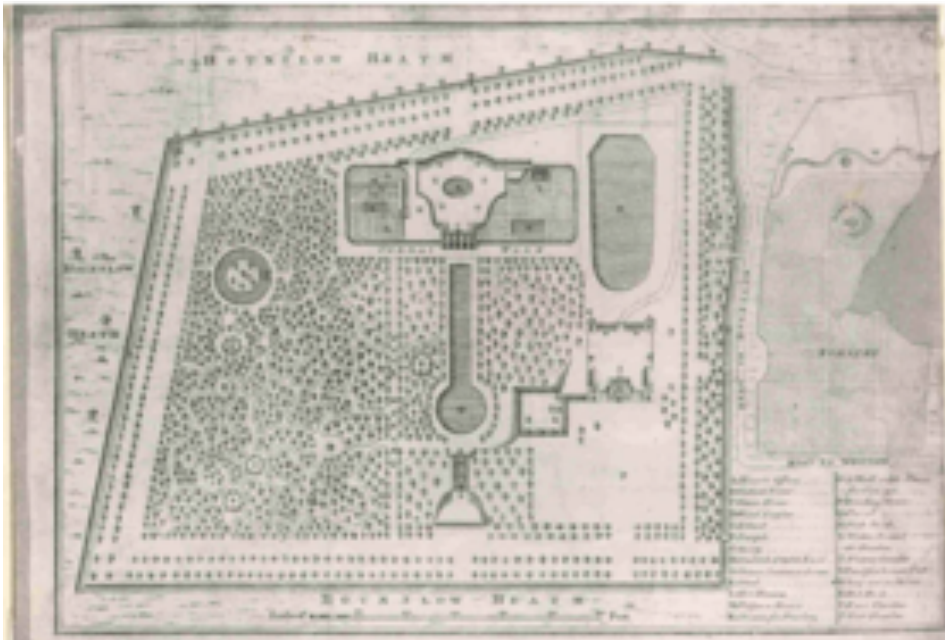
Marble Hill is shown on this “Country” map of 1746 (see below British Library).



Argyll's estates at Whitton Park (left) and Whitton Dean (right) are also shown (see below British Library)



Rocque's survey of Whitton Park (1746) and Dorret's estate plan of Whitton Park (1766) both show the estate in great detail. (See below for Dorret's estate plan of Whitton Park)



Note, however, the simple arrangement of trees at Marble Hill depicted in 1746. Key features of the ‘garden of the ancients’ that EH contends would have been laid out for almost two decades at this stage are notably absent.

EH argue Howard was a private individual who would not have welcomed her estate being surveyed and that she likely did not subscribe to Rocque’s maps and therefore Marble Hill would not have been included. No evidence is presented to support either theory.

In 1754 Rocque updated his survey of Marble Hill (see below British Library):



For the first time a garden form was clearly recorded. Note that the Sweet Walk (top left-hand corner of the estate) has not yet been established.

However, the “Quarters” can be seen and Rocque has included the Terrace Way, trees and the sizeable kitchen garden. These are all features the existence of which are supported by multiple primary source evidence.

Features depicted on the c.1750 garden design proposal (EH's "accurate survey") that are missing on the 1754 Rocque include:

1. the oval lawn to the south of the house
2. the hippodrome – an intrinsic feature associated with Castell's gardens of the ancients
3. Marble Hole (the large octagonal feature west of the house)
4. planted palisades
5. the ninepin alley
6. serpentine paths
7. the large flower garden
8. the icehouse seat
9. wildernesses

(ii) C. J. Sauthier (1786)

A map of the Manor of Isleworth-Sion in the County of Middlesex belonging to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland (1786-87) Collection of the Duke of Northumberland:



Again, two decades after Howard's death, there are significant discrepancies with respect to the c1750 drawing. Missing features include:

1. similar tree lines
2. the hippodrome lawn
3. the oval 'bowling green'
4. the orchard east of the house
5. the 40ft circular flower bed
6. serpentine gravel paths as well as major parameter paths
7. the wildernesses

The Terrace Way, Sweet Walk, kitchen garden and woodland quarters do feature. These all have known provenance.

LAND ACQUISITION

The multiple fields involved, several of which were also in multiple ownership and/or subtenanted (there were over a dozen copyhold tenants and freeholders with an interest in the area) complicated the land acquisition.

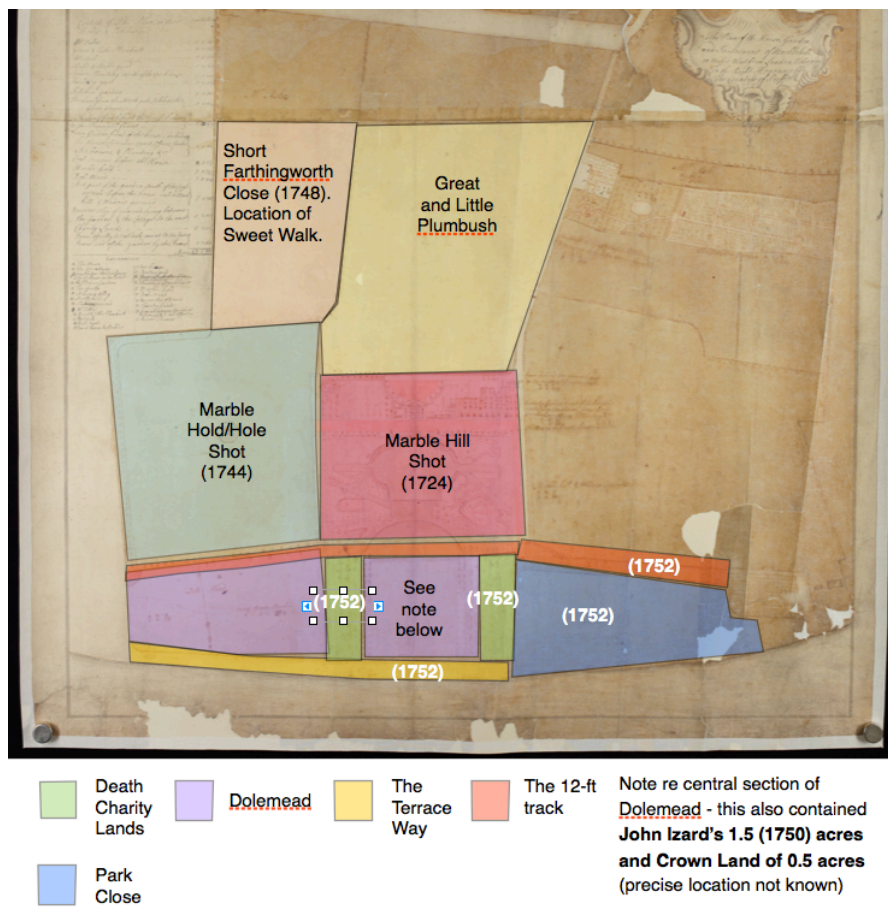
Landscape Investigations Report, M. Alexander, Historic England

There are many anomalies in the *Summary of Land Assembly* document authored by David Jacques and relied on by EH for its research.

While most of the land acquisition entries appear with a corresponding Manor Court Book reference (a legal record of land obtained), important plots essential to the development of Howard's 'pleasure garden' do not.

Further to this, at least one entry made by Jacques with a corresponding Manor Court Book reference does not tally with Howard's own detailed land documents.

See below for a rough schematic of land parcels and acquisition dates, according to *The Schedule of Writings: Relating to the Freehold, Copyhold and Leasehold Estate of the Late Countess of Suffolk at Marble Hill and Marble Hill Deeds 1752 plan.*



Dr David Jacques's *Summary of Land Assembly*

*25 Nov 1743 – George Berkeley [Howard's second husband] admitted to 11 ¼ acres in Plumbush Shot surrendered by Annabella and Matilda Vernon which immediately surrendered to himself and the Countess of Suffolk; he was enabled to lay the lane into Plumbush
[Court Book L 28, March 1744]*

However, *The Schedule of Writings: Relating to the Freehold, Copyhold and Leasehold Estate of the Late Countess of Suffolk at Marble Hill* paper states:

*20th March 1744 – Copy admission of George Berkeley and The Countess of Suffolk – To Hior 7 acres of customary land lying in Plumbush Shot
And also those 5 ½ acres of land lying in a certain shot called Marble Hole, late lands of Daniel Redford
And also that ½ acre in Plumbush afterwards
And also all those 7 acres of customary Lands in Marble Hole
And also All other customary lands and tenements in the said Shotts of Annabella and Matilda Vernon on their surrender*

(8549 019/20)

Howard's estate paper, including a detailed breakdown of leases/copyhold land titles, contradicts Jacques' *Summary of Land Assembly* document.

The document shows that Howard took ownership of just 7½ acres in Plumbush Shot in 1744, not 11 ¼ acres as Jacques states.

The estate paper also reveals that the Vernon sisters (Matilda and Annabella) at this time also surrendered a further 12½ acres in Marble Hole Shot in 1744.

This is especially significant as Marble Hole Shot is central to the possible Pope/Bridgeman/Langley garden design proposal of c.1724. The land according to the estate paper was not in Howard's ownership until 20 years later.

The entry also provides clues as to the planting of the 122 trees on Vernon's land for which Thomas Vernon was awarded damages in the mid 1720s.

A letter from neighbour Captain Gray to Howard of March 15th 1725 outlined the damages.

John Singer and John Heirons (farmers from Twickenham) "have made a diligent, careful survey of the damage down to the land of Thomas Vernon". They took an oath that:

*the said damage amounts to no more than is specified as followeth, **that is to say by the planting every tree in the wheat field** the ground is damaged two pence each tree and there being forty eight in all amounts to eight shillings of damage done by thou planted in **the ditch and meadow** is by every single tree a penny each of which said tree these being seventy four in all the damage done by them come to six shillings and two pence, so that ye said damage done by all the trees as mentioned both in the wheat field and meadow amounts in all and every part fourteen shillings and two pence in witness thereof*

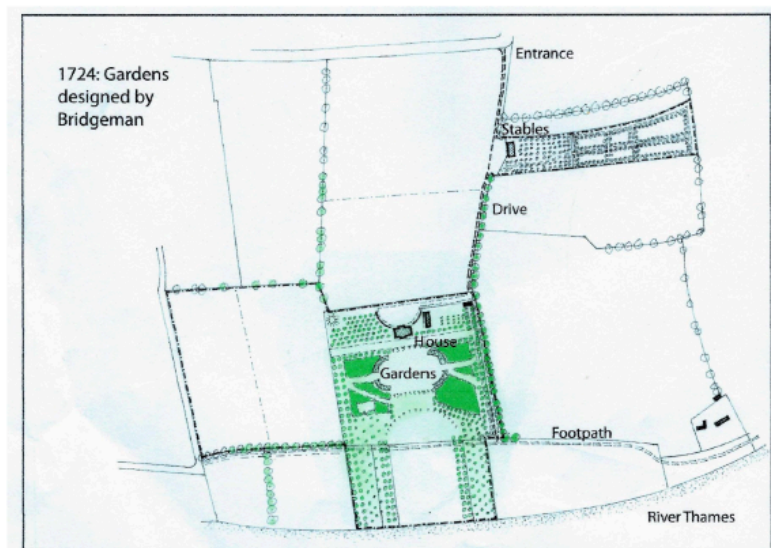
Marble Hole Shot sat adjacent to Marble Hill Shot (garden ground). It is likely that the majority of the trees were planted in a north/south line, from the icehouse down towards the river (see below).



In doing so, they ran along the boundary between of Marble Hill Shot and Marble Hole Shot. However, they extended into Marble Hole Shot, going into the “wheat field” and “ditch and meadow” Howard had to be pay damages accordingly.

This logic supports Howard’s desire to enclose her estate. There is no evidence to suggest the trees planted correlate to the tree avenues and groves seen on the 1750 drawing as is suggested by landscape historian and consultant on *Marble Hill Revived* David Jacques on his much-shown drawing (see below).

Marble Hill in 1724



The above discrepancies compound further misunderstandings regarding the narrative of the day. Jacques incorrectly states that the 11¼ acres purchased in Plumbush (actually 7½ acres) “enabled” Berkeley (Howard’s husband) to “lay the lane into Plumbush”. Jacques attempts to solve the problem of the right-of-way by speculating that it was re-routed away from garden ground in around 1744. It was not.

Court rolls, letters and surveys explicitly detail both rights-of-way running through garden ground, and the Terrace Way is clearly seen on Rocque’s maps of 1746 (below left) and 1754 (below right).



There is nothing to support Jacques conjectural theory and the error directly relates to the absence of the Court Rolls of 1749 from EH’s research.

Additionally, the estate paper states that the Vernon family surrendered “all other” “customary lands” in 1744. The important Crown Land which comprised important lower garden ground was likely released to Howard at this time as there appears to be no prior transactional record of it, along with the adjacent plot of Charity Land. (8549 020)

The Vernon family shared a lengthy lease on the Crown Land which was under sanction of an Act of Parliament with the “strongest security” as was noted in a letter by lawyer Mr Hudgens in 1727. The letter states that Howard had a sub-lease/sub-sub-lease and it was due to expire in 1732. (8549 019/026/8862 043)

A further entry in Jacques’ land document appears to be speculative:

c1745 The Countess of Suffolk must have taken a lease on Foot’s Dolemead 3¼ acres

The entry appears without a Manor Court Book reference and fails to evidence the acquisition of important garden ground which appears on the c1750 garden design in Howard’s schedule of land table.

An important land acquisition was admitted soon after on the 18th April 1750 for a plot of garden ground belonging to John Izard:

Copy of admission of the Countess of Suffolk to All that 1 ½ acres of land in Dolemead then in the occupation of John Heirons on the surrender out of court of John Izard and to the use of her will.
(8549 020)

The land entries detailed in Howard’s *Schedule of Writings* contradict English Heritage’s narrative of a “pleasure garden” being set out in the mid 1720s. The 12ft track was still regularly used as a foot passage (see Heckel drawing) until 1749 at least and Howard was bound by the terms of her Charity Land lease to keep unrestricted access to Terrace Way (Sarah Alton testimony, Court Rolls of 1749) otherwise Howard risked forfeiting her lease. (NRO: nrs 8549 016/21)

When Howard finally took control of various lower garden plots and Izard’s lower garden ground in April 1750, the protracted land dispute looked to be finally resolved. Yet despite important acquisitions a further problem stood in Howard’s way – she needed to take ownership of “the ways” (right-of-ways), Death Charity Land and Park Close.

The process began after the death of Sarah Alton, the defendant in the 1749 court case, when Alton’s son George surrendered crucial land to The Earl of Buckingham (Howard’s brother) on 2nd October 1751. (8549018)

Soon after (January 1752), Buckingham acquired plots in Park Close and Dolemead (namely the Death Charity lands situated in the lower garden ground), including the Terrace Way:

10th January 1752, All that piece of ground in Dolemead containing in length 19 Rods and in Breadth 3 Rods and 7 feet. And all that other piece of ground in Dolemead containing in length 19 rods and in Breadth 3 Rods 7 Feet And All Ways.
(8549 020)

See below for a Jan 1752 Deed Plan (annotations LMH) to accompany the aforementioned transaction.



LMH contends that in early 1750 Howard had acquired essential land which would enable her to start withdrawing access to the right-of ways, allowing consideration of the possibility of installing a 'garden of the ancients', befitting her Palladian villa.

It was at precisely this time that a garden design proposal was drawn up by Argyll, the basic land plot sketch used at court having recently been returned to her in early 1750.

However, this 'plan' was to prove somewhat premature. When the new tenant John Fridenberg moved into the dwelling house to the east of the 'garden ground', he then sought to invoke his own passage rights just as Alton and Plomer had done previously. An injunction was served against Fridenberg in on 28th October 1751.

EH's interpretation of evidence regarding the contested land and the right of way

Presentation notes obtained under Freedom of Information from English Heritage's Marble Hill Revived 2017 'seminar' (attended by several heritage Trusts) provides a strong indication that the narrative played out at the estate during the mid 1720s has been largely misunderstood by EH:

The essentials of the garden layout shown on the c.1752 survey plan (see below) are compatible with later detailed surveys, and, bearing in mind that it was prepared for legal reasons, it can be accepted as a survey of the garden as it actually was at that date. [...]

The layout is strongly suggestive of garden design in the 1720s. Most probably, then, it recorded the scheme implemented following Bridgeman's design. [...]

It is known that the walks were planted down to the river's edge in the planting season of 1724/5, because in March 1724/5 an assessment was made of the damage to land leased from Vernon by the planting of trees across it. [...]

The right of way needed to be accommodated within Marble Hill Shot, so a narrow track was formalised round the back of the greenhouse, close under the boundary trees and down to Park Close where it was gated.[...]

Inside this track was the boundary of the gardens, perhaps a hedge, and inside that was a tree-lined walk running south from the greenhouse, and probably intended to extend to the riverside. [...]

*This walk was the eastern termination of the Great Terrace, a 30 foot wide gravel walk across the garden front of the house. At the other end of the Great Terrace was a tree-lined and grassed walk, also running to the river's edge.
(Jacques, D. Design History of Marble Hill, PDF)*

Further to this, in *Gardens of Court and Country*, based on Jacques's interpretation of entries in Manor Court Book, he writes:

*In September 1724 Illay [Argyll] arranged for further land to extend the design to the river's edge
(pg.254)*

This is also incorrect. The garden could not extend to the river's edge until the 1750s as the lower garden ground was obstructed by the Terrace Way, as evidenced in Court Rolls of

1749 and a letter written by John Gray in 1726. The pleasure garden of the mid 1720s, as Jacques/EH perceives it and presents it to audiences, would have been impossible to implement.

Such errors run throughout English Heritage's research and have resulted in inaccurate conclusions.

Further, Howard had not acquired essential plots of garden ground at this time, and planted trees on Vernon's land instead, in "the ditch meadow" and the "wheat field". This is confirmed by a letter outlining the damage done in 1726. However, in its documentary research paper EH mistakenly states:

Groves/Avenues to River - In 1725 Henrietta received complaints for the 122 trees she had planted in the lower end of the garden near the river, relating to the new avenues and groves that created the layout of the lower terrace.

ARCHEOLOGY

The weight given to the two estate drawings of 1749 and 1750, based on the assurances from English Heritage as to their accuracy, has led, in our opinion, to an interpretation by Historic England of the archeological findings that has been 'tailored' (whether consciously or unconsciously) to fit the "survey".

This is completely understandable - the archeologists were told they had an "accurate survey" as their guide.

Rationale for interpreting fieldworks

Via an FOI request, LMH obtained a Draft Copy of the 'Landscape Investigations' report.

An early sentence present in the Draft but omitted from the final report:

If we accept the approximate date and accuracy of these plans [the 1749 and 1750 drawings], and there seems to be no reason not to [...]

This clearly lays out the premise that governed any interpretation of archeological findings: there is a plan, it is an accurate plan, any anomalies that correspond to the plan confirm the accuracy of the plan, any anomalies that don't therefore relate to a period either before c. 1724 or after c.1752.

The importance of the accuracy of these plans to the landscape "restoration" aspect of *Marble Hill Revived* cannot be understated:

p.28 [...] the first reliable and detailed evidence for the layout of the grounds is from the draft and the map of about 1752, about 25 years after the first gardens were created.

This is re-emphasised in the conclusion to the Landscape Investigations report:

p.179. In relation to the current English Heritage project these are the key plans of Marble Hill House and its grounds and are to be used as the basis of the reconstruction of the 18th-century gardens.

“A huge range of features”

The Summary and the Introduction state:

Summary

The project has [...] confirmed the accuracy of the plan of about 1752.

Introduction

p1. The project has served to accurately identify and locate a huge range of features [...].

The landscape investigations have indeed located “a huge range of features”.

LMH, however, is questioning the rationale that has governed the interpretation of many of these “features”: anomalies that corresponded approximately to features shown on the “survey” have been interpreted as confirmation of the presence of that feature, whilst anomalies present in “featureless” areas of the “survey” have been left unexplained.

An example of this would be the location of the second grotto. This is not shown on the “survey”, but there is documentary evidence that indicates it existed.

p25. Although the geophysical survey suggested several other locations for this second grotto, all are in featureless areas on the 1752 plans and reference sub-surface anomalies.

Similarly, where the fieldworks did not reveal any anomalies relating to a feature shown on the “survey”, the ‘unfound’ feature has been defined as therefore having been “slight”.

An example of this are the many paths shown on the “survey”. Prior to the landscape investigations, it had been hypothesised that paths shown as unshaded on the “survey” represented a hard-landscaped surface such as gravel. When the landscape investigations failed to reveal anomalies in the many ‘pathed’ areas, the unfound feature was redefined in several instances as having therefore been “slight” and not hard landscaped as indicated by the “survey”.

There are many examples of this:

p.23 No conclusive evidence for the walk to the east was seen [...]. Little trace of the eastern diagonal walk could be seen.

p.23 ‘The Flower Garden’ [...] This had sinuous paths around it that were un-shaded/ shaded red on the maps so probably surfaced. It is just possible that some of the scarps recorded, or some of the gaps between features, related to these path but the whole area was very disturbed [...].

p.23 No evidence for the sinuous path was seen. A small building was shown behind the south end of the northern pergola [...]. No obvious site for this building was recorded during the earthwork survey.

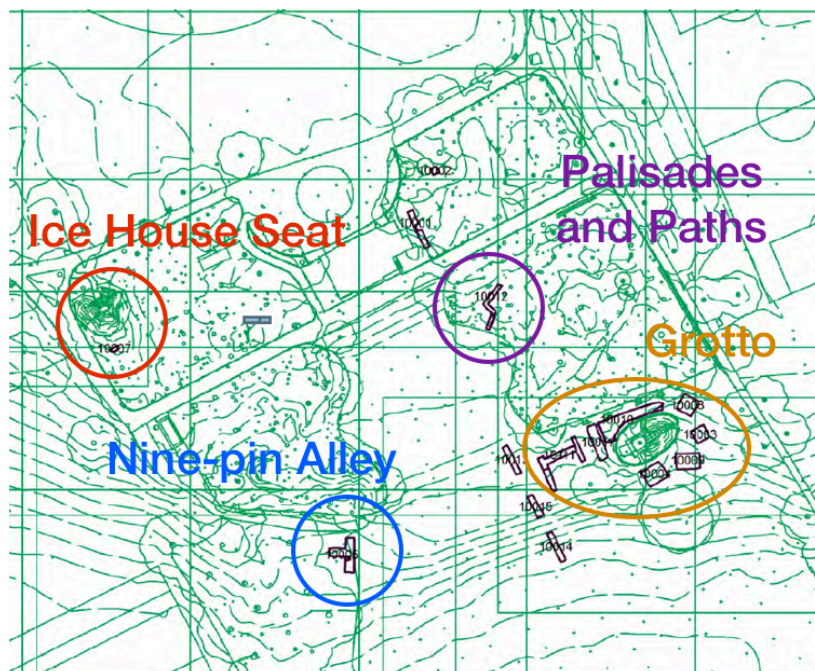
p.23 Between the cross walk and the diagonal walk a smaller walk curved around with a semi-circular area of trees between the two, No evidence for these features was recorded.

p.25 Along the west side of the Pleasure Grounds were [sic] an avenue [...]. Outside this avenue a narrow unshaded strip, presumably a surfaced path [...]. No evidence for this was seen [...] and it must have been a slight feature.

p.26 A surfaced path curved south-west [...]. No evidence for this was seen by any of the surveys, all of which covered this area, so this path must have been slight.

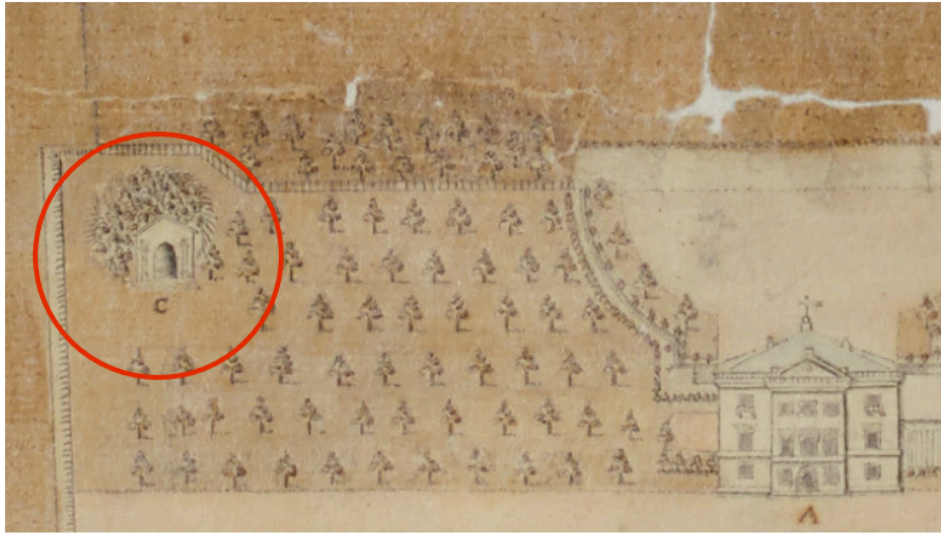
To return to the “huge range of features” that have been supposedly found, let us examine the areas of “restoration” in detail, taking into account also the findings from the multiple trenches that were dug.

See below (Historic England, with LMH annotations) for a plan of where the trenches were located.



Map of trenches

The Ice House Seat - no evidence found



Landscape Investigations report:

p.20 On the 1752 map the icehouse appears to be facing south but this feature is very different to the actual entrance to the icehouse and was probably therefore 'A seat before the Ice house (Emily Parker pers comm).

p.69 The Landscape Investigations report details no evidence for the icehouse seat.

Trench Report:

Trench 7 was originally placed to locate the Ice House Seat which was believed to be situated immediately south of the ice house mound. This was in an area of woodland that required consent from Richmond Borough Council to excavate within. Permission for hand excavation was received late during the fieldwork meaning it was impossible to excavate the whole area in the available time. The area was probed to a depth of 0.3m in an attempt to locate shallow buried masonry associated with the seat but none was encountered. The decision was taken to excavate a small trench 2.5m x 1m that was tasked with ascertaining the profile of the bank that runs south from the ice house mound, to inform on future excavation strategy. Due to safety considerations associated with the depth, along with time constraints this trench was stepped. Natural geological layers were not reached. [...]

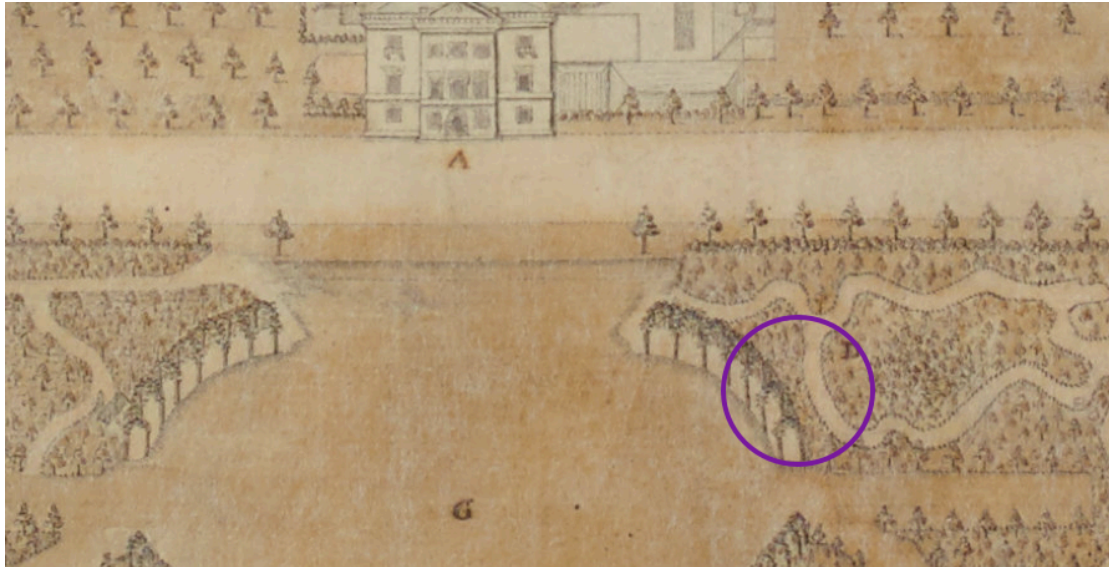
The strategy for trench 7 to the south of the icehouse shifted during the field work from trying to find the seat to trying to understand the construction of the bank behind the icehouse. [...]

What the excavations show is that this area has been substantially raised by the addition of a large thickness of brickearth. This evidently results from several episodes of dumping that also incorporate the construction of a probable gully boundary [97009]. [...]

The bank is not obvious on the 1752 plan that shows the icehouse and seat. This does raise questions of when these episodes of landscaping are dated and where in the sequence the creation of the icehouse seat sits. [...]

If as the 1752 plan is interpreted in such a way as to suggest the landscaping took place after the creation of the seat it means that any remains of the seat will be quite deeply buried. Safe excavation would require opening a larger area to allow for the probable depth of remains.

The Pergolas, or Palisades, and adjoining paths (Flower Garden) - inconclusive findings



Landscape Investigations report:

p.22 On the 1752 maps, the east and west extent of the south lawn was delineated by four quarter-circular features that appear to be pergolas with surfaced paths running through them. Four spurs/banks were recorded in these locations, and it seems likely that the pergolas, or at least the paths beneath them, ran on these, slightly elevated to the lawn. It is possible that the banks ran behind the pergolas framing them, but the accuracy of the plan is sufficient to be fairly sure that this was not the case.

Trench Report:

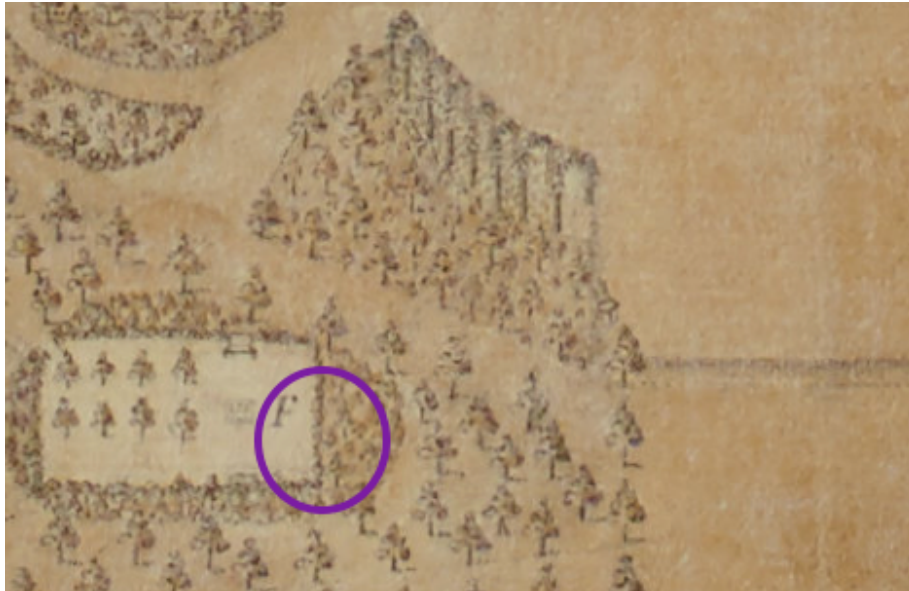
As permission to excavate within the wooded area was received late and as there were constraints with resources trench 12 was opened late and not fully excavated by the close of the phase. We have therefore at best a partial understanding of the archaeology in this area. [...]

(90217) appears to be the earliest layer in trench 12 but its nature is far from clear. It is possible that this represents the natural gravel in this area although it was much more compact than any of the natural gravels encountered elsewhere on the site; exceedingly so. Its sharp interface and level top have the character of a very well prepared metalled surface that we might expect of a path or roadway. We would be happier in this interpretation if edges were found to show that it represented a feature. Its nature is currently unknown but may be resolved in future excavations. The possibility that layer (90214) represented a continuation of (90217) to the north does not resolve the question either way as the underlying natural geology encountered elsewhere has shifted so rapidly, an extensive deposit may just as well represent a laid surface as a natural one.

The Nine-pin Alley - inconclusive findings

There is no other evidence for the existence of Nine-pin Alley other than its appearance on the “survey”.

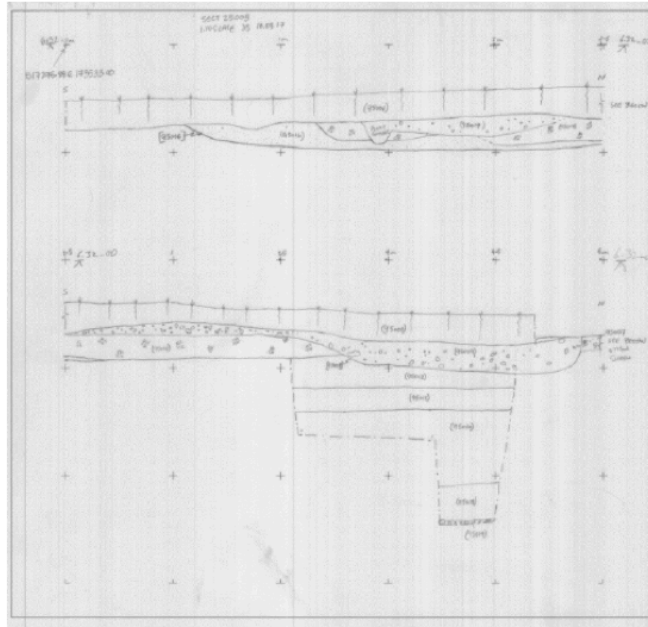
Archeological findings in this area are therefore crucial in establishing the accuracy of the “estate plan.”



Landscape Investigations report:

p.24 To the south of this was the rectangular ‘Ninepin alley’ which was enclosed within an oval area of planting. It may have been located here to reflect the grotto to the east and the surrounding planting may have enhanced this similarity. Surprisingly, no evidence for a levelled area was seen during the earthwork survey other than scarp [54.b] which may have defined its north-west side. However, a ninepin (skittles) alley would probably require a relatively small levelled area, perhaps a strip only a few metres wide, so could have been levelled and lost relatively easily. The geophysical survey revealed some high reflectance anomalies here [gpr25] but these do not obviously relate to the alley.

p.77 South of [a] was a similar, though somewhat straighter scarp, running WSW-ENE on a similar alignment to the bottom of [32]. This appears to mark the northern side of the ‘Ninepin Alley’ shown on the 1752 plan. No other evidence for this, such as a levelled area, was seen.



Above left: graphic from EH animation (Marble Hill Revived twitter account).
 Above right: sectional drawing of “nine-pin alley” trench (Historic England)

Trench report:

As this trench is crucial in establishing the presence of the nine-pin alley, the section of the report that deals with Trench 5 is being reproduced almost in its entirety.

The EH graphic above left indicates clear and conclusive findings.

LMH contends that the findings in Trench 5 are far from definitively indicative of the presence of the feature as shown on the “survey”. (**Bold highlights** are those of LMH.)

The size, shape and materials of the feature are not consistent with the nine-pin alley as represented on the “plan”. To interpret the findings as indicative of a nine-pin alley is conjectural.

The trench report has been reproduced almost its entirety below:

[p.40] Trench 5 was placed to investigate an area thought to contain a ninepin bowling alley. It was placed with reference to the 1752 plan and evidence from the earthwork survey that suggested a slight scarp that could conceivably have formed the northern boundary of the alley.

[p.44] A sondage excavated in the centre of trench 5 revealed a series of layers of probable geological origin beneath the more recent archaeology. At the base of the sondage at a depth of 0.95m below the surface was (95019). This was considered to be site natural for trench 5; it is probably fluvial derived gravel consisting of 50% gravel in a 50% clay matrix that had a yellowish brown colour (10YR 5/4). Overlying this was (95018) dark orangey brown (7.5YR 4/3), sandy clay loam, brickearth. The layer was 0.18m thick and contained occasional small rounded pebbles but no finds. Next was

(95010) a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/6), sandy silt loam, brickearth. This was 0.35m thick and contained no finds.

Layer (95013) was also revealed in the sondage with a thickness of 0.1m. In colour it was orangey brown (10YR 3/4) with grey brown (10YR 5/1) mottling. It was a sandy clay loam brickearth with occasional small rounded pebbles and occasional flecks of charcoal / coal. It contained a small assemblage of material including pottery, ceramic building material, coal and stone. Like all the brickearths it had a very low humic content but it was higher than the layers immediately above and below it.

[p.45] Layer (95012) was also revealed in the sondage but formed the background brickearth under the topsoil. It had a maximum thickness of 0.15m and was located up to 0.25m under the ground surface. It was orangey brown in colour (10YR 4/4) with mid grey patches of mottling. It had a sandy silt loam texture and had the appearance of a dirty brickearth. It contained a single piece of daub and a sherd of medieval pottery.

Although there are no direct relationships, it appears that the next layer chronologically is (95015). **It was a metalled gravel surface-like spread situated in the northern part of the trench. It measured 1.44m by 3m but was only 0.02m thick.** The gravel was set in a loamy matrix with a dark reddish grey (5YR 4/2) colour. No finds were removed from this deposit but ceramic building material and fragments of glass slag were observed embedded in its surface. This layer was recorded as lying on top of (95010) the upper deposit of brickearth grouped as natural. However this brickearth shared many of its characteristics with (95012) and it is possible that (95015) actually lay on top of (95012).

Cut into (95015) and the underlying brickearth (probably (95012)) were two shallow features. [95002] was a sub-circular feature in the northern part of trench 5 measuring 0.75m by 1.7m and 0.04m deep. It had sharp sides and a flat base. Its single fill (95003) consisted of compressed gravel with a dark greyish brown (10YR 4/2) matrix with a silty clay texture. It produced no finds. **Similar to this was [95004] a rectilinear shaped feature measuring 1.08m by 1.38m.** It was 0.12m deep and had sharp edges and a flat base. Its single fill (95005) consisted of compressed gravel in a dark reddish grey (5YR 4/2) matrix with a silty clay texture. The only finds recovered from this were ceramic building material.

[p.46] Centred in the trench was feature [95006] which cuts (95012) and (95015). It was shallow at only 0.16m deep. It was linear in plan with a slight oval shape to the area that was excavated and was orientated northeast - southwest. It measured 6.18m wide and at least 6.3m long although it extended beyond the limits of the trench and may have been in excess of 7m. Its sides had a concave profile and sloped gently to an uneven but flattish base.

[p.47] The primary fill of [95006] was (95016) with a maximum thickness of 0.11m, a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) with mottled mid grey (10YR 3/1) patches, sandy clay loam containing small rounded pebbles. Finds recovered from this fill included pottery, glass, ceramic building material and plaster. **This was a discontinuous layer** and only located in a small part of the trench where it was overlain by (95014). (95014) was up to 0.13m thick, and appeared to be a compact clay-like deposit with a silty clay loam texture. It was light pink in colour (2.5YR 6/2) containing a moderate number of small rounded pebbles, with finds including pottery, glass, ceramic building material and plaster. **It was discontinuous but covered a larger part of the feature than (95016)**

and in some places went down immediately on to the base of the feature. It was particularly noted around the edges of the feature.

Fill (95007) was a 0.09m thick, very dark grey (10YR 3/1) silty clay that covered a 1.61m by 2.21m area in the northern part of [95006]. **In places it overlay clay deposit (95014) whilst in others it lay directly on the brickearth beneath the cut.** In places it appeared to include redeposited lenses of clay (probably derived from (95014). It contained lots of pebbles and included finds of medieval and post-medieval pottery, glass, ceramic building material, glass slag, roman tile and clay pipe. Very similar to this fill was (95011) a 0.15m thick, dark reddish grey (5YR 4/2) colour with a silt loam texture located at the western end of [95006]. It was originally thought to be a separate feature but turned out to be a variation of (95007).

[95008] was a slightly irregular polygon with curvilinear sides which extended beyond the limits of the trench but where exposed measured 1.3m x 1.4m. It was 0.17m deep and had a sharp cut at the top that sloped to a flat base. It cut through deposit (95014). It had two fills (95009) and (95017). (95009) was a very dark grey / black (10YR 2/1), sandy loam with frequent small and medium rounded subangular pebbles. A wealth of artefactual material was recovered from this fill including human bone, medieval and post-medieval pottery, medieval floor tile, glass, glass slag and ceramic building material. The fill itself extended south outside of the limits of the cut as recorded probably indicating that it had been truncated or masked by soil processes forming the 'A' soil horizon. Fill (95017) to the south of (95009) was only recorded in [contd. on p.48]

[p.48] section. It had a mixed mid to dark grey and orangey brown colour with a sandy silt loam texture. It contained frequent small and medium rounded subangular pebbles that made it morphologically similar to (95009) but with a different humic content. It was thought that these may have originally been part of the same deposit although worm action in the topsoil appears to have removed any direct relationship and they were recorded separately. The final layer was (95001) the number allocated to topsoil.

[p.50] Phase AS10005.3 – early 18th century

Layer (95012) was another brickearth but more sterile looking than the layer below it. It did still contain two finds but its nature is not soil-like. **Instead it could be interpreted as an episode of colluviation but it seems more likely that this layer results from a deliberate act of landscaping to level the area prior to the construction of the ninepin alley. It is hypothesised that (95015) sat on top of this and was the metalled surface of the ninepin alley. It is also hypothesised that (95012) or equivalent gravel metalling originally covered a much larger extent than revealed during the excavations. Into this surface were set two features [contd p.51]**

[p.51] [95002] and [95004] which themselves were filled by compressed gravel that made them stand out from (95012). **These may have been ornamental features decorating the ninepin alley or may have been constructed as hard-standing to take heavy objects, possible heavy planting pots.**

We believe that the actual playing area of the alley is represented by feature [95006] which appears to have a more oval shape to it than the square illustrated in the 1752 plan. (95016) and (95014) were interpreted by the excavators as deliberately laid fills, possibly as part of a laid surface for the ninepin alley playing area. It has been questioned how well a clay surface would survive

unless it was covered from the elements. The rough broken nature of the clay may be evidence for the surface drying and cracking during dry warm summers before inundation during less clement weather. The clay deposits are a key part of the argument against [95006] being a shallow bedding trench for plants or a tree throw. (95014) is a clean and homogenous clay except for cracks and root holes where gravel and humic soil has filtered in from above. There is little in the way of humic components and it is not a dumped deposit, or a turned-over bedding trench fill.

[p.52] Phase AS10005.4 – mid-18th century – mid 20th century

If we assume that (95014) was the original fill across the entire playing area [95006], its absence in some places is a mystery. (95007) is more extensive but appears to include clasts of (95014) as well as overlying it in places or being situated directly on top of the brickearth in others. It has a very wide range of finds including medieval and roman material. It does not appear to be associated with the original construction of the ninepin alley but has the character of material brought on to site to backfill or patch up the playing area of the ninepin alley. It is possible that (95014) had been worn away in some areas and required patching for the alley to remain a useful feature or was deliberately removed in areas (possibly to aid drainage) after the alley had fallen out of use.

Phase AS10005.5 –1987?

Feature [95008] cuts the fills of the bowling alley initial interpretations included hollows worn into the playing area or as a later planting bed. This feature corresponds with a shallow depression recorded during the earthwork surface of the grounds. It is also known that trees were lost in this area during the 1987 storm. It seems most likely that [95008] therefore represents a tree throw and that (95009) therefore represents a reworked version of (95007) that was deposited into the tree throw.

The Grotto's surrounding arrangement of sinuous paths and presence of arch/steps shown on the "plan" - inconclusive findings



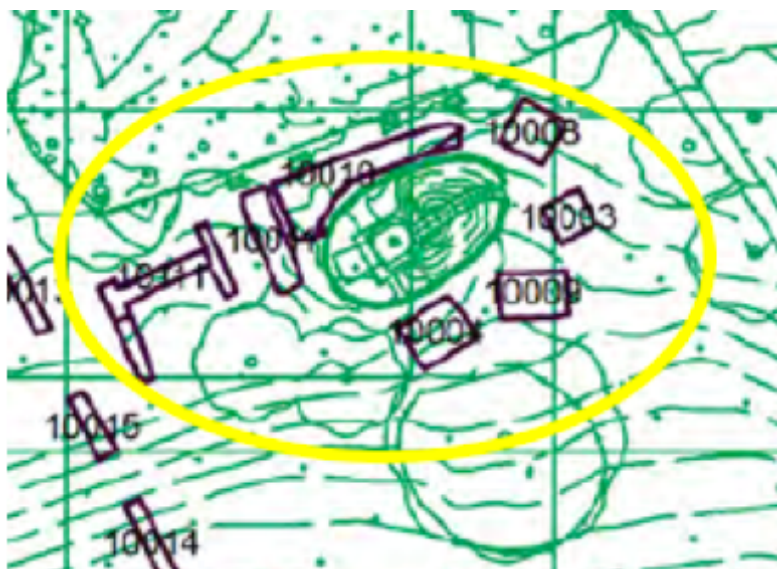
Landscape Investigations report:

p.24 'The Grotto' [...] It is shown somewhat stylistically [...] to the west of the actual grotto location. It is likely that the grotto was rather awkward to depict and its apparent displacement is probably the result of trying to represent it clearly. [...] Anomaly [r16]/[gpr24] is a possibility [...] but this area only shows some trees in 1752.

p.76 A low flat-topped ridge ran south-east [...]. This looked like a former path and may have originally led towards the entrance to the grotto. What appears to be a grassed walk is shown on the 1752 map in this location though this may have been rather broader and not quite on the same line so was perhaps a precursor to this later path.

*p.77 The grotto was filled in during the 18th century and only rediscovered and re-excavated in the 1980s. As such, **earthworks in this area should be treated with caution as they may relate to this period rather than the original landscaping.***

This is the area in which the most trenches were dug:



Trench report:

The feature represent by [90016] is almost definitely a quarry that was dug to extract a certain grade of sand or gravel. [...] The observation of sands that had possibly been affected by heat adds credence to the interpretation that a large area to the north west of the grotto was being used for the preparation of mortar and perhaps the processing of lime associated with the construction of the house. Samples taken for specialist testing may help to throw more light on this.

Phase AS10010.4 –mid 18th-19th century

*After the landscaping of the area had taken place a number of features were cut around the grotto hollow. **The purpose of feature [90037] is not certain. The***

excavators interpreted it as a possible pathway. The alternative interpretation would be as a planting bed but the gently sloping sides make this unlikely. [...]

Linear feature [90014] was not excavated and its purpose is not clear. It was evidently not a constructed path but could have been either a small, poorly developed hollow way or a shallow planting bed.

Phase AS10011.5 – Early-mid 18th century

After the area had been landscaped using (90111) features [90114], [90118], [90123] and [90116] were cut. These were probably only two linear features [90114] with [90118] and [90123] with [90116]. Given the nature of their location and spatially and stratigraphically they most likely represented bedding trenches for planted features.

The Second Grotto - not investigated

p25 [the second grotto] Although the geophysical survey suggested several other locations for this second grotto, all are in featureless areas on the 1752 plans and reference sub-surface anomalies.

Avenues of Trees framing the lower ground of the Pleasure Garden - inconclusive findings



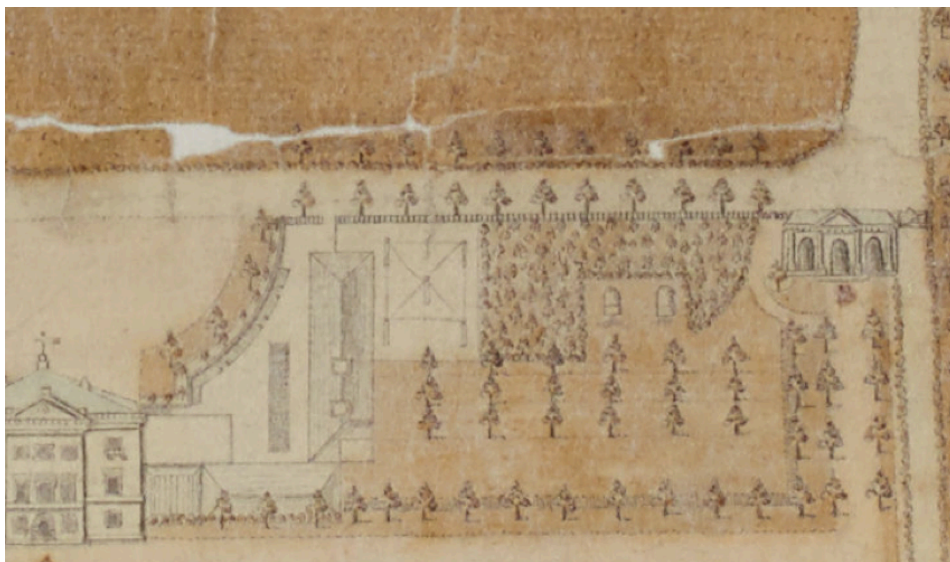
See above for an image of the lower garden ground as taken from a drone in July 2018.



*p25 To either side of the Meadow Ground were avenues of trees and outside these were areas of more open, semi-regular tree planting; that to the west was narrower than that to the east. **Numerous tree hollows were recorded in the western area, as well as a few to the east**, the difference being because the western area still retained a lot of trees but the eastern was more open and therefore more likely to have been levelled.*

LMH would contend that the eastern area never contained the trees as shown on the garden design proposal. These trees are consistently ‘missing’ from contemporary visual representations of Marble Hill and, as detailed above, fieldworks have produced no evidence of their having existed.

Orchard - inconclusive findings



p.70 This area was “highly disturbed” and revealed no evidence accordingly.

An unidentified substantial structure in the 'Pleasure Ground' - not investigated



The presence of this significant structure is not addressed in EH's "restoration" proposal. However, it is a not insubstantial feature. The Landscape Investigations report characterises it as a "bench". The scale of its representation, though, would suggest otherwise.

Its location as shown on the "survey" is not obscured by any current paths or planting. Yet no trench work was done to confirm its previous existence or investigate what it might have been:

p.26 Between the curve of the path and the angle of the boundary was what appears to have been a seat. This area was marked by a bulge of material [62].

A reappraisal of the fieldworks

As stated at the top of this section, the fieldworks have been analysed with the "accurate survey" as a guide. This has guided, for example, the placement of the trenches and informed the conclusions derived from all the forms of archeological investigation that have taken place.

LMH consider it essential that, in the light of its theory that the "accurate survey" is no more than a garden design proposal, the results of the fieldworks were reassessed using this revised rationale.

SUMMARIES

1. GARDEN FEATURES FOR WHICH THERE IS SUPPORTING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Listed below are garden-related features for which documentary evidence exists.

12ft Track (ancient right-of-way)

The right-of-way ran midway through Howard's garden ground between the house and the river: 12ft wide to accommodate wagons, carriages and livestock. It was rerouted to the river's edge by spring 1726 but remained open for pedestrian use until at least 1749.

Hedges (1710)

A bricklayers' and carpenters' bill performed by Argyll and Morris includes '380 foot of deal railing for ye yew hedge'. An ancient 'crickett' (quicksett) hedge is referred to in the 1749 court rolls: it was used to delineate land boundaries and keep in livestock.

It predated Howard's land ownership and court rolls state it was planted around 1710.

Kitchen Garden (1711)

A large kitchen garden existed at the top of the estate before Howard's ownership. There is a suggestion in gardening papers that fruit trees were trained along the walls and there are many references to 'produce'.

Marble Hill House (1725-29)

Outbuildings (1725)

As found in Morris' receipt of 1728 and referred to in the Court Rolls of 1749.

However, it has not been possible to definitively identify what these 'outbuildings' are.

Stepped Terraces (1725-26)

The construction of these likely coincided with the construction of the new Terrace Way. They are referred to in 1749 Court Rolls and in Batty Langley's 1728 book, *New Principals of Gardening*:

I observe the errors in the slopes of the garden of the Honorable Mrs Howard at Twickenham being view'd at the River Thames.

Ice House (1725 – 1727)

Jonathan Swift's satirical poem, *The Pastoral Dialogue*, 1727 makes a reference to an ice house at Marble Hill. An estate paper of post 1749 mentions 'orange tubs' at the ice house.

Mount or Terrace Way (1726)

In David Jacques' 2017 book *Gardens of Court and County*, a mount is a 'Raised terrace at the end of the garden'. Howard constructed the raised 'terras way' at the bottom of her garden. It was nearing completion in March 1726. It accommodated wagons, carriages and livestock.

Lawn (post March 1726)

As detailed in a letter from Captain Gray to Howard in March 1726, the turf had been spoilt and not yet been laid (NRO: nrs 24429 001).

Privy (most likely pre-1730)

The privy is not drawn on the 1750 garden design proposal. However, there is a payment in 1751 for putting a new roof on the 'privy' in the garden (NRO: nrs 8862 011), indicating it had most likely been in existence for some time.

Circular Sheds (most likely pre-1730)

The circular sheds are not drawn on the 1750 garden drawing. However, there is a payment for their demolition and rebuilding in 1751 (NRO: nrs 8862 08/11), indicating they had most likely been in existence for some time.

Greenhouse (most likely pre-1730)

Argyll's greenhouse at Whitton Park, designed by James Gibbs, was similar to the one at Marble Hill with its trademark 'Gibbs' Surrounds'. These arched pediments are detailed in the Brettingham receipts of 1750-1.

In 1742 George Grenville wrote to Howard regarding 'those who rest their lazy limbs on the sofas of the greenhouse.'

Grotto (1739 onwards)

In 1739 Howard wrote to Lord Pembroke 'I am at this time head and ears in shells'. In 1742 George Grenville sends his regards to 'the inhabitants of the grotto'.

Beehives (1752)

'Materials for the beehouses' are ordered on 21st October 1752, two years after they appear on Argyll's garden design proposal (NRO; nrs 8862 040)

The Quarters (dated unknown but recorded in 1754)

The wooded quarters are recorded on Rocques' map of 1754 and are repeatedly referred to in three of Howard's estate papers. The 'quarters' or 'quadrants' survive today. Historic England's official listing for Marble Hill states that the "four areas of shrubberies" were "enclosed within wooden palisade fencing" and have been "left unmanaged to allow for the development of wildlife habitats".

Sweet Walk (post 1754)

In 1748 Howard bought a seven and a half acre plot of land called Short Farthingworth Close. The Sweet Walk plantation developed thereafter (it is not shown on the 1754 Rocque map) and is mentioned in estate papers (most likely dated post 1761, after Argyll's death)

2. GARDEN FEATURES WITHOUT PROVENANCE DURING HOWARD'S LIFETIME**Oval Lawn/Bowling Green**

In the 18th century, 'bowling green' was a generic term for a finely laid lawn.

The Pope/Bridgeman/Langley garden design of 1724 incorporates a square lawn set close to the house contrary to the c1750 drawing where an oval lawn is drawn. Rocque recorded an angular lawn in 1754 and in 1786, and two decades after Howard's death, an arc-shaped green is recorded by Sauthier.

Ninepin Alley

Mention of the ninepin alley is totally absent from the volumes of correspondence, visitor accounts, estate papers. The archaeology findings are speculative and inconclusive.

Ha-ha

EH has interpreted ancient land boundary ditch, as mentioned by Sarah Alton at court in 1749, for a Charles Bridgeman ha-ha. There is no evidence to support the idea that Bridgeman implemented any features at MH. There is no mention of him in MH estate papers or indeed in Bridgeman's own accounts which his wife Sarah kept.

Orchard in Garden Ground

There is no evidence for an orchard east of the house within the garden ground. However, there is evidence that fruit trees were grown in the kitchen garden and trained against walls.

Ice House Seat

No evidence for an ice house seat during Howard's lifetime, EH refers to an estate paper postdating Howard's death with mention of an 'alcove seat' as possibly relating to the 'seat'.

Planted Palisades

No evidence for planted palisades during Howard's lifetime. Their size, as proposed by EH in its *Marble Hill Revived* proposal, make their omission from gardening contracts, visitor accounts and Heckel's 1749 drawing surprising, to say the least.

40ft in diameter circular Flower Garden

No evidence for a large garden ground flowerbed during Howard's lifetime. Mark Laird also drew attention to its size and outlined problems with the reality of maintaining such a feature. EH's documentary evidence for this feature is a quote from gardening duties relating to the Sweet Walk plantation.

Lime Trees - extensive groves

A consignment of lime trees was sent to Twickenham by Lord Bathurst. EH speculates that these may have been destined for Marble Hill.

Bathurst shared a close relationship with Pope as his patron and at this time Pope was busy laying out his own garden at Strawberry Hill also in Twickenham. Given the circumstances at MH and the many unresolved estate matters at that time it is most likely that the consignment of trees were sent to Pope.

Jacques states in his book *Gardens of Country and Court (2017)* that Pope "begged trees off Lord Bathurst in October, and the quincunxes down to the river were planted that winter" (pg.255).

There is no evidence of this whatsoever.

Wilderness

There is no evidence for large-scale wilderness at MH. The irregular wilderness drawn on the c1750 garden design are clearly not divided into "quarters" and therefore could not be described as such. The garden estate papers make repeated mention of "quarters".

Serpentine paths

Most 18th century estates had gravel paths. Gravel paths are documented at MH the three garden 'contracts' of post 1749. However, no evidence exists for a labyrinth of serpentine paths as seen on the c1750 drawing. A winding path is recorded at the Sweet Walk in the Sauthier plan of 1786.

Groves/Avenues to River

The Court Rolls of 1749 state that the Terrace Way had been erected, as does a letter from Captain Gray to Howard (it was due for completion in April 1726). Therefore avenues of trees could not have run down to the river's edge as EH and Jacques propose as the new passage way prevented it.

3. ENGLISH HERITAGE'S RATIONALE FOR THE LANDSCAPE "RESTORATION" ASPECT OF MARBLE HILL REVIVED.

Notes for English Heritage Marble Hill Seminar July 2017 (obtained via FOI request)

1) Pope's involvement at Marble Hill is well documented, through his plan and the accounts.

2) Although there is minimal surviving written evidence for Bridgeman's involvement at Marble Hill Henrietta obviously felt she knew enough about his work to be confident to recommend him to her friend the Duchess of Queensbury

3) It has been suggested that it was Bridgeman that took Pope's ideas and turned them into a workable design and in doing so added his own experience and ideas. Perhaps responsible for the ha-ha, terraces and ninepin alley.

4) When it came to the practical laying out of the gardens, evidence for many of the elements are found in payments to Roger Morris in 1724 and 1725. Alongside building the House and four buildings in the garden, it appears that he was responsible for the execution of the design of the garden, particularly in relation to large-scale changes, such as the mount and ha-ha. We can only ever speculate on what his design input may have been into these changes.

5) The fact that Roger Morris was responsible for overseeing the construction of the house and the structural elements of the landscape simultaneously indicates that the villa and landscape were designed and created together as a unified 'ancient' estate.

6) The landscape is an, albeit somewhat degraded, survivor of a very fleeting moment in the construction of 'ancient' gardens before the aspirations and ideals of the landscape garden proliferated and after formal gardens were beginning to become unfashionable.

7) This research has formed the basis for a proposed restoration of the lost garden at Marble Hill by English Heritage.

8) The restoration hopes to bring greater understanding to a public park which over time has lost the atmosphere of an 18th century accolade to the 'ancients'.

4. ENGLISH HERITAGE'S SUMMARY TABLE OF SUPPORTING EVIDENCE

Documentary and Visual reference for the garden at Marble Hill

Note: This summary does not include the evidence provided by archaeological survey. For this see Historic England's Research Report 'Marble Hill: Landscape Investigations' Report number: 5/2017 (<http://>

research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=15558&ru=%2fResults.aspx%3fp%3d1%26n%3d10%26rn%3d5%26ry%3d2017%26ns%3d1

Feature	Documentary Evidence	Visual Reference
Ice House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jonathan Swift's poem about Marble Hill (1727) mentions the Ice House • Gardener's contract includes orange tubs at the Ice House 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan? (Ice House or Ice House Seat shown) • OS 6inch (1871) • c.1752 survey
Ice House Seat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1728, a receipt for a payment of £200, describes part of Morris' work as '4 buildings in the garden at Marble Hill' • 1781 - Repairs were carried out for the 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire to an alcove seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan? (Ice House or Ice House Seat shown) • c.1752 survey
Orchard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fruit trees mentioned in gardeners account for maintaining the pleasure ground (listed after Greenhouse plants) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey
Beehives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1752 there is a bill for 'materials for a beehouse' and 'a China fence behind the beehouse.' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey

Green House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1728, a receipt for a payment of £200, describes part of Morris' work as '4 buildings in the garden at Marble Hill' • Shown in John Baptiste Claude Chatelain engraving from 1755 • Glimpse in a photograph in Country Life article (1900) • 1742 letter from George Grenville describes the 'delightful sofa's of the greenhouse' • The Greenhouse Plants are mentioned in Daniel Crafts gardening agreement with Henrietta • Keene's <i>Beauties of Middlesex</i> (1850) describes a broadwalk running north-south through a grove. At the north end of this walk there is an Orange House. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan • OS 6inch (1871) • c.1752 survey
Terraces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Batty Langley (1728) describes the step-like slopes in the garden at Marble Hill • Jacques has argued that a detachment of Bridgeman's workmen were constructing the terraces in March 1726 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey • 1749 Heckell Engraving • <i>Marble Hill House, Earl of Buckingham Twickenham</i>, unkwon artist (c.1780) Richmond Borough Art Collection (LDORL:01001)
Oval Lawn/Bowling Green	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong link between Pope design and final layout • A payment of 1725 records a 'Bolling Green' • Pope had a similar shaped bowling green in his garden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan • OS 6inch (1871) • c.1752 survey
Pallisade		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey
Gravel walks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The contract for Henrietta's gardener includes keeping the gravel walks in the pleasure garden clean and rolled. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey

Flower Garden/ Planting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orange trees, myrtle, laurel, jasmine and lilac mentioned in Anne Chambers poem (1764) • The contract for Henrietta's gardener includes proving flower seeds for the 'boarders' and keep up the 'plantations' by putting in plants from the nursery as needed • The contract for Henrietta's gardener includes maintaining the Wilderness Quarters Trees & Shrubs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey • <i>Marble Hill House, Earl of Buckingham Twickenham</i>, unknown artist (c. 1780) Richmond Borough Art Collection (LDORL: 01001)
Hedges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A payment is made in 1725 for 280 foot of Deal railing for the yew hedge. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey
Groves/Avenues to River	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1725 Henrietta received complaints for the 122 trees she had planted in the lower end of the garden near the river; relating to the new avenues and groves that created the layout of the lower terrace. • A visitor account (1760) records 'a fine green lawn, open to the river; and adorned on each side be a beautiful grove of chestnut trees' • A visitor account (1764) describes 'a fine lawn descending to the water; & adorned with wood well-disposed...' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan • 1749 Heckell Engraving • <i>Marble Hill House, Earl of Buckingham Twickenham</i>, unknown artist (c. 1780) Richmond Borough Art Collection (LDORL: 01001)

Grotto and Rustic Grot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a letter from Henrietta to Lord Pembroke in the summer of 1739, she writes 'I am at this time head and ears in shells.' • A letter from George Grenville in 1742, in which he sent his compliments to 'the inhabitants of the Grotto (which ... I hope goes on prosperously).' • Henrietta's great niece, who also lived at Marble Hill, and who wrote to her parents in 1762 that she had 'worked so hard in the Grotto and Rock that it is fear'd I shall damage my fingers' • Poem written by Anne Chambers in 1764 describes a grotto and a rustic grot • A visitor account (1760) describes a descent down to a grotto and a second smaller grotto • A visitor account from 1775 describes two grottos • By 1800 only one grotto is included in a visitor account • In 1819 the grotto is describes as dilapidated and having 'spars' • By 1839 the garden is described as formerly containing a grotto 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey
Mount	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bill from Roger Morris in 1724 includes a gate for the Mount • Bills from Roger Morris in 1725 describing pails at the Mount and a Mount wall 	
Ninepin Alley		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • c.1752 survey

Haha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A payment to Roger Morris in 1725 refers to the 'great gate ditch' • An 1832 account in <i>Richmond and it's Surrounding Scenery</i> describes the ha-ha 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OS 6inch (1871) • c.1752 survey
Privy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Payment in 1751 for putting a new roof on the 'privy' in the garden 	
Sweet Walk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An undated account from Henrietta's gardener includes reference to the 'the sweet walk nursery and plantations about Monpiller Row' • Described in 1784 by the Earl Buckinghamshire when letting land in the west meadow 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan • OS 6inch (1871)
Priory of St Hubert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Built in 1758, encouraged by Walpole, design by Richard Bentley survives • Pulled down shortly after Henrietta's death in 1767 • The location of this feature is unknown and a painting of the barn by Samuel Scott which existed at Strawberry Hill has yet to be traced. 	
Coach House/Stables (on 1752 survey)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan • c.1752 survey
Kitchen Garden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The contract from Henrietta's garden includes maintaining the Kitchen Garden • Lists of garden products sent to town house listed in 1756 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1786/7 Sauthier Plan • OS 6inch (1871) • c.1752 survey

5. A SUMMARY OF LOVE MARBLE HILL'S EVIDENCE-BASED CONCLUSIONS

- 1) There is not one single **written mention** of an extensive pleasure ground at Marble Hill either in the court rolls of 1749 or the volumes of contemporary correspondence, including letters written by Howard and her wide social circle. Other similar gardens are well documented in written accounts.
- 2) No **contemporary drawings** show a pleasure ground as depicted on the c1750 drawing. Rather, a simple landscape similar to what we see today is recorded.
- 3) Contemporary **surveys and maps** omit the pleasure garden as seen on the c1750 drawing.
- 4) **Estate accounts and contracts** do not support an extensive pleasure garden at MH during Howard's lifetime.
- 5) Many **notable features with provenance are omitted** from the c1750 drawing: the circular sheds and privy in the garden, the seed house (8862 007,8,9) the great elm tree which fell into the Thames and 'killed several fishes' after a storm in 1755 as detailed by Horace Walpole in his letter to Howard of that year and the sizable black walnut tree thought to have been planted during Howard's lifetime. These would have been recorded on an accurate estate plan.
- 6) Historic England's **archaeological surveys** were based on the premise that the garden proposal was a "legal document" and "accurate survey" dating from 1752. EH now concede that it was not a legal document. The dig findings are largely inconclusive and based on circumstantial supportive evidence provided by English Heritage. The resulting document is highly interpretive and speculative and Emily Parker, EH's landscape advisor, contributed to the document and interpreted findings.
- 7) The land measurement **table** on the c1750 drawing only lists features with known provenance: the offices, the greenhouse, the icehouse. Measurements are not recorded from many features included in the 'Explanation'. No measurements are taken from undocumented features without provenance from the 1750 drawing, such as the ninepin alley.
- 8) The materials for the two **beehouses** were ordered two years after the c1750 drawing was executed. The beehouses and the second floor **balconies** did not coexist yet they both appear on the c1750 drawing.
- 9) Howard did **not own land** significant to the laying out a garden as shown in the c.1750 drawing until later in the 1750s. Her brother took control of other important plots in 1752, along with the Terrace Way.
- 10) The **12ft right-of-way track** ran through the middle of Howard's garden ground until the mid 1720s. Implementing an early 'transitional garden' would have been impossible. Thereafter, it continued to be used by foot passengers as captured by Heckel in 1749 and mentioned in 1749 Court Rolls.
- 11) Howard was unable to close off the route along the river's edge until she acquired land from John Izard in 1750 and "the ways" in 1752. Prior to this Howard was only sub-leasing

the land. The Charity Land had strict covenants and prevented Howard from **withdrawing access rights** as mentioned at court in 1749 by Sarah Alton.

12) Brettingham's extensive renovation works coincided with the acquisition of important garden ground at the time when Howard took up permanent residence at Marble Hill. The right-of-way dispute looked to be resolved in 1750 (following the death of defendant Sarah Alton), the year the garden design proposal was drawn up.

13) The documentary evidence used to support the EH scheme has been used **out of context**. Gardening estate papers from post 1749 (more likely post 1761, following Argyll's death) have been repeatedly used to support the idea of an early pleasure garden. Correspondence evidenced by EH has been selectively quoted and its reference to Howard or Marble Hill a matter of conjecture.

14) The **receipts** relied on by EH in its research amount to less than a handful of papers and nothing in them gives weight to the idea of a 'lost transitional' garden having been laid out at MH. The main two-page receipt is a "carpenters and bricklayers bill" detailing fencing and locks for the enclosure of the estate (as detailed in 1749 Court Rolls)

15) English Heritage has now **retracted the theory** that the drawing was a "legal document" and states it is more likely an "estate plan" of around 1749. However, no evidence is offered in support of this theory.

16) There is no evidence to substantiate the theory that **Pope and Bridgeman** were responsible for "large-scale" ideas at Marble Hill. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest Bridgeman played any role at Marble Hill other than his single visit and his intention to draw a plan. Further, it is unknown whether the "plann" was intended for MH as Bridgeman wrote that he has just had an unexpected commission.

17) Much points towards **Argyll** as having played a key role in the landscape at Marble Hill from the 1720s onwards, and all evidence indicates this to have been a simple landscape, similar to that still visible today: a simple pastoral landscape of trees, lawn, wooded quarters, stepped terraces and a productive kitchen garden and much later the addition of the sweet-walk plantation.

CONCLUSION

To quote John Watkins, Head of Landscape for English Heritage:

All a plan tells you is that someone has drawn a plan.

(*The Queen, Her Lover & His Castle*, 2008. A BBC documentary following English Heritage's restoration of a 'lost' Elizabethan garden based on a description found solely in a letter, the overwhelming content of which was not supported by any of the archeological findings).

LMH asserts that the c1750 drawing is precisely thus - someone has drawn a plan, in this case the Duke of Argyll. And his plan is a garden design proposal, incorporating existing garden features and proposing the addition of new ones.

A landscape "restoration" based on this c1750 drawing would be inauthentic to the history of Marble Hill.

The wholesale removal of large sections of the grade II* listed landscape requires "clear and convincing justification" that must be "wholly exceptional" (National Planning Policy Framework).

LMH concludes that English Heritage's research and conclusions fail to meet this required standard, and in addition fails to meet its own conservation and restoration criteria.

It is on this basis that EH should, LMH respectfully requests, withdraw its plans for large-scale landscape "restoration".

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