

LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS

Conservation Management Plan



Hilary Taylor Landscape Associates Ltd

For The National Trust

March 2014

LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS

Conservation Management Plan



.HTLA.
Historic Landscape Consultants

Hilary Taylor Landscape Associates Ltd

For The National Trust

March 2014

LYVEDEN
CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN

CONTENTS	Page
 PART I: SITE EVALUATION: BACKGROUND AND HISTORY	
1 INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Background to this Project	1
1.2 Some Sources	2
1.3 'Old Bield' and 'New Bield'?	3
1.4 Structure of this CMP	4
2 LAND OWNERSHIP, PHYSICAL CHARACTER, STATUS AND USE OF LYVEDEN 'OLD BIELD', 'NEW BIELD' and GARDENS	
2.1 Physical site characteristics	7
2.2 Current ownership, occupancy and use	12
2.3 Land use and management	14
2.4 Designations	19
2.5 Access arrangements	24
2.6 Visitors	26
3 SUMMARY CHRONOLOGY	
4 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	
4.1 Introduction	35
4.2 Executive Summary of Key Phases of Development	36
4.3 Historical Analysis of Lyveden	42
4.4 The Tresham Family	48
4.5 Thomas Tresham, early years as Builder and Polymath	69
4.6 Tresham: Catholicism with Equivocation	75
4.7 Thomas Tresham at Rushton: Books, Buildings and Gardens	84
4.8 Tresham at Lyveden	95
4.9 Tresham at Lyveden: The Gardens	138
4.10 Lyveden after Tresham	194
 PART II: ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: SURVIVAL, CHANGE & LOSS	
5 LANDSCAPE AND BUILDINGS: GAZETTEER OF STATUS, DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTER	
5.1 Introduction	195
5.2 Whole Site and Character Areas – Introduction	196
5.3 Analysis of Status, Development and Character – Character Area A: Lyveden Manor and the North Environs	212
5.4 Analysis of Status, Development and Character – Character Area B: The New Bield, Cottage, Moats, Mounts, Orchards and Meadows	252

Drawings

LV(02) A01 Character Area A: The Manor & Environs, Status, Development and Character

LV(02) B01 Character Area B: New Bield, Moats and Mounts, Status, Development and Character

6 GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE

6.1	Introduction	311
6.2	History	311
6.3	Archaeology	312
6.4	Geology, Topography and Soils	312
6.5	Buildings and structures	313
6.6	Waterbodies and Drainage	314
6.7	Views and Vistas	315
6.8	Designed Planting	315
6.9	Ecology	315
6.10	Use, Access and Interpretation	316

7 ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: PHYSICAL, HISTORICAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY SIGNIFICANCES

7.1	Introduction	317
7.2	Evidential Significances	319
7.3	Historical Significances	323
7.4	Aesthetic Significances	330
7.5	Community Significances	334

8 ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: ISSUES - OPPORTUNITIES & CONSTRAINTS

8.1	Introduction	337
8.2	Strengths, Opportunities and Ambitions: and the Constraints or Vulnerabilities which might threaten them.	338

PART III: DEVELOPING MANAGEMENT POLICIES

9 STRATEGIC CONTEXT: INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL POLICIES AND GUIDANCE

9.1	Introduction	357
9.2	Summary: General Policies	357
9.3	Built heritage, culture and the historic environment	359
9.4	Archaeology	361
9.5	The natural environment, biodiversity and sustainability	361
9.6	Climate change and extreme weather	363
9.7	Trees, woodland and hedges	363
9.8	Rivers, Waterbodies and Wetlands	365
9.9	Open spaces, access and tourism	365

10 CONSERVATIONFRAMEWORK POLICIES

10.1	<i>Introduction</i>	367
10.2	<i>Lyveden's 'Spirit of Place'</i>	368
10.3	<i>Governing principles</i>	370
10.4	<i>Materials for repair, renewal and maintenance</i>	370
10.5	<i>Conservation, restoration and new development</i>	371
10.6	<i>Management</i>	371
10.7	<i>Interpretation</i>	373
10.8	<i>Access and Use</i>	374
10.9	<i>Health and Safety</i>	374

PART IV: RESTORATION AND MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

11 CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION PRIORITIES

11.1	<i>Character Area A - Lyveden Manor and Environs</i>	375
11.2	<i>Character Area B – New Bield, Cottage, Moats, Mounts, Orchards & Meadows</i>	381

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Bibliography

**LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS
CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN**

March 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- I This *Conservation Management Plan* is the outcome of in-depth study, debate and deliberation. It was commissioned in August 2013, by the National Trust. Throughout the progress of the project, we have appreciated the interest and support – as well as the range of knowledge – which has been offered by colleagues from the National Trust, who have a profound familiarity with, and understanding of, the qualities and challenges of Lyveden. We have benefited from the enthusiasm and involvement of officers from English Heritage, who have been able to draw from their wide experience to help illuminate some of the most challenging aspects of Lyveden. Likewise we have been grateful for the support of the Local Authority Conservation team.

Without the involvement of many people, including those listed below, this would have been a much less interesting project for us, and a much less complete *Conservation Management Plan*.

Mark Bradshaw	General Manager for Northamptonshire and Rutland	National Trust
Rachael Hall	Archaeologist	National Trust
Simon Barker	Wildlife Countryside Consultant	National Trust
Claire Barrett	Visitor Operations Manager	National Trust
Lloyd Mills	Conservation Officer	East Northants Council
Deborah Evans	Territory Landscape Architect. East Region	English Heritage
Ben Robinson	Heritage at Risk Principal	English Heritage
Tim Allen	Inspector	English Heritage

- II In undertaking this project, we have also been able to work closely with a number of colleagues who have brought their considerable expertise to bear on the detailed analysis of different aspects of the estate. Working with those listed below has been a privilege and – as usual – an education.

Jane Travis	Researcher & Manager	HTLA
Peter Foden	Researcher and Archivist	
David Broom	Ecological Consultant	EPDM
Ian Jack	Specialist adviser on Veteran Trees	
Greenhatch Group	Topographical and Building Surveyors	

Hilary Taylor
Peter Vickers
HTLA Ltd.
March, 2014

LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS
PART I: SITE EVALUATION: BACKGROUND & HISTORY

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this Project

This *Conservation Management Plan (CMP)* for Lyveden was commissioned by the National Trust, in 2013. The aim of this *Plan* is to bring together the wide range of surveys which have been produced over the years, including the 2010 *CMP* by Dr. Andrew Eburne and Dr. Kate Felus. We are indebted to the authors of many reports, some of which were produced in the early years after the National Trust first acquired the central portion of the estate – essentially, the land on which stood the ‘New Bield’ and the moated orchard – in 1922. In more recent decades, the large number of studies is a reflection of the depth of research and understanding which has accrued. Amongst those which we have found invaluable are the following: the 2010 Eburne and Felus *CMP*, which synthesised much of the earlier material; the Northamptonshire Archaeology’s 2011 study of the Moated Orchard; Allen Archaeology’s 2011 study of the Orchard Field; the 2012 archaeological survey of the desilted moat; the Quinquennial reports on the buildings by Rodney Melville’s Partnership; Mark Bradshaw’s 2012, *Northamptonshire & Rutland; Portfolio Business Plan 2013-16* and his 2013, *Lyveden Vision Document*; and the *Nature Conservation Survey*, by A.P. Foster, from March, 2013. We have learned much from these - and many more.

We have also benefited tremendously from the dedication, enthusiasm and knowledge of many, who have long known Lyveden far better than we have. These include Rachael Hall, the NT’s Archaeologist, Mark Bradshaw, the General Manager for Northamptonshire, Claire Barratt, the Lyveden Operations Manager, Simon Barker, the NT’s Nature Conservation Consultant, Deborah Evans, Landscape Architect for English Heritage, Ben Robinson, Principal of Heritage at Risk, English Heritage, and Lloyd Mills, Conservation Officer from East Northamptonshire District Council.

We have, of course, studied the site itself for many hours and we have been greatly assisted by the GIS survey produced by the Greenhatch Group, Ltd. We have taken advice, too, from ecologist, David Broom, veteran tree expert, Ian Jack, and from archivist *extraordinaire*, Peter Foden. Despite such excellent advice and assistance from so many, it is certain we have overlooked material, or misrepresented it, or employed it to ends with which others might disagree. The faults are ours and – given the importance of this site – will no doubt be corrected in years to come.

We emerge from our studies with one clear conviction. Lyveden is a site of international, and not just national, significance. In this small, quiet spot, in the middle of the Northamptonshire countryside, on a slice of what was once the mediaeval Rockingham Forest and apparently miles from anywhere (though, in fact, not far from urban centres such as Corby, Kettering and Peterborough), Lyveden proves to have a long and profoundly interesting history.

Lyveden’s story reflects not just on the development of this rather remote part of the world, but on the great tides of British history, and it can still communicate with us in ways which illuminate our understanding of how England, and then Britain, survived and thrived over many centuries. Above all, for a country which still defines itself as culturally Protestant – for centuries in opposition to its Catholic neighbours in the south of Europe – Lyveden is of vital significance. Here, in the achievements of the recusant Catholic, Sir Thomas Tresham, we can see embodied the deep rivalries, hopes and

ambitions of the late Elizabethan era. And, because this whole composition of New Bield, Old Bield and attendant gardens remains unfinished, abandoned as it was on Tresham's death in 1605 – together with the fact that there was so little change effected over the next four centuries – in the early 21st century, we are brought up against our own history in a most challenging and enlightening way. Because the site is embraced within a landscape which, in many ways, has altered remarkably little since the Treshams first emparked it in 1540, there is little to distract and our imagination is charged with the excitement and mystery of the place. This is a small estate; but it is a site where the promised 'spirit of place' appears particularly powerful and pertinent.

1.2 Some Sources

After World War II, much of the Lyveden estate was managed for arable and, in that time, quite a lot of damage was inflicted on the earthwork archaeology of the site; even the Elizabethan New Bield itself – the garden lodge which Sir Thomas Tresham built in the years around 1600 – was surrounded only by a narrow apron of grass, closely hemmed-in by ploughed fields. Nevertheless, there remains a remarkable collection of archaeological evidence relating to this site. From the first amateur archaeologist, Colonel Kenneth Brown, who camped on a mount in 1932 and devoted his summer to studying Lyveden, to the aerial photograph taken in 1944 by the Luftwaffe, and the efforts of J.M. Steane and his pupils, the headmaster and boys of Kettering Grammar School, who studied the site over a few years in the 1960s, the developments in the Lyveden valley and on the hillside above have fascinated many and have continued to yield archaeological treasure. Recent years have witnessed more professional and sophisticated surveys, including geophysical and magnetometry analysis and the investigations of parts of the site via a number of selected trenches. Still, Lyveden is revealing yet more of itself.

Our knowledge and understanding of the site has been enormously supported by reference to what is, surely, a unique collection of correspondence and diary entries, made by Sir Thomas Tresham, his family, friends and retainers, which tells us much about the life of this proud representative of a long-established gentry family, Catholic recusant and creator of a small group of masterpieces of building and design. Astonishingly, 'an enormous bundle' of these papers was discovered in 1828¹, walled-up in its hiding place in Rushton Hall, where it must have been placed shortly after Sir Thomas Tresham's death, in September, 1605.

'From the fact that the papers go on pretty steadily from 1576 to November, 1605, and then suddenly stop .. it is supposed that they were walled up in the alarm following the Gunpowder Plot and the arrest of Francis Tresham, eldest son of Sir Thomas, for complicity therein.'²

Parts of this bundle of papers were transcribed and published in 1904, to create an invaluable resource. Study of the collection has more recently been supplemented by the work of Dr. Andrew Eburne, who produced, with Dr. Kate Felus, the 2010 *CMP* and who transcribed / translated a number of letters between Tresham and his Lyveden keeper, John Slynne. In particular, there are letters dating from 1597, when Tresham was in prison in Ely, which are extraordinarily detailed and informative about the work being undertaken on the buildings and the gardens at Lyveden. Further translation / transcription has been produced by Peter Foden, in conjunction with this

¹ Mr. W. Clarke-Thornhill, then living at Rushton Hall, discovered these papers when remodelling the Great Hall at Rushton and taking down a, 'very thick partition wall'.

² T.B. Clarke-Thornhill Esq., *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, Vols.III-IV, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1904, Introduction.

CMP. Foden sampled several folios of correspondence and diaries, in the British Library, to identify commentary which applies specifically to Lyveden (and not any of the other projects which occupied Tresham). Many of Foden's discoveries were found in the diaries kept by Tresham's steward, George Levens. Amongst records of wide-ranging discussions, there were detailed accounts of the work going on apace on the 'New Bield', Tresham's garden lodge on the crest of the hill, and the 'Old Bield', his new manor house in the Lyveden valley below. These date from 1598 and the early 1600s.

It must be said that, if these two forays to the British Library have produced such riches, it seems likely that there is still more to be found, in the BL and in the Northamptonshire Record Office³ as well as in the Brudenell Collection, now in the Bodleian Library⁴.

For this *CMP*, we have also been able to discover a good deal about Tresham's library: an astonishingly wide-ranging collection of texts, much of which still survives at Deene Park, not far away from Lyveden, whence it was removed on Tresham's death, to the safe-keeping of his son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell. It has long been known that Tresham's library was famed even in his day, for its depth and range. We have been fortunate in discovering a 20th century publication, collating everything that is known about Tresham's library and thus allowing, for the first time, proper access to what must have been one of the most important sources of the ideas and knowledge with which Tresham shaped his creative endeavours. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, in 2006, *The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell*, is by Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, with an introduction by John Martin Robinson.

In addition, of course, the recent acquisition by the National Trust, of the Old Bield, the Lyveden Manor and its surrounding land, is of exceptional importance. It has reunited the major elements of Tresham's composition and it has thus enabled us to undertake a more comprehensive survey of the whole site than has been easily available hitherto. Furthermore, the acquisition promises much, for it will allow the re-integration of Tresham's original vision - of a walk, from his new manor house, up the hill, climbing through his new gardens, towards his new garden lodge. It will also create opportunities for further study, and a location for facilities in support of the increasing numbers of visitors who are, and will be, coming to Lyveden.

1.3 'Old Bield' and 'New Bield'?

At this juncture, we comment on the use of the terms 'Old Bield' and 'New Bield', to refer to what are now the Lyveden Manor and Tresham's garden Lodge (which, as we shall argue, might properly be called his 'Lyveden Lantern'). It has been suggested that these terms – though their current use is widespread – do not have long-standing historic significance and may lead to confusion.

The terms conjure a particular kind of Romanticism, with roots firmly in the 19th century, which meant that manifestly historic structures were not infrequently given archaising names. Many such names and phrases emerged from the English Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the Arts and Crafts Movement and contemporary poets. Accordingly, it is no surprise to find that the terms were first used, in print, by the architect John Alfred Gotch. In his extremely interesting and valuable 1883 publication, *A Complete Account, Illustrated by Measured Drawings, of the Buildings Erected by Sir Thomas*

³ The Farming Woods, or Maxwell Papers, cover the period from the early 17th C to the early 19th C.

⁴ These papers probably date from the later years of Tresham, where he was discussing theological issues with his son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell (of Deene Park). This period also witnessed, of course, some of his more prolific building projects, so there might well be relevant material included herein.

Tresham in Northamptonshire, between the Years 1575 and 1605. Together with the many particulars concerning the Tresham family and home at Rushton, Gotch reported that the, 'Old Building and New Building' were, 'locally called, Old and New Bield'⁵. Whether this observation were true, or not, we cannot tell; Gotch would not have been the first of his contemporaries to justify the introduction of quaint-sounding terminology by reference to the locals (who were, of course, the soul of tradition, the stuff of history). Gotch was an architect and scholar who was well-acquainted with the PRB and Arts and Crafts architecture and the evocative phrases would have suited him. John Alfred's brother was Thomas Cooper Gotch, the successful, Rossetti-influenced painter, and John Alfred himself was also a great admirer of Elizabethan and Jacobean building. As a Kettering architect, Gotch was responsible for a number of the town's great civic and commercial buildings and, though he remained Northamptonshire-based, he became a leading member of the establishment, when he was appointed President of the RIBA in 1923.

Gotch's study of Tresham's work – which was accompanied by his many carefully-observed drawings of the buildings in Rothwell, Rushton and Lyveden – was just one of his scholarly tomes and it must have helped to establish his reputation. From our point of view, however, Gotch's great claim to fame is that he performed the inestimable service of re-introducing the British public to Sir Thomas Tresham's creations. Without doubt, we owe Gotch a debt of gratitude. We are, therefore, not in favour of getting rid of 'Old Bield' and 'New Bield': partly, because these words, themselves, now have a history of more than a century and are very widely used; partly because they do so successfully conjure something of the mystery of Tresham's work - and they say quite a lot, too, about the English response to history in the late 19th century; and partly because Gotch thought them good enough⁶.

1.4 Structure of this CMP

Part I deals with the Background and History of Lyveden. It includes Section 1, which is this Introduction, and Section 2, which attends to the current Land Ownership, Physical Character, Status and Use of Lyveden Old Bield, New Bield and Gardens. Section 3 is a brief Chronological Summary of the development of the site and Section 4 is the considerably longer Historical Analysis, introduced by an Executive Summary.

Part II focuses on analysing the Survival, Changes and Loss of the site, and laying the foundations for its Understanding. It opens with Section 5, comprising a detailed study of the Status of the Landscape - effectively, a Gazetteer. Section 6 considers Gaps in Knowledge. Section 7 is, in many ways, the nub of this whole report, highlighting the Physical, Historical, Cultural and Community Significances identified in this site. Section 8 analyses the Strengths, Opportunities of Lyveden, and the Constraints or Vulnerabilities which might threaten them.

Part III is dedicated to laying the foundations of Management Policies. Section 9 summarises the current strategic context of Lyveden, referring to international, national, regional and local Policies and Guidance. Section 10 recommends appropriate Framework Conservation Management Policies, tailored to this particular site.

⁵ J.A. Gotch, 1883, *Op.cit.*, p.2, fn. d.

⁶ This contradicts the recommendations of Eburne & Felus, who fear that the use of this old-fashioned terminology does not command any historic authenticity and may be confusing. See *Lyveden New Bield, Conservation Management Plan*, 2010, pp.3-4.

Part IV deals with Conservation, Restoration and Management Recommendations. Section II identifies Priorities for Conservation and Restoration and Section 12 outlines proposed Capital and Revenue Works.

2 LAND OWNERSHIP, PHYSICAL CHARACTER, STATUS AND USE OF LYVEDEN 'OLD BIELD', 'NEW BIELD' AND GARDENS

2.1 Physical Site Characteristics

2.1.1 Location

Lyveden New Bield is located in East Northamptonshire, approximately 11 km south-east of Corby and 8km south-west of Oundle. Set in a commanding position on the crest of the Lyveden valley, the property is surrounded by a landscape of arable fields and woods, now virtually empty of settlement apart from a few isolated farmsteads. Vehicular access is via Harley Way, an historic route that follows the Lyveden Brook along the valley floor and is now a surfaced minor road that connects the village of Brigstock to the west with the historic town of Oundle to the east (Fig.2/1).

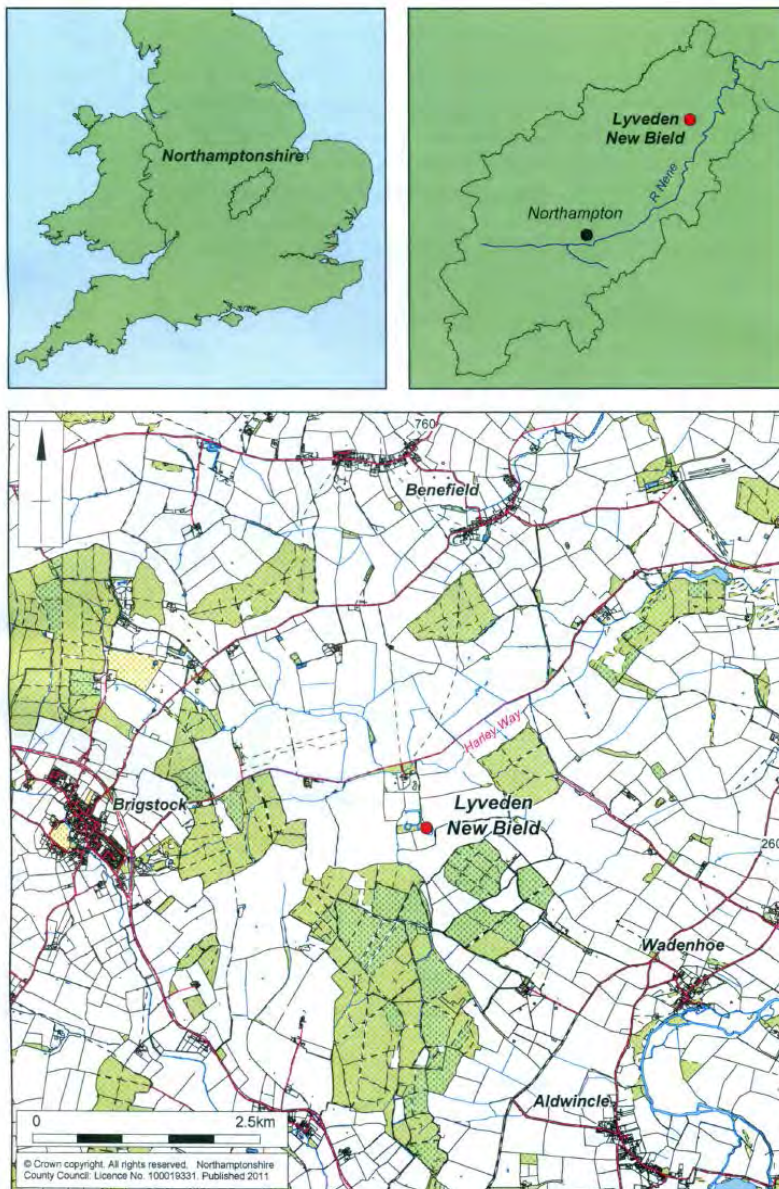


Fig.2/1- Maps taken from *An Archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire, September 2011* by Northamptonshire Archaeology

Lyveden is in the heart of the Rockingham Forest, which contains some of the best preserved mediaeval woodlands in England. Physical access to these woodlands is provided by a series of rights of way, one of which passes close by the New Bield itself.

The property principally comprises unfinished gardens with mounts, moats and orchards, as well as the incomplete structure of the New Bield itself. These lie on the north-facing side of the shallow valley, south of the Lyveden Brook. Since the National Trust took over the property in 1922 it has made a number of further acquisitions to safeguard the property's fabric and presentation; the most recent being the purchase, in 2012, of the Old Bield (Manor House) and associated gardens in the north of the site. The Trust now owns the most significant parts of Sir Thomas Tresham's Elizabethan work of art.

2.1.2 Landscape Character

The property lies within Natural England's Character Area 92¹, the Rockingham Forest Character Area². The area lies to the north and east of the county of Northamptonshire and is described as having:

- an undulating landform rising to prominent scarp along the edge of Welland Valley in Rockingham Forest;
- large woodlands on higher ground;
- high historic and nature conservation interest in woodlands;
- remnants of unimproved grassland throughout, with limestone heaths and fragments of acid bogs in the Soke³ of Peterborough;
- foreground views occupied by large arable fields with low hedges;
- large mature landscape parks and country houses;
- dry stone walls around villages, becoming more common in open countryside in Soke of Peterborough;
- nucleated villages often in sheltered streamside locations;
- distinctive buildings constructed in local stone - iron stone in the west of the area and limestone in the east;
- undisturbed, deeply rural quality despite nearby towns and adjoining trunk roads;
- prominent, disused ironstone quarries (gulleys) and abandoned second world war airfields;
- a sharp transition between the countryside and the main towns of Kettering, Corby and Peterborough (lying just outside the area) which have developed rapidly in recent years⁴.

Much of the character area description is pertinent to Lyveden, which indeed possesses an 'undisturbed, deeply rural quality' set around with woodland and large arable fields that dominate not only the foreground but also the background and in many places as far as the eye can see. It is also of significance that, despite the county's long industrial past (note the reference to ironstone quarrying above), views from the New Bield do not include any 19th and 20th century urban or industrial development, save the occasional movement of modern tractors and farm

¹ National Character Areas (NCAs) divide England into 159 distinct natural areas. Each is defined by a unique combination of landscape biodiversity, geodiversity and cultural and economic activity. Their boundaries follow natural lines in the landscape rather than administrative boundaries, making them a good decision-making framework for the natural environment

² http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/images/jca92_tcm6-5090

³ The Soke of Peterborough was a distinct administrative area for many centuries and this title is conveniently used to the present to define the physically distinctive countryside to the west of Peterborough

⁴ Refer to section 2.2.5

equipment. It takes little imagination to replace these in the mind's eye with shire horses or mediaeval oxen.

2.1.3 Topography, Geology and Soils

The underlying geology of Northamptonshire is mostly sedimentary rocks of the Jurassic Period (195-140 million years ago), overlain by areas of sand gravels and till deposited during the Wolstonian Period of the last Ice Age (200,000-130,000 years ago). The most significant component of the county's geology is the varied sequence of limestone and clays from the Middle Jurassic Period - the lowest part of this sequence, the Northamptonshire Sand, contains the distinctive ironstone with which numerous buildings are constructed in Northamptonshire and the surrounding counties⁵.

The local geology is mainly Kellaways Formation and Oxford Clay Formation (undifferentiated) with mudstone, siltstone and sandstone also noted (Fig.2/2). The Kellaways Formation dates from the Jurassic Period and consists of two layers - the Kellaways Sand, a light green-grey clayish silt, with layers of sand concretions, overlying the Kellaways Clay, a dark grey plastic fissile clay. The Oxford Formation comprises a Jurassic marine sedimentary rock (underlying much of southeast England from as far west Dorset and as far north as Yorkshire). The superficial geology of the area is Mid Pleistocene Diamicton Till⁶. These rocks were formed in shallow seas with mainly siliciclastic sediments (comprising of fragments or clasts of silicate minerals) deposited as mud, silt, sand and gravel⁷.

The soils covering the property are mapped by the *Soil Survey of England & Wales* (1983) as the Hanslope Association. This comprises calcareous and non-calcareous clayed soils, often referred to as boulder clay, with a slightly impeded drainage, known as polesols, developed on glacial drift over Middle Pleistocene till.

⁵ Kate Warburton, *Northamptonshire, Rutland & Peterborough*, Context Report, March 2012

⁶ Allen Archaeology, *Archaeological Evaluation Report: Geophysical Survey by Magnetometry in the Orchard Field, Lyveden New Bield*, December 2011

⁷ Ref. British Geological Survey -

<http://www.bgs.ac.uk/discoveringGeology/geologyOfBritain/viewer.html>

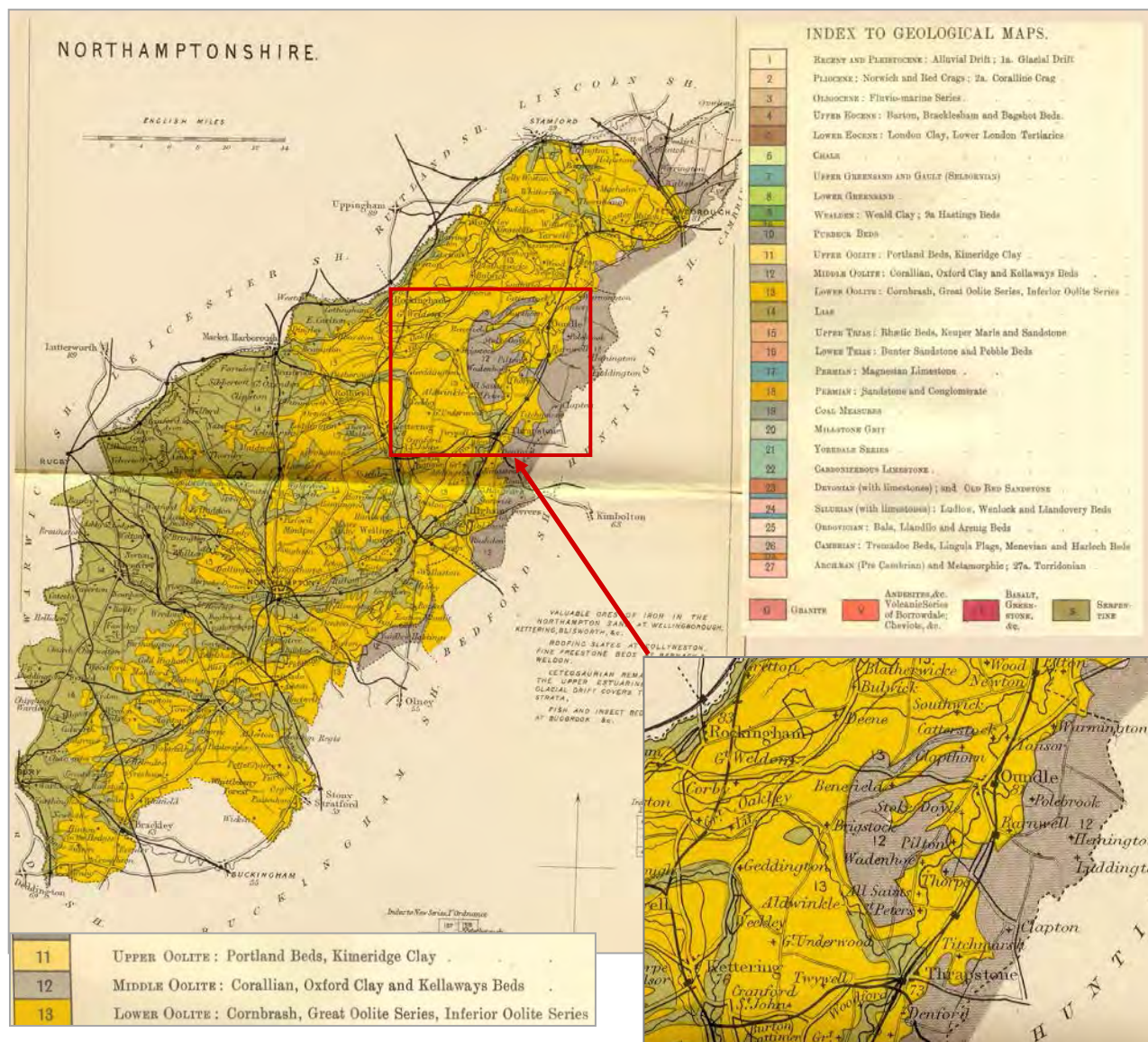


Fig.2/2 Maps showing the dominance of Oxford Clay

and Kellaways Beds in the vicinity of Lyveden (between Benefield in the north and Aldwinkle in the south), taken from *Geology of Great Britain, Introduction with Geological Maps*, by Ian West, School of Ocean and Earth Science, Southampton University, 23rd December, 2008

2.1.4 Local Population

The following notes summarising the population characteristics in Northamptonshire were taken from the Northamptonshire, Rutland & Peterborough Context Report produced by Kate Warburton (The Trust's External Affairs Consultant for the Midlands) in March 2012.

'The population of Northamptonshire is typical of an English rural county - predominantly white, Christian, born in England, and broadly matching the national age percentages'.

'The most notable variation is in the Corby area, where 19% of the district's population were born in Scotland (the national average is 2%) - this anomaly dates back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when large numbers of

workers moved to Corby from Scotland hoping to find employment in the town's rapidly expanding iron and steel works.

Northamptonshire's population is currently the fastest growing of any county in England. The Office for National Statistics, however downgraded its latest population growth projections for Northamptonshire. The county's population is now predicted to grow by 10% to 770 000 in 2020 and by a further 11% to 856,700 in 2033. This growth is likely to be centred in and around Northampton (29%) and South Northamptonshire (28%), while Corby will see the least growth in the county at 16%.'

The report also notes that in 2003 the then Labour Government identified Northamptonshire as part of the Milton Keynes – South Midlands Growth Area, one of four such areas created to accommodate the economic success of London and the wider south east through focused housing and economic growth. Two statutory Urban Development Corporations were established to facilitate the investment and development needed to achieve the project levels of growth. North Northamptonshire Development Corporation focused on Corby (9 miles from Lyveden by road), Kettering (12 miles from Lyveden by road), Rushden (18 miles from Lyveden by road) and Wellingborough (20 miles from Lyveden by road).

The present Coalition Government disbanded both of the county's Development Corporations and, by 2011, some of the Corporation's powers had already been devolved to relevant local authorities.

Electric Corby⁸ was formed as a not-for-profit Community Interest Company with the support of the Borough Council with clear aims to establish Corby as:

- a leading edge location for business;
- the UK's leading practical, community scale test centre for energy efficient living and low carbon transportation.

Electric Corby makes the claim that it is in the heart of England and is the fastest growing area outside London. It goes on to report:

'Brilliantly located to reach all parts of the UK rapidly by road, rail⁹ and air, we're sometimes described as the northernmost town in Southern England and the southernmost town in Northern England... the truth is, we're neatly placed somewhere in the middle!

Corby is currently being transformed, thanks to a visionary programme of new business and housing developments that has already seen a 20% leap in the population in the last 10 years alone. The next few decades promise even more expansion - with the town's population doubling to 100,000 in the next 20 years, helping to fill the thousands of new jobs being created.'

Notwithstanding the development company's understandable hyperbole, it is clear that the population, in what could be considered the Lyveden visitor catchment area, is set to rise substantially in the next ten to twenty years. This will, inevitably have an impact on all aspects of life in this rural part of the county and the unique quality of Lyveden, where visitor numbers continued to rise in the first decade of this century and are anticipated to reach 50,000 a year by the mid 2020s.

⁸ <http://www.electriccorby.co.uk/about-us/>

⁹ Direct rail service - Corby to London St. Pancras in 70 minutes.

2.2 Current Ownership, Occupancy and Use

2.2.1 The National Trust – Ownership Summary

The National Trust purchased Lyveden New Bield from Dame Hilda Beatrice Currie of Upham House, Aldbourne, Wiltshire, on the 12th April 1922. Dame Hilda had first offered the property for sale in 1913 and a legal purchase agreement, dated 1st July 1914, was drawn up between the two parties. For whatever reason, the sale did not proceed at the time and we have not seen any reference to its postponement in any document. It is possible that the threat of hostilities – the Great War broke out on the 28th July – caused the delay although we have not seen any written record to support this.

In essence, the two sale documents are similar (in 1914 the vendor is named as Mrs. H. B. Currie and not Dame Hilda Beatrice Currie as in 1922) and the parcel of land transferred is the same in both cases. Maps accompanying both documents confirm this. The map from the 1922 sale (Fig. 2/3) is reproduced to show the area purchased (in red) which comprised the New Bield, the adjoining cottage, the land to the south - named as Plot 260 (now referred to as the south west meadow) and the water gardens, including a strip of land to the north of the north terrace.



Fig. 2/3 Map that accompanied the purchase documents of Lyveden showing extent of property at the time of acquisition

This plot of land is set within extensive farmland to the west, north and east with Lilford and Bradshaw Wood to the south. It is not on a public highway and right of access was, and has remained from time to time, an issue. Access is secured in both sale documents. The 1922 Indenture states that:

'Together with full and free right and liberty for the National Trust their successors and assigns and tenants licensees and all persons going to or from the hereditaments hereby assured in common with the Vendor and all persons authorised by her or having any right over the roads or ways hereinafter mentioned with or without horses cattle or other animals carts carriages and other vehicles of every kind at all times to pass and repass from or to the hereditaments hereby assured over and along two roads or ways the width of twenty feet delineated and coloured brown on the said plan one of such roads or ways being on the East boundary of the hereditaments hereby assured and leading in a Northerly direction from Bradshaw Wood to the road or way known as Harley Way leading from Brigstock to Peterborough and the other leading in a Northerly direction from the north Western Corner of the of the hereditament hereby assured to the said Harley Way And together also with full free right and liberty in common with all other persons having the like right for the National Trust their Successors and assigns to make up maintain and keep in repair the said two roads or ways twenty feet wide leading to Harley Way or any part or parts thereof excepting nevertheless and reserved unto the vendor and her predecessors title and her and their assigns the free passage and running of water in common with the National Trust and persons authorised by them along any existing pipes watercourses and ditches (if any) from adjoining or contiguous property belonging to her or them'

Comparison with the 1914 proposed sale document is interesting. The wording is virtually identical, however the right over roads or ways is different as can be seen in the extract from the proposed 1914 Sale Agreement (in both cases the underlining is ours):

'Together with and free right and liberty for the National Trust their successors and assigns and their tenants licensees and all persons going to or from the hereditaments hereby agreed to be sold in common with the Vendor and all persons authorised by her or having any right over the roads or ways hereinafter mentioned..'

The change in words from 'agreed to be sold in common with the Vendor' in the 1914 Sale Agreement to the 1922 phrase 'hereby assured in common with the Vendor' may have been a legal nicety, however it seems it may have had an impact on subsequent debates with owners of the adjacent lands.

The New Bield is surrounded by agricultural land, much of which comprised Lyveden Manor Farm and, since the Trust's acquisition in 1922, the adjacent land has passed through a number of owners. Much of it is now owned by His Royal Highness Prince Richard Alexander Walter George, Duke of Gloucester and is managed as the Barnwell Estates. In May 1979, H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester donated two parcels of land at Lyveden to the Trust by a Deed of Gift¹⁰. Significantly, this included a small triangle of land immediately to the east of the New Bield and east of the public right of way. More recently, in 1999-2000, H.R.H. Duke of Gloucester agreed to the sale of the orchard and the field to the south of the Old Bield to the Trust. Martin Drury (then Director-General of the National Trust between 1996 -1999) noted at the time that the

¹⁰ Unsigned Handwritten Memorandum written on the Assent Sale Document, drawn up between the Baring Brothers and Company Limited and H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester, 1st July 1977. Copy held in the Lyveden Property Files

acquisition of these two parcels of land would improve the visitor experience by enhancing the setting and presentation of the New Bield and by emphasising the historic link between the Old Bield, the Gardens and the New Bield¹¹.

In 2013 the Trust was successful in acquiring Lyveden Manor and 27 acres of ground, including the lower terraces to Tresham's garden. The much-altered manor house is currently rented to tenants but the Trust's longer term aim is to incorporate it and the surrounding landscape into a visitor amenity for the New Bield and the wider Rockingham Forest environment.

It is acknowledged that a number of the land owners of adjacent properties have, over the years, been very sensitive to the Trust's needs and aspirations, however the complexities of ownership and tenancy relationships have inevitably complicated the management of the property. In addition, standards of best practice in conservation, archaeology, access and engagement have also changed, as have visitor numbers and expectation. As visitor numbers mount, managers of this, and similar, properties are acutely aware of the pressures that are brought to bear not only on their land but on their neighbours and the local infrastructure and this concern to be a good neighbour is, of course, one of the Trust's central tenets.

2.3 Land Use and Management

2.3.1 Stewardship Scheme

There is, currently, an HLS Agreement with Natural England. This operates from October, 2011 to the end of September, 2021. It applies to the management of nine parcels of land, of hedgerows and ditches, and it includes capital works relating to protection of historical and archaeological features and tree removal. It is focused on the land on the upper reaches of the hillside, including all the land acquired up until c.2000. It does not apply to any part of the landscape in the vicinity of Lyveden Manor.

The aims of the HLS Agreement are summarised on a plan (Fig.2/4) and articulated below.

¹¹ Letter from Martin Drury (Director-General NT) dated 12th January 1999. Copy held in the Lyveden Property Files



Fig.2/4 Plan showing land parcels managed under an HLS Agreement with Natural England, 2011-2021

RLR field number - 0257

This parcel of land, some 6.52 ha., lies to the west of the orchard and SSW of Lyveden Manor. This comprises the majority of the land acquired by the NT in c.2000. At present, it still reveals the enrichment which has followed from decades of intensive arable farming, despite the fact that it was seeded with a locally-sourced wildflower mix, from an SSSI, in recent years. It also includes the last above-ground evidence of the pre-1590s moated systems that were laid out in this area, to the west of the Tresham moated channels. The HLS Agreement aims to improve the management of the grassland in order to protect the archaeological features (HD5) and to create and maintain moderately species-rich, semi-improved grassland (HK15, HK6), which will be used for haymaking (HK18).

RLR field number - 1331

This small piece of land, 0.86 ha., lies to the west of the SW spiral mount. The grassland is being managed in order to provide appropriate protection to the archaeological features (HD5), which include the margins around the lower reaches of the mount (this plot of land is covered by the SAM designation). This certainly helps to minimise the impact of stock and machinery on the land; it should also help to minimise the impact of visitor footfall.

This area is, however, at present well-timbered and comprises one of the more significant pieces of woodland on the site. Accordingly, the plan accompanying the Stewardship Agreement indicates that this plot of land is also being managed for the restoration of wood pasture and parkland (HC13¹²). In addition, we note that this parcel of land represents one of the woodland areas covered by the Northamptonshire designation of Lyveden as a Local Wildlife Site (LWS - see discussion under para. 2.4.5). Specifically, the woodland at Lyveden is recognised for the fact

¹² Curiously, there are no prescriptions for this option included in the hard copy of the Stewardship Agreement we have seen. We presume, nevertheless, that the codes attached to the plan do apply.

that it has, 'some interest in the ground layer', despite the fact that it has 'no shrub layer'.

It does seem to us that there are some inherent contradictions in these various designations, each of which must be accompanied by a slightly different range of objectives. In practice, care will have to be taken to ensure that the protection of the SAM is not compromised by any significant introduction of shrubs to create an intermediate vegetative layer in this woodland. Trees should be managed to continue to allow the healthy growth of existing stock, to limit any losses, from wind-throw or other catastrophic failure (to avoid root damage to any archaeology); any roots of felled trees must be removed by localised stump-grinding, not by pulling; and there should sufficient access of light to the woodland floor to ensure that a herb-rich layer can be achieved and maintained. This small plot of land will require some sensitive management to fulfil all the ambitions attached to it.

RLR field number -1622

This 3.55ha. field lies to the south of the SW spiral mount (separated from the mount by field no. -1331). The grassland is, again, still showing signs of enrichment from past farming practices. It is now to be managed for the protection of archaeological features (HD5) and for the promotion of target species in the grasslands (HK15).

RLR field number -1944

This 3.55 ha. field lies within the moated channels of Tresham's garden. It represented the 'moated orchard', which was to play a central role in the ornamental and narrative scheme of his gardens and lies at the heart of the SAM. It is being managed to control the scrub in this area of archaeological significance (HD4). This requires the usual careful management, to remove weeds and scrub, without disturbing the ground. We note, however, that there are also requirements to, 'remove cuttings or brash from the feature', and not to, 'tip, dump or burn any material on the feature'. Given the fact that this area has been used, in the recent past, for the deposition of silt from the moated channels and for the collection and burning of vegetative waste, we should emphasise that these practices do not confirm to the HLS prescriptions.

RLR field number - 2263

This 3.25 ha. field accommodates the replanted lower orchard. It may well have been from the original orchard that Dame Muriel Tresham, in 1609, removed 50 trees and sent them to Lord Burghley, who was then developing the gardens at Hatfield. It is true, however, that the most significant evidence of this historic orchard can be found only in the sight of planting pits on the aerial photograph, taken by the Luftwaffe in 1944. Subsequently, much of this area was under arable management and recent archaeological investigation has revealed no surviving signs of the planting pits. The replanted orchard does not conform exactly to what was shown on the 1944 photograph, but it does include fruit trees known to have been selected by Tresham or grown in the years around 1600. The area is to be managed as a traditional orchard (HC20). The grassland in the orchard is to be managed to protect any surviving archaeological features (HD4, HD5). This means that additional planting in the orchard should not, normally, be permitted (or, at least, anything with roots deeper than c.300mm), despite the apparent loss of any archaeological earthworks during the post-War period. It also means that, should the relatively modern hedge – which currently separates the lower orchard from the site of the former terraces rising from the Old Bield – be removed, care will have to be taken when removing roots.

RLR field number - 3024

This 3.7 ha. field lies to the SW of the New Bield. In the late 1990s, it was seeded with a

general wildflower mix and has, since, been carefully-managed to provide a rich, early-summer display. It creates a delightful carpet, laid out before Tresham's garden lodge, and it has proved especially beneficial for invertebrates and bees. This grassland is, therefore, being managed for the protection of archaeological features and for target species of herbs, grasses and wildflowers (HD5, HK15).

RLR field number - 4352

A field of 7.23 ha., this lies to the east of the moated orchard. It includes the areas identified (by Eburne & Felus) and described by Tresham in 1597 as his bowling green, and orchards planted on Warden Hills and in the 'new gardening quarter'. Of the layout of the latter, evidence – taken from archaeological observations in the 1930s, a hint in the 1944 Luftwaffe photograph and descriptions following investigations in the 1970s – has shown that it was laid out with a sequence of crossed, diagonal paths.

This area is managed to protect the archaeology (HD5), to promote species-rich, semi-natural grassland (HK6) and there is a supplement for haymaking (HK18).

In addition to the above, parcels of land are governed by managing the hedgerows and associated ditches (RLR field numbers - 5430 and - 3968)

2.3.2 Management and Maintenance

The property's management structure was determined by the Northamptonshire General Manager based on an understanding of the county's property profile and requirements at the time (Fig.2/5).

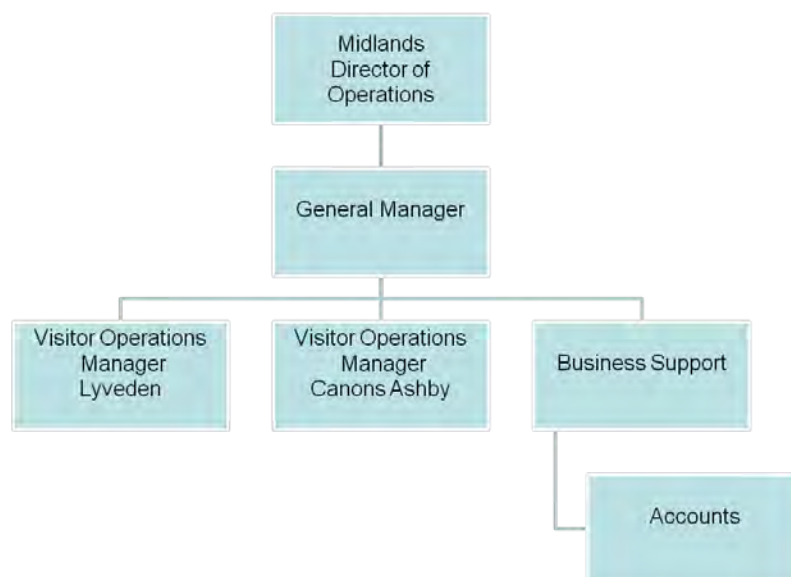


Fig. 2/5 National Trust Midlands Operational Line Diagram, 2013

Lyveden itself has a small number of full- or part-time National Trust staff supported by a large number of dedicated and well-managed and motivated volunteers. In 2013 the management and staffing at the property was as outlined below (Fig.2/6).



Fig. 2/6 Lyveden Operational Line Diagram, 2013

The role of the volunteer in the Trust's operations at Lyveden, and across the country, is succinctly summarised by Mark Bradshaw, now the General Manager for the Trust's properties in Northamptonshire and Rutland¹³:

'Volunteers are an essential part of the visitor experience. For many visitors, volunteers are the only personal contact on a visit. Volunteer recommendation is an effective barometer for measuring volunteer satisfaction. It encourages volunteers to be strong advocates for our places, supports growth in volunteering and shows our volunteers feel fully part of the Trust and their skills and contribution are valued.'

Grounds maintenance at Lyveden is undertaken by the Volunteer Outdoor Team comprising of some seven or so members. They are responsible for the grass mowing, hedge trimming etc. – i.e., much of the management specified in the HLS Agreement – as well as fence and gate maintenance and litter picking etc.

Storage for grounds maintenance machinery, equipment and materials has been a long-standing problem. This is not a site with a 'home farm' provision of barns and sheds and the introduction of any container or shed has implications for the conservation and presentation of the property. For the majority of the Trust's ownership, responsibility for maintenance and other caretaker duties was divested to the tenant of the Cottage and, consequently, grounds maintenance storage and operations were concentrated in the cottage grounds. This pattern continued until recently, including in the time Mark Bradshaw lived in the cottage with his family, before his sphere of responsibility was extended to include all the Trust's properties in Northamptonshire and Rutland.

Two steel containers for the storage of light grounds equipment (essentially gardening tools), including hand mowers etc., are located between the timber visitor reception building and the moat around the east snail mount. This is obviously not the ideal location for equipment storage, impacting as it does on the circulation around the moats and the setting of the New Bield. This problem of the location of the Visitor Reception building and equipment store caused much debate and soul-searching within the Trust. Without doubt, the purchase of the Manor will provide the opportunity to re-visit this situation.

Much of the Trust's large scale equipment is now stored in the timber barns to the east of the Manor House in the north of the property.

¹³Mark Bradshaw, Northamptonshire & Rutland Portfolio Business Plan 2013-16, November 2012

2.4 Designations

2.4.1 Historical / Archaeological - The Landscape and New Bield: Scheduled Ancient Monument

Lyveden New Bield and Water Garden are, together, scheduled under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 (as amended), signifying its national importance. English Heritage List Entry¹⁴ names the property as Lyveden New Building and garden with list entry number 1003640 (Fig.2/7). The Schedule notes,

'that this record has been generated from an "old county number" (OCN) scheduling record. As these are some of our oldest designation records they do not have all the information held electronically that our modernised records contain. Therefore, the original date of scheduling is not available electronically.'



Fig.2/7 Map showing the Scheduled Monument boundary, taken from the English Heritage Register

The boundary of the Scheduled Monument is shown on the plan as skirting the New Bield very closely, and in a manner which does not reflect the current understanding of the building and its garden setting. It is probable that the Scheduled Monument boundary was drawn at a time when the land was ploughed very close to the New Bield; an issue that taxed the Trust in the post-War years and was particularly well articulated in 1974 by Francis St John (Bobby) Gore¹⁵ who elegantly described the Bield as set on a 'parsimonious piece of grass'¹⁶. Since this description was made, the

¹⁴ <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1003640>.

¹⁵ Francis St John (Bobby) Gore CBE (1921-2010) was one of the National Trust's charismatic and influential figures of the post-war years. In 1956 he was appointed as the Trust's first Adviser on Paintings, a post he occupied for 30 years. He was also Historic Buildings Representative for south-east England from 1966 to 1974 where he oversaw the opening to the public of Clandon Park and Chartwell; properties where he first introduced gift shops and restaurants, innovations that were to become the Trust's standard visitor features. From 1974 to 1981 he was Historic Buildings Secretary with the responsibility for the presentation, curatorship and conservation of all the Trust's houses and their contents. His sensitive response to the character of Lyveden set a precedent which remains important.

¹⁶ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.54

Trust has instated a ditch, containing a larger apron of land around the New Bield (garden lodge), reflecting Sir Thomas Tresham's own description of the garden setting of his lodge; hence, most of the setting of the lodge now lies outwith the Scheduled Monument.

Scheduled Monument designation under the 1979 Act affords statutory protection to scheduled monuments by making it a criminal offence to:

- destroy or damage a scheduled monument;
- execute or cause or permit to be executed works – including operations of any description undertaken for purposes of agriculture or forestry – that would demolish, destroy, damage, remove, repair, alter or add to a scheduled monument, or to carry out any flooding or tipping operations on land in, on or under which there is such a monument, without the prior written consent of the Secretary of State;
- use a metal detector in a place which is the site of a scheduled monument (or of any monument under the ownership or guardianship of the Secretary of State, English Heritage, a local authority or a National Park Authority) or situated in an area of archaeological importance without prior consent from English Heritage;
- remove any object of archaeological or historical interest which has been discovered by the use of a metal detector in a place which is the site of a scheduled monument (or of any monument under the ownership or guardianship of the Secretary of State, English Heritage, a local authority or a National Park Authority) or situated in an area of archaeological importance without prior consent from English Heritage.

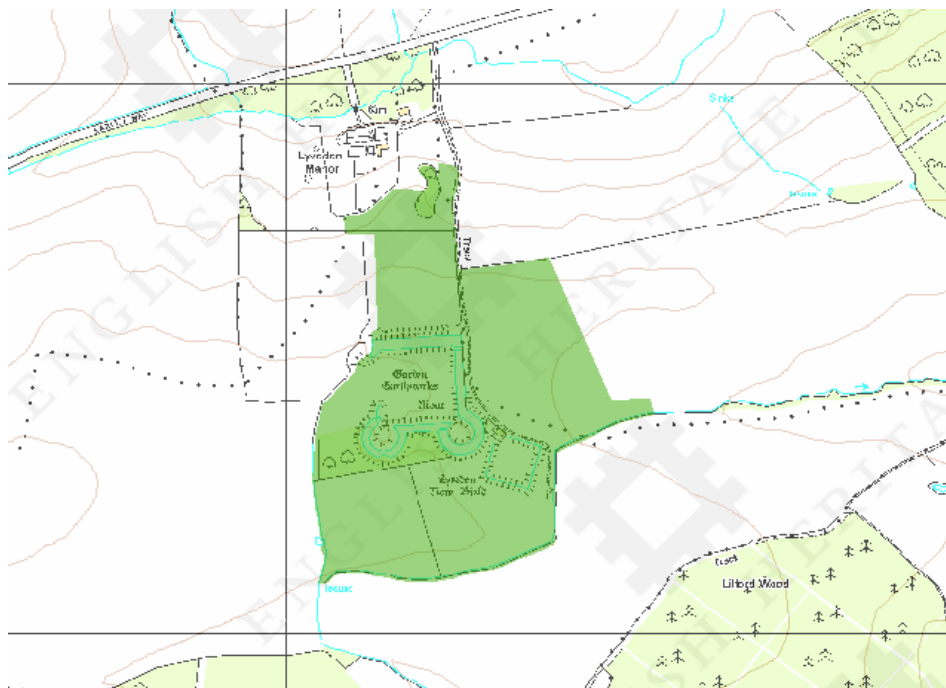
The Act also states that:

'Heritage assets with archaeological interest (including both scheduled monuments and nationally important, but non-scheduled monuments) are subject to the provisions of The Treasure Act, The Treasure (Designation) Order and The Theft Act. Their protection and conservation is also taken into account by Government in other legislation, policies and procedures – including those relating to spatial planning, land / coastal zone management and agriculture, and to Environmental Impact Assessment and Strategic Environmental Assessment - as well as in the stewardship of its own historic estate. It is also a factor in the designation and management of protected landscapes (such as National Parks, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, Heritage Coasts and World Heritage Sites).'

In short; a monument which has been scheduled is protected against disturbance or unlicensed metal detecting. Application for Scheduled Monument Consent must be made to the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport before any work can be carried out which might affect a monument either above or below ground level.

2.4.2 *Historical / Archaeological - The Landscape: English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest*

Lyveden New Bield is designated Grade I on the English Heritage *Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest* - List Entry Number 1001037 (Fig.2/8).



© Crown Copyright and database right 2013. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900

Fig.2/8 Map showing the entry for Lyveden, from the English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest

This designation has not, in the past, conferred any direct statutory protection, although the impact of any proposed development on a registered historic landscape and its setting has long been a material consideration in the planning process. The position of English Heritage is that registered Parks and Gardens are now classified as, 'designated heritage assets' and statutory protection is, in effect, extended to them. That Lyveden now comprises two Grade I listed buildings and one Grade II listed building, set in Grade I registered landscape, confers a very high level of statutory protection. All development proposals relating to Grade I and II* parks and gardens must be referred to English Heritage.

This status is reiterated in the new National Planning Policy Framework which superseded PPS5 and became effective from March 2012¹⁷. Of particular relevance to Lyveden and its conservation is the emphasis the NPPF places on the heritage asset and its setting as set out in Clauses 128, 129 and 132¹⁸.

128. In determining applications, local planning authorities should require an applicant to describe the significance of any heritage assets affected, including any contribution made by their setting. The level of detail should be proportionate to the assets' importance and no more than is sufficient to understand the potential impact of the proposal on their significance. As a minimum the relevant historic environment record should have been consulted and the heritage assets assessed using appropriate expertise where necessary. Where a site on which development is proposed includes or has the potential to include heritage assets with archaeological interest, local

¹⁷ On 27 March 2012, the Government published the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). The NPPF supersedes Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment (PPS5) as Government Policy on the management of change to the Historic Environment in England.

¹⁸ www.communities.gov.uk; National Planning Policy Framework, Department for Communities and Local Government, March 2012, Clauses 128,129 & 132

planning authorities should require developers to submit an appropriate desk-based assessment and, where necessary, a field evaluation.

129. Local planning authorities should identify and assess the particular significance of any heritage asset that may be affected by a proposal (including by development affecting the setting of a heritage asset) taking account of the available evidence and any necessary expertise. They should take this assessment into account when considering the impact of a proposal on a heritage asset, to avoid or minimise conflict between the heritage asset's conservation and any aspect of the proposal.
132. When considering the impact of a proposed development on the significance of a designated heritage asset, great weight should be given to the asset's conservation. The more important the asset, the greater the weight should be. Significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting. As heritage assets are irreplaceable, any harm or loss should require clear and convincing justification. Substantial harm to or loss of a grade II listed building, park or garden should be exceptional. Substantial harm to or loss of designated heritage assets of the highest significance, notably scheduled monuments, protected wreck sites, battlefields, grade I and II* listed buildings, grade I and II* registered parks and gardens, and World Heritage Sites, should be wholly exceptional.'

The garden at Lyveden New Bield was first registered on the 25th June 1984. It was then designated as Grade II*. An application was made by the National Trust to upgrade the site to Grade I on the 17th September 2009. The application to amend the listing cited recent research¹⁹ that had identified new garden features including the concentric borders within the moated garden and written correspondence from the period²⁰. A copy of the draft conservation plan was included to support the application.

English Heritage reviewed the site's significance with reference to the Trust's findings, Northamptonshire Historic Environment Records and consultation with the Barnwell Estate, then part-owners of the site, and English Heritage's Adviser's Report²¹ included an assessment which is here quoted in full.

'The garden at Lyveden is already recognised as being of more than special interest by its registration at Grade II*, but its claims to exceptional interest, and therefore designation at Grade I, are considerable, and relate to both the history and design of the garden and its main building, Lyveden New Bield. The garden is one of the best preserved sites of its date and type in England. The peculiar circumstances surrounding its construction and the history of the Tresham family ensured that the garden remained unmodified in subsequent centuries until the mid C20, when much of it was brought into cultivation. Despite the damage caused by ploughing, its form and major features survive, while more remains as buried archaeology. The interest of the historic landscape is considerably enhanced by the documentary evidence, the detailed letters between Tresham and his keeper John Slynne, which together provide an insight into the process of garden design and construction in the late C16 and early C17. The areas to the south-west and

¹⁹ *Lyveden New Bield Conservation Management Plan*, Dr Andrew Eburne & Dr Kate Felus, July 2010

²⁰ Application for Amendment to the List Proforma.

²¹ English Heritage Adviser's Report on the Proposed Upgrade of Lyveden New Bield [garden], 29th September 2010.

east, the latter identified from documentary sources, have been added in order to capture Tresham's complete concept for the design of the garden. Additional evidence for garden design is visible on aerial photographs. The archaeological significance of the site has been recognised by scheduling the moated orchard and the area around Lyveden New Bield.

The events in Tresham's life that led to the creation of the garden and the construction of Lyveden New Bield are reflected in its design and its incompleteness. Both are a product of Tresham's religious beliefs, and the garden and lodge are significant as a unique illustration of the politics of the time. Its abandonment marks an event in the struggles for religious ascendancy. Tresham was not only an important figure in the political and religious life of C16 and C17 England, he was also a talented designer and architect, best known for his design for Rushton Triangular Lodge, Rothwell Market Hall and Lyveden New Bield. Robert Cecil, the Lord Chancellor, was clearly impressed by the garden, particularly the orchard, when he described it in 1605, and it may have been influential in the design of the gardens at Hatfield House. The Grade I listing of the garden lodge, Lyveden New Bield, reflects the quality of its design and craftsmanship and its presence makes a significant contribution to the exceptional interest of the garden, which fully merits designation at Grade I.'

On 20th October 2010, English Heritage issued the notification that Lyveden New Bield garden's description and boundary should be amended on the *Register* entry and that it should be elevated to Grade I. The current *Register* Entry summarises the Reasons for Designation as follows:

'Lyveden New Bield, a C17 garden designed by Thomas Tresham, is designated at Grade I for the following principal reasons:

* Date: The garden at Lyveden New Bield is of exceptional interest as one of the best preserved sites of its date and type in England.

* Historical interest: Thomas Tresham was a figure of national importance and a talented designer, whose work, particularly at Lyveden and also at Rushton Triangular Lodge, reflects his religious beliefs. Its construction and the abandonment of the project following his death is also a reminder of the political upheavals of the C17.

* Group Value: It has strong group value with Lyveden Old Bield, and most significantly provides the setting for the Lyveden New Bield, both listed at Grade I.

* Documentation: Its preservation in conjunction with the surviving correspondence between Tresham and his keeper, John Slynne, provides a significant insight into the process of garden design and construction in the late C16 and early C17'.

2.4.3 Historical / Archaeological - Buildings / Structures: English Heritage - Listed Buildings / Structures

The property contains three buildings that are designated as listed buildings by English Heritage which are:

- Lyveden New Bield – the Lodge is listed as Grade I. Its List Entry Number is 1371907 and was first listed on the 31st July 1987;

- Lyveden Cottage listed as Grade II. List Entry Number is 1040348 and was first listed on 31st July 1987;
- Lyveden Old Bield and Attached Outbuildings (also known as Lyveden Manor) is listed as Grade I. Its List Entry Number is 1040347 and was first listed on 23rd May 1967 and was amended on the 31st July 1987.

2.4.4 Countryside / Ecology

The site is designated as a Northamptonshire Local Wildlife Site (LWS) E1322. In the documentation, the site is titled Lyvedon (*sic*) Fields and it was designated in January 2010, following a survey that was undertaken 25th July 2009²². The assessment of the site considered it to be:

'an excellent LWS with species rich meadows alongside a range of other habitats. 11 standard and 7 strong neutral grassland indicators were recorded within the meadows, however, further management is necessary to maintain this species richness. The meadows are in favourable condition and have retained a species-richness since sowing that is not easy to achieve. The regularly mown amenity grassland, was locally species-rich, especially on slopes. The small area of woodland here with some interest in the ground layer but with no shrub layer. The hedges have a reasonable selection of native species and are in a hedge laying rotation. The ditch on the southern boundary has a variety of grassland and wet grassland species.'

2.5 Access Arrangements

2.5.1 Public Rights of Way / other access arrangements

The principal Right of Way is now designated as a bridleway and lies along the eastern boundary of the property which leads from Harley Way in the north, past the orchard, the cottage and the New Bield itself, before extending southwards into Lilford Wood and Wadenhoe. The bridleway, which is also suitable for cycles, connects with a network of paths and tracks that explore the farmland and woods that surround the property. To the east, a footpath reaches Bearshank Woods and beyond and to the west, footpaths and tracks provide access to Lady Wood, Fermyn Woods and the village of Brigstock via the Fermyn Woods Country Park. In 2005, it was the 400th anniversary of the New Bield which saw the official opening of the Lyveden Way, thereafter promoted as the 'Lyveden Way; a walk through history'²³ (Fig. 2/9).

²² Lyveden Fields LWS E1322; Survey Report, anon, The Wildlife Trust, 2009.

²³http://www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/en/councilservices/Transport/Documents/PDF%20Documents/LyvedenWay_lores_rotate.pdf

In 2004, the Trust successfully negotiated a diversion of the track further to the east of the New Bield. Although only modest in distance, the re-alignment improves the setting of the New Bield considerably and contributes to the site's serene 'spirit of place'.

2.5.2 Access for all

The car park, completed in 2008, provides parking close to, although out of sight of, the New Bield, cottage and spiral mounts. The car park is laid out as an area of rolled stone without marked parking bays or indications of traffic flow and the blue badge favoured parking is allocated along the north hedge boundary. Marking is limited to small, low signs placed at the foot of the hedge.

The access route from the car park to the cottage tea rooms, visitor reception and toilet facilities is along the level surfaced public bridleway track. Access to the New Bield is also partly along the surfaced bridleway although there is not a surfaced path to the Bield itself and access to the building's interior is by a short flight of stone steps.

The water gardens, Moated Orchard and Lower Orchard are similarly not provided with surfaced routes or paths. Visitors are encouraged to make their own way around the gardens and in places the nature of the poorly drained ground, uneven mown paths and gradients would make the use of wheelchairs and push chairs across the site problematic. The Trust's reluctance to construct paved paths is very understandable as their introduction would undoubtedly have a deleterious impact on the distinctive character of the site; a character which can be appreciated by all from the readily accessible cottage and its immediate environs. Disabled toilet facilities are provided inside the cottage tea rooms and adjacent to the visitor reception building in the cottage grounds. A wheelchair is made available by the Trust; a facility that is well advertised and presumably can be booked in advance.

2.5.3 Intellectual Access / Interpretation

The consensus within the Trust is that most of their properties, and especially this one, should not be heavily signed on the ground. The philosophy is that too many modern interventions, no matter how well-meaning, only serve to clutter the scene and dilute the sense of place. Information is offered through an audio guide, a Braille guide, a carry-around plan and a well-illustrated booklet, which is available to purchase.

The only exceptions to this policy are very modest, appropriate and informative. These comprise:

- species labels on the trees;
- labels at the south end of the fruit tree rows to describe species, cultivar, and use;
- a small number of brown painted timber desk/lectern structures in which laminated information sheets are only visible on lifting the lid;
- laminated information sheets for use in the New Bield.

2.6 Visitors

2.6.1 Visitor Numbers

The Trust acquired the property in April 1922 and, in spite of its being in an isolated and remote location and managed in a rather ad hoc manner over the years,

records indicate that, by 1932, it was estimated that visitor numbers had increased to approximately 1,000 people per year²⁴.

By the end of the 1980s, annual visits had risen towards the 4,000 mark and by the mid-1990s Lyveden had experienced a steady increase in visitor numbers from 4,555 in 1994/5 to 15,600 in 2003/04. In 2007/8 the annual number of visitors topped 16,000 and current visitor numbers are in the region of 20,000.

The Trust's aspiration is to increase the numbers from the current 20,000 a year to a target of,

'over 50,000 with an outdoor offer enjoyed throughout the year and in all weathers. Along with an increase in secondary spend from catering and retail sales, Lyveden is a sustainable financial model with an accumulated reserve funding further investment.'²⁵

The purchase of Lyveden Manor and the opportunities that it might present as a Visitor Centre, away from the New Bield itself, is obviously a key factor in the delivery of these ambitions - especially in light of the fact that a considerable increase in visitor numbers concentrated on the New Bield and its gardens would, without doubt, threaten to overwhelm Lyveden's 'spirit of place'.

To many visitors the appeal of Lyveden is its mystery and isolation. This is succinctly put in a memorandum by Simon Murray²⁶ (then the Trust's Historic Building Representative for the East Midlands) when, after a visit to the property, he described the building thus:

'It stands austere on top of a hill and is romantic in the sense of its isolation and in the eeriness Thomas Tresham's struggles give it.'

And, herein lies the dilemma for the property. Its aura of brooding mystery and pastoral serenity are human experiences that are often personal, fragile and readily lost in a crowd; the challenge will be to engage the visitors in significant numbers to sustain it financially whilst, at the same time, protecting and conserving its unique physical fabric and spirit of place.

²⁴ The Acquisition of Lyveden New Bield by the National Trust, Paper by Geoffrey Fairhurst, January 2009.

²⁵ Lyveden Vision Document; Mark Bradshaw, National Trust, March 2013.

²⁶ Memorandum from Simon Murray, 19th February 1997.

Simon Murray is another very influential figure in the Trust's approach to conservation and engagement with the public. At the time of this report, Simon Murray is the Trust's Director of Operations. Murray's interest in heritage began when working on a PhD at Cambridge University on 'The Literary Image of the Country House in the 18th Century'. He joined the Trust as Property Manager at Upton House in Warwickshire in 1987 and then, in 1990, was appointed Historic Buildings Representative in East Midlands where he worked on the large restoration projects at Hardwick and Kedleston. At this time, he became interested in the Trust's role in broadening an understanding of the meaning of what constitutes historical importance. As a result, he played a leading role in the acquisition of Mr Straw's House in Worksoy, a semi-detached tradesman's house; Monksthorpe Baptist Chapel in Lincolnshire and the Workhouse in Nottinghamshire. This theme continued when he became Regional Director for the Mercia Region in 1997, with the acquisition of Sunnycroft, a suburban villa in Wellington, Shropshire; Edward Chambre Hardman's house and studio and Mendips, John Lennon's childhood home, both in Liverpool. Murray has also developed a strategy of greater involvement by the National Trust in urban areas. Since becoming Director of Operations, Murray has led a review of the Trust's approach to the interpretation of its properties.

2.6.2 Visitor activities

A full range of National Trust visitor activities are provided at the property. These include many seasonal and family orientated events such as:

- discovery tours;
- accompanied country walks around Lyveden;
- summer pond dipping;
- Easter trails;
- Christmas carols;
- Halloween events;
- 50 things (actually 27 at Lyveden,) to do before you're 11¾ including bird watching and hunting for bugs;
- tea rooms with the opportunity to eat and drink next to the canal or in the cottage garden;
- art installations;
- open air theatre.

Perhaps ironically, one of the most successful recent events was the *Gunpowder Treason and Plot*, a theatrical production first staged at Lyveden in 2009. It has now been transferred, in 2013, to increase audience capacity. It will be staged at Boughton House, near Kettering, where a thousand visitors are expected over the two days of performance.

Lyveden also has aspirations to engage with larger numbers of organised school visits. The lack of all-weather facilities, however, has restricted growth in this area, as noted by the Property Manager in 2008²⁷.

'Lyveden currently welcomes around 300 school children per year. This number is limited by having no covered area and inadequate WCs. A temporary 'pop-up marquee is used, but in very wet or windy weather, visits have to be cancelled at an inconvenience to the property and school.'

In addition, weddings and receptions are held on the grass plat to the east of the New Bield and at the moment these number no more than five a year²⁸.

2.6.3 Opening arrangements

In 2013 the property opening times were:

- 1st March to the 29th September daily from 10.30 am to 5pm;
- 2nd October to the 27th October Wednesday to Sunday from 10.30 am to 5pm;
- 2nd November to 28th February 2014 weekend only from 10.30 am to 5pm.

In 2013 the charges for admission were:

- | | |
|------------------|-------|
| • Members | Free |
| • Adult Standard | £4.50 |
| • Adult Gift Aid | £5.00 |
| • Children | Free |

It is understood that opening times and charges will be reviewed and modified on an annual basis.

²⁷ Scoping Brief for Visitor Facilities and Equipment Store at Lyveden, Nr. Oundle, Northamptonshire - Brief written by Mark Bradshaw, 5th September 2008.

²⁸ Mark Bradshaw, Property Manager, email comment, September 2013

3 SUMMARY CHRONOLOGY

Roman	In and around the Lyveden valley, there is evidence of Roman occupation sites, including on the Boulder Clay. Collections of chance finds in Benefield, Brigstock, Pilton and Stoke Doyle, as well as two large excavations on Roman temple sites at Brigstock and Collyweston, have revealed signs of Roman settlements in the area ¹ .
Mediaeval	'In 1086 .. a nucleated village occurs every two or three kilometres' ². In the Lyveden valley, villages were recorded at Benfield and Pilton in the 11th century. 'The main street' of Lyveden village ran on a, 'long axis .. apparently .. parallel to the Lyveden Brook'. 'In the valley of the Lyveden Brook .. the pattern of medieval settlements is unusual ... a fact perhaps explained by the remoteness of those parts of six parishes – Brigstock, Benefield, Pilton, Wadenhoe, Stoke Doyle and Oundle – which meet within the valley. In the Middle Ages the valley was divided up by these parishes and the brook was also the boundary between Navisford and Polebrook Hundreds. In the medieval period the area was occupied by a large number of settlements of which there are now few traces. .. Lyveden ... was a considerable pottery-making centre'.
13??	
1468	Sir Thomas Tresham (grandfather of the Elizabethan Sir Thomas) acquires Lyveden. ³
1540	Sir Thomas Tresham Sr. obtains licence to empark 420 acres at Lyveden.
c.1540	John Leland (traveller & historian), records that, 'Parte of (the) auncient Mener Place' at Lyveden still stands with, 'godeley Medows about it'. The family styles itself (probably temporarily) 'Tresham of Levedon'.
1543	September, Thomas Tresham born.
1547	Queen Mary appointed Tresham Sr. as Grand Prior, in England, of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.
1559	Tresham Jr. inherits Lyveden
1577	Rushton <i>Passion</i> completed.
1578	Rothwell Market House begun.

¹ 'Sectional Preface', *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northamptonshire*, Volume 1: Archaeology sites in North-East Northamptonshire, 1975, pp.XXIII-XIV. The report notes that, 'it has .. not been possible to date closely these settlements and thus to formulate a sequence of occupation in the area'. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>.

² *Ibid.* The following quotations are taken from the same source.

³ From this point onwards, the majority of the Chronology has been taken from Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp.11-19.

1580	June, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons arrived in England. Probably sheltered by Tresham.
1581	July, Campion arrested
1581	Aug., Tresham examined by Privy Council
1581	Aug., Tresham committed to the Fleet prison.
1581	Nov., Tresham examined before the Star Chamber. Returned to prison.
1583	?Apr. Tresham released. Not allowed within 4 miles of London.
1587	?Dec., Tresham under house arrest at the Bishop of Lincoln's house, Buckden.
1588	July, Tresham imprisoned in Ely
1589	?June, Tresham released, allowed to go to Lambeth.
1590	Mar., Tresham imprisoned at Ely. At this time, experienced revelation of the Trinity.
1590	Apr., Tresham released to house arrest at Hoxton.
1592	Sept. Tresham's imprisonment respited due to ill health.
1593	Feb., Tresham arrested.
1593	Apr., Tresham released from house arrest at Hoxton. Returns to Rushton and Lyveden, for longest period for 12 years.
1594	Feb., Tresham arrested and sent to the Fleet.
1594	June, first payment for the 'Lodge' at Lyveden. Thomas Tyrrell paid or work on windows.
1594	July, Tresham released on a bond by this date and allowed to return to Rushton.
1594	July, Rushton Triangular Lodge begun.
1595	Payments for work at Lyveden throughout this year.
1595	Work on Rushton Hall throughout this year.
1595	Nov., Rushton Triangular Lodge given temporary roof of furze.
1596	Feb., Grumbold family of stone masons paid £10 'in parte of their Lyveden bargayne'.
1596	Mar., Grumbolds paid £20 'in parte of their Lyveden bargayne'.
1596	Aug., Hawkfield Lodge foundations laid.
1596	Oct., 'John Grumbold for him and his fellowes .. of Lyveden worke three pounds'.

- 1596 Dec. Tresham returned to prison at Ely.
- 1597 July, Tresham paints prison chamber with references to Trinity and Passion. Employs symbology, numerology, anagrams.
- 1597 July-Sept., Inscriptions carved by masons on Rushton Trangular Lodge.
- 1597 ?Sept., Hawkfield Lodge completed.
- 1597 Sept., Rushton Triangular Lodge completed.
- 1597 Oct., Tresham's letter to John Slynne from Ely, concerning Lyveden Lodge and Gardens.
- 1599 Weekly accounts for payments to labourers from Dec. 1598-Dec. 1599, of which '69 lbs 15 s for masons' works'.
- 1599 Tresham imprisoned in the Fleet, after refusing to pay his niece's portion (she had eloped with Ful..)
- 1599 Nov., Tresham sells 3 tracts of land in Clipston to William Lynnett of Haselbeech, giving George Levens power of attorney.
- 1600 Feb., unspecified work 'at the newe lodge'.
- 1600 Mar., Tresham released from prison (apparently for the last time) by this date.
- 1601 Failed Essex Rebellion, in which Francis Tresham implicated. Tresham finds £3,000 in bribes and fines to save son; £2,000 fine met by selling land at Haselbeach to the Crown.
- 1601 Feb., unspecified work 'at the newe lodge'.
- 1602 1599-1602, John Tyrrell paid for stone mason's work for Tresham.
- 1602 July, 3 loads of, 'scafoulding paules' taken 'to the lodge'.
- 1603 James I
- 1603 Tresham a verderer of Little Park, Brigstock (granted 1602 to Sir Robert Cecil, by Q. Elizabeth) and grazed, 'considerable numbers of sheep and cattle there' in agistment.
- 1603-04 Tresham pays no recusancy fines.
- 1604 Nov., John Slynne working on lower 'terrasses' and elm walks.
- 1604 Dec., Letter from John Slynne concerning circular beds, roses and raspberries in moated orchard.
- 1605 Tresham's daughter, Mary, marries Thomas Brudenell of Deene Park. Tresham's library prepared for transfer to Deene.
- 1605 Mar., Tresham intends to resume work at Lyveden.
- 1605 Aug., Robert Cecil describes Lyveden as, 'one of the fairest orchards that is in England'

1605	Sept., Tresham dies, leaving debts of £11,495 16s 1d.
1605	Gunpowder Plot
1605	Dec., Francis Tresham dies in Tower.
1605	Dec., Lewis Tresham inherits Lyveden. Dame Muriel continues to live at Lyveden.
1609	Oct., Dame Muriel Tresham offers 50 fruit trees to Lord Burghley from Lyveden.
1611	June, Lewis Tresham becomes baronet.
1614	Rushton sold to Sir William Cockayne.
1615	Lady Tresham dies. All but £1,000 of Tresham's debts repaid.
1633	
1639	Sir Lewis Tresham dies. Son William inherits.
1643	William Tresham dies childless. Estate passes to wife, Frances Gage
1649	Frances marries another Catholic, John Gage. At about this time, the Lyveden estate is sequestered, because of the family's recusancy.
1656	Major General Boteler reputed to have moved the roof beams from Lyveden Lodge.
1660	Charles II grants Lyveden estate to the Earl of Sandwich. A moiety of the estate granted to Maurice Tresham, of Newton branch of the family.
1678	Lyveden sold by Sidney Wortley (son of Earl of Sandwich) to several creditors.
1681	Lyveden purchased by William Harbord of Grafton Park.
1689	Maurice Tresham sells his share of Lyveden – the last to be owned by a Tresham – to William Harbord.
1691	William Harbord dies. Lyveden passes to his 4 daughters.
1703	By this date, Lyveden is owned by Lady Winn and Lady Ascough, two surviving daughters of William Harbord.
1721	By this date, Lyveden owned by Sir Rowland Winn (husband of Lady Winn) and John Thornhaugh (son of Lady Ascough).
1721	Peter Tillemans sketches a view of the Lodge.
1732	Lyveden acquired by Lady Gowran and passes, through her, to Fitzpatrick family.
1791	Depiction of Lodge by Lowry after Hunt.
1824	Old Series OS map includes Lyveden.

1898	2 nd Lord Lyveden sells Fitzpatrick estate, including Lyveden, to John Muir Gardiner.
1909	John Muir Gardiner sells Farming Woods estate, including Lyveden.
1914	National Trust acquires option to buy Lyveden.
1920	Lyveden bought by public subscription.
1922	Lyveden donated to National Trust.
1932	Kenneth Brown surveyed the gardens.
Early 1940s	Look out established by Brigstock Home Guard.
1945	Repairs to windows of Lodge.
1953	Visit by Royal Archaeological Institute.
1958	Farm sold, Cottage in poor state of repair.
1959	Discussion at NT HQ re passing Lyveden into guardianship of Ministry of Works.
1959	NT advertises for tenant, or 'hermit', for the Cottage.
1959	Cottage repaired, tenant moves in.
1972	Taylor and Brown publish articles and survey of the gardens.
1978	Reinstatement of grass plinth to Lodge.
1995	Mark Bradshaw started as part-time custodian. Clearance of scrub started.
1998	Mark Bradshaw became full-time property manager.
?	Lower Orchard planted.
2001	Pollen analysis of moats.
2002	Clearance of moats.

4 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The NT's *Property Business Plan, 2013-16*, for this part of the country¹ – a part which has been, to date, fairly sparsely populated and relatively little known – is launched with the ambitious aim of 'Inspiring a county's love for special places'. When facing the dramatic spectacle of what remains of Tresham's Elizabethan gardens, culminating in Lyveden New Bield, the unfinished lodge which dominates the landscape for 360° from its high plateau, this vision seems peculiarly apt. There are few places which are as intriguingly 'special' as Lyveden and few which command the imagination to the same degree, after the very first encounter. Although this is a site which remains something of a secret², the building itself – together with the very real Elizabethan garden and the archaeological and documentary evidence of its carefully-designed links with Lyveden Manor (the 'Old Bield') – impress themselves as extraordinary, perplexing and beautiful. This is a work of art, a composition of landscape, buildings and spatial relationships, which embodies – as any remarkable art does – a significant aesthetic commentary on its times (the troubled years around 1600) and which still has the power to inspire, engage and challenge.

If Lyveden is, indeed, both inspirational and special, if it has the power to prompt a deep attachment – which, as many visitors have testified³, it does – then it is incumbent on the National Trust to recognise how and why the place is imbued with such authority. It is a striking fact that Lyveden was one of the very first sites which benefited from the National Trust's decision to safeguard some of Britain's cultural heritage from inappropriate development and loss. In 1913 – less than two decades after the Trust had been established, in 1895 – Lyveden New Bield was offered for sale and the NT bought an option to purchase it for £1,500. Delayed by War, the acquisition of Lyveden New Bield and about 28 acres of land was finally completed in April, 1922.

'It now happens that the opportunity has come for preserving for the public, and preserving against the attack of time, one of the most remarkable buildings in this country (and) one of the most instructive and important pieces of ground which could be found anywhere'⁴.

Hence, for almost a century, Lyveden has been in the possession of the NT, managed on behalf of the public and for the conservation and protection of the historic property itself. The more the NT curators and managers have studied the site over the years, the more it has been recognised that what has survived is not only remarkable for its design, its historical, cultural and religious significance, but also that what visitors see today may not be so very different from what Thomas Tresham must have looked out upon, at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. There are very few properties where one could make such a claim. Furthermore, when the visitor witnesses what seems like a summer-house or lodge in-the-build, as it were, commanding a landscape panorama that (on first glance) reveals almost nothing to stamp it as part of the modern world, Lyveden is lent a rare quality, which manages to combine a sense both of timelessness and immediacy.

¹ This *PBP* covers Northamptonshire and Rutland, the former including Canon's Ashby, as well as Lyveden.

² The *PBP* notes that the aim is to increase visitor numbers from 20,000 to 50,000, over the coming decade.

³ A swift study of on-line responses to Lyveden makes good reading and underlines the enthusiasm and imaginative engagement of visitors.

⁴ Sir Ryland Adkins, first elected as Liberal MP for Middleton, Lancashire, in 1906, but also a man who was deeply proud of his family's Northamptonshire roots. Quoted from Mark Bradshaw's *Lyveden New Bield*, published in 2004 by the National Trust, p.23.

'When one first sees {Lyveden New Bield's}.. skeleton silhouetted against the skyline in the distant view from the Oundle-Brigstock road, it looks less like an Elizabethan ruin than a house interrupted in the process of building. And that in fact is what it is. When Tresham died in September 1605, the masons laid down their tools, never to take them up again. There the lodge still stands in suspended animation.'⁵

Thus – quite apart from all its more subtle (and sometimes hidden) significances – one of the most powerful of Lyveden's qualities is that it brings the modern visitor up sharp against the Elizabethan age: suddenly, that distant era seems less a matter of record, more a matter of today. In our imagination, with the building and gardens come the people: the builders and masons who clearly worked with great skill and delicacy, quarried, selected and imported their materials, attended to the seamless laying of ashlar block on ashlar block, worked in the mud and confusion of a building site, as they filled-in an old moat and created a completely new one ... and then downed-tools; the client, who knew the site intimately, developed his designs with such attention to detail and endowed it with all that was most precious to him... and then was suddenly obliged to stop. All these events bring with them a hint of the messy ambitions, contradictions and disappointments with which we all live. It also emphasises just how much this place is essentially – and very unusually – the creation of one man⁶. It makes not only the lodge and the gardens more immediate; it allows us to picture these people as part of the continuum of English society, not cut off from us by intervening centuries. As a visit to a 'special place', then, Lyveden is immensely satisfying. It satisfies the visitors' desire for a glorious environment - and it does much more. It helps to reinforce one's awareness of – and direct links with – the great depth of English history, of the one Elizabethan who created essentially what we see today, and the many generations who have lived and worked in, and cherished, the wider landscape in which this jewel is set. A property that challenges and educates us in so many ways is, indeed, to be prized.

4.2 Executive Summary of Key Phases of Development

4.2.1 Roman Period

In and around the Lyveden valley, there is evidence of Roman occupation sites. Collections of chance finds in Benefield, Brigstock, Pilton and Stoke Doyle, as well as two large excavations on Roman temple sites at Brigstock and Collyweston, have revealed signs of Roman settlements in the area.

4.2.2 Mediaeval Period

'In 1086 .. a nucleated village occurs every two or three kilometres' in this part of the mediaeval Rockingham Forest. In the Lyveden valley, villages were recorded at Benfield and Pilton in the 11th century. 'The main street' of Lyveden village ran on a, 'long axis .. apparently .. parallel to the Lyveden Brook'.

'In the valley of the Lyveden Brook .. the pattern of medieval settlements is unusual ... a fact perhaps explained by the remoteness of those parts of six parishes – Brigstock, Benefield, Pilton, Wadenhoe, Stoke Doyle and Oundle –

⁵ Mark Girouard, quoted by Bradshaw, *Op.cit.*, p.3.

⁶ It is also important to emphasise, here, that this place is now translated and treasured by another man, Mark Bradshaw, who has done so much to rescue Lyveden, after a number of decades during which predecessors had not fully appreciated that the true extent and significance of Lyveden embraced the gardens and wider landscape, as well as the buildings. It is essential that we should learn the lesson of what happened to Lyveden after Tresham left, and now do what is possible to spread an understanding and appreciation of the intrinsic value of this place throughout a much wider body of people, before Mark Bradshaw moves on to other things.

which meet within the valley. In the Middle Ages the valley was divided up by these parishes and the brook was also the boundary between Navisford and Polebrook Hundreds. In the medieval period the area was occupied by a large number of settlements of which there are now few traces. .. Lyveden ... was a considerable pottery-making centre'.

4.2.3 Fifteenth / Early Sixteenth Century

After 1450, the Tresham family acquired property in Lyveden. In 1540, Sir Thomas Tresham, grandfather to the Elizabethan Sir Thomas, obtained a licence to empark 420 acres at Lyveden. In 1547, Queen Mary appointed Tresham Sr. as Grand Prior, in England, of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Under Henry VIII, the Order had suffered the same fate as other religious houses. Mary's revitalisation of the 'Hospitallers' can, therefore, only be read as a major statement of intent; an intent that was focused on renewing the historic structures of the Catholic Church in England.

4.2.4 Thomas Tresham, 1543-1580

Thomas Tresham was born in 1543. Following the death of his father, John Tresham, in 1546, Thomas spent some time as a ward in the household of the staunchly Catholic, Sir Robert Throckmorton. By the time Thomas reached his majority, in 1564, he had learned how to manage the outward expression of his Catholicism in ways which responded closely to the demands and opportunities of the age. He could hardly have failed to notice the difficult and dangerous times occasioned by the competing religious convictions of Edward VI and Mary. But, reaching his majority as Queen Elizabeth had been on the throne for just six years, Tresham would have had grounds to think that the worst was past.

The Religious Settlement of 1558/9, however, led to the removal of many Catholic bishops, who refused to acknowledge the Queen as Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and it prevented heads of some leading families (like Sir Robert Throckmorton) from undertaking public office if they refused to abjure their allegiance to the Pope. By 1562, the Supremacy of the Crown Act meant that any failure to swear allegiance to the Queen could be regarded as treason. In 1568 a threat arrived in England, in the person of Elizabeth's cousin, Mary, the Catholic Queen of Scots. The culmination of these pressures came in 1570, when Pope Pius V issued a Papal Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, declaring Elizabeth to be, 'the pretended Queen of England' and an heretic. Her Catholic subjects were thus released from any allegiance to her; any who obeyed her were excommunicated.

Despite all this, in the 1560s and '70s, Tresham lived well. Married to a Throckmorton daughter, Muriel, he had a seat at Rushton and also possessed homes in Lyveden, and in the centre of London as well as in Hoxton, on the outskirts of the capital. He managed his estate with efficiency, entertained lavishly and his 1568 portrait, where he displays his extravagant suit of armour and up-to-date firearm, reveals Tresham at the height of his brave confidence.

High Sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1573, Tresham was knighted in 1575. During these years, too, Thomas and Muriel began to establish their family. Some of their eleven children were born before 1578 and, for a decade or so before this, Tresham retained Thomas Bramston as a tutor for his children. And here, for perhaps the first time, we find evidence of the difference between what allegiances Thomas Tresham expressed in public and what he did at home. Thomas Bramston was certainly a Catholic and he was probably a domestic chaplain to the Treshams at home, as well as tutor.

In 1577/8, Tresham embarked on the first of his major buildings, the Rothwell Market House – an essay in Classicism – and, therefore, an essay in public order, education, civic harmony, poise. This is a poetic evocation of an ideal society.

In 1580, Tresham's desire for a better world led to his welcoming the Jesuit preacher, Edmund Campion to his house in Hoxton. This was treason. In December, 1581, Campion was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn and Tresham was in prison.

4.2.5 Tresham, 1581-1605

In 1592, after twelve years, Tresham was able to return to Rushton (although still subject to a 'statute of confinement', by which he was forbidden to travel more than five miles from home). His fine manor house had probably been built in the early 16th century, but Tresham now began to alter and enlarge his Hall and his gardens; certainly, detailed records exist for work done in 1595 and 1596. In a print dating from 1741, we have a clear view of the seat, probably more-or-less as Tresham knew it, with fairly modest additions having been made by Tresham's successors, the Cockaynes, who bought the estate in 1619. The most striking feature of the Rushton gardens is the mount.

At Rushton, Tresham is known to have built two lodges in the 1590s, including his famed, Triangular Lodge - called by Tresham the Warrener's Lodge. Replete with symbolism and numerology, this remains well-cared for and is fairly readily legible as a religious testament.

In the 1590s, Tresham also turned to the building of his new Lyveden house, now called the 'Old Bield', or Lyveden Manor. This lay near the bottom of the valley, separated from Harley Way by the Lyveden Brook. Tresham clearly demanded high quality materials and craftsmanship. He worked with masons, including the Tryrolls the Grumbolds and a 'man called Parris', recognised for exceptional skill. Though he was still imprisoned for some of this time, Tresham directed the work closely, by letter, and it was managed on site by his Rushton steward, George Levens, and his Lyveden keeper, John Slynne.

At the top of the hill, Tresham was busy, too, with what is now called the 'New Bield', his garden Lodge, directly south of Lyveden house. Unfinished on his death, in September, 1605, this structure also reveals Tresham's grasp of Classical architecture, geometry and form – much derived from his remarkable library, for which he was famed in his own day – as well as his passion for scientific research and his religious dedication. There can be little doubt that this cruciform building – measured out in dimensions which evoked Biblical references and ornamented with images signifying the Betrayal, the Passion and the Eucharist – represented the summit of attainment for the pilgrim, climbing up the hill, through a sequence of beautiful and emblematic gardens. Commanding long views from the first, and curiously aligned – contradicting the clean, N/S layout of the gardens below – the eastern arm (in a church, the most holy) of the Lodge points towards the Holy Land, the *Terra Sancta*. Tresham also seems to have envisaged that the Lodge would be completed with a superstructure, transforming it into an observatory, a place to study the heavens, as well as the earth. He called it his 'Lyveden Lantern'.

The gardens were influenced in their plan and form by contemporary layouts, including that by Lord Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton, at Theobalds and Holdenby, both of which Tresham probably knew well. But, Tresham's composition was infused with a narrative. It was, essentially, a manifesto, conveying his religious dedication, his search for the 'New Jerusalem' - in itself, a metonym for heaven, only possible to reach – through the grace of God – via repentance, struggle, Biblical revelation and faith.

4.2.6 Lyveden in the 17th century

In the 17th century, Lyveden had a very chequered history.

At the end of 1605, the Treshams' eldest son, Francis, was imprisoned for his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot; he died in the Tower. Dame Muriel Tresham lived at Lyveden until her death in 1615. By that time, she had paid off debts and returned favours, notably to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (younger son of Lord Burghley), to whom, in 1609, she donated 50 trees from Tresham's orchard, to be planted at Hatfield.

In 1614, Rushton was sold to Sir William Cockayne by Lewis Tresham, the second son, who had been made a baronet in 1611. It seems that Lewis had little involvement at Lyveden, although he probably completed some of his father's work on the house. In 1617, he commissioned a survey of the estate, perhaps intending to mortgage it.

Lyveden passed to the Catholic Gage family, by marriage, in 1649. At about this time, the estate was sequestered, because of the family's continuing recusancy. After the Civil War, at the Restoration, Charles II granted Lyveden to the Earl of Sandwich, though a moiety was granted to Maurice, a descendant of the Newton Treshams. Sold in several parcels in 1678, Lyveden was finally reunited in 1689, when William Harbord of Grafton, politician and diplomat – who had purchased the majority of the estate in 1681 – bought the last Tresham moiety. Following their father's death in 1691, the estate was inherited by Harbord's four daughters.

4.2.7 Lyveden in the 18th century

For the first thirty years of the century, Lyveden was held by Harbord's descendants. The estate seems to have received little attention. A 1721 drawing by Peter Tillemans reveals the parlous state of the garden Lodge. In the same year, John Bridges visited and surveyed Lyveden. A description was included in his voluminous manuscript collection, gathered together to illustrate the history of Northamptonshire (first published in 1791). Of the house and gardens he wrote,

'One of the wings is intire, and the tops of the chimnies crenellé. The gateway in the yard, and the gate into the house are still standing. Over a western window are the arms of Tresham, Vaux, and two other escutcheons. The arch entering the court is a circular one, when you ascend six stone steps: the court-wall is of free stone, and supported by strong buttresses. The terrace of the garden stile remains, and the walks leading to the house planted with witch-elms. On the north side seemeth to have been a moat.'

In 1732, the estate was acquired by Lady Gowran. Her grandfather, Sir John Robinson was Master Forester and Keeper of Farming Woods. It is probable that it was in this period that the Cottage was built near the Lodge at Lyveden, and originally called the 'Verderer's House'. In 1740, Lady Gowran married Richard Fitzpatrick and, in 1744, the Farming Woods estate, including Lyveden, was inherited by Lady Gowran's son, John Fitzpatrick, later the 1st Earl of Upper Ossory. It was at about this time that a drawing was commissioned from Dougal Campbell, architect, showing proposals for 'completing' the Lodge, with revised plan and elevations - four storeys high, plus basement and cupola. No building works ensued.

In 1758, the estate was inherited by the 2nd Earl of Upper Ossory. His major seat was at Ampthill Park, Bedfordshire. In 1771-2, 'Capability' Brown was transforming the Ampthill landscape (whilst Sir William Chambers was working on the mansion). The significance, here, is that the fine English oak, now standing to the SE of the Lyveden Lodge, was probably planted at this time. The Earl made some modest changes to his Farming Woods estate, which was now used largely for seasonal hunting and

shooting; there is also evidence that the 'Old Buildings' at Lyveden attracted and intrigued visiting parties. Is there a possibility that, inspired by Brown, the Earl proposed that an English oak might be a suitable companion for an evocative, Elizabethan ruin - and an appropriate token of the Rockingham Forest?

In 1791, when John Bridges' *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* was first published *in toto*, it included an engraving after a drawing of the ruined Lyveden Lodge by Rowland Hunt. This reveals the Lodge as a brooding and mysterious shell.

4.2.8 Lyveden in the 19th century

In c.1800, the OS Survey Drawing of Lyveden records the house as 'Liveden Lodge', presumably indicating its function as a hunting lodge, and the ruin at the top of the hill as 'Liveden Building'. This drawing also shows the woods to the south of the garden Lodge, including Lady Wood to the SW, Lilford and Bradshaw Woods to the SE. Bradshaw Wood is separated from the Lodge and its platform by the ditch, to the S and E of the Lodge, which still marks the extant boundary to the 1540 Tresham park. The survey also shows the ride, probably created by Thomas Tresham, which slices its way SE from the Lodge and through the trees. At certain times of the year – notably the celebration for Mary's Presentation to the Temple, on November 21st – the rising sun casts the shadow of the cross over the niche, in the northern arm of the cruciform Lodge, which was intended to accommodate an icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

This same OSD, c.1800, suggests that the southern and eastern moated channels in the gardens were, by this date, overgrown.

In 1828, during building works at Rushton Hall, an 'enormous bundle' of papers was found. Covering the period 1576-1605, this extraordinary collection includes correspondence and diary entries which allows access to the daily life of the Treshams and their Catholic family and friends. Above all, it reveals much about the progress and significance of Tresham's buildings, especially those at Lyveden. Some of this collection has been transcribed; there remain documents (now in the British Library) which have yet to be studied.

In 1847, Thomas Bell published a book, *The ruins of Liveden with historical notices of the Family of Tresham, and its connexion with the Gunpowder Plot, .. to which is added a legendary poem*. By this date, Lyveden had come into the ownership of Robert Vernon Smith, MP, who became Lord Lyveden in 1859. The ruined Lodge, its religious character, its overgrown state and its abandonment has charged the Romantic imagination of the writer.

'The road thither, although through a wild and woodland country, and on the borders of the extensive forest of Rockingham, is attainable by carriages. A neat cottage, the only dwelling for some distance, stands near the ruins ... The wild appearance of this extraordinary ruin, the effect not of time, but of the desolating hand of man – its secluded situation, contrasted with the beauty, richness of ornament, solidity, and singularity of architecture – combined also as it is with so important a period of our national history, and the extinction of an ancient family, will ever render it an object of curiosity and interest. ... The first view of Liveden, as you approach by the north front, makes an impression not easily defined. A heavy gloom, which is increased by the lofty woods adjoining, and by the uniformity of scenery surrounding it, seems to hang over the devoted pile, which even the brilliancy of a summers sun cannot dispel. The solitary object we contemplate, stands as it were alone, an oasis in the desert - beautiful in decay, and on minute examination exciting feelings of no common nature, as the imagination is irresistibly carried back to days of olden time, to the associations connected with the spot, and to the dark tragedy

with which it is so intimately mixed up. It is almost impossible to visit this singular monument of religious enthusiasm without being impressed with devotional awe'.

By 1861, Lyveden house functioned as two farmhouses. Gathered around it was a collection of estate buildings. This is shown in the 1st edition 25" OS, of 1886. Just three years before, in 1883, the architect and antiquarian, J.A. Gotch, published, *A complete account, illustrated by measured drawings, of the buildings erected in Northamptonshire by Sir Thomas Tresham, between the years 1575 and 1605 together with many particulars concerning the Tresham Family and their home at Rushton*. This volume was of great importance in bringing Lyveden to the attention of fellow scholars. Gotch produced measured drawings of the Lodge, and it was he – claiming that he was echoing local parlance – who put in print the terms, 'Old Bield', for the Tresham house, and 'New Bield', for the Lodge.

4.2.9 Lyveden in the 20th century

In 1898, the Farming Woods estate had been sold to John Muir Gardiner, famed game hunter. He, in turn, sold the estate in 1909. By the early 20th century, a campaign – led by J.A. Gotch – was gathering momentum to secure the future of Lyveden, especially of the Lodge. In 1914, the National Trust acquired an option to buy the Lyveden Lodge and its associated moated garden. The First World War intervened, but, by 1922, the property came into the ownership of the Trust. This was the beginning of a new and important role for the Lyveden Lodge, as a public attraction – though one which was visited by very few, tucked away, as it was, in the remote Northamptonshire countryside.

The first archaeological survey of the site of the gardens was undertaken in 1932, by Col. Kenneth Brown, who camped on site and studied it carefully. His findings were published in 1935, by the Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club, and were accompanied by his drawing of the layout of the gardens and of the elevations of the Lodge. Though slight – and now treated rather dismissively – this little publication was the first time in the 20th century that the status of the extant gardens was carefully observed. Further studies followed in the next decades: of the site itself and of the deserted mediaeval village, in the valley, beside the Lyveden Brook and near the Old Bield. In more recent decades, the National Trust has commissioned several detailed geophysical surveys, sometimes accompanied by selective trenching, to learn more about the various parts of the Lyveden estate.

These archaeological studies – especially the early ones – have proved enormously important. Together with a single aerial photograph, taken by the Luftwaffe in 1944, these illuminate our understanding of the archaeology of Lyveden, much of which has been lost to post-War deep ploughing of the arable fields.

In 1995, Mark Bradshaw began work as part-time Custodian of Lyveden. He recognised the significance of the Lodge and its gardens, most of which were now overgrown with trees and scrub. He restored the moated channels, cleared scrub and planted an orchard of historic fruit – many of the plants known and ordered by Tresham in the late 16th century. During these years, the Old Bield – now Lyveden Manor – went through several private hands; loss, alteration, enlargement and revision was the order of the day. What now survives is the modified core of the Treshams' house, dating from c.1600. It once formed the south range of three wings, disposed around a courtyard which lay to the north of the extant range. The entrance to the courtyard was heralded by a fine, west-facing, stone arch (now translated to Fermyn Woods Hall).

In 2013, the National Trust acquired Lyveden Manor and its landscape setting. Tresham's great terraces, which linked his house to his 'Lyveden Lantern', have all gone, remodelled by the plough. But, for the first time since its inception, Sir Thomas Tresham's remarkable composition, his work of art and religious manifesto, is once more under single ownership and in the hands of those who care about its extraordinary significance.

4.3 Historical Analysis of Lyveden

4.3.1 The Setting: Mediaeval Lyveden

Lyveden New Bield, Old Bield and the Elizabethan gardens now stand in some isolation, the garden lodge (New Bield) itself overlooking the Lyveden valley and the expansive, landscape all around, virtually unintruded upon by any modern structures. Yet, in the mediaeval period (between, perhaps, the late 11th century and the 14th century), the valley was busy, and there were several different villages, hamlets and isolated farms associated with the area.

Research in recent years has focused not only on discovering the documentary and archaeological remains of these settlements, but also on the wider Northamptonshire landscape, the evolution of its populations, the management of its woods, coppices, commons, geology, flowing streams, pasture and arable land, its economic functions. It has become apparent that the collection of mediaeval settlements in the Lyveden valley must be read as the outcome of a particularly unusual pattern of ownership and occupation. We learn that the, 'Lyveden valley is almost unique within Northamptonshire because of its semi-dispersed settlement pattern and highly fragmented township, manorial and parochial structure'⁷.

'Lyveden ... valley was split between six separate townships which were centred in adjacent valleys: Benefield, Brigstock, Aldwincle, Pilton, Stoke Doyle and Oundle ... The parochial divisions broadly followed the secular ... These parish divisions seem to be ancient for in 1316 the rector of Aldwincle claimed part of Lyveden to be titheable, and tithes of that part of Lyveden lying in Pilton were paid at Pilton church in 1705.

Just as it was seemingly divided between townships the Lyveden valley was also divided between several manors, the organisation and descent of which is not yet fully worked out.

There were also several large freeholds some of which were integrated with the manors in the medieval period. Thereafter it has a complex manorial history.'⁸

The first thing we can say, then, with some confidence, about the mediaeval Lyveden valley is that it emerged, after the Conquest, as an unusual – and partly inexplicable – scatter of settlements⁹.

⁷ This quotation is taken from the impressive on-line resource, produced by the Rockingham Forest Trust's Heritage Resource Centre. Over recent years, and supported by, amongst others, the Heritage Lottery Fund, English Heritage, Northamptonshire Record Society and East Northamptonshire Council, the Trust has undertaken a remarkable body of research, mapping and analysing the changing landscape of Northamptonshire over the past 800 years. For details of Lyveden, see, <http://resource.rockingham-forest-trust.org.uk>.

⁸ From *Lyveden & Churchfield*, Rockingham Forest Trust's Heritage Resource Centre, *Op.cit.*

⁹ The critical factor is that the area was never reorganised into a single township in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Why no township was created in the case of Lyveden is unclear unless perhaps the clearances

'Lyveden valley is almost unique within Northamptonshire because of its semi-dispersed settlement pattern and highly fragmented township, manorial and parochial structure'¹⁰.

Thus, in the 11th-12th centuries, forest clearance led to the establishment of at least two, principal villages: West Lyveden, associated with Magna or Potters Lyveden, and Parva Lyveden, which lay slightly further to the east in the Lyveden valley. The road, the Royal Way, later Harley Way – which, of course, still gives access along the valley – connected these to each other, and to settlements including Brigstock, to the west and Churchfield, to the east¹¹. There are also additional 'documents {which} point to the existence of Great or Upper Lyveden, Little or Lower Lyveden, Potters Lyveden and Lyveden Doundelign'¹². In sum, there were several different villages, hamlets and isolated farms associated with the Lyveden valley in the mediaeval period and this was rather different from what happened elsewhere in Northamptonshire¹³, where more consolidated developments of power and ownership tended to cast a more coherent pattern across the landscape.

At Lyveden, each of the villages, hamlets and isolated farms, carved out of the forest and pursuing its own economic stability, was putting pressure on the land and its resources. Woodland, coppices, wood pasture, open fields and commons seem to have been dispersed in an apparently *ad hoc* way; moreover, when populations were growing, it seems to have been the case that arable farming expanded in the valley, even encroaching on boulder clay lands which, hitherto, had been afforested.

It is not surprising that the documentary record indicates that the economy was mainly agrarian. Charters from the late 13th -early 15th centuries reveal the dispersal of land in furlong blocks in the open fields around the settlements, comprising the small and scattered holdings of the inhabitants, whose houses, crofts and tofts are recorded. It is probable that meadows bordered the stream. And, at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, there is an indication that the total acreage under plough was increasing, with further clearances from the surrounding woodland¹⁴.

Moreover, in these post-Conquest years, there seems to have been not only farming, but also industry, thriving in the Lyveden valley. There is evidence for iron smelting in the 11th century, the fuel for which was obviously provided by the surrounding woodland. At the same time, the principal village, probably Magna Lyveden, was associated with an important pottery industry¹⁵, exploiting the boulder clay, which defines much of the local geology, and producing pottery and roof tiles¹⁶.

from woodland, except at Churchfield, occurred piecemeal and not long before the end of the 'period when new townships were being created in this way'. *Ibid*.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹ J.M. Steane, Geoffrey F. Bryant & Paul A. Webster, 'Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Settlement at Lyveden, Fourth Report,' *Northampton Borough Council Museums and Art Gallery, Journal* 12, June 1975, p.p. 45-46.

¹² Tracey Partida, David Hall & Glenn Foard, *An Atlas of Northamptonshire. The Medieval and Early Modern Landscape*, 2013, p.20. The significant theme is that there were several villages and hamlets in the Lyveden valley by c.1400, probably dominated by the two principal settlements, Magna and Parva Lyveden, though it might well be that the range of names indicates a fluctuating situation, with a number of very small and scattered mediaeval settlements.

¹³ See Tracey Partida, David Hall & Glenn Foard, *Op.cit.*, for a quite fascinating account of the mediaeval and early modern development of land use and management throughout the county.

¹⁴ Steane, *Op.cit.*, p.54.

¹⁵ 'Traces might also survive of the workshop used by the potters and storage areas where the fired vessels and tiles could be stacked prior to being sent to market. Such a complex was revealed in great detail in the excavation of a medieval kiln site at Lyveden in Northamptonshire'. The excavation in the late 1960s and early 70s found evidence for both pottery and tile manufacture in the 13th and 14th

'The site at Lyveden .. is a good example of a medieval pottery industry and here evidence was found of iron-smithing in close association with pottery manufacture. Lyveden lay within Rockingham Forest, and Glenn Foard has demonstrated how industrial activity in the forest like potting, iron working and charcoal making had differing local distributions relating not only to the availability of raw materials but also to administrative areas'¹⁷.

The main village itself had a, 'deeply-hollowed main street, in or very near the bed of Lyveden Brook with house sites arranged along it'. But – for reasons which were both local and national – the Lyveden villages were shrinking by the mid-14th century and, in the early 15th century the main village appears to have been deserted. The last known proof of Lyveden's existence occurs in a mention of ten tenants (some described as potters) in a court roll of 1406¹⁸. Lyveden Manor was bought by a Tresham after 1450¹⁹. By the time the Treshams were given licence to empark 420 acres of land surrounding their manor house²⁰, in 1540, it is probable that the final clearance of the scatter of mediaeval settlements had already taken place (Fig.4/1).

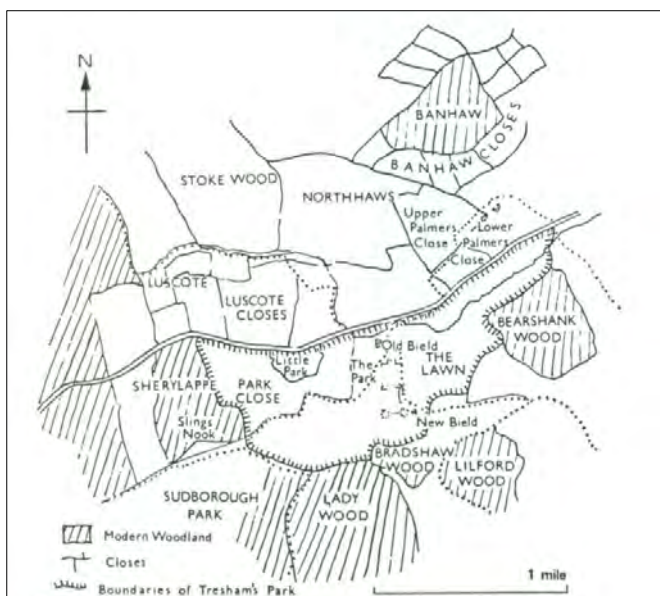


Fig.4/1, The boundaries of Tresham's park, enclosed c1540. Illustration, John M. Steane, 1975.

centuries at several locations scattered amongst the house plots of a small village. See further discussion in Steane, *Op.cit.*

¹⁶ Records reveal that, in the Middle Ages, the pottery trade was thriving and exerted an impact on the character of the Valley. There was a wide range of goods produced. 'Three jars of earthenware were bought for dairy milk. The source is not specified but it is likely to be Lyveden kilns near Oundle .. pottery production relied on charcoal readily available from nearby woods.' Partida, Hall & Foard, *Op.cit.*, p.20. We have already noted, of course, that another of the villages in this area was Potter's Lyveden, which would imply that the pottery business was attached to the valley, rather than a single village.

¹⁷ Trevor Pearson, English Heritage, *Introductions to Heritage Assets. Roman and Mediaeval Pottery and Tile Production*, May 2011, p.4.

¹⁸ See Ed. William Page, 'Parishes: Pilton', *A History of the County of Northampton*, Vol.3, 1930, pp.129-131. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>.

¹⁹ Felus gives the date as 1468, but we have not yet discovered the evidence for this more precise date.

²⁰ Mark Bradshaw, *Op.cit.*, p.12, notes that this comprised, '120 acres of wood, 250 acres of pasture and 50 acres of meadow, which had all been laid down to grass by 1544'. It is worth highlighting that, when it was emparked, the land only included '120 acres of wood', suggesting that much of the land was already cleared, the majority of it being pasture.

Today, the above-ground evidence of what was probably one of the larger villages – now, a deserted mediaeval village (DMV) – has been completely ploughed-out, but extensive excavations were carried out in the 20th century and the results are fascinating. What may well be Magna Lyveden was situated at the foot of the hill, close to where the manor house, the 'Old Bield', now stands (Fig.4/2).

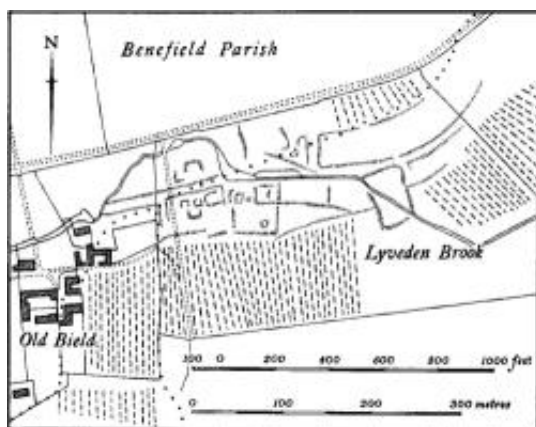


Fig.4/2, Deserted Mediaeval Village of Lyveden, plotted from aerial photographs taken in 1940s, before destruction of archaeological traces²¹.

We are, perhaps, approaching more nearly a glimpse of the character of the landscape which provided the setting of the gardens and New Bield, by the late 16th century.

4.3.2 The Wider Setting: the Rockingham Forest in the Mediaeval Period

The various settlements in the Lyveden valley were situated within the area of the largest of Northamptonshire's three royal forests, Rockingham Forest²², that part of the historic county which lay between the Rivers Welland and Nene.

'By 1286, the Rockingham Forest extended from the walls of Northampton to the South bridge at Stamford although, as nationally, the forest {in the Lyveden valley} was already in decline'²³.

The physical structure and management of the royal forests in the 11th and 12th centuries are reasonably well documented. In simple terms, each forest operated as an administrative unit – much belonging to the Crown, partly ex-parochial and governed by forest law – and comprised extensive open ground as well as woodlands and settlements²⁴. The administration of forest law was generally executed by a chief Forest Officer, who was responsible for the efficacy of several other officers, including verderers, regards, foresters, agistors, woodwards and stewards. These functionaries took care of managing the forest, dispensing justice, punishing offences against vert or game (poaching) and granting licences for the sale of private woodlands. In later centuries, royal control of the forests gradually weakened (contributing to the divided ownership of the Lyveden villages). Clearly,

²¹ See British History Online, 'Pilton', *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County Of Northamptonshire*, Volume 1: Archaeological sites in North-East Northamptonshire, 1975, pp.72-74. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>. The following quotation is also taken from this source.

²² Royal forests were created soon after 1066. The other two in this area were Salcey and Whittlewood. Rockingham Forest was not enclosed until the period between 1795 and 1853, during which time there were separate Acts for the various walks and bailiwicks. See Partida, Hall & Foard, *Op.cit.*, p.78.

²³ Glenn Foard, 'Mediaeval Woodland, Agriculture and Industry in the Rockingham Forest, Northamptonshire', *Mediaeval Archaeology*, Vol.45, 2001, p.49. This useful article can be found on pp.41-95.

²⁴ Partida, Hall & Foard, *Op.cit.*, p.21.

this was, in part, a consequence of the shifting winds of political, military and social change in the country as a whole; yet, it was also an outcome of local rivalries between competing, powerful interests.

Of the Rockingham Forest itself, we have, remarkably enough, a plan (based on very impressive research undertaken by David Hall, writing about 'Forests and Woodland' in *An Atlas of Northamptonshire*) which reveals that by c.1597 – at exactly the time Tresham started building and earth-moving at Lyveden – the woodland extent was patchy and occupied perhaps 30% of the county as a whole ('as recorded on maps of various dates .. and verified by many written surveys of the 16th century'²⁵) (Fig.4/3).

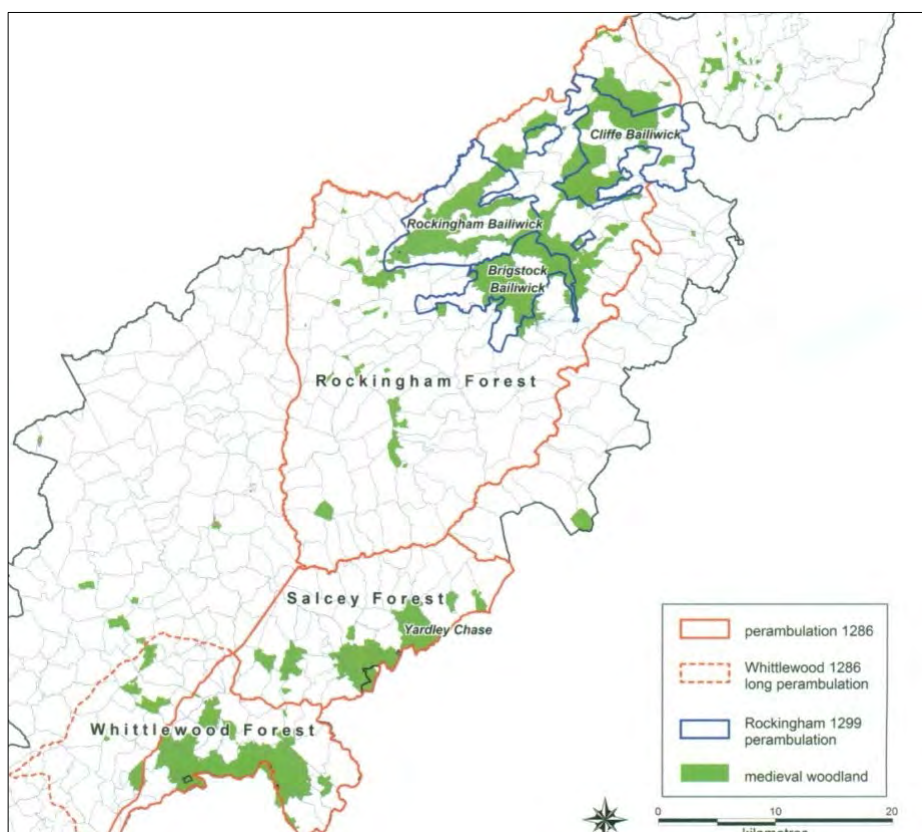


Fig.4/3. David Hall, map showing patchy extent of woodland in Rockingham Forest, c.1597
Lyveden lies on the border of Brigstock Bailiwick.

Indeed, archaeologist, Glenn Foard, reports that, from the 13th to the 16th century, 'the history of woodland in the Oundle area is largely one of contraction in the face of clearance for agriculture'²⁶, adding that – as we have already noted – the dispersed settlements around Lyveden itself appear to have comprised, 'the largest single area of medieval clearance in the heart of the forest'²⁷.

²⁵ Partida, Hall & Foard, *Op.cit.*, p.24.

²⁶ Foard, *Op.cit.*, p.52.

²⁷ Foard, *Op.cit.*, p.61. We should add that Eburne & Felus observe, 'As today, Lyveden was surrounded on the southern side by a semi-circle of woods which flanked the path enclosed by Thomas Tresham's grandfather in 1540, though they then came closer to the lodge'. See Andrew Eburne & Kate Felus, *Lyveden New Bield, Conservation Management Plan*, 2010, p.47. In Bradshaw Wood, it is clear that the woodland did approach Lyveden Lodge more closely than it does now. We do know, however, that the southern boundary of Tresham's park was on the line of the ditch (remnant of historic park pale & ditch) which still separates the car park from the New Bield & that Tresham probably replaced his deer with more profitable sheep; in either case, it is unlikely that there would have been woodland (as opposed to pasture or wood pasture) in the area of the park itself in the late 16thC. Bradshaw Wood and Lady Wood, to the south, were also held and managed by Tresham (see 1617 survey). Thus, although this woodland might well have approached the ditch, it would not have been the wild,

There is much speculation about why this distinctive settlement pattern evolved; but, this is not the place to pursue such analysis in any detail. Perhaps it is significant to note, however, that, from the 12th century to the 14th, some of the most ambitious clearances in this area had been effected by very powerful bodies, notably the King's Forester in the 1160s, the Abbot of Peterborough before the early 14th century²⁸ and the Bishop of Salisbury, who was granted a licence to enclose a deer park, in 1328²⁹. And, the inevitable consequence was that the powerless inhabitants of the smaller settlements lost some of their natural resources and common rights and, gradually, their economic viability was destroyed. As noted, it may well be that before a Tresham enclosed any land around Lyveden, the valley was already almost deserted.

4.3.3 The Wider Setting: the English Midlands, c.1066-c.1500

To gain a still better understanding of the character of the Lyveden valley, when Thomas Tresham knew and worked in it, we should also consider, briefly, the impact of the great forces of political, military and societal change that swept through the centuries in the years between c.1100 and c.1500,.

The middle decades of the 12th century witnessed a long, drawn-out period of civil war. After the death of Henry I, in 1135, his daughter, Matilda, and her cousin, Stephen, were rival claimants for the throne and they plunged the country into twenty years of confusion. In 1154, Matilda's son, Henry II, came to the throne and he, in turn, was challenged by his two sons, Richard (the 'Lionheart') and John, whose grand ambitions and bitter rivalry tainted the following decades. In 1215, of course, King John was forced to sign the *Magna Carta* - so often, and rightly, regarded as a foundation stone of our constitutional monarchy. The more immediate impact, however, was to sponsor decades of competition for land and benefits between the throne, the barons, the Church and other, more locally powerful or ambitious interest groups. There was a briefly-peaceful period, in the years around c.1300. What followed was something of a population explosion, the pressure of which led to further competition for interests in the land. In the Lyveden valley, this may have been the time of the greatest number of scattered settlements, leading to the creation of more open fields, even in soils which were heavy and had hitherto been dominated by woodland or pasture. Hence, it has been persuasively argued that,

'Only since the 1940s has the Forest begun to approach once more the extent of arable exploitation that had been reached by 1300. Within what is now the modern county, in 1300 there were some 128 square miles under arable. By 1928 this was just 52 square miles while in 2000 it had risen again to 104 square miles. This is an almost identical percentage as in 1300, for by 2000 some 20 square miles had been lost to urbanisation.'³⁰

By the mid-14th century, however, the growth in population was relentlessly reversed by the Black Death, and the landscape was, in many places, once more encroached upon by the forest, as settlements and all the consequent pressures went into steep decline.

gloomy forest, as depicted in the 1847 poem by Thomas Bell of Barnwell. The latter describes the ruins of Lyveden 'buried deep' in 'gloom monastic', 'midst shadowy trees, and lone sequester'd fields'. Plainly, he is enjoying revelling in the Romantic shades. Equally plainly – as we can see from the early OS plans – by the mid-19th C, the Lodge and gardens were, indeed, heavily overgrown.

²⁸ The abbey was carving out fields round its grange at Biggin, a couple of miles to the west of Lyveden and further down the valley, towards Oundle. See this argument explored, Steane, *Op.cit.*, p.47, & Foard, *Op.cit.*, pp.61-64.

²⁹ Mark Bradshaw, *Op.cit.*, p.12.

³⁰ Glenn Foard, David Hall & Tracey Britnell, *The Historic Landscape of Rockingham Forest, its character and evolution from the 10th to the 20th centuries*, 2003, p.22.

In the mid-15th century – from c.1455 and for the next three decades – the country was, again, plunged into confusion in the Wars of the Roses, as the Yorkist and Lancastrian families vied for kingship. It was the 1485 death of the last Yorkist king, Richard III, in the Battle of Bosworth, which then opened the way for the red and white roses of Lancaster and York to be united in the Tudor rose, the emblem of Henry VII. The fact that one of the major battles of this period was the 1460 Battle of Northampton and that Richard III was killed in Bosworth Field³¹ (near Market Bosworth), is evidence enough of the vulnerability of the English Midlands during these long years of anarchy and chaos.

We should not be surprised that, in many quarters, the one consistent thread of stability, throughout these four centuries and more, resided in the Church. It is in this context, then, that the religious earthquake triggered by Henry VII's successors, during which all the known institutions and practices of the Church erupted and scattered, was truly cataclysmic.

If nothing else, this very potted history of England must lend a little flavour to our grasp of the turbulent times between the Conquest and the arrival of Thomas Tresham in Lyveden. It contributes to our understanding of the fairly rapid and shifting pace of change in these centuries, with great forces inevitably leaving their mark on the landscape fabric, its social, economic and political structures. There is no doubt that the English Midlands, in particular, often found itself at the core of battle and any consistent development was inevitably compromised. Hence, it was not only local, but also national and even international, pressures which stamped their impress on the Lyveden landscape, helping to explain the erratic and diffuse patterns of ownership, allegiance and settlement in this small Midlands valley in the Rockingham Forest. And, whilst this does not confirm precisely what the landscape of the Lyveden valley looked like in c.1600, it does allow us to speculate, with a degree of certainty, that what Tresham would have seen from the scaffolding of his new garden lodge may not have been very different from what we see today.

4.4 The Tresham Family

4.4.1 The inheritance of Thomas Tresham of Rushton and Lyveden

'Thomas Tresham was born into a wealthy and respected Northamptonshire family. His ancestors had come to Northamptonshire from Gloucestershire at the end of the 14th century, and in the 15th century were lifted out of the ranks of minor gentry by William Tresham and son Thomas. William Tresham (d.1450), of Sywell near Northampton, was a lawyer and MP for Northamptonshire for many years. He was Attorney General under Henry V and three times Speaker of the House of Commons under Henry VI. Thomas (d.1471) served as Comptroller of Henry VI's Household, represented Northamptonshire in Parliament, and was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1460.'³²

Thus, when the Treshams acquired large estates in Northamptonshire (and further afield), including the manors of Rushton, in 1437/8, and of nearby Lyveden, in c.1468, this was a well-established and wealthy family, with a long history of serving the Crown and the country.

Following the death of his father, John Tresham, in 1546, the young Thomas Tresham spent some time as a ward in the household of Sir Robert Throckmorton. This kind of

³¹ Richard III, the last English monarch to die in battle, is now and forever associated with a car park in Leicester!

³² Mark Bradshaw, *Op.cit.*, p.12.

guardianship was customary for a minor from a wealthy or aristocratic family, who had lost his father: for example, when Edward Manners, the 3rd Earl of Rutland, inherited the Belvoir estate in 1563, as a minor, he was made a royal ward and lived and was educated at the behest of one of Queen Elizabeth's most loyal and able servants, Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil (elevated to Baron Burghley in 1571), at Cecil House, in The Strand, London and (as they were being built) in the country seats of Theobalds, Hertfordshire, and Burghley House, near Stamford. And Rutland was not alone; Edward Manners was joined by Edward de Vere, heir to the 16th Earl of Oxford.

There were two compelling reasons for organising such wardships.

First of all, it could be an attractive business proposition. The Crown benefited considerably from wardship, as did those such as William Cecil, who was given the lucrative office of Master of the Court of Wards in 1561. This meant that he had the responsibility of arranging many of these wardships (all of which were attached to a fee) and he, himself, looked after and educated twelve royal wards over a number of years³³. The reason that Cecil could command a fee for arranging a wardship was, quite simply, that the guardian would (usually) be rewarded with a percentage of the profits, as well as the responsibilities, for taking on his ward's estate during his minority. Moreover, more often than not, the guardian took on the task of marrying his ward into a suitable family. Clearly, this carefully-constructed system made a lot of sense, both in providing the monarch's coffers with a continuing supply of funds and in terms of stabilising and securing the structures of an elite society into the next generation.

The second – related – reason for wardship was because the role of a father figure in caring for, educating and guiding his son and heir was absolutely crucial in the Tudor period, if a family were to secure its economic and social status into the next generation; and, in so doing, again help to maintain the *status quo*³⁴. Any suggestion of bad character in the young heir drew severe castigation from the guardian: bad debts, gambling, personal extravagance, disloyalty; when reputations were ruined, this prevented the family from presenting a, 'safe and modest face to the world'³⁵. In particular, in the last years of Henry VIII or the brief reign of Edward VI, who inherited the throne, as a minor, in 1543 (the year Thomas Tresham was born), maintaining family honour was absolutely essential, if the family were Catholic. In order to navigate the rapids associated with the shifting tides of religious debate and political allegiance, any behaviour which was conspicuous, aggressive, ungenerous or in any way 'wasteful or reckless', had to be extirpated, or it might well bring down fines, imprisonment, punishments and worse.

We have little doubt, then, that, when the young Thomas Tresham, was placed with the well-known and well-connected – but persistently Catholic – Throckmortons, whose seat was Coughton, Warwickshire, it was in the knowledge that, whilst the family was Catholic, it was also recognised as being prudent, well-connected, public spirited, generous and loyal. The wardship would benefit both Tresham and his guardian, Sir Robert Throckmorton.

³³ See the most interesting discussion of Burghley's role, by Joel Hurstfield, 'Lord Burghley as Master of the Court of Wards: 1561-1598', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1949, reprinted in *The Oxfordian*, Vol.III, 2000, pp.99-115.

³⁴ In this context it is, of course, significant that Elizabeth considered herself 'married' to her country, whilst also being a maternal figure for her subjects, as well as – in later years – a model of the Virgin Mary.

³⁵ Quotation from Susan Cogan, 'Reputation, Credit and Patronage: Throckmorton Men and Women, c.1560-1620', pp.69-93, in eds. Peter Marshall & Geoffrey Scott, *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Congleton from Reformation to Emancipation. Catholic Christendon, 1300-1700*, 2009.

Throckmorton had been born to George and Katherine, daughter of 1st Baron Vaux of Harrowden³⁶. He may well have been trained as a lawyer, at Middle Temple, but, as the eldest son, he was largely preoccupied with looking after his family's Warwickshire estates. His father had died in 1552, at which point, Robert had stepped into his role as head of this distinguished family.

With the arrival of the Catholic Queen Mary on the throne, Robert embarked on a more active role in public life, serving on the Warwickshire Bench from 1553 and, in 1553-4, doing his duty as High Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire. The ancient title of 'High Sheriff' was usually bestowed – for a year at a time – by the monarch, advised by the major families of a district. It carried with it a range of demands. Certainly, the function was partly ceremonial; effectively, the Sheriff was the local representative of the monarch and thus was obliged to entertain and pay for formal gatherings of the great and the good. It was also a role which required the oversight of law and order – attending Assizes, supervising any consequent imprisonments or hangings, burying those who had suffered capital punishment and even feeding both gaolers and prisoners. Finally, there was also a charitable role, which included distributing alms to the poor. This could be a very expensive business. It was worth it, however, because making himself useful to the Crown in this way cemented the status and reputation of he who proved himself capable and generous in fulfilling the office. Accordingly, Throckmorton was knighted in 1553 and was elected to represent Warwickshire in Parliament, in 1553 and 1555. Clearly, as a staunch Catholic family, the Throckmortons were able to play a proper role in Queen Mary's England.

Thomas, as a boy, is most likely to have been placed with the Throckmortons on the wishes of his grandfather³⁷. Sir Thomas Tresham the elder (1500-1559), who served in the Reformation courts of Henry VIII³⁸ and Edward VI, was, clearly, a close and valued servant of the Crown. Nevertheless, his Catholic sympathies cannot be doubted and he, too, flourished under Queen Mary, who came to the throne in 1553. Indeed, in 1557, the Queen appointed Tresham Sr. as Grand Prior, in England, of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem³⁹. Under Henry, the Order had suffered the same fate as other religious houses. Mary's revitalisation of the 'Hospitallers'⁴⁰ can, therefore, only be read as a major statement of intent; an intent that was focused on renewing the historic structures of the Catholic Church in England.

But the Hospitallers represented more than just another religious community. It seems to us that the significance of this appointment has not, perhaps, been sufficiently

³⁶ The inter-relationships between the families of Tresham, Vaux and Throckmorton went through several generations.

³⁷ It is somewhat unclear when Thomas's own mother, Eleanor Catesby, died. The Oxford *DNB* gives the date of 1546, but 1535 is recorded elsewhere. In general, however, mothers and other relatives of a minor going into wardship might have been able to advise on where the boy was to be placed – but there was no requirement that relatives' wishes should be followed. We have not been able to discover a date when Tresham was placed with the Throckmortons. It is probable that he was there before his grandfather's death, rather than afterwards, as the latter would not have inherited from his son. This means that the Throckmortons, not grandfather Tresham, were managing the Tresham estate – at least in part – and, in return, benefiting from its profits, between c.1546 and 1564.

³⁸ In fact, Tresham Sr. was one of the King's commissioners for the surrender of monastic land and was, for instance, responsible for taking possession of the Abbey of Peterborough on behalf of the Crown. Likewise, he received monastic lands from the Cistercian abbey of Pipewell and also from Cirencester.

³⁹ Although Tresham Sr. was invested as Grand Prior on 2nd April, 1557, the Order of the Knights Hospitallars itself was not endowed and re-established until November of that year.

⁴⁰ Mary also re-established and endowed others religious Houses, including Franciscans, Dominicans, Carthusians and Benedictines. Like the Hospitallers, however, they were driven out of England by Elizabeth.

recognised: it is important, at this juncture, to examine this Order in a little more detail.

The Order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, first established in 1116, was initially intended to provide succour for pilgrims to the Holy Land. Yet, within a very short time, the Order adopted a military function which, by the late 12th century, had almost completely replaced its role as provider of solace or charity. The headquarters of the Hospitallers was (since 1530) in Malta and the various Priors appointed in different countries owed no homage or fealty to any temporal authorities; and the fact that this was a religious Order run by laymen, not priests, meant that the organisation had one foot in the spiritual world and the other – perhaps more threateningly – in the secular. They were exempted from payment of tithes and from any other feudal obligations to their monarchs and, by the 14th century, the Hospitallers were amongst this country's greatest landowners. Mary's reinstatement of the Order, in 1557⁴¹, did not outlive her death in the following year. Nevertheless, although Elizabeth I confiscated the property of the reconstituted Priory, she could not have been other than alert to the potential threat offered by Thomas Tresham Sr., representative of this powerful, Catholic, formidably militant, body, accountable to no worldly ruler except the Pope – and, therefore, intrinsically disloyal⁴².

Sir Thomas Tresham Sr. died in 1559⁴³. His manifest Catholicism must have caused some suspicion, but it did not prompt immediate punishment. Elizabeth, in these early years of her reign, was playing a canny, pragmatic, political game, wielding her tolerance as a weapon in her determination to seize the country once more away from its popishness. The heir to the Tresham estate was, of course, the next Thomas Tresham who, in 1559, was 15 and still residing with the Throckmortons. One cannot help but wonder, at this time, to what extent the Throckmorton family – with Prior Tresham's grandson in their midst – feared that their ward might be a potential harbinger of danger, a possible threat to their own future. And, there is just one fact about Sir Robert Throckmorton's career at this time which suggests that the new Queen might have been biding her time, taking care to monitor the activities of those whom she must have known had flourished under her predecessor, Queen Mary. Elizabeth's enthronement, in 1558, without a doubt spelled the end of public office for the head of the Throckmorton family, Sir Robert.

After 1558, Sir Robert served no more in Parliament and, before long, was removed as JP in Warwickshire. Of course, he was not the only Catholic, in this period, who was disbarred from public office. But it was by no means universal. Curiously, at the same time, several of his brothers – whose religious sympathies were various and, perhaps, more pliable than Sir Robert's – continued to play important roles in public life. The Catholic Anthony sat in the Parliament of 1563; the middle-of-the-road Clement sat in

⁴¹ Mary's reinstatement of the Order was probably largely prompted by Cardinal Pole, who had fled England in 1536 and had then been made Cardinal and Papal Legate to England, by Pope Pius III. With Mary's ascension to the throne, Pole returned to England and was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1556. Thereafter, Pole was closely associated with Mary's persecution and murder of Protestant heretics.

⁴² We note that John Martin Robinson takes a different stance on this relationship. He argues that, although Elizabeth, 'abolished the Order of St John following her accession to the throne, she allowed Tresham to retain the title and privileges of Lord Prior, because he had supported her sister's and her claim to the throne'. John Martin Robinson, 'Introduction', Nicolas Barker & David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell*, 2006, p.23. We do not think that this latent sense of loyalty necessarily contradicts what we consider must have been Elizabeth's growing suspicion of the overt Catholicism of a subject such as Thomas Tresham I – and hence of Thomas Tresham II.

⁴³ It is interesting to note that Thomas's sister – Thomas Tresham II's great aunt, Clemence – was a nun at the Carthusian Syon Abbey. She retired to Rushton when Syon was finally dissolved in 1559. She died there in 1567 – a good three years after Tresham II had entered his majority.

nine parliaments from 1542 until 1572; and the flexible Nicholas became a close advisor to the Queen and ambassador to France. In contrast, perhaps Sir Robert's loyalty was regarded as suspect. In contrast, Sir Robert found himself obliged to curtail his wider ambitions and interests and focus once more on his Warwickshire estates, rather than matters of state or government.

Notwithstanding the Queen's possible uncertainty about the loyalty of Sir Robert Throckmorton – and, of course, his young ward – and despite her clear determination to counter her predecessor's popish convictions, the fact remains that Elizabeth did not, for some years, make life particularly difficult for her Catholic subjects – and, of course, by 1564, those subjects included the young Thomas Tresham, now entering his majority.

4.4.2 *Thomas Tresham of Rushton and Lyveden; the early years, 1564-1578*

By now, it must be clear that we entertain no doubt that Tresham was brought up a Catholic⁴⁴ and that his antecedents and many members of his immediate circle were also Catholic. The simple fact is, however, that, by the time Thomas reached his majority, in 1564, he had learned how to manage the outward expression of his Catholicism in ways which responded closely to the demands and opportunities of the age. He could hardly have failed to notice the difficult and dangerous times occasioned by the competing religious convictions of Edward VI and Mary. But, reaching his majority as Queen Elizabeth had been on the throne for just six years, Tresham would have had grounds to think that the worst was past – and, specifically, that his family and friends had remained largely untainted by his grandfather's history.

True, the young Queen – with the close co-operation of her Secretary of State and chief adviser, Sir William Cecil – had, in the 1558 Act of Supremacy and the 1559 Act of Uniformity (together described as the Religious Settlement), started to overturn the changes wrought by her half-sister. And yet, these Acts were couched in terms which gave a considerable degree of latitude to her subjects, allowing them, within constraints, to practise their religion in ways which suited them. Elizabeth's principal aim was to ensure that her subjects were not beholden to any temporal ruler other than herself; and, though largely excluded from public office, the majority of her Catholic subjects felt quite comfortable in declaring that they saw no contradiction between their allegiance to the Catholic Church and their dedication to their sovereign (which they could articulate, in these years, in ways which were sufficiently vague to satisfy all but the most ardent religious zealot). Much recent analysis of the roles of William Cecil (Lord Burghley, from 1571) and Queen Elizabeth in forcing these Acts through Parliament has led to the clear conclusion that Elizabeth's own inclinations were not to cast off all the trappings of Catholicism⁴⁵. She continued to allow images, including the crucifix, and candles, in the Chapels Royal and the polyphonic music she favoured was not very different from what had accompanied the pre-Reformation mass. Burghley, in contrast, was more of a conviction Protestant, but he was also a clever political operator who had, in varying degrees, survived and thrived through the courts of Edward and Mary Tudor, before making himself

⁴⁴ Looking carefully at Thomas Tresham's early years makes one wonder why there was ever any question about his religious allegiance – other than reference to Fr. Robert Persons' description, in 1581, of Campion having 'reconcyled' Tresham to the Church. Certainly, this is likely to have been the moment when Tresham's allegiance was strengthened and refined. But, though Campion's eloquence and authority must have made a difference, there were many other forces driving men of religion into warring camps by that time. We wholly agree with Andrew Burne, who remarks that there is, 'overwhelming evidence .. that Tresham was a life-long Catholic'. See, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden', *Garden History*, Vol.36 : 1, Spring, 2008, p.114.

⁴⁵ See John Guy, <http://www.tudors.org/as-a2-level/elizabeth-i-and-politics-the-views-of-historians/>

invaluable to Elizabeth. Burghley knew how to bend to the wind. For the time being, Thomas Tresham could enjoy his inheritance, as he returned to manage his estates in Northamptonshire.

Thus, during the later 1560s and the early 1570s, Tresham's activity, as a landowner and head of an influential family, was not threatened by the kind of challenges he had to endure in the later years of his life. Doubtless, there were times when he had to display some of the cautiousness, tact and even dissemblance that he could have learned at Coughton, in order to get on with life as a Catholic, in Elizabeth's England. But, on the whole, he does not seem to have gone out of his way to pretend that his sympathies were other than they were.

In 1566 – in an alliance which is likely to have satisfied many interests – he married Muriel (Meriel) Throckmorton⁴⁶, the 11th child of Robert, (4th daughter by his second wife, Elizabeth Hussey). She seems to have been a doughty and capable woman, a determined Catholic and one who managed to maintain the family home, despite the privations she must have endured, in later life, as a Throckmorton-Tresham. Until 1568, Tresham – who was to be known as a considerable scholar – was still studying law at the Middle Temple, which was where the eminent lawyer, Edmund Plowden, practised. The latter had made his way in the world under Queen Mary and he was certainly a well-known Catholic. Yet, although his career was somewhat circumscribed under Elizabeth⁴⁷, he remained a valued legal adviser to the Crown⁴⁸. Again, Tresham's close links with Plowden brought him no obvious troubles.

Thomas Tresham, then, had every right to feel pleased with himself, his wife and family and – though constrained somewhat by his religious allegiance – his place in society. What is more, there can be little doubt that he did celebrate this success (Fig.4/4).

⁴⁶ It seems that Muriel had been brought up in the household of Catherine, Countess of Huntingdon, the niece of Cardinal Pole. As already noted, the latter had been created a Cardinal by the Pope in 1537, and his role was to support and promote the aims of the Pilgrimage of Grace, the popular rising, launched in York, which had the aim of rebelling against economic and – most importantly – religious grievances caused by Henry VIII's break with the Church. Pole's family lost their lands and, in a number of cases, their lives. And, as we have already seen, following Queen Mary's accession to the throne, Pole returned to England as Papal Legate, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and was thereafter closely involved with the burning of heretics. Muriel Throckmorton's close links with the Pole family cannot have helped her in Elizabeth's reign.

⁴⁷ It is said that Elizabeth wanted Plowden as her Lord Chancellor, but he turned the offer down, refusing to reject his faith. In the end, Plowden's reputation rests not on the attainment of high office but on his compilation of the important cases which he attended from 1550 to 1579, a work which has 'come to be regarded as the most accurate and painstaking collection of its kind produced in the 16th and 17th centuries'. *Les Commentaries, ou les reportes de Edmund Plowden* were first printed privately, in 1571, and reprinted, with a second part, seven years later.

⁴⁸ In fact, in 1566, after Parliament had – again – failed to settle the question of the Elizabethan succession, Plowden wrote the first succession treatise to argue that Mary Stuart had the legitimate claim on the English throne. He was well aware of the risk he took and his treatise was not printed. Nevertheless, 16th century copies have survived (one in the BL) and so some of Plowden's contemporaries must have known of his analysis. It is surprising that Plowden was never punished, and certainly not imprisoned. See interesting article by Marie Axton, 'The Influence of Edmund Plowden's Succession Treatise', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.37, No.3, May 1974, pp.209-226.



Fig.4/4. 1568 portrait of Thomas Tresham, now in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch

This marvellous portrait, painted in 1568 and showing Thomas Tresham in his pomp, may well have been painted as a means of demonstrating to his Queen his readiness to serve. 1568 marked the 10th year of Elizabeth's accession; though this was not yet celebrated as what later became known as the, 'Accession Day Tilt' (an annual event commemorating Elizabeth's access to the throne, accompanied by a prayer and thanksgiving service and ever-grander pageantry), it was, nevertheless, an important occasion. Indeed, throughout his life, even under the greatest duress, Tresham was fulsome in his expressions of loyalty to his Queen and his country. And there is no reason – other than modern scepticism – to disbelieve him. Of course, he knew, in later life, that the threat he offered as a Catholic recusant was at least as much to do with politics as it was to do with liturgy or the eternal soul, and so we might expect him to express himself willing to sacrifice his corporeal life for his monarch. But we should not take lightly Tresham's insistence – for example, in a letter to Sir Christopher Hatton in 1583 – that he would, 'defend the Queen against foreign invasion and home conspiracies'⁴⁹ to his last breath. The key is that he would commit himself thus, 'with as much zeal as any of his ancestors'. He might, in his life, equivocate about many of his attachments; but to his forefathers he was unswervingly loyal. So, we have reason to see, in this portrait, an image of the recently-married, very wealthy, young Thomas Tresham declaring his readiness for his

⁴⁹ See Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), 'The Manuscripts of T.B. Clarke-Thornhill Esq.', *Report on the Manuscripts in Various Collections*, 1904. T.B. Clarke-Thornhill was then living in Rushton Hall where, in 1828, a remarkable collection of manuscripts dating from 1576-1605, had been unearthed from its hiding place buried within a wall. This quotation, p.vi

life of privilege and responsibility, in service to his Queen. This is not mere braggadocio; this is a glorious flight of masculine display, offering himself as a true servant to his country.

And it was not unique. There is a very similar, roughly contemporary, portrait of William Somerset, 3rd Earl of Worcester. Perhaps it will not be surprising to learn that, though noble and extremely successful at court, Somerset was also a closet Catholic. The key to both of these portraits, perhaps, is that, in Spring, 1568, Elizabeth's cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots, fled Scotland and came south, in search of the Queen's protection. The latter – rightly – feared there was now a focus, in England, for Catholic opposition to her own claim to the throne. In the following year, this opposition erupted in the shape of the Northern Rebellion (in which Somerset's sister and brother-in-law, Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, were closely implicated). Thus, both Somerset and Tresham needed to armour, protect and promote themselves as loyal subjects.

The tournament armour in which both Tresham and Somerset are parading is, obviously, elaborate, colourful and impressive. It was, in fact, a suit of enormously expensive Greenwich armour, made in the Royal Workshops in a style popularised – throughout much of Europe – in the 1560-90s. The ground of the armour was treated so that it became a dark brown, a dark red-purple hue, or it was 'blued' which lent the steel the rich, blue-black colour. Over the ground, the suit was elaborated with embossing, engraving and gilding. The extent of the decoration on Tresham's armour is a manifest statement of great wealth, of hope for favour and status. What is truly striking about the portrait, however – and we have found nothing else similar in Elizabethan portraiture – is the fact that Tresham is holding, prominently displayed, not a parchment, reflecting his status as a student of law and a scholar; not a sword, a statement of his readiness for tournament; but a firearm. Our knowledge of firearms is not sufficient (and the reproduction of the painting is not clear enough) to know if this gun is the somewhat unreliable 'matchlock', which was only just coming into use in warfare⁵⁰, or the newer, more sophisticated and immensely more expensive, German 'wheelock' (we suspect the latter). Either way, this gun augments the meaning of the painting: Tresham is declaring himself fit not just for play, not just for a tournament, but for war, on behalf of his Queen and country.

Before we leave this lovely portrait – such an insight to the man in his youthful prime – we should highlight the fact that, in the 1560s, the Elizabethan enjoyment of symbol, which embraced many meanings and would play so important a part in portraiture, poetry and, of course, architecture, over the following decades, was just starting to flourish. Thus, the first portrait we know to cast Elizabeth herself as an icon, a painting from the mid-1560s and replete with literary, poetical and political significance, was described by Sir Roy Strong as catching, 'Elizabeth in that short-lived period before what was a recognisable human became transmuted into a goddess' (Fig.4/5). This was at a time when the Queen and her advisers were just starting to forge a policy of controlling the royal image and use it to political effect. Hence, this life-size portrait sees Elizabeth regal in the red and white of the Tudor rose and surrounded by heraldic devices, elaborate gilding and images of fruitfulness⁵¹. This was, surely, the

⁵⁰ The first professional firearms training programme for the military, in England, did not come about until 1572/3. In warfare, it was not before c.1588 that the military attachment to the bow and arrow was replaced by firearms.

⁵¹ The Privy Council proclaimed, in 1563 (after the Succession Crisis, when the Queen nearly died of smallpox), that the Queen's image should be rendered in an, 'approved likeness' and thus employed to promote her status. Roy Strong attributes the painting to Steven Van der Muelen. The painting was sold at auction, by Sotheby's in 2007. It is now held by Philip Mould, whose associate, Bendor Grosvenor, argues that the painter was Steven van Herwijck. See, 'The identity of the 'famous painter Steven'', *The British Art Journal*, Vol.IV, No.3, pp.12-17.

kind of Queen to whom the young Tresham might have felt genuine dedication; and he was speaking in a language they would both understand.



Fig.4/5 Portrait of Elizabeth, mid-1560s, the first portrait (since the coronation) to bestow upon the Queen heraldic and symbolic significance.

During these years, too, Thomas and Muriel began to establish their family. Some of their eleven children were born before 1578 (not all of whom survived), including Francis, Elizabeth, Catherine and Thomas and Tresham retained one Thomas Bramston as a tutor for his children⁵². And here, for perhaps the first time, we find evidence of the difference between what allegiances Thomas Tresham expressed in public and what he did at home.

Bramston had been a Fellow at the newly-founded, St. John's College, Oxford - the College which received Edmund Campion in 1557 and flourished as a centre of Catholic philosophy and faith, 'a bastion of scholastic learning and a seminary of Catholic theology'⁵³. In 1566, Bramston had obtained permission to attend Abbot John Feckenham, the last Abbot of Westminster, in the Tower (to which he had been committed, for his Catholic faith, as early as 1560)⁵⁴ and, in the later 1570s, Bramston left Oxford and followed a number of his predecessors, to train, 'overseas', as a priest⁵⁵. Thus, when he spent, 'up to ten years in the household of Sir Thomas Tresham

⁵² Eburne, *Op.cit.*, p.115. In later years, it seems that Tresham's closest employee, George Levens, was tutor to the children.

⁵³ Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion, Memory and Transcription*, 2005, p.41.

⁵⁴ Feckenham was renowned as a charitable and scholarly man of the Church. It is said that Elizabeth worked hard to persuade him to renege on his attachment to the Catholic religion, but he refused and spent many years in various prisons. He died, committed to the care of the Bishop of Ely, in 1584.

⁵⁵ Kilroy, *Op.cit.*, p.44. Many young scholars studied at Douai, the college in N France which was set up to teach English Catholics in Elizabeth's reign. 'So numerous were the exiles at Douai from the two Universities in England that there were soon two houses "which they called the Oxford house and the Cambridge house"'. The effect on Oxford, as so many of its great scholars left England, was devastating. *Op.cit.*, p.41.

as tutor' – presumably to Thomas's eldest son, Francis Tresham, (c.1567-1605), though there is uncertainty about the dates – there could be no denying Tresham's allegiance to the old faith⁵⁶. Notwithstanding all of this, however, Tresham himself remained free – for the time being – to pursue his life in Northamptonshire as head of a long-established and wealthy family.

Indeed, what may be regarded as most interesting about Tresham's early years at Rushton and Lyveden (which was still, probably, his secondary seat), is that he seems to have been successful in establishing a role in society that was not very different from that of his Anglican neighbours: he was a loyal Northamptonshire landowner. He set about enhancing and consolidating his family fortunes and securing the respect of his peers. And yet, if what Tresham was doing was so unsurprising, perhaps we have to ask why descriptions of his pattern of life at this time tend to throw up comments about his, 'entertaining .. on a lavish scale'⁵⁷ and managing his estates with, 'ruthless efficiency'⁵⁸.

The implication of the first is, of course, is that he was spendthrift and thus contributed a great deal to the eventual ruin of the family's estate. The thrust of the second comment is that Tresham's character was fatally flawed and that he failed properly to fulfil (what we might now construe as) his responsibilities as a landlord.

4.4.3 *Thomas Tresham - 'entertaining .. on a lavish scale'*

The first question one must ask, of course, is whether discussion of Tresham's personality and behaviour has any role in this study, which – ultimately – is focused upon his achievements at Lyveden? To this, our answer must be that, since what was created at Lyveden was so much the expression of one man's hopes and convictions – and since so much of the Tresham literature is peppered with these comments – we do need to consider their justification, if we are to illuminate the vision and achievements of this ambitious Tudor knight of the shires⁵⁹.

There is no doubt that, in the 1570s and 1580s, Tresham's outgoings were considerable.

'In the 1580s Lady Tresham's household accounts for the kitchens suggest that upwards of £550 a year was spent. Sir Thomas actually boasted that often he did not know who was sitting at his tables to dine. ... Besides Rushton and Lyveden he maintained two houses in London .. one in Westminster and the other in Hoxton'⁶⁰.

But, if we are to get at all close to understanding this man, his mode of living needs to be interrogated a little more carefully. Was Tresham carelessly prodigal in these years?

We have seen his extremely expensive suit of Greenwich armour and he certainly spent a lot of money. 'Lavish entertainment was provided for friends and neighbours,

⁵⁶ Kilroy, *Op.cit.*, p.44, fn.30.

⁵⁷ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.74.

⁵⁸ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.24.

⁵⁹ It must also be said – though not explored, here – that a good deal of popular understanding of Tudor history (even today) tends to be written by the scholars of the Protestant Enlightenment. This, inevitably, weaves together Catholic idolatry and credulousness, traitorous plots and lazy self-indulgence, outwitted by sturdy English (British) tolerance and self-sacrifice, clear thinking and loyal hard work. It is in this context that we wish to learn much more about the real Tresham.

⁶⁰ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire. Historic Building Report*, 1998, p.6.

and for their followers to the number of twenty, forty, yea sometimes an hundred'⁶¹. He kept a household of over fifty servants and,

'He would feast upon over 50 cattle and 200 sheep in a single year. In ten months from Michaelmas 1588, accounts show that £456 15s 9d was spent in his kitchen.'⁶²

There can be little doubt that Tresham made a point of living well (even during years when he, personally, was imprisoned for his recusancy). But it is too simple to dismiss such behaviour as thoughtlessly extravagant. Tresham must have learned, from his own family and from the Throckmorton household, that wanton extravagance would only lead to disaster; but, he also knew that a family of standing – and ambition – had a duty generously to entertain and care for friends and neighbours. For, 'friends and relatives had to be supported with purse as well as sword'; and it was appropriate for the head of a family of standing to make it appear as if that purse (and, indeed, the sword, or firearm) were available to all those – amongst his betters, peers, neighbours and, of course, his Queen – who needed it. This was a mark of loyalty – and, in later years, it is this dedication to loyalty which helps to explain both Tresham's continuing support of his somewhat erratic brother-in-law, Lord Vaux⁶³ and, indeed, Lady Tresham's insistence on paying off the family's debts after her husband's death⁶⁴.

It was also incumbent on Tresham to take on the expensive duties of High Sheriff of his county, like his grandfather⁶⁵ and Sir Robert Throckmorton before him. Thus, he served in 1573 and was rewarded with his just deserts when he was knighted, by the Queen, at Kenilworth, when she was on a Royal Progress, in July, in 1575 (at the same time as the second son of Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil). These roles and recognitions had long been important and they demanded a particular style of living.

Our conclusion, thus far, then, is that here we have a man of good family, working – and spending generously – to retain and promote his and his family's standing in the county and his loyalty to his peers and his monarch; indeed, we might ask how else would a Catholic maintain his place in society?⁶⁶ And it is to Tresham's Catholicism that we now turn. His most oft-quoted reference to the scale of his entertaining is actually taken from one of his letters, written in the Fleet prison and probably dated September, 1581. He is defending himself against the accusation that he had accommodated the Jesuit priest, Edmund Campion, in his home – an accusation that he had refused either to deny or confirm. Tresham,

⁶¹ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700*, 1995, p.139.

⁶² Mark Bradshaw, *Op.cit.*, p.15.

⁶³ 'Despite his own debts, Tresham sought to uphold the tottering estate of his brother-in-law. In consequence he threw away a good deal of money on costs associated with the dense litigation that surrounded Vaux's tangled affairs, and more by acting as surety for loans upon which his kinsman subsequently defaulted'. Heal & Holmes, *Ibid.* The brother-in-law was William, 3rd Baron Vaux of Harrowden who had succeeded his father, the poet, Thomas Vaux, in 1556. We should, perhaps, add that the links between the different generations of the Vaux and Tresham families were several and of long standing. The difficulties between Thomas Tresham II and William Vaux, a fellow recusant, had their origins in the fact that, in 1557, as part of his settlement on his second wife, Mary (sister of Thos. Tresham II), William conveyed the manors & advowsons of Great & Little Harrowden to his wife's grandfather, Thomas Tresham I. As a consequence (via a convoluted agreement), Tresham II then stood security for payments of £500 each to the 3 daughters of William Vaux, by his first wife.

⁶⁴ She, 'paid off £10,000 of her husband's debt ... (although) she was under no legal necessity to pay these debts'. Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.41.

⁶⁵ Thomas Tresham Sr., also 'of Rushton Hall', was High Sheriff in 1524, 1539, 1548 and 1555.

⁶⁶ It is, in fact, quite noticeable that, amongst others who were appointed High Sheriff in the 1570s and 1580s, two or three were Catholics, including Sir John Spencer, of Althorp, who was High Sheriff in 1558 and 1571 (and whose disappearance from the Commons after 1558 is doubtless to be explained by his Catholicism), and (probably) Bartholomew Tate of Delapré Abbey, who was High Sheriff in 1585.

'desires to satisfy his honourable good friend .. as to the reason of his refusal to depose concerning Campion being at his house. He had kept house for sixteen years, whereto not only his friends and acquaintances have repaired, but their friends and followers, to the number of twenty, forty, yea sometimes an hundred; many of whom he knew only "as it pleased themselves or friends to deliver their names," and others whose names he never asked at all, so that Mr. Campion might have been in his house and company and yet pass from it unknown.'⁶⁷

This letter and this imprisonment, the consequence of Tresham's familiarity with Edmund Campion, mark the sharp divide between Tresham's first years as head of the family, man of wealth and standing, and the last twenty five years of his life, as a recusant detainee. It is, therefore, a moment of extreme importance in our consideration of the ways in which Tresham developed as a secular visionary, theologian and builder. Given that this claim to a hospitality so lavish that he scarcely knew whom he was hosting is actually Tresham's defence, we need to pause and recognise that what we have here is not a careless admission of excess, but a deliberate way of obscuring the maturing of his religious convictions.

As we have already noted, when Tresham was but a boy, living in the Throckmorton household, there is evidence that loyalty, thrift and modesty were inculcated as proper behaviour and, more specifically, as a means of projecting – and thus protecting – himself as a Catholic. In 1581, in prison for the first time for Catholicism, and apparently admitting that he lacked enough self-control and maturity properly to manage his expenditure or order his household, Tresham knew that he was taking advantage of a trope which, with luck, would mean that he would – all too readily – be believed. We know, however, that he was largely unsuccessful – though we should note that, unlike many other recusant Catholics (as we must now call him), of greater and lesser estate, he was not killed by the state. What we do not know, however, is to what extent the Treshams actually pursued a policy of 'open house' as a deliberate means of hiding their co-religionists in plain sight; it was such a clever policy that one could well believe it to have been a considered tactic of the Treshams. This is yet another ingredient to be thrown into the mix, when considering the development of Tresham's performance as knight of the shires.

After 1581, of course, we know that Tresham found himself having to spend very considerable amounts of money in fines and penalties, literally paying for his convictions. But, before moving away from the issue of his domestic expenditure, we return to two final demands on his purse, neither of which would have been so likely to have told against the financial health of his predecessors.

'These were the costs associated with the increased role of London in their social lives, and those necessary for the preferment of their children. Expenditure associated with both these social trends swelled Thomas Tresham's burden of debt.'⁶⁸

So, London living and the costs of children – which, in Tresham's case, included an excess of daughters: Tresham and a good number of his contemporaries were plagued by both.

Tresham supported at least two houses in London: one in Tuttle Street – now Tothill Street – very near Westminster Abbey⁶⁹ as well as near the heart of government, and

⁶⁷ HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.17.

⁶⁸ Heal & Holmes, *Op.cit.*, p.140.

⁶⁹ Dame Muriel Tresham lived in Tuttle Street, Westminster, in 1581, when her husband was in prison in Hoxton. See Bishop Richard Challoner, *Memories of Missionary Priests and other Catholics of Both Sexes*

one in Hogsden, or Hoxton – then fairly rural, of course – to the north of London (and, therefore, a convenient place to pause, when travelling between Northamptonshire and Westminster, usefully linked by Ermine Street)⁷⁰.

The first record we have found of Tresham's having a residence in Hoxton appears to date from late 1580, when the Jesuit priest, Edmund Campion, retired to Tresham's house there and composed an open letter to the Privy Council, later known as 'Campion's Brag'⁷¹. This was the event which led to Tresham's first spell of imprisonment. There is evidence that, in December, 1582, his wife was in residence in 'Hogsden', whence she sent a letter to the Countess of Worcester⁷², at a time when Tresham had just left the Fleet for a confinement marginally less oppressive, though still something of a hovel (not his own home), in Hoxton⁷³.

'I cannot devise with what decency it may now beseem me to enterprise the breach of this my over long (but not unthankful) silence; yet much less do I know how to begin or where to end in rendering unto your ladyship the due of those deserved thanks that I (the woeful wife of a distressed prisoner) have received from you, even in this our great want of friends..'

It seems to us perfectly possible, however, that the family resided in this area well before the 1580s, for, in 1568, the Portuguese ambassador acquired a house on Hoxton Street (the same street on which Tresham probably lived), and he opened his private chapel so that English Catholics could celebrate Mass⁷⁴. There is some uncertainty about exactly where Tresham's house was - but it does seem to have been one and the same as, 'one of the most important houses in Hoxton in the 15th and 16th centuries', originally the residence of the, 'Haryong family', but 'in the tenure or occupation of Sir Thomas Tressam, knight'. There was a garden and orchard and the residence served not only his own household but also his extended family, for we learn that, 'there seems good reason to believe that during his lease the house was occupied for a time by his son-in-law, Lord Mounteagle'⁷⁵.

Perhaps only peripherally pertinent to the current debate – but nonetheless tantalising – is the presence of another near neighbour in Hoxton: in 1576, James

that have Suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts, from the year 1577 to 1684, Vol.1, 1839, pp.112-113. As an interesting aside, we note also that, on 4th April, 1664, Samuel Pepys visited the 'Swan with Two necks' on 'Tuttle Street'!

⁷⁰ There is some uncertainty about the location of this house. It is probable, however, that, 'the property fronted east on Hoxton Street, west on "the Causway" (St. John's Road), and south on "ground called the Britania Gardens," ' . Myrtle Street, which still exists under that name, may be taken as representing the site of Tresham's house. See, *Survey of London: volume 8: Shoreditch* (1922), pp.72-88, URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>.

⁷¹ This followed Campion's arrival in England, with Robert Persons (Parsons). In summer, 1580, Campion preached in Smithfield and Southwark, before he stayed at Hoxton, with Tresham. It was Campion's fierce opponent, Meredith Hanmer, who challenged Campion, the Jesuit, about his, 'great bragge', thus coining the term which is still used today.

⁷² As in several other instances, the letter, purporting to come from Lady Tresham, was drafted by her husband. This is one of many pieces of evidence revealing that both Treshams conducted a regular campaign to obtain Thomas's freedom or improve his prison quarters.

⁷³ In 1583 when, after about 18 months' imprisonment in the Fleet, TT was allowed a brief respite in Hoxton. He was, however, 'badly lodged .. his chamber being allotted over a noisome kitchen, rudely and disjointedly boarded and not a whit ceiled'. In what seems an unnecessary act of meanness, this lodging was, apparently next to his own house, where he might have been able to enjoy his orchard and his garden. For further analysis of which site is likely to have been the Tresham residence, see, Ed. Sir James Bird, 'Historical introduction: Hoxton, to the west of Hoxton Street', *Survey of London*, Vol.8, Shoreditch, 1922, pp.72-88. British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>.

⁷⁴ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/educational/tudorhackney/localhistory.

⁷⁵ It was probably at Hoxton that Lord Mounteagle received the implicit news of the Gunpowder Plot, when he was warned not to attend parliament that day.

Burbage and his father-in-law, John Brayne, created one of the very first permanent theatres for London. This, the eponymous 'Theatre', was an octagonal, timber structure, with galleries, surrounding an open yard⁷⁶, built just beyond the City of London - wherein play acting had been banned⁷⁷. The first players to perform at the Theatre were *The Earl of Leicester's Men*, a company led by James Burbage. They had been established by 1559 and, deemed to be members of Leicester's household, they had been able to travel and perform round the country; indeed, during the Christmases of 1574 and 1575, they had performed at Court. But, James Burbage seems to have recognised that a permanent base, outwith the control of the City of London, would be a useful bulwark against approaching change. In fact, the Theatre arose on the precinct of the former Holywell Priory, Hoxton, and James Burbage's son, the great actor, Richard⁷⁸, is recorded as living nearby, on Holywell Street. In the 1590s, an early version of Shakespeare's⁷⁹ *Hamlet* may well have first been performed by the young Burbage, in the Theatre; he also took the lead in *Lear* and *Othello*.

Can we make any assumptions about whether or not Tresham and his family might have attended the theatre on their doorstep?

Of one thing we can be sure - when the family was in residence in Hoxton, they must have been aware of the Theatre and its activity. We learn that the large, public playhouses were, 'committed to putting on a different play every day of the week' and, 'by the last decade of the sixteenth century, the theater had evolved to the point where they were in almost continued public performance'⁸⁰. Furthermore, we also know that Sir Thomas's brother-in-law, William Vaux, certainly enjoyed the theatre and even had his own company of players, *The Lord Vaux's Men*, who actually survived their patron and went on to rival Shakespeare's own company, the *Lord Chamberlain's Men*. So it is not an unreasonable assumption to believe that the Tresham family did, at some time, frequent theatrical performances and would, therefore, have developed an intimate understanding of the metaphors, symbols and signs put to use in this context.

The Queen and her advisors, without doubt, were conscious of the role of popular entertainment – from ballad-singing to street theatre – in promoting unity or disaffection. And, as the 1580s brought with them more religious, political, economic

⁷⁶ In 1599, facing financial and contractual difficulties, the Theatre was dismantled and its timbers were taken south of the River where, it is said, they were used in the construction of the Globe, Southwark, in 1599.

⁷⁷ Whilst the early years of Elizabeth's reign witnessed the growth of playing companies or troupes, performing throughout the country as well as to the Queen, the latter's increasing desire to control the circulation and gathering of her subjects, combined with resistance to the theatre by the growing merchant class, often Puritans, conspired to resist the development of the theatre. Performing plays had been banned in London in 1572, nominally as a precaution against the Plague. At the same date, another Act modified the Poor Laws, so that travelling performers could be classed as vagabonds and penalised accordingly. In the following years, bans were imposed to limit affray, to reassure the increasing number of Puritans who opposed theatre in principle, and because there was no doubt that some plays – including, of course, some by Shakespeare – were recognised as attacks on contemporary *mores* and manners and even – in some instances – against the institutions of court.

⁷⁸ Born in 1567, Burbage probably started acting in a few recognised companies from a young age. Most significantly, he became the star performer in The Lord Chamberlain's Men, founded in 1594, for whom Shakespeare wrote many plays.

⁷⁹ This is definitely not the place to pursue that interesting debate about whether Shakespeare himself – and his father and his wife – were Catholic. At the very least, one can assert that many of his major plays – perhaps particularly the Histories – pondered the themes of loyalty, deceit, power, jealousy, superstition and righteousness, all of which most certainly did inhabit the court of Elizabeth and were embroiled in the state's clash with Catholicism.

⁸⁰ Gary B. Goldstein, 'Did Queen Elizabeth use the Theater for Propaganda?', *The Oxfordian*, Vol. VII, 2004, pp.154-167.

and military threats, so these vehicles of public debate became more powerful. Goldstein claims that, 'it is likely that more than 500 new plays were played upon the stages of London during the final decade of the sixteenth century'⁸¹ and he quotes Andrew Gurr's insistence that the theatre was,

'the only major medium for social intercommunication, the only existing form of journalism, and the only occasion that existed for the gathering of large numbers of people other than for sermons and executions'⁸².

Affairs of the Elizabethan state, church and society were, of necessity, represented in this forum.

We cannot be wholly sure that Tresham frequented the theatre; if he did, we do not know whether he attended the Theatre, in Hoxton, with the masses, or attended performances in gentry houses, including those at Lord Vaux's Harrowden, just a few miles south of Rushton. What we can be certain about, however, is that he must have known of the existence of theatrical entertainments – which had become ubiquitous – and may well have read, if not watched, the latest dramas. Indeed, Tresham's own library contained editions of plays in verse by contemporary Italian writers, including a 1556 edition of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* – a tale (sometimes bawdy) of a Christian emperor's bitter war with a pagan ruler⁸³ – and a 1578 edition of Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, the first Renaissance prose-poem to evoke the Ancients, with its elegiac search for an ideal, pastoral life, living with the shepherd-poets, far from the dark terrors of the city⁸⁴. The themes of both of these allegories can be seen in contemporary English theatre, including, of course, in the work of Shakespeare⁸⁵.

Quite apart from anything else, Tresham and his family cannot have overlooked the extent to which Elizabeth understood that the ways in which she presented herself to her influential subjects was an essential function of her power. In her own portraits (as we have seen), in court, on royal progress, in political, diplomatic and even military exchanges, the Queen was a brilliant and theatrical tactician. To that extent, Thomas Tresham would have been perfectly familiar with the notion that the play – like poetry, prose, painting and even architecture – could help to articulate relationships between people, classes and religions. He would have been familiar with metaphor, allusion, illusion, evocation and symbolism – which, in later years, were to become central to his intellectual and theological life. He would have known that the stage (whether the Theatre, in Hoxton, or, before many years were out, his house and gardens at Lyveden) could make manifest several layers of commentary and meaning, for each to translate according to his own education and allegiances.

Before we leave discussion of Tresham's London houses, it may be worth noting that we have also come across a reference to his living in Mitcham⁸⁶. This south London

⁸¹ Goldstein, *Op. cit.*, p.159.

⁸² Goldstein, *Op. cit.*, p.160. Goldstein quotes Andrew Gurr, whose book, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*, published in 1970, was influential in our current understanding of Elizabethan theatre.

⁸³ We actually find Ariosto was one of the authors of the books which Tresham included in his emblematic portrait medallion, of c.1595 (see Fig.4/15). It is amongst those items cast away as, childish or worldly things.

⁸⁴ See Barker & Quentin, *Op. cit.*, 2006, p.116. Perhaps not surprisingly, the 1480s epic poem was to influence Sir Philip Sidney 's important poem, *Arcadia*, a century later.

⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that Tresham, in a letter written in February, 1597, to John Case (teacher and physician, associated with St. John's College, Oxford), concerning books Tresham would donate to St. John's library, he notes that his 'good frende' Matthew Gwinne, had visited him in Hoxton. Gwinne knew Shakespeare and seems to have been influential in shaping the plot of *Macbeth*. See Barker & Quentin, *Op. cit.*, pp.123-126.

⁸⁶ See H.E. Maldon, editor, 'Parishes: Mitcham', A History of the County of Surrey, Vol.4, 1912, pp.229-234, British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>.

area was well known, in the 16th century, as a centre of Catholicism and, in 1587, there was a complaint made that there was a seminary priest staying at Sir Thomas Tresham's house in Mitcham. Amongst other Catholics known to have been in this area were Sir John Talbot and, in neighbouring Cheam, the Fromonds, another prominent recusant family⁸⁷. This interesting snippet – and we have failed to find anything further – concludes all that we know about Tresham and his residences in and near London. It is clear that his houses – or, at least the one in Hoxton – were reasonably substantial. Certainly, all this must have been a drain on his purse. Equally certainly, however, Tresham had little choice but to spend time in London – when yet he was a free man, in the 1570s – if he were to maintain his position in society and acquaint himself with all the most up-to-date philosophical, religious and cultural pursuits. And, after the 1580s, if he himself were unable to spend much time in his home in Hoxton, then his family could and did.

What about the other drain on his purse, his children, especially his daughters?

It is very true that one of the largest calls on Tresham's purse came from the necessity of finding good marriages for his six daughters. Three were married during their father's lifetime, 'at a cost of £6,800'. A further £5,400 was set aside and secured by trusts for the remaining three daughters⁸⁸.

Our conclusion, then, must be that Tresham was obliged, by many pressures, to live the way that he did. He needed a London establishment and he was (in financial terms) unfortunate in having a large number of daughters. In the end, we need to be careful about making moral judgements about how a man, who lived over 400 years ago, spent his money: at the very least, today's 'lavishness' might better be regarded as a proper Tudor display of standing, with all that it implied in terms of ambitions, benefits and responsibilities.

What, then, about Tresham's 'ruthless efficiency' in managing his estates?

4.4.4 Thomas Tresham and Enclosure - ruthlessly efficient?

'Sir Thomas Tresham, who presided over the ruin of his ancient family, was a vigorous manager of his estates. By enclosure, direct production for market, and the renegotiation of leases, Tresham raised the value of his lands considerably, to £3,500 in 1590. The motive for this energetic reorganisation was a heavy burden of debt, and despite all Tresham's business skills and the improved income that they generated, he could not erase it. Sir Thomas Tresham was a paragon of managerial efficiency, vitally engaged in profit maximisation, deeply concerned with the minutiae of rabbit sales - but he could not escape the web of debt that encompassed him'⁸⁹.

One of the prime means a landlord had to improve the returns on his estate was to enlarge and enclose it. At Lyveden, in 1540, as we know, Tresham's grandfather had enclosed 420 acres, 'sufficient for about 800 sheep'. 'This park', noted Eburne and Felus, 'dwarfed (and included) the old medieval park' and it comprised,

'120 acres of wood, 250 acres of pasture and 50 acres of meadow in Lyveden, commonly called Lyveden Park "whereof the Eastern side abuts into Bareshanke Wood and Whydney Grene in Pylton and the Western side abuts

⁸⁷ Benjamin Fromond was father-in-law to Dr. John Dee, mathematician and astrologer.

⁸⁸ Heal & Holmes, *Op.cit.*, p. 142. The authors add that, 'the portion necessary to secure a good match for a daughter, a match that would reinforce a family's prestige, rose at a rate slightly greater than that of inflation in the sixteenth century and exceeded it dramatically in the seventeenth.'

⁸⁹ Heal & Holmes, *Op.cit.*, p.136

upon a wood called Sherylappe and Sudburgh Grene, and the South side upon the wood of the said Sir Thomas called Ladywood and Bradyhawe, and the North side abuts on the highway called Harlowe Rydinge and the closes of the said Sir Thomas, now in the tenures of John Ayhns and John Palmer”⁹⁰.

There can be little doubt that Tresham Sr. ran sheep on much of this land - wool was becoming the most economically inviting crop. Before 1544, he had,

‘bought further pastures in the same area, for another 300 sheep. Tresham also bought Luscottes assart lands in Brigstock in 1538, comprising eight closes of 170 acres.’⁹¹

Thus, by 1547, this ‘well-known grazier of the time’, Thomas Tresham Sr., in his lands at, ‘Rushton (including Pipewell in Rushton) and nearby Lyveden’ ran, ‘2800 and 1000 sheep respectively.’

In 1564, the year Thomas Tresham II came into his majority, the Luscote and Brigstock pastures carried 200 sheep⁹². Just over 30 years later, in 1597, Tresham held a total of 3,440 sheep in Rushton and Pipewell, and a further 2,860 in Lyveden⁹³. These figures reveal several interesting facts. First of all, during Tresham’s minority and through the periods of his imprisonment, the family lands were still being actively managed – in the early years, presumably by grandfather Tresham and, no doubt, by Robert Throckmorton, too – with an increasing percentage of pastures being in-hand. Secondly, once he had entered into his inheritance, Tresham obviously continued his elders’ practice of acquiring additional land on which to run his ever-increasing flocks. Thirdly, these sheep must have been bringing in a reasonable return. Eburne & Felus note that by 1600, ‘Sir Thomas Tresham was probably making £1 annually for every 4 sheep in his flocks’⁹⁴. The simple explanation of such dedication to making money is – as stated, above, by Heal and Holmes – that Tresham needed to maximise his wealth if he were to be able to maintain his and his family’s place in society; not to mention the imperative of keeping up with paying his fines and dues, which began to multiply in the 1580s. But, there are also several other colourful strands of argument which help us to weave together and grasp a little more of the texture and character of Tresham’s enclosures.

⁹⁰ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp.21-22. The quotation comes from J.M. Steane, ‘The Mediaeval Parks of Northamptonshire’, *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, 1974, pp.227-228.

⁹¹ John Martin, ‘Sheep and Enclosure in Sixteenth-Century Northamptonshire’, *The Agricultural History Review*, 36, 1, 1998, pp.52-3. The following quotations are taken from the same source.

⁹² This information was found in a remarkable survey, discovered by the historian, John Martin, in the CRO, amongst papers of Sir Edward Montagu, Deputy Lieutenant of the County. Specifically, it was in a, ‘Book of Fines and Estreats’, which had been in the possession of Sir Edward Montagu, when he was High Sheriff of the county, at the end of the 16th century (this might refer to 1595 or 1600, during both of which Montagu was High Sheriff). The 1564 survey itself, however, must have been undertaken by Robert Lane of Horton (a kinsman of Robert Throckmorton) or Edmund Brudenell of Deane (also entertained Catholic sympathies and would also be related to the Treshams), since the appointment of High Sheriff was made in March of each year. This 1564 record of sheep sales was to inform the purveyance charge. The latter had started life as feudal duty to supply the royal household with produce but, by Elizabeth’s reign, had become a direct levy on counties and, like the ‘sale’ of wardships, an important source of indirect taxation. See John Martin, *Op.cit.*, for more detailed discussion of the increase in numbers of flocks through the county.

⁹³ The calculation of sizes of flocks is derived from several contemporary sources, including a comprehensive survey of sheep flocks in 1547 (BL Add MS 25084) and the document, dated 1564 (discussed above), listing sheep numbers in the Northants.

⁹⁴ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.22. The source for these figures is a most interesting study, by Mary E. Finch, of, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640*, 1956.

There has been a range of extremely interesting and detailed studies of enclosure, especially in Northamptonshire. And, one of the most useful of these was by Mary E. Finch, in a book she published in 1956⁹⁵. This 'important contribution to English economic history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' has laid the foundations for later studies and it has established conclusively that, because the Treshams of Rushton, were 'heirs of ancient wealth'⁹⁶, 'an old family that continued to enrich itself', deriving its income chiefly from the land, their long history of acquiring scattered parcels of land tended to make it much more difficult for them to improve returns than it was for the *nouveaux riches* – like the Spencers of Althorp – who could acquire large, coherent blocks of land, ripe for improvement. Finch clearly demonstrates that Tresham suffered this disadvantage, even though his grandfather Thomas (Prior Thomas) had already consolidated the family property in two main holdings, centred on Rushton and Lyveden. What most of his predecessors had not done, however, is to farm most of the land directly. Rather, much of it was divided between tenants and rent levels may well have been lax. Thomas Tresham II began to enclose parcels of his estate and either increase the rents on the land or hold it in-hand, introducing a considerable number of sheep.

In enclosing land on quite a large scale, Tresham was, of course, doing exactly what others of his kind had been doing for decades. Piecemeal enclosure of common land did take place in the early mediaeval period. Indeed, the early history of enclosure, since 1066, was a largely royal one, with 25 Royal Forests already having been claimed by 1086. In the second half of the 12th century, in the reign of Henry II, more than a quarter of the country was subject to forest law⁹⁷. But, as we have seen, forest law controlled the land on such a scale that – especially in periods of tumult – it proved impossible to maintain and, within a couple of centuries, a range of different access opportunities – whether legally or illegally pursued – had opened up large parts of the forest to other uses by other people; the Rockingham Forest itself offers an illustration of such a development. By the 16th century, we see the number of enclosures for deer parks or warrens increasing and soon these were to be augmented by enclosures for pasture and sheep. These did not necessarily exclude tenant farmers from the land – but when tenants were retained, their rents often increased, on the premise that sheep farming would be more productive (and less labour-intensive) than open field arable farming. The alternative was that they lost access to the commons and open fields, on which they had been dependent, perhaps for generations.

Loss of these rights and consequent loss of sustenance certainly contributed, in places, to the depopulation of manors and associated political instability; equally, loss of population – which might have been a consequence of plague, for example – could mean that manors fell into decay and enclosure was, thereafter, one means of re-imposing management. We have already seen that the Lyveden valley had suffered from unusual pressures of ownership and use and that what had probably been the principal village of Lyveden was deserted by the early 15th century – before the Treshams had acquired their Northamptonshire estates. But there can be no doubt that this was one of several families⁹⁸ in the area which, from the late 15th

⁹⁵ Mary E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640*, 1956.

⁹⁶ William Tresham, c.1400-1450, was lord of the manor of Sywell, near Northampton and, as a successful lawyer, Attorney General to Henry V and Speaker of the House of Commons under Henry VI, he established the family fortune. His early purchases of land were in the vicinity of Rushton, but he had built a portfolio of land across 25 parishes at his death. It was William's son, Thomas – Controller of the Royal Household to Henry VI and also Speaker of the House – who acquired Lyveden manor.

⁹⁷ Martin Hoyles, 'English Gardens and the Division of Labor', *Horticulture*, Issue 6, Spring 2002

⁹⁸ As well as the Treshams, John Martin draws attention to the, 'most renowned sheep master of all, Sir John Spencer', of Althorp. *Op.cit.*, p.52.

century, began an ambitious programme of enclosure and purchase of land for sheep.

Enclosure prompted a good deal of political and social unease. Even in 1516, in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, we find a piteous complaint that, 'Your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wylde that they eat up, and swallow downe the men themselves'⁹⁹. In that same year, there was an anti-enclosure Act, followed by several more Acts of Parliament, over the next century and more, designed to stop enclosure and minimise its potentially disastrous social – and economic – consequences¹⁰⁰. These interventions did not stop the practice, however.

Indeed, an enclosure map, dated 1599 (now in Northamptonshire Record Office and well worth viewing), illustrates the impact of enclosure on the land surrounding the small village of Haselbech, to the west of Kettering (Fig.4/6).



Fig.4/6 Haselbech indented inclosure map, 1599, (NRO Map 561)

The agreement was between Sir Thomas Tresham, John Roade and ten other freeholders in Haselbech. The enclosed land is indicated by the coloured areas on the plan, and – as might be inferred from the yellow trefoil (Tresham's device) depicted just to the NE of the village – Tresham has clearly commanded the largest portion, all painted in blue. The village of Haselbech might have been small (though

⁹⁹ Quoted by Hugh Barker, *Hedge Britannia: A Curious History of a British Obsession*, 2012, p.105.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas Blomley reports, 'eleven Acts forbidding enclosure were passed between 1489 and 1624, with four official Inquisitions held to ensure that the Acts were observed. ... Enclosure was viewed, even by many elites, with suspicion'. 'Making Private Property: Enclosure, Common Right and the Work of Hedges', *Rural History*, 18, 1, 2007, p.4.

it had, perhaps, long been settled, as Roman sherds were found in the area). It was situated on the boulder clay, on the summit of a hill, so this was not land that lent itself to productive arable farming. In 1086, it was listed simply as a single manor, with a population of 19. By the late 16th century, however, the Tresham family owned much of the manor and this 1599 plan probably confirms changes which had already been wrought. What this plan shows is about 25 separate farmsteads, houses or cottages. Five empty crofts lie to the east of the Church and another two at the NE end of the village. In fact,

'Tresham's enclosure involved the removal of some 700 acres of land which had previously belonged to seven houses in the village. This, and his consequent policy of raising rents, led effectively to the eviction of some 60 people who could not or would not pay.'¹⁰¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that, from the mid-16th century onwards, there was more than one insurrection, during which enclosing hedges and ditches were destroyed. One of the most significant of these, with violence characterising both the rebellion and its terrible aftermath, took place in 1607.

'Sr Anth. Mildmay & Sr Edw. Montacute¹⁰² repaired to Newton, Mr Tho. Tresham's towne, wheare 1000 of thease fellowes who term themselves levelers weare busily digging, but weare furnished wth many halfe pyks, pyked staves, long bills, & bowes and arrows, & stoanes. Thos gentlemen, fynding great backwardness in the trained bands, weare constrained to use all the horse they could make, & as many foote of their owne servants & followers as they could trust, & first read the pclamacon twise unto them, using all the best pswasions to them to desist that they could devise, but nothing would pvaile, they charged them thoroughlie, both wth their horse & foote: But the first charge they stoode, and fought despatelie; but at the second charge they ran away'.¹⁰³

The first thing to confirm is that, clearly, this was not Sir Thomas Tresham of Lyveden and Rushton (who had died in 1605), but another member of the family, whose property was in Newton, not far away, to the west¹⁰⁴. The second intriguing – if incidental – detail to emerge from this quotation is that here the word, 'levelers' (*sic*) was, apparently, being used by the rioters, who were levelling the hated hedges and filling the ditches which excluded them from newly-enclosed land. This is not a word one finds much in use in this political context until the middle of the next century, in the Civil War. Thirdly, it is interesting to note that, even though King James I had issued a Royal Proclamation, at the end of May in 1607, directing his leading landowners to raise local forces of arms, to suppress riot, in this instance, the county militia (the 'trained bands') under the command of Thomas Cecil, the Earl of Exeter (& William Cecil's elder son), were displaying such 'great backwardness', that defending Tresham fell to a group of local gentry and their servants, swiftly gathered together under Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton. Ironically, whilst Montagu was obviously responsible for maintaining order – and for defending his class – he had, in fact, already spoken out against enclosure, in Parliament, being a member of one of

¹⁰¹ 'Haselbech'. An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northamptonshire, Volume 3: *Archaeological sites in North-West Northamptonshire*, 1981, pp.100-102. British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.report>.

¹⁰² Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, was Deputy Lieutenant of Northamptonshire.

¹⁰³ Gilbert Shrewsbury, 'Whytehall, 11th June 1607', letter addressed to Sir John Manners, Sir Francis Leak and Sir John Harpur. Quoted in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British history, biography, and manners in the reigns of HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI, MARY, ELIZABETH, AND JAMES I*, 1791, pp.320-321.

¹⁰⁴ The Newton branch of the family traced its ancestry back to Henry, the second son of William Tresham, of Sywell. He purchased Newton in the late 15th century.

the growing number of Puritan families in the district, who opposed the social and economic impact of enclosure.

Nevertheless, the protesters were overwhelmed and two of the rebel leaders were hanged. The Newton uprising proved to be the culmination of what had become a much larger revolt: starting in Northamptonshire and spreading to Leicestershire and Warwickshire, the Midland Revolt was one of the most fierce and widespread expressions of opposition to the extinguishing of common rights. Indeed, so fierce had been this uprising, that, once it had been quashed, the King appointed a Commission, to undertake an 'Inquisition of Depopulation', specifically for the Midlands, which had been the seat of unrest. This proved to be a little (though not much) more than the usual political fudge. Some of the most energetic enclosers were 'presented' to the courts. No fewer than 15 were convicted in Northamptonshire¹⁰⁵, including both Thomas Tresham (of Newton) and Lewis Tresham, the younger son, and heir, of Sir Thomas Tresham. Lewis Tresham was obliged to pay a fine of £40 and, like others convicted, offered his assurances for the speedy reformation of the depopulations. But, the investigations were drawn out and, in the end, the state was, 'more concerned with preventing new offences than with the relentless pursuit of old ones, in which effective restoration was very difficult, especially if depopulation was complete'¹⁰⁶.

'It is also apparent that, for example in Northamptonshire, Justices of the Peace collaborated with convicted enclosers by issuing false certificates of restoration of houses and husbandry and reconversion of land from pasture to arable'¹⁰⁷.

In fact, three of the four Justices concerned with certification in Northamptonshire were well-known enclosers. One of these was none other than Thomas Tresham of Newton.

Having now arrived at a recognition of the social, economic and political context in which Sir Thomas Tresham, and his Northamptonshire peers, were living and working (and we note that these landed families represented both old wealth and new, those with Puritan, Catholic, and middle-of-the-road Anglican allegiances), perhaps we can return to the original question. Did Sir Thomas Tresham operate with 'ruthless efficiency' as he transformed the landscape of his county? The answer, of course, is yes, and no. If we assume that the question is, indeed, pertinent to our increased understanding of the buildings and gardens at Lyveden (and, surely, any greater understanding of their wider setting, and of the character of their maker, is illuminating) - then we can acknowledge that Tresham's approach to enlarging and consolidating his land-ownership and wealth was vigorous indeed. On the other hand, in this, he was very far from unique (even within his own family). Enclosure transformed the culture and economy of the landscape in many parts of the country, and certainly around the Rockingham Forest. And Sir Thomas Tresham played an important role in effecting this transformation.

¹⁰⁵ The Midlanders who were convicted numbered more than 70 and many others simply failed to turn up at court, to defend themselves.

¹⁰⁶ See the wider discussion of these issues in, John Martin, 'Enclosure and the Inquisitions of 1607: An Examination of Dr. Keridge's Article 'The Returns of the Inquisitions of Depopulation'', *The Agricultural History Review*, Vo.30, No.1, 1982, pp. 41-48.

¹⁰⁷ Martin, *Op.cit.*, p.45.

4.5 Thomas Tresham, early years as Builder and Polymath

4.5.1 Rothwell Market House

Tresham's interest in trying to build his family's fortunes firmly on the productive and economic foundations of his county found its expression in far more than his stint as High Sheriff and his promotion of enclosure. From the time he entered his majority, it seems certain that he continued to reside at Rushton and it is to his contribution to the success of his neighbourhood that we now turn.

Early in 1578, Sir Thomas Tresham began to erect the Market House in Rothwell, near Rushton Hall¹⁰⁸. This was to be the first of his ambitious and thought-provoking building enterprises.

There had been a public market in Rothwell – already a town of some substance by the early Middle Ages – since King John granted it a charter, in 1204. A market cross – which sometimes, but by no means always, incorporated an actual cross – signified not only the place where certain goods and services were bought and sold, but also that that these public exchanges and contracts were lent a degree of authority and order by the symbolic link to the Church. It was not unusual for landowners to replace a damaged or decayed market cross in their local market town (one only has to think of John Aislabie's first experiment in building, at Ripon market square, which, in 1702, he endowed with the first monumental obelisk to be found in a public space in England). We have encountered what seems to be a very unlikely suggestion that Tresham's tenant in the manor house at Rothwell, a local benefactor named Owen Ragsdale, had not only revived the market, but had already erected a market house at his own expense, which was then replaced by Tresham's building¹⁰⁹. Certainly, Ragsdale's heraldic arms feature prominently on one of Tresham's 'skutchins'; and certainly, Tresham's Market House is of exceptional quality and of great significance, heralding some of the architectural preoccupations of his later years (Fig.4/7).

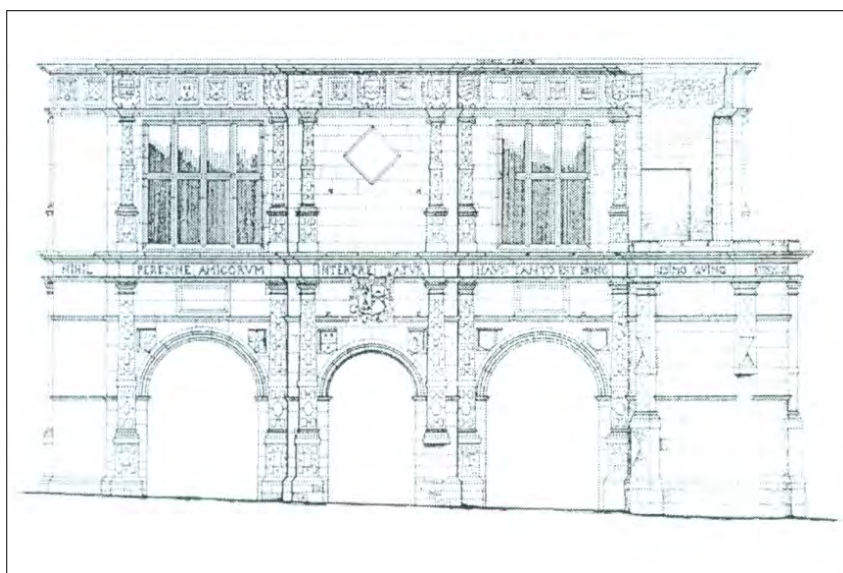


Fig.4/7 Drawing of Rothwell Market House, by J.A. Gotch, 1895.

¹⁰⁸ Rushton was the Treshams' principal seat in Northamptonshire. The large part of the house known to Thomas Tresham II – and to which he made additions and alterations – had been built in the early 16th century, by John Tresham (great-grandfather of Thomas). This included the west front and much of the north and south wings.

¹⁰⁹ See Gyles Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', part II of the *Reports and Papers of The Northamptonshire Antiquarian Society*, 1966, p.12.

Generally described as an entirely secular building, we have already noted the implied role of the Church in providing oversight for many towns' markets. It is not surprising, therefore, that Tresham's Market House is cruciform in plan. Hence, already we can remark that what we have here is the first of a group of buildings which lead us to 'Lyveden New Bield'.

The date on which an agreement was signed, by Tresham and his builder, 'William Grombold', 'free mason', was July 2nd, 1578. By this date, we learn that Grumbold¹¹⁰ had already produced a, 'plott', which had been shown to and agreed by, 'the said Sir Thomas Tresame'. In addition, 'stoanes and wyndoes' – presumably mullions and key-stones – had been made and were ready to be put in place. Much of the stone for the building was quarried from Sir Christopher Hatton's Weldon site, midway between Hatton's two great, Elizabethan houses, Kirby and Holdenby, and not far from Tresham at Rushton.

It is quite possible that this project had been launched early in 1578, or even in the year before. Throughout, it is very apparent that Tresham was in charge, directing the minutest detail of finish, function and ornament. The contract includes a requirement for, 'ashelyer worcke' for the exterior, and 'rowghe worcke' for the interior finish. The size of the windows, the number of shields with arms – 'skutchins', with 'armes imboist' – was specified. It is particularly interesting to discover how important the scale of the individual units was: two windows were to be of 4 lights, and 4ft. high; 7 'gablins' were to be accompanied by 7 'beastes', 'of a full yarde hyghe' and the 'arcketrave under a cornishe' was to top the line of 50 'skutchins'. Just as interesting is the recognition that, in the end, even these carefully-considered details were altered by Tresham. There were ultimately 90 coats of arms on the elevations; no gables or 'beastes'; and a somewhat different range of windows from that originally envisaged. This is of interest, as it makes it clear that, in this project, at any rate, Tresham was intimately engaged throughout the process of building, keen to modify and elaborate, so that the ultimate structure embodied his intensely-imagined vision (Fig.4/8).



Fig.4/8 Rothwell Market House, built by Tresham 1577/8

¹¹⁰ Grumbold was one of a family of masons who worked in Northamptonshire and Cambridge from 16th-18th centuries. They may even have been recommended to Tresham by Hatton, as the family originated in the village of Weldon, where Hatton had his quarries.

In function, the building followed a well-established model, with an open, arcaded, ground floor, to provide some cover to the market, and a meeting room at first floor level: and, in this, it was successful (despite the later infilling of the arcades)¹¹¹. Yet, it is reasonable to assert that the main purpose of the structure was as a manifesto, a metaphor, signifying that, in this arena of public exchange, civilisation and harmony were secured by a tight and mutually-beneficial social order. It is quite straightforward to read these messages in the 90 heraldic arms of the local landed families, disposed around the upper frieze, and the Latin inscription around the lower frieze.

'This was the work of Thomas Tresham Knight. He erected it as a tribute to his sweet fatherland and county of Northampton, but chiefly to this town his near neighbour. Nothing but the common weal he seek, nothing but the perpetual honour of his friends. He who puts an ill construction on this act is scarcely worthy of so great a benefit.'¹¹²

Less immediately obvious, perhaps – but, ultimately, of even greater significance – is the actual design of the Market House. Unlike so many Elizabethan buildings – and unlike the one Tresham seems initially to have planned – this little gem of a structure does not have an explosive silhouette on the skyline; it is not replete with gables and projections, aspiring chimneys and fabulous beasts; there is no suggestion of *ad hoc* accretions. This is a building which has learned its language and inflections from a Classical lexicon. For a small, provincial building, in the middle of an ordinary market town, this is remarkable – and it is where we first encounter the fact that Tresham was a dedicated scholar, a man whose library became recognised as one of the largest and most significant in the country¹¹³, a library which included what has been described as the most comprehensive collection of architectural books gathered in one private collection in the late 16th century, including virtually all the most important, Antique, treatises and continental works¹¹⁴. These volumes offered

¹¹¹ We note that Eburne & Felus establish a visual link between the arcaded ground floor of Tresham's Market House and Burghley's buildings at Burghley House, near Stamford (1555-87) and at Theobalds, north of London (1564-85), whereof a gatehouse drawing suggests similarities to the Market House. See Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.62. This is possible, of course, but market crosses (if they are actual buildings, rather than just a stepped cross, or similar) traditionally have an open, arcaded ground floor, and Tresham's treatment of his building appears to follow Classical models – in use of Orders and proportions – much more closely than can be found at either of Burghley's earlier structures.

¹¹² Mary E. Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*, 2000, p.138.

¹¹³ Lucy Gent estimates 2,600 manuscripts and printed books. The library included the following, in alphabetical order: Leon-Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, 1485; Daniele Barbaro, *La pratica della prospettiva*, 1569; Jacopo Barozzi (Vignola), *Regole delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, 1582; Martoni Bassi, *Disparieri in materia d'architettura e prospettiva con pareri di eccellenti e famosi architetti, che li risolvono*, 1572; Jean Bullant, *Reigle générale d'architecture*, 1563; Pietro Cataneo, *I quattro primi libri d'architettura* (based on Vitruvius); Jean Cousin, *Livre de perspective*, 1560; Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, *Livre d'architecture*, 1559; Albrecht Dürer, *De symmetria partium humanorum corporum*, Latin edition, after 1528; Antonio Labacco, *Libro appartenente all'architettura*, (1552), 1577 ed.; Guidobaldo del Monte, *Perspectivae libri vi*, 1600; Philibert de L'Orme, *Le premier tome de l'architecture*, 1568; Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro libri dell'architettura*, 1570; Serlio Sebastiano, *De architectura*, 1560, & *Il settimo libro d'architettura*, 1575; John Shute, *The first and chief groundes of architecture*, 1563; Vitruvius, editions from 1536, 1547, 1557, 1567 & 1586; J. Vredeman de Vries, *Architecture*, 1577. Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620*, 1981, pp.81-86.

¹¹⁴ Lucy Gent notes that Tresham's library had sections, on theology, history, philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, politics and letter-writing, as well as mathematics, which incorporated geometry, perspective & architecture (indeed, once the Tresham library was united with the Thomas Brudenell library, at Deene, the cataloguing – which may have reflected Tresham's own – was as follows: Theologici; Historici; Philosophici et Dialectici; De Re Publica; De Re Militari; Mappi et Libri Cosmographici; Facetiae, Tractatus, Litterae; Dictionaria et Grammaticae; De Architectura, Geometrici, Arithmetici; and Poetici. See Barker & Quentin, *Op.cit.*, p.98). Curiously, however, this library had long been overlooked by bibliophiles and art historians, including Eric Mercer, whose *English Art*,

guidance about geometry, perspective, Classical proportion and architecture. True, some of the great Elizabethan prodigy houses – Longleat, Hardwick, Wollaton, Kirby¹¹⁵ – betray a grasp of the principles of symmetry and proportion, which have their roots in Renaissance Classicism. True, too, however, that these great houses are intended for show and, as such, their builders could rarely resist a triumphant explosion of chimneys, gables, or crockets on the skyline – a vertical thrust to counter the ordered, horizontal geometry of their houses, the fruits of their enormous ambition. In Rothwell, Tresham was creating a small, public building, modest in its scale, footprint and height. But, in its insistent, correctly-applied, Classical orders (square-section, attached columns on the arcaded ground floor are Tuscan and those on the first floor, Ionic) and its harmonious proportions¹¹⁶ – and even in the confident boldness of the extruded corner stair tower, a piece of functional necessity designed with a flash of *bravura* – this was one of the most radical buildings of the period.

The simple Greek cross plan, as well as the mathematical grid of pilasters and strong horizontal lines of the continuous base, string courses, frieze, 'arcketrave' and 'cornishe', could have been taken from Sebastiano Serlio's enormously influential text, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura, et prospetiva*, published in parts from 1537-75¹¹⁷. The symmetry and the plastic ornamentation of the pilasters could have been derived from Androuet du Cerceau's *Livre d'architecture*, published first in Paris, in 1559, or from his more influential, 1570s, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, which was in Tresham's library (Fig.4/9)¹¹⁸.

1523-65, publ'd. 1962, notes that Tresham did not reveal, 'any knowledge of or interest in the books and the buildings that the greater men were building'. Gent observes that, 'Sir Thomas's books on this area (architecture, building, mathematics, perspective) are, on the contrary, the most extensive collection that I have come across'. Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620*, 1981, pp.76, & 72. One of the reasons for the apparent 'disappearance' of Tresham's library may be that it was inherited by his son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell (1st Earl of Cardigan, 1661). Thus, some of both Tresham's and Brudenell's books are still at Deene Park library. In 2007, The Roxburghe Club published *The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell*, by Nicholas Barker and David Quentin. This reconstruction of the greatest recusant library in England is fascinating and invaluable and tells us a great deal about the relationships between these two Catholic families and their wider context.

¹¹⁵ The first three of these, of course, were built to the design of Robert Smythson (1535-1614), a contemporary of Tresham's.

¹¹⁶ 'The buildings embody a knowledge of Italian Renaissance architecture demonstrated in their symmetry, centralised planning and educated use of the Classical Orders, which in late sixteenth-century England could only be obtained from books, notably the architectural treatises of Serlio, Palladio and Alberti. This knowledge must have come from Tresham himself and was derived from his own library which contained the most extensive recorded English sixteenth-century collection of architectural works.' John Martin Robinson, 'Introduction', Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell*, 2006, p.40.

¹¹⁷ Serlio (1475-1554), an Italian painter and architect, had studied in Rome, from 1514, and was later employed by the French King, François I, to advise on the building of royal chateau at Fontainebleau and the Louvre. Serlio then went on to design and build the remarkable chateau at Ancy-le-Franc, begun in 1546. This chateau introduced to France a building of the most poised and ordered Classicism. Italian Renaissance principles were, clearly, important; but it would seem that Serlio had also taken careful note of what he might have been able to see of Roman Classicism (bearing in mind that perhaps the majority of Classical buildings from Ancient Rome would, in the early 16th century, have been derelict, superseded, invisible to most visitors). The supremely refined chateau is – curiously – not typical of Serlio's rather more Mannerist style. But, it was very influential and, in the context of Tresham's Market House, we should note the square-section Classical pilasters that grace the façade of Ancy-le-Franc. This chateau was amongst those illustrated by Androuet du Cerceau (see below).

¹¹⁸ Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (1510-1584) was born in Paris. The most influential of du Cerceau's books was *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* (1576, second volume 1579).

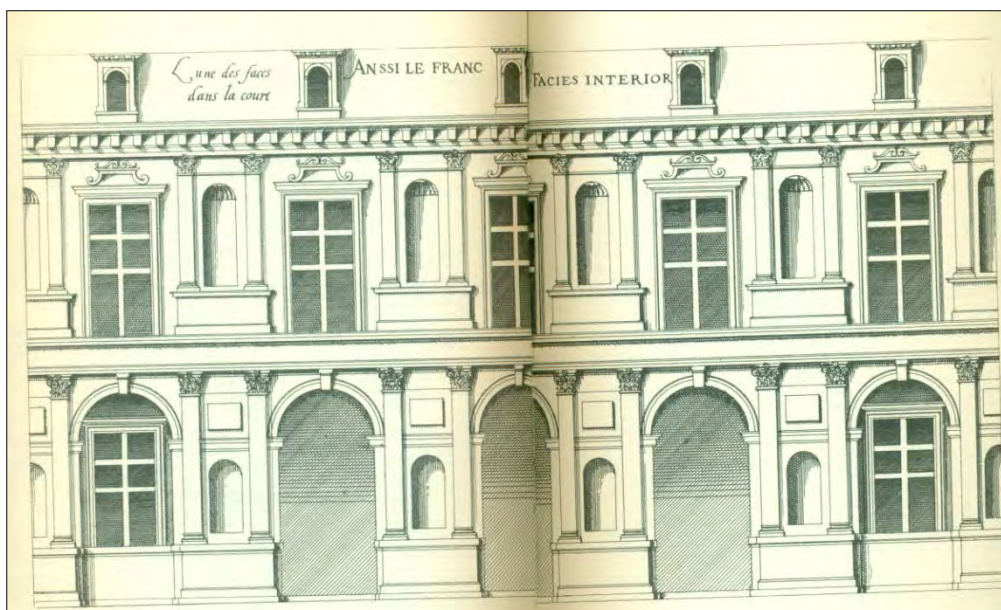


Fig.4/9 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, courtyard elevations, Ancy-le-Franc, from *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, 1576.

Moreover, whilst these and other authors represented in Tresham's library were more-or-less contemporary and introduced him to the Classicism of the Italian Renaissance (usually translated via France), we should not overlook a text which might have been of even greater value, the work of the Roman scholar, Vitruvius¹¹⁹, whose *De Architectura* (*Ten Books on Architecture*) was available in manuscript form and in Italian printed editions, from 1521 - and of which we know Tresham had several copies¹²⁰. The socially useful nature of the Market House, the open arcades and even the assertive stair tower might have found their roots therein. Vitruvius was a practical and experienced builder, advising on suitable design for public buildings and emphasising the importance of both useful and poetic values in architecture. Vitruvius's own understanding was founded in the Classicism of Ancient Greece, the source of an architecture based on a system of orders and harmonious proportions.

It is even possible that Tresham had another link to the Classicism of Ancient Greece. Did he pore over the work of contemporary mathematician, philosopher and fellow bibliophile, Dr. John Dee¹²¹, whose extraordinary – and influential – 'Mathematical Preface', written for Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's *Elements*¹²², was published in 1570? There is no record of Dee's or Billingsley's works being in Tresham's library; but, it is quite clear that this proves little¹²³. And, the interesting fact about this

¹¹⁹ Fl. 1st century B.C. Vitruvius's work was 'rediscovered' in the 8thC A.D., after which many mss. copies were in circulation. It was once again taken up and publicised in the early 15thC and the first printed edition to be accompanied by proper illustrations appeared in 1511. Another edition, with new illustrations (by Cesariano, friend of Bramante), was in circulation in Italy, after 1521. Tresham is known to have had in his collection the French translation, by Jean Martin, published in Paris, 1547, amongst several other editions (see Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620*, 1981, p.72). The first English edition did not appear until 1692; but this posed no hindrance to the polyglot Tresham, quite apart from the fact that John Shute, in his 1563 *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture* – a very rare volume, in English, that was in Tresham's library – had made plentiful use of Vitruvius.

¹²⁰ Lucy Gent., *Op.cit.*, p.30, fn. 111.

¹²¹ John Dee (1527-1608/9), mathematician, philosopher, astrologer, gathered a library that might have been even larger than Tresham's.

¹²² Euclid, Greek mathematician, fl.300B.C. Tresham had other editions of Euclid in his library.

¹²³ Dee was an adviser to the Queen, was associated with William Cecil, Baron Burghley, and patronised by Sir Christopher Hatton, whose country seat, Holdenby – which he scarcely visited – was not far from Tresham's at Rushton.

tome is that it would have given access both to Greek geometry, studies in perspective and proportion (in Euclid), as well as contemporary debate about numerology, symbol and sign (in Dee's preface).

All these hypotheses clearly highlight our lack of precise knowledge about what Tresham was looking at and when, even though we do have astonishing access to what was in his library after his death and after it had become the core of the library augmented by his son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell, at nearby Deene Park. In the preface to the fascinating catalogue compiled by 21st century bibliophiles, Nicholas Barker and David Quentin, we learn something about Tresham's use of his library.

'To Tresham books came and went, and he was content that they should. He was, I believe, a great giver of books, not merely to St John's College, which has kept so much of the large donation that he made towards the end of his life, but to others now unknown. The documents show that he replaced books that he did not keep with a newer edition, and in many cases the copy now at Deene is later again. But he had a clear idea of what books he ought to have, not only for himself but for others who came to use his library, and he took care to maintain them. This large nucleus became the ideal library. An expression of religious belief, of intellectual and rhetorical strength, of knowledge about soul and body, the past and the world around them, which Tresham shared with Brudenell.'¹²⁴

Hence, there will have been volumes and editions which were of great importance to Tresham, but about which we have no direct information. Nevertheless, we can be sure of two things: the architectural texts discussed above were in Tresham's library; and, between Tresham's early vision of Rothwell Market House and its realisation – a matter of a few months – there had been a fundamental shift in his vision and his new public building was transmogrified from an Elizabethan into an English Renaissance structure. The Rothwell Market House is a really important building, an essay in Classicism – and, therefore, an essay in public order, education, civic harmony, poise. This is a poetic evocation of an ideal society.

It is generally reported that the building was unfinished in Tresham's time – and, indeed, that it was only completed in the late 19th century, by the Victorian architect, and Tresham enthusiast, J.A. Gotch. The failure to complete the building is usually attributed to the belief that the people of Rothwell resisted demands to provide some of the materials. It has to be said, however, that in our reading of the contract, if the locals were responsible for anything, it was simply the accessory materials such as, 'lyme, sande, skaffold tymer, hods, cord, nails' etc., 'at the proper cost and charges of the inhabitants of Rothwell'¹²⁵. It is not at all clear that this was a heavy burden – nor, indeed, is it absolutely apparent that the 'people' of Rothwell were to supply these materials of their own good will. Furthermore – although we do have to acknowledge that Lyveden New Bield was never finished – we remain unconvinced that this building was not completed by Tresham. It was a public building, constructed by Tresham whilst he was yet a free man and unburdened by fines and calamities, intended to tie the people – the farmers, dealers, local shop-workers, cooks and tavern-keepers of Rothwell – to their local community and the landed families who offered their beneficent oversight. This was a building – as we have already repeated – which embodied the social order, the necessary relationships between England's classes, loyalty to country, county, town – and, implicitly, of course, to the Queen. There is a drawing of 1719 by Peter Tillemans, showing the

¹²⁴ Edmund Brudenell, 'Preface', Nicholas Barker and David Quentin, *Op.cit.*, pp.15-16.

¹²⁵ HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.xxxiii.

unfinished structure¹²⁶. The fact is, however, given the chaos of the mid-17th century Civil War, it is perfectly possible that the building was damaged and, perhaps, partially dismantled¹²⁷. We can cast no further light on this issue, other than, firstly, to quote J.A. Gotch, who observed of the Market House that all the details were most, 'carefully worked and the joints so fine as to be in, many places hardly perceptible'¹²⁸; and, secondly, to note that Tresham himself seems to have considered that the building had been finished. In later, and unhappier, times, he wrote a letter to his old friend, Sir Christopher Hatton, thanking him for his kindness in allowing him use of the stone quarry at Weldon, 'for the finishing of Rothwell Cross, which stands in the highway, midway between Sir Christopher's two stately edifices (Kirkby and Holdenby), as a witness of the bounty of happy Holdenby (and) to ruinous Rushton'¹²⁹.

4. 6 Tresham: Catholicism without Equivocation

4.6.1 Thomas Tresham and Edmund Campion: before 1580

By the late 1570s, ruin, of a sort, was approaching.

During the dozen years, or so, that Tresham had lived at Rushton and had got on with managing his estates, pursuing family life, making a place for himself in local and regional society, he had enjoyed considerable success. In terms of fulfilling a public role, his year as High Sheriff, from 1573-4, may have been demanding, expensive and time-consuming¹³⁰; but it – like his knighthood, bestowed in 1575 – was also, no doubt, a high point. Likewise, his building a substantial market house in his nearest town was a clear sign of attachment to the place and community in which he and his antecedents had established themselves and must be seen as an expression of pride, as well as of loyalty. But, in the closing years of this decade, Tresham's Catholicism was, obviously becoming a more precious part of his life.

It is important to acknowledge that, in the first decades of Elizabeth's reign, the division between Catholic and Anglican – let alone Puritan – is unlikely to have been very sharp, consistent, or even, in many contexts, very apparent. In the three years of Mary's reign, when old heresy laws had been revived as a means of reinstating Catholic religion and practices, around 300 Protestants were declared treasonable heretics and were burnt at the stake. Inevitably, this promoted such instability that Elizabeth, on acceding to the throne in 1553, was content to play a longer game. The Religious Settlement of 1558/9 led to the removal of many Catholic bishops, who refused to acknowledge the Queen as Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and it prevented heads of some leading families (like Sir Robert Throckmorton) from undertaking public office if they refused to abjure their allegiance to the Pope. But it otherwise resulted in no immediate social or cultural upheaval. It would not have been in Elizabeth's interest – and nor would it have reflected her own religious

¹²⁶ Tillemans was commissioned, in 1719, by the antiquary John Bridges, to make about 500 drawings for a projected history of Northamptonshire, but we have not been able to trace the Rothwell Market House drawing.

¹²⁷ In the late 19th century it was recorded that the main use of the ruined building had for a long time been primarily as a lock up, while the stocks and whipping post had stood immediately adjacent. A subscription amongst the gentlemen of the county raised money to repair the dilapidated building in 1827, the remaining money being used to present an engraving of the building for inclusion in Baker's *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*. It was not until 1895 that the market house was finally roofed over, by J. A. Gotch.

¹²⁸ Quoted by John Martin Robinson, 'Introduction', Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell*, 2006, p.34.

¹²⁹ From letter dated 1583, HMC., *Op.cit.*, p.xxxv, & p.33.

¹³⁰ It is known, for example, that some landowners worked hard to avoid taking on this duty!

sentiments – were she to have segregated, and thus unified, those for whom the Anglican settlement was not wholly acceptable.

In this context, one should note that the deployment of shifts and equivocations deemed necessary for a Catholic to survive and thrive in Elizabeth's England was, in fact, a tactic recognised by the Catholic Church; it was even possible, argued some Catholic priests, to attend a Protestant church service, 'not for any liking', but as a sign of allegiance to the Queen and as a means of avoiding penalties. Indeed, without this accepted syncretism, how could Catholic families have got on with life in Elizabeth's England, with a tolerable degree of success? But, just at the moment when Elizabeth's Religious Settlement seemed to have been absorbed by her subjects, allowing Catholics and Anglicans to rub along together, there were religious and political developments elsewhere in Europe, which would ultimately undermine this carefully-wrought English *modus vivendi*.

In 1559, Catholic France and Spain ceased fighting one another for control of Italy, and focused, instead, on opposing Protestantism. In turn, this encouraged committed Protestants, who had fled England during Mary's reign – the Marian exiles, some of whom had settled in Frankfurt and established a community guided by John Knox, Scottish clergyman and leader of the Protestant Reformation – to return home. Once back in England (and Scotland), the emerging 'Puritans' started to question the doctrine and ceremonies of the Anglican Church. They began to demand the removal of episcopal system, the wearing of vestments and, eventually, the Book of Common Prayer. By the mid-1570s, in response to several powerful Puritan tracts, the government was prompted to act against the leaders, imprisoning or driving them into exile.

At the same time, there was growing official repression of Catholicism. By 1562, the Supremacy of the Crown Act meant that any failure to swear allegiance to the Queen would be regarded as treason. In 1568 – as we have seen – another threat arrived in England, in the person of Elizabeth's cousin, Mary, the Catholic Queen of Scots. Mary was hoping for Elizabeth's protection, but the latter recognised that Mary's presence in England would, inevitably, mean that she would be a figurehead for plots. Thus, indeed, it happened: the Northern Rebellion was an ultimately unsuccessful attempt, by several powerful nobles (largely from Catholic families), to replace Elizabeth on the throne with Mary, whose claim they regarded as more substantial. By the end of 1569, the rebel Earls fled northwards; some left the country and other were convicted and suffered capital punishment. This menace, for the time being, might have been held at bay. On the contrary, however: the Rebellion had attracted the tacit support of the Pope, Pius V, who, in February, 1570, issued a Papal Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, declaring Elizabeth to be, 'the pretended Queen of England' and an heretic. Her Catholic subjects were thus released from any allegiance to her; more, any who obeyed her were excommunicated. In 1571, Elizabeth's government resisted the Papal Bull with more repressive legislation. It was declared treasonable to call the Queen an heretic or schismatic. Catholic subjects began to be regarded as a threat from within; now the term, 'recusant' – those who refused to attend an Anglican service – comes into frequent use.

Clearly, the seeds of discord had found fertile ground and were beginning to take root.

The religious tensions of the period inevitably began to incite conflict. Thus, 1576 marked the beginning of what was to become Tresham's most intense battle, a fight which set his Catholic religion against loyalty to his Queen, and which led to years of imprisonment, the decline of his and his family's worldly fortune, and the development of a remarkable, personal, theological creed. 1576 marked the date

on which he was implicated in an assault upon an anti-Catholic informer at Kettering. It is also reported that, in this year, Tresham was first ordered to appear before the Privy Council, accused of complicity with Mary, Queen of Scots - an accusation which he was able to dismiss¹³¹.

It is clear that Tresham's Catholic convictions were becoming much more insistent at this time. In the late 1570s, as we have seen, Tresham was building the Rothwell Market House; at the same time, he commissioned or acquired an icon, a pictorial Passion, composed in plaster and paint, accompanied by a poetic inscription and firmly dated, 1577 (Fig.4/10).



Fig.4/10 Thomas Tresham's *Passion*, 1577, at Rushton

Gerard Kilroy – whose book, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription*, is a most fascinating read – describes the icon thus. It was an,

'elaborate composition in which the thieves are portrayed as bound to their crosses with rope (a significant motif on Tresham's later buildings); one is looking away from Christ, the other, the penitent, is looking towards him. The women, who form an important group, sustain a Blessed Virgin collapsing with grief, while Mary Magdalen, her head uncovered, embraces the foot of the cross. The power of the Roman state, portrayed both in the form of the mounted centurion and in the banners of the 'Senatus Populusque Romanus', is dwarfed by the heroic and suffering figures.'¹³²

This is now held at Rushton Hall, in a small oratory, a chapel, 'hidden away in the interior of the house'. We cannot tell when Tresham's oratory was built - perhaps a couple of decades later, for it seems likely that the plaster crucifixion was originally in St. Peter's church, possibly concealed by a curtain (which served both to hide it and to protect the colouring on the plaster). The *Passion* is an unusual work: hand-

¹³¹ Barker & Quentin, *Op. cit.*, p.44. No source is given for this account. Curiously, the loyal supporter of the Crown who was charged with apprehending Tresham was the Catholic, Edmund Brudenell, then working on improvements to his manor house at Deene (not far away from Rushton), and uncle of Thomas, who inherited Deene in 1599, married Tresham's daughter, in 1605 (a month after Tresham's death), and transported Tresham's remarkable library to Deene, where (in large part) it yet remains. In retaliation, Tresham's brother-in-law, Sir William Catesby, reported Brudenell to the Privy Council for slackness in protecting the Royal Chase in Rockingham Forest.

¹³² Gerard Kilroy, *Op. cit.*, p.122

modelled, slightly naïve, with a throng of human figures depicted in high-relief and minute detail. It has been suggested that the artist might have been working from a German woodcut or engraving ; certainly, the composition of the three figures on the cross, one looking towards Christ and one looking away, closely resembles a Durer woodcut of the Crucifixion, dating from the mid-1490s (Fig.4/11). On the other hand, the busy scene of soldiers, onlookers and mourners is lively and immediate and could well have been taken from more than one source, perhaps including a secular one¹³³.



Fig.4/11 Durer, woodcut of the Crucifixion, 1490s

It is at this juncture that we once again, introduce Edmund Campion – and his fellow Catholic scholars – as playing a key part in Thomas Tresham's life. We have already noted that Campion went up to the newly-founded St. John's College, Oxford¹³⁴, as a Junior Fellow, in 1557. Again, we have already mentioned that one of his colleagues was Thomas Bramston, who would join Tresham's household as tutor to the children. Under Queen Mary, Bramston had been a Benedictine novice for a year at the restored Westminster Abbey and he had taken Minor Orders in March, 1557. The renewed suppression of the Abbey prompted his removal to Oxford and St. John's College, which had been founded with the aim of imbuing scholars with such a depth of biblical learning that they were able to deploy their rhetorical skills to overcome the arguments of the Anglicans. Bramston was definitely studying at St. John's in 1562 and still registered in 1564. In about 1566, he was allowed leave of absence to be companion, in prison, to the deposed Abbot of Westminster, John

¹³³ Gyles Isham, in 1966, dismisses this piece as a, 'crude affair, with an admixture of Roman and Elizabethan costume; the kind of costuming, one imagines, that might have been used in contemporary productions of Shakespeare's Roman plays at the Globe'. One might add, 'or at The Theatre in Hoxton'. Isham, *Op.cit.*, p.15.

¹³⁴ In its earlier life, the College had been the old Cistercian house of St. Bernard.

Feckenham. Thereafter, he continues to be recorded at St. John's until c.1573. He seems to have gone abroad some time after 1576, to study at Douai and he was ordained in the Catholic Church at Rheims in 1584. In addition, somewhere in these years, Bramston was tutor to the Tresham children 'for up to ten years'¹³⁵. The fact that these details have been recorded by Andrew Hegarty, studying the *Register of Fellows* at St. John's, leaves us in no doubt that Bramston did reside in the Tresham household for a number of years. On the other hand, it is nothing more than irritating to read, elsewhere, sweeping claims that Bramston tutored Tresham's six daughters and two sons in the 1560s¹³⁶. We know that Tresham did not marry until 1566 and Lewis, one of the youngest children and the second son, was probably born in c.1578. In fact, the evidence suggests that Bramston was employed when the first child – probably Francis, born in c.1567 – was very young; indeed, as well as his being 'tutor', Bramston is very likely to have been chaplain to the family¹³⁷. He may have been with the Treshams from c.1567 until c.1576, retaining his connection with St. John's Oxford for at least some of this time¹³⁸.

There is no doubt, then, that Tresham – as well as his children – was benefiting from the company and advice of a man steeped in Catholicism in the 1570s. There is no reason *not* to think that Tresham might have visited St. John's College with Bramston, at some time, and perhaps met Edmund Campion, Robert Persons, and their fellow Catholic scholars, in the late 1560s/early 1570s. This would help to explain the fact that Tresham was so attached to St. John's College, Oxford, that towards the end of his life, he donated 124 works, in 203 volumes, from his library – a library which, in those final years, he was building up, cataloguing and rebinding, not trying to reduce¹³⁹. Of even more significance, it helps to explain the fact that Edmund Campion, when he returned to England from France in 1580, knew he would find a ready welcome from Tresham. And there is more: under the sharp gaze of scholar, Gerard Kilroy, Tresham's remarkable plaster crucifixion at Rushton with its powerful inscription, yields evidence that the theology and the symbolic means of articulating his creed, which Tresham was developing at this time – c.1576-7 – echoes Edmund Campion's own struggle with religious codes and imagery in the late 1560s and early 1570s.

Kilroy explores, in some detail, Tresham's plaster crucifixion and its inscription, which is dated 1577. He first analyses the opening line of the inscription, 'ECCE SALUTIFERUM SIGNUM THAU NOBILE LIGNUM'¹⁴⁰. The whole inscription is difficult, in places, to

¹³⁵ Ed. Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford, 1555-1660*, 2011, p.22.

¹³⁶ See, for example, Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England*, 1999, p.111.

¹³⁷ There is a fascinating parallel to be remarked, here: in 1568, Edmund Campion was retained by Thomas Tresham's brother-in-law, Lord William Vaux, to tutor his two eldest children (both of whom would become well-known recusants), Henry and Eleanore (children of Vaux's first wife, Elizabeth Beaumont, not Mary Tresham, whom William married in 1563). This lasted only for a few months, before Campion left for France, to study for Catholic Orders. As argued elsewhere, this would tend to indicate that Tresham – like other friends and family? – was familiar with this band of scholars at St. John's College, so many of whom left Oxford to study at the Catholic college in Douai. We note that William Vaux, in 1580, offered Campion accommodation and protection in his houses in Harrowden and Hackney, not far from Tresham's house in Hoxton, where Campion also stayed before he was apprehended.

¹³⁸ Hegarty records that Bramston tried to return to England, as a Catholic missionary, in 1586. Periods of imprisonment followed and he was perpetually banished in 1606.

¹³⁹ Another reason for Tresham's favouring this College could well have been the fact that his grandfather was the last Prior of the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

¹⁴⁰ The inscription was first transcribed by J.A. Gotch, which led to some discussion about the meaning of the more obscure or damaged parts of the poem. The whole was re-transcribed by Kilroy, from the relief itself, but still includes words now corrupted by their poor condition, or coded – and it will still test your Latin. *Op.cit.*, p122, fn.7.

ECCE SALUTIFERUM SIGNUM THAU NOBILE LIGNUM
VITAE SERPENS HIC AENEUS ALTER ERAT

understand. But, in this opening line, Tresham proclaims that the cross is life-giving, the cross is salvation. Specifically, Kilroy emphasises, 'the importance of the letter Tau' at the heart of this line. He notes that the Tau – Tresham's THAU – is the 19th letter of the Greek alphabet and identifies the 'Tau' with the early T-shaped, cross, the 'noble wood', the, 'NOBILE LIGNUM'. In this context, both the 'Tau' and the 'noble wood' are terms which were also employed in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of poetry on the rood. The picture of the rood, the noble wood, the Tau cross, is, thus, at once a symbolic cry for forgiveness, a lamentation at the death of Christ, and a glorious promise of Resurrection. Fascinatingly, Tresham was here drawing on a long visual and poetic tradition – a specifically English tradition – to express his profound Christian convictions; and he is, even at this date, elaborating his metaphors, obscuring his convictions behind codes and allusions. His plaster crucifixion, with its inscription, is an icon, a focus for prayers and meditation, burdened with complex symbols which can be summarised as his own hope for forgiveness and resurrection.

Returning to the icon's banners and 'Senatus Populusque Romanus', we are here faced with another image, a sign of the presence – the tyranny – of the ancient Roman state at the crucifixion. Intriguingly, 'SPQR' is used, even today, as the symbol of the municipality of Rome; for Tresham, we can reasonably assume that the Roman state was one and the same as the increasingly oppressive Elizabethan state. Kilroy then explores the 'powerful critique of Roman power' in the poetic inscription. In fact, he goes on to draw a direct comparison between this inscription and a remarkable early poem by Edmund Campion, a, 'Virgilian epic', only recently discovered by Kilroy, and never before transcribed or translated.

Kilroy dates Campion's poem to 1566-70, while Campion was still lecturing in rhetoric at St. Johns College, at the height of his official success as University Proctor and Public Orator - and, 'while he was taking orders as an Anglican deacon'¹⁴¹. We know that, in these years, Campion was beset with anxiety about whether he should profess his Catholic convictions, or conceal them and make the most of his undeniable power as an orator and teacher. The poem makes manifest this debate, by treating the early history of the Church as a perpetual struggle between the Roman '*imperium*' and the freedom to worship as conscience dictates. And this must have been a debate which was echoed by many students at St. John's, including Thomas Bramston, and many Catholic families around England, amongst them the Treshams and the burgeoning network of Catholic families in the Midlands. Campion contrasts the, 'permanence of the *ecclesia Romana* with the transience of the *imperium Romanum*', a comparison, 'given epic stature {by Campion} by evoking Virgil's Aeneid' wherein the decline of Troy and the fall of Rome contrast with the permanence of the Church of Rome.

VENDITUS HIS IOSEPH PRO VILI MUNERE IONAS
 QUI TRIDUO CETI CORPORE CLAUSUS ERAT
 HIS SALIENTIS AQUAE FONS NAMA PEIRA SACERDOS
 AGNUS QUI OCCISUS THIPIRL PRRLIS ERAT
 AGNUS ET OCCISUS PRIMAIEVA AB ORIGINE MUNDI
 CRIMINA QUI LAVIT SANGUINE NOSTRA SUO.

O QUAM IUDAEI MEDITANTUR INANIA MULTA
 ET GENTES MANIBUS QUAM FREMUERE SUIS
 HI CAPUT ATTOLLUNT HI RIDENT HI MALEDICUNT
 SUNT QUI PRO TUNICA LUDERE FORTE VOLUNT
 EST QUI COR TENERUM CRUDELI PERCUTIT HASTA
 EST QUI VULT MAGNAM TOLLERE FELLE SITIM
 MATERATO MATER LACHRIMIS COMPUNCTA LABASCIT
 SED MULIEBRE GENU DAT MULIERIS OPEM.

¹⁴¹ Gerard Kilroy, *Op. cit.*, Chapter 2, explores Campion's poem in fascinating detail. The following quotations are taken from this source.

And Kilroy then succeeds in demonstrating – at least to our satisfaction – that Tresham 'already knew Campion's poem on the early history of the Church', the first line of which, '*Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi*', is partially echoed by the first line of the inscription on Tresham's private icon of the *Passion*. Both Campion's poem and Sir Thomas Tresham's hidden inscription contain not only a focus on the crucifixion, but also a powerful critique of Roman power - and hence, of course, Elizabethan power. This was, indeed, a moment when Tresham felt he could no longer equivocate.

4.6.2 Thomas Tresham and Edmund Campion: after 1580

In 1580, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons arrived in England, in the van of what was a Jesuit mission, to rescue the English from perdition. Much has been written about the significance of this mission, both nationally and, for some, including Sir Thomas Tresham, personally. It is probably true, however, that the mission could hardly have been calculated to be less sensitive to the prevailing political climate; of course, it is very likely that sensitivity to contemporary Elizabethan England was the very last thing on the Jesuits' minds.

'In pursuing their goals of reviving the religious zeal of the English Catholic community by converting them to religious opposition in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries, the drivers of the Jesuit mission in England, under the guidance of the Jesuit Robert Persons, failed. They did so not because Catholic doctrine lacked appeal in protestant Elizabethan England, but because their conversion strategy was wholly unsuited to the political realities of the times. Instead, the ... failure to understand the practical needs of the average Catholic, and Persons' ill-fated political plotting polarized the English against the Jesuits and created a religious and political environment so toxic that it cannibalized the mission's own conversion efforts.'¹⁴²

This reflection on the Jesuits' enterprise is illuminating. Notwithstanding their clumsy tactics, however, Persons and Campin – chosen to coerce temporising Catholics to return to the fold – certainly transformed Tresham's view of his situation. We have argued, thus far, that, since he reached his majority, in 1564, Tresham had been successful in building up the reputation and wealth of his family. Though somewhat encumbered by his Catholicism, he had played a part in regional and national life which – as a man who took tremendous pride in his family and heritage – he must have regarded as living up to his antecedents' expectations. He had not, perhaps, attracted quite the same degree of approbation at court as some of his predecessors, but he had not shamed his name. In general, he had negotiated a successful path through his difficult age.

'Catholics, faced with the requirement that they should conform according to the law, could, by manipulating the grey areas in the law, and by moving between recusancy and church papistry, play the same sort of political games with the local and national state which Protestants engaged in when they experimented with the limits of conformity'.¹⁴³

And yet, although just twelve or eighteen months had elapsed since he had been knighted by the Queen, Tresham was, clearly, beginning to find the constraints and equivocations he was obliged to practise too much to bear. Had his earlier connections with Campion, Thomas Bramston and, perhaps, some of their scholarly

¹⁴² Carolyn Vinnicombe, 'Recusancy and Regicide: The Flawed Strategy of the Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England', *Penn History Review*, Vol.19, Issue 2, Spring 2012, p.25.

¹⁴³ Michael Questier, 'Conformity, Catholicism and the Law', Chapter 9, pp.237-261, Eds. Peter Lake, Michael Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660*, 2000,

colleagues (as well as members of the local Catholic families, with their generations of intermarriage - the Throckmortons, Vauxes and Catesbys, for example) sustained him thus far and ensured that he was now receptive to the Jesuits' message? Is it possible that the determination to become more overt in his Catholicism was prompted by the loss of Bramston, to the English college at Douai and then Rome? One can only imagine that this deprivation of a Catholic spiritual adviser and teacher would have hurt both the elder Treshams, as well as their children. Furthermore, of course, it is important not to forget the Elizabethan court's increasingly repressive insistence on pursuing the penal laws against Catholics – including the 1571 repression of devotional objects – in an attempt to maintain stability in the Anglican state. Indeed, from the mid-1570s, the Government began to subject heads of prominent families, suspected of being Catholic, to interrogations, fines and imprisonment - and we know that Tresham himself had been questioned, in 1576. For these – and, no doubt, other – reasons, Tresham found himself welcoming Campion to his house in Hoxton, in 1580.

Somewhat against the direction of the Pope, Gregory XIII, who wished the Jesuit mission to 'pry in corners', 'get men to entertain .. the priests or inveigle youth to fly overseas to seminaries', Campion and Persons determined to draw on their deep knowledge of the Bible, the Catholic Fathers and their skills in rhetoric - everything they had first learned and practised in St. John's College, just a few years before. Before their eloquence and scholarship, they believed, all barriers would fall. Thus, Campion wrote and circulated his so-called 'great bragge', a declaration that his task in coming to England was not treasonous and dealt only with religion, not politics. This did not serve to appease. In August, 1580, Tresham, together with friends and members of his extended family, including Lord Vaux, Sir William Catesby and Sir Thomas Throckmorton¹⁴⁴, were summoned to appear before the Privy Council. When, in the following year, Edmund Campion wrote, printed and circulated *Rationes Decem*¹⁴⁵ – no fewer than ten arguments against the validity of the Anglican Church – the lot of Campion himself, and those who had harboured him, was unavoidable. In December, 1581, Campion was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn (Fig.4/12).



Fig.4/12 Edmund Campion at Tyburn in an engraving of 1631.

¹⁴⁴ Sir Robert Throckmorton's heir and half-brother to Muriel Tresham.

¹⁴⁵ This was written and printed when both Campion and Persons were staying at Stonor Park, Buckinghamshire. When the press was discovered, in a raid of August 1581, the Jesuits had gone. The Stonors were imprisoned. It is fascinating to find, in Tresham's library, Campion's *Rationes Decem.. ad eas Gulielmi Whitakeri.. responsio*, 1582. Whitaker (*Gulielmi Whitakeri*) was the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and had been ordered by the Bishop of London to respond to Campion's *Rationes Decem*. In return, this is Campion's response to Whitaker.

For Tresham and his colleagues, the outcome of a trial in the Star Chamber must have been unsurprising. Thereafter – although Tresham had had the foresight to convey his estates to trustees, so that they could not be attainted (forfeited) – he found himself, as a noted recusant, perpetually imprisoned or otherwise constrained by the state.

Almost as an aside, it is worth recalling Tresham's letter of self-defence, written in 1581, from the Fleet, following his initial refusal to acknowledge whether or no he had accommodated Campion. It is, in fact, an ingenious letter, making manifest Thomas's skill at manipulation and equivocation. One cannot but believe that these were tactics – supported by the Catholic Church itself – which he had polished and refined over a number of years. First, it may be recalled, he declared that, he welcomed so many visitors to his home, that he was not always certain of who was around his table, for there were, 'twenty, forty, yea sometimes an hundred; many of whom he knew only "as it pleased themselves or friends to deliver their names"' ¹⁴⁶. Then, he acknowledges that, 'Mr Campion might have been in his house and company and yet pass from it unknown'. He goes further and prepares a list of 'Articles', the thrust of which highlights his absolute loyalty to Her Majesty. He denies, knowledge of any Catholic who has used undutiful speech against her Majesty's lawful right to the crown; that he ever received in his house any Catholic,

'who did not in all reverence acknowledge her Majesty as his undoubted Queen, and he her Majesty's humble and loyal subject'.

And he, himself, in every thought, word and deed, does 'dearly esteem, perfectly love and dutifully reverence her Majesty', especially for her 'singular benefits' which, under God, she, 'has been the means to procure to her people, permitting with great clemency a multitude of them, himself included, to live with the freedom of their consciences, doing no act against her Majesty's laws'.

Tresham's equivocation is here combined with a piteous flattery, but it did not help him. Indeed, in later letters, written over his many years of constraint, it is a tactic we rarely see again. Curiously, even Jesuits officially accepted the justification for casuistry (to such an extent that, in later times, 'Jesuitical' became almost a synonym for a dissembler or equivocator). Unfortunately, Persons and Campion were not of that mind. It may well be that when Persons later recorded that Tresham was 'reconcyled' to the Catholic Church at this date, what he meant was that Tresham was now prepared to cast off outward conformity and adopt the noble, overt expression of his faith ¹⁴⁷. And, from now on, no matter how many time he tried to resist the consequences of his brave stance, by insisting on his loyalty to the Queen – and loyalty was very highly valued by Tresham – his future was one with, 'brawlers, fighters, unthrifty and loose people', kept in the Fleet's, 'close, noisome and moist imprisonment', or confined in other, sometimes no more salubrious, quarters.

As the 1580s moved on, Catholics were obliged to struggle along ever more difficult religious terrain. An Act of 1585 made the very presence of Jesuits and priests nothing less than treason and, therefore, any person assisting them was, likewise, subject to capital punishment. In 1587, Elizabeth finally found it necessary to execute her rival, Mary Queen of Scots. And, anti-Catholic sentiment became acceptable, through most of the kingdom, in 1588, when England faced the threat of the Spanish Armada. This, of course, was proof that Catholics were, perforce, traitors; and the Queen's success in seeing off the Armada – with the divine assistance of the weather – reinforced the fact that Catholics, whether English or from foreign powers, must be

¹⁴⁶ HMC, 1904, *Op.cit.*, p.17.

¹⁴⁷ We know, for instance, that in 1580, Thomas, the last of the Treshams' children, was baptised in the Catholic Church, rather than the parish church, as had been the case with all the previous children.

stamped out by the favoured Anglicans. The pervasive atmosphere of suspicion and repression was not helped by the re-emergence of the Puritan threat. In 1588 and '59, virulently anti-Anglican tracts were circulated, under the pseudonym of 'Martin Marprelate'. Herein, members of the episcopacy were denounced as agents of Antichrist. Like the Catholic threat, the Puritan menace was dealt with firmly; leaders were captured, put on trial and put to death. These were difficult times.

In 1581-2, Tresham was tried (initially, for contempt of court) in the Star Chamber and his brother, William, left the country in a hurry, probably for Rouen (which, like Douai and Rome, had an English Catholic College, attended by a number of recusants)¹⁴⁸. Furthermore, from this time on, and more consistently than many, if not almost all, of his contemporaries, Tresham was not only imprisoned – almost continually until 1593 – but also fined, at least £20 a month, for life; it was reported that, between 1581 and 1605, he paid fines of nearly £8,000.

But Tresham had already embarked on his personal pilgrimage. He had already expressed the extremity of his repentance and abandonment of the vanities of this world in his 1577 plaster image of the *Passion*: a private icon in which the penitent Mary Magdalene, her hair uncovered as witness to her sin, appears at the foot of Christ on the cross. It is worth noting that this is quite an early use of the figure of the Magdalene, whose cult was only now being promoted by the Catholic Church as a useful symbol of the Counter-Reformation¹⁴⁹. So there can be no doubt that, for Tresham, it was a deliberate expression of his faith.

From this time on, then, we see the development of Tresham's interior world, a freedom sought in his intellectual and spiritual searches for meaning. Manifestly, the past three or four years had witnessed the birth of these ideas. But the culmination of this search for understanding and communication must be seen in the unique theological buildings and garden design of the last ten - fifteen years of his life¹⁵⁰.

4.7 Thomas Tresham at Rushton: Books, Buildings and Gardens

4.7.1 Books

During his period of imprisonment – variously in the Fleet, in an unsavoury room in Hoxton (where he could be near to his family), with the Bishop of Lincoln, at Buckden, and then in the prison created in the Bishop's Palace in the, 'filthy', 'fennish country'

¹⁴⁸ William had been received at court as a 'Gentleman Pensioner', sponsored by Sir Christopher Hatton, since 1577, Vice Chamberlain. Thomas was left responsible for William Tresham's debts. It was probably this William Tresham who was reported, in April 1601, to be waiting at Boulogne. He had, 'long been out of England, and wishes to return. He is a papist, but vows his due obedience to his prince and country. If he has your protection, he can discover much of importance to you'. This is quoted from a letter written by Sir Amyas Preston to the Earl of Nottingham. The latter was related to the Queen and commanded much influence at court. From 1574-1585 he was Lord Chamberlain, at which date he was appointed Lord Admiral of England. Sir Amyas Preston, a naval commander, had been seriously injured in a naval operation against the Spanish Armada, in 1588. He was also an adventurer and booty-hunter, taking the attack to the Spanish Main and South America. It is intriguing to read a suggestion that William Tresham might have been able to offer information, 'of importance' to the Lord High Admiral, in exchange for his being allowed to return home. See, Editor, R.A. Roberts, 'Cecil Papers: April 1601, 16-30'. Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Vol.11:1601 (1906): 165-188. British History Online.

¹⁴⁹ In 1600, as an expression of this new cult, the Pope placed the Magdalene's relics in a newly-commissioned sarcophagus, the head being placed in a separate reliquary.

¹⁵⁰ Gerard Kilroy expresses this process rather elegantly. Tresham created, 'sacred spaces, enfolded in an encrypted architecture ... where polyglot writing combined with mystical emblems to transform an enclosed space from a prison to a place of freedom.' *Op.cit.* p.123.

near Ely – Tresham was not allowed to live at Rushton Hall, except briefly, with special permission, to deal with estate matters. There must have been times of great privation. After a few years, however, he was allowed to take with him some volumes, at least, from his developing library.

'The first picture of the library comes in 1582. It is only a snap-shot, in the shape of an invoice for books and binding in the last month of the year, but as casual pictures can be, it is revealing. The eleven books are all works of piety, by authors ancient and modern'¹⁵¹.

Whilst dwelling on Tresham's library, it is worth casting an eye over other interesting books in his collection, just to add a little detail to the range of material we have already listed. There is a good selection of contemporary volumes, as well as those from earlier periods, including the Antique. The books are in several languages, but barely a one is in English - a language which would have been regarded as intellectually inferior, quite apart from doctrinally problematic, given the Anglican pressure to employ readily comprehensible English in its liturgy. We know about Tresham's outstanding collection of architectural volumes, and those dealing with arithmetic, geometry, perspective, number. Science, including a study of optics, light, refraction, reflection and the correct measurement of the passage of time¹⁵², was obviously of great interest to him. Histories, too, are several, from Herodotus's *Historiae* (1584), to Raphael Holinshed's immense *Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* (1577)¹⁵³. Also significant is Tresham's preoccupation with exploration and the discovery of new worlds; and, associated with this, an engagement with astrology and cosmography – thus linking the heavens with the earth – and maps and atlases. It is particularly fascinating to note that Christopher Saxton's 1579 *Atlas of Britain* was there, a cartographic *tour de force*, with 35 separate maps forming the very first atlas of England and Wales (Fig.4/13). For a man who was physically so confined, his library gave him conceptual access to a very much wider world.



Fig.4/13 Saxton's map of Northamptonshire, 1579, showing Rothwell, Rushton, Newton and Lyveden

¹⁵¹ Barker and Quentin, *Op.cit.*, p.46. The following quotations are taken from the same source.

¹⁵² Calendar reform, of course, was a very immediate subject...

¹⁵³ Tresham was, no doubt, familiar with the accounts of his own predecessors, including Prior Tresham, in Holinshed.

Strikingly, by 1584, some copies of Tresham's books, bound in light brown calf, are stamped on the cover with the Tresham arms, glorious in 25 quarterings and topped with elaborate mantling and a stylish boar's head, probably a symbol of both courage and hospitality. On the spine, there is a, 'small tool resembling a horse-bit that appears on many of the armorial bindings, and clasps' and, with the slightly later appearance of a stylised thunderbolt, we are already introduced to Tresham's fondness for personal symbols, a coded commentary on his life and times. The tooled stamp is very similar to a bookplate, which Tresham seems to have had designed and engraved in about 1585¹⁵⁴. Both stamp and engraving represent one of the very first such armorial bookplates to have been employed in England; indeed, this is the earliest known engraved bookplate to feature the owner's name (Fig.4/14).



Fig.4/14 Armorial bookplate, designed in c.1584-5, and found on some of the books collected by Tresham before c.1598.

The device is, therefore, rare and significant and highlights the extent to which Tresham was forging the dimensions of his own identity during these years of hardship. Hence, we should pay particular attention to the words inscribed on the flourishing banner above the heraldic shield on the bookplate; the words of the *Magnificat*¹⁵⁵, 'Fecit mihi magna qui potens est', 'He who is mighty has done great things for me'. Known as the 'canticle of Mary', Tresham has here been able to take advantage of the scholarly gloss of his library, to get away with the Latin inscription from the *Magnificat*; he must have known that both the Marian hymn and the Latin language were signifiers of the Counter-Reformation.

¹⁵⁴ The date on the bookplate, no matter whether it was used in books which came into the library in the 1580s or much later, is June 29th, 1585. Barker and Quentin make the persuasive observation that this was the 5th anniversary of Campion's Smithfield sermon, at which Tresham was almost certainly present. *Op.cit.*, p.47, fn.8.

¹⁵⁵ This was probably almost exactly the same date on which William Byrd was working on his great setting of the *Magnificat*. Although he accepted the Anglican requirement that the words should be in English, by weaving, repeating and elaborating his passages of text and music, Byrd succeeded in creating a richly-textured, polyphonic composition, redolent of the Catholic work of his earlier years.

In several of his books, as well as the armorial bookplate, we find notes Tresham wrote, by hand - a few words of personal reassurance. For example, on a copy of the Venerable Bede's works, printed in Basel in 1563 but probably acquired by Tresham in 1584, he inscribed, 'Miri ecce craterem', 'here, the body of Christ, a wonderful comfort'¹⁵⁶.

The 1590s were of profound significance to Tresham and his later achievements. It was probably in c.1595 that he commissioned an emblematic portrait of himself, engraved by Remigius Hogenberg and perhaps even intended as a bookplate for a collection of his own writings (Fig.4/15)¹⁵⁷.



Fig.4/15 Emblematic portrait of Tresham, c.1595, engraved by Remigius Holdenberg, now in the BM. Is it possible that this was essayed as a bookplate or an introduction to a collection of his own writings?

Transcribing psalms with his right hand and holding a skull in his left, we can be left in little doubt about Tresham's convictions. Reaffirming these, there is the Latin text on the circumference, starting with, 'CUM ESSEM PARVULUS SAPIEBAM UT PARVULUS. I. COR. XIII. XI.'¹⁵⁸, 'When I was a child I thought like a child'. On the lower left of the image, we see the musical instruments, the weapons of war and tournament, cards and worldly literature (including Ariosto), which engaged him as a young man. Above, there are the more serious pursuits of secular middle age, money, building, farming, the study of geometry, cosmography and astronomy. On the upper left, the

¹⁵⁶ 'Craterem' is a complex symbol for the body of Christ. More literally, in translates as a crater, a void - and, so, therefore, to the heart of the world. Again, Tresham is exploring hidden codes and metaphor.

¹⁵⁷ Now in the British Museum and dated c.1595 by Gerard Kilroy, who has made a study of Elizabethan emblems.

¹⁵⁸ The rest of the text is, in translation, 'This is the glorious change on the right hand of the Most High'.

right hand of God, bearing the earth, emerges from the clouds. To the right, Tresham is framed by the attributes of the Passion and around his head – almost halo-fashion – is the text, 'Necesse est amarescere mundum cui incipit dulcescere Christus', 'The world must become bitter to him for whom Christ is becoming sweet'. The three words which feature at the top of this image, 'Laqueus, Solutus, Liberator', sum up the sequence of the narrative: 'Trapped', 'Unbound', 'Deliverer'. Quite gone is the swashbuckling Tresham of 1568, portrayed in his high-fashion suit of armour (see Fig.4/4) and up-to-the-minute firearm. This is a man who wishes his worldly activities to be undertaken in the ascetic spirit of repentance and worship.

Perhaps just two or three years after this, in c.1598, Tresham commissioned a new binding stamp for his library. This time, he employed the plain arms of Tresham, without quarterings, but featuring the trefoils and triangles which proved to be such useful devices, symbolising both his own name and the Trinity (Fig.4/16)¹⁵⁹.

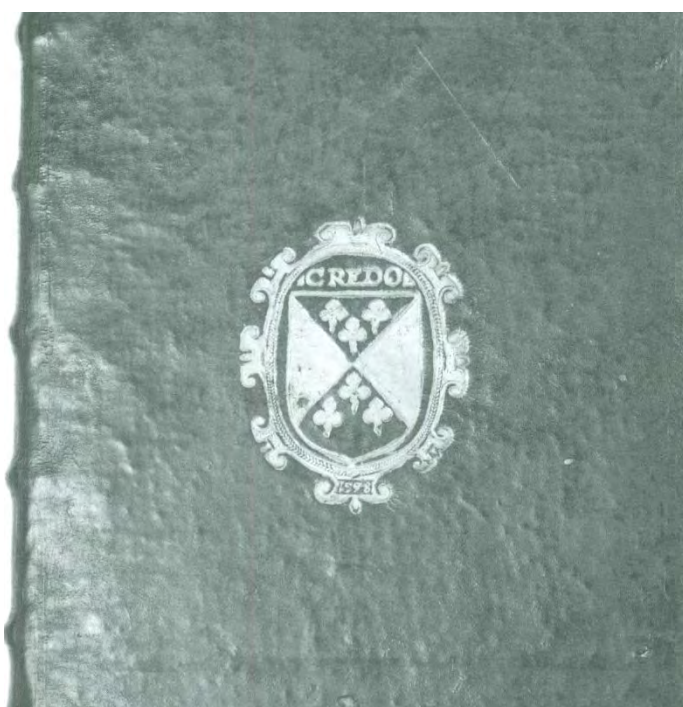


Fig.4/16 Tresham's binding stamp, c.1598

The heraldic shield was still mantled and included the motto, 'Credo', prominently asserting his faith. This bookplate is particularly interesting. It was produced at the same time as he was working on his new buildings at Rushton and Lyveden, where he is likely to have recognised that the simpler the coded image, the more powerful it would be. Thus, he has cast off his earlier attachment to his heritage of name and family, and focused, only, on his Faith, his personal crusade.

¹⁵⁹ Tresham's spelling of his surname was 'Tressame' or 'Tresame'. As Peter Foden notes, this is significant in terms of how he defined himself in relation to his family, his neighbours and his religion. We know he saw himself, 'as a Prophet, a Cassandra'. For example, he claimed to have foreseen the decline of the Vaux family, at Harrowden: he wrote to George Vaux, 'as a Tresame to your Howse I faithfullie foretould... future eventes' (MS Add 39838 folio 172). 'Tressam', in Greek, means 'harvester', or 'prophet'. An alternative etymology might be 'tres aime', 'well-beloved' - and letters to Tresham from his wife suggest that this is how she rendered the name. Likewise, in Old French, 'Tres ame' translates as 'three souls' or 'three spirit'. Given Tresham's dedication to the Trinity, might he here have been relishing the happy coincidence of his name with the 'three in one' - which was, at once, himself and his God? Tresham's attachment to a many-layered symbolism probably invites all three (and more) translations. See *Appendix B*, Peter Foden, p.2.

In this move towards a reduced motif, many-layered in its significance and bold enough to lend itself well to the tools of a stonemason, as well as a bookbinder or engraver, Tresham was exploring what can only be described as a very Elizabethan preoccupation with the power of symbol. Replacing the readily-legible heraldic arms (legible if you were of the right education and breeding), and its complex assertion of intermarriages that had enriched the worldly status and wealth of the Treshams over the generations, with an heraldic device which, on the face of it, was uncomplicated and – even – lowly, was quite a shift ¹⁶⁰. It reflects what was going on in Tresham's buildings in the later 1590s. His ingenuity is, indeed, hidden behind a spare simplicity; from now on, his poetic images might (at times) have the semblance of being accessible, or even commonplace: their more profound meaning, on the other hand, might be legible only to the very few whose Catholic theology was as deep as Tresham's own. Henceforth, the codes, messages and metaphors would become both more abstract and visually striking *and* ever more personal, recondite and elusive¹⁶¹.

4.7.2 Buildings and Gardens

In 1592, after twelve years, Tresham was able to return to Rushton (although still subject to a 'statute of confinement', by which he was forbidden to travel more than five miles from home, save by a licence granted by a Bishop and two county JPs). His fine manor house¹⁶² had probably been built in the early 16th century¹⁶³, but Tresham now began to alter and enlarge his Hall and his gardens; certainly, detailed records exist for work done in 1595 and 1596. In a print dating from 1741 (Fig.4/17), we have a clear view of the seat, probably more-or-less as Tresham knew it, with fairly modest additions having been made by Tresham's successors, the Cockaynes, who bought the estate in 1619, before the major alterations of the later 18th and 19th centuries¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶⁰ This elimination of the visual codes of his heritage was a major step for Tresham, for he was a man – as we see in many letters – who took great pride in the longevity and high status of his inheritance; he regularly dismissed the aspirations of the jumped-up Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton or Sir John Spencer of Althorp.

¹⁶¹ It is interesting to note that Tresham possessed both the first 'emblem' book of the Renaissance, Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (first published 1531; Tresham's copies were in Spanish [1549] and Italian [c.1555]) and Claude Paradin's *Devises Heroiques* (1557). There were also at least four copies of Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo della Imprese militare e amorose* (first published in 1555; Tresham's two annotated copies were from 1559). Herein, the author argued that an *Impresa* (symbol or emblem) 'should not be so obscure as to need a Sybil for its interpreter, nor so transparent that every mean mechanic might understand it'. Quoted by Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era*, 1966, p.40.

¹⁶² Rushton Hall is listed Grade I by English Heritage.

¹⁶³ The EH *Register* entry for the Rushton gardens suggests that John Tresham, who died in 1521, probably began the surviving mansion, which was then extended by his grandson, Prior Thomas Tresham, whose own grandson, Thos. Tresham II, then made further alterations and probably developed the formal gardens (now Grade II*).

¹⁶⁴ In the early 20th century Thomas Mawson extensively remodelled the gardens for an American tenant, J.J. van Alen.



Fig. 4/17 'The East Prospect of Rushton, in Northamptonshire, the seat of the Right Hon.^{ble} Charles, Lord Viscount Cullen', drawn by Winstanley, engraved by W.H. Toms, 1741.

It is interesting to see the extended system of architectural enclosures around the main house at Rushton, with St. Peter's Church (now demolished), forming the south range of the outer courtyard (left on the engraving)¹⁶⁵. It is even more interesting to note that on the east arcade, flanking the entrance to the inner court, there are two niches with figures of warriors: not just any warriors, however, but pikemen, dressed in Imperial Spanish armour, with the Maltese Cross of the Knights Hospitallers on their shields. It is probably worth remembering – in the context of his future work – that, at Rushton Hall, Tresham had a daily reminder of his grandfather, not only in the form of the splendid alabaster effigy which then lay in St. Peter's (Fig.4/18)¹⁶⁶, but also every time he entered his mansion.

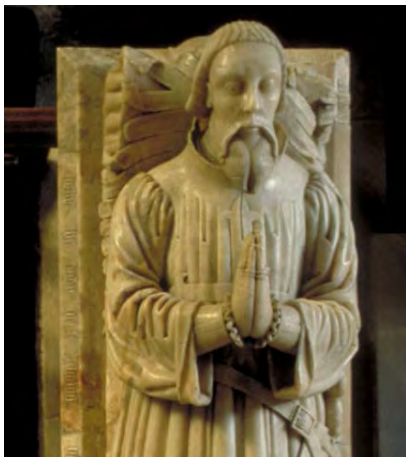


Fig.4/18 Alabaster effigy on tomb of Prior Tresham

¹⁶⁵ Two villages, Rushton St. Peter & Rushton All Saints were adjacent. In 1524, 10 people in St. Peter & 28 in All Saints paid tax. Rushton, however, 'saw the most extensive assarting of any township in the {Rockingham} Forest in the 13th century with over 500 acres taken out of the forest for agriculture'. In 1504-5 the Abbot of Pipewell enclosed 200 acres and evicted 30 people; in 1516, he enclosed yet more land. 'The process of enclosure continued later in the century {when} Sir Thomas Tresham carried out piecemeal enclosure from 1581 to 1604'. St. Peter had probably been removed by the Treshams, who acquired the main manor in 1438. See Rockingham Forest Trust, Heritage Resource Centre website, *Op.cit.*

¹⁶⁶ This is now in the Rushton parish church of All Saints.

Of still greater interest, in the current context, are the gardens, with a substantial canal on the south, terraces, parterres and plantings articulated with a strong, formal geometry to the west, and a very generous prospect mount on the north.

The notebooks of George Levens¹⁶⁷, Tresham's steward at Rushton, reveals that the gardens at Rushton were levelled and drained, alleys or walks were created and trees were planted. This was probably in the 1590s, at the same time as freemasons were working on Rushton church – presumably St. Peter's – enhancing the stonework of the windows and introducing battlements.

And, surely, it was Tresham who built the mount in the gardens. Had his grandfather built it, that would have been rather early for such a feature; had it been created by Tresham's successors, the Cockaynes, it would have been approaching old-fashioned. Henry VIII's vast garden at Hampton Court, elaborated in the 1530s, launched what was to become a fashion for prospect mounts, there topped with an arbour, three storeys high, glazed and with a lead cupola. We also know that the antiquary and traveller, John Leland, wrote in c.1540, of 'Wresehall in Yorkshire', describing the garden 'mountes, opere topiarii writhen about with degrees like turninges of cockell-shells to cum to the top without paine'¹⁶⁸. Eighty years later, in *On Gardens*, 1625, Francis Bacon describes his ideal, 'prince-like' garden, which should contain,

'in the very middle a very fair mount, with three ascents, .. the whole mount to be thirty feet high'.

At Rushton, the mount was probably constructed for Tresham, in the 1590s. It allowed commanding views over the gardens and over the wider landscape beyond, with its river valley, enclosed pasture, warren and deer park. And we can see that this spiral mount is quite densely vegetated, perhaps with quick (hawthorn) or privet (both of which were recommended by contemporary writers on the subject), but kept fairly low. Thus, the planting would serve the purpose of retaining the earthen banks and emphasising the sculptural form and substance of the mount.

At the top of the mount, the print depicts what appears to be an outsize figurative sculpture, perhaps with a raised club. This might have been Hercules. It is not impossible that Tresham introduced this sculpture. It proclaims a Classical allegory of struggle, strength, resolution; an assertion by a man who faces the trials of destiny, to achieve eternal salvation¹⁶⁹. If so, then it would be a very early example of such a theme, in England - which would, in turn, suggest that the years spent making intellectual journeys through his library played a vital part in shaping Tresham's imagination. And that is, indeed, what one would expect.

We know that Tresham was interested in the human body. In his library was the remarkable, *De symmetria partium humanorum corporum, libri quatuor* (Four Books

¹⁶⁷ Levens was more than just a steward to Tresham. He 'kept a daily diary in abbreviated Latin', accounting for every hour of the day. He was involved with teaching a William, who was probably Tresham's 3rd and youngest son, and very busy undertaking legal and clerical work for Tresham. See Peter Foden, report on, *British Library Research on Thomas Tresham*, 2014, *Appendix B*, p.4.

¹⁶⁸ This text was admired and quoted by Reginald Blomfield, *The Formal Gardens of England*, 1892, a key influence in promoting the late 19th / early 20th century enthusiasm for Elizabethan-style gardens. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43*, is an invaluable source of information about the landscape, farming, deer parks, gardens and houses of this period. It is not absolutely clear (to us) which estate was meant by 'Wresehall': Wressle Castle?

¹⁶⁹ Since Tresham was a man who must have depended heavily on his library (hence its great value in illuminating the development of TT's ideas), there are images of Hercules – particularly as a term – in Vredeman de Vries's *Caryatidum (vulgus terminas vocat), sive, Atlantidum multiformium ad quemlibet architecturæ ordinem accommodatarum centuria prima* (!), c.1570, which was in Tresham's library.

on Human Proportion) by Albrecht Durer, in a French edition of 1557 (Fig.4/19). Without doubt, this was one of the most influential studies of the proportions, expressions, movement and physiognomy of the human form, promulgating Renaissance concepts through much of Europe. Durer was, of course, at once, a great artist, empirical scientist and mathematician. He was also well versed in the Classical world and his work includes more than one powerful woodcut of Hercules - an unusual subject in the output of an artist who rarely included pagan themes, and certainly intended to offer an allegory about the human condition and the search for salvation.

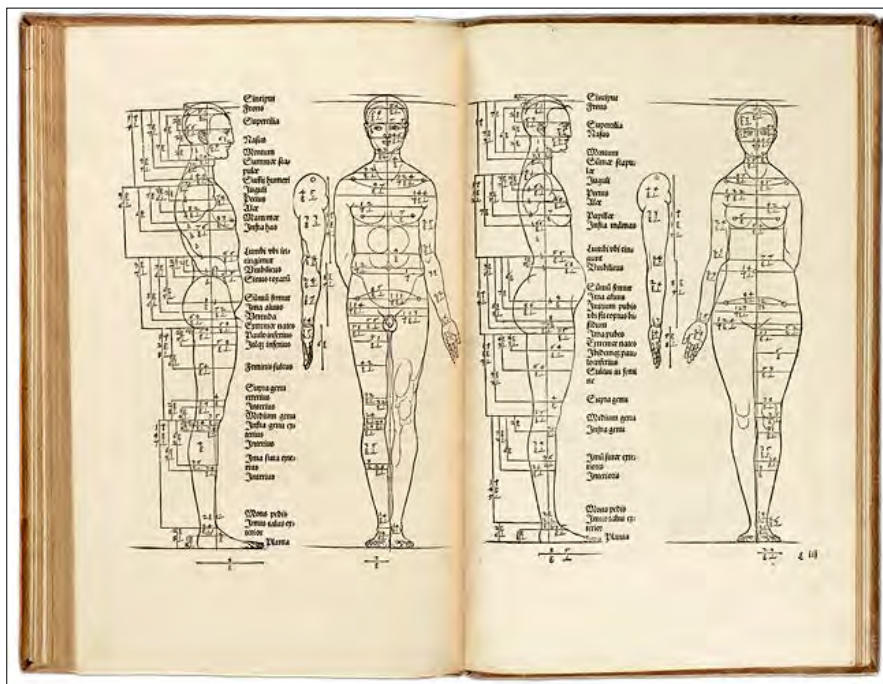


Fig.4/19 *De symmetria partium humanorum corporum, libri quatuor*, first published posthumously, 1528 (Tresham had 1557 edition in his library, printed in Paris). Durer's drawings based on Vitruvius and empirical study of 100s of men and women.

We also know that Tresham's library included a number of Classical histories. He had more than one edition of *Historiae*, written by the ancient Greek historian, Herodotus, in the 5th century B.C., wherein is found one of the earliest attempts to establish a sequence of events in a given time¹⁷⁰, and where the figure of Hercules (Heracles) is introduced as not only a real person, but also one whose life affords a moral narrative. Likewise, Tresham's several copies of the epic, poetic, *Metamorphoses*, by the Roman poet Ovid (a contemporary of Jesus Christ), includes a volume on Hercules which, in one Italian edition, dated 1584, is accompanied by allegorical / moral interpretations for each of the fables¹⁷¹.

There is debate about when Classical figures first made their appearance in England, let alone English gardens. It is known that Classical statues were imported to England as early as the twelfth century; though there is no record of what happened to them at that time¹⁷². In 1561, Lord Burghley was sent statues of twelve emperors, from Venice, and these (perhaps alabaster busts of the Caesars) were on display in his famed gardens at Theobalds. Thus, we can say that, by the mid-16th century, Classical sculptures of gods and mythological heroes do begin to appear – in

¹⁷⁰ Even recently, Herodotus has been described as the writer whose work underlies the 'entire discipline of history'.

¹⁷¹ Ovidus Naso, *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio da Giovanni Andrea dell' Anguillara ottava rima .. con l'annotationi di Giuseppe Horologi*.

¹⁷² See Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, 2005, p.205, fn.166.

gardens, as in tapestries and poetry – and it is clear that there was an assumed familiarity with Classical literature, which gave access to their burden of meaning.

'When placed in gardens... pagan gods, goddesses and heroes served as metaphors for virtues. Hercules, in particular, represented strength, fortitude and, often, the triumph of virtue over vice.'¹⁷³

We shall labour this herculean theme no more. But it seems to us that, without doubt, by the 1590s, Tresham had developed a very extensive vocabulary of myth and code, supported by his exceptionally extensive reading. Just one last diversion: It might be worth noting that, today, in the grounds of Glendon Hall – which is very near Rushton – there is a fine, tall, figurative group of *Hercules and Cacus* (the latter a fire-belching monster, killed by Hercules), on a high pedestal. It is dated (by English Heritage) to the 17th century and it was taken to Glendon in the 19th century¹⁷⁴. Might it be worth a little more research?

If nothing else, the gardens at Rushton Hall almost certainly represent a very interesting venture into design and imagery, executed at about the same time as Tresham was embarking on still more ambitious schemes, both at Rushton and at his secondary seat, in Lyveden.

At Rushton, Tresham is known to have built two lodges; Hawkfield Lodge and the Triangular Lodge – called by Tresham the Warrener's Lodge – which were being erected, in the 1590s.

Of Hawkfield Lodge, we know very little. Early records describe 'Aukfield' in 1437; and a 1732 map marks several closes called 'Haulkfield', to the south-west of Rushton Hall. The 1904 HMC *Report on the Manuscripts in the Collection of T.B. Clarke-Thornhill*¹⁷⁵ includes entries dated 1596, and a record that, on August 2, 1596, the foundations were laid for a new lodge, 'in the Hawkfield' at Rushton¹⁷⁶. By autumn, 1597, the Lodge was all but complete. There has been a good deal of speculation, in later years, about drawings which might, or might not, have been for Hawkfield Lodge. But this is not an analysis which we can pursue here. We turn, instead, to the Triangular, or Warrener's, Lodge, the development of which was recorded, in some detail, in account books kept between 1593 and 1597 by Tresham's steward, George Levens¹⁷⁷.

On this occasion, the freemasons being employed were the Tyrrolls, Thomas and his three sons, as well as Thomas and John Drewe. The more refined elements of carving were executed by a mason called Paris; and refinement is a distinguishing feature of this structure, with the delicate polychromy conveyed simply by narrow bands of alternating ashlar limestone and rough-worked sandstone. The first week, ending

¹⁷³ Henderson, *Op.cit.*, p.206 & fn.169. Henderson adds, 'Hercules had been a popular figure in England since the early Tudor period'.

¹⁷⁴ It is described as being possibly by German sculptor, working in England, Andreas Kearne, who might have produced figures of Hercules and Cacus for Boughton Hall, in the early 17th century. One of the most famous Renaissance sculptures of *Hercules & Cacus* is by Bandinelli, for the Medici, erected in the *Piazza della Signoria*, Florence, in 1534.

¹⁷⁵ Clara Thornhill bought the estate in 1854 and, on her marriage, Clara assumed the name Clarke-Thornhill.

¹⁷⁶ HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.xlvi

¹⁷⁷ This remarkable and illuminating record was discovered at Rushton Hall in 1828, when 'a very thick partition wall, in the passage leading from the Great Hall', was taken down. There, in a 'very large recess or closet' was found and 'enormous' bundle, including mss. and some books, 'wrapped in a large sheet'. The papers cover 1576-1605 and it is believed that they were walled up in the alarm which followed the Gunpowder Plot and the arrest of Sir Thomas's son, Francis. See 'Introduction', HMC, *Op.cit.*

August 3, 1594, saw the stone being quarried, locally, and prepared. Some three weeks later, the lower courses of the walls had been laid, up to the 'truffle' – trefoil – windows, which were, of course, one of the most adaptable and profound of Tresham's motifs, signifying, at once, both the Trinity and himself (Fig.4/20).



Fig.4/20 Lower storey of Tresham's Triangular (Warrener's) Lodge, Rushton, built 1594-1597, showing low trefoil windows, 'sett up' by the end of August, 1594, when the 'crosse windowes' were begun.

The speed of progress is very impressive. In August, 1595, the freemason Parris, 'and his manne', were working on the 'aungell stones', angels which accommodated the downspouts and above which is the 33-letter gable frieze, *QUIS SEPARABIT NOS A CHARITATE CHRISTI*, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?'¹⁷⁸. The following month, the timbers for the roof – with its highly complex geometry – were being erected (Fig.4/21).



Fig.4/21 Aerial shot of the Triangular Lodge, showing the complex roof structure and dramatic skyline, filled with gables and soaring chimney

¹⁷⁸ St Paul, Epistle to the Romans 8.35

As well as the persistent reiteration of the number three – in trefoil, triangle, pyramid; in measurement and structure – Tresham inserted ‘skutchins’ and letters, including a Latin inscription on every side of the building, all specifically invoking an aspect of the Eucharist, which was at the heart of his theology. The triple, triangular gables, on each of the three sides of the building, feature significant carved symbols and these are much discussed in the available literature; for example, amongst the motifs carved in the stone plaques there is one featuring a Dove with Chicks and another, a Pelican in Her Piety¹⁷⁹. All are symbols of God's care for his children, the self-denial of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Christ's sacrifice at the Crucifixion, and the victory over evil. A feature about which we have found virtually no comment, however, are the sundials, inserted on the face of each of the three central gables. This includes the north elevation: surely, a sundial is not very practical on a north-facing elevation (the remaining two face SE and SW)? Yet again, it seems, we are reminded that, for Tresham, utility is rarely the uppermost concern. These dials are intended to be far more than practical in purpose; they signify, poetically, Tresham's preoccupation with the passage and measurement of time, with *memento mori*, with the acknowledgement of saints' days, anniversaries and prophecies.

Much ink has been spilt on discussing this idiosyncratic little building and this is not the place to dwell on it any further. The account which accompanies the 1904 *HMC Report on the Manuscripts*, concerning the Triangular Lodge¹⁸⁰, is detailed, fascinating and perplexing. Above all, perhaps, it demonstrates that the complexity and layering of Tresham's symbols, metaphors and narratives mean that this building will never yield all its meaning to any of Tresham's successors. Given that secrecy was one of the governing ambitions of its builder in the first place, Tresham was supremely successful.

4.8 Tresham at Lyveden

4.8.1 Tresham at Lyveden: the ‘Old Bield’

We have spent a good deal of time, thus far, in trying to understand more about Sir Thomas Tresham and we have deliberately focused on those aspects of his life, his accomplishments and the development of his all-encompassing religious faith, which tend not to be studied in much detail. Since the late Elizabethan / early Jacobean garden and buildings at Lyveden are infused with one man's deepest beliefs and preoccupations, we have considered it essential to try and understand a little more about him. Now, we approach the last years and, in many ways, most remarkable achievements, of Tresham and we need to consider what it was that he found when he first turned his attention to Lyveden and what inspired him to make radical change.

We look back to the years around 1540, when the inveterate traveller and antiquary, John Leland, visited this part of the world, and recorded that,

‘At this tyme ther be 2 Houses of the Treshams in Northamptonshire. The Elder Brothers House is now comunely at Rushton by Catering (Kettering). But he caullith himself comunely Tresham of Leveden a 2 Myles from Undale (Oundle) in Northamptonshire, where yet standithe Parte of auncient Maner Place and godely Medows about it and there hath Tresham a 300 Markes by

¹⁷⁹ We should recall portrait of Queen Elizabeth, c.1575, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard and now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. This marked the early days of the celebration of the Queen as ‘Gloriana’, when she stood – for some – in the stead of the Virgin Mary. Elizabeth's costume prominently displays, among numerous symbols, the pelican pecking at her own breast, to draw blood to feed her chicks.

¹⁸⁰ HMC, *Op.cit.*, pp.xxxv-xlvii.

the Yere. This Tresham hath also a Manor and Place at Siwel a 3. or 4. Milys from Northampton by North.'¹⁸¹

We know, then, that in c.1540, Thomas Tresham I – on one occasion, if not any other – described his principal seat as being Lyveden. This is somewhat curious and is probably no more than a temporary anomaly. Sir Thomas Tresham Sr. was listed as, 'of Rushton Hall', when he was High Sheriff in 1524 and 1555 and his grandson was, likewise, so described in 1573. Following his death, in 1559, Prior Thomas was buried in St. Peter's, Rushton, and his remarkable, alabaster effigy – the recumbent figure dressed in the robes of Grand Prior of the Knights Hospitallers¹⁸² – remains in Rushton, to this day (though now in All Saints Church, St. Peter's having been demolished in 1799) (see Fig.4/18).

It is interesting to note, however, that, in both 1539 and 1548, the High Sheriff is merely described as, 'Sir Thomas Tresham'. This might not be significant – many of the High Sheriffs were listed simply by name, without seat at all¹⁸³ – but might it suggest that he was not living at Rushton at the time and was, perhaps, living in the old manor at Lyveden – whilst Rushton was being repaired or improved? This would coincide nicely with the fact that, in 1540, Tresham had a licence to empark 400 acres at Lyveden, the area bounded to the north by Harley Way (see Fig.4/2).

In this vicinity, according to Leland, the best deer in Rockingham Forest were to be found. So, in c.1540, it seems reasonable to assume that the attractions of Lyveden held sway. If so, what clues have we about the appearance – or, indeed, the location – of 'Parte of the auncient Maner Place' described by Leland?

We have, of course, already laid the foundations of this analysis. We know that the valley was virtually deserted, except for the Tresham property, and that the wider landscape was dominated the remains of Rockingham Forest and by open fields, under arable management. Some of this was only gradually being turned to pasture, by the 1560s and '70s. With regard to the Lyveden park itself, however, there is less clarity. Truth to tell, as one wades through the layers of information about Lyveden, a rather curious fact begins to emerge: there is considerable uncertainty about how many 'manor houses' (and, indeed, lodges) have been built on and lost from this site. What is now popularly known as the Old Bield, is described in John Heward's thoughtful *Historic Building Report*, of 1998, as, 'a substantial, stone-built manor house whose surviving fabric dates primarily from the first decades of the 17th century although it stands on the site of a much larger and older house'¹⁸⁴. Heward adds that, when the garden lodge, the New Bield, was in construction, more than fifty years after Leland's visit, 'parts of the old manor house dated back to the 15th century or earlier'¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸¹ Ed. Thomas Hearne, John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, Vol. the fourth, parts 4-6, 1769, p.35.

¹⁸² In fact, this is the only funeral effigy in England showing the dress of a Knight Hospitaller, a long black mantle with a white cross on it.

¹⁸³ I presume – but have not checked – that some might have been men with places at court but, as yet, without what they regarded as an adequate seat in Northamptonshire, or had not yet come into their inheritance, which would have included a seat or two. Perhaps they were being modest, or regarded themselves as so well known, that they needed no further definition. Of course, it might simply have been a clerk's oversight.

¹⁸⁴ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Historic Building Report*, 1998, p.1. We note, however, that this report does possess one or two significant differences from the parallel report provided to the owner of the Old Bield in 1998.

¹⁸⁵ Heward notes that, 'This remained true until the 19th century when much of the old manor house was demolished, except for the range built after 1615.' *Op.cit.*, p.2.

It is not as simple as this, however. Heward goes on to report that his assumption that the Old Bield was in the footprint of the mediaeval manor house was, 'for lack of contradictory archaeological evidence'¹⁸⁶. But, today (and, indeed, in the late 1990s, when Heward surveyed the house), archaeology has told us a little more. We know that, south of today's house, towards the crest of the hill, there were probably two moated sites – 'both placed on the 250 feet contour .. near Lyveden New Bield'¹⁸⁷ – which predate the moated gardens that Tresham was building in the 1590s (Fig.4/21).

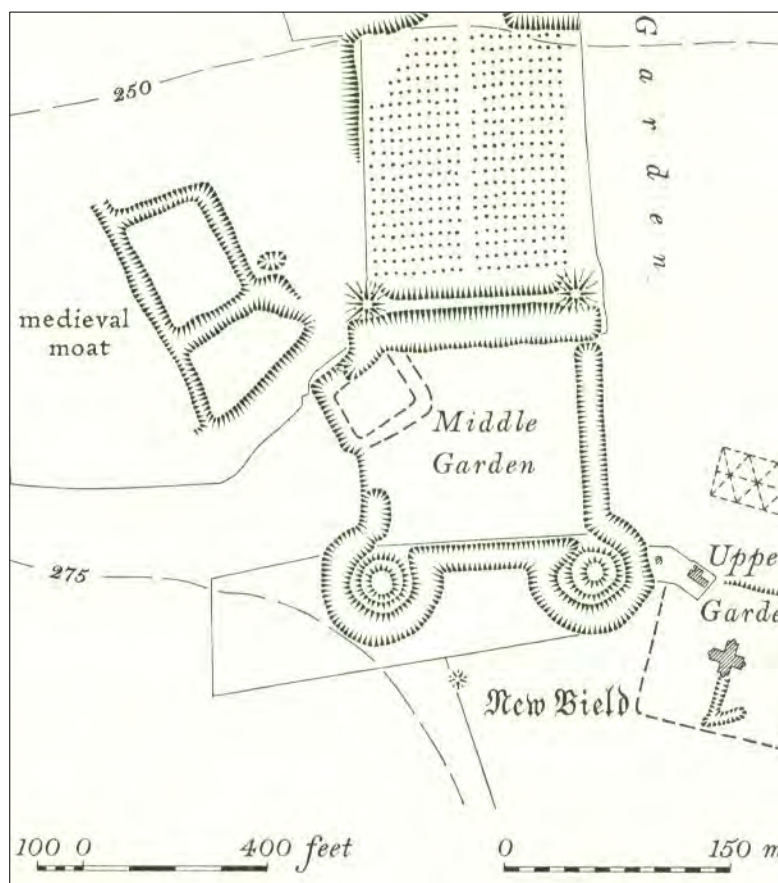


Fig.4/21 Detail of archaeological survey, showing site of mediaeval moats. Brown & Taylor, 1972.

'Inside the Moated Orchard it is .. possible to discern the earthwork remains of one of several mediaeval moated sites in the valley. This, it appears, was still extant when Tresham was building his garden. ...Taylor reported in 1972 that a scatter of stone rubble and late mediaeval pottery suggested that a dwelling survived in the southern moat, until the creation of the garden.'¹⁸⁸

The implication of this may be that the Treshams' earlier house had been located closer to the top of the incline, to the south of today's Old Bield. Accordingly, Eburne & Felus place this house,

'at the brow of the hill rising from the Harley Way, on the west side of the moated orchard visible today. It appears to have been moated, and to have

¹⁸⁶ Heward may also have been echoing Gyles Isham who, in his article on Tresham's Buildings, assumes that this was the 'original manor house'. See Isham, *Op.cit.*, p.23.

¹⁸⁷ Steane, *Op.cit.* p.45.

¹⁸⁸ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.75.

been oriented in a north-north-westerly direction, possibly reached by a road ascending at a right angle from Harley Way.'¹⁸⁹

It is not quite this straightforward, however, because there is evidence of more than one moated site in the vicinity. In the end, all one can say, with some degree of certainty, is that this is a site which has seen a number of settlements and building programmes. With regard to today's handsome Lyveden house (Lyveden Manor) – which lies close to the Harley Way, just south of the Lyveden Brook, the stream that runs along the valley – what remains seems to be but a single range of what is believed to have been an early-17th century Tresham house which, in following centuries, became a much more substantial structure, having been, 'developed over a period of at least two hundred years by a sequence of major additions and frequent campaigns of minor rebuilding and remodelling'¹⁹⁰ - not the least of which was a programme of repairs, renewal and extension, undertaken quite recently.

In the early 18th century, the County historian, John Bridges (1666-1724), perhaps had his attention drawn to Tresham's buildings by his friend, Justinian Isham (later 5th Baronet, with a seat at Lamport, not far from Rothwell and Rushton), who first really noticed and greatly admired Tresham's Warrener's Lodge – which he called, 'The Trinity' – in 1716¹⁹¹. Accordingly, Bridges included a survey of Tresham's buildings in his voluminous manuscript collection, gathered together to illustrate the history of Northamptonshire¹⁹².

Bridges describes Lyveden house, as he saw it in 1721.

'One of the wings is intire, and the tops of the chimnies crenellé. The gateway in the yard, and the gate into the house are still standing. Over a western window are the arms of Tresham, Vaux, and two other escutcheons. The arch entering the court is a circular one, when you ascend six stone steps: the court-wall is of free stone, and supported by strong buttresses. The terrace of the garden stile remains, and the walks leading to the house planted with witch-elms. On the north side seemeth to have been a moat.'¹⁹³

One of the 'walks leading to the house', planted with 'witch elm' – that is, wych elm, *Ulmus glabra* – perhaps still appears on an Old Series OS plan of 1834 (Fig.4/22).



Fig.4/22 Old Series OS map of Lyveden, 1834, showing avenue approaching from the east.

¹⁸⁹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.22.

¹⁹⁰ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.3.

¹⁹¹ Gyles Isham, *Op.cit.*, p.22.

¹⁹² The manuscripts were donated to the Bodleian after Bridges' death and *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* was first published in two volumes in 1791. Though Bridges visited Lyveden in August, 1721, his published text did not appear at that date (as implied in Eburne & Felus).

¹⁹³ Bridges, Vol.II, p.373, quoted by Isham, *Op.cit.*, p.24.

This plan suggests that the walk planted with elms – effectively, an avenue – was reached via a ride through Bearshank Wood, to the east of the house. Clearly, the house is not built on level ground, for there is quite a steep incline, southwards, from the stream towards the top of the hill. Thus, it would have made sense to approach the house along the valley, from the east. But this was probably the secondary approach, for domestic convenience. The principal drive was, almost certainly, from the west. It was on the westfacing side of the house that there was the substantial stone arch, ‘entering the court’ that lay at the heart of the several ranges of Lyveden Manor depicted in an illustration by G. Clarke, in 1847 (Fig.4/23).



Fig.4/23 The Old Bield from the west in 1847, by G. Clarke, showing the arch that was formerly at the entrance to what was quite a small courtyard, at the heart of the building's ranges. (NRO)

‘The manor house faced west and was arranged around three sides of an entrance courtyard of which only the south range survives. In the centre of the open or west side of the courtyard there was a large stone gateway flanked by low stone walls. The arch of the gateway had niches on either side and the gateway was ornamented with raised shields and was pierced by open scrollwork framed by large volutes. The design and cutting of the masonry is reminiscent of the work on the New Bield and suggests that both belong to the same period of work shortly before 1600.’¹⁹⁴

That the west approach to the house was the more important is reinforced by the fact that there seems to have been, ‘a similar stone archway’¹⁹⁵ further to the west, up the valley, on the road from Brigstock. The courtyard arch is now demolished; and the one from Lyveden house was removed to nearby Fermyn Woods Hall in the mid-19th century (Fig.4/24).

¹⁹⁴ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.9.

¹⁹⁵ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.10. Heward was drawing on Bridges for this information. We note that the EH listing for Fermyn Woods Hall ascribes the gate to Sir Lewis Tresham. Given the similarity to the stone gateway to Hatton’s Holdenby, it might well have had its origins in the late 16th century, and Thomas Tresham.



Fig.4/24 Fermyn Woods Hall, featuring stone arch removed from Lyveden Manor in mid-19th C

What now remains of the Old Bield is, predominantly, the southern range of the former, much larger house, then arranged around a courtyard, the arched entrance to which lay just to the north (left) of today's west-facing front (Fig.4/25).



Fig.4/25 Lyveden Manor, with west-facing front of 17thC S. range of much larger house. The arms of Tresham & Vaux (now gone) were on the principal gable, above the 1st floor windows (possibly the 'great chamber' in the 17thC). Formal entrance to inner courtyard lay to the north (left) of this elevation.

Heward reports that,

'Tax returns in the 1670s, assessing the number of hearths at that late date, suggest an extensive and well appointed house Yet we have no idea where stables or the kitchens and service rooms of the house were though they would have been extensive.'¹⁹⁶

Despite this degree of uncertainty, John Heward does a good job of analysing the extant building and other documentary sources, and arriving at a reasonable chronology for the house¹⁹⁷. What remains somewhat clouded in uncertainty, however, is which elements were the responsibility of Thomas Tresham, not least

¹⁹⁶ Heward, Op.cit., p.3.

¹⁹⁷ For more detailed assessment of the sequence of the build, especially since the 19th C, see our Section 5, survey of Lyveden Manor.

because Sir Thomas's work was erected just a few short years before his son, Lewis, took over.

Heward has identified the missing east range – which would have been visible facing the visitor, on entering the courtyard, through the stone arch – as, 'of 16th-century date but could have been much older'¹⁹⁸. It is perfectly, possible, then, that, when Tresham turned his attention to his Lyveden house, all or part of this eastern range provided the starting point for his own work - to which we now turn.

We do not know whether Tresham was responsible for removing any houses or other buildings on the crest of the hill, to the south of today's Lyveden Manor, or whether these earlier houses had already been abandoned and demolished. Likewise, no record indicates whether Tresham removed any extant buildings in the footprint of his house in the valley. All we can say is that, in 1598/9¹⁹⁹, the new house may have been sufficiently developed to consider building stairs. On 28th January in that year, Tresham's steward, George Levens, noted that had spent time, 'with Lord in ... discussion about increasing the things that follow if the steps of the third ascent of the house of Lyveden are built in the southern window'. On 1st February he was,

'drawing with the Lord the plans of the first and second floors of the house of Lyveden'²⁰⁰.

It is quite clear that, throughout January and February of this year, Levens was drawing and planning the steps for Lyveden; and, intriguingly, it is evident that he was working on both Lyveden Lodge and House at the same time. Indeed, plans for stairs had developed to the point that Levens was in contact with some of the workmen Tresham had used hitherto, including Grumbold - who may well have been involved in 'making 4 windows for Lyveden house etc.' on 28th January, 1599.

It would not be surprising had Tresham's work at Lyveden been interrupted not only by the progress of other projects – including at Rushton, his primary seat – but also by his periods of imprisonment. In 1599, the demands of family problems, involving money and broken promises, absorbed a great deal of time and trouble, culminating in a return to the Fleet prison. This last period of imprisonment was a sad consequence of Tresham's worldly troubles, rather than his spiritual adventures. Even during his manifest misery at this time, however, there remains evidence of continuing engagement with progress at Lyveden, with references (to the gardens, and to building associated with what was either the House or the Lodge) in George Levens' diaries. On 3rd August, 1602, there is what reads as a note of confidence: 'colloquend cum domino profertur liveden': 'Lyveden is advanced', 'extended' or 'revealed'²⁰¹. But, it was not for another year or two that work on the house seems to have been reinvigorated. In 1604, Tresham embarked on what was probably

¹⁹⁸ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.10.

¹⁹⁹ Reference to '1598/99' reflects the fact that Tresham was probably still using the Julian calendar, wherein new year's day arrives in March. From now on, we shall refer to the Gregorian calendar, in which this date is '1599'. We should also note that this reference to building stairs etc. has elsewhere been attached to the lodge; but we believe that it was a reference to the house.

²⁰⁰ We are indebted to Peter Foden, archivist, for transcribing George Levens' daily diary, covering the period January, 1599 - November, 1602. To the difficulties of Levens' abbreviated Latin is added his tiny handwriting; notwithstanding these obstacles, however, Peter has searched for and found some remarkable and interesting records, which help to illuminate the dates and the character of developments at Lyveden. These and the following notes are taken from BL Add MS 29835, Folios 42r and 43r. See our *Appendix B* for further information and transcriptions.

²⁰¹ Foden, BL Add MS 39835, Folio, 76r. Is it just possible that this should be translated as 'put off', 'deferred'? The Latin is not straightforward to translate. On 5th August, 1602, however, there is a note to the effect that Tresham and his son-in-law, Lord Mounteagle, were at Lyveden, which does not suggest that the project was being put on hold.

intended to be a fairly substantial building programme, to bring this project to a conclusion.

Here, we return to that remarkable source, the Tresham manuscripts discovered in 1828, walled-up in Rushton Hall, for there is some evidence of the progress of this building campaign. In a 1604 letter to his steward, George Levens, Tresham asserts that he is ready to resume building operations at Lyveden house.

'I wold have yow speake with Pyfforde and the free masons, Drew, Tyrroll, Gunn and the Grombolds, or with whom ells yow think good, and to tell them as of yor selfe that I intende to procede with my buyldyng at Lyffden in Marche come twelvemoneth, and therfor wyll have made reddy this yeare the freeston worke therto perteninge'²⁰².

The way Tresham phrases it indicates that, though he had undoubtedly made a start on the Old Bield, nothing much had been done for a little while. We should recall that these were years in which he was struggling not only with the consequences of his recusancy, but also with desperate financial and family difficulties, which must have made it almost impossible to focus on anything else. Moreover, when he was directing work at Lyveden, much of his attention was also devoted to the work on the top of the hill, to the south of his house: from c.1594, his garden and Lodge, the New Bield, had absorbed a good deal of his time. Now, in 1604, Tresham determined to restart work on his house.

It seems possible that, by this date, not even the ground storey of his new house had been finished; nevertheless, something had been done, because he refers to the necessity of obtaining high quality, good colour, durable, stone, 'ells wyll not sorte with the resydew of the free ston work there alreddy sett upp'.

Tresham used his own quarries at Pipewell and Pilton, but he was also collecting some of his stone from the Weldon quarry (as he did for both Rothwell Market House and Rushton), but he warns that some is, 'much cowrsen' than formerly, appearing to be, 'worme eaten, holed, and blakkyshe specked'. This, he insists, he would 'not toleratt', even if the wall, 'wyll stand high and far from the eye'. Tresham then goes on to develop his point. He envisages that the 'two romthes', the 'principalest' rooms, would be the, 'greate chamber and gallerye'. That these were not yet built is made clear when he insists that poor-quality stone would not be acceptable even if it were used at a great height, 'far from the eye', for here, the 'highste be as neer to the vew of the eye as any other ys'. It has been assumed that Tresham's description here implied a long gallery, 'a room required at the period by a family at this social level to reflect status and social prestige'²⁰³. But, as Heward observes, 'it is difficult to see where this might have fitted within the buildings that we know about', or even in the lost east wing, 'for that was much lower than the adjoining, but later, stair block'²⁰⁴.

True, if Lyveden were, indeed, intended to be a substantial house, where countless visitors (perhaps even King James I, whom Tresham had welcomed to Northamptonshire in the previous year?) would come for entertainment, a long gallery would have been more-or-less essential, as well as still fashionable. It is also true that, if Thomas Tresham's work were confined to the eastern range – as Heward deduces – then we can pursue this not much further at all, for there is nothing left to go on. But, Tresham's epistle implies that the two 'principalest' rooms should be construed not as a long gallery but rather, as he says, a 'greate chamber' and a 'gallerye'. In both, the internal stone walls would have been visible and would have

²⁰² HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.liv-lv. The following quotations are taken from the same source.

²⁰³ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.3.

²⁰⁴ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.10.

to be of faultless material. Is he talking about the southern range of the house and is at least some of Sir Thomas's work still extant? Heward tentatively attributes this range largely to Thomas's son, Lewis Tresham, who took full possession of the house after the death of his mother, in 1615, and then 'began rebuilding the south cross wing of the old house'. He 'rebuilt the grand or polite rooms adding a new parlour to the ground floor and a new great chamber on the first floor at the south-west corner of the house'²⁰⁵. We consider, however, that such a clear division between work of c.1604 and c.1615 is hard to determine and we believe that the extant range of Lyveden Manor owes more to Thomas than to Lewis Tresham. We shall, therefore – briefly – pursue a line of pure speculation.

Heward reports that, though they were later sub-divided, the plans of the ground floor parlour and the first floor 'great chamber', in the extant south range, were 32ft long and 20ft. 2inches wide (Fig.4/26). In fact, it would seem certain that this was intended to be a perfect Golden Rectangle²⁰⁶.



Fig.4/26. Plan of ground floor and first floor of early 17th century southern range. Plan, Heward, 1998. N is to the left.

This should alert us to the significance of geometry and mathematics to Tresham. He had a remarkable collection of Greek philosophical and mathematical texts. He could not have failed to have been aware of the fundamental influence of Pythagoras, whose work was available to him in accounts such as that of Diogenes Laertius, 3rd century A.D., biographer of Greek philosophers, whose *De Vita & moribus philosophorum libri decem* was in Tresham's library, in an edition of 1537. Laertius claimed that Pythagoras 'carried geometry to perfection'. Perhaps most important would have been Euclid's *The Elements* – often claimed as one of the most influential mathematical books ever written – to be found in Tresham's library in a French edition

²⁰⁵ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.12. Heward is largely taking this from the EH listing.

²⁰⁶ 'A straight line is said to have been *cut in extreme and mean ratio* when, as the whole line is to the greater segment, so is the greater to the less.' Euclid (fl.c.300BC), Book VI, concerning the Golden Rectangle. The Golden Ratio is the dominant theorem and is still employed very widely, as an essential tool in planning, architecture and art.

of 1564 and a Latin edition of 1574. The investigations of Book VI, developing Pythagorean principles of ideal harmony, expressed in proportions and geometry, might well have been explored in some of Tresham's later buildings works. These are critical influences.

The Old Bield's ground and first floor rooms, as built, were respectively 12ft and 14ft high. Heward then goes on to note that there was, 'just enough space for a narrow secondary staircase', to the south of these two large rooms²⁰⁷. Furthermore, these stairs gave direct access to the gardens to the east and south, via what, 'is now a window though evidence in the stonework below the window shows that this was originally a doorway' (Fig.4/27)²⁰⁸.



Fig.4/27 View of Lyveden Manor from the SE, showing narrow, ground floor window, tucked into the corner; evidence indicates that this was originally a doorway.

Is there a possibility that, although subsequently altered by Lewis Tresham and successors – and, indeed, probably never fully realised in the first place²⁰⁹ – what Thomas Tresham envisaged was a really 'greate chamber', double height, with access – and egress – provided by the narrow staircase to a 'gallerye', possibly a musicians' gallery, oversailing it at the south end? This would not have been exceptional for the period²¹⁰. But it might have been very useful.

Although we have already seen that Tresham – in his emblematic portrait of c.1595 (see Fig.4/15) – had cast aside worldly song as belonging to his childhood, before he had personally encountered his God, this did not mean that he was ridding himself of music (any more than he was ridding himself of his library when he disparaged Ariosto). The lute and the recorder, in the c.1595 image, suggest that he was adept at playing – as one would expect of a gentleman. But what about composing music or patronising musicians?

That Tresham had been brought up to be interested in, and celebrate, the courtly ideal – the Renaissance ideal – of being proficient in music and song, languages,

²⁰⁷ For some decades in the 20th century, this narrow staircase became the only one, as the principal, oak staircase – removed in c.1920, perhaps in payment of a gambling debt to the Ford motor family – went on to form the central feature in Edsel Ford's country house in Michigan, USA. In 2000, however, an exact replica of the main staircase was rebuilt in Lyveden Manor.

²⁰⁸ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.15.

²⁰⁹ The existing fenestration would not have been suitable for such an arrangement.

²¹⁰ Music galleries were built in this period, in many parts of the country, in houses owned by those associated with recusancy: from Hengrave Hall in Suffolk, seat of the Kitson family, to Trerice, seat of Sir John Arundell, one of the 'great Arundells', whose decline was hastened by their attachment to the old religion.

drama, dancing, poetry, conversation and rhetoric, law, philosophy, geometry and gallant bravery, is apparent not least in the fact that he possessed in his library, no fewer than seven editions of Baldassare Castiglione's highly influential, *The Courtier*. This was first published in Venice, in 1528 and Tresham had this first edition in his collection. He also had editions of 1561, 1563, 1574, 1584 and 1585, in Spanish, Italian, Latin and French and even, from 1577, an English edition, *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio*. The attributes of *The Courtier* permeated all realms of European society, but curiously, in England, it seems to have been particularly important in the lives of recusants, perhaps for no reason other than it permitted a nostalgia for another time, when these gentle and noble families had been at the heart of courtly life. And we know that music was regarded as a very important feature of that courtly life, and of the worship of recusants, who listened to the rich polyphony of the old religion being ousted in favour of the sparer, less emotionally complex, music of the Protestant church. The careful path trodden by William Byrd (and his master, Thomas Tallis), who managed to remain one of Elizabeth's favourite composers, despite his Catholicism, is well recorded. What is slightly less known is the fact that he had a more secret life, attached to the Catholic Petre family, at Ingatestone, composing masses and other liturgical pieces for recusant communities²¹¹.

Given Tresham's preoccupation with Classical symbol and geometry, especially in his later years, there can be little doubt that he was also engaged with the notion that there was a perfect music and this might well have added another dimension to his theological language. Again, we find that it was Pythagoras who (in western texts) explored the expressive principles of music, arguing that every element and every sphere had its own chords which, when the human soul recovers its true estate, will be audible in divine harmonies, with measurable intervals between God and man on earth. In Book III of Plato's *Republic*²¹², Tresham would have found some of these ideas explored further, in an interesting, Socratic debate about the difference between a music which follows fashion and that which offers perfection.

'Harmony, which has motions akin to the revolutions of the Soul within us, was given by the Muses to him who makes intelligent use of the Muses, not as an aid to irrational pleasure ... but as an auxiliary to the inner revolution of the Soul, when it has lost its harmony, to assist in restoring it to order and concord with itself'.

It was the 'irrational pleasure' of music that Tresham was discarding in the later years of his life.

To draw to a close what little we know about Tresham and his interest in music, we turn to Gerard Kilroy once more. In 1968, a two-volumed *Catholic Encyclopaedia* which had belonged to the Brudenells of Deene, was sold to the Bodleian Library. Uniformly bound in calf, these two great tomes were found to contain a transcription, written between 1605-8, in a single, secretary hand (not Tresham's), providing information about Catholic lives stretching back 25 years, from the time of the interrogations surrounding Edmund Campion. The author is noted as 'Tho. Jollet'. But, as Kilroy asserts (and as is now generally accepted), 'the book indicates a degree of biblical and patristic knowledge that Sir Thomas Tresham, alone among laymen, is known to have possessed'²¹³.

²¹¹ See Hector Sequera, *House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance & Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630)*, Ph.D. thesis for University of Birmingham, 2010.

²¹² There were, 'many editions' of Plato in Tresham's library, the earliest from 1491, the latest a French edition of *La Republique*.. published in 1600.

²¹³ Kilroy, *Op.cit.*, p.14.

This book, which serves as a record of the recusant community, is poignantly, and poetically, introduced.

'To gather theise fflowes of ffathers in the gardenne of unitie, to bynde them upp together with the string of secrecie, and, for a tyme to burye and intombe them in their sepulcher, till some usefull daye cause their happy resurrection, that then with free egressse they maye passe uncontrolled.'

And, within this *Encyclopaedia*, which covers every possible subject, from Conversion to Hell, from Pilgrimage to Purgatory, there is a transcript of a, 'specially composed motet which they {three martyrs} sang on their way to execution' (attributed to Byrd), and another, 4-part motet, assigned to Thomas Jollet: that is, Thomas Tresham.

So - we return to our speculation that, perhaps Tresham had planned a great chamber with a music gallery, which might have hosted secular musical entertainments, of course, but which might also have accommodated one of the groups of musicians who travelled between recusant families and assisted in their worship. Thus, Tresham could host what was a sustained act of political disobedience, dedicated to reinforcing a religious community. At the first sight of threat approaching this out-of-the way spot, along the Harley Way, any individuals could have left the house, using the narrow stairs and the small back door. As Gyles Isham observed, in 1966, Tresham, 'may have felt Lyveden, from its remote situation, would be a safer place than Rushton'²¹⁴. And, to conclude this flight of fantasy - did the gifted and scholarly Thomas Tresham compose any music for such occasions?

Leaving that question quite unanswered, at this juncture, we return to Tresham's instructions about his new house.

We find him suggesting that Levens and his Lyveden keeper²¹⁵, John Slynne, should take one of the 'Tyrrolls' with them, to see what 'wyndowe worke is alreddy wrowght therof at Lyffden', including the 'coynes' for the next storey, to make sure that these pieces – assembled, perhaps some time before – were not duplicated, 'to avoyde doble charge and worke'. Clearly, it was Tresham's practice – as we saw at Rothwell – to ensure that major pieces of work, including mullions and quoins, were executed in advance, in high quality stone by skilled freemasons. He discusses which quarry might provide the best material and he asks his servants to ensure their information about prices and materials is up to date.

There was to be a, 'freeze and cornice withowte' and the stone for the former must be durable, or would not be suitable, either for 'carvyng worke', at frieze level, or for the 'cornish worke'. For the latter, Tresham insisted he wanted a 'close .. edge'; in other words, an edge or string-course which would retain its sharp crispness; again, obtaining the right quality of stone was imperative. Then we find Tresham racking his brains, recalling a workman, 'a tall man', who 'wrowght cornishe at Lyffden'.

'He was a good workman and verry paynfull {went to a lot of trouble}. Jhon Slynne knoweth his name. I wold he weere in those works for me.'

This was a freemason who had already worked at Lyveden and the commentary suggests that this was probably at the Lyveden garden Lodge, a few years earlier: if that were the case, seeing the quality of the stone and the crispness of the 'cornishe' on the Lodge today, one can only concur that this 'tall man' did, indeed, make

²¹⁴ Gyles Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', Part II of the *Reports & Papers of The Northamptonshire Antiquarian Society*, 1966, p.28.

²¹⁵ This is what Tresham called Slynne. It suggests that, at least in earlier years, Lyveden was used for hunting with, perhaps, a warren.

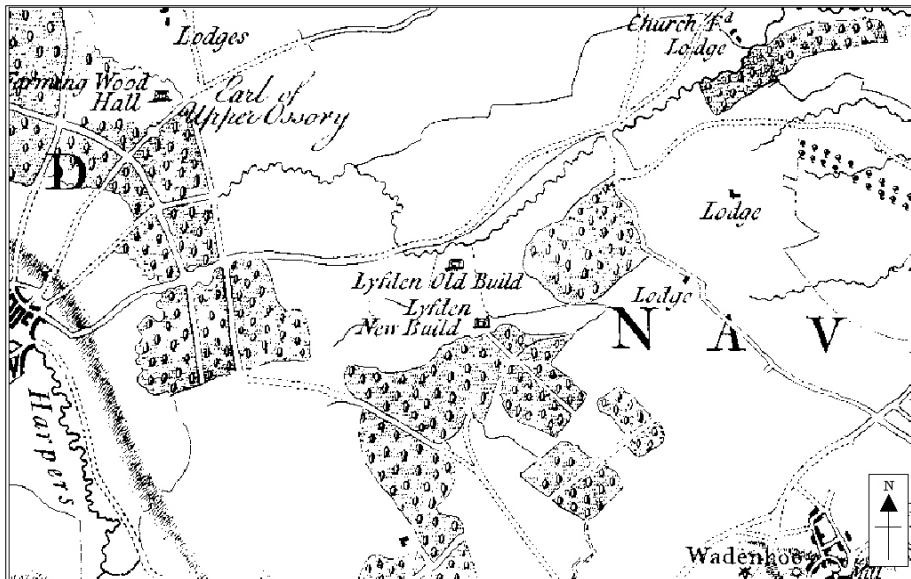


Fig.4/29 Thomas Eyre, County map, 1771, showing several lodges in the vicinity of the 'New Build' (NRO).

Likewise, there is a couple of lodges shown on the OS Drawing of the area, dating from c.1790-1800 (Fig.4/30).



Fig.4/30 OS Drawing, c.1790-1800.

Yet, this is much more than an Elizabethan garden lodge, even if it did offer an opportunity for rest, refreshment and solace. We can hardly argue that it was not intended to have practical uses, but these were not all of the typical kind and we argue that its most profound significance was, undoubtedly, as a monument to Tresham's complex theology.

The New Bield was probably begun more or less at the same time as the Triangular Lodge, at Rushton. But it is, at once, more cryptic and more Classical. Even in its unfinished state, it is supremely serene in its whole, and maddeningly arcane in its details. The first conclusion must be that, whereas the Triangular Lodge – at least to modern eyes – can be perceived as a folly, an unconventional and charming, if

deeply personal, puzzle, the New Bield, even in its current state, can be enjoyed as a beautiful, but recognisable, Elizabethan building - though more perfectly poised than many of its peers. As a type, it fits in with our mental picture of an estate lodge or, perhaps, a banqueting house. Hence, the visitor is not plunged, immediately, into the business of working out what it means. Instead, this extraordinary structure creeps up on the imagination. This is, partly, because of its setting, which is almost completely divorced from obvious signs of the modern world. But, of course, this setting is not a consequence of 20th or 21st century intervention or accident. It was a place selected by Tresham and we have already established that, though altered to the extent that there may now be different degrees of woodland, hedging, pasture and arable in this landscape, it is – remarkably enough – essentially unchanged from what Tresham found in the 1590s. What he found was a panorama. And his lodge was built to command this panorama (Fig.4/31).



Fig.4/31 Lyveden New Bield

Levens' accounts reveal that masons, including the Grumbolds and the Tyrrolls, were being paid for work at Lyveden from 1594. It is perfectly possible that this work was focused on the house, in the valley. In June, 1594, however, there is a specific entry which does apply to the Lodge.

'To Tyrroll, in full payment of 8l. 15s. for working and stone for ten windows for the Lodge at Lyveden at 17s. 6d a window'.²¹⁷

We have already seen, from other records, that the labour in selecting, obtaining and working the stone for ten windows must have taken a good few months; so it is more than probable that preparation for this lodge began no later than 1593, when Tresham had ten months of freedom, which he spent at Rushton, busying himself with his projects. As before, we find him issuing detailed directions about his building. He advises which stone should be employed for the best work; he insists that all stone arisings should be kept, in order to build up his planned 'alleyes' with a 'full foote deepe of stone', to ensure that the walks will not be 'myery'²¹⁸; he is particular about the width and height of paths, designed variously so that the 'alleyes' do not intrude on views, or, so that they might afford views.

The focus on practicality did not end here. We discover that the,

²¹⁷ HMC *Op.cit.*, p.xlix.

²¹⁸ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xii.

'drains ... run east and west, and are square in section, being built of slabs of stone six inches thick, four feet long and about one foot across. The water from the roof was collected at four points and ran down lead pipes and was collected separately at the bottom by branches from the main drain. The chases where the drain-pipes ran can still be seen.'²¹⁹

It is not immediately clear whether Tresham got close to completing his garden Lodge over the following years. There are remnants of the fixed ends of joists in the walls and it has been suggested that, had ceiling rafters been erected, this might have facilitated a thatch of furze (much as the Triangular Lodge was covered, in November 1594, before being finished with a slate roof the following year²²⁰); this would have provided temporary protection through a winter. It is generally recorded that these timbers were removed in the Civil War, on behalf of a Major General William Butler (Boulter, Boteler), between 1656 and 1658. They were then taken to, 'Oundle where they were incorporated into Cobthorne House (completed 1658)'²²¹. Heward, in his survey of Lyveden Manor, however, has explored this possibility.

'The 18th-century county historian John Bridges comments on the new Bield and commissioned an illustration by Peter Tillemans. In the entry on Oundle he states that the house of Major John Creed was "built some time before the Restoration, who brought the joists and beams from Liveden." It has been assumed that Butler, as a Parliamentary Commander would have taken great delight in raiding and slighting the house of such ardent Catholics as the Treshams and that these timbers were removed from the New Bield. I have looked at Cobthorne in detail and none of the fittings appear to date from the 16th century and none of the timbers appear to be reused. Reused timbers usually have redundant housings and redundant peg holes. Is it possible that what Butler took was building materials from Lyveden that had been stockpiled for the next phase of remodelling after the completion of the stair and chamber block {of either Lyveden New Bield or Old Bield}?'²²²

We cannot know for certain, then, what happened at roof level in the New Bield, although it is interesting to record that two loads of slate were delivered to Lyveden, in October, 1595, and it is unlikely that the house was, at this time, in a condition that required permanent roofing. This speculation, however, is clearly based on the assumption that the two extant storeys (plus cellar kitchens) of the New Bield represented the full height of Tresham's lodge. There has been much discussion about this, mainly sponsored by drawings, signed 'R.S.', and found in the collection of documents squirreled away at Rushton and undiscovered until 1828. These drawings were identified, in the 19th century, as being associated with Hawkfield Lodge (Fig.4/32).

'The ground plan may be said to be a dodecagon containing large windows. Above is a parapet with rails, the upper floor being of the same form as the lower but smaller. The roof is vaulted, finished by a large stone ball, and supported, as is evident from the notes, by a central pillar'.²²³

²¹⁹ Kenneth C. Brown, 'Lyveden New Building', 1935, *Op.cit.*, p.5. Brown described the drainage as a result of what he had 'discovered here', during his sojourn in 1932. We have not been able to ascertain whether there is still any evidence for these drainage systems.

²²⁰ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.29.

²²¹ Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.29. One of the recommendations of this *CMP* is to investigate the timbers at Cobthorne House. Heward's survey related to Lyveden Manor and so the fact that this study had already been undertaken by Heward may have been overlooked.

²²² Heward, *Op.cit.*, pp.12-13.

²²³ HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.xlvi.

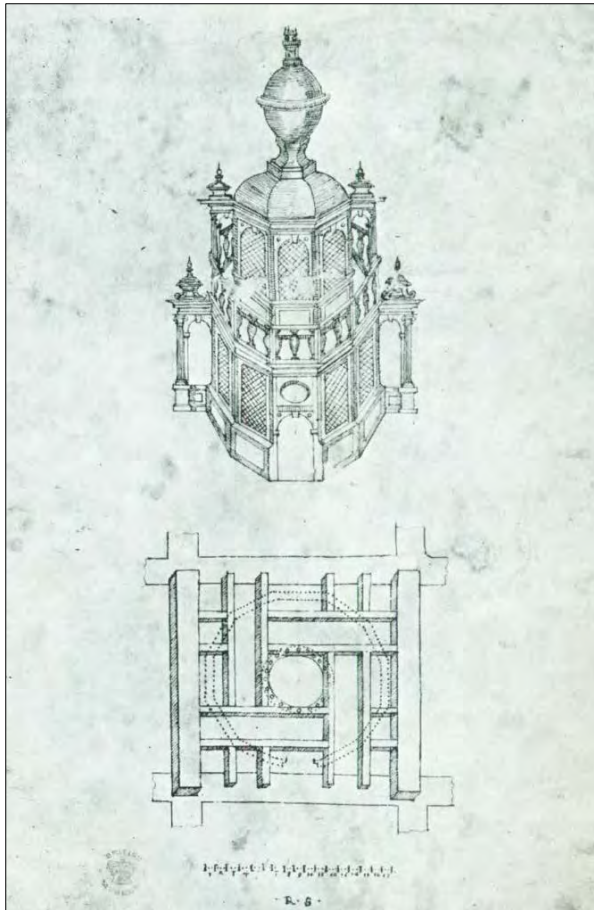


Fig.4/32 Robert Stickells, Plan of foundations and elevation, for Thomas Tresham.

It was left to Sir John Summerson to challenge the identity of this elaborate little building. In 1957, in an interesting study of *Three Elizabethan Architects*²²⁴, he considered the work of Robert Stickells, who was appointed by Tresham to assist him with his plans. It may be that Tresham, finding himself once more in prison in early 1594 (at the Fleet), felt the need for someone to assist Levens and Slynne in overseeing his buildings, several of which were being developed at the same time. Stickells had been working at Richmond Palace for some years, his role largely being what we would now call a Clerk of Works, though he did design a hunting lodge for the park. He had probably been apprenticed as a stonemason and was also something of an engineer, working on Dover harbour and jetty in 1584-5. Thereafter, he seems to have overseen joinery work at Greenwich before spending the next two decades at Richmond. Thus, Tresham might well have considered that Stickells had a complement of skills which would be very useful to him.

Summerson dispenses with the notion that these drawings have anything to do with Hawkfield.

'What these drawings really represent is a very elaborate timber louvre or roof tower supported on a floor framed in a manner illustrated by Serlio'²²⁵.

Admitting that this creation would appear to be, 'an almost impossible structure for a normal Elizabethan house', Summerson nevertheless notes that the dimensions 'exactly fit' the 'crossing' at the New Bield.

²²⁴ Sir John Summerson, *Three Elizabethan Architects*, expanded from the text of a lecture given on 15th May, 1957.

²²⁵ Summerson, *Op.cit.*, p.219. The following quotations are from the same source.

'So it appears, surely, that that strange enterprise in symbolic architecture was to be surmounted by a two-stage louvre of the Ionic and Corinthian orders with a domed roof and great elliptical ball on top'.

Eburne and Felus quote Mark Girouard, discussing the same proposition, but the latter, 'posited an additional storey to the Lodge, on the basis that the Stickell design would not fit the walls of the surviving first storey', because the central space is sliced through by a supporting wall. A further storey, on top of the extant building, would therefore be necessary, before the Stickells' 'lantern' could surmount the whole²²⁶.

'Moreover, the Stickell design has a central light to the storey below, leaving a circular corridor 4½ feet across: there is no internal space for a staircase to the storey below, so if the cupola was built as designed, access would necessarily have been via a door to the roof of the putative second storey. This then suggests the 'terrace walk on the roof' also proposed by Girouard'²²⁷.

A letter from Stickells, dated 10th January²²⁸, confirms to Tresham that,

'I have mayd the ordnance according to yor request, & have mayde them by simetry or measuer agreinge with the Doricke Architrave freeze & Corniche, the in richenge of the freezes I referre that unto you & the woorkemene'²²⁹.

Herein, the only reference which might tie this letter to the Lyveden garden lodge is the mention of the, 'Doricke Architrave freeze' and the 'freezes' which are to be enriched.

Thus far, then, interpretation of the available evidence is uncertain. Before accepting that this somewhat fabulous creation was associated with the Lyveden Lodge itself, we should examine alternative options.

The drawing for the little lantern certainly demonstrates a flight of fancy. Stickells might have wished to do no more than ensure that all his skills – as engineer, stonemason, joiner and architect – would be required to erect such a superstructure on the New Bield.

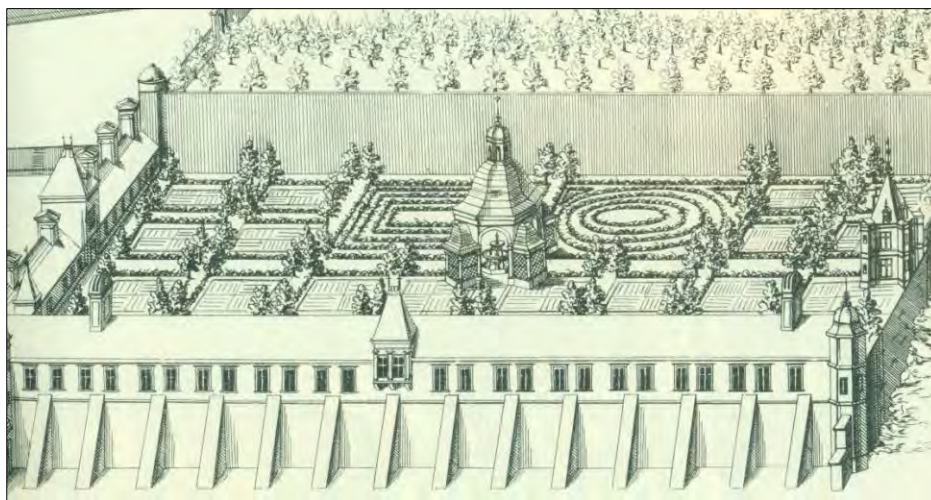
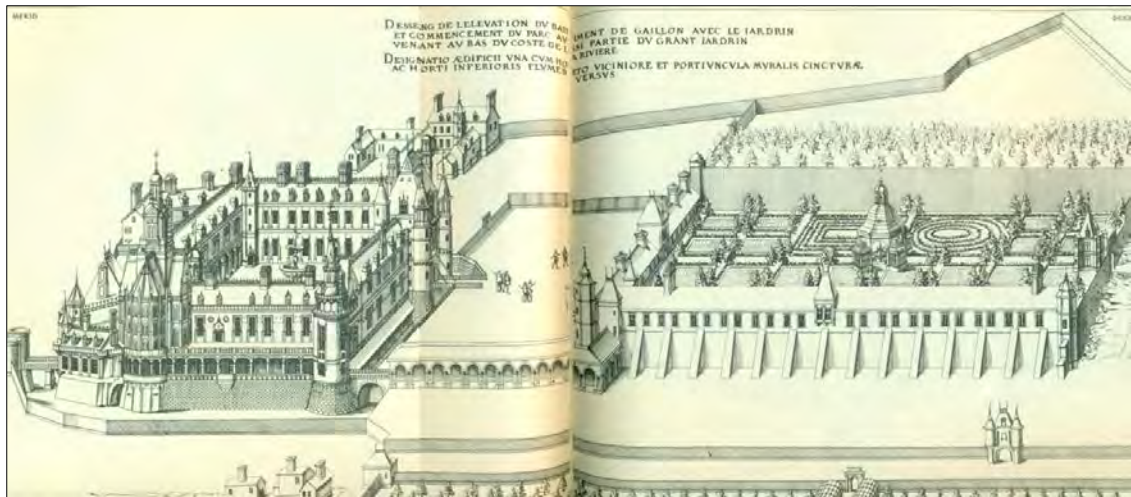
In the source books already mentioned, we can find many garden structures and ornaments, like bejeweled reliquary caskets or fabulous confections. For example, the central pavilion, open on four sides to an enclosed parterre garden, built in the early-Renaissance gardens at Chateau Gaillon, was depicted by Androuet du Cerceau in 1576 (Figs.4/33). Did Tresham – or, indeed, Stickells – have something like this in mind?

²²⁶ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.* p.30.

²²⁷ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.30.

²²⁸ Eburne & Felus (Appendix 7, p.vi) attribute the letter to 1604, but apparently only on the grounds that it was attached to a rather miscellaneous group of documents, mainly from that year. We consider that the letter is more likely to date be from the late 1590s; though it is clear that Tresham did return to the lodge in the early 1600s.

²²⁹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.vii.



Figs.4/33 Château Gaillon depicted by Androuet du Cerceau in 1576, with elaborate garden pavilion (view of Château & garden, with close-up detail of garden & pavilion below).

There were other models closer to home.

We should recall that, on top of Henry VIII's mount at Hampton Court, there was a 'Great Round Arbour', 'three storeys in height, almost all of glass, with a leaden cupola surmounted by the inevitable King's beasts and a great gilded crown'²³⁰.

Later in the century, in 1575, when the young Tresham was knighted at Robert Dudley's Kenilworth, during the Queen's progress, it was a very splendid occasion.

'Even before the Queen reached Kenilworth, the tone was carefully set. Leicester had a spectacular tent constructed at Long Itchington, 7 miles outside Kenilworth, where Elizabeth dined on Saturday 9 July, before arriving at Kenilworth itself later that evening.'²³¹

This was elsewhere described as a glorious, 'tent of extraordinary largeness', a 'Tabernacl', a, 'beautifull Pallais'. It heralded the remarkable display Leicester planned for his Queen, once she arrived at Kenilworth proper - a display which, in the gardens, included an exquisite, richly decorated, aviary.

²³⁰ Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, (1979), 1984, p.28.

²³¹ Ed. Mike Pincombe, Cathy Shrank, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485-1603*, 2009.

Lord Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton, at Theobalds and Holdenby (the former on the road between Hoxton and Rushton, the latter not many miles from Rushton), created gardens full of elaborate fountains, arbours and summerhouses to surround their magnificent houses. Both estates were intended to welcome the Queen (though, Hatton was to remain disappointed, as Holdenby never did receive a royal visit in his lifetime).

These were all features which Tresham would have known about and very probably visited. Moreover, it is quite clear that Tresham did want to have arbours at Lyveden. Eburne & Felus make reference to proposed, 'orchard arbours' – mentioned in a 1597 letter to John Slynne, at Lyveden – one of the eight Tresham seems to have required on his site²³². There is, of course, discussion to be had about what kind of arbours Tresham envisaged, and where they might go. It is perfectly possible, therefore, that Stickells' drawing was intended as a charm offensive; an essay in delight, a little building hoping to win a place as an arbour in Tresham's garden.

Yet, before setting the Stickells' drawing aside as nothing more than a piece of folly – unasked for by Tresham – we need to explore a few comparisons and ask a few questions.

Of course, Tresham *could* have envisaged that his New Bield would head for the skies. Whilst its serene simplicity may appeal to modern taste, Elizabethans who could afford it enjoyed piling storeys one upon another. Eburne and Felus refer to Hardwick or Wollaton, both going up in the 1590s, as examples of such ambition. Given their scale, these might not be the most obvious comparisons. But the same point is made when we consider the etiolated proportions of Smythson's Barlborough Hall, built in the 1580s; or, Wothorpe, a banqueting house with teetering corner towers, built at Burghley in the early 17th century by Lord Exeter, elder son of Lord Burghley (Fig.4/34). Likewise, we know that Hatton's 1580s banqueting house at Holdenby was three storeys high, with six rooms to a floor.



Fig.4/34 Wothorpe which Lord Exeter built in early 17th C a mile or so from Burghley, designed on a Greek cross plan with 4 slender towers in 4 internal angles.

We need to scrutinise the Stickells' drawing in more detail. There are two primary characteristics to note: the attention to the structural support for, and the bird's eye perspective employed to conjure, his fabulous creation. It is quite an achievement.

²³² Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.33.

It certainly tends to confirm that Stickells – perhaps on Tresham's advice and informed by the latter's library, but also inspired by his own earlier studies – was looking, analytically, at Renaissance architectural sources, such as Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Philibert de L'Orme or Sebastiano Serlio. Simon Thurley, writing in 1999, also looked at the Stickells' drawings and remarked that, 'the drawings for Lyveden have attached a fragment of an engraving by Vredeman de Vries published in a rare collection called *Variae Architecturae Formae*'²³³; thus, we add another possible source. It is not hard to find structural plans and careful bird's eye perspectives (as well as decorative details) in these French, Italian and Dutch source books. This means that we need to take seriously the scale and proportions of Stickells' drawings and attempt to discover whether it would, indeed, have been possible to build this little pavilion on top of the Lyveden New Bield.

We start by examining the extant building and analysing its geometry and proportions.

We know, from the Triangular Lodge, and from the careful calculations Tresham provided when sending instructions from prison to Levens and Slynne, that given measurements and relationships were an essential feature of his symbolic buildings. Pythagorean proportions and Platonic forms and solids were not only a manifestation of perfected nature, they were also symbolic of harmony between the earth and the heavens, between man's reason and the God-ordained natural elements. By being perfect in themselves, they suggest a perfectible nature. So, when we find that the elevations and plan of Tresham's extant New Bield offer an ideal pattern of squares, cubes (Platonic symbol of the earth) and the square root of 5 ($\sqrt{5}$) – which is the fractional expression of that geometric equivalent of perfect form, the Golden Section, ϕ – we find it hard to credit that he wished to tamper with it. Furthermore, $\sqrt{5}$ is an infinite number. It never resolves. Indeed, as we look further, this appears to be a trick Tresham employed on more than one occasion: an infinite number, perhaps a symbol of the everlasting heaven which lies at the core of the hopes and expectations of the suffering recusant Catholic? We can have little doubt that Lyveden New Bield – with the plot on which it stands and the panorama it commands – was a manifestation of Tresham's vision of perfect and perpetual unity (Fig.4/35).

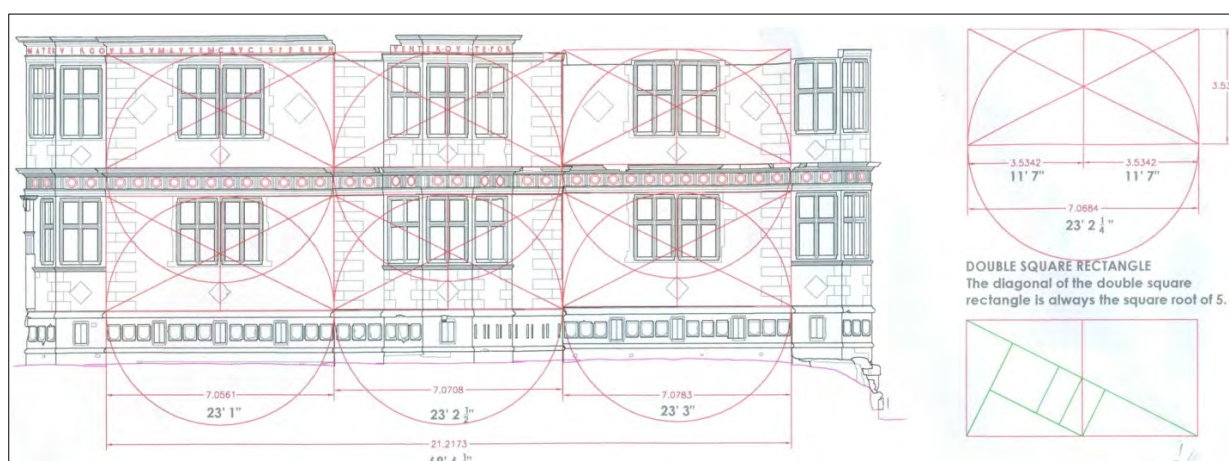


Fig.4/35 West elevation of New Bield, showing geometric underpinning of elevations and plan.

And yet: whilst all the above is true and remains relevant, there is more to say about this intriguing – and, on the face of it, unlikely – little structure, drawn by Stickells.

²³³ Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1690*, 1999, p.80

Study of Tresham papers for 1598-99, at the British Library, has yielded some very interesting material. We know that building work at Lyveden was continuing during this period: as usual, the workmen were probably laid off during severe winter weather but, in George Levens' journal, in January, 1599, he and his 'Lord' were discussing building projects. On the 11th January, Levens spent '4 hours making compass for theodolite'. He continued doing the same on the following day, returning to the task for another 3 hours, on 14th and 4 hours on 15th. Having nearly completed this job, on 14th, he then went on to spend, '1 hour with Lord discussing building (?) lantern of Lyveden'. On 16th, 17th and 18th, there was a, 'discussion about ... {the} lantern'. And, on 19th, Levens spent, '3 hours drawing out paradigm of steps for lantern'²³⁴. It is clear, then, that a 'Lyveden Lantern' of some kind was being seriously considered at this time. Could the Stickells' drawing – and George Levens' undoubted interest in the 'lantern' – have represented the outcome of this development²³⁵?

The only way of coming to a final judgement about this is to transpose the Stickells' structure onto the New Bield, adding a third storey to the lodge, both as a means of carrying the superstructure and providing access to the lantern, from the leads; and then examine the building more closely (Fig.4/36).

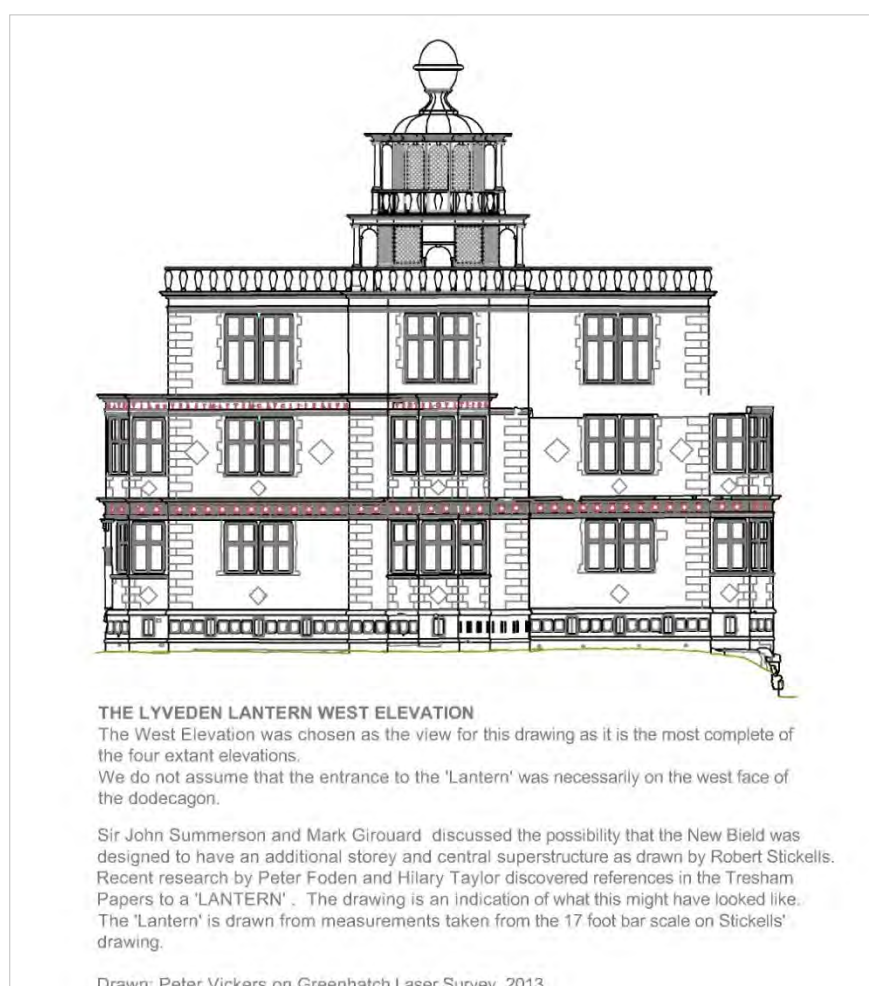


Fig.4/36 Conjectural composition of completed Lyveden Lodge, including Stickells' superstructure: the 'Lyveden Lantern'.

²³⁴ Translation by Peter Foden from Add MS 39835, folio 42. See *Appendix B*.

²³⁵ Foden notes that, 'Levens is drawing bridges, gardens, steps and lantern himself', with, 'no mention .. of Robert Stickells'. Again, this highlights the extent to which Levens acted as Tresham's right-hand-man and interpreter. See Foden, *Op.cit.*, p.4.

And thus, remarkably, Stickells' little structure emerges as less of a piece of frivolity and more of an essay in serious building. Indeed, Stickells' lantern begins to take on the ordered character of the extant Lodge - the modules are repeated throughout. Hence, we should not be surprised (though we certainly are) to find that, on 2nd January, 1599, Tresham and Levens were studying and discussing yet another book in the library: the first edition of Palladio's, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, published in Venice in 1570 and illustrated with woodcuts after the author's own drawings. In particular, it seems that Book 3, which deals with practical issues pertaining to the building of bridges and basilicas, absorbed the attention of Tresham and Levens²³⁶. Here were public buildings, with complex structural demands, about which Palladio had learned much from Vitruvius - and about which Palladio was now passing on advice to Tresham and his assistants (Fig.4/37).

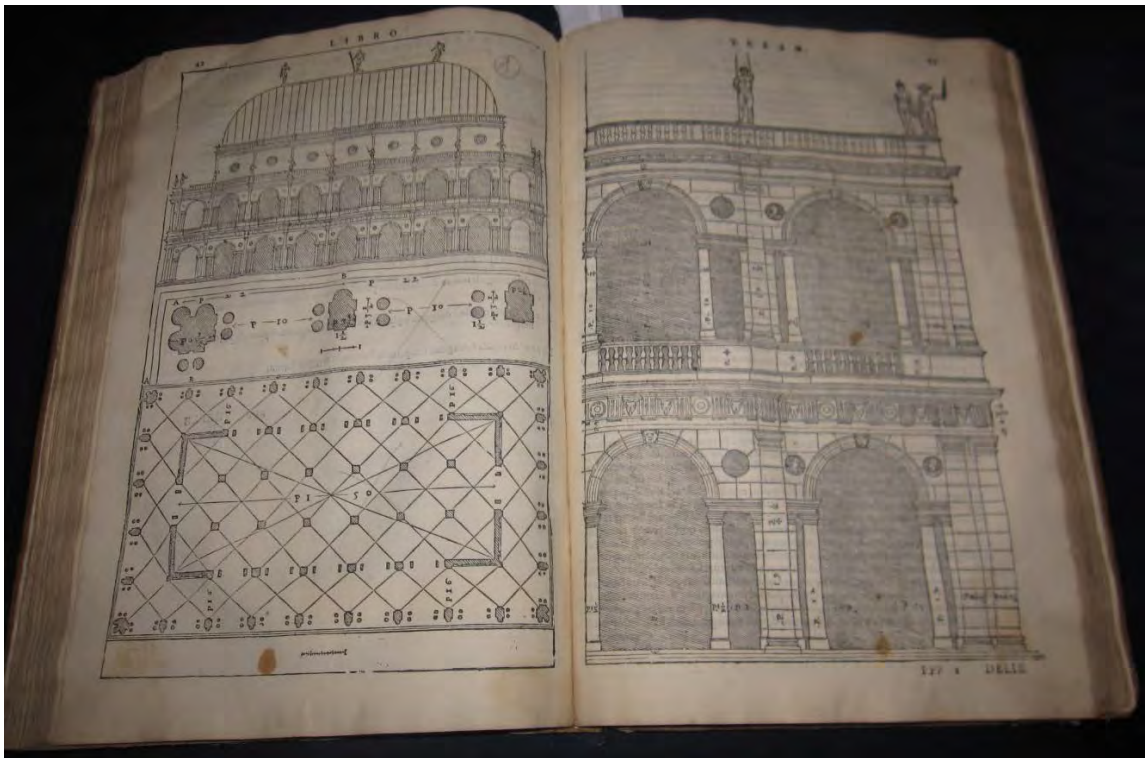


Fig.4/37 Palladio, Book 3, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, published in Venice, 1570

This is extraordinary indeed. Almost two decades before the influence of Palladio is recognised as having infused the Queen's House, at Greenwich, designed by Inigo Jones – and many more decades before Palladian style took vigorous root and flourished in England – Tresham was profoundly engaged with this Venetian master of bold geometric form, elegant simplicity and proportion²³⁷. With all this in mind, our doubts about whether or not Lyveden Lodge were intended to be completed with a lantern have receded. The lodge, plus its lantern – the whole structure comprising the 'Lyveden Lantern' (or the *Lanterna Lyvedenensis*, as Foden gloriously calls it) – remains a manifestation of perfect, exquisitely poised, Renaissance form.

²³⁶ At the same time as he was considering his 'lantern' at Lyveden, Tresham was talking about building bridges, including one that seems to have been intended for Rushton and one for Lyveden. It is interesting to note that the structural demands of his lantern may have reflected, in some degree, those of a timber bridge.

²³⁷ Amongst Palladio's many glories is that he introduced readers not only to Vitruvius, but also to extant buildings from Ancient Rome. Of course, a great deal less was visible to him in the 16th century than there is now. Nevertheless, he encouraged scholars to consider the Classical heritage as being of major significance to western culture.

4.8.3 Tresham at Lyveden: the 'New Bield' and the Kingdom of Heaven

So, if the Lyveden Lantern were, indeed, a serious proposition, what was its function?

We have seen that, in January, 1599, Levens was conferring with Tresham – '*Dominus*' (Lord) – about 'building Lantern of Lyveden'. Associated with the lantern, much time was also devoted to 'discussing about steps to Lantern' and 'narrating and explaining situation of garden'. Clearly, the building of the Lodge, its lantern and surrounding gardens, was to be the expression of a single, coherent, plan. This, of course, makes the whole project exceptionally interesting, adding to the intrinsic significance of each element the value of the part it played in the bigger picture. Firstly, however, we concentrate on the written record concerning the Lantern itself.

It is striking that, amongst the key issues, were the steps. In 1599, in January and February alone, Levens notes that he devoted many hours to discussing the steps; it is clear that they were no small matter. Levens spent 1 ½ hours, on 18th January, describing, 'steps ascending to lantern of Lyveden', followed, the next day, with three more hours, 'drawing diagram of steps for lantern'. This pattern was repeated through the rest of January and much of February. The proposals were discussed not only with Tresham, but also with Grumbold, the mason; indeed, it appears that Levens may well have been taking a role in designing steps for both the Lantern and Lyveden house at the same time²³⁸.

It seems very likely that the steps themselves carried some burden of meaning – perhaps in their number and dimensions, in the aspect they faced and their relationship to the rest of the building. Yet, for lack of extant fabric – and, therefore, without a full understanding of the design of the steps – we can pursue this no further²³⁹. But – as already demonstrated – we do know that numbers were crucial to the layout and measurement of the Lodge itself (just as in the Triangular Lodge) and, therefore, we can legitimately start to investigate the design of the Lantern, to demonstrate the role played by number, rhythm and proportion therein²⁴⁰.

The most obvious feature, of course, is that the plan of the primary storey of the Stickells' lantern is a regular dodecagon. Given the interest in calibrating time and the seasons, the number 12, clearly, reverberates with meaning. It reflects the divisions of the hours and the days. It can be read as a solar / lunar number, marking the twinship of day and night (with the spring and autumn equinox, when day and night are each measured in 12 hours, as well as the summer and winter solstice, when the hours of day and night are at their most unequal, perhaps carrying particular significance²⁴¹) or as a means of counting the units of the year, epitomised in the twelve signs of the zodiac. Thus, man's experience of time, space and motion, in relation to the sun, the moon and the constellations, are all implicit in the number 12. In a biblical context, twelve evokes the tribes of Israel (descended from the twelve

²³⁸ We have already seen that, on 28th January and 1st February, 1598, Levens and Tresham were discussing, 'the things that follow if the steps of the third ascent of the house of Lyveden are built in the southern window' and drawing, 'the plans of the first and second floors of the house at Lyveden'. Peter Foden, BL, Add MS 39835, folios 42r and 43r. See *Appendix B*.

²³⁹ It is worth observing, however, that the restored Temple, the permanent dwelling place of God on the Temple Mount, Jerusalem, described in Ezekiel, 40, is measured out in every degree, including the seven steps leading up to the portico in the outer court and the eight steps leading to the portico in the inner courts.

²⁴⁰ See Fig.4/36. Also note the Lyveden guidebook describes that the, 'plan of the New Bield consist of five equal squares. Each arm of the Cross ends in a bay with five sides each measuring five feet, making a total of 25 feet. This is no accident – the 25th is the date of both the Nativity (December) and the Annunciation (March).' *Op.cit.*, p.4.

²⁴¹ When Levens (perhaps with Tresham?) went to Lyveden for just three hours around noon, on the summer solstice in 1602, was he studying what he elsewhere called the 'Sommerfall'?

sons of Jacob), as well as the number of Christ's apostles. Furthermore, the geometry of a dodecagon can be conjured by overlaying four triangles on one another – signs of earth, water, air and fire – so as to create a 12-pointed star or the points of a compass, with the dodecagon at the heart of the motif (Fig.4/38).

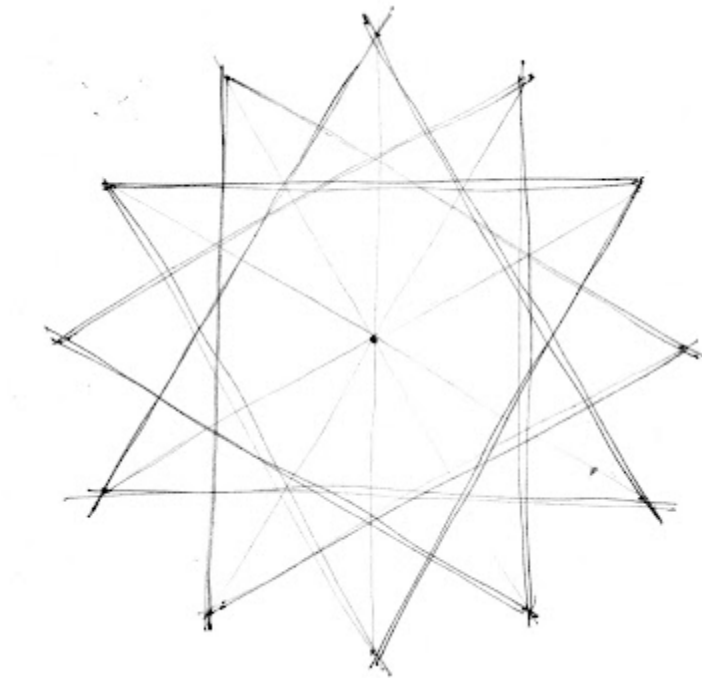


Fig.4/38 The dodecagon lies at the core of the dynamic 12-pointed star (12 points of the compass) created by the intersections of four equilateral triangles (which can be seen as representing the four elements, earth, air, fire, water).

Thus, together, these forms become a symbol of the earth and heavens, the dodecagon acting as the poised and balanced fulcrum around which dynamic revolutions of time and space circle in perpetuity.

Returning to the Lyveden Lantern, supported on the twelve-sided main storey there was to be an eight-sided structure, an octagon. Again, there are mathematical and philosophical significances attached to the number 8. There were powerful religious implications: there were eight books associated with the Old Testament prophets²⁴² and eight verses in the *Magnificat*, or Hymn of Mary. There are also eight Beatitudes, the promise of blessings offered by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount (recorded in Matthew's Gospel, 5:3-12); the eighth and last Beatitude may well have been of the greatest importance for Tresham:

'Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'.

Above all, the number 8 symbolises regeneration, rebirth, the final resurrection, eternity - hence, baptism into the Church is often conducted from an octagonal font containing the holy water. Finally, we should not forget that Tresham would have been familiar with that unique, and dramatic, phenomenon - the octagonal lantern at Ely Cathedral, built after the Romanesque crossing tower had collapsed in 1322 (Figs.4/39).

²⁴² Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel.



Figs.4/39 External and internal view of unique, 14th C octagonal tower, built over the crossing at Ely Cathedral.

It is no use pretending that we can consistently follow Tresham down the complex channels of number and meaning. In some letters from prison – for example, when he was held at Ely, in 1597 – his invocations and translations of various numbers can appear abstruse and intractable. Nevertheless, the point, here, is that numbers and geometric shapes *did* carry meaning and, therefore, attempting to scratch the surface, to reveal hints of their significance, is essential. Thus far, we have, embedded in the Lyveden Lantern, numbers and forms which are potent with salvation and immortality.

We believe that there is more. The Lyveden Lantern embodies some of Tresham's most profound and personal messages.

The first thing to reiterate is that Tresham had been confined and oppressed as a result of his own – and the country's – circumstances, for almost two decades, since 1581. We know that, as the head of a proud and wealthy family, with a significant and long-standing place in society, the first fifteen or twenty years of his majority had been lived in considerable comfort, with the scale and hospitality of his household matching and supporting his social aspirations. Clearly, he was an extraordinarily well-educated man; a polyglot and a bibliophile, whose library must have rivalled – and perhaps outshone – the collections of his contemporaries, including Lord

Burghley and John Dee, whose libraries were also renowned. The fact that, in his late 40s – perhaps an age at which he had started to face the prospect of mortality – he then willingly entered the recusant trap, which he must have known would make his life difficult (if not worse), suggests a man who was dissatisfied with what he had achieved and what he had learned thus far.

By this date, then, Tresham must have been in no doubt that his worldly ambitions were unlikely ever to be fully realised: he now focused on his hopes for the hereafter. Like Campion, Bramston and others who committed themselves, without equivocation, to the Catholic cause in the late 1570s and early 1580s, Tresham perhaps felt that, from hereon, he must model himself on the sacrificial life of his master, Jesus Christ. It is surely not an exaggeration to say that Tresham, for the last decades of his life, considered himself to be following a life of contemplation, study and prayer (albeit, often interrupted with the quotidian problems of money and family, when the world rudely intruded), much like the monks whose English existence had been eradicated by Elizabeth's father. Like grandfather Thomas Tresham, Grand Prior of the English Hospitallers, Thomas Tresham the younger perhaps now saw himself as an apprentice man of God, a militant, secular theologian. This is suggested by the tone and phraseology of a letter he wrote, on 16th July, 1603, to Lord Henry Howard (a papist who, having lost royal favour, had successfully reinstated himself and was supportive of Tresham).

'My now completed triple prenticeship of one and twenty years in direst adversity denieth me of other means than thanks towards acquittal of any portion of the infinite due, where I rest more than statutely bounden to your honour. Thanks are the facilest payment, so are they supremest compensation where sincerely affected. What expecteth the Omnipotent giver for His innumerable gifts and unspeakable mercies bestowed on us? Thankfulness. Were I freed from thrall, I would offer your Lordship also my poor service. But if I must again serve a like long prenticeship .. then only expect from me prayers, and indelible registered thankfulness..' ²⁴³

As a man undertaking his religious 'prenticeship', Tresham was continuing to dedicate himself, for as long as it took, to discovering how to make himself fit for his God. We are persuaded that, by the late 1590s, when planning and building his 'Lyveden Lantern', Tresham was on a spiritual journey. That spiritual journey embraced this world and the next, would explore earthly nature and the heavenly.

At this juncture, we remind ourselves of a metaphysical encounter with his God, experienced by Tresham in 1590. During his first incarceration, in the Old Palace at Ely, his faith was rewarded and strengthened by a dramatic moment of religious revelation of the Trinity. He recorded that his 'then servant' Fulcis (an 'arrant varlet', who would go on to betray his master, by secretly marrying the latter's niece, Muriel), was reading to him, from a treatise of proof about the existence of God, when there was, 'uppon a weynscott table at that instant three lowed knokkes (as yf yt hade been with ane yron hammer)' ²⁴⁴. Thus, it was with an orphic sense of having been specially chosen to reveal the true, Catholic, path, that Tresham had embarked on his major building programme at Lyveden.

From July 1594, Tresham had enjoyed nearly 2½ years of freedom. At this time, work proceeded both at Rushton and Lyveden, firstly, largely concentrating on the former and, thereafter, on the latter.

²⁴³ Howard seems to have offered assistance in resolving some of Tresham's very secular problems, associated with relatives and money. The letter is quoted from HMC, *Op. cit.*, pp.124-125.

²⁴⁴ See HMC, *Op. cit.*, p.92.

'In the autumn of 1595 the carter Haynes was paid every week for carrying building materials to Lyveden. In August 1595 Tresham met Parris, his most skilled stone mason, at Lyveden; and in November 1595 the masons Bordman and Boughton were paid £9 of £12 owing them for work at Lyveden. The Grumbolds were paid £10 and then another £20 'in parte of their Lyveden bargayne' in February and March 1596. In December 1596 the platt (plot, or plan) was completed for the Doric frieze, and details of the passion emblems were being finalised: probably Tresham expected the frieze and emblems to be carved in the spring of 1597.'²⁴⁵

Although it is not always possible to identify whether specified work or payments were attached to the Lyveden house or the garden Lodge, it nevertheless seems that, by the spring of 1597, much had been done. Yet, in the winter of 1596, Tresham had found himself once more in prison in Ely, this time as a precaution (on Burghley's advice to the Queen), because of the alarm prompted when the Spanish army was reported as making preparations for war²⁴⁶. Despite Tresham's dislike of his conditions in what he described as 'filthy and fennish country', his months in Ely were, again, of great importance in the development of his faith - and in giving him the time to find a means of making manifest this faith, in an iconographic programme of words and symbols. One cannot but consider that this time at Ely again intensified Tresham's sense of having been singled out to stand as Catholic witness.

From Ely, Tresham wrote a memorandum, in July 1597, detailing the extensive – and deliberately abstruse²⁴⁷ – system of notes and images he had painted on the embrasure of a west-facing window, overlooking an orchard. He wished his paintings to be safe from, 'vulgarr apprehension'. Instead, his messages would only be available to men who are, 'skylled in that wherin the imprese of figuratore sene reacheth unto'. His paintings were intended to explore the,

'highest poynets in divinitye, trynite etc, both forth of scripture and the fathers, also some poyntes forth of historye, musike, geometrye and arithmatikk, fordermore using latyn, greeke and hebrewe ... {and} geometrical and arthmetical relations etc'.

From the vantage point of more than four centuries on, it is humbling that Tresham's motifs and meanings are still largely safe from our, 'vulgarr apprehension'. Notwithstanding such ignorance, however, there are some themes which can be adumbrated. We know Tresham employed, 'sacred names and monograms, triangles, circles, the cross of Constantine, the lamb, serpent, stork and dove', as well

²⁴⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.26.

²⁴⁶ Eburne & Felus argue that Tresham was held in the Old Bishop's Palace at Somersham, some 10 miles west of Ely. This had been employed as a recusants' prison since 1588. In that year, 'an order was given' for making a 'Survey and View of all the Ruines and Decaies in and about the Mannorhowse of Somersham with the B[ishops'] olde lodging, sarvaunts' lodging, Barnes, garnards and stables: as also two grete Bridges belonging there unto: the one being the ordenarie passage into the howse the other from the howse [over the moat] into the parke.' William Page, Granville Proby, S. Inskip Ladds (editors), 'Parishes: Somersham', *A History of the County of Huntingdon*, Vol.2, 1932, pp.223-230. British History Online. It is very possible that Tresham was held at Somersham at some time, but – as recent research has proven – in 1597 he was almost certainly at the Old Palace, Ely, very close to the Cathedral, and it is there that archaeological investigation has identified traces of what was probably Tresham's painting programme on a wall. See *Ely News*, 28th November, 2013, p.14. Many thanks to Deborah Evans for drawing this to my attention.

²⁴⁷ Tresham notes that, 'wher some of my fellowes having the crucifix paynted in their chambers, the same was in their absence washed owte and purposely defaced ... I therfor have hearin putt nothing wheratt offence ys to bee taken'. HMC *Op.cit.*, p.91. The following quotations are from the same source. The recent discovery of evidence of Tresham's programme of paintings suggests that the images were painted on cloth / canvas and were then attached to the wall.

as his own and his wife's arms. Then, Tresham offers us some more assistance. We learn that he had recorded, on the window embrasure, dates and themes relating to the:

- incarnation;
- 'nativitie';
- Passion of 'owre savior';
- day and year 'when I fyrst resolved upon the garnishinge of that wyndow';
- date when he extended the theme, 'towching the holly Trinitye';
- 'laude' of our saviour's, 'blessed mother;
- 'resurrection etc.'

All these themes are expressed with numbers, including,

- 'the number 25, a quadrate number of Jesus as of Maria';
- 'this present 25 Martii, 1597, the day of passion and incarnation .. I mean good fryday upon the annuntiation day'.

This last is particularly interesting, for at least two reasons. Firstly, it means that (at least in this instance) we no longer have to deal with the frustrating uncertainty about whether Tresham were employing the Julian or Gregorian calendar²⁴⁸ - which uncertainty helps to obscure any particular attribution or dedication. In the Julian calendar (and *not* the Gregorian), in 1597, the 25th March was Good Friday, the date of Christ's crucifixion; and, in this year, it coincided with the date of the Annunciation to Mary and was, therefore, the Blessed Virgin Mary's feast day. As it was in the Julian calendar, it was also the first Quarter Day of the year – that is, new year's day – and it was close to the vernal equinox, when the length of day and night approaches equality. This was, indeed, an auspicious day. During those months when Tresham passed his time planning and painting symbols and devices on the stone window embrasure in his confined quarters in Ely, he was, clearly, fascinated by figures and motifs which embodied many layers of meaning. In March, 1597, when his Lyveden Lodge had really begun to take shape and dominate much of the landscape it overlooked from the crest of the hill, it might well have seemed like a blessing that the year was starting so felicitously. Certainly – as we have already argued – Tresham, in what is probably the most outstanding building he created, the 'Lyveden Lantern', seems to have been developing another programme of word, number and symbol, making manifest his religious convictions.

We can start our investigations of the symbols on the Lodge with a fairly straightforward observation.

²⁴⁸ The Gregorian calendar reform, in 1582, was a papal challenge to the Julian calendar. Its aim (amongst other things) was to bring the date of the Easter celebration closer to the orthodoxy. The reform was widely adopted, save in Protestant countries, including Britain (which waited until 1752 to make the change). We had imagined that Tresham might have attached himself to the Gregorian calendar for liturgical reasons. There was much debate about the differences; amongst others, John Dee and Thomas Digges endorsed Gregorian calendar reform and, in some almanacs, Julian and Gregorian calendars were printed side by side (notionally, as an aid to travellers). There is plenty of evidence that recusants did use the Gregorian calendar (it helped to obscure the dates of their religious feast days). Indeed, in 1598, there were five weeks between the Catholic and Anglican Easter: in the Gregorian calendar Easter Sunday was on 12th March, whilst in the Julian calendar, Easter Sunday was on 16th April. All one can say about Tresham's stance on the matter, however, is that, at least in 1597, when imprisoned at Ely, Tresham was using the Julian calendar. The Gregorian calendar is, of course, more-or-less the one which now prevails.

'The carved frieze between the ground and first floor is based on the Italian architect Serlio's pattern books, adapted by Tresham to show seven emblems of the Passion of Christ.'²⁴⁹ (Fig.4/40)



Fig.4/40 The seven emblems of the Passion, on the frieze above the ground floor windows

It is, indeed, clear that Tresham had considered the distribution of the images in some detail. In 1596, we find him writing of his, 'doorykk freeze of passion worke', instructing that, 'in reespect of ye tryntio', three of the emblems should comprise, 'ye cross and crowne by ytt selfe'. He adds,

'ye resydew of ye passion complementte in a second metope, and then in ye thyrdie all dispersed redreed in to one, and it into 3 letters. J. H. S. This is my conceytt thereof'²⁵⁰.

There are, in fact, two sacred Greek monograms on the elevations: I/J.H.S. – a Jesuit motif – symbolises Jesus (and, as we see from Tresham's own notes, embracing the whole weighty burden of the Passion); and X.P., meaning 'Christ'. The remaining motifs afford a more extended narrative of the Passion. In addition to the carved images, there is also an inscription (only part of which now survives).

'Above the windows on the upper-most floor, runs {an} .. entablature ...; and in the frieze are incised short sentences, taken partly from the Vulgate. There is one letter to every foot, and as each arm is twenty-three feet long, and the end has seven faces of five feet each, there are eighty-one letters in all, or in other words nine multiplied by nine. These sentences are not complete now, but Bridges in his "History of Northamptonshire" records the missing parts, and with this help, and starting over the main door we have:-

IESVS. MVNDI. SALVS. GAVDE. MATER. VIRGO. MARIA. VERBVM.
AVTEM. CRVCIS. PEREVNTIBVS. QVIDEM, STVLITIA. EST. IESVS. BEATVS.
VENTER. QVI. TE. PORTAVIT. MARIA. VIRGO. SPONSA. INNVPTA. T. EAM.
ALT. BENEDIXIT. TE. DEVS. IN. AETERNVM. MARIA. MIHI ATVEM ABSIT
GLORIARI. NISI. IN. CRVCE. DOMINI. NOSTRI. XP.

²⁴⁹ Bradshaw, Lyveden guidebook, *Op.cit.*, p.4.

²⁵⁰ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, *Appendix 7*, p.i, BL MSS, ADD 39828 folio 291, 6th December 1596.

Jesus and Maria are respectively the first and last words on the end face of each wing.'²⁵¹

Developing this analysis somewhat, Mary E. Hazard, writes with insight about the expressive potential of the, 'silent systems of representation', with which the Elizabethans imbued their, 'visual arts, costume, gestures and processions'. She explores the Lyveden frieze.

'The fragmentary inscriptions on the frieze of the upper entablature refer to the passion of Christ and to Mary, the spacing of the letters so arranged that the names of Jesus and Mary appear on the main wall in corresponding positions on the right and left of each wing. The exact numbers of letters and running feet of inscription were calculated in multiples of five, seven and nine - numbers that Tresham associated with salvation, the Godhead, and the trefoil associated with his own name in a canting device (three in chief and three in base, equalling nine leaves in each)'.²⁵²

Here, on the elevations of the Lyveden Lodge, in number, symbol and word, Christ and the Virgin Mary are embodied, enshrined within the Trinity - with Tresham's own trefoil motif happily reaffirming his sense of having been personally chosen for this religious pilgrimage.

Thus far, then, whilst the Lyveden Lantern may not be wholly unambiguous in its message, neither is it completely obscure. But Tresham did not devote himself to clarity.

It is a striking, but not much-remarked, fact that the New Bield – the Lyveden Lantern – is situated at a curious angle in relation to the north-south alignment of the rest of the site. The most easterly arm is 105° off N/S²⁵³. We can identify no practical reason for imposing such a constraint. The ditch which currently separates the New Bield from the car park, to the south, is surely one and the same as the park pale, defining the southern boundary of the c.1540 Tresham park (see Fig.4/2). But it imposes no limitation on the alignment of the New Bield. There was at least one moated house here before Tresham's development of Lyveden; but Tresham's new moats were constructed at the same time as their predecessors were being filled in. Tresham was not trying to accommodate any earlier layout. So, what might be the reason for this distinctive alignment?

We believe that there is a layered narrative built into the alignment of the Lodge. Yet, before we explore this in more detail, perhaps we should explain, firstly, why Tresham's altering of the alignment of the Lodge – so that it runs counter to the rest of the site – should be regarded as significant at all.

'In the days of yore, when a church was to be built, they watched and prayed on the vigil of the dedication, and took that point of the horizon where the sun arose from the East .. I have experimented {with} some

²⁵¹ Kenneth C. Brown, 'Lyveden New Building', 1935, *Op.cit.*, p.4. Bradshaw's text is slightly clearer and translates thus: 'Jesus the Salvation of the World – rejoice O Mother Virgin Mary – But the Word of His Cross is foolishness even to those perishing – Jesus blessed is the womb that bore thee – Mary Virgin unwedded spouse... God blessed thee for ever, O Mary – God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Christ'. *Op.cit.*, p.5.

²⁵² Mary E. Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*, 2000, pp.138-139.

²⁵³ This precise measurement is confirmed by our GIS survey of the site. We ought not to imagine that Tresham was working to such fine tolerances.

churches and found the line to point to that part of the horizon where the sun arises on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated'²⁵⁴.

Thus writes Ian Hinton, a modern scholar who has analysed the layout and dedication of more English churches than anyone else. He has actually demonstrated that the reasons for shifts in alignment are many, including magnetic variation and height above sea level, but concludes that, quite often, 'alignment closely matches the position of sunrise at harvest'. For our purposes, however, the most useful of Hinton's observations is his confirmation that, 'for at least three hundred years, the alignment of churches has been considered by antiquarians, ecclesiologists, folklorists, historians, archaeologists and ... geo-scientists' to be significant and that the widespread assumption has been that alignments are dictated by sunrise, whether that be on the day the foundations were begun, or on the feast day of the patron saint. It seems very plausible that Thomas Tresham had something similar on his mind when setting-out his garden Lodge. True, of course, it was not a church: equally true that the evidence firmly suggests that the Lyveden Lodge and its garden setting were intended to embody a religious allegory, articulating some of Tresham's most personal preoccupations. We can be reasonably certain that he had the expression of some religious obeisance in mind when he planned the layout of his Lodge.

One aspect of Tresham's theology was his dedication to the Blessed Virgin Mary. As a recusant, this attachment was not unusual. In the Elizabethan age, we see, in curious parallel, the Reformation's rejection of Marian worship as a sign of idolatry and the Queen's gradual assumption of the mantle of the Virgin. Indeed, that this two-handed approach to dealing with the English attachment to Mary was deliberate policy is undoubted and a vivid sign of the political acumen of Elizabeth and her advisers. In such a context, it cannot be surprising that, for recusants, the Virgin Mary became an important focus of Catholic spirituality, being firmly disengaged from the English throne, and worshipped, once more, in her role as Mother of God.

In this context, perhaps one of the most important volumes in Tresham's library was his annotated, 1548, *Opus .. in quinque libros digestum in quibus mire retexit & confutat vetereum hereseon impias ac portentosas opiniones, ex vetustissimorum codicum collatione quantum licuit Des. Erasmi Roterodami opera emendatum*.²⁵⁵ Put simply, this volume by one of the Church Fathers, one of the first great Christian theologians, the 2nd century Bishop of Gaul, St. Irenaeus, was a detailed rejection of Gnostic heresies that had grown up and an insistence on the primacy of the Bible as the word of God. In particular, Irenaeus emphasised the importance of Christ, as a route to salvation, and of the Virgin Mary, who was the mediator between heaven and earth. Hence, one of the influences of Irenaeus, on 16th century recusants, was as an advocate of Mariology. With this in mind, we were keen to try and explore whether the alignment of the Lodge did, indeed, offer any kind of revelation about the Blessed Virgin Mary.

It is important to know that the nub of much contemporary Catholic debate about the status of Mary related to her duality as Virgin and Mother, heavenly and earthly, pure and – like all of mankind – innately sinful. It was necessary to attempt to identify at what point Mary was 'cleansed', so that she became a uniquely powerful paragon, to worship and follow. And, for many Catholics, Mary's purification in the eyes of God occurred not before she was born, not at birth; but it had to be before the Annunciation, for then she must be the fit receptacle for the Christ child. Hence,

²⁵⁴ Ian Hinton, *The Alignment and Location of Medieval Rural Churches*, 2012, p.9, quoting Simon Domville, whose manuscript concerning church buildings was sold at his death in 1678.

²⁵⁵ This particular edition, of 1548, was printed by Hieronymus Froben, one of the greatest Swiss printers of the 16th C., who was carrying on his father's work with Erasmus, reprinting the early Greek Church Fathers' writings.

the key moment was the day when she was presented, as a child, to the temple, in Jerusalem; when she was dedicated to the service of God. And the date when this is celebrated is 21st November²⁵⁶. Does the particular alignment of the Lyveden Lantern relate to what had been proclaimed one of the great feast days dedicated to the Virgin Mary?

Returning to the principle of the eastern end of a church sometimes being built so that the rising sun casts its light directly towards the altar on the appropriate saint's day - does this apply at Lyveden? Here (or, more precisely, the latitude of Northampton), when the sun rises on 21st November, the azimuth of the sunrise is 116°. We know that, in January 1599, George Levens was making and magnetising his own compass and using it to make a theodolite. He was also studying zones on globes and maps. We are quite persuaded that the geographical alignment of the Lodge was important to him and his 'Lord'. Accordingly, on 21st November, 2013, we gathered, with the team, at Lyveden, not long after sunrise. We hoped that, from the eastern arm of the Lodge, wherefrom the view along the ride, towards Wadenhoe, the Nene Valley and the horizon, is neatly framed by the trees of Lilford Wood, we would witness the light of the rising sun through the stone mullions of the east window, casting a shadow of the cross on the wall of the Parlour, behind (Fig.4/41).



Fig.4/41 Photograph from the eastern arm of Lyveden Lodge, with sunrise making its way along the ride through Lilford Wood.

Nearly, but not quite. Thomas Tresham was almost too clever for us. But, by chance, it was observed that the rays from the sun *were* cast through the window on the eastern face of the north arm - and, thus, the shadow of the cross was laid directly across the niche in the corner of the entrance hall, which was, almost certainly, intended to carry an icon of the Virgin Mary (Fig.4/42). This is not a regular occurrence.

²⁵⁶ The feast had been celebrated until 1568, when it was suppressed by Pius V (because of the unorthodox sources of the story). It was reintroduced by Pope Sixtus V in 1585 and, in 1597, it became a great liturgical feast, at the behest of Clement VIII. In this instance, when we know that the Papacy was employing the Gregorian calendar, it seems probable that Tresham was commemorating the feast day at exactly the same time as his Roman counterparts - though, as we have demonstrated, on other occasions, he also employed the Julian calendar.



Fig.4/42 21/11/2013, Shadow of the cross cast on stone niche, designed to carry icon of the Virgin

4.8.4 Tresham at Lyveden: the 'Lyveden Lantern': navigating time, the earth & the heavens

There can be no doubt that Tresham's Lodge is something of much greater significance than a small, garden building in a remote corner of Northamptonshire. It aspires to be a recusant manifesto.

Once again, at this juncture, we need to emphasise that penetrating Tresham's mind – even via his library – to grasp what he might have understood in terms of the relationship between his plot at Lyveden and the geography of the wider earth, its stars and planets, and what his knowledge of cosmography might have signified about his deepest religious convictions, is an impossible task. It can all too easily sound as if we were attempting to initiate Tresham into a modern, New-Age, cult. Nevertheless, all we can say is that he was fascinated by these matters and did not – as we do – carve an impassable barrier between the physical and metaphysical worlds. Hence, we shall push this analysis a little further.

We turn again to Tresham's library. This, as we know, bespeaks an interest in many things, including exploration and travel, geography, navigation, cosmography and astronomy. Tresham was a man for whom imprisonment was a fact of daily life and so virtually all of his exploration was a cerebral and imaginative voyage; his library was, indeed, his life-raft, the vehicle which facilitated all his journeys.

In today's society, with the dominance of philosophical naturalism – with what seems to us a manifest distinction between empirical research and mysticism; between sound theoretical hypothesis tested by experiment, and divination, which cannot be tested other than by a leap of faith – it is very hard for us to come to grips with the

pattern of Elizabethan enquiry (especially when that Elizabethan is a recusant who is, at once, incarcerated and an enquiring secular theologian and philosopher). Yet, his mode of thought was not unique to Tresham. Elizabethan enquiry was not a matter of happenstance, it was not whimsical. That model of a modern scientist, Isaac Newton – born almost four decades after Tresham died and credited with launching a scientific revolution, which underpinned nothing less than Enlightenment philosophy – did not distinguish between his researches into light or gravity and his study of astrology and alchemy. Thus, in order to credit Newton with what we recognise as his greatness, we have often felt ourselves obliged to ignore what we can only term an outcome of credulousness and superstition. Yet Newton, of course, was bred of a long line of dedicated scientists and philosophers, who unfurled the banner of English Renaissance scholarship in the Elizabethan period, laying and strengthening the foundations of modern thought - whilst not readily distinguishing between myth and history, the realms of God and of man, the preternatural and the rational. Hence, to understand Tresham's cast of thought, we have to bend our very fixed notions of what comprises scientific investigation: for Tresham, astronomy and astrology were not separated, cosmography engaged both with geography and mysticism, navigation was about geometry and religion. And, if we are to try and follow Tresham and his explorations, we need to learn a good deal more about his library: his security as he lived his life of the mind, his inspiration and sustenance, the store of tools he could use to calibrate and communicate his understanding.

We start with one of the most relevant tomes from in his collection, Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographiae Libri octo, recogniti iam et diligenter emendati .. per Gerardum Mercatorem* (Fig.4/43)²⁵⁷.



Fig.4/43 Ptolemy, *Geographiae libri octo recogniti et diligenter emendati .. per Gerardum Mercatorem*, 1584, in the Tresham library.

Ptolemy was a Greco-Roman scientist, from Alexandria, working in the 2nd century A.D., a mathematician, astronomer and geographer. His *Geographia* was rediscovered in Constantinople in 1295 and thence it reappeared in the West in 1397. The first part of the text offered advice about cartography: how to plot a map from co-ordinates, in this case derived from Ptolemy's own measurements and from other

²⁵⁷ In the Tresham library was Ptolemy's groundbreaking *Geographiae Libri octo, recogniti iam et diligenter emendati .. per Gerardum Mercatorem*, 1584, a treatise on cartography and a description of the world's geography as known in the Roman Empire of the 2nd century. Ptolemy's text was rediscovered in Constantinople in 1295, but without maps. Mercator's edition, first published in 1578, featured new maps, for which Mercator drew on his own expertise.

sources, including accounts by travellers, mercenaries, merchants and diplomats. The second parts effectively comprised an atlas of the known (and some of the unknown) world. Although most of Ptolemy's own maps did not survive and though his text was full of inevitable errors and omissions – as well as being augmented by later additions – this book remains, for many modern researchers, astonishing in its scale, with no fewer than c.8,000 locations, and breathtaking in its relative accuracy. It proved to be enormously influential. Of particular interest, is the fact that, in the Tresham library, was the 1584 edition of *Geographiae libri octo...* This was the first edition for generations to include updated and corrected maps (rather than just co-ordinates), drawn by the Fleming, Gerardus Mercator, more-or-less a contemporary of Tresham's; a mathematician, cartographer and instrument-maker who, amongst many other things, produced both terrestrial and celestial globes.

Mercator, the mapmaker, had learned his skill in astronomy and geography – as well as engraving and printing the paper gores which were pasted onto a spherical, papier-mâché shell, to create a globe – from Regnier Gemma Frisius, in the 1530s. Here was another philosopher, cartographer and mathematician from the Low Countries, working in Louvain (Leuven). He was a scholar who taught, or was admired by, not only Mercator, but also British astronomer, astrologer and mathematician, John Dee (who, as we have already seen, would go on to write an extensive preface to a 1570 edition of Euclid) and Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe. The latter had almost certainly learned much about surveying, using a system of triangulation, from Gemma Frisius, and he then employed increasingly sophisticated astronomical instruments to study the night sky from his observatory on the island of Hven, in the Danish Sound, which Brahe christened 'Uraniborg', that is, 'heavenly castle'. In Uraniborg, Brahe's most famous instrument was the mural quadrant, for measuring the altitude at which celestial bodies crossed the meridian (Fig.4/44). This had a radius of about 6ft and on the quadrant was painted an image of Tycho Brahe himself, directing the work of his assistants, busy in the arcades behind him.



Fig.4/44 Tycho Brahe, *Astronomiæ instauratæ mechanica*, 2nd edition 1602. Right - Brahe's mural quadrant, for measuring celestial bodies, seen as they pass across the small rectangular window, high on the left wall.

Returning to Mercator, we find that he and John Dee were close working companions, in Louvain, for three years from 1548²⁵⁸. Both Dee and Mercator were also influenced by the French mathematician and alchemist, Oronce Finé, who developed what was widely regarded as a more refined method of displaying the map of the world, as a heart-shaped motif (Fig.4/45).



Fig.4/45 Oronce Finé, 'A new and complete description of the world', 1536.

In turn, Mercator was important for the work of his contemporary, Abraham Ortelius, whom he encouraged to compile the earliest modern world atlas, *Theatrum orbis terrarum: opus nunc tertio ab ipso auctore recognitum* (*The Theatre of the World*), first published in 1570 (Fig.4/46).

²⁵⁸ Without doubt, Louvain University was a hot-spot of religious and intellectual endeavour. The Louvain Faculty of Theology was widely recognised as a centre of biblical scholarship. In 1546, Emperor Charles V appointed two 'royal professors' to the University. Their task was to lecture every day on the theology as expressed in the Latin Vulgate Bible (a translation largely by St. Jerome – one of the Great Church Fathers – in the 4th C A.D.), which the Council of Trent had just declared to be the 'authentic' text. In 1583, there was a very fine edition of this Bible published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp. This contained biblical materials in five languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aramaic and Syriac, including commentaries on the Church Fathers. An important contributor to the realisation of this Bible was Andreas Masius, who had been an alumnus of Louvain and later a diplomat. He had early applied himself to the study of biblical languages, Hebrew, Aramaic (sometimes then called 'Chaldee') and Syriac. Thus, as a Catholic scholar, Masius made contributions to Plantin's Vulgate Bible which stand as amongst the greatest philological achievements of the 16th century. In parallel, a large part in revising the Vulgate text, and ensuring an appropriate Latin translation, was played by Francis Lucas 'Brugensis', a theology student at Louvain, also familiar with the biblical languages. Plantin published Lucas's *Notationes in sacra Biblia* in 1580, offering detailed textual analysis and comparison of the various sources; and, in the large and beautiful version of the Vulgate Bible, published by Plantin in 1583, Francis Lucas's *Notationes* was also included. And, yes: Tresham had in his library Andreas Masius's 1574 *Iosuae imperatoris historia illustrate atque explicata*, also published by Plantin and described as a, 'monument of Renaissance scholarship', having copious commentaries on the Hebrew and Aramaic books he had consulted in preparing this edition of the *Book of Joshua*; he had the 1580 *Notationes in sacra Biblia*, by Franciscus Lucas; and Plantin's fine, 1583 edition of the *Biblia sacra. Quid in hac editione a theologis Lovaniensibus praestitum sit, eorum praefatio indicata*. There seems little doubt about Tresham's familiarity with the Louvain University, its theological and geographical scholarship, and the work of its students.



Fig.4/46 Abraham Ortelius, map of the world, c.1570

Mercator was significant not only for his engagement with geography and map-making, but also for his interest in the passage and measurement of time. Having studied Aristotle and the Classical philosophers as a young man at Louvain University, he had struggled thereafter to correlate what he learned from Antique scholars about the passage of time, with the biblical account of the origins and history of the world. This struggle inspired much of his early work and it was his close study of geography and astronomy which eventually led to his declaring himself free of heretical doubts. Religious conviction grew in him and, in 1537, he produced his first map, which was of Palestine, the Holy Land.

'Mercator knew Palestine better than any place outside the Low Countries. He had grown up with its miracles and revelations. He knew its history. Palestine had been the subject of the first map that most of his generation had ever seen. And like the Bible maps of his boyhood, his would show the route described in the Fourth book of Moses.'²⁵⁹

Some forty years later, the venerable Mercator published a study of biblical time, from the beginning of the world until its end, informed by astronomical observations and sacred scripts, *Chronologia hoc est supputatio temporum ab initio mundi ex eclipsibus & observationibus astronomicis & sacrae scripturae firmissimis testimoniis demonstrata*.

Mercator's earlier religious doubts had, surely, been softened by what he learned about time and the universe from the Polish Nicholas Copernicus, a scientist deeply influenced by Ptolemy. In the late 15th century, Copernicus was first engaged with the papacy when he was asked to advise Pope Leo X about reforming the Julian calendar (wherein there was an ever-increasing disparity between the appointed dates of various religious festivals and the appropriate season). He had travelled to Italy to study, thereafter returning to Poland and building his reputation as an astronomer: he needed to learn more about the inter-relationships between the sun, moon and earth, to inform his understanding of the diurnal round, the passage of seasons and years. Copernicus's major work, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (*On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres*), was the radical outcome of many

²⁵⁹ Nicholas Crane, *Mercator : The Man who mapped the Planet*, 2002.

years' study of the relationship between God, man and time. His book was published in 1543, shortly before his death, and it offered an understanding of the universe which was, essentially, heliocentric, rather than geocentric - a view which was a profound challenge to the Ptolemaic (and, indeed, the scriptural) understanding of the cosmos, which had held sway for many centuries. It is not surprising that, initially, Copernicus's thesis attracted both religious and philosophical rejection.

Copernicus argued that the earth rotates daily on its axis and revolves yearly around the sun. He also contended that the planets circled the sun (Fig.4/47).

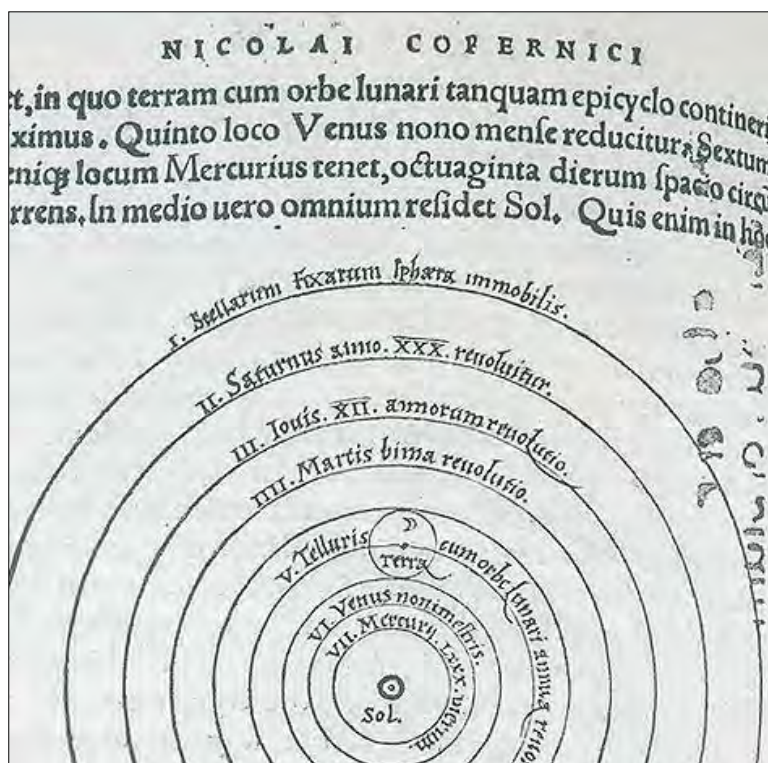


Fig.4/47 Nicolaus Copernicus, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, 1543. Here, the earth (Terra) and its moon and planets, circulate round the sun (Sol). The earth also revolves on its own axis.

All this, for Copernicus, was at the behest of God (though this was not sufficient to prevent the papal opposition which followed his book, after his death). Copernicus's influence on Mercator was undoubted and, from the 1540s, Mercator was working on his own celestial globe, which he finally completed in 1551. He located the stars and planets in their 'correct' positions, as outlined in Copernicus's model of the universe, and his grasp of the shifting inter-relationships between the earth and its planets informed his understanding of the age of the earth and its history.

Amongst many others who were profoundly influenced by Copernicus's study of 'heavenly influences and operations' was John Dee, friend of Mercator, who launched on a career combining mathematics with astrology, which later merged into occultism, numerology and necromancy. He returned to England from Louvain, via Paris, where he met Guillaume Postel, 'perhaps the most eccentric scholar in Europe', who studied the languages and peoples of various countries, and speculated that the mysteries of God's original language, 'lay concealed within the alphabets, the very letter shapes' of ancient Semitic tongues. Once back in England, Dee,

'applied Gemma {Frisius's) and Mercator's training to determine the distances of the planets, fixed stars and clouds from the centre of the earth, along with their arrangement and magnitude'²⁶⁰.

He also developed a language, complete with alphabet and syntax, with which to communicate with the angels.

In the 1560s, Dee acted as guardian and tutor to yet another young scholar, Thomas Digges, son of Leonard Digges, mathematician and surveyor, who had died in c.1559. Digges was a worthy inheritor of the mantles of both his father and his guardian and, in his own work, he wrote about a range of topics, from Platonic solids to how to make a lens and a telescope. He studied astronomy, including the supernova which had been observed in 1572 by Tycho Brahe, and, in his 1571, *A geometrical practise, named panometria, divided into three bookes, longimetra, planimetria, and stereometria* – usually known more simply as *Panometria* – Digges described a new instrument and new techniques for surveying the cosmos.

Enough: we must simply confirm that every text listed above was in Tresham's library; indeed, the only scholar from the list of scientists above whose work was not represented therein was John Dee (and, as noted elsewhere, we find it difficult to credit that Tresham did not read and study the publications of one of the most celebrated, if controversial, writers of his day). Hence, it swiftly becomes apparent that trying to explore and understand something about the geography of the world and the life of the cosmos – in the context of his intense theological convictions, his familiarity with biblical accounts of creation and time, and his determined efforts to communicate with his God – was of immense importance to Tresham. In fact, it has been quite astonishing that, every time we look afresh at the catalogue of his library, it reveals still more about the profundity and energy of Tresham's intellectual and imaginative exploration of these issues. To cap it all, on 4th January, 1599, George Levens records that, after spending all day at the fair, being 'taken up with leisure', he and his master then set about 'painting maps'²⁶¹.

Demonstrating that Tresham was preoccupied with these studies is a first, important, step; exploring whether, and how, he then employed what he had learnt is another, much more difficult, task.

As we have already reported, from 12th -15th January, 1599, Levens was magnetising a compass and making a theodolite. On 16th February, he was drawing steps for the Lodge and, for two hours, Levens, Tresham and the mason Grumbold ('Gromb') were 'occupied with globes and maps, "turning and placing zones"'²⁶². We know, of course, that the Lodge was already in the build: but was this investigation associated with a further refinement or confirmation of a planned relationship between the Lodge and its burden of religious significance? We do know that, on 13th January – in the midst of this activity – the men observed a day of prayer and fasting.

We have already accepted that, on one level, the Lodge was intended as a kind of compass - and, thus, on 21st November, it is so aligned that the rising sun cast a shadow of the cross on the Virgin Mary, uniting the Mother with the birth and death of her Son. We have pursued the compass analogy further.

²⁶⁰ This and previous quotations are from Glynn Parry, *Arch Conjurer of England, John Dee*, 2011, pp.20-22.

²⁶¹ BL Add MS 39835, folio 42, translation, Peter Foden. See *Appendix B*.

²⁶² Peter Foden, BL, Add MS 39835, folio 43d.

First, we find that the eastern arm of the Lodge – the most holy end of a church, of course, in a theological context – points towards Bury St. Edmund's, wherein can be found the shrine of the 9th century King of East Anglia, St. Edmund.

King Edmund was recorded as having been killed by the marauding Danes, the 'Great Heathen Army', having refused to recant his Christianity. In the 11th century, Edmund's relics were translated to Bury. Accordingly, the Abbey there had become a great centre of learning and pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. In 1539, the shrine was destroyed. Thereafter, however, this part of Suffolk was something of a centre for recusant families and St. Edmund, the Christian martyr, became a totem, both of Catholic faith and, for some, no less than the patron saint of England.

It seems very possible that St. Edmund, the martyr, may have become particularly important to Tresham during his periods of imprisonment at Ely. Incarcerated in the Old Bishop's Palace, a few hundred yards south of the Cathedral, we know that he was familiar with the Cathedral, not least because he recorded his admiration for its founder, 'Uxor et virgo, regina et sancta, beata Etheldreda'²⁶³. Though the shrine of 'beata Etheldreda' had been destroyed in the Dissolution, this 7th C daughter of a King of East Anglia had been the founder and abbess of a monastery in Ely, on the site of which the Cathedral was later built²⁶⁴. Within the Cathedral, not only was Etheldreda commemorated, but so was St. Edmund; one of the chapels off the north transept is dedicated to him, even today revealing remnants of its 13th -14th C painted narrative of the life of the saint (Fig.4/48). Had Tresham admire these paintings and felt inspired to develop his own programme of religious imagery, when he was incarcerated at Ely?



Fig.4/48 The wall paintings in St Edmund's Chapel, Ely Cathedral, with scenes from the life of the 9thC Christian King, martyred for his faith.

²⁶³ HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.90. 'Wife and virgin, queen and saint, blessed Etheldreda'. These notes (with some numerical codes attached) were in Tresham's hand, written on a letter dated 27th May, 1597, sent to him, in prison in Ely, by his wife.

²⁶⁴ Etheldreda (the Romanised name for Æthelthryth) had been married off early, but – on her insistence – she remained a virgin. On her spouse's death, she retired to Ely, which had been her dowry. She again found herself married off, for political reasons; this time, her husband, the young King of Northumbria, was less understanding. Etheldreda left him and became a nun, founding a double monastery at Ely, in 673.

Pursuing this theme a little further, we also found it particularly interesting to come across a major religious painting, *The Martyrs' Picture*, executed in 1580, to grace the Venerable English College in Rome, which had been set up in 1579 to train priests for the Catholic mission in England (Fig.4/49). Flanking the Trinity are two English martyrs, St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Edmund, 9th C King of East Anglia. In the painting, blood from Christ's wounds is shown falling onto a map of the British Isles and, fed by this blood, a tongue of cleansing fire springs up. The Venerable English College was where both Robert Persons and Edmund Campion had studied. They were amongst the first of the Jesuit missionaries to leave Rome for England and, of course, amongst the first to be martyred - by fire. It was not long before the College became known as the 'nursery of martyrs'.

It would not be surprising had Thomas Tresham felt a particular spirit of dedication to – and empathy for – St. Edmund²⁶⁵.



Fig.4/49 *The Martyrs' Picture*, painted by Durante Alberti, 1580, shortly after the foundation of the Venerable English College in Rome in 1579.

Once one starts to think of the Lodge as having this kind of a role in linking Lyveden to the wider world, further analysis affords some really tantalising results. It is difficult to

²⁶⁵ It must be said that we have not been able to demonstrate a *clear* geographical relationship between any arm of the Lodge and Canterbury, though the two are linked by a roughly SE alignment. It would, indeed, have been a beguiling story, had such an alignment existed, allowing us to weave St. Thomas into the narrative (Edmund and Thomas were often described as the two most important English saints, and they were both significant to recusants). But, one must either assume that Tresham's much less accurate mapping capacity accounts for the fact that Canterbury is a 'near miss'; or that – maybe for no other reason than his attachment to the Jesuit, Edmund Campion, and to Ely itself – St. Edmund had a greater hold on his imagination.

be certain – because of the various techniques of projecting the map of the world – but, if one investigates late 16th century maps, based on the Mercator projection, the eastern arm of Lyveden's Greek cross points well beyond the borders of Britain; indeed, it heads, clearly, towards the Holy Land. This was, as we have discussed, the subject of a number of contemporary maps. That land, usually described as *Terra Sancta* (Fig.4/50), was focused on the River Jordan, which flows south from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea; somewhere here, it was agreed, could be found the place where John baptised his cousin, Jesus²⁶⁶. Likewise, this land had witnessed Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt, wandering through the wilderness until they reached Mount Sinai, where God revealed himself and proclaimed the Ten Commandments and gave Moses the tablets with the Commandments inscribed. In return for keeping His commandments, God promised the Israelites the land of Canaan²⁶⁷ (and, of course, from this promise stemmed centuries of trouble for the Holy Land).



Fig.4/50 Abraham Ortelius, *Terra Sancta*, published in 1584 edition of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which was in Tresham's library. Note in the top right corner of the map the decorative title cartouche, with scenes from the life of Christ. N.B., North is to the left.

It would be hard to think of a part of the world which would have been more significant for Tresham, who doubtless considered his own Catholic 'prenticeship' as a journey through the wilderness, as he searched for his own Promised Land.

²⁶⁶ The putative locations of Paradise and the Garden of Eden – located roughly between the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, to the east of the Holy Land – were also on contemporary maps.

²⁶⁷ It was not unusual for 16th century maps of the Holy Land to include the route travelled by Moses and the Israelites. It is worth noting, too, that the famed Western Christian military order, the Knights Hospitallers, also had their roots in Jerusalem, to the west of the Dead Sea. In a letter of 1603, Tresham reminded his correspondent that his grandfather was, 'the late Lord of Saint Johns Jerusalem'. *HMC, Op.cit.*, p.128.

If Tresham linked his Lodge directly to holy places in this country and in Middle East - did this religious apprentice, philosopher and scientist intend that the Lyveden Lantern should also assist his studies of the heavens? Indeed, we do speculate that Tresham's Lyveden Lantern might have been intended as an observatory. We should recall the depth of Tresham's astronomical library and the example of Tycho Brahe's 'Uraniborg'. If there were nothing more, the clue afforded by the over-size bauble atop Stickells' Lantern – its large size and its distinctive, extended, oval shape ensuring that, from the ground, optical illusion would mean that it would look like nothing more than a globe (either earthly or celestial) (see Fig.4/32) – might invite such a speculation. Was the Lantern intended to function as a locus for studying the stars, the sun, moon and planets (Fig.4/51)?



Fig.4/51 Mercator, Celestial table globe, 1551 (terrestrial globe, 1541)

There is clear evidence that Tresham – with his loyal steward – was absorbed by the study and meaning of the skies, wherein he could chart the relationship between the earth and its familiars, the sun and the moon, as well planets and the stars.

4.9 Tresham at Lyveden: the Gardens

4.9.1 *The Setting of the house*

At last, we turn to the gardens - which represent one of the most important survivals of 16th century landscape layout in this country.

If the significance of the Lyveden Lantern has not, perhaps, received sufficient attention hitherto, then – at face value, at any rate – the same cannot really be said about the gardens, which have long attracted delight and fascination. On the other

hand, recognising that there are profound messages embodied in the Lodge – even if we cannot do more than scratch the surface of these messages – means that we need to be conscious that Tresham may also have endowed his gardens with symbol and narrative. Moreover, whilst each element in the gardens is imbued with its own detailed functions and significances, there is – surely – a metanarrative, which lends the layout and development of this site, as a whole, exceptional value. It is probable that the full complexity of Tresham's investment in Lyveden may never be known: there are modes of thought – bred and shaped by a very ambitious, intellectually- and imaginatively-gifted Elizabethan, representative of a proud and long-established family, and thereafter refined in the metaphorical fires of two decades as a recusant and a prisoner – which remain inaccessible to us, in 2013/14. Notwithstanding this difficulty, however, in order to grasp as much as possible about the meanings embodied in the composition at Lyveden, we must explore it in detail.

We shall begin by examining the gardens on the north, towards the bottom of the hill, around Lyveden House.

Despite the fact that research has allowed us to understand a surprising amount about the appearance of the Lyveden valley in the mediaeval period, we cannot be sure exactly what the Treshams found when they first emparked the landscape in the 15th century. Nevertheless, that some aspects of the early use and management of the valley must have left a clear mark on the estate, visible to Thomas Tresham when he began to focus on this area in the 1590s, is evident from the fact that, even in the 20th century the early history of the landscape was still legible, some in the form of buried archaeology, but much also still visible on the surface. True, in post-War decades, arable farming has changed the face of the area. As a consequence, in the vicinity of Lyveden Manor today, extending southwards from the cultivated gardens, there is now what can only be described as a stretch of fairly rank grass climbing the irregular slopes, peppered with *ad hoc* groups and roundels of trees, wherein there are very few specimens in good condition. It is, indeed, a very hard task to discern, in what we see today, much evidence at all, of the 16th century layout²⁶⁸.

The picture is further confused by the fact that, over the years, since the Treshams lived here, the house itself has undergone more than one radical transformation (most recent alterations are examined in Section 5). As we have already seen, Thomas Tresham left Lyveden unfinished. Thereafter, 'Lewis Tresham began to remodel the house after he took full possession of the property on the death of his mother in 1615'²⁶⁹. But it must have been habitable before that, as Tresham's wife lived there, carefully nurturing her funds so that she could repay the debts left by her husband. As early as May, 1614, Lewis Tresham had already sold Rushton and his links with Northamptonshire were more-or-less severed after the death of his mother. Confirming this, Eburne & Felus persuasively argue that a survey of Lyveden, commissioned by Tresham from John Hawstead, in 1617, was probably undertaken, 'as a preliminary to raising money from the estate, through additional leases, or mortgages, or sales'²⁷⁰. It is unlikely to have been much later than this that the house

²⁶⁸ Eburne & Felus note that, in the 1980s, the NT managed to persuade the Duke of Gloucester's Agent, 'to put a stop to the ploughing of the Lower Orchard and Lower Terraces and return them to grass'. After decades of intensive arable farming in these areas, however, it cannot be surprising that the grasses reveal a land that remains enriched. *Op.cit.* p.54.

²⁶⁹ Heward, *Op.cit.*, p.12.

²⁷⁰ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.43. It is noted, however, that Lewis Tresham would have had to obtain the reversion of the estate from the Crown, which he seems to have done in 1633, shortly after which he mortgaged the estate. John Hawstead, *A Particular of the Mannour of Liueden*, a survey of the demesne lands recorded in 1617 – not long after Lady Muriel Tresham died, in 1615. NRO 5174. Transcribed by Eburne and Felus (who discovered the record), *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xxxi. The authors

reached its full and final extent. It is unfortunate that the plan which must have accompanied the written survey is no longer available; but very useful to discover that a sketch map of 1878 actually attaches, to various parts of the estate, more-or-less the same names as employed in 1617, thus helping to identify their locations (Fig.4/52).

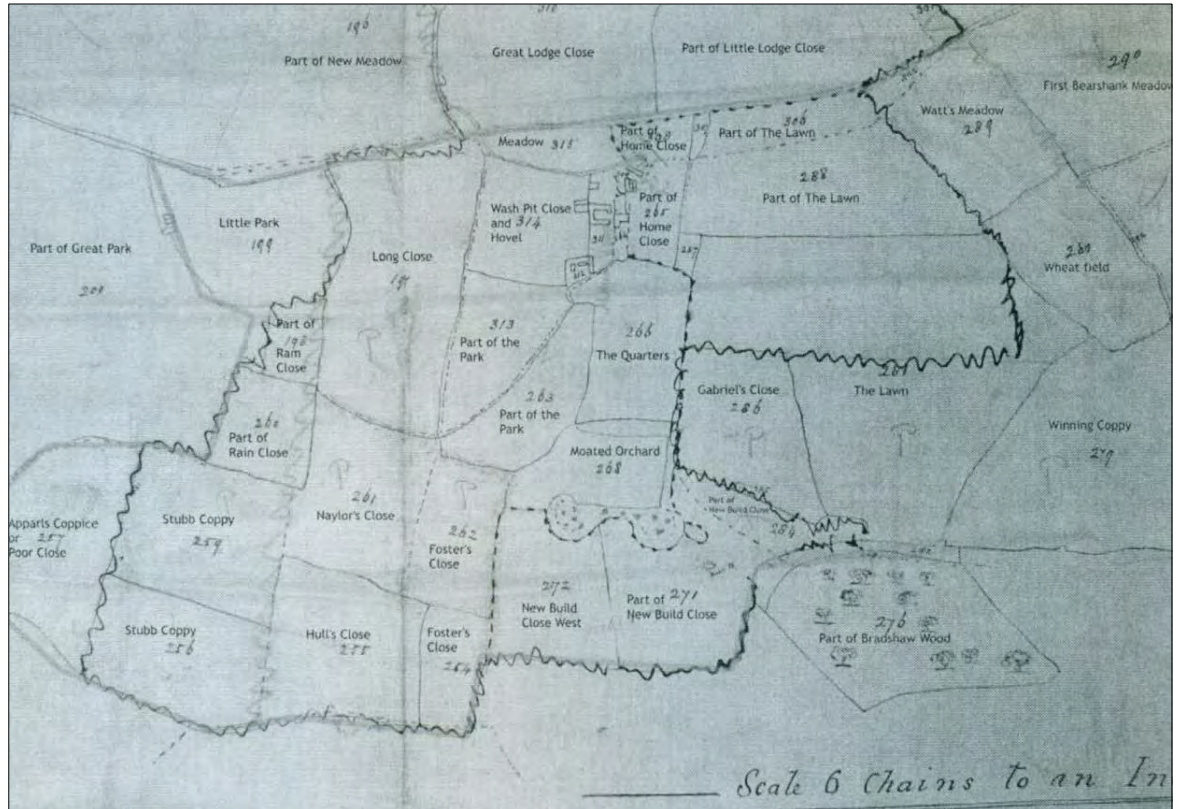


Fig.4/52 Sketch plan of 1878, annotated with field names, a number of which are the same as those used in a 1617 survey. Illustration, Eburne & Felus.

By 1617, only 243 acres were included within the demesne lands, with a further 1,140 acres let out. The, 'scite of the house with the Yards, Orchards, Gardens, Walkes, Nurseries, the Mote, and moted Orchard, Barnes, and Stables' comprised 29 acres, with a further 4 acres, 2 roods being dedicated to 'two Nurseries lying between the Little Parke, and Ley Close'.

'The inescapable picture of the Lyveden estate under Lewis Tresham, is one of stagnation and decline.'²⁷¹

Thus it is that – although there was, of course, change enough over the centuries, as well as a degree of neglect – the extraordinary aerial photograph, taken by the Luftwaffe in 1944 can still communicate to us a taste of what the landscape must have looked like to Thomas Tresham in the years around 1600 (Fig.4/53)²⁷².

note that several of the names – of Closes, pastures etc. – found in the 1617 survey are repeated in the 1878 plan.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² Reinforcing the suggestion that the village was already deserted in the 16th C., we note (though we have not pursued in any detail) the interesting suggestion that, 'it is possible that the Treshams used the {deserted} village as a quarry for their construction of the Old and New Bields'. John M. Steane, *Op.cit.*, p.44.



Fig.4/53 Aerial photograph of Lyveden, taken by the Luftwaffe in c.1944.

It is fascinating to find that, to the south of Harley Way, to the east and NE of the house, the photograph reveals something of the intensive mediaeval occupation of the valley (see Fig.4/1). Today, any above-ground earthworks betraying signs of settlement enclosures or ridge and furrow (including in that area to the N of the Harley Way, the primary location of the DMV) have been ploughed out. Yet, this evidence did survive until the mid-1940s, and the aerial photograph. The ridge and furrow obviously covered that area of the demesne lands called 'Part of the Lawn' on the 1878 sketch survey (see Fig.4/52), and may well reflect what was described, in the 1617 record of the estate, as pasture land called 'The Launds'. Indeed, in the photograph, the ghost of ridge and furrow management is visible even in the gardens immediately to the east of the House, extending up the hill, to the SSE. The extent of this survival, into the mid-20th century, would tend to indicate that whatever garden earthworks were undertaken for Tresham, these were not so extensive, nor so long-lasting, as to eradicate the earlier archaeology. It took the later 20th century ploughs to do that job.

There is other evidence, too, of the early use and development of the demesne. Lyveden Brook is particularly interesting. Today, it runs along a narrow ditch, south of the Harley Way. In Thomas Eyre's county map, published in 1771, the Brook wriggles and meanders along the Valley - schematic, undoubtedly, yet convincingly watery

(see Fig.4/29). But, perhaps this was misleading for, by the date of the first edition, 25" OS plan, published in 1886 – and, surely, for a long time before – it appears to have been dammed, probably in more than one place, close to the house. Accordingly, between the house and the Harley Way, the Brook takes on more of the proportions of river, running west-east, concluding in an extended lake, hammer-head in form, at its eastern end (Fig.4/54).

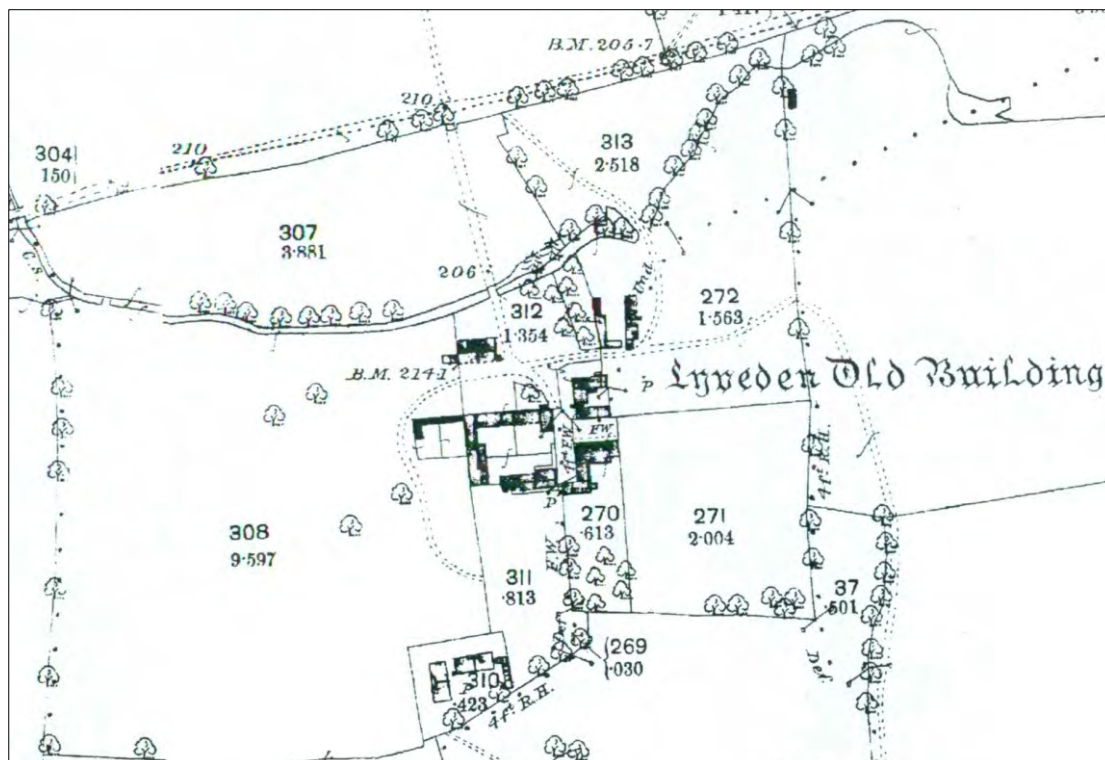


Fig.4/54 First edition, 1:2,500 OS, 1886, showing management of Lyveden Brook to north of the house.

It seems perfectly likely that this 19th century survey represents a feature which, in some form, had been planned and executed by the late 16th century. At that time, one must presume that the primary function of the management of the Lyveden Brook was practical: bringing water to the house, perhaps accommodating fish; the dam associated with it might even have facilitated the provision of some energy. We do know, for example, that in February, 1599, Levens records regular discussions about 'mill and fishpond', apparently at Lyveden²⁷³.

Further eastwards – beyond what lies within the ownership of the NT, but certainly part of the Tresham demesne in 1617 and, again, in that area described in 1878 (see Fig.4/52) as, 'Part of the Lawn' (i.e., pasture) – the trickling Brook was still managed, so that it formed a secondary pool. Perhaps this, or something similar, served to water the Treshams' sheep?

The sequence of OS plans in the 20th century shows, however, that after 1971, the stock pool disappeared (Fig.4/55). The pool close to Lyveden Manor had also disappeared by 1972. Now, at most times of the year, the stream makes its way along a deep ditch in a very modest fashion; it is more-or-less divorced from the property, serving as neither use nor ornament. In the late 16th century, however, the

²⁷³ See Foden, *Op.cit.*, p.6, folio 43d, 16th February; also, folio 44r, 'discussion about steps every night; otherwise days occupied about mill and fishpond'. Both of these functions, of course, would also have served the mediaeval villages in the area. See *Appendix B*.

proximity of the Lyveden Brook must have formed a key part of its suitability for development.

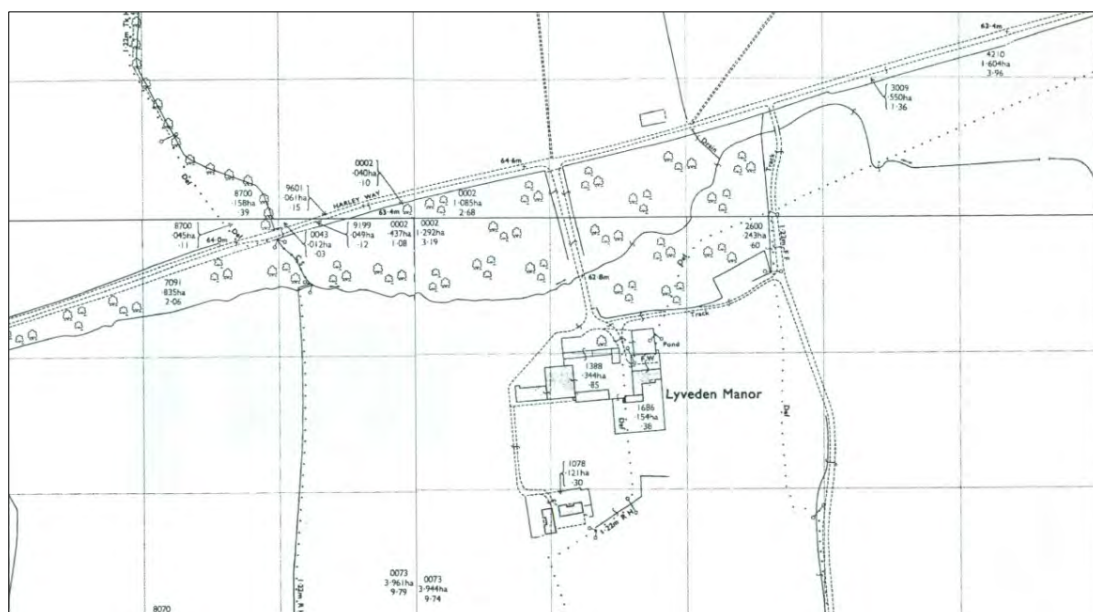


Fig.4/55 1:2,500 OS, 1970-71, suggesting that the Lyveden Brook, to north of Lyveden Manor, was no longer managed to serve the estate, as it had been (at least by the first edition OS).

In order to reach the new house from the Harley Way, it was always necessary to cross the Brook. Might it have been for this location that Tresham and Levens were so often discussing a 'Lyveden bridge' in the early weeks of 1599²⁷⁴? It is interesting to remind ourselves that it was at the same time as discussing the design of steps, the construction of a lantern and the building of a bridge, that Tresham and Levens were studying Palladio (see Fig.4/37).

After Tresham's death, however, we find no further mention of bridge or fishpond in the area around the house. In the 1617 survey, we discover that, 'the scite of the house with the Yards, Orchards, Gardens, Walkes, Nurseries, the Mote, and moted Orchard, Barnes and Stables', amounted to 29 acres²⁷⁵. It does not seem as if, after his death, Thomas Tresham's gardens meant much to his successors.

4.9.2 The Gardens at Lyveden: from the valley to the heights - embodied pilgrimage

We turn, now, the gardens themselves: the design and layout of which were, without doubt, of real significance to Tresham.

Perhaps the most useful sources of information, here, are the 1944 aerial photograph and archaeological work undertaken in the 20th century. Disappointingly, the most recent archaeological investigations of the gardens in the vicinity of Lyveden Manor – after decades of arable management – produced little of great interest²⁷⁶.

²⁷⁴ Foden, *Op.cit.*, p.5, folio 42r. The bridge could, of course, have been associated with the moats, which were also being constructed at this time. See **Appendix B**.

²⁷⁵ It is interesting to note, here, that the 1617 survey specifies, several times in the document, that the measurement was 'at 16 foote ½ to the pole'. We have already noted that Tresham employed the unusual measure of 18 feet to the pole. This is yet another hint of the deliberate way in which Tresham endeavoured to obscure the symbolism (in this case, the numerology) embodied in his gardens.

²⁷⁶ S J Malone, Archaeological Project Services, *Land at Lyveden Manor, Northamptonshire, Geophysical Survey*, January 2014.

The 1932 survey, undertaken by Kenneth Brown and published in 1935, says little about the gardens associated with the 'Old Building'; this study was focused squarely on the 'New Building'. Brown reports, simply, the 'series of terraces' which connect the two structures.

Almost four decades later, however, one of the more interesting archaeological reports on Lyveden was published, by Brown and Taylor²⁷⁷. This clearly demonstrated the extent to which the gardens provided the link between Tresham's house and garden Lodge. And, in revealing this relationship, they thus helped later commentators to grasp that this series of gardens served not only an aesthetic function, beautifying the estate, but also a narrative purpose, vital to our understanding of Tresham's vision (Fig.4/56).

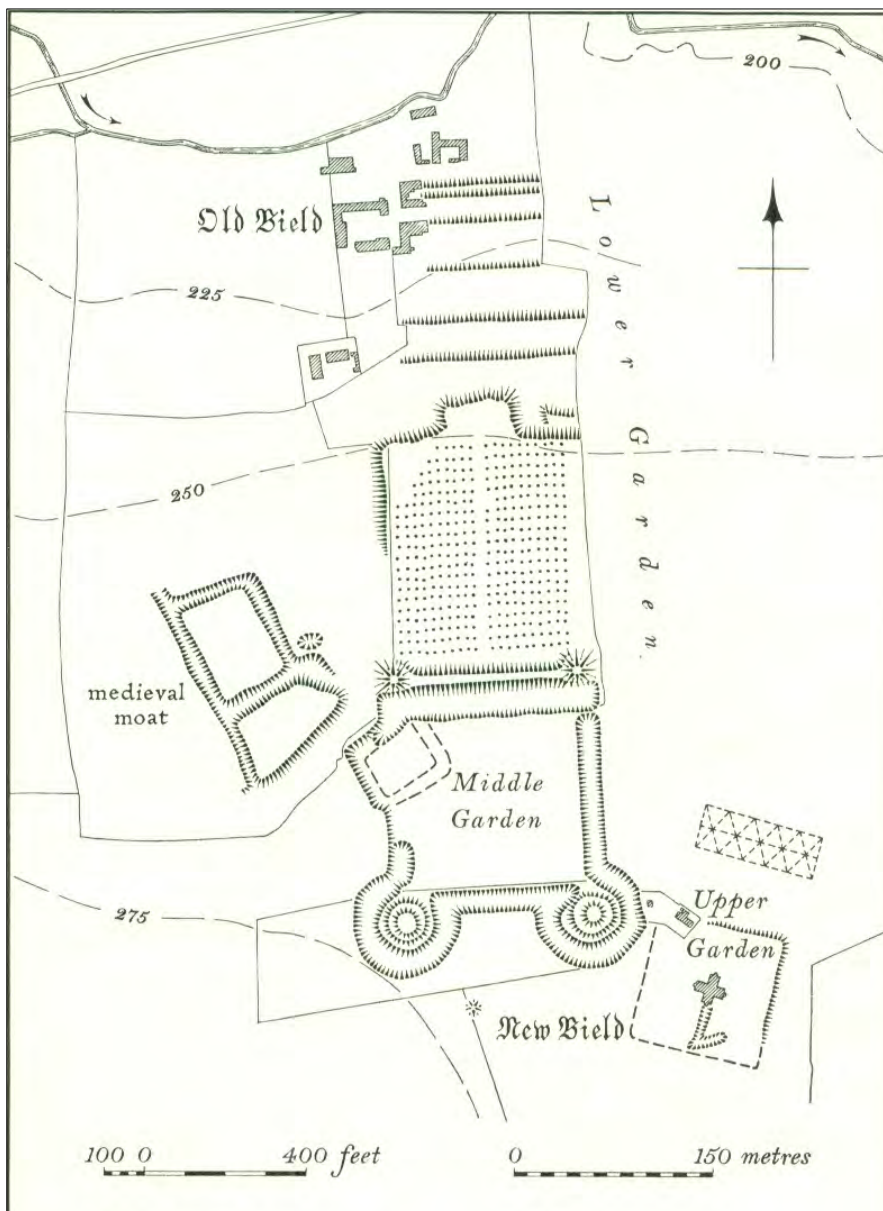


Fig.4/56 The gardens at Lyveden: archaeological survey. Plan by Brown & Taylor, 1972

²⁷⁷ A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor, 'The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol.129, 1972, pp.154-160. As Eburne & Felus note, this report certainly enlarged understanding of the site, and was important to the NT.

In early 1599, in the same weeks as Tresham, Levens and their colleagues were discussing the 'Lantern of Liveden', and the bridge (perhaps over the Brook), they were also regularly 'measuring and planning' the garden, assessing the 'heights of the ascents', planning steps and 'measuring boundaries' of the garden. We do not always know whether they were focusing on the valley or on the top of the hill. Sometimes – marvellously – we have quite specific references to the 'lantern' or the 'mounds' and these serve to provide glimpses of the persistence – indeed, even the obsessiveness – with which each element of the whole was studied and measured. We get another taste of this when we read that, on 17th January, Levens and Tresham spent one hour together, after dinner, the former doubtless listening attentively to the latter, as he was 'narrating and explaining {the} situation of the garden'²⁷⁸. Some of this attention, at least, must have been devoted to the gardens around the Treshams' new house.

The archaeology demonstrates that the terracing – by which the climb from the valley floor to the crest of the hill was negotiated – started somewhat to the north of today's extant, south wing. Two, closely-spaced, terraces extended eastwards from the north wing. It seems likely that these were largely functional, designed to gain access to what must have been a level platform, on which the eastern range (probably demolished in the mid-19th century) was built, linking the principal, south range to the lower, service wing on the north²⁷⁹. The more significant ascent of four terraces then climbs the hill, southwards, through what the 1878 sketch map names as 'Home Close' (see Fig.4/52). And, from that elevation, one still had to climb the seventh and most substantial terrace (laid out in that area called, 'The Quarters' in 1878), distinguished by the fact that it features a rectangular bastion in the centre, almost certainly still just turf, like the rest of the construction, but thrusting itself northwards from the rest of the flanking terrace, commanding what must have been dramatic vistas all around.

There is little or no extant sign of this historic earth-modelling on the ground. There is a hint, on an aerial photograph included in the 1991 sales brochure (but representing a slightly earlier state?) that something akin to the fourth terrace might have survived, albeit in considerably modified form (Fig.4/57).



Fig.4/57 Aerial photograph of Lyveden Manor, pre-1991, showing evidence of (modified) 4th terrace in gardens to SE of house (top right of picture)?

²⁷⁸ Foden, *Op.cit.*, p.2. See *Appendix B*.

²⁷⁹ As reported elsewhere, in 1998, John Heward demonstrated that the main east range, which linked the north and south blocks, was demolished, 'at some time between 1847 and 1882'.

Today, the terracing in this area of the garden appears considerably more crude (Fig.4/58). This reflects changes that were effected in the early 1990s.

'In the first phase (of alteration), modern farm buildings close to the house were demolished and garden terraces have been cleared. The house was then put on the market again'²⁸⁰.

We get a slightly closer view of changes made to the garden terraces (and of some of their practical consequences) in 1993. Charles Shapcott, conservation engineer, wrote a report on the manor in December of that year. 'Externally on the south face there has been some recent landscaping which has lowered the ground levels some 12 → 15'''²⁸¹. In fact, evidence on the ground today reveals that, to the SSE and SSW of the house, there has been harsh cut and fill, some of it necessitated by the introduction of the modern tennis court. These changes, associated with extensive remodelling of the house, internally and externally, have led to what we see now.



Fig.4/58 Recent (2013) photograph of Lyveden Manor, showing E and S elevations, with evidence of cut-and-fill in garden terraces, effacing Tresham's earthworks.

The fact that a good proportion of the changes – to house and landscape – has taken place in the last half-century, or so, is highlighted when we return to the 1944 aerial: the historic terraces had impressed themselves sufficiently to leave shadows across the garden, still visible in the mid-20th century (see Fig.4/53)²⁸². And, when we examine the ways in which these terraces climbed the hill – always accepting that it is quite impossible to measure exactly whatever was constructed in the late 16th century – there can be no doubt at all that this great, terraced ascent must have been highly theatrical. Moreover, the drama must have been greatly heightened not only by the rectangular platform advancing northwards from the upper terrace, but also by a very distinctive – and, at the time, unusual – aspect of the layout: the strict, axial geometry of the sequence of gardens.

²⁸⁰ John Heward, Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, *Conservation Report commissioned by Andrew Halstead* (purchaser of property in 1991), October, 1998, p.2.

²⁸¹ Charles Shapcott, Conservation Structural and Civil Engineer, letter dated 12th December 1993. Shapcott also notes in this report about what may have been one of the consequences of this land re-modelling. 'when walking out towards the east to get photos it was noted that it was very wet, at least the surface. The property is .. down hill of a long slope .. - so it (i.e., lowering of ground level, described by Shapcott as 'mass excavation') could have had a local dam effect on surface water run off'.

²⁸² It is important to note that the 1944 aerial pre-dates the archaeological map, published by Brown and Taylor in 1972. There is information in the former which offers a more subtle – and, we must presume, more accurate – translation of the land modelling undertaken by Tresham at the end of the 16th century.

First of all, we have to recognise that the axial symmetry did not depend on the house - as we might have expected if this were a full-fledged piece of English Renaissance composition. Although the articulation of the land, achieved by terracing the slopes to the east, was partially dictated by the arrangement of the house, the strong N/S symmetry existed more-or-less independently. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that Tresham was not obliged to organise his gardens in the way that he did. He was not constrained for space (though we must assume that he would not have wanted to sacrifice large areas to his gardens, partly because this was a secondary seat and because he depended heavily on the income from his sheep). That the gardens should have been disposed in such a strict, linear arrangement, climbing steeply up the hill, was dictated by no other imperative than Tresham's commitment to a governing sense of order²⁸³. In the context of one or two contemporary gardens, the unusual nature of this arrangement becomes very apparent.

Published after Tresham's death was the wonderfully informative, *Speculi Britanniae Pars Altera: Or, A Delineation of Northamptonshire; Being a Brief Historicall and Chorographicall Discription of that County*, by John Norden. Norden had been, 'authorised and appointed by her Majesty to travel through England and Wales to make more perfect descriptions, charts and maps'. Lord Burghley was closely involved with sponsoring this project (which must, therefore, be seen, as a project latent with the exercise of centralised power). Middlesex and Hertfordshire were published during Norden's lifetime. Much of the work for Northamptonshire was undertaken in 1595, though it was not finished until 1610 and only published in 1720. It gives us access to the appearance and layout of some houses and landscapes, the development of which, during the later years of Elizabeth's reign, undoubtedly transformed the character of many parts of England. Sadly, Norden did not mention Lyveden at length; but he did provide a description of Holdenby – Hatton's mansion, dedicated to his Queen, but destined never to receive her – not far away from Tresham, in Northamptonshire.

'And above the rest is especially to be noated with what industrie and toyle of man, the garden have been raised, levelled, and formed out of a most craggie and unfitable lande now framed a most pleasante, sweete, and princely place, with divers walks, many ascendings and descendings, replenished also with manie delightful Trees of Fruite, artificially composed Arbours, and a Destilling House on the west end of the same garden, over which is a Ponde of Water, broughte by conduite pypes, out of the feylde adjoyninge on the west, quarter of a myle from the same howse.'²⁸⁴

The description of features – dramatic earth-moving, walks, with 'many ascendings and descendings', fruit trees, arbours, ponds – could equally well be attached to Lyveden. What we can see, however, when we compare images of both Holdenby and Lyveden – the former from a detailed map by Ralph Treswell, drawn in 1587, and the latter from the ghostly remnants identified in the archaeological studies – is that, whilst Holdenby comprises a series of enclosures, including a parterre, a regular plantation of trees, a pattern of rectangular ponds, and a banqueting house,

²⁸³ We note, as an aside, that the layout of the gardens fits neatly within a parish boundary. In particular, the eastern side of what is now the moated orchard lies on the boundary. This does raise the possibility that there was some pre-existing raised bank or bund, perhaps accommodating a number of mature trees, which was usefully embraced as part of the defined eastern edge of the gardens. See Steane, *Op.cit.*, p.47.

²⁸⁴ Quoted by Paula Henderson, *Op.cit.*, p.89.

overlooking *The Greene* and the wider parkland beyond, there is no very powerful compulsion to organise these enclosures into an axial sequence (Fig.4/59)²⁸⁵.

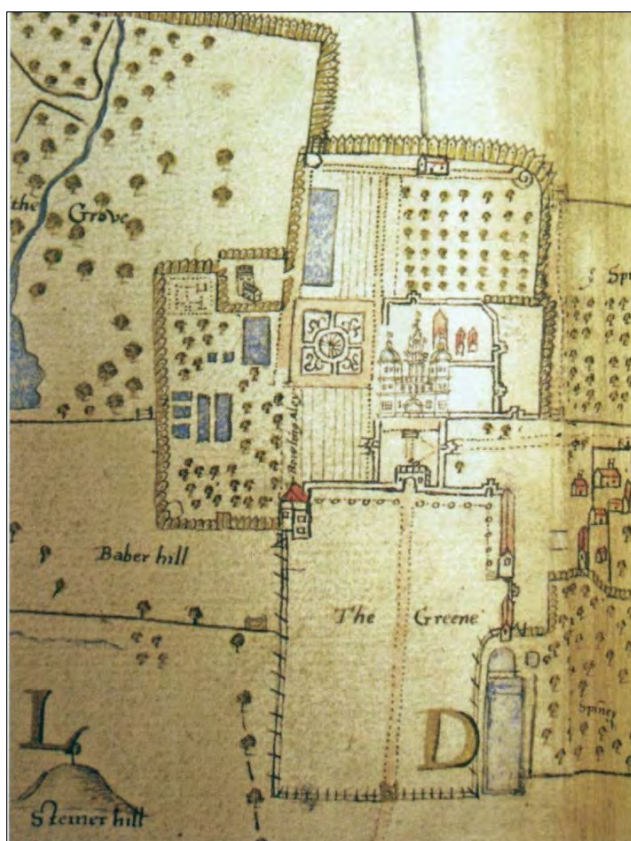


Fig.4/59 Detail of Ralph Treswell's map of Holdenby House, 1587 (NRO).

In contrast – whilst the series of rectangular features at Lyveden is, of course, much smaller and less complex – so ordered is Tresham's geometry that the surprise comes when he challenges that dictum: as, for example, with the alignment of the Lodge. One simple explanation for Tresham's insistence on such formal order is that he had read and understood the Platonic and humanist significance of the books of Renaissance theory which he had collected. We have already discussed not only Vitruvius, on whom many of the Renaissance scholars depended, but also Serlio, Palladio and others from the 15th and 16th centuries. We have not, however, yet mentioned all the significant volumes which Tresham owned. These included one of the earliest and most valued books on Renaissance architecture, Leon Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, of which Tresham had editions published in 1550 and '51; and Daniele Barbaro's *La pratica della prospettiva*, 1569 (a work which, *inter alia*, describes how to use a lens with a *camera obscura*).

Mathematician, philosopher, translator of Vitruvius, patron and friend of Palladio – with whom he had visited Rome – in the mid-16th century, Daniele Barbaro commissioned the Villa Barbaro (Villa de Maser), built in the Veneto, and this remains one of the most refined of Palladio's country houses. Barbaro had also been a student of Cardinal Pietro Bembo, who was not only a theologian and humanist scholar, but also a knowledgeable literary and music critic. Barbaro's architecture

²⁸⁵ As Henderson shows, Treswell's 1587 plan followed one made just seven years earlier. In that time, the enclosures had become more determined, and the deer park was now surrounded by a palisaded fence. The years had not, however, seen a move towards imposing a more consistent geometric order on the whole. Both plans are held in the Northamptonshire Record Office and reproduced in Henderson, p.88.

was, in turn, admired by Francesco Sansovino, another philosopher, whose work focused on the history and sequence of time, the nature of government and the geography of the world. All of these Renaissance writers, and more, were well represented in Tresham's library. It would not be hard to argue, therefore, that the Lyveden gardens represent one of the earliest examples, in this country, of a formal, axial²⁸⁶ landscape layout, invested with everything such a Renaissance design signified. Elegant, ordered, geometric, ideal: the message is clear and persuasive.

Yet, as we know, Tresham was a scholar of voracious appetite, and he consumed not only texts of Renaissance architecture, mathematics and philosophy. Hence, before leaving this consideration of the narrative implications of the design of the Lyveden gardens, we believe there is more to discover.

As we have said, a swift glance at the plan of the archaeology of the principal parts of the Lyveden gardens is striking. In fact, from the bottom of the terraces adjacent to the 'Old Bield' to the edge of the moats around the two southern mounts on the crest of the hill, it could have been laid out on paper and pegged out on the ground (employing the theodolite made by George Levens) in three, simple stages²⁸⁷. And, in fact, that seems to have been exactly what happened. With the theodolite and its compass being made ready in the early weeks of January, 1599, hours were then devoted to, 'measuring boundaries of the garden'. On 25th January, Levens spent time, 'taking the heights of the ascents adding 50 yards to garden'. Although it is not clear whether these surveys encompassed the whole layout - there seems to be no reason to assume otherwise.

The whole sequence of gardens which runs, N/S, up the hill, can be divided into three equal rectangles, each measuring 225 yards in length.

225 yards is 675 feet; this, in turn, is 37 ½ Tresham 'pooles'. Conventionally, a pole was a measurement of about 16 ½ feet²⁸⁸. Bearing in mind that a consistent measure was associated with the development of mapping systems and, therefore, a desire to establish a country-wide homogeneity gathered importance in the 16th century, a regular pole quickly became an invaluable tool in surveying and calculating the amount of land associated with commercial or agricultural exchanges; indeed, its use facilitated the exercise of power and ownership. But it is important to emphasise that, in different parts of the country, the length measured by a pole varied somewhat. It might be 15 ½ feet - and, for Tresham, it was 18 feet. He leaves a precise instruction in a letter written in October, 1597, from prison, to his Lyveden keeper, John Slynne.

'I have directed George {Levens} how to draw the peremiter (or circuit) of the garden platt, wherein my garden lodge now standeth. Within the walks ytt ys - 108 yardes - square. Which of - 18 - feete to the poole, conteneth - 18 pooles. Consequenttly the area measure thereof (called square measure) ys - 324 - pooles, which is - 4 - acers and - 4 pools'²⁸⁹.

It must be said that we have come across no other definition of a pole as 18 feet; this seems to be peculiar to Tresham. That he was employing what one can only call a very personal - to others, indecipherable - length for his 'poole', serves to remind us, if we should need it, that Tresham worked hard to be obscure. But, in this instance,

²⁸⁶ Axial in terms of the thrust of the composition, if not in relation to his buildings.

²⁸⁷ We do know that Tresham, writing to John Slynne, from prison, in October, 1597, reported that, 'I have directed George how to draw the perimeter or circuytte of the garden platt wherein my garden Lodge now standeth'. HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.l.

²⁸⁸ An acre could be measured as 160 square rods.

²⁸⁹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.x.

because he had to issue instructions from prison (at a time when he was developing his complex programme of numbers and images, for his paintings at Ely) he has given us the clue. The key measure employed when laying out the gardens at Lyveden was the 18' pole; thus, each of the three main units comprised 37 ½ Tresham poles.

As always, using the few hints donated to us by Tresham, the desire to search for meaning is irresistible; and, one has to acknowledge that, sometimes, it is not so very hard to 'discover' a meaning and attach it to Tresham's imagery, his measurements or his words. But, is our journey of 'discovery', our struggle to string together a collection of circumstantial facts, little more than our wish-fulfilment, our fabrication? To that we have no answer: we can only leave that thought resting here, as a challenging question (to ourselves, as much as to any reader).

With all that in mind, we did go on to consider whether or not there might be any significance invested in any of these numbers; in 37 ½, for example? Given that we know that so many of his measurements were permeated with a burden of religious meaning, this was where we started.

Tresham's library – as it has come down to us – included no fewer than 27 Bibles, augmented by the eight he donated to St. John's College, Oxford. These are mainly in Latin, but also Greek, Italian, French, Spanish and even English. They represent several different editions, but the majority were up-to-date, the outcome of the very considerable amount of contemporary scholarship – lent weight and focus by the Papacy – which was being invested in early biblical texts, understanding of which, it was hoped, would lead to a 'correct' translation.

That Tresham was absorbed by such research and debate cannot be doubted. Once more, looking through his library, one cannot help but be amazed: time and again, we find not only the many Bibles but also a large number of the most important exegetical texts of the period. The very influential and controversial Origen Admantius is there; 3rd century Greek scholar and sometimes called the first Christian polemicist, whose *Opera quae quidem extant omnia*, 1571, includes discourses and homilies on both Old and New Testaments. For almost two centuries, Origen was regarded as an inspirational Christian philosopher. He was admired by many 4th century theologians – a number of whom went on to be identified as significant Church Fathers – including St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria; St. Basil, Bishop of Caesarea; St Gregory of Nazianus, Archbishop of Constantinople; St. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa; St John Chrysostom, another Archbishop of Constantinople; and Eusebius, another Bishop of Caesarea. Origen's emphatically Platonic understanding of Christian texts meant that he asserted the rational power of Man to come to God; in other words, the inevitable expression of Man's ability to recognise the ideal was that, in time, all could arrive before God. Origen's influence was pervasive and one of the most important Christian philosophers, St. Augustine, 5th century Bishop of Hippo, was at first inspired, and later repelled, by his work.

Tresham possessed works by Origen and all the Church Fathers listed above. He also had at least eleven volumes, representing the whole of Augustine's known output, including the authoritative *Confessio* and *De Civitate Dei contra Paganos*. The latter, *The City of God*, was enormously influential, for, whilst acknowledging – indeed, insisting upon – Man's intrinsic sinfulness ('original sin'), which would inevitably lead to self-indulgence, debauchery, corruption, conflict and chaos, Augustine argued that God offered the triumphal prospect of the 'City of God' (the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'), the consolation of life after death. Unlike the ascetic Origen, who had argued that Man could choose to follow, or forsake, God, of his own free will, St. Augustine – who had enjoyed and fought against the sins of the flesh – rejected Origen's Platonic view and denied the power of rational Man, asserting that God is beyond human

predication; only God's grace reveals the way. For Augustine, the divine pedagogy of scripture, leading eventually to the mystery of the Passion and the Eucharist, was the only route via which Man could enter the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'; without that, Man's understanding could not encompass more than the clay of this earth. In this theological distinction lay the source of much argument, both in Augustine's lifetime and thereafter: as a debate, it was especially important for the recusant Catholics of England.

In Tresham's time, many of the most well-known theologians were Augustinian in persuasion, and by far the majority were associated with the University in Louvain - a vital centre of contemporary scholarship, as we have already seen. And, we can confirm that Tresham's library included not only the historical titles mentioned above, but also almost all of the significant theological texts written by his peers. Could his profound engagement with theological scholarship have infused any of Tresham's garden layout at Lyveden?

We return to the fact that these gardens were disposed, essentially, as three rectangular units, each 37 ½ poles long. Starting with the Old Testament, we considered which books contained 37 chapters or more.

By the 16th century in the West, there was a degree of consistency in the numbering and sequencing of books, chapters and verses of the Bible. But, for accuracy, we examined more than one edition, including the hugely influential, *Biblia sacra. Quid in hac editione a theologies Lovaniensibus praestitum sit, eorum praefatio indicate*, owned (and, indeed, annotated) by Tresham, and printed by Plantin, in Antwerp, in 1583. This is one of the most beautiful publications of the period and includes several fine copper engravings (which, at the time, were far more complex and time-consuming to execute than wood cut), with a splendid frontispiece and even two fold-out maps of the geography of the Holy Land, pertaining, in particular, to the trials of the Israelites (Figs.4/60). This volume was important, too, because of its origins in that centre of theological scholarship, Louvain. Moreover, the 1583 edition was completed with the exegesis of Francis (Franciscus) Lucas, *Notationes in Sacra Biblia*. Lucas was a particularly important figure who, in 1570-71, was given the task of advising the papacy on the most accurate text of the Bible. Accordingly, he studied Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, so that he could translate from original sources, searching for a philologically justified understanding. His *Notationes* contained his explanations of the various readings of the Bible. And, it was this 1583, Plantin Bible, with its accompanying scholarly text, which served as the basis for successive papal committees in Rome. Their work eventually led to the 1590-92 publication of the 'Sixto-Clementine' Vulgate (for Popes Sixtus V and Clementine VIII) – the definitive version of the Vulgate Bible: and, yes, Tresham had the latter in his library, too. Like Origen, Augustine, Lucas and others, Tresham wished to penetrate the content of the scriptures, and was known, even in his time, as a significant secular theologian himself.



Figs.4/60 *Biblia sacra*, owned (& annotated) by Tresham, and printed by Plantin, in Antwerp, in 1583. The map shows the Holy Land.

Focusing, then, on the (translated) text from the 1583 Plantin Bible, we discovered that there are relatively few books which contain as many as 37 chapters. They are in the Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Job, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It is probably true that one can gather together any number of biblical verses, randomly selected, and conjure a spiritual or moral tale out of them. And, in this instance, one can, indeed, do this. The only hint that this might have been something which Tresham consciously pulled together, as a narrative, to be secretly manifested in his gardens, is that, in Origen's homilies, we find that he studied the books of the Old

Testament in this order: of what he called the 'historical books', he examined Genesis and Exodus; of the 'books of wisdom', he studied Job and Psalms; and of the 'prophetic books', Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Thus, the given order and exposition of their meaning would have been something with which Tresham was intimately familiar.

The narrative, extracted from chapters 37 of these books, focusing on the first nine verses (i.e., half of the 18 feet in a Tresham pole), follows thus.

'Historical Books'

GENESIS

Joseph, son of Rachel²⁹⁰ and favoured son of Israel, dwelt in Canaan, but was reviled by his brothers. Ultimately, Jacob was sold by his brothers (founders of the twelve tribes of Israel) into slavery, in Egypt.

EXODUS

Moses²⁹¹ led the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, carrying with him Joseph's body, as he had wished to be returned to the Holy Land. During the wandering years of the exodus, God revealed to Moses the Ten Commandments, inscribed on tablets of

²⁹⁰ We know that Tresham did have an interest in, 'my beloved, beautiful and graceful Rachel', whom he mentioned in his letter to Lord Henry Howard, written on July 16th, 1603 (H.M.C. *Op.cit.*, p.125). 'Rachel' appears in the same breath as Tresham's insisting that he was prepared to serve a, 'long prenticeship', if it meant that he, 'a wretched sinner', could serve his, 'Omnipotent giver' and could remain devoted to Rachel. We know of no Rachel who might have been beloved by Tresham, other than biblical figure: Jacob's second wife, Joseph's mother, and one of the founders of the twelve tribes of Israel. Rachel might have been a compelling figure for Tresham because, after she had died giving birth to her second son, Benjamin, she was thought to have been buried between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Moreover, with her resting place in the Holy Land, Rachel could have been a figure of great symbolic power to Tresham. As an educated man, Tresham would have been taught both the persuasive power of rhetoric and how to deploy it and, as a man whose faith was refined by Jesuitical teaching, he would have known the iconography and the grammar of recusant rhetoric. He shared an understanding that, in referring to one event / personality / set of circumstances, he could thus invoke a second, perhaps better-known, perhaps politically- or religiously-suspect, parallel. In this instance, Rachel could stand as a representative of Mary and even, perhaps, of Jesus. This kind of associative symbolism was especially useful in a religious context, as the author (i.e. Tresham) could take for granted both a given body of knowledge and a given understanding of the practice of rhetoric. Hence, he could take for granted the fact that fellow recusants would immediately recognise that, whilst 'Our Lady' could not be 'beloved' without raising Protestant suspicion, Rachel could. The 'tag' of Rachel would be amplified, in the understanding of a fellow recusant, with the significance of Mary. In fact, Rachel carried with her a plenitude of precious connotations. Her name means 'sheep' or, more specifically, 'ewe' and, when Joseph first encountered her near the well, Rachel was watering her family's sheep. Thus, she was, at once, Jesus, taking care of the sheep, and one of those who required the Saviour's care. She, the ewe, died giving birth to her son which, in turn, heralded Mary's greater burden of giving birth to the 'Lamb', before watching him die. 'C.N.', the anonymous Elizabethan author of a poetic meditation on 'Our Ladie', includes this specific trope, when describing the birth of Christ and the Passion. See, Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric, English Recusant Writing, 1580-1603*, 1995, p.p.72-76.

²⁹¹ It also seems that Tresham identified himself with Moses: the narrative of leading the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt and into the Promised Land doubtless appealed. As early as October, 1581, when defending himself against the charge that he was a practising Catholic, Tresham wrote a letter from the Fleet (probably to Lady Vaux) which included a long denunciation of those who defamed him. Specifically, he reminded his correspondent that, 'Miriam (or Mary, as she is here called), .. was stricken with leprosy for "detracting from Moses"'. A priest would later describe Tresham as, 'a wall of brass against the forces of hostile domination', and specifically compared him to Moses: 'if though hadst not stood in the breach against the violators of the Catholic faith, many ... would not have battled so stoutly in the Lord.'

stone. In chapter 37, Beseleel, or Bezalel, is building and enriching the Ark of the Covenant, to carry the tablets.

'Books of Wisdom'

JOB

Job, like Moses, was tested by God. Chapter 37 sees Job's world struck by thunder and bitter tempest, flood and snow. St. Augustine had recorded that Job heralded the coming of Christ. For recusants, Job was particularly important because, despite shunning evil, he was severely tested by God, losing family, health, property.

PSALMS

In chapter 37, we have part of the Song of David: another figure who cries to God, proclaiming his worthlessness and begging forgiveness. In verse 9, David declares, 'I am afflicted and humbled exceedingly: I roared with the groaning of my heart'.

'Prophetic Books'

ISAIAH

In chapter 37, the story reflects on the terror of inescapable judgement. Worldly corruption will, inevitably, lead to retribution. Hezekiah, King of Juda, puts on sackcloth and ashes and pleads with God for rescue. But he cannot escape; he can only hope that the New Jerusalem will follow, after the day of tribulation.

JEREMIAH

In 'the land of Juda', the 'words of the Lord' were not obeyed. Jerusalem was besieged by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon and instrument of God's punishment. Though there seemed hope, when the Pharaoh of Egypt came to the city's aid, there was no escaping destruction. Everything in Jerusalem was burned, including Solomon's Temple and, along with it (unless, as some theologians argued, the prophet Jeremiah had rescued and hidden it, first), the Ark of the Covenant.

EZEKIEL

Chapter 37, verse 9, lies at the heart of this wonderfully poetic book - which includes the first record, in the Bible, of the 'New Jerusalem', the 'Heavenly City'.

In the midst of a plain, after all had been destroyed, with nothing left but dry bones, the prophet was commanded.

'Prophecy concerning these bones; and say to them: Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God to these bones: Behold, I will send spirit into you, and you shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh to grow over you, and will cover you with skin: and I will give you spirit and you shall live, and you shall know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as he had commanded me: and as I prophesied there was a noise, and behold a commotion: and the bones came together, each one to its joint. And I saw, and beheld the sinews, and the flesh came up upon them: and the skin was stretched out over them, but there was no spirit in them. And he said to me: Prophecy to the spirit, prophecy, O son of man, and say to the spirit: Thus saith the Lord God: Come, spirit, from the four winds, and blow upon these slain, and let them live again. And I prophesied as he had commanded me: and the spirit came into them, and they lived: and they stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.'

Thomas Tresham was, after all, not only an English Renaissance scholar, but also a knowledgeable and committed, secular theologian. His Lyveden gardens were,

surely, profoundly religious in their significance²⁹². And, if, as a visitor, one continued to climb out of the valley, away from the earthly home and up the steep hill, ever upwards - through the grace of God, there was a reward.

Are the terraces at Lyveden the stairway to heaven? In Tresham's mystical imagination, we are persuaded that they were. And there is one, final, phenomenon which lends weight to this understanding.

Whilst the geometry of Holdenby – and, indeed, of other contemporary gardens with which Tresham must have had some familiarity, including Theobalds or Burghley – is comparatively *ad hoc*, Holdenby and Lyveden do have in common the fact that the gardens are cast over steep, terraced hillsides. Yet the management of the hillsides is very different. Holdenby has a sequence of narrow, parallel terraces, in one instance associated with a 'rosiary' or 'roserry' (see Fig.4/59). In contrast, Tresham negotiates the climb with terraces which are much bolder and more sculptural than those of Holdenby. It would not have been possible to climb Tresham's terraces in a hurry, or with thoughtless ease. The platforms were broad and, although of slightly different heights, it would seem that the incline of each, terraced, step was 15° (in itself, one of Tresham's favoured numerical symbols) - and, therefore, demanding enough to slow the pace, and make one conscious of the effort, even with stone, or substantial, timber, staircases helping with the climb. One would have been pleased to pause and survey the landscape once the final step had been negotiated; from this elevation, the house, in the valley below must have been visible. But, if we then wonder whether the prominent, rectangular vantage point that Tresham had provided here, was of any greater moment, we must ask, what else might have been visible? If we can admire the view northwards, towards the house, could we also turn to the south, and enjoy any of the features associated with the top of the hill from here?

Examining the levels on site today proves to be rewarding. True, of course, the land-modelling has changed and we need to remember that we are dealing with an unfinished building programme. But the degree of slope, from bottom to top, cannot be so very different from what it was 400 years ago. And, were Thomas Tresham to have stood on this promontory, looking up the hill, towards the south, he would just have seen the top of the pyramid mount that stands to the SE of the orchard. Much more extraordinary is the fact that, had the Lantern superstructure been built on the Lodge, optical illusion would have ensured that the two, polygonal, upper storeys would have appeared to sit neatly on the top of the pyramidal mount.

If nothing else, this observation clarifies – to us – several aspects of the designed gardens. The function of the bold, rectangular promontory, thrusting itself northwards, was to provide a defined viewing platform, from which was available an impressive panorama. To the south, the vision of the (imaginary) Lantern seeming to rest on the pyramidal mount would only have been available from this bastion - not the much wider terraces. There was never to have been a hedge dividing the terraces from

²⁹² Tresham was not unique in thus investing his garden with mystical symbolism. Roy Strong quotes John Taylor, the Water Poet, who paid a visit to Wilton in 1623 (i.e., before it was famously altered and developed from the 1630s). There, he admired, 'such a deal of intricate setting, grafting, planting, inoculating, railing, hedging, plashing, turning, winding, returning, circular, triangular, quadrangular, orbicular, oval; and every way curiously and chargeably conceited: there hath he made walks, hedges and arbours, of all manner of the most delicate fruit trees, planting them and placing them in such admirable art-like fashions, resembling both divine and moral remembrances, as three arbours standing in a triangle, having each a recourse to a greater arbour in the midst, resemble three in one and one in three; and he hath there planted certain walks and arbours all with fruit trees, so pleasing and ravishing to the sense, that he calls it 'Paradise', in which he plays the part of a true Adamist, continuously toiling and tilling.' Roy Strong, *Op.cit.*, p.122.

the orchard, obscuring the exchange of views; nor would there have been a planting of trees or shrubs on the terraces that was so dense that it might have hidden these long views. And, the tops of the pyramid mounts were never intended to have been planted with trees or tall shrubs. No obstacle was to have come between the visitor and what he might behold on the hill-top. If not in reality, at least in Tresham's imagination, there must have been the possibility of his glazed Lantern glittering in the sun – perhaps most spectacularly on a day such as Easter Day? – a promise of light as if from heaven, cast on the earth (Fig.4/61) (a glimpse of the 'New Jerusalem', the 'Heavenly City'?). For Tresham, preparation and deliberation were all.

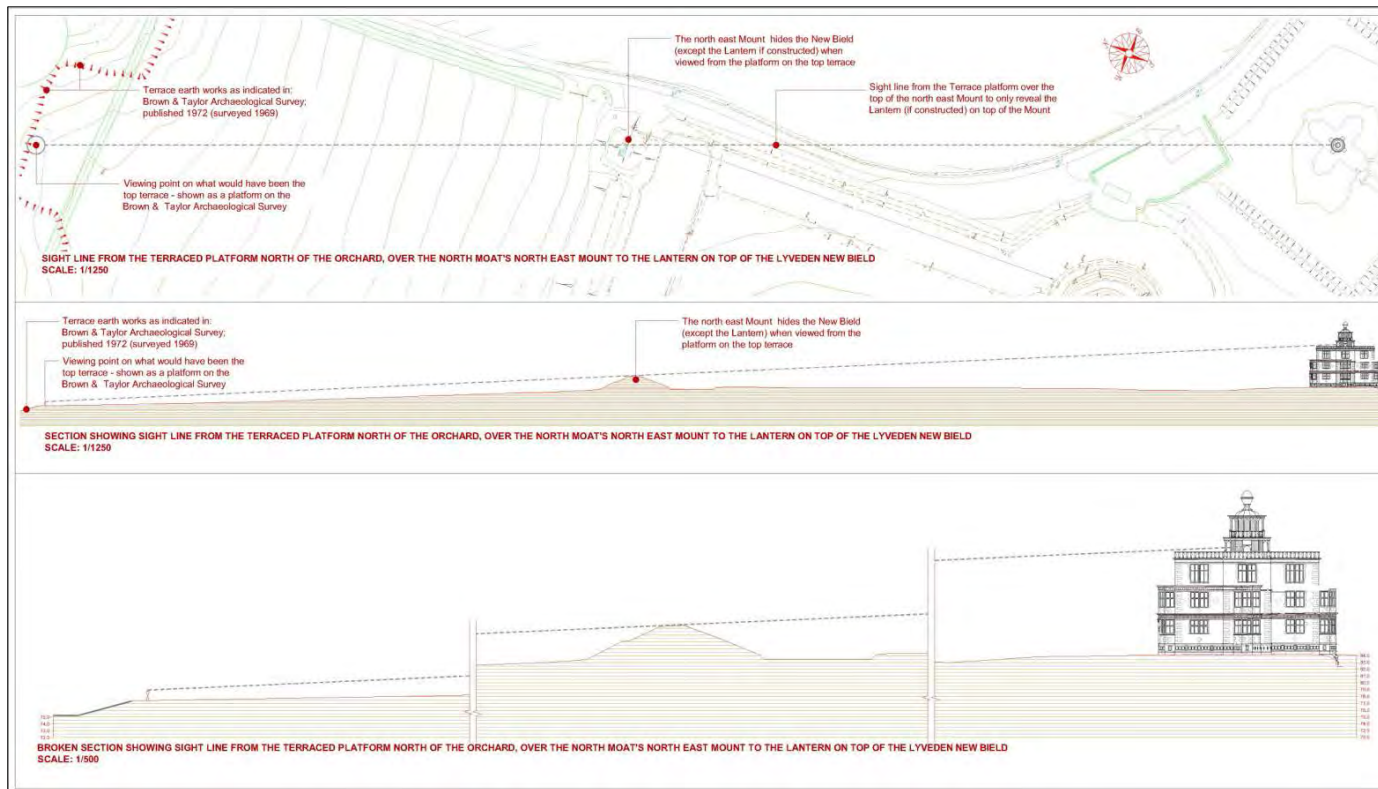


Fig.4/61 Cross-section, showing view from terraced platform, above Lyveden Manor, towards the 'Lyveden Lantern'.

4.9.3 The Gardens at Lyveden: mounts, moats, labyrinth and arbours

4.9.3.1 Mounts & Moats

Preparation was, indeed, at the heart of the continuing development of the garden, in the southern area, towards the crest of the hill. Once the terraces had been climbed, the visitor reached the next, rectangular garden area, probably an orchard, disposed over the natural slope of the hill. The path may have divided the orchard into two (as suggested by the smudged shadow bisecting the gardens, visible on the 1944 aerial photograph, (see Fig.4/53). At this point, however, views ahead were closed by a fairly substantial raised bund, completed at each end with a pyramidal mount. The visitor cannot see that the bund is also a dam to the northern arm of Tresham's new moat.

Like everything else, the construction of these features demanded deliberation.

We know that, on February, 1600, when Tresham was out of prison, Levens spent, 'from morning until dinner and then until 3rd hour discussing with Lord and drawing diagrams of mounds in the ponds of Lyveden and then reversing them'²⁹³. Such a glimpse into the way in which Tresham and his associates were working is wonderful: its intimacy brings us close to them as individuals, as they were keenly planning, measuring and drawing the layout of this garden. It reveals something of the care, even the obsessiveness, with which every angle and dimension was calculated; it might even lead us to a confident claim that the angle of slope of the embanked dam or one of the mounts was then continued as the angle of the sides of the adjacent moat.

In this context, Peter Foden has annotated his translation of Levens' notes with an intriguing observation. The Latin word he is translating as 'mound' or 'mount', is 'agger'. But this is not the only possibility. 'Agger' could also be translated as 'embankment' or 'rampart'. This might mean that Tresham and Levens were calculating and then 'reversing' the angled profile not of one of the mounts, but of the whole embanked dam which contains the northern arm of the moat. In fact, we suspect that the latter may be exactly what happened.

When the moats were desilted in 2000, the findings suggested that, 'the moats were originally constructed with an approximately flat bottomed or very broad V-shaped profile' (in other words, perhaps not dissimilar to an upside-down embankment) (Fig.4/62)²⁹⁴.



Fig.4/62 Photograph taken during desilting of moats in 2000. Photograph: Brian Rix

Whilst we have not analysed a large number of water-bodies constructed in the years around 1600, we have examined a few and these include the lake at Bramshill, Hampshire, constructed for Lord Zouche (royal ward, under William Cecil, from 1570) in the early years of the 17th century. When drained down, it was quite clear that the sides of an island constructed in the middle of the lake were retained by the simple device of weaving thin sheets of timber (probably elm) around and between regularly-placed, upright stakes (Fig.4/63).

²⁹³ See *Appendix B*.

²⁹⁴ This is confirmed in Rackham & Jefferson, *Archaeological Watching Brief at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, 2012. At this time, the channels were drained down and surveyed.



Fig.4/63 Bramshill, Hampshire, 2005, evidence of construction, with revetment, of island in lake, early 1600s (following drain-down of lake; A4 sheet of paper included, for scale).

In contrast, as we see from the photographs taken at Lyveden in 2000, the original profiles of the Lyveden moated channels demonstrate no such revetment (and that, in itself, might well have contributed to some current problems with slumping edges). Instead, the profile of mount, embankment and moated channels comprises one, continuous, fluent composition - an emphasis, perhaps, on the conceptual unity of Tresham's layout²⁹⁵.

And yet, whilst the composition and, therefore, the inherent narrative, is absolutely coherent, visually, the separate elements also have a life of their own. It is quite apparent that the high, stepped, embankment which divides the orchard from the moats, the two pyramidal mounts at each end of this bund *and* the two, larger, 'snail' mounts, which are built at the southern end of the moat system, lend this part of the Lyveden gardens a powerful and dynamic character.

Almost certainly, Tresham had already built a substantial mount at Rushton (Fig.4/64).



Fig.4/64 Detail of view of Rushton: planted mount, depicted in 1741

²⁹⁵ Brian Dix reported that it was the original profile of the moat which was identified, confirming the results of auger transects made July 2000, by Dr. Chris Hunt, Geographical Sciences Dept., University of Huddersfield. 'Its base is overlain by clay-rich light grey silt 100-200mm thick, representing an early deposit above which soft darker silt has been accumulating more recently. The contrasting colour and yielding consistency of the later deposit makes it easily distinguishable and it was carefully removed with archaeological monitoring'. *Archaeological Supervision and Watching Brief during dredging works at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire, September- October 2000*, p.1. The 2012 Rackham & Jefferson report provides some further details and revisions to this conclusion; but there is no fundamental challenge to our argument.

Of course, a mount is by no means an unusual feature in an Elizabethan garden. At Lyveden, however, there are four mounts and a raised embankment: this is somewhat less than usual.

Are there any comparisons? Contemporary descriptions of gardens, including their mounts, raised walks and other distinctive features, vary enormously and many leave one longing to gain closer access. On the other hand, there is a small number of commentaries which really do allow a glimpse of life as it was lived in the years around 1600, in the many country residences being built and elaborated during this period. For example, there is a particularly interesting inventory, dated 1648, relating to Clifton Maybank, in Dorset. This was built in the mid-16th century for the Horsey family, who had done well out of the Dissolution. Their final contribution to the estate, before they left in the 1640s, was the rather fine gatehouse, two storeys plus corner towers, built in c.1600. But, much of what was described in 1648 must reflect earlier development.

'In front of the house a square greene court, and a curious gate house with lodgings in it ...; in a large outer court three stables, a coach-house, a large barne and a stable for oxen and kine... ... of the south-east side of the greene court, towards the river, a large garden. Of the south-west side of the greene court is a large bowling greene, with fower mounted walks about it, all walled about with a batteled wall, and sett with all sorts of fruit; and out of it into the feildes ther are large walkes under many tall elmes orderly planted. There are several orchards and gardens about the house, 14 acres well planted. ...'²⁹⁶.

It is not hard to imagine that the arrangement of estate buildings and gardens, apparently fairly compact, might have appeared familiar to those working at Lyveden. The description is interesting for a number of reasons, not least because one recognises this sequence of separate functions and enclosures – gate house, coach house, stables, barns and cattle-shed, water, fruit trees, gardens, viewing mounts or 'mounted walks', ornamental walls, bowling green, shadowed walk beneath trees – as a product of a self-sufficient estate in the 16th century. It is not clear if these gardens were axially arranged or had any geometric relationship with the house; but we do get an impression that the sequence of different gardens was not random. And, in several places, walks and exchanges of view between different areas of the gardens were a vital part of the designed experience. The four mounts or 'mounted walks' – probably raised embankments, with a 'batteled wall' – were key to the layout. There is something about this emphasis on the experience of movement through or around a garden – which is contrasted with the outer 'feildes' – which seems to echo what we find at Lyveden²⁹⁷.

Can we describe this as a shift away from a relatively static experience, in the separate enclosures of many an Elizabethan garden, and towards a more dramatic sense of composition? Certainly, that would be a legitimate description of another, slightly later, garden, whereof we have a fairly detailed plan. In 1595, the lease of Twickenham Park was purchased by Francis Bacon. Lying close to the river bank, opposite Richmond Palace, this was an ideal place for both politics and gardening. In 1599, Bacon entertained the Queen here. In 1606, however, Bacon sold the lease

²⁹⁶ Paula Henderson, *Op.cit.*, p.3. Clifton Maybank thereafter had an interesting history. In 1786, most of the house was demolished. At this time, Edward Phelips, of Montacute (six miles away), purchased '600 feet of plain ashlar' – including porch, pillars, some windows etc. – and added it to the west front of Montacute.

²⁹⁷ It is worth noting that, at Cecil's Theobalds, too, there was an avenue of trees leading from the garden to the park.

and in c.1608, it was acquired for Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford²⁹⁸. She, a keen and knowledgeable gardener, set about planting and developing this garden. It was recorded by Robert Smythson, in 1609 and its design has usually been ascribed to the Countess (Fig.4/65). As Paula Henderson demonstrates, however, it seems unlikely that what Smythson depicted in 1609 excluded all sign of Francis Bacon's garden²⁹⁹. At the very least, therefore, we are here given access to a garden which was the expression of ideas developed by both Bacon and Lucy Harington at this key moment, at the turn of the century.

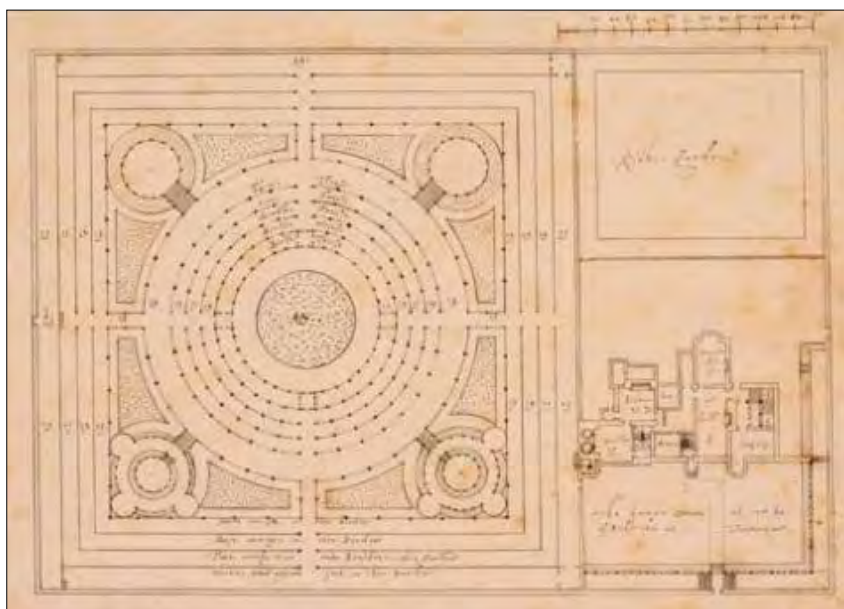


Fig.4/65 Plan of the Countess of Bedford's garden at Twickenham (c.1609).

'The garden is 321 feet square, bounded at its perimeter by a wall. Within this it is encompassed by a series of hedges: an outer one of quickthorn, one of 'trees cut into Beastes', a third of rosemary and a fourth of fruit trees. ... In the middle there is a circle, probably of grass ..., followed by concentric circles, three of birch and two of lime with an outer circle of fruit trees. Flights of steps at each of the corners lead up to what must have been raised vantage points planted with trees, perhaps even topped by pavilions..' ³⁰⁰.

We are dealing, here, with a garden that is not so far from the scale of Lyveden, apparently dominated by four mounts at the outer corners - which must have been c.50 feet in diameter. An immediate visual comparison with another circular layout can be (and has been) made with an illustration of a maze, from Thomas Hill's 1568, *The Profitable Art of Gardening*; but the size – and, therefore, the ambition – seems to be of a very different order. The mounts in the Twickenham garden must have afforded very striking exchanges of view, both within the walled enclosure and – surely? – beyond; towards the house and embracing a much bigger panorama, thus establishing a clear contrast between the 'civilised' interior and the 'wilder' exterior countryside. Interestingly, however, we also find that this garden is planted with a sequence of hedges and trees, different from one another in height, habit, colour and management. The promise of views from the mounts would have been

²⁹⁸ Lady Bedford had been a favourite in Queen Elizabeth's court and in the early years of James I became the centre of a circle of poets and scholars, including John Donne, Michael Drayton and Ben Jonson.

²⁹⁹ Paula Henderson, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Essay 'Of Gardens' in context', *Garden History*, Vol.36:1, Spring 2008, pp.72-73.

³⁰⁰ Roy Strong, *Op.cit.*, 1998, p.122. The following quotation is taken from the same source.

tantalising; and yet the planting layout suggests that the visitor's ability to grasp any broad view of the walled garden itself, or readily to understand the spatial relationships of walks, trees and shrubs, would have been challenged. This is a garden which plays with the mind and imagination of the viewer; in fact, it reflects the contemporary interest in exploring effects of pictorial perspective, light, shadow, movement and colour.

Moreover, Roy Strong speculates that the garden of this, 'cultivated and extravagant', and extremely rich, woman, was, 'surely an emblematic one based on the familiar plan of the pre-Copernican universe, the circle in the centre being Earth followed by Luna, Mercury and Venus (birch circles), Sol and Mars (lime circles), Jove (fruit trees circle) and Saturn (beyond)'?

These comparisons are useful because they place Tresham's layout, with his four substantial mounts and the long, stepped embankment, in the context of contemporary taste and expectation. We have already discussed the impact of Platonic and Renaissance philosophy (as well, of course, as personal theology) on the ordered formality of his Lyveden garden. Experiencing the terraced climb up the hillside and the opportunities afforded by no fewer than four mounts and a raised platform introduces something else - a thrust towards what Roy Strong calls the 'Mannerist' gardens of the early 17th century, replete with the dramatic visual effects and philosophic promptings. These attributes had been nurtured partly in Elizabeth's court³⁰¹; but they then flourished amongst the masques and theatricals of the early Jacobean years. Though we would not call Lyveden's gardens Mannerist, they are moving towards something which is dynamic, in the sense that the design very deliberately engages the body, eye and mind of the visitor and it challenges preconceptions. Lyveden's gardens were not only poetic and beautiful: they were also intended to be something of a provocation.

Provocation enough was certainly offered as one climbed upwards, through the orchard and towards the embankment and its flanking mounts. Views beyond were now quite curtailed by these considerable, upstanding, features.

4.9.3.2 Moated Orchard & Labyrinth

Eburne and Felus describe the character and visual impact of the stepped embankment, flanked by mounts, very effectively.

'The pyramidal mounts are integral to the tri-partite stepped terrace: there is clearly a correspondence in form between the terrace and the mounts that rise from it. In addition, a principal distinction between stepped and spiral mounts is that when ascending a spiral mount, the spectator's perspective both ascends and revolves; whereas in the case of the stepped mounts the spectator's perspective tends to be focussed in one direction during the ascent. At Lyveden, the use of stepped mounts at the north end of the moated orchard offered a direct perspective which would have increased

³⁰¹ Eburne and Felus note, for example, that the key experience in some Elizabethan gardens was the exploration, on foot, through its parts. 'The walking visitor might encounter not only the more or less typical delights of plants and animals, water and stone; but sometimes also more theatrical experiences such as symbolic or masque-like figures, who themselves suggested an additional layer of meaning to the garden - for example, the Graces and Hours who met Queen Elizabeth at Lord Hertford's house in 1591, or the Hermit who met her on her visit to Theobalds in the same year.' Thus there was, well before the turn of the century, the necessity of unravelling, 'a complex meaning and order which reflected not only that of the wider world, but also of its hidden essence and, for many, one which mirrored that of the world to come.' *Op.cit.*, p.58.

the drama whereby the moated orchard would be suddenly revealed to the ascending spectator.'³⁰²

Once again, we are dealing with a garden layout that was to be experienced in a given sequence: there was no escape from this dramatic narrative. The plan might have been that climbing the stepped embankment would be facilitated with steps, but then, one could not, with ease, go further. At the foot of the embankment, on the south side, was the widest and longest of Tresham's moated channels.

We would not be surprised to find, once again, that the geometry of the moated channels and the associated features reflected a narrative communicated with symmetry and number. Of course, measuring the moated channels today does not necessarily allow access to their exact layout in the late 16th century; and the 2013 survey of the moats, by Rackham and Jefferson, does debate the widths of the original channels, in some detail³⁰³. Nevertheless, there does seem to be something very deliberate about the fact that the northern moated channel is the most substantial: it is the longest, being the same length as the embankment and its mounts, at 30 Tresham poles, and it is the widest of the channels. It thus serves as a great barrier. At this key moment in the walk through the gardens – perhaps one should call it a pilgrimage – the traveller is faced by the intimidating combination of moat and embankment (Fig.4/66).

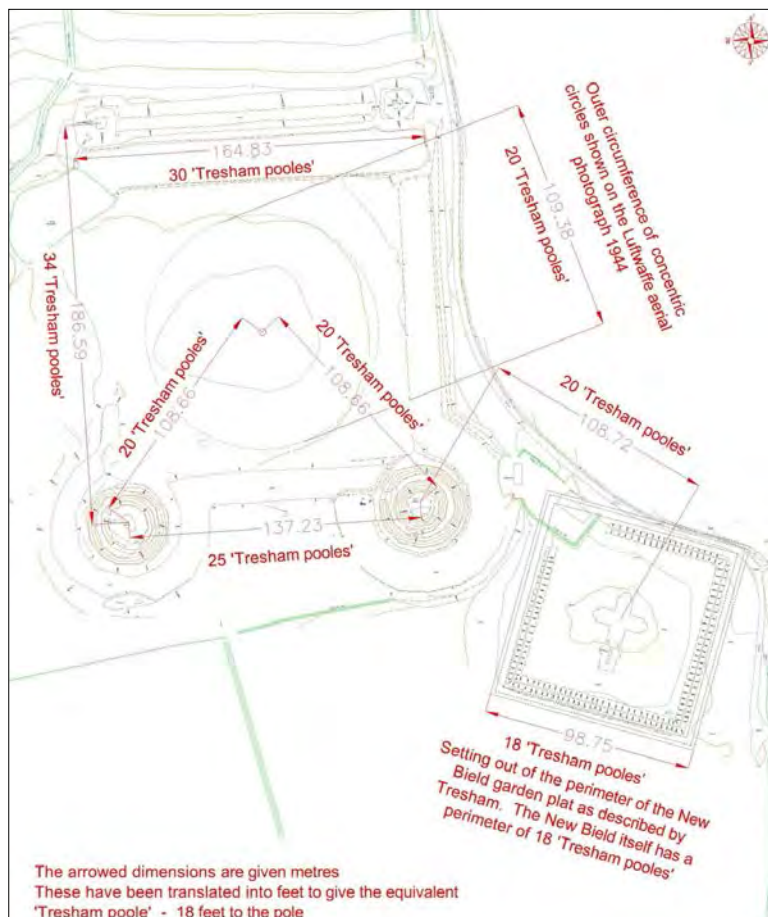


Fig.4/66 Plan of moated orchard and vicinity, measured in 'Tresham poles'. Note the measure of 30 poles defining the length of the northern moated channel and the embanked dam, with pyramidal mounts.

³⁰² Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp.71-72.

³⁰³ See Section 5 for a more detailed examination of the status of the moated channels, as informed by the Rackham and Jefferson report, as well as earlier surveys.

So - once one had made the climb to the top of the embankment or its mounts, where could one go? Today, unless one enters the moated orchard from the unfinished, western side, finding the way over the water remains a journey of discovery. In the north-eastern corner of the moated orchard, there is a fairly narrow causeway, access to which appears to be somewhat clumsy. The question one has to ask is, when was this access route created? Was this part of Tresham's plan?

Eburne and Felus clearly describe this causeway as intrusive, 'and incorrect in terms of understanding the route'³⁰⁴. They also report that the crudity of its accompanying modern gate and fence further damages the visitors' perception³⁰⁵. Interestingly, however, Rackham and Jefferson, in 2013, confirm that this causeway is nothing other than a baulk of clay; it is not a later addition, but was left intact, by Tresham's men, in order to facilitate the original construction of the moated channels. Although possible, it seems unlikely to us that this was the route envisaged by Tresham as the entrance to his moated orchard. This would have been altogether too easy.

The 2000 archaeological survey did, however, find some interesting information about an earlier – possibly original? – structure (Fig.4/67).

'Part of a limestone abutment was exposed at a depth of 200-300mm set into the outer edge of the northern moat just below the south-west corner of the E pyramidal mount. It comprises the stubs of two limestone walls c.1.50m apart and measuring c.2.90m (9ft 6in) overall, with clay and rubble packed in-between. They appear to form the ends of a projecting box-like structure ... Each of the surviving walls has been built in horizontal courses of roughly squared limestone blocks 300-360mm across and c.75mm thick (12-18in x 2-3in). ... There is no evidence for a corresponding arrangement on the opposite bank and it seems likely that the feature may have been intended as a small landing stage or jetty rather than a bridge abutment.'



Fig.4/67 Remnants of a limestone abutment, just below SW corner of E pyramidal mount. Photograph, Brian Dix, 2000.

³⁰⁴ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.90.

³⁰⁵ Eburne & Felus also note the concomitant damage being done to the north-eastern mount, which is close to the causeway and, 'gets more wear than its twin due to its proximity to the bridleway, modern access track'. *Op.cit.*, p.94.

Brian Dix's conclusion that this remnant structure might have been intended as a jetty is intriguing. It reminds us that the use of water in an Elizabethan garden was often a principal part of the enjoyment. The moat might, in form, have strong mediaeval and practical origins – intended as both protection and larder – but it became a setting for spectacle and drama, a means of getting from one feature in the garden to another, a vehicle for lending a quality of dynamism to the whole experience of a garden. Tresham would, of course, have witnessed this at Kenilworth, in 1575, when Queen Elizabeth's royal entertainment included the theatrical involvement of Neptune and the Lady of the Lake, the latter, with her nymphs, eventually floating over the moat to pay homage to the Queen. This was one of the first – but certainly not the last – of what flourished as courtly masques, often performed on water, often employing mythical figures and mystical narratives, evoking topical and philosophic themes, both entertaining and didactic. So – taking a boat onto the water at Lyveden would have been practical³⁰⁶; it might well also have had a more poetic significance.

Whilst Englishmen laying-out their estates anew certainly learned much about the management of water from the Dutch at this time, the exploitation of water bodies – whether natural or constructed – for sensational purposes really came from France. And, of course, lest we think of Tresham's being marooned either at Ely or Lyveden, cut off from the fashionable and courtly world by the 1590s and therefore unfamiliar with such things – in Androuet du Cerceau he had a marvellously illustrated encyclopaedia of all the greatest and most fantastic of French *chateaux*. Time and again, he would have seen that water-bodies – in the form of moats and canals, ponds and rivers – were central to the composition, intruding into the gardens, negotiating between gardens and park. And, time and again, these water-bodies were employed to challenge the visitor as he tried to walk around the gardens or reach the *chateau*: at Gaillon, there were great sheets of water in the gardens, with no means across other than a long walk around their perimeter; at Fontainebleau and Charleval, a very few causeways crossed the moats, located to maintain the geometry of the garden plan rather than for convenience; Chantilly was one of several where the only means of crossing the water was, as in mediaeval times, via a bridge and draw-bridge; and Dampierre was not the only *chateau* where a jetty gave access to nothing more than a ferry-boat.

Back in England, water gardens on a grand scale, like masques, really came into their own under James I.³⁰⁷ And yet, as we know, Paul Hentzner, who visited Theobalds on the day of Burghley's funeral, in 1598, penned the now oft-quoted description of the, 'ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs'³⁰⁸. We can have little doubt that, at Lyveden, Tresham was giving the layout and character of his moat the same detailed attention as he was giving all the other features, and intended his water-bodies to play their allotted part in his garden programme. Did he, indeed, intend that visitors should cross his wide moat by boat?

In the end, we have no answer. A trip by boat across the water – slow, difficult, symbolic – might well have fitted neatly into the meta-narrative of his gardens. On the other hand, perhaps the regular discussion about a bridge, in the early months of 1599, was in connection with access over the moats, rather than the crossing of the Lyveden Brook, to the north of the house?

³⁰⁶ We know, for instance, that Tresham referred to the 'plenty {o}f frye' in the 'new moate', in his 1597 letter to Slynne. Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xxii.

³⁰⁷ Roy Strong notes the large-scale water effects at both Prince Henry's Richmond and Robert Cecil's Hatfield, in the first decade of the 17th century. *Op.cit.*, p.126.

³⁰⁸ Quoted from Paul Hentzner's *Journey into England*, by Paula Henderson, *Op.cit.*, p.85.

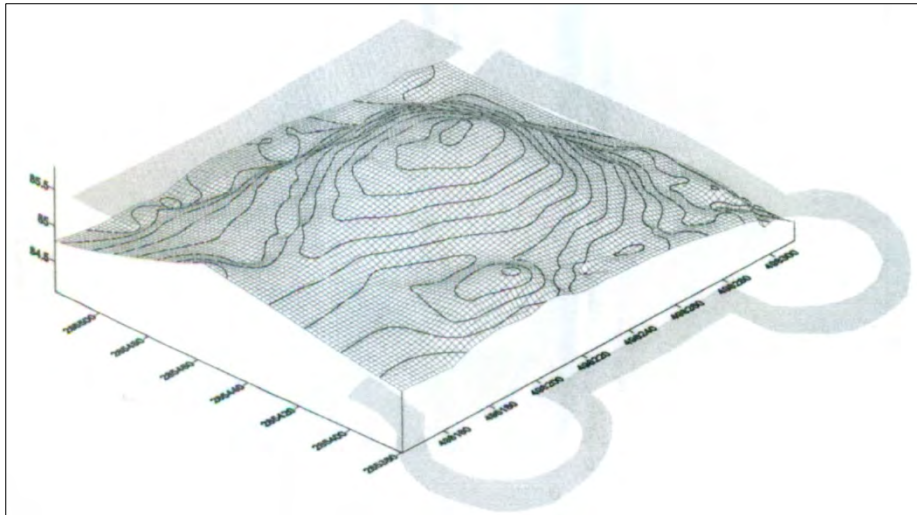
We return, now, to the visitor stranded on top of the embankment and its mounts. What he saw before him, cast across the moated orchard, on the other side of the channel of water, must have been quite another challenge. The Luftwaffe photograph reveals that there was, in the centre of the moat, a labyrinthine layout of concentric circles (Fig.4/68).



Fig.4/68 1940s aerial photograph, showing signs of circular motif laid out in centre of moated orchard.

That this was intended to be offered to view, readily seen by anyone standing on the northern prominences, is highlighted by the fact that the rectangle of the moated orchard remains, even today (after some fairly intensive post-War ploughing³⁰⁹), raised towards the centre (Fig.4/69).

³⁰⁹ In the Northamptonshire Archaeology report, *An archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield*, September, 2011, Joe Prentice notes that, 'for some of the period the land was under the plough caterpillar tractors were used which is hardly surprising given the intractable nature of boulder clay (Brian Dix pers. comm.)', p.10. It appears that the ploughing of the site continued possibly until 1988 (Eburne and Felus 2008)'. *Op.cit.*, p.10.



'These surveys display clearly the domed appearance of the central area of the Moated Orchard. Whilst on the ground the domed appearance seems to be a very even rise, and the ground level along the edges of the bordering canals also give the impression of a very level site, the survey reveals the variations in the actual site contours. The most significant of these appears to be the fact that the site seems to be the modified eastern end of a natural ridge which joins the plot from the western side. The methods of visually representing this survey convey the fact that towards the north and east sides of the area the ground rises slightly towards the edge of the bordering canals.'³¹⁰

Thus, from the mounts on the north, the view of this circular motif, at the heart of the moated orchard was very clearly displayed (this is true whether the topography were entirely natural, which Prentice implies, or whether additional earth was brought in to supplement the original form).

Joe Prentice, in the 2011 report on the archaeological survey (with trial trenches) of the moated orchard, analyses in further detail what can be learned from the 1944 aerial view. He makes the persuasive argument that, 'it seems probable that the circular rings within the Moated orchard ... are low undulations of either earthworks or differential growth casting long shadows'³¹¹. He goes on to describe what he sees in some detail.

'In some places the circles seem to show as continuous dark lines, in others a series of almost conjoined dots suggestive of a row of individual planting pits. It may be that the actual evidence was a combination of the two, continuous cultivation beds with slightly better defined pits where Tresham's gardeners planted individual roses and raspberries.'

Given what we know about Tresham, we should be surprised indeed if this motif were not burdened with some significant Catholic symbology. Since the discovery and analysis of the aerial photograph, the concentric circles have generally been translated as a labyrinth and the most telling comparison is that with the 12th century *Chemin de Jerusalem*, laid out on the pavement of Chartres Cathedral (Fig.4/70).

³¹⁰ Northamptonshire Archaeology, *Op.cit.*, p.15.

³¹¹ Northamptonshire Archaeology, *Op.cit.*, p.9.



Fig.4/70 The *Chemin de Jerusalem* labyrinth on the floor of Chartres Cathedral.

Andrew Eburne has made this particular comparison quite compelling, by overlaying the plan of the Chartres labyrinth on the moated orchard (Fig.4/71).

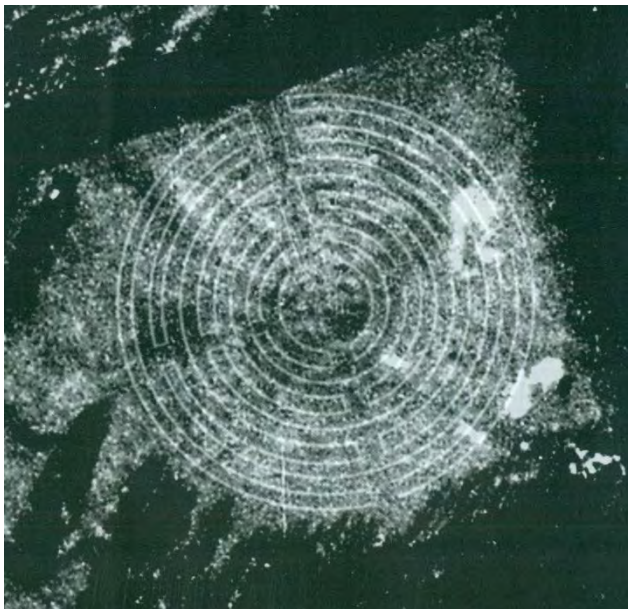


Fig.4/71 The moated orchard's circular borders overlaid with paths of the labyrinth from Chartres Cathedral. Illustration, Andrew Eburne.

As Eburne notes, however, at Lyveden, there appear to have been ten circular borders within the square of the moat. The *Chemin de Jerusalem* comprises eleven circles, disposed across the aisle floor, not far from the entrance door of the cathedral. Thus, whilst the comparison is persuasive – and we certainly recognise Jerusalem as being a focus for Tresham's theology – it is not necessarily the only one. Although Chartres was certainly a centre of pilgrimage, we have not been able to ascertain whether there was a specific source which would have introduced Tresham to an illustration of this labyrinth. On the other hand, he may well have known more about Italian labyrinths including, for example, the one on the floor of the Basilica of Our Lady in Trastevere, one of the oldest churches in Rome and one of the first (if not *the* first) to be dedicated to Mary - hence the series of fine, late 13th century mosaics depicting the Life of the Virgin (Fig.4/72).



Fig.4/72 Labyrinth (damaged) on the floor of the Basilica of Our Lady in Trastevere, Rome

Tresham would have been familiar with some of the architecture of Rome through his copy of John Shute's highly influential and finely illustrated *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture ysed in all the auncient and famous monymentes*, published in 1563, following his visit to Italy in 1550. There were, of course, other models, too: the gardens of both Nonsuch and Theobalds featured a labyrinth and, for Tresham, amongst the more immediate inspirations might have been found in his volumes of Greek and Roman texts, from Plato's metaphoric description of one of Socrates's dialogues as labyrinthine, to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, wherein Daedalus created a cunning labyrinth within which to conceal the Minotaur³¹². With the slightly later garden at Twickenham Park in mind, perhaps we should also recall that Plato arranged the universe in ten circles, with the empyrean – the abode of God – in the centre. Likewise – though they were fundamentally different from one another – both the geocentric, Ptolomaic model of the universe and the heliocentric Copernican model employed ten 'nesting' circles to convey their understanding of the spheres (see Fig.4/47).

This is quite enough to demonstrate that Tresham could have been working with a many-layered metaphor - and he would have understood that those who came and saw his labyrinth would also interpret it thus. And, in its way, each of these references offered the imperative of following the single path of the maze, in order to reach the heart of the world, the core of knowledge and revelation, the City of God. There is no doubt that, when a model of the Chartres' *Chemin de Jerusalem* was mown into the moated orchard at Lyveden, it appeared entirely at home (Fig.4/73).

³¹² There were also examples of mazes and labyrinths laid out in French gardens – Montargis and Gaillon, for example (the latter bearing a close visual similarity to the layout at Twickenham Park) – which Tresham could have found in his *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*, by Androuet du Cerceau. Roy Strong notes that the maze at Gaillon might have influenced the similar motif at Nonsuch. *Op.cit.*, p.39.



Fig.4/73 The pattern of Chartres' *Chemin de Jerusalem* mown into the moated orchard, viewed from the NW.

The problem remains, however, today, as it was in 1600: from the top of the mounts, it must have been by no means clear how to reach even the beginning of the road to the Holy City.

Returning to the moat channels themselves, we do not know how long it took to build them - though it is apparent that they remain unfinished. We know, of course, that there was already evidence of earlier moats near the top of the hill (see Fig.4/56); it is this evidence which suggests the presence of an earlier manor house somewhere in the vicinity³¹³. It might well have been the practical problem of completing the removal and infilling³¹⁴ of the old moats at the same time as retaining the inflow of water and completing the new moat system which delayed completion³¹⁵. Or – one has to ask – was there ever a plan to retain some of the older system and develop a much more complex set of water gardens than now exists?

In July, 1597, John Slynne reported to Tresham that, 'we go forward apace with the west square of your moat, and are now a levelling of your moated orchard.'³¹⁶ As Eburne and Felus report, this probably confirms that, in 1597, work was in hand on the beginnings of the western arm of the moat - and it is this part which remains incomplete today³¹⁷. Whether this represented the beginning of the project, or the last step towards completion is hard to say: much would have depended on how the provision of water was being managed.

³¹³ Steane, *Op.cit.*, p.45, reports, 'two moated sites both placed on the 250 feet contour mark, the more westerly near Lyveden New Bield and the more easterly situated midway between the Old Bield and Churchfield.'

³¹⁴ The survey undertaken by Northamptonshire Archaeology, in 2011, revealed the nature and degree of backfilling of the older moat. 'The upper fill contained large quantities of limestone along with ceramic roof and floor tile as well as domestic pottery. All dated to the mid-late sixteenth century suggesting that the final phase of backfilling had .. been undertaken at that date ... This suggests that this feature had been backfilled immediately prior to the creation of the late sixteenth century garden'. *Op.cit.*, p.12.

³¹⁵ Disconcertingly, Eburne & Felus report that the, 'historic out-buildings of the house were demolished in the 1960s and the rubble used to fill the remains of the moated site up the hill'. *Op.cit.*, p.108.

³¹⁶ Eburne and Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.27. The following quotation is from the same source.

³¹⁷ 'Some doubt has been expressed over which 'square' Slynne refers to, and whether the 'west square' is the same as the square within the moat. However, it should be remembered that 'square' denoting 'a square piece of land' is very rare in the 16th century. Slynne is almost certainly using the word here in its more usual contemporary sense, denoting the side of a square'.

There has been a suggestion that the source of the water for the moat is unknown³¹⁸. Whilst Rackham and Jefferson have clearly concluded that most of the water arrives as run-off from the surrounding land, it is certainly true that the more could be learned from an hydrological survey - perhaps especially in relation to the outflow, rather than the input of water. In addition to precipitation, it seems fairly apparent to us that the inflow was drawn directly from the same source which supplied the earlier moated system, to the north-west of the moated orchard. There is evidence, even today, that the inlet is in this area³¹⁹. The fact that the source of the water lies at the top of a hill remains something of a puzzle; though it must be assumed that, in the boulder clay, somewhere near the 250 feet contour mark, towards the the top of the hill, there is a perched water table. Certainly we know that the plateau on the top of the hill did get wet in Tresham's time (and standing water can still be apparent today). His instructions to Slynne, on October 9th, 1597, are preoccupied with directions about laying the ground around the New Bield to falls, to cast off the water; walks are to be deeply laid with old cobbles and pieces of stone, to prevent them from becoming miry under-foot; and cross-trenches and drains are to be laid, filled again with cobbles, to take the water.

'The deep dyked low alley, lying on the south syde of itt wyll greatly helpe ytt. Yf need bee some cross trenches and dreynes fylled with rounde cobbling ston and covered some six ynches with good moulde agayne (as my lyke dreynes usually ar)'.³²⁰

The fact that there was an earlier, quite extensive, moated system and that Tresham was very capable of managing drainage issues, means that there must be some effective circulation of water, allowing inflow and output, as necessary. Moreover, there is some suggestion that Tresham brought in appropriate expertise.

There is the intriguing intimation that a student of the priest, Father Hugh Hall, might have been involved at Lyveden, particularly in the construction of the moats. Eburne and Felus report that Hugh Hall, a Catholic priest, was an experienced gardener and had designed the layout at Holdenby³²¹, 'after advising Cecil's workforce with regards water at Burghley'³²². It is more than likely that this is one and the same Fr. Hugh Hall who produced a gardening manual, *Mr Halles a priestes discourse of gardeninge applied to a spirituall understanding*³²³ (Fig.4/74).

³¹⁸ Eburne and Felus write that, 'Lyveden's hydrology is anything other than obvious or intuitive.' They offer the suggestion that water might have been supplied by surface run-off and that it was dispersed by evaporation. This seems highly unlikely and we agree with the observation that, 'no .. dramatic technical innovation was needed'. *Op.cit.*, p.36.

³¹⁹ Although the remains of the earlier moat are not now apparent at first glance, there is still a damp ditch linking the mediaeval with the Tudor moat; the distinctive flora of the ditch reveals it as a frequently damp habitat. See Section 5 of this report for further information.

³²⁰ HMO, *Op.cit.*, p.li. We suspect that this reference to the 'deep dyked low alley', to the south of the New Bield, might refer to the old boundary ditch, which remains not too far from the Lodge and which would probably have been more use in carrying the water away than a new ditch around the platform of the Lodge, which is unlikely to have been completed – or even started – in 1597. This would suggest that there might still remain drainage runs, leading from the vicinity of the Lodge to the boundary ditch.

³²¹ Interestingly, Hatton also employed the Dutch engineer, Pieter Morris, to advise on his water gardens at Holdenby. Hatton had paid for Morris to come to London in 1581. Fr. Hugh Hall might, in turn, have learned much about water management from Morris, thereafter being able to take this knowledge to serve other estates.

³²² Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.36.

³²³ Paula Henderson, *Op.cit.*, p.115. The manual is now in the British Library, M.S. Royal, 18.C.III. The ms. includes sketches of tools, moralising aphorisms, and two designs for gardens. Disappointingly, there is no sign of a copy of this text in Tresham's library.

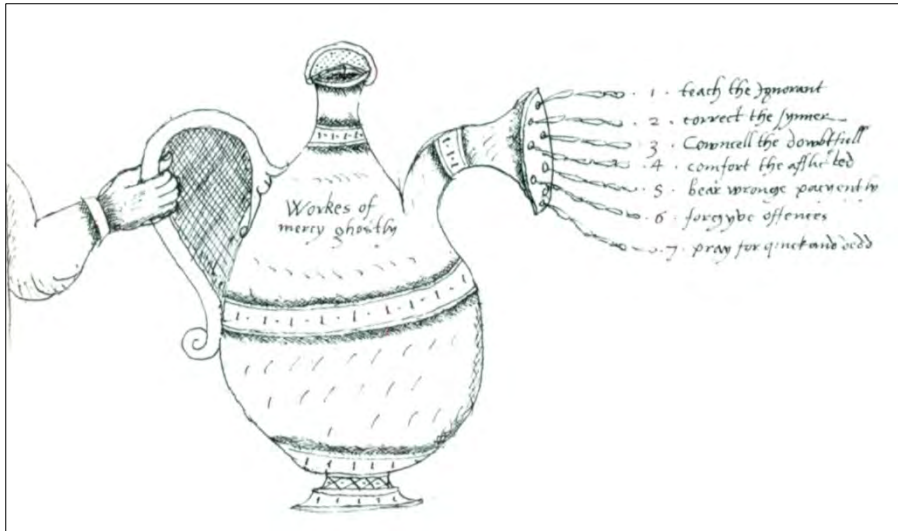


Fig.4/74 From Hugh Hall's 'discourse', showing a watering pot, with stream of water issuing, inscribed, 'teach the ignorant', 'correct the synner', 'councell the doubtfull', 'comfort the afflicted', etc. Interesting in that it demonstrates how the activity of caring for the garden operated as a metaphor for cultivating spirituality. The British Library.

It is also more than likely that it was this self-same Hugh Hall who had been accused, in 1583, of involvement in a plot to kill the Queen.

The plot was hatched in the household of the recusant and Catholic martyr, Edward Arden, who resided at Park Hall, Castle Bromwich, with his son-in-law, John Somerville. Hugh Hall seems to have lived there, for a time, perhaps disguised as a gardener. Edward Arden's wife was Mary Throckmorton, the half-sister of Muriel, Sir Thomas Tresham's wife³²⁴. Under interrogation, Hall apparently said that he had resided in several Midlands houses over the preceding 14 years. He mentioned John Talbot who, in the 1560s, had been busy laying out new gardens, with lake, fishponds and terraced walks at Grafton Manor³²⁵; Sir John Throckmorton, the brother of Tresham's guardian, Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton; and Ralph Sheldon, married to Anne, another of Sir Robert Throckmorton's daughters and, in 1580 – with Sir Thomas Tresham, Lord Vaux, Sir William Catesby, Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Throckmorton – summoned to appear before the Privy Council, accused (initially) of contempt of court. There can be very little doubt that Tresham was familiar with Fr. Hugh Hall and must have known about his work. If nothing more, we know that Tresham's sister, Lady Vaux of Harrowden, employed a gardener, 'bred up under the priest who lately died and excelled in gardening work'³²⁶. And, in his letter to John Slynne, of 9th October, 1597, Tresham specifically recommends that, if his men, 'cannot well manage the arbours', they, 'may do well to use him, as he is accounted a very honest man'.

4.9.3.3 Arbours

Thus we arrive at a discussion of features which were – insofar as we know – never completed and certainly have not survived: the arbours.

³²⁴ Arden's father, William Arden, was a second cousin to Mary Arden, mother of Shakespeare.

³²⁵ The Grafton Estate Book for 1568-9 mentions 'Mr. Hall's chamber' there and that he was twice paid 40s. by Talbot 'for his pains taken in the garden at Grafton.'

³²⁶ HMC, *Op.cit.*, p.iii. The following quotation is taken from the same source. We also note that Fr. Hugh Hall was a visitor to Rheims in 1580, according to the Douai Diaries. In c.1581, Thomas Tresham's brother, William, left England in haste, probably heading for the English College in Rheims.

In 1597, Tresham refers in his letter to John Slynne, to his 'orchard arbours' which, it seems, were begun, 'last spring'³²⁷. Speculation about where, and for which 'orchard', these arbours might have been intended is interesting, but ultimately unfulfilling, as there is so little to go on. All one can say is that 1597 seems to have been a period of intense activity - albeit, much undertaken on written instructions from Tresham, who was in prison. The mounts and the moated orchard were in hand: 'orchard arbours' do not immediately suggest, to us, that arbours were here intended on top of the mounts - though they might have been - and there would seem to have been little space within the moated orchard, which was still in the build. So one is left with the supposition that there were to have been at least two arbours, perhaps relatively small, ornamental timber structures, or something more like a covered walk³²⁸ (models for both of which would have been readily found in Tresham's pattern books), probably disposed in symmetrical fashion, somewhere in the middle orchard.

Eburne and Felus make it clear that 'arbours' of one kind or another were being discussed over a number of years. There is, for example, reference, in November 1604, to a 'terrace arbour', which seems to have been intended for one of the higher terrace platforms, towards the north of the site, where there was already a walk of elm trees³²⁹. It is worth observing, at this point, that the roughly contemporary gardens at Kirby and Drayton, both not far away from Lyveden, in Northamptonshire, were commanded by raised terraces, punctuated with arbours³³⁰. Perhaps the 1604 'terrace arbour' was to have been a similar timber structure, ornamented with scented and climbing plants?

But arbours could take many forms.

'Some "arbour o'ergrown with woodbines,"³³¹ or "pleached bower where honeysuckles ripen'd by the sun, forbid the sun to enter,"³³² were sure to be found in a secluded spot. "You may," writes Thomas Hill, "make the herbers either straight or running up, or else vaulted or close over the head, like to the vine herbers now adaies made"''.³³³

Thus, they could be on a relatively small scale or they might be something much more substantial, like a covered walk. Perhaps this is what Tresham had in mind when he referred to, '8 - large arbours'. He envisaged that, 'some of them may be converted to gardening as wherein to keep choice p[er]ants flowers etc.'. He continues,

'ye - 4 - myddle arbores may be sett - 4 - large entrances to be shutt vpp with rales or the lyke for carts {et cetera} .. whyle the lodge ys in buyldinge.

³²⁷ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.33. The authors presume this must be Spring, 1596, when Tresham was in Northamptonshire. Given that the latter is dated October, 1597, it might just as well have been Spring of that year.

³²⁸ We note, too, that Tresham's 1597 letter includes reference to, a, 'close arbor alley'. He adds, 'It wyll do well to plantt woodbynes among yor quick sette .. and att the portalls or entrances to your cloose walkes, to bee plentifully planted with .. woodbyne'. Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, pp.xxi-xxii. This arbour appears to have been a covered walk of some kind.

³²⁹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.31. We note, elsewhere, that wych elm was widely used at the time for fabricating living arbours.

³³⁰ The 'Great Garden' at Hatton's Kirby - including embanked terrace and arbour - has been recently restored by English Heritage.

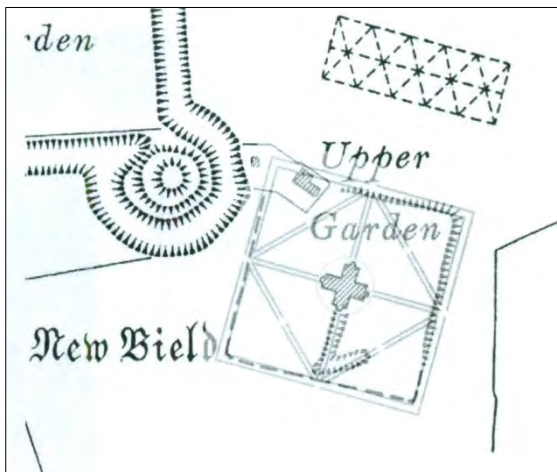
³³¹ John Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, a play first performed in 1608.

³³² Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing* (probably written 1598-99), Act III, scene 1.

³³³ Alicia Amherst, *A History of Gardening in England*, 1896, p.121.

Hearby the bulding wyll bee well fenced in, and the hedges well grown upp, {before} {...} lodge bee finished, and garden perfected'³³⁴.

In this context – where the arbours were intended to accommodate carts, temporarily, and, as such, might even have been roughly thatched or otherwise covered³³⁵ – it seems very likely that Tresham was here talking about hedged enclosures of some description. Eburne & Felus present neat sketches of two arrangements which Tresham might have had in mind here (Figs.4/75)



Figs.4/75 Sketches of two possible arrangements of hedged arbours, in the vicinity of the Lodge. Eburne & Felus, 2010.

There are indications that Tresham also envisaged yet another kind of structure. There is a very intriguing reference to a, 'birch arbour'. We learn a little more.

'Ther ys one of my dytchers at Haselbyrche who is greattly experyenced in settinge of byrches and of other wood and hath made many groues therof: .. yor fellowe george well knoweth hym: I wold he dyd come ouer to Lyveden to directe you herin - he altogither maketh his byrche groues, ashe, oke, {et cetera} altogither of sette'³³⁶.

³³⁴ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xi.

³³⁵ In 1597, Tresham exhorts Slynne to, 'look well to your carts, tumbrels, barrow etc that they ... be safely kept, and husbandly hovelled to preserve them from winters ... rain and moisture – They cost me dear..'. Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1.

³³⁶ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xix.

The description is tantalising indeed. One can imagine that birch wood might be employed for an arbour. John Evelyn wrote, in his 1664, *Sylva, or A Discourse of Forest-Trees and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominion*³³⁷, that arbours could be constructed out of 'poles' of untreated wood. He specified that the poles should, preferably be of ash or chestnut, and should be supported with 'quarters', by which he meant cleft oak timbers, about 6" square, 'which is best for lasting'³³⁸. It is clear, however, that mature birch was appropriately employed for gates and rails. For example, in 1597, John Gerard reported that birch, 'serveth well to decking up of houses and banqueting rooms, for places of pleasure and for beautifying of streets'³³⁹. And so, just the thing for an arbour.

Yet, Tresham seems to be talking about a newly-set grove of birch, which would certainly not provide adequate timber for construction purposes for many years. Perhaps he was referring Slynne to a 'ditcher' from 'Haselbirche'³⁴⁰ who already had access to a mature woodland of birch and had experience of working the timbers for ornamental purposes? The only other alternative is that Tresham was talking about nothing other than planting a grove of birch trees, in such a fashion as to provide a suitable 'arbour'. This might have been created out of several plants got from seed or from layering of selected, well-formed and well-coloured trees³⁴¹. On the other hand, there is that persistent question - if Tresham had something like this in mind, why should he recommend that Slynne might bring in an expert to advise?

Is there any suggestion that Tresham might have envisaged an arbour fabricated out of a grove of living birch trees? True, individual saplings of birch are reasonably flexible, vigorous and easy to work. They may not be as suitable for plashing or regular grafting as a willow, for example, but they can be grafted.

As so often when stuck on such matters - we turned to historic books about planting and propagation. And, though it is quite clear that Tresham's library was relatively poor in contemporary practical gardening or agricultural texts (that is, in comparison to the riches to be found on so many other topics), he did have the extraordinary, 20-volumed, 1591 edition of Giovanni Battista della Porta's, *Magiae Naturalis (Natural Magic)*³⁴². Book III comprises a study of plants (*Of the Production of New Plants*). Porta writes – rather fancifully – about techniques of grafting, focusing on how to graft fruit trees onto various hosts, including a plane, a poplar and an oak. He admits his indebtedness to Virgil and, like his Roman predecessor, he exaggerates the compatibility between stock and scion. Nevertheless, in this book, there are references to grafting techniques which Tresham – or, more particularly, his men – might have found inspirational, if not excessively practical.

³³⁷ First presented to the Royal Society in 1662 and published thereafter in 1664.

³³⁸ See Mark Laird, 'Parterre, Grove, and Flower Garden: European Horticulture and Planting Design in John Evelyn's Time', extract from, *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening, 1998*, p.190.

³³⁹ Marcus Woodward, *Leaves from Gerard's Herball, 1927*, pp.92-93.

³⁴⁰ Haselbech, already mentioned in the context of enclosures.

³⁴¹ There is, of course, a good deal of variation in habit and colour amongst native silver birch trees.

³⁴² The author was known as Giambattista della Porta. He was a famed mathematician and natural philosopher, who lived and worked in Naples. Porta had established an academy, devoted to discussing the secrets of nature. In about 1580 it was closed by the Inquisition and, in 1592, any further publication by Porta was forbidden. Apart from the mixture of curiosity and credulity common in late Renaissance science, it represents a serious attempt to define and describe natural magic and some refined application of mathematical and experimental techniques in science, including perspective. Book XVII on the refraction of light, for instance, gives to Porta the priority in the invention of the telescope, and shows Porta's involvement with both the theory and practice of optics. The wide range of Porta's scientific interests is clearly demonstrated by the subjects treated: in addition to alchemy, medical experiments, optics, the breaking of light and perspective, the properties of metals and precious stones, chemistry and distilling, etc., he also made a study of plants.

There was a much more useful volume, by Leonard Mascall, *A Booke of The Arte and maner how to Plant and Graffe All sortes of Trees*. First published in 1569, and appearing in no fewer than eight editions in the 16th century, this had started as a translation from a French text, by David Brossard, a Benedictine monk. Though expanded over the years, Mascall's book still focuses on techniques to improve fruit production (Fig.4/76) - though he was also interested in grafting to attain a variety of ends. It is an intriguing volume: but, it was not in Tresham's library and the fact that Mascall scolds his fellow countrymen for their 'negligence' in failing to take advantage of the benefits afforded by grafting might tend to reinforce the idea that, despite the plentiful editions, his advice about grafting might not have been widely followed.

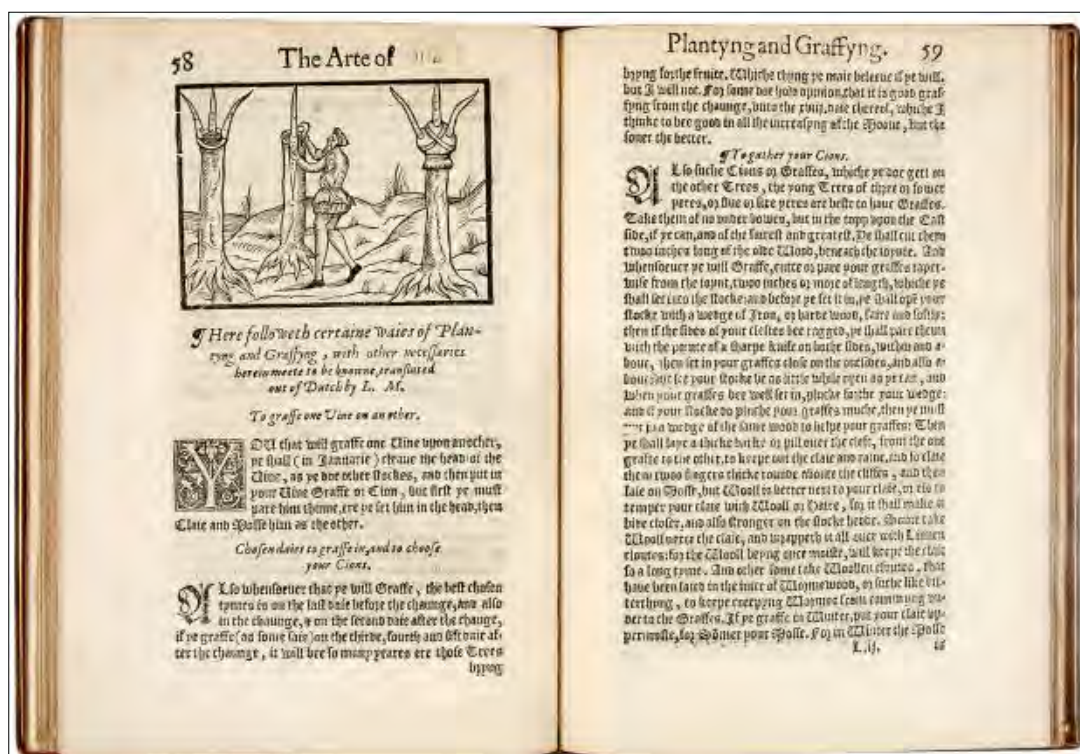


Fig.4/76 Leonard Mascall, *The Arte of ... Planting and Graffing*, with the frontispiece shows some ambitious top grafting of fruit trees.

William Marshall's 1785 *Planting and Ornamental Gardening; a practical treatise*, was one of the first books in English to be published on ornamental, rather than productive, plant culture. What he writes about birch trees is quite interesting (albeit two centuries after Tresham). Selected saplings should be planted three yards apart; after a year, they should be cut back, so they produce stools,

'which will then shoot vigorously the summer following; and in the autumn the young shoots should be plashed near the stools, and the tender twigs layered near their ends. They will then strike root, and become good plants by the autumn following'³⁴³.

The aim of this exercise was, essentially, to propagate a good collection of selected birch trees (which might, indeed, have been what Tresham, had in mind); at the same time, however, one can imagine how such treatment might be managed so that it resulted in a curious and ornamental arbour of living birch trees, especially as young stems, if bound together, might tend to graft naturally. Before pursuing this prospect too much further, however, it has to be said that one cannot imagine that

³⁴³ William Marshall, *Planting and Ornamental Gardening; a practical treatise*, 1785, p.83.

such a feature would be simple to manage, once grown - especially as Tresham elsewhere, issues instructions to ensure the, 'arbour hedges' are 'kept thick with cutting short, lest the said arbour hedges in heading up shall grow thin in the bottom'³⁴⁴].

In the end, one can only claim that Tresham had plans for several different kinds of 'arbour' and that this was a term which was fairly broad in its meaning. This was a garden where visitors would find plenty of opportunities for resting, surveying and contemplating the meaning of what lay before them.

4.9.4 The Gardens at Lyveden: Bowling Green, New Gardening Quarter, Warden Hills, Broadway Terrace

Whilst the gardens and the features discussed above remain very striking, albeit unfinished, they do not complete the picture of what Tresham planned for the whole layout.

Eburne and Felus make it quite clear that, on the plateau on the top of the hill, to the north of the Lodge and its immediate setting, there were to be four more distinctive garden areas: a bowling green; then an area described as, 'the new gardening quarter (which is reserved for a quincunx of quince, peach, damson trees, et cetera'; and the 'warden quincunx hills'. In addition, there was to be a 'new terrace' – the 'Broadway Terrace' – 'to be raised at Broadway Corner, north-east of the Lodge' (Fig.4/77)³⁴⁵.

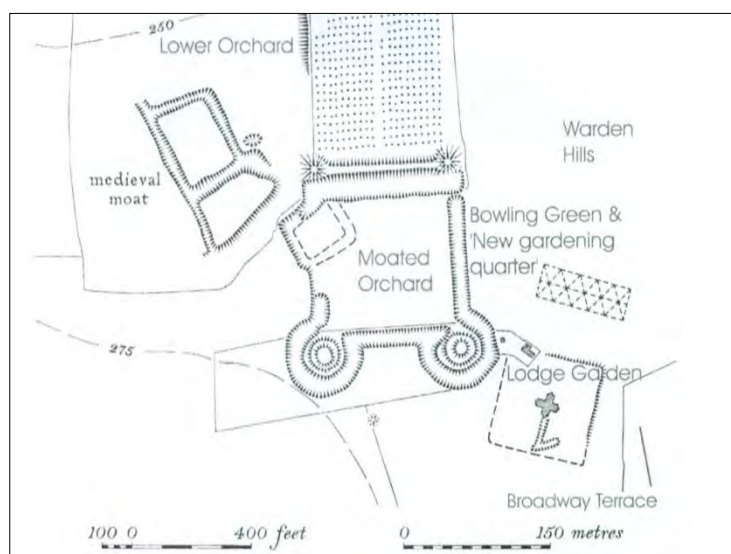


Fig.4/77 Detail of archaeological map of Lyveden, overlaid with names of garden areas / features. Illustration, Eburne & Felus.

Of the bowling green we learn little more than that there was to be a, '{flat} peece of gr{ass} {...} hereafter levelled for a {bowling} green'.³⁴⁶ This instruction comes from the long and informative letter Tresham wrote to John Slynne in October, 1597. We have

³⁴⁴ In the context of wondering what kind of 'birch arbour' Tresham might have had in mind, we note the following description of a layout at Wilton, from the 1620s (i.e., before the more celebrated gardens of the 1630s): the gardener, 'used such a deal of intricate setting, grafting, planting, inoculating, railing, hedging, plashing, turning, winding, returning', to make, 'walks, hedges and arbours, of all manner of most delicate fruit trees'. Strong, *Op.cit.*, p.122. Henderson also notes that, 'pergolas and arbours were constructed of living materials, supported on 'carpenter's work' or created by pruning or pleaching trees.' *Op.cit.*, p.122.

³⁴⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp. 38-39.

³⁴⁶ Eburne & Felus, *Appendix 7.1*.

come across no more mention of this feature. Nevertheless, it serves to remind us of two important issues. Bowling alleys and greens were certainly likely to have found a place in many of the largest and most ambitious gardens of the day - Theobalds, for example, or Wollaton Hall, near Nottingham (grander than Lyveden, but almost exactly contemporary), or Hatfield (which Robert Cecil had acquired from the King, in exchange for Theobalds, in 1607). We know that there was discussion about hunting at Lyveden, too. The entertainment of both the household and its visitors was a key part of the duties of a good housekeeper and host. Perhaps most important of all is that this frustratingly brief reference to a bowling green reminds us that Tresham was not building Lyveden as a penance. We have no doubt that it was to be his manifesto (if that is an appropriate term for a carefully-argued statement of belief that very few would have been able to recognise and read). But it was also to be his, and his family's, worldly delight. We have no means of knowing whether a bowling alley was laid out. All we can say is that the cares of the world, which beset him in his later years, probably ensured that he had little, if any, time to play.

Of the 'new gardening quarter', we do know a little more and we can say that it was actually planted.

'Two hundred and twenty five feet from the front door (of the Lodge) and on the same axis was a formal garden, four hundred and seventy five feet by one hundred and fifty, and this was laid out in a diamond pattern It can still be seen when the grass is long and the sun low..' ³⁴⁷.

The very precise and useful observation was made by the first 20th century archaeologist to survey the site, Col. K.C. Brown, who studied Lyveden in 1932. Perhaps curiously, nothing more was made of this until after the discovery of the 1944 Luftwaffe photograph (see Fig.4/53). More recently – from 2001, to our knowledge – there have been several geophysical and more intrusive surveys, focusing on the moated orchard and on this 'new gardening quarter' ³⁴⁸.

To the north of the 'new gardening quarter', the third distinct feature was what Tresham called, 'my warden quincunx hills'. This was, 'where he had warden pear trees planted in quincunx and where he also asked Slynn to plant walnuts' ³⁴⁹.

'The 1617 survey lists the 'Warden Hills' as part of the demesne lands .. and indeed lists them next to 'New Building Close'. The 'Warden Hills' close is surveyed in 1617 at 11 acres, 1 rood and 20 perches. This close is not listed in the 1770 survey, or indeed any later survey. However, the 1770 survey lists a new close adjacent to 'New Building Close' which it calls 'Gabriel's Close', surveyed at 11 acres, 3 roods and 38 perches. There is no 'Gabriel's Close' in the 1617 survey, and it may therefore be assumed that 'Gabriel's Close and 'Warden Hills' are one and the same,'

This conclusion is wholly persuasive and it allows us to agree that the Warden Hills Close lay to the east of the orchard and the moated orchard. Its closeness to the top of the eastern pyramidal mount is also striking. The views over the pear trees, flowering in the Spring, would have been wonderful indeed and, although the trees would, in time, have grown quite tall, the topography means that one would have been able to see *over* the sea of blossom, from the mounts, and to the wider landscape beyond.

³⁴⁷ Northamptonshire Archaeology, *Op.cit.*, p.7. The description is by Col. K.C. Brown, in 1932.

³⁴⁸ Most recently, Archaeological Project Services has undertaken a survey. See S.J. Malone, report on, *Land at Lyveden New Bield Northamptonshire, Geophysical Survey*, April, 2011.

³⁴⁹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.38. The following quotation is taken from the same source.

Finally, we come to the 'Broadway Terrace'. The last-named feature, like the others, is mentioned in the invaluable letter of October, 1597, though it is much harder to place. The letter is much damaged and the text is illegible and lost in parts, but Eburne & Felus have managed to extract enough information to illuminate something of Tresham's vision.

'The Terrace, at Broadway Woodcorner, I will rise {...} foot to the first alley, which alley shall go round {...} one other alley {...} walk) which shall {...} higher than it {...}y other {...} these lie with p{...}eye, and be very {conv-} enient both to w{alk ...}n air, as well in sun a{s} in shadow: with {fit}{arbours}, ascents and passages as i{n} the plot I will demonstrate'.³⁵⁰

Although it is hard to understand much about exactly where the Broadway Terrace was, and how it was to be arranged, we have a vivid image of a garden feature which may have commanded a view towards the Lyveden Lantern, and would have offered a great variety of experiences: walks and alleys, variations in levels, places to rest and places to relish the sun and the shade. Once again, we find Tresham's gardens offering pleasures and diversions, not just a homily.

4.9.5 The Gardens at Lyveden: Planting

4.9.5.1 Terraces, Avenues and Walks

We have mainly concentrated, thus far, on structures in the gardens. Much of the pleasure, however, would have been afforded by the plants, perhaps especially the avenues and walks sheltered by elms and sycamores, and the fruit trees and bushes which were, quite obviously, a major feature.

We are, of course, extraordinarily privileged in that we have access to so much first-hand information about what Tresham wanted to do and how – and where – it might be done. Inevitably, the more we find out about his vision (through the great skill of specialist archivists), the more we want to know: and there are, still, many more folios of letters to translate (mainly in the British Library). At this point, we intend to take it for granted that Tresham's selection and disposition of certain plants would have been burdened with narrative significance. The Eburne and Felus report is amongst several which effectively deal with this: and, in this document, we have laboured the theme of 'garden as a manifesto' quite enough. Now, we intend, simply, to concentrate on the range of plants Tresham might have employed; and it is rewarding to discover that he did, indeed, write down quite a lot about the particular trees, shrubs and herbs that he hoped to plant.

We start by considering the terraces and the trees which graced them. We do not know to what degree the terraced platforms in the vicinity of the house itself were planted. If we make a comparison with a contemporary site, such as Holdenby (see Fig.4/59), we might imagine that the broad, fairly level, terraces to the east and SSE of the house did feature simple layouts of squared parterres, perhaps, or even a more elaborate arrangement of knots. Enclosures of regularly-planted trees are also a distinctive feature of Holdenby in 1597 and we do know (from the letters) that this approach to planting fruit trees, at any rate, was favoured by Tresham. At Holdenby, the terraces laid out to the NE and SE of the house are labelled (on the 1580 plan) 'ye Rosiary'³⁵¹. It seems most likely that these terraces were, indeed, to be planted with roses, but the reference to a 'rosiary' must also remind us of the religious significance

³⁵⁰ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.39. There is an additional note regarding a marginal annotation in Tresham's hand: 'new terrace in wood'.

³⁵¹ In discussing the 'Rosiary', Paula Henderson remarks that this might have been for, 'rosiars, or rose-apple trees'. We do not know what these might be! See *Op.cit.*, p.88.

of many plants - especially for Tresham, at Lyveden. But, this is all guess-work. In contrast, we do have some information about the trees planted on the terraces.

As Eburne and Felus report,

'Sycamore and Elms seem to have provided structural planting both on these terraces and the upper gardens. In his letter of October 1597 to John Slynn, Tresham asks Slynn to 'see well to the staking of {your} elms, sycamores, walnut trees walks.' Elms were planted in walks south from the house, and in walks running east-west along at least two of the terraces'³⁵².

We have already quoted John Bridges' description of the trees 'pointing' from the house and, by 1847, there was yet another description of, 'mounds, planted with sycamores and elms' and 'walks .. planted with wich-elms'³⁵³. There is even a description of a 'very fine' wych elm close to the house. It is not clear exactly where these planted walks 'pointing from the house' might have been; there might be a clue on the first edition OS, published in 1886. This indicates a group of what appear to be mature trees to the south of the House; but whether these were the remains of an avenue – of sycamore and/or elms – 'coming out of the house', remains a moot point (Fig.4/78).

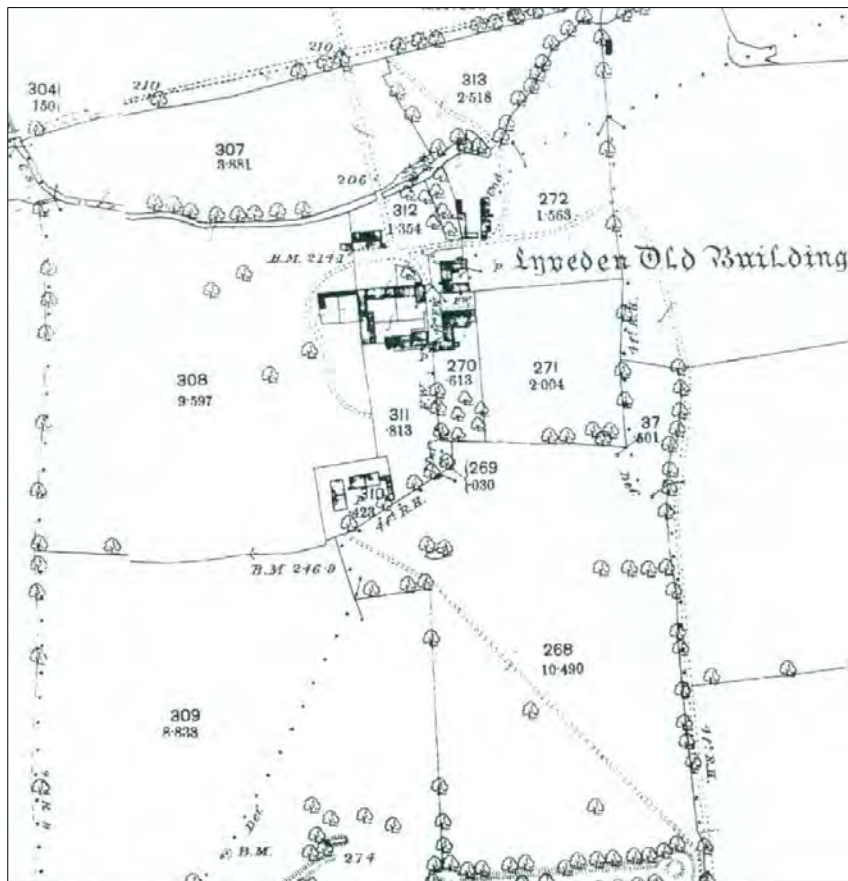


Fig.4/78 OS first edition, 1:2500 / 25", 1886 Note a group of trees to the south of the house and mature trees apparently on or close to the lines of two of the 16th C terraces (terrace 5 & 7).

³⁵² Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.31.

³⁵³ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.31. They are quoting Thomas Bell, whose book, *The Ruins of Lyveden*, was published in 1847. See pp.69-70.

Some trees were planted in 1597 and it would seem that further trees were added in November, 1604. In a letter of that date, Slynne reports that the men were levelling, 'your Elm walk', which ran east-west and which is four feet higher than 'your old Elm walk'³⁵⁴.

'This new walk had at its east end a 'terrace arbour', which Slynne expected to be ready for the setting of trees within ten days'.³⁵⁵

Perhaps more interesting still is the evidence of four or five mature trees running W/E along what appears to be (if we compare it to the archaeological plan, see Fig.4/56) the line of the fifth terrace and, again, along what might be the line of the seventh and top terrace. This might be a sight of trees planted in c.1600 which, when surveyed, had reached about 300 years of age. On the other hand, this OS survey also shows a line of apparently mature trees along the bottom of the embankment north of the moat. A few trees – mainly sycamores – in this vicinity have been felled in recent years: there is not much sign (from the stumps) that the trees were getting on for four hundred years when felled; and so we can make no very great claims for the age of any of the trees shown on this 1st edition plan. It might be more likely that we are looking at trees which formed a part of a useful field boundary, at a later period, when the management of Lyveden was focused more on agriculture than ornament.

Nevertheless, when on site today, there is plenty of evidence of both elms and sycamores. The former, of course, now tend to reach only a modest height before they are again struck by Dutch elm disease. The majority of the elms surviving on site today appear to be wych elms, *Ulmus glabra* (Fig.4/79)³⁵⁶. These have gathered in the damp ditches and edges of woodland. It is perfectly possible that viable seed from early 17th century avenue elms initially found a berth here (though, they might also have arrived from the wild).



Fig.4/79 Young growth of *Ulmus glabra*, wych elm, on the west side of the moated orchard.

³⁵⁴ Elm, particularly wych elm, was widely employed – plashed, pleached, pruned – for making arbours (as were willow, lime, hornbeam, privet, whitethorn and sycamore). 'At Theobalds these trees (wych elm) were chiefly used in those alleys where "one might walk twoe myle in the walkes"'. Alicia Amherst, *A History of Gardening in England*, 1896, p.116. This does raise the possibility that the 'terrace arbour', apparently at the end of an elm walk, might actually have been fabricated from living wych elms.

³⁵⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.31.

³⁵⁶ It is not always straightforward to distinguish – especially in the sapling form – wych elm, the native *Ulmus glabra*, from English elm, *Ulmus minor* var *vulgaris*, or Dutch elm, the natural hybrid, *Ulmus x hollandica*. All are very variable. All have been widely planted, as they form majestic trees. But all now succumb to Dutch elm disease and can only really be found as saplings, in Britain. Wych elm tends to be the most resistant to disease and it also readily reproduces from seed. English elm, in particular, is more likely to sucker. There is some evidence, at Lyveden, of elms growing both as young saplings and as suckers, suggesting the very possible scenario that both species keep re-growing, before being re-infected.

There is also plenty of evidence of there having been some substantial sycamores at Lyveden. Again, 20th century specimens might have descended from seeds cast by Elizabethan trees. Many of them, in more recent years, were growing on the mounds and the majority have now been cut down. But, the fact remains that, though these trees are certainly present at Lyveden, there is not an abundance in the vicinity of the House or on the line of historic terraces and we cannot be sure of any genetic or other relationship with Tresham's trees.

4.9.5.2 Planting on Mounts

Tresham's planting of the mounts and embankment is more difficult to ascertain. As we have observed elsewhere, the mount at Rushton – which we assume was constructed by Tresham – was (certainly by the 18th century), densely-planted (see Fig.4/17). This was usual. The planting of a mount was kept trimmed, and it served both to retain what were sometimes quite steep banks and to emphasise the sculptural character of the feature. Paths – usually spiral – provided access and these, too, were, to some degree, protected from erosion by the planting.

A range of different types of plants was employed for such purpose. Quickset, or hawthorn, was widely used. We know, for example, that the centrepiece of Hampton Court's Mount Garden, begun in 1532 by Henry VIII, was the mount, 'thick planted with quickset'³⁵⁷. On a much grander scale was the, 'huge mount forty feet in diameter and twenty feet high', which graced one of three islands created in an extraordinary crescent-shaped lake at Elvetham, Hampshire. Lord Hertford was the author of this fantastic piece of theatre, and here he entertained Her Majesty, for three days, in 1591. We know that the mount was a snail-mount and it provided one of several venues for huge displays of fireworks on the third day of Elizabeth's visit³⁵⁸. It was planted with, 'circles of privet ascending it', which took on the form of, 'Yon ugly monster creeping from the South, To spoyle these blessed fields of Albion'³⁵⁹. Here, of course, we have an example both of a planted mount and of the kind of emblematic garden which Tresham would have understood - though he might not have sympathised with the narrative of the Elvetham gardens: the glory of England being threatened by the 'monster' of Catholic Spain, and protected by her Queen.

It is not clear whether or not the mounts at Lyveden were planted. There is plenty of evidence, today, of hawthorns on the mounts, especially the two snail-mounts. It is quite possible that these are evidence of a time when hawthorn clothed the mounts. In 1996, a botanical survey³⁶⁰ found butcher's broom on the two pyramidal mounts - and, indeed, it can still be found today. *Ruscus aculeatus* is evergreen, tolerant, with flexible stems and bright red berries. It grows to about 1m., spreads by suckering and, thus, is ideally suited as a means of retaining the soil. At the same time, laurel was found on both the southern mounts. Although this is described simply as *Prunus*, it is almost certain to have been *Prunus laurocerasus*, cherry laurel, introduced from Eastern Europe and Asia Minor in 1576 and so available to Tresham. Again, this is tough, evergreen and tolerant - but would require regular trimming to keep it under control.

We are certainly inclined to think that the mounts were intended to have been planted - though we have already asserted that the tops were not to have been

³⁵⁷ Roy Strong, *Op.cit.*, p.28. It is interesting to note that, on top of the mount, was the 'South or Great Round Arbour, three storeys in height, almost all of glass, with a leaden cupola surmounted by the inevitable king's beast and a great gilded crown'.

³⁵⁸ There is a description of, 'a peale of a hundred Chambers discharged from the Snail-mount', followed by, 'a Globe of all manner of fireworks, as big as a barrel.'

³⁵⁹ Roy Strong, *Op.cit.*, p.126.

³⁶⁰ Clare Bense, *Lyveden Water Garden Plant List*, 1996.

shrouded in vegetation. Furthermore, we cannot fail to observe that the Peter Tillemans' drawing, dated 1721 (that is, after decades of neglect of the gardens and the chaos of the Civil War had left its mark on the area), does show the south-east, spiral mount, denuded of any planting other than turf. Hence, whether an intended planting was ever actually undertaken is a quite another question (Fig.4/80).

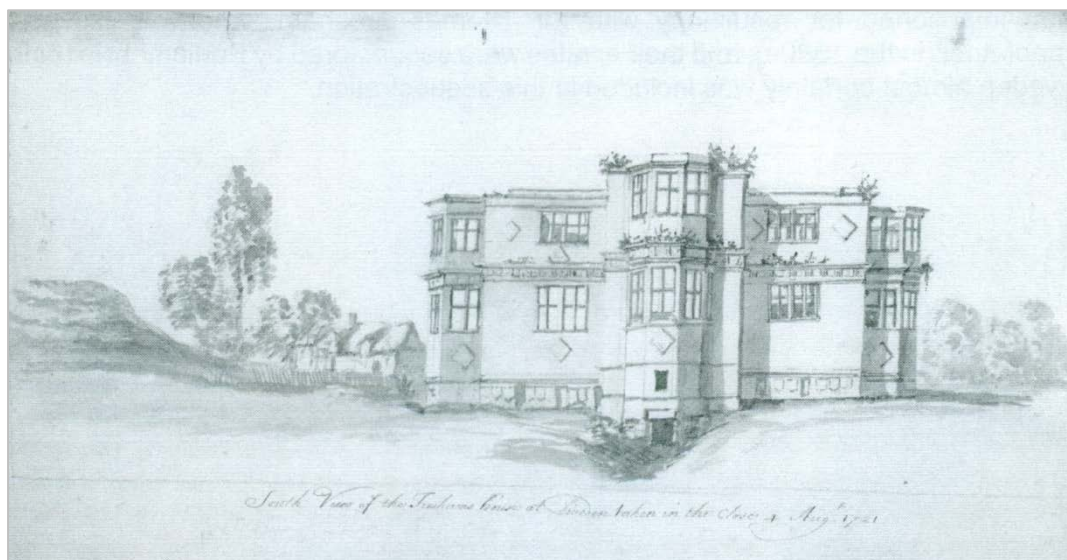


Fig.4/80 Peter Tillemans' drawing of the New Bield, 1721

4.9.5.3 Orchards and Ornament: Pears

We have discussed the evidence for the presence and location of what Tresham called his, 'warden quincunx hills', to the north of the Lodge, where warden pears were amongst the fruit he planted, possibly supplemented by walnuts.

'Warden' pears may well have been the term habitually used to describe any firm-fleshed, culinary, pear, with good keeping properties; though, Tresham may have applied it only to what is now known as a 'Black Worcester Pear', a culinary variety, with a dark-hued skin. Interestingly, this is probably the first English cultivar: until the late 14th century, almost all varieties of pear grown in England were of French origin and the majority were baking pears. Only from the mid-16th century do we find mention of dessert pears, many of which, again, came from France, still the centre of pear cultivation.

Tresham certainly grew more than one kind of pear. In 1597, he is instructing Slynne to obtain, 'pear kernels .. which firstly yor fellows shall brynge you forth of worsheter shire, glowoster shyre and shropp shire'³⁶¹. This instruction is fascinating, but somewhat perplexing. The majority of selected pears would have been cultivars; this means that they would not have grown true from seed (or 'pear kernels', almost certainly pips of *Pyrus communis*³⁶²). If Tresham wanted to obtain pears from various parts of the country, it is likely that they would have been grafted, the root-stock being bred from pips. In the same letter, Tresham does, indeed, make reference not only to 'pear kernels', but also to, 'crabb kernels' from Rushton, which were to provide useful root-stock for his apples. In fact, by the mid-16th century, growers and nurserymen often

³⁶¹ Eburne & Felus, Appendix 7.1, *Op.cit.*, p.xviii.

³⁶² The history of the common or garden pear – which is not native in Britain, but established for many centuries – is somewhat uncertain, but may be a selected sub-species / cross of the wild European pear, in use here certainly since Roman times, if not before.

distributed young winter shoots to their customers, for grafting onto rootstocks in the spring, rather than sending whole trees from one site to another, as hitherto.

On the other hand, the majority of early perry pears *were* descended from wild hybrids - crosses of *Pyrus communis* subsp. *communis* and the now-rare wild pear *Pyrus communis* subsp. *pyraster*. And most of these did, indeed, come out of the west country and could have been obtained from 'kernels' - assuming the fruit was from planned crosses. Tresham does make a reference to 'a very good pear . parrys'³⁶³. Did he mean 'perry'³⁶⁴? It seems very likely that he was acquiring a range of perry pears, here, perhaps grown from crosses in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire or Shropshire.

Tresham goes on to list a number of other pears which he favoured - though it is very hard to identify all those he mentions, not least because so much of the 1597 letter has decayed. He seems to refer to a, 'hawksbyll peare', which he had seen, 'at mr deane's orchard hear in eely'. We also find reference to a, 'greenfylde peare a very excellent good peare'. Likewise, he writes about a, 'wynter .. peare, growing {neare} eelye and solde hear in the markt'³⁶⁵. Could the latter have been, 'Bellisme d'Hiver', a French culinary pear, available by c.1600 (and probably a little before)? Or, might it, in fact, have been an apple, one of two very old cultivars: 'Winter Pearmain' - probably the one in Gerard's *Herball* - and 'Winter Queenening', possibly also pre-Tudor? Both could be used for cooking, dessert eating and for cider; indeed, these names may apply to the same variety.

In fact, a 'winter pear' is one of those illustrated by John Gerard, in his enormously influential *Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes*, first published in 1597. Of this volume, we find no trace in Tresham's library. What the library did include, however, was the Latin edition of Gerard's 1599, *Catalogus arborum, fruticum ac plantarum tam indigenarum, quam exoticarum, in horto*; this was the second edition of the catalogue of the plants - native and exotic - grown by Gerard in his private garden in London. This book, which was dedicated to Lord Burghley, might well have been a marvellous inspiration for Tresham and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the *Herball* might also have formed part of his reading at this time. Certainly, in 1597 Gerard - who, from 1577, had been advising Burghley on the development of his London gardens, especially Theobalds - reported that he knew of one orchard which grew no fewer than 60 good varieties of pear; so we can be sure that there was an enormous range of cultivars available and Gerard would have been a good guide to their properties.

Eburne and Felus list a few other pears which they have identified from the Tresham letters. They record 'Windsor', 'Madingley', 'Summer {Dego}', 'Norwich' and 'Petworth', in addition to those already discussed.

The 'Windsor' - despite its name - was probably not an English cultivar. It is mentioned in John Parkinson's 1629 *Paradisus*³⁶⁶, when it was described as being, 'well knowne to most persons'. It was supposed to be very productive and its English name was probably acquired after a description of its cultivation in Windsor.

³⁶³ Eburne & Felus, Appendix 7.1, *Op.cit.*, p.xiii. The following quotations are from the same source.

³⁶⁴ Or, perhaps he was not here referring to a pear at all, but an apple, 'Parry's pearmain'?

³⁶⁵ It is interesting to find that Ely was particularly well-known for its productive fields, in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. From the 11th C, the sunny slopes around the monastic cloisters were known for their vineyards. There are also records of extensive orchards and gardens: fruit grown included, apples, pears, cherries and nuts.

³⁶⁶ Parkinson's vast *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* proved to be one of the most influential early 17th C texts on cultivating plants.

'Sir Hugh Plat, in giving the authority of "Master Hill," who lived about 1563³⁶⁷, (asked) "Why trees transplanted doe alter," .. "Trees that bears early, or often in the year, as pear trees upon Windsor-Hill, which bear three times in a year; though these be removed to as rich, or richer soil, yet they do seldom bear so early, or so often, except the soil be of the same hot nature, and have the like advantages of situation...'.³⁶⁸

The 'Petworth', on the other hand, may have been another name for a second pear which was also known as a 'Windsor' - in this instance, the 'Winter Windsor'. This, 'very old English variety, being mentioned by Parkinson and by almost all the authors of the seventeenth century' is described as producing, 'large and handsome fruit'; but it flattered to deceive, for it is described by Robert Hogg, in the first edition of his *The Fruit Manual*, 1860, as a, 'showy pear of little merit'. We turn again to Robert Hogg, with reference to the 'Norwich', which, he suggests, may be one and the same as, 'London Sugar', a small, early pear, described as having been 'so much cultivated in Norfolk for the Norwich market (though we are given no date).

Finally, for a little more illumination, we turn to a book by Margaret Willes, *The Making of the English Gardener: Plants, Books and Inspiration, 1560-1660*³⁶⁹.

'At the end of the long and detailed letter of instructions written in 1597 from his prison in Ely to his foreman John Slynne, Tresham lists some of the fruit that he suggested should be planted, along with details of some of their qualities. Among them is a 'Normandy hawksbill peare', 'one of petworth rootynge', perhaps obtained from the orchards of the Earl of Northumberland at Petworth in Sussex. This ripened at 'hullontide' (All-hallowtide, 1 November) at the same time as a 'winter queening caterne peare' that grew near Ely and was sold in the market there. Dr Harvey's apple, he noted, kept until Candlemas.'

If nothing else, these uncertain steps through the terrain of Tresham's orchard reveal how tentative any definite identification of Tresham's trees must be; and what a marvellously ambitious collection of cultivars he wished to collect.

4.9.5.4 Orchards and Ornament: Walnuts

Also on the 'Warden Hills' there were walnuts, *Juglans regia*. Tresham clearly appreciated these trees both for their fruit and for their ornamental qualities; he may also have valued them for their timber. He included them in his walks, as well as in his orchards. This tree can be not only productive, but also a handsome specimen, with its hanging catkins, very elegant leaves which turn a rich gold in the autumn, distinctive bark and, at its best, a fine, spreading silhouette. Sometimes, however, it can develop a noticeable lean: Tresham seems to recognise this as a potential problem, for he emphasises that Slynne must, 'see well to the stakyng of {yor} ellmes, sycomoores, walnut trees walks' – as well, of course, as his 'quincunce warden trees, and medler trees, even so to yor other yonge grafted frute trees in yor nurseryis' – to ensure that he is, 'gvydine them uppyght .. preservyng them agaynst wynde'³⁷⁰.

³⁶⁷ This must have been none other than Thomas Hill, whose book, *The profitable arte of gardening*, was first published in 1563 under the title *A most briefe and pleasaunte treatyse, teachynge how to dresse, sowe, and set a garden*. He followed this with *The Gardener's Labyrinth* in 1577, under the name of Didymus Mountain. Despite adopting a Latin pseudonym, it seems that neither of Hill's books was in the Tresham library.

³⁶⁸ <http://chestofbooks.com/gardening-horticulture/Robert-Hogg/The-Fruit-Manual-Great-Britain/Pears-Classification-Of-Pears>.

³⁶⁹ 2011. See p.49.

³⁷⁰ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xvii.

It is also clear that Tresham was keen to choose walnuts for the quality of their fruit, perhaps once again selecting cultivars and propagating them by grafting. He advises Slynne about a, 'verry choice walnutte'. He wants to ensure that there is a proper record kept of which specimens are growing in his nurseries, so that, 'I may know them {one} from one another'. He plans that his walnuts 'shall bee all graffted', 'though ytt be best grafted with ytt selfe'³⁷¹. And, he provides us with a glimpse of how valuable some of his stock must have been, as well as how he intended to plant and care for them.

'Soome yow shall .. haue in the greene shell, which presently sett. The others barralled upp kepe in wonted wyse and let them nott bee eaten or spoyled by negligence. They must bee layd vpp vnder lокk and key ells shall I haue a bad reconinge of them. My warden quincunce hills wyll very aptly serve to sett thes in towards owre Lady day, when the nuts (all winter well preserved in dry sande) ar redde to sprout and winter frostes well paste.'³⁷²

4.9.5.5 Orchards and Ornament: Roses & Strawberries

Fascinatingly, it would seem that the pears, walnuts and any other fruit trees on the Warden Hills were to be underplanted.

'In addition to the pears and walnuts, Tresham appears to have intended the planting of roses, strawberries and other plants in this area. The relevant passage in the 1597 letter .. is damaged, but reads:

'{Roses} in tha{.....}ld be increased, as whereby {...}tt may {grow} {towards} weeding charges and {...} lyke, which plentifully set be increased with roses: both damask and red. The dropping of roses will hinder nothing growing under them, I mean herbs, strawberries or the like. Moreover the digging of those hills will make the warden trees prosper much the better'³⁷³.

The, 'digging of the hills' is especially intriguing. We believe Tresham was planning to plant his pears and walnuts into raised mounds. This would serve two purposes. First of all, it would seem that the soils in the Warden Hills were often wet and heavy; we read Tresham's frequent references to the need for drainage and his instructions not to work the soil when it was too wet. Despite its being on the top of the hill, the plateau gets very wet underfoot, even today. And, though common pear – and some (especially more modern) cultivars – can perfectly well tolerate wet soil³⁷⁴, other cultivars are more fussy. Moist, but reasonably well-drained, soils suit pears best. The same is true of the walnuts (which are even less tolerant of wet). Thus, planting into raised hillocks provides the best kind of environment for these fruit trees. Secondly, raising a tree on a mound serves to present the tree well and it allows the mound to be ornamented with smaller plants and, again, these would be shown off to their best advantage in such a situation.

Tresham was not unique in entertaining such a vision. We note, for example, that William Lawson, in his 1618 *A New Orchard and Garden* (one of the first gardening manuals to offer practical advice, based on the author's, 'meer and sole experience, without respect to any former-written Treatise'), described his delight in a well-ordered orchard.

³⁷¹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xviii. By this, Tresham undoubtedly meant that selected cultivars would be grafted onto seed-grown *Juglans regia*.

³⁷² Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xviii.

³⁷³ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.39

³⁷⁴ It may even be that pears were selected for the Warden Hills because it was inclined to be boggy.

'View now with delight the works of your owne hands, your fruit trees of all sorts, loaden with sweet blossomes, and fruit of all tastes, operations and colours: your trees standing in comely order which way soever you look ... Your borders on every side hanging and drooping with Feberries³⁷⁵, Raspberries, Barberries, Currents, and the roots of your trees powdered with Strawberries, red white and green, what a pleasure is this?'³⁷⁶



Fig.4/81 William Lawson, detail of illustration of an orchard, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 1618. 'All these squares must bee set with trees, the Gardens and other ornaments must stand in spaces betwixt the trees and in the borders and fences'. Tufts of plants on the ground beneath the fruit tree perhaps suggest the style of planting of herbs etc.

Although published in 1618, this text was really the expression of experience gained during a long life; and so Lawson's *milieu* was the Elizabethan garden. His book was dedicated to Sir Henry Belloses (Belasyse), a Yorkshire baronet and orchard enthusiast. If nothing else, this should remind us that the ambition and expertise Tresham displayed must have been strengthened, over the years – despite his imprisonment – not just by the great resource of his library, but also from contact with knowledgeable contemporaries, in various parts of the country.

There are other writers, too, who reflect on planting styles which sound quite close to what Tresham had in mind at Lyveden. For example, in his 1625 *Of Gardens*, Francis Bacon recommends planting, 'small hillocks like molehills ... with thyme, violets, rosemary, strawberries, cowslips and so on'³⁷⁷.

One of Bacon's motives for such a recommendation was that he was encouraging a move towards a greater 'naturalism'. One has to be very careful in employing such words today: terminology must be defined by its context. Nevertheless – as we have already discussed, above – one can discern, around the turn of the century, a gathering momentum towards an appreciation of a balance between the 'artificial' or 'civilised' world and the 'natural' or 'rude'. Of course, this is more an expression of a shifting philosophical, and even political, view of society, than a passing fashion in garden design. We can, perhaps, find that shift most eloquently expressed in the prose and poetic writings of Sir Philip Sidney, courtier, traveller, heir to Penshurst Place

³⁷⁵ Feberry, or feaberry, is another name for a wild gooseberry.

³⁷⁶ William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (1618), facsimile edition, 2003, p.86.

³⁷⁷ Roy Strong, *Op.cit.*, p.135. This was Bacon's description of planting a heath, with thickets of sweet briar and honeysuckle. The hillocks were to be scattered around in a 'wilderness' fashion. Perhaps this reference suggests that Tresham envisaged the 'Warden Hills' to represent the 'wilder', more 'natural' areas of his gardens?

and hugely famous author of, amongst other pieces, *Arcadia*, first published in 1590 (four years after his death, in 1586), and addressed to his sister, the Countess of Pembroke. This was a tale of intrigue, chivalry and romance, concerning the daughters of the king and queen of Arcady and the princes who wished to be their lovers. It is a lyrical tale which included descriptions of Elizabethan masques, palaces, and gardens³⁷⁸. The evocation of the gardens – arcadian gardens – is, in this context, particularly interesting.

'Kalander one afternoone led him abroad to a wel arayed ground he had behind his house, which hee thought to shewe him before his going, as the place him selfe more then in any other delighted: the backside of the house was neyther field, garden, nor orchard; or rather it was both field, garden, and orcharde: for as soone as the descending of the stayres had delivered them downe, they came into a place cunninglie set with trees of the moste tast-pleasing fruites: but scarcely they had taken that into their consideration, but that they were suddainely stept into a delicate greene, of each side of the greene a thicket bend, behinde the thickets againe new beddes of flowers, which being vnder the trees, the trees were to them a Pavillion, and they to the trees a mosaical floore: so that it seemed that arte therein would needes be delightfull by .. making order in confusion.'

The mingling of 'order' and 'confusion', like the layered imagery of 'field, garden', and 'orchard', was here most vividly realised in 'trees of the moste tast-pleasing fruites' planted around with, 'new beddes of flowers', appearing beneath the 'Pavillion' of the trees as a, 'mosaical floore'. In Tresham's Warden Hills, his 'mosaical floor' beneath each fruit tree 'Pavillion' was to be planted with roses, 'damask and red' and herbs, including strawberries.

The description of the roses is interesting, as it is clear that, on the Warden Hills, Tresham wished to have plants that were somewhat more striking, and with longer-lasting flowers, than *Rosa eglanteria*, the native 'eglantine' or 'sweet briar'. He wanted to take advantage of what Gerard observed in his 1597 *Herball*, as the,

'many kindes of Roses, differing either in the bignesse of the floures, or the plant it selfe, roughnesse or smoothnesse, or in the multitude or fewnesse of the flours, or else in colour and smell; for divers of them are high and tall, others short and low, some have five leaves, other very many. Moreover, some be red, others white, and most of them or all sweetly smelling' (Fig.4/82).



Fig.4/82 John Gerard, The Province or Damask Rose

³⁷⁸ As a young man, Sidney had attended the fabulous entertainment at Kenilworth in 1575, and witnessed the glories of the masques staged by court favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (Sidney's Uncle), in honour of the Queen.

The damask roses are generally recognised as being an ancient garden hybrid, introduced from Asia Minor well before the 16th century³⁷⁹. One of the earliest cultivars of the *R. x damascena* is 'Ispahan', pink and scented, and perhaps arriving from the Middle East during the Crusades. Mentioned in Shakespeare's 1591 *Henry VI* and described by John Parkinson in *Paradisus*, in 1629, *R. x damascena* 'Versicolor' is a striped pink and white rose. Of the 'red' roses available, the most likely candidate is *R. gallica*, a smaller, suckering shrub, long cultivated in Britain and, again, very fragrant and again the source of a number of cultivars. *R. gallica* var. *officinalis*, the, 'Apothecary's Rose' or 'old red damask', would have been widely available to Tresham; likewise another striped rose, a sport of the Apothecary's Rose, *R. gallica* 'Versicolor' (also called 'Rosa Mundi'), might well have found its place.

These roses would have towered over other herbs, including the strawberry, *Fragaria vesca*. This is the wild, woodland strawberry, cultivated since Roman times for both medicinal and culinary purposes. How wonderful to discover that Shakespeare, in his 1597 *Richard III*, had the King request, of none other than the Bishop of Ely, 'When I was last in Holborn³⁸⁰, I saw good strawberries in your garden there: I do beseech you send for some of them'. Perhaps Tresham encountered similarly well-grown strawberries in Ely itself?

At the time, strawberries were something of a favourite. Selections were made from *Fragaria vesca*, and both Gerard and Parkinson describe some of these, as well as the more recently-introduced European species, including *Fr. moschata*. By c.1600, *Fragaria virginiana* had arrived from North America and this became the source of some of the later, very desirable, hybrids, with larger fruit and a more robust constitution.

4.9.5.6 Orchards and Ornament: Apples, Plums, Cherries & Raspberries

The fact that the area of the 'Warden Hills' was, so obviously, to function as what we would, today, call an 'orchard' emphasises, of course, that sharp distinctions between different parts of the garden did not necessarily operate in the years around 1600. On the other hand, it is clear that Tresham did identify areas which he described as an 'orchard'.

One of these was probably the lower orchard - where, today, there is a glorious array of historic fruit trees.

'No map or document extant specifically names this area as an orchard. The 1617 survey names 'orchards' and 'the moated orchard' as distinct areas, but does not locate the former. From the 1770 survey onwards, the lower orchard is named 'The Quarters'. However, aerial photographs show approximately 300 planting pits set in regular rows, and given the known extent of Tresham's interest in fruit trees, it is assumed that these planting pits can only have been filled by (in the main) fruit. No details are extant of what was planted here, and very little of how Tresham intended the area to be laid out. In the 1597 letter from Ely Tresham mentions 'the orchard' in two passages, both of which unfortunately are damaged. In the first he suggests earth removed from the Lodge gardens could be used for levelling.

³⁷⁹ Probably a cross between *R. gallica* and *R. moschata*.

³⁸⁰ The Bishop's palace was in Holborn; his chapel was dedicated to St, Etheldreda who – as we know – founded the monastery in Ely in 673. Reference has already been made to the importance of the monastic gardens associated with Ely Cathedral. The Bishops of Ely also had a vineyard attached to the garden of 'Ely Place', Holborn; the earliest records date from the reign of Edward III.

For the ma{.....} Mount in the orchard: a{...} of a new {t}errace side.
If any remain, it may be carried down {to} {...} {ter}race on the north
side of my orchard to fill up toward {...} walk

The 'mount in the orchard' probably refers to one of the four mounts surrounding the Moated Orchard. The 'terrace on the north side of my orchard' either refers to the moated orchard, or to the terrace north of the lower orchard.'³⁸¹

As Eburne and Felus report, the 1944 aerial photograph still shows evidence of a formal layout of planting pits, disposed either side of a central, axial path in this area, suggesting – if no more – an orchard (see Fig.4/53).

Into his orchards Tresham certainly planted apples and Eburne and Felus list the varieties which Tresham noted at the end of his 1597 letter. They include, 'Great Green Costard', 'Russet', 'French costard', 'Dr. Harvey's', 'Normandy', 'Winter Queening', and 'Cats Apple'.

Mention of the 'Costard' is first made in the 13th century. Probably one of many outcomes of natural cross-breeding between several different species in Europe (and beyond), including the British crab, *Malus silvestris* and *Malus domestica*, it was almost certainly a cooking apple. What Tresham desired may have been the same as the 'Green Custard' apple, still available (Fig.4/83). 'Dr. Harvey's' apple is another culinary variety (Fig.4/84), whilst 'Winter Queening' (as already mentioned) was probably an apple which lends itself to eating raw, cooking, or, indeed, pressing for cider (Fig.4/85).



Fig.4/83 A Costard apple, here called the 'Wotton Costard', as it survived from the pre-enclosed, 17th C land associated with the Wotton estate.

³⁸¹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.33.



Fig.4/84 'Dr. Harvey', a culinary apple, mentioned in Parkinson's 1629 *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*



Fig.4/85 'Winter Queening' apple (possibly the same as 'Winter Pearmain'), for eating, cooking & cider-making

If apples were likely to have dominated the lower orchard, perhaps the 'mooted orchard', which was overlooked by the four mounts and to have been framed by moated channels, would have included both plums and cherries. Tresham asks Slynne, 'if my mooted orcharde cold in any parte bee prepared for ... circular borders, ... receeuyng of some cherry tres, and plum trees I sholde lyke well therof, for I have many trees that take much harme for wantt of remouinge'³⁸²

In addition to planting productive cherry and plum trees in the circular borders, however, it is clear that Tresham was as interested in making his orchards beautiful as he was in making them productive. We know, for example, that he issued instructions that one hundred black cherries should be removed from his nursery to create a cherry walk. One of the world's oldest cultivated fruits, his cherries are more than likely to have been selected cultivars of the native, *Prunus avium*, from which arose the sweet cherry, or crosses with, for example, *Prunus cerasus*, the 'sour cherry', from SW Asia and long cultivated in England - one of the parents of the tart Morello cherry. One of the main attractions of a cherry walk, comprising one hundred trees, however, would be their glorious spring blossom. Indeed, Tresham makes it clear that these particular cherries should be chosen from the nursery because of their stature and the quality of their blossom; he did not want to use the grafted specimens (which would have been smaller and more suited to growing for fruit), but the native, cherries grown from 'cherry kernel stocks'.

'You haue many of yor blakk cherry stokkes in yor nurserye grafted wher they were fyrst sowed they {w}olde bee thinned by choyce drawyng away the slenderest of them and agayne ells where choycely setting of them, and 100 blakke cherry stoke haue the fairest and greattest stand .. may be removed into my mooted orchard. Conceiue mee right: if any of the fayrer and larger sorte do stand to near together, then must yew thin them ... I wold haue some

³⁸² Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xxi.

– 100 – of verry {...} taperr grown blakk cherry kernell stokks to bee {...}
vngraftted, to place in a walke'³⁸³.

This walk, perhaps, was intended for the lower orchard.

Roses were again mentioned in the context of planting the moated orchard. John Slynne wrote a long letter to Tresham, then in prison, on 1st November, 1604.

'Sir, I have received from Rushton the plumbe stockes, raspes, and – 4 – Geneper treis, there is – 400 – raspes more in number than was mentioned by letter, I have sett them all in the motted orchard in the circular borders there, at 5 – raspes in eberye distance, that is a yard .. distance and a yard from eber tree I leave them all uncutt for .. be best cutting of them when the extremity of winter is past. And wheras yor worship mentions in yor letter for setting up of some certayne circular borders of Roses, we do differ in opinion of yor directions, Mr George his opinion is that there wold be sixe foote of a border sett with roses, and then – 3 - foote lefts for a raspes & so to procede and in like manner but as I conceive by yor letter you will have – 6 – feete distance betwixt rose stander and stander and in the middest the raspes to stand so that we are both agreed to leave them as they are till that – yor worship come home'.³⁸⁴

This particular passage has led to a good deal of discussion: if Slynne and George Levens were unsure how Tresham wished to plant his raspberries and roses, how can we presume to know? Perhaps the only way is to consider the habit of these plants. The native raspberry, *Rubus idaeus*, is something of a thug. Moreover, the best way of cultivating the raspberry – in the 16th century, as well as now – is to tie it in to some kind of support. With all this in mind, it makes sense to keep the roses and raspberries as separate as possible: we are inclined to think George Levens got it right.

4.9.6 The Gardens at Lyveden: Tresham, the planter

Tresham's urgent passion for his gardens – for it was no less – emerges from the letters and documents which he shared with his closest colleagues. He was not unique. In Francis Bacon's 1625 *Of Gardens*, for example, we might almost imagine that he is describing Lyveden (though it was Theobalds – by 1607, one of James I's residences – and the Earl of Suffolk's Audley End, as well as his own gardens, including Twickenham and Gorhambury, with which Bacon was very familiar). The introductory words of his text have been often quoted.

'God Almighty first planted a Garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks: and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to a garden finely: as if gardening were the greater perfection.'

For Bacon (the Protestant), as for Tresham, a garden was a pleasure, a venue for physical creation and spiritual contemplation, a place almost mystical in its ability to transform people and places. It is useful, therefore, to repeat, here, Bacon's choice of plants. He loved,

³⁸³ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.xxi.

³⁸⁴ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.v.

'violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest', 'the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damson and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree'.

Blossom was, then, of great importance: likewise, fragrance.

'That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose. Then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell'.

It is very striking that, for Bacon, it was colour, light and shade, seasonal change and scent which were, here, of the essence. If we add to this list - pattern, movement, fruitfulness, poetry, we are probably very close to Tresham. And, there are a couple of hints that word of Tresham's skill and his achievements at Lyveden was getting abroad.

There is a letter written to George Levens, from 'Sayntt Allbans this present Friday - 1604', wherein Tresham writes not only about 'bargayning for masons for Lyveden house', but also 'to G Le: Concerning his going to Cirencester'³⁸⁵. Tresham obviously wanted to ensure that his steward made the right impression; he notes that it was the first time that he had been invited to give advice about another's gardens. In fact, Levens was going to offer assistance about land belonging to Lord Danvers³⁸⁶. Levens - who was a surveyor as well as Tresham's steward and, as we know, must have developed great skills during his years working on Tresham's estates - was setting out as a representative of his master, in order to advise on what would - a century, and more, later - become Cirencester Park, seat of the Bathursts. Perhaps of more significance (in the current context) is that fact that, in 1622, Lord Danvers conveyed, to the University of Oxford, five acres of land, on which a walled garden was to be laid out, dedicated to the study of botany and medicine³⁸⁷.

The second person to consult Tresham was - extraordinarily enough - Robert Cecil, the son of his old ally and enemy, Lord Burghley, and first cousin to Francis Bacon. In August, 1605 - less than a month before Tresham died and just over three months before Francis Tresham became involved in the Gunpowder Plot - Robert Cecil, recently created Earl of Salisbury, and having been persuaded by James I to exchange Theobalds with Hatfield House, described Lyveden as, 'one of the fairest Orchards that is in England'. He requested that his servant, Michael Hicks, should send his gardener, 'Mountain' Jennings³⁸⁸, to Lyveden.

'Write to my Steward to give charge to Jennings my Gardinor presently to make a journey to my ystate at Brigstoc'³⁸⁹. .. From hence I would have him go

³⁸⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op. cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p.iv.

³⁸⁶ Henry, Baron Danvers of Dauntsey, had been a page to Sir Philip Sidney in the 1580s. After a period of exile and alienation from the crown, he was returned to favour; though his elder brother, who was involved in the 1601 Essex Rebellion (with others, including Francis Tresham, some of whom later got involved with the 1605 Gunpowder Plot), was beheaded for treason. Henry Danvers inherited the manor of Cirencester from his father.

³⁸⁷ The gateway of the Oxford Botanic Garden, designed by Nicholas Stone, a master mason who frequently worked with Inigo Jones, still bears the following inscription, 'Gloriae Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis, in usum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus comes Danby DD. MDCXXXII.'

³⁸⁸ 'Mountain' (Montague) Jennings worked for the Cecils at Theobalds and Hatfield.

³⁸⁹ There is a copy of a letter patent to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, granting him Brigstock Great Park, Little Park (and other properties), dated 1608. National Archives, Kew, ref.C99/77/6. Obviously, Cecil had an interest in the parks at Brigstock, just to the west of Lyveden, when Tresham was still alive and, presumably, still had his own land and interests at Brigstock. We have not explored the extent (if any)

to Sir Thomas Treshams, and thence to inquire for the house which he is in building .. I know he shal not be denyd the sight thereof if he gives my name, but I am sure that he shal be able to pick some sure observations so may enable him to spend my money to better purpose then it is. And therefore I pray you when you send this direction to my Steward, send it him in writing that he may beat it into his head for what purpose he is sent being principally to mark what course they take for planting and fructifying {?} growing with little charge and in {short} {figure}'.

Tresham's orchards – and all that they embraced and signified (including the efficiency and economy of his cultivation techniques) – appear in one more document. On September 11th, 1605, Tresham died, at Rushton. Four years later, his widow wrote to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

'My good Lord. I knowe thankes are not requitall for your Lo: many fvaours which I have found not in worde but in deedes, I pray god I may deserve them. I shal be glad to have any (though small occasion) to witnes my dutie, & therefore I am bold with {?} to beseech your Lo: to accept of (a wydowes mite) half of a hundredth trees out of Lyveden orchard toward the planting of the orchard which I heare your Lo: intendeth at Hatfield; they & what els is here shal be at your honors comand whensoever your Lo: shall think best to have them. Lyveden is not above -40- myles from Hatfield. In duty I presume to present these to your honor, because I think no one else can furnish you Lo: with more and better trees & of a fitter growth then this ground. Also my late worthie husband as he did take great delight, so did he come to great experience and judgement therein. {?}Nor} is there I think any fruit of note but he had itt if it could be conveniently gotten. I trust your honor will pardon my boldnes both now & at other times, & according to my bounden dutie I wish your Lo: much happines to the pleasure of god, & his goodnes (with remembrance of my most humble duty and thankes). I commend your honor.

From Lyveden, this xxvijth of October 1609.³⁹⁰

to which the interests of these two men might have interlocked; but this exchange does raise interesting questions about the relationship between Robert Cecil, Tresham and their gardens.

³⁹⁰ Clare E. Cross, *Seventeenth Century English Orchards and Fruit Gardens*, November 2004, p.40. Quoted from the public Record Office, State Papers, 14/48/136.

4.10 Lyveden after Tresham

Lyveden is one of those rare sites where the principal historical and cultural significances really are associated mainly with one period. It is the impress of Sir Thomas Tresham which lends this site its national and – we would argue – its international significance. Therefore, although we have summed up the later development of Lyveden in our Executive Summary (see paras. 4.2), for a more detailed account of the later years, we have included the relevant sections of the 2010 *Conservation Management Plan*, by Drs. Andrew Eburne and Kate Felus, as *Appendix C*. We wish to acknowledge, once more, that we have learned a lot from their work and recommend that the 2010 *CMP* should be read in conjunction with this report.

LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS
PART II: ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: SURVIVAL, CHANGE & LOSS

5 LANDSCAPE & BUILDINGS: GAZETTEER OF STATUS, DEVELOPMENT & CHARACTER

5.1 Introduction

This Section comprises analysis of the surviving fabric and current condition of the National Trust-owned landscape, the Lyveden New Bield and Lyveden Manor. The historic character and surviving / current features of the landscape and buildings have been analysed during walk-over and photographic surveys carried out from August 2013 to November 2013 by Hilary Taylor and Peter Vickers. In addition, a GIS topographical survey of the land and a building survey of the external elevations of the New Bield and Manor have been undertaken by surveyors from the Greenhatch Group. With respect to the trees, additional advice has been procured from veteran tree expert, Ian Jack. Likewise, David Broom has considered the various documents concerning the ecology of the site and has made a walk-over survey.

We have also drawn upon other reports previously commissioned and/or undertaken by the National Trust. A comprehensive list of these is included in *Appendix A*¹.

We have reported on the site in three parts: the 'Whole Site', 'Character Area A' and 'Character Area B' (Fig.5/1). A summary of 'Significances' is included after the two Character Areas, using the following method of assessment (as developed by James Semple Kerr in *The Conservation Plan*, 1996). The Significances will embrace both the assets of the landscape and buildings (whether these be heritage, archaeological, ecological or arboricultural assets, for example) and the uses and activities they support (whether these reflect informal or formal leisure pursuits, or activities associated with play, training or interpretation).

Level of Significance	Examples	Ranking
Exceptional	Important at national to international levels, reflected in the statutory designations of Scheduled Monuments, Grade I and II* Listed Buildings and equivalent nationally graded sites (including those of ecological and nature conservation value).	1
Considerable	Important at regional level or sometimes higher, e.g. Grade II Listed Buildings.	2
Some	Of local to regional significance, often for group value (e.g. a vernacular architectural feature).	3
Little	of limited heritage or other value.	4
Negative or intrusive features	Which actually detract from the value of a site, e.g. a modern corrugated iron shed adjacent to an important mediaeval building.	5

NB A low designation of significance does not necessarily imply that a feature is expendable.

Significances for the site as a whole will be articulated in Section 7.

¹ With thanks to Mark Bradshaw (General Manager for Northamptonshire and Rutland) & Rachael Hall (National Trust Archaeologist; East Midlands) who sourced and provided the majority of the documents.

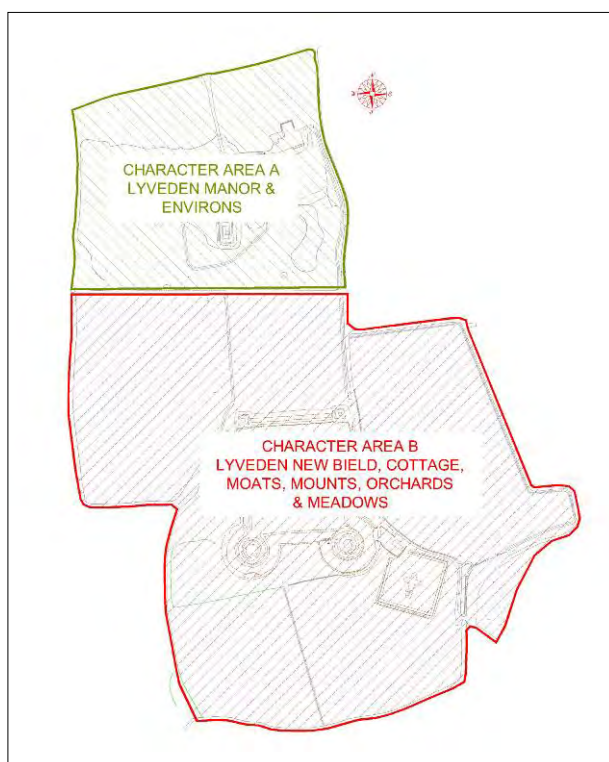


Fig.5/1 Key Plan showing Character Areas A & B

5.2 Whole Site & Character Areas - Introduction

In the first section we will consider generic issues that apply to the whole site and will include a summary of the Trust's (and other interested parties') activities that have contributed to the current condition and understanding of the site. Location-specific features will be recorded and analysed in the more detailed Character Area Sections that follow. Where appropriate and helpful, specific features and issues are mapped and referenced on Condition Survey Plans.

The Character Areas and associated Plans plotted at a scale of 1/1250 are:

Character Area A:	The Manor and the North Environs	Lv (02) A01
Character Area B:	The New Bield, Cottage, Moats, Mounts, Orchards and Meadows	Lv (02) B01

Specific features and / or issues are identified in the following text by the bracketed letter and number references, as shown below. References are keyed into the Landscape Condition Plans to facilitate identification and location on the drawing.

For example (**Aw1**) represents:

- **A** Character Area A – the Manor and Environs;
- **w** Water bodies and Drainage Section;
- **1** first reference / issue in this section etc.

5.2.1 Whole Site - Management

The day-to-day responsibility of running the property owned or leased by the NT had, for a long time, fallen on the tenant occupying the Cottage; a pattern that was established within eighteen months of the Trust's acquiring the New Bield and that

has, in some form or another, continued almost to the present day. The first tenant, a married couple, moved into the Cottage in November 1923, the terms being that they would pay the Trust a monthly rent for the cottage and the adjoining land, as well as rates. In addition they would 'allow public access, act as caretaker and prevent damage to the building'.²

This would appear to have been a reasonably satisfactory relationship; however, by the end of the 1930s and the early years of the 1940s, general neglect to the building and the landscape was causing concern. Minute books, from the time, record in detail weed and nettle growth inside the New Bield, quite possibly from the enriched soil caused by sheltering sheep over the years. Failures to undertake essential repairs and maintenance to the New Bield, Cottage and trees were also listed. Unfortunately, the minute books also record insufficient money generated by visits to support these works.

By 1946/7, new tenants were installed. Their stay was, however, short and by 1952 the Cottage had been home to at least five tenant / caretakers. None stayed for any length of time and there is no indication that the quality of maintenance improved. It would appear that many, if not all, of these tenants were appointed by the owner of the Manor, and not the Trust. In the early years of the 1950s, the owner was a Mr Vestergaard, who appeared to have established a good relationship with the Trust. In 1957, he sold the Manor to Mr John Robinson, a Buckinghamshire farmer, whom the Trust hoped would continue the arrangement to house a farm worker in the Cottage to act as the property's caretaker. This was not a success and the conservation of the property was jeopardised by the neglect of the Cottage and the New Bield and the uprooting of hedges and ploughing of grassland.

The tenancy agreement with Mr Robinson was terminated and the property was, for a short time, managed by a local committee. Various management and maintenance solutions were considered, including offering the New Bield to the Ministry of Works³ to maintain. This was rejected, though a more whimsical solution was proposed in 1959, to advertise for a hermit to take on,

'the occupancy, rent and rate free, of a remote, primitive and romantic cottage in Northamptonshire. Well water and no electricity. Sole duty custodianship of a 17th century ruin built to symbolise the Passion.'

An appointment was made but it is not known how successful the arrangement was. We do know, however, that concerns over the property's buildings, archaeology and landscape continued to grow through the 1960s and '70s. Ploughing encroached ever closer to the New Bield. The mounts were overgrown with dense, self-set trees and the moats were consequently heavily silted with accumulated leaf litter. Ploughing continued to be done in the middle orchard and the terraces to the south of the Manor until the 1980s.

In 1986 the Trust produced the *Lyveden New Bield Management Plan*⁴; authorship is not given in the document. The *Management Plan* reported that the overall responsibility for the property and its finances lay with a Managing Land Agent who was part of the National Trust's East Midlands Regional Team, whilst day-to-day management of the property was the responsibility of a resident custodian. This shared responsibility appeared to continue for some time, as can be seen in the joint

² We would like to thank Geoffrey Fairhurst for his paper 'The Acquisition of Lyveden New Bield by the National Trust', January 2009

³ Later succeeded by English Heritage.

⁴ *Lyveden New Bield Management Plan*, 1986, copy held in the Lyveden Property Files

authorship of Annual Property Plans written at the end of the century⁵ by the Custodian (Mark Bradshaw) and the Managing Agent (Beth Dawson).

The *Management Plan* also recommended the appointment of a resident Custodian. This had always been the Trust's preferred practice and it is unclear as to whether this had lapsed reason at the time of the *Management Plan*'s production. A part-time Custodian was in post in the 1990s (and perhaps before then) until 1995 when he announced his retirement. Mark Bradshaw was appointed to the position of part time Custodian⁶, which the Trust made into a full time post in 1998. Like many of his predecessors, Mark lived on site, with his family, in the Cottage, so maintaining the regular presence at the property.

This situation was continued until 2010, when Mark's responsibilities were extended to embrace all the Trust's properties Northamptonshire and Rutland. The Cottage was transformed into tea rooms, property office and meeting room in 2013. For the first time in almost ninety years, the Trust has taken the pragmatic decision not to have a caretaker / custodian / manager living in the Cottage, but to use the Cottage to support facilities for the visiting public.

Now would seem to be the appropriate time to put on record an acknowledgement of the enormous contribution made by Mark Bradshaw to the conservation and presentation of Lyveden. We would not be the first to do so and we endorse wholeheartedly the comments made by Martin Drury in a memorandum from 2000⁷.

'I congratulate you on all you have achieved at Lyveden in the short time you have been in charge. The New Bield itself and its setting have never looked better. The removal of the fence and the acquisition of the land on the far side are huge improvements.'

The culmination of these improvements took place in 2013, when Lyveden Manor was acquired by the National Trust. Although currently leased as a private house, there now exists the opportunity to reunite the core of the remarkable composition of buildings and landscape, created by Sir Thomas Tresham at the close of the 16th century.

5.2.2 Whole Site - Boundaries

For the visitor, the property's external boundaries are not self-evident and in places they are not marked at all by fences or hedgerows. There is no apparent 'pay cordon' and no gate, other than the vehicle gate at the northern end of the access drive/ right of way / bridleway, which is locked out of hours. Obligatory ticket / reception points do not have to be negotiated to gain admission to the site; in fact the visitor reception building is modest and located at the north end of the cottage garden, some 140 metres from the blue badge area in the new car park, although within a few metres of the right of way/ bridleway.

No physical boundary exists to stop the curious walker from making a small detour to explore the outside of the New Bield and its environs. This must cause management headaches and anxieties over vandalism and loss of income; problems which were

⁵ *Lyveden New Bield, Annual Property Plan, 1997/8*; Beth Dawson (Land Agent) & Mark Bradshaw (Custodian), February 1997. *Lyveden New Bield, Annual Property Plan, 1998/9*; Beth Dawson (Land Agent) & Mark Bradshaw (Custodian), April 1998.

⁶ The post of Custodian was upgraded to Property Manager by the Trust in 2002; Minutes of Lyveden New Bield, 2003 Property Review Meeting, June 2003.

⁷ Post visit memorandum from Martin Drury, then Director General National Trust, to Mark Bradshaw 26th October 2000.

noted even in the early days of ownership⁸, and may resurface now that the Cottage is no longer a home. It should at this point be recorded that the staff, including volunteers, are sensitive to the issue and are well-rehearsed in making polite enquiries to out-of-hours visitors.

5.2.3 Whole Site - Circulation



Fig.5/2 Lyveden New Bield seen from Harley Way

Visitors approaching Lyveden New Bield enjoy an inviting view of Tresham's garden Lodge from Harley Way (Fig.5/2) (though we acknowledge that there are 19th century descriptions which emphasise the fact that the New Bield was enshrouded with trees). Before 2008, most people were obliged to approach more closely by foot. Having parked on the Harley Way, they walked along a right of way which was little more than a muddy track beside the field margin to the east of the orchard and water garden site. The construction of the new car park and access track in 2008 ensures that most visitors now start their exploration of the property from the south, where the car park is located close to, but out of sight of, the New Bield. Yet, the earlier route had the advantage of introducing the visitor firstly, to the water gardens' east moat and east snail mount, then the Cottage and, finally, the New Bield. And, although this is not by any means the designed route from the Old Bield (Manor House) up through the terraced gardens and orchard to the water gardens, it was, at least, closer to the approach from the valley floor in the north up to the New Bield, as Tresham had intended.

This desire to approach the New Bield on what was something like the 'proper' route has been articulated within the Trust for some time, as illustrated by an extract from a 1999 letter written by Martin Drury to Major Nicholas Barne, with a request for the Barnwell Estates to consider the possibility of selling the orchard site⁹.

'Given the interest and importance of the garden, we would very much like to enable visitors to approach the New Bield through the garden, as Tresham intended, and also to emphasise the historic link between the New Bield and the Old Bield, which in Tresham's day was the main house on the property and is now a Barnwell farm house and steading. To do this, it would greatly help if we were able to acquire the 3.8 hectare field marked on the attached plan as Orchard. The intention would be to put it down to permanent pasture.'

⁸ Geoffrey Fairhurst, *Op.cit.*, January 2009.

⁹Letter, dated 12th January 1999, from Martin Drury (Director-General NT) to Major Nicholas Barne.

Notwithstanding the above, given the options available at the time, we think that the Trust's decision to place the new car park in its present location is well-argued, sound and the best solution of the several that were rigorously considered (See Section 5.12.1 below). There were legitimate concerns regarding the car park's relationship to the gardens, as voiced in the minutes of a 2005 meeting, and the current solution was reached after some heart-searching¹⁰. One member of the Regional Committee remarked that he,

'had previously not been in favour of vehicles parking near the Bield, but was now convinced that this was the best option. He did have some concerns, however, that visitors, having parked at the top of the drive, would not attempt to walk back to the gardens.'

Our experience of being on site (although admittedly always in glorious late summer / early autumn weather) has, however, suggested that this has not turned out to be the case. The draw of the orchard, as fruit ripened, was noticeably popular and well worth the walk and it is easy to believe that spring blossom would have the same appeal. Late summer afternoon sun filtering through the ash trees on the mounts and highlighting the water in the moats also drew visitors, although it was difficult to discern any particular circulation pattern. Rather like cathedral and church visitors, individuals and groups drifted here and there to discover and enjoy, in their own time, the unique quality of the place.

But the acquisition of the Manor House and adjacent land brings with it the potential to refocus the principal visitor amenities in the north of the property, and this will undoubtedly reopen the discussions regarding car parking, circulation and visitor engagement.

The opportunity is momentous for the future of the site. It invites the occasion to,

- refocus / distribute the principal visitor amenities in the north of the property;
- review the principal car parking provision from which visitors could explore the wider Rockingham Forest and surrounding countryside, as well as the New Bield itself;
- revisit the opportunities to re-instate a visitor route from the Manor, though the gardens to the Bield.

5.2.4 Whole Site - Geology, Topography, Soils

Refer to Section 2.2.3 above.

5.2.5 Whole Site - Archaeology

The history of archaeology at Lyveden is fascinating in itself and a reflection of the development of landscape archaeology in this country, through the 20th century to the present; from investigations by enthusiastic amateurs in the 1930s through to the use of sophisticated environmental and geophysical techniques in the 1990s and 2000s. It is interesting to note, however, that when the gardens and landscape were first investigated, using relatively unsophisticated techniques, a lot more had survived than does today, as post-war, intensive, mechanised agriculture destroyed much that then remained visible on, or just below, the surface.

¹⁰ The National Trust East Midlands Regional Committee Minutes, 122nd Meeting, Tuesday 18th October 2005.

The first survey of the gardens was carried out by Colonel Kenneth Brown in 1932. He spent a month camped on top of the south-east mount while he carried out his survey and his findings were published by the Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club in 1935, along with a drawing of the layout of the gardens, an aerial photograph and plans and elevations of the lodge. Brown's descriptions are very useful, but his conclusions have been criticised by later archaeologists, such as Taylor and Brown, who called the article 'a short and inadequate note'. But this should not disguise the fact that Colonel Brown's observations provide a valuable insight into what existed prior to the destruction wrought by the post-War deep ploughing which affected the land surrounding the New Bield and the orchard sites. We are also mindful that Taylor and Brown appeared to have missed or ignored Colonel Brown's reference to the diagonal garden to the north of the New Bield (New Gardening Quarter, Warden Hills)¹¹.

The impact of the deep ploughing was recognised by the post-War archaeologists, of whom John Steane was one of the most dedicated. Initially, he led excavations by the staff and students from Kettering Grammar School, where he taught, and the Local Archaeological Society, and subsequently collaborated with the Ministry of Public Works and later the Department of the Environment. Steane was particularly interested in the Lyveden valley's mediaeval history and his work reflected a wider curiosity about deserted mediaeval settlements in the 1960s. Findings were only partially published and were restricted to three interim reports published in 1967¹² and 1973¹³ and, although his excavations concentrated outwith the gardens' site, his work contributed to the understanding of the valley floor archaeology which, in turn, informed the debate over the possible locations of the new car park¹⁴.

Before Steane started his work, the Institute of Archaeology visited the Lyveden New Bield in 1953 and Professor G.F. Webb highlighted, in the meeting programme,

'the vestiges of the garden layout have a particular interest, as evidence of this aspect of late 16th- and early 17th-century design is rare. They well deserve full survey and publication.'

Here, the focus is very much on the gardens, a theme that was to be taken up later by Christopher Taylor and Anthony E. Brown, whose paper, published in 1972¹⁵ on the gardens at Lyveden, employed Professor Webb's quotation as the opening remarks; this is a document that has gained deserved respect.

Since 1942, and in particular since Mark Bradshaw's appointment in 1995, the archaeological investigations of the site have gathered pace to inform proposed clearances and other maintenance or interpretation works. The majority of these are referred to below in the Character Area sections below.

¹¹ J. Prentice, An archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire, September 2011, p.8.

¹² J. Steane, *Journal of Northamptonshire Museums and Art Gallery*, Vol.2, 1967

¹³ J. Steane, Archaeology in Northamptonshire in *Bulletin of Northamptonshire Archaeological Societies*, 1973,

J. Steane, *Northamptonshire Archaeology* Vol.8, 1973

¹⁴ M.A. Newman, Lyveden New Bield, Proposal for additional parking, autumn 2003: Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity

¹⁵ Brown, A.E., and Taylor, C.C. (1972) 'The gardens at Lyveden, Northants.', *Archaeological Journal*, 129: 154-160.

5.2.6 Whole Site - Waterbodies and Drainage

The principal waterbodies on the site are the moats or canals that surrounded the moated orchard to the north west of the New Bield. These are described in contemporary documents and are generally accepted as being part of Tresham's design; although the scheme was never quite completed as the west moat remains only partially excavated at its southern tip.

The site's local geology, which comprises mainly Kellaways Formation and Oxford Clay Formation, provides the boulder clay material into which the moats' profiles were cut, with the arisings used to construct the terraced banks and mounts. A series of six auger-transects made in 2000 of the eastern and southern moats suggested that they were constructed with an approximately flat-bottomed or very broad V-shaped profile¹⁶. The lowering of water levels to facilitate the dredging did not reveal any signs that the bank sides had been stabilised with stone cladding or timber piles.

It is accepted that Tresham's moats were not the first to be dug on the site, and we must assume that it is not coincidence that his canal system abuts an earlier, canalised water body¹⁷ as well as being only fifty metres from another (and possibly much larger) mediaeval moat in the field to the north west. It would seem feasible that all three moat systems were fed from a sustainable water supply and that they did not rely solely on run-off from adjacent ground. On a site visit made in late October 2013, and after heavy rain, it was noted that the ditch (often dry in the summer) that runs south-west of the North Moat was full of water and appeared to be discharging through a culvert and made up ground into the moat.

Also in full flow after heavy rain was the stream (the Lyveden Brook) that flows west to east between the Manor and Harley Way, although strangely the ditch that runs along the hedge and the access road / bridleway was noticeably dry.

A more detailed description the moats is described in the Character Area B Condition Survey below.

5.2.7 Whole Site - Views and Vistas

There is no doubt that the N/S views linking Character Areas A and B – the Old Bield and the New Bield – are vital to the meaning and significance of Tresham's composition. Further discussion of the views and vistas is pursued below.

5.2.8 Whole Site - Buildings, structures, furniture

The three principal buildings are described in the appropriate Character Areas.

5.2.9 Whole Site - Trees and Shrubs

The predominant tree species on the site is Ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*); a tree that thrives on base-rich and damp soils as we have at Lyveden. Its success both here and in the surrounding area is understandable, however, it has to be admitted that its medium- and long-term future as a distinctive feature on the mounts, woodland and moat margins is in jeopardy.

¹⁶ Brian Dix, Moat Dredging Report on the Archaeological Supervision and Watching Brief during dredging works at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire, September-October 2000. We note that the 2012 study of the moats (especially those to S & E) do not contradict Dix's findings in this respect.

¹⁷ The remnant earthworks were surveyed by Christopher Taylor in 1969 and findings published by A. E. Brown and C. C. Taylor, 'The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire,' 157 *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 129, 1972.

A number of the younger trees on site, including on the east bank of the East Moat and others in the garden plantings near the Manor, were showing blackened curling leaves as well as early leaf loss in autumn, 2013. Although we do not think that this is evidence of the latest threat to ash trees, *Chalara fraxinea*, the indication is that the specimens are in poor health and would be very susceptible to attack from this pathogen, which is currently a very real threat to the ash population throughout the country¹⁸.

We note that the National Trust has been much involved in the deliberations on how best to react to this threat and, in response to the Government's control plan on ash dieback announced in March 2013, Dr Simon Pryor, the National Trust's Director of the Natural Environment, observed that,

'It is too late to eradicate this disease, but this plan could buy us time. If we – Government, landowners and foresters – can all work together to reduce the rate at which it spreads across the country we can find ways to ease its impact on our landscapes and wildlife. But we must use this time energetically, to explore every possible way in which we can increase the resilience of our trees and woods.

The Trust will be inspecting and where necessary removing and replacing all recently planted ash trees on our land, and we call on everyone who has planted ash trees in the last few years to do the same.

This is a pragmatic plan, but there are still many unanswered questions about this disease. We are pleased that the Secretary of State has said that plant health was one of his top priorities. But it is vital that he does actually make new resources available to enable Defra, FERA and the Forestry Commission to deliver this plan, rather than rely on others.'

Speaking about what the NT will be doing over the coming months, Dr Pryor added,

'The Trust has already removed thousands of young infected trees that we had planted. We will continue our inspections this summer and where appropriate will be removing and replacing infected young trees.

But one thing that we and other owners must not do is prematurely fell any older trees simply because we think they might be infected. We need to ensure they remain safe, but there is still a chance some of these mature trees will pull through. It is much better for wildlife for the trees to gradually decline than be felled prematurely.'¹⁹

Chalara fraxinea is not the only threat to ash trees in Britain. Approaching across Eastern Europe from the Far East is the emerald ash borer, *Agrilus planipennis*. This is damaging common ash trees elsewhere in Europe and causing mortality, especially amongst trees already weakened by *Chalara*. In short, Britain's ash trees are facing a very uncertain, perhaps even bleak, future. Great care will have to be taken to

¹⁸ The disease was first found in Poland in 1992 and has subsequently become widespread in ash populations across mainland Europe. In February 2012, infected ash trees were discovered in the UK for the first time in a nursery in Buckinghamshire, and have since been found in the wider environment, including established woodland, urban areas, parks and gardens. The fungus attacks ash leaves and grows through the inside the tree, killing the tissue in its path and preventing other parts of the tree from accessing water and nutrients. Infected trees do not recover and are often killed, with young trees being the most vulnerable.

¹⁹ <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/article-1355776163480/>

monitor and manage the appearance of any disease in common ash trees, at Lyveden, as elsewhere.

These twin threats to ash trees in Britain are real and it is unlikely that the specimens at Lyveden, a number of which are in poor condition, would escape unscathed. In addition, there are threats to other trees, including to horse chestnuts (*Aesculus hippocastanum*), as outlined in the 2013 *National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation* for Lyveden²⁰. This report goes as far as recommending the removal of young specimens, because of 'the range of pests and diseases' which are affecting them. Certainly, this is worth considering, especially in relation to the trees flanking the entrance avenue to the Manor, where the wet conditions will not suit them, or planted amongst the overcrowded copses planted to the south of the Manor.

The 2013 *Conservation Evaluation* – which we have found, in the main, to be thorough and informative – also states that, 'favouring removal of non-native species such as sycamore would not have any negative impact on conservation interests and should be encouraged.'²¹

With this, we disagree. The use and planting of sycamores (*Acer pseudoplatanus*) on the site is well documented in Tresham's own writings and so has undoubted historical significance. Furthermore, the argument that it is an exotic species with only marginal biodiversity benefits (once quite widely promoted by conservationists) does not really stand up; this is a tree which has long been in this country and its bio-diversity value is irrefutable. If, for example, lichens are chosen as an indicator of the tree's importance, then sycamore supports a relatively large number of species of some 170 lichen taxa. Furthermore, the aphids that feed on sycamore provide a resource for many animals, either directly as prey or indirectly through their honeydew²². A good example of a lichen-hosting sycamore can be seen on the mature leaning specimen (Fig. 5/3) growing on the ditch bank south-west of the North Moat and, given the threat to ash as a host to many lichens on the site, we recommend that, wherever possible, sycamores are retained to provide a continuity of lichen habitat - not to mention landscape structure and historical continuity²³.

²⁰ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; *Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation*, Final Report October 2013. Curiously, the threats to the ash trees are not discussed in this report.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Andrew Leslie, 'The Ecology and Biodiversity Value of the Sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*) with particular reference to Great Britain', *Scottish Forestry*, Vol. 59, No.3, 2005.

²³ In the last four decades, millions of our native trees have been lost or endangered by disease and infestation. Virtually all the country's elms were killed in the devastating Dutch elm disease epidemic of the early and mid 1970s. Horse chestnuts are succumbing to bleeding canker, a condition caused by the bacterium *Pseudomonas syringae*. Ash is now threatened with a catastrophic loss of the same magnitude. In our opinion, now is not the time for the removal of a viable, and historically authentic, species for the spurious reason that it is (possibly) 'non-native'.



Fig. 5/3 Mature sycamore hosting lichen colonies at Lyveden.

5.2.10 Whole Site - Ecology and Vegetation

Lyveden is set within an area of intensively farmed arable land and is therefore of significant biological importance locally and contains a variety of valuable wildlife habitats. In recent years there have been several wildlife enhancement projects, including the establishment of wildflower meadows and an orchard featuring historic fruit species and varieties.

The most significant habitats at Lyveden, including those identified in the 2013 *Nature Conservation Evaluation*, are outlined below.

- Three recently created hay meadows on former arable land, used seed sourced from an historic Northamptonshire hay meadow. Two, in particular, were considered to support a rich flora with abundant mid-summer flowering, which attracts many insects.
- The old lawns around the Bield were considered to be species-rich, with the banks and shallow ditch especially rich in native grassland plants and species with restricted distributions. Bee orchids (a plant that prefers freely drained and base rich soils - often found on areas of chalk grassland / coastal sand dunes and they may appear on un-mown lawns and on previously disturbed ground around buildings and quarry sites) were mentioned and greater butterfly orchids (a plant that tends to thrive better in calcium rich soils such as chalk grasslands) have been reported in the past. It may be that these plants took advantage of the disturbed soil created by the works to create the excavated ditches around the Bield towards the end of the 20th century; we note that they are less likely to reoccur unless competition is reduced.
- The long established meadow, called the moated orchard, supports locally distributed invertebrates such as the lesser marsh grasshopper; plants with restricted distributions such as the southern marsh orchid and wood small reed have been reported in the past.
- The moats support a good range of native wetland plants and invertebrates. Great crested newts have been reported in the past although the 2013 *Nature Conservation Evaluation* was not able to confirm a current presence. Daubenton's bats forage over all the moats and soprano and pipistrelle bats

have been recorded along the moat margins. It is generally agreed that the pond clearing work, dredging and thinning of trees and tree canopies undertaken in the early years of the 20th century has improved the habitat. Dragonflies are also a key feature of the site. Northamptonshire has a resident population of twenty two breeding dragonfly species of which thirteen were recorded (not all breeding) at Lyveden New Bield at the time of the last survey in 2006²⁴.

- Two particularly interesting lichens, *Pseudevernia furfuracea* and *Parmelia saxatilis*, were found on a number of ash trees in 2001. These lichens are acid-loving species and are usually found in the upper canopy of oak woodland in the midlands but are rare in Northamptonshire. They are decreasing in the region through ammonia pollution arising from fertilisers, especially the use of slurry, and animal husbandry, particularly intensive pig and poultry production²⁵.
- Hedgerows, both established thick-structured examples and relatively recently planted ones, act as commuting routes for insects, birds and bats. The best of these hedges comprise a number of native tree species.
- The New Bield provides foraging habitat for bats including common pipistrelles, soprano pipistrelles and whiskered/Brandt's bats. There is also a possibility of winter bat hibernation roost sites in deep crevices – two common pipistrelles have already been recorded. Reports also note the presence of a little owl day roost and a barn owl day roost.
- The Cottage has been a summer roost for brown long-eared bats.
- In recent years, roost sites for brown long-eared bats, Natterer's bats, pipistrelles and whiskered bats have been recorded in the Manor.
- Birds of Conservation Concern present include Red and Priority listed skylark, yellow wagtail, yellowhammer and linnet, along with Amber Listed birds such as green woodpecker, reed bunting and red kite.

In addition the individual habitats will be assessed in a more detail in the relevant sections of the Character Areas.

Outside the Lyveden boundaries, but not far to the west, is Fermyn Woods in the ancient forest of Rockingham. Now a place of recreation, leisure and exercise (it forms part of circular walk that takes in Lyveden), it is also one of the few homes of the purple emperor (*Apatura iris*). Treasured, if not worshipped, by butterfly enthusiasts, these woods are one of the few remaining haunts of the purple emperor. In July, the woods are a focus of much attention, as enthusiasts congregate in trying to tempt the emperor from the tree tops to feed on the ground. Patrick Barkham in his book, *The Butterfly Isles: A Summer in Search of Our Emperors and Admirals* describes the event.

'In the glade of an ancient royal hunting forest stood five tables covered in white cloth. These were laid for breakfast, with a fat candle in the middle. On each of 20 paper plates was a different dollop of food. On one dish, two king prawns sweated in the sunshine. On another sprawled dozens of tiny pickled mudfish. There were crushed grapes, a blackened rotten banana, honey water, horse manure, fox scat and plenty of servings of stinking shrimp: shrimp

²⁴ Mark Tyrrell, *The Dragonflies of Lyveden New Bield*, 2006

²⁵ Dr. Anthony Fletcher, *Lyveden New Bield, Lichen Survey*, 2001

curry, sauteed shrimp fry, Thai Boy shrimp paste and Big Cock shrimp paste. One brand had been banned from Britain the previous year after it was deemed unfit for human consumption. But this rancid repast was not for human consumption. It was for the purple emperor....

No other butterfly in Britain can compete with the charisma of his imperial majesty. The purple emperor has entranced entomologists and bewitched butterfly lovers for centuries. It has fired imaginations and driven its pursuers to the edge of insanity. We desire things that disdain us, and this soaring winged messenger scorns and tantalises us. It is a muscular, swooping, gliding black beauty, and the male shimmers iridescent purple when caught in the sunlight. Despite its size and power, it is one of our most elusive insects. Considered a creature of ancient English woodlands, it is rarely seen because it lives in the tops of trees and refuses to descend from its kingdom to feed, as an ordinary butterfly would, on mere flowers...

These woods of Rockingham once stretched from Northampton to Stamford, a medieval hunting forest carved from great estates created by William the Conqueror. A few miles to the east are Barnwell Wold and Ashton Wold, two celebrated sites where Victorian collectors waxed lyrical about hunting iris. Along with Sussex, this is the stronghold of the emperor and almost as far north as the butterfly will go.'

This is obviously the butterfly highlight of the area, however the whole of Lyveden is host to a good, if not necessarily rare, collection of meadow and woodland butterfly species, all of which adds to the property's delight.²⁶

5.2.11 Whole Site - Access & interpretation

For many years, the Trust did not encourage visits to the Water Gardens by the general public. It is not clear when this policy was introduced, but we do know that it was still enforced in 1986 when the *Management Plan*'s statement on 'Public Access and the Provision of Information' reported that,

'The unfinished building known as Lyveden New Bield and the mound on which it stands are open every day throughout the year. However access to the 'Garden Area' which contains remnants of the oldest garden layout owned by the Trust (late 16th / early 17th century) is restricted to specialist parties. A guide book to the property is available from the Custodian.'²⁷

The 1986 *Management Plan* outlined management policies that would provide and encourage public access by:

- advertising opening times in Trust and other publications;
- encouraging visitors to Lyveden;
- limiting public access to the garden area to those with a specialist interest.

The reasons to limit access to the gardens are not clear. Presumably, this was because they were so overgrown as not to be legible as gardens, and that there

²⁶ Sir David Attenborough, President of the charity, Butterfly Conservation, articulated the joy of butterflies when he said recently that he loved them so much because "they are something that is a spark of wonder of the natural world which can fly into anybody's life." He continued to say "You don't have to be wealthy. They come into everybody's lives once a year, and a buddleia bush covered in butterflies, which I remember as a kid, was one of the most breathtakingly beautiful things anybody could see.", Article in the *Independent*, with Sir David Attenborough, Michael McCarthy, 14th July 2012

²⁷ The National Trust, *Lyveden New Bield Management Plan*, 1986

were associated health and safety risks, as well as because the fabric of this remarkable site was – and is – vulnerable to heavy pedestrian use. It may have been no more than that the Trust felt sensitive promoting an aspect of a property that might, to the casual observer, have looked uncared for, and needing attention.

Perhaps in acknowledgment of this, the 1986 *Management Plan* also recommended that a programme of the gradual removal of scrub undergrowth and small trees from the mounds and terraces should be undertaken to make the garden features more identifiable. In addition, it also advised that the 'Ponds' should be kept clear of debris.

It would appear that these recommendations were not carried out immediately, but they are recapitulated in more detail in the 1997/8 *Lyveden Property Review*²⁸. By 2000, much of the clearance has been undertaken to reveal the garden structure as noted by Martin Drury, in a memorandum to Mark Bradshaw, the property's custodian:

'Having always urged caution about revealing the Elizabethan garden I was apprehensive about the effect of clearance. It was a great relief, therefore, to find that my apprehension was unfounded. The uncovering of the great mounds, so astonishingly well preserved, and the dredging and clearing of the canals, take nothing from the romance of the place and add a powerful sense of mystery, which is enhanced by the retention of the younger trees.'²⁹

The newly revealed garden also attracted the interest of the television programme makers of the series *Hidden Gardens*. Six important gardens, representing over 400 years of garden creation, were selected for the series, which was first broadcast in December 2002; an accompanying book was published in November of the same year. Inevitably, the programme and book promoted the property to a much wider audience and visitor numbers increased with the consequent requirement for improved access, car parking and visitor facilities. Today all visitors are encouraged to explore the breadth of the Gardens, with (or without) the help of audio guides and guided tours.

5.2.12 Whole Site - Car access and parking

As discussed above (Section 5.2.3) the issues of right of way, ownership and access were considered from the time of the acquisition. Problems of access are documented in the post-War years when comments regarding 'the extremely muddy approach road up to the Bield' in the winter and in very wet weather are recorded³⁰.

As already noted, by the last decade of the 20th century, car access and parking had become a major concern. Visitor numbers had been rising steadily and by the 1990s numbers were beginning to exceed 4,000 a year and the long-standing arrangement of visitor parking in the lay-by on Harley Way, was becoming increasingly untenable. The lay-by is approximately half a mile from the New Bield and problems of car security and limited parking capacity were becoming more severe. Safety on the road was also a concern and, although Harley Way has the character of a quiet country lane, there are times when vehicles travel along it very

²⁸ Lyveden New Bield, *Annual Property Plan*, 1997/8; Beth Dawson (Land Agent) & Mark Bradshaw (Custodian), February 1997.

²⁹ Memorandum from Martin Drury, Director General National Trust, to Mark Bradshaw, Custodian of Lyveden New Bield, 26th October 2000.

³⁰ It would appear that the Trust in the 1950s initially refused to contribute towards the cost of remaking the track. See, Geoffrey Fairhurst, *Op.cit.*, January 2009.

quickly. The situation was admirably summarised by Hal Moggridge in 2003³¹, several years after the issue had been raised by the Property Manager.

'Visitors at present park along the narrow public lane which passes the site about 500m north of the canal garden. In 1999 there were 4,000 visitors and in 2003, 15,000 visitors. These produce an income which pays all the expenses of keeping the site including the salary of the enthusiastic warden, Mark Bradshaw. Visits are not prolonged so that the maximum number of parked cars has usually been 15. More spaces are needed and they must be off the public road. It is hoped to carry out new car parking arrangements during winter 2003/04.'

Discussions regarding safety and security were also linked with aspirations to improve the visitors' engagement with the property by approaching the New Bield on foot through the gardens from the north as was intended. A number of these issues are highlighted in the Memorandum written by Martin Drury to Mark Bradshaw in 2003³².

'The other thing we discussed was the need to do something to secure visitors' cars. I suggest you consider the arrangements at Chastleton as a possible model. There visitors arrive in the car park and see the house for the first time when they have left it via a gap in the hedge. They then have the experience of walking towards the house which is gradually revealed.

At Lyveden something similar could be arranged so long as a) the field to the left of the drive could be acquired – or part of it – and b) you could make the car park secure with a hut and a volunteer attendant.

You would begin by replanting the hedgerow along the left of the track and those which once separated the field into compartments. This would provide an enclosed space for a car park about a third of the way up the track on the left. It would be invisible from the New Bield and in time the hedges would grow up and, acting as a series of baffles, shelter it from distant views from the road to the south east(?). This would have to be modelled, but I think shelter could be achieved even though the site is at present an exposed slope.

The advantage of siting the car park in this place would be that visitors would still have the excitement of approaching on foot....

I see the attraction of approaching the New Bield in the way originally intended, but in Tresham's day I guess your house was not there to obstruct the view of the New Bield. And there is something mysterious and dramatic about seeing the house for the first time silhouetted against the sky.'

In 2003 and 2004, much attention was paid to the merits, or otherwise, of possible car park locations and the approach to the New Bield. We consider it worth summarising, briefly, some of the issues which were explored at the time, as the purchase of Lyveden Manor in 2013 may cause them to be reopened.

By the turn of the century it appears that it was universally agreed in the Trust that parking in Harley Way lay-by was no longer viable or sustainable. In 2003 and 2004 a number of solutions and variations thereof were considered. These included the following.

³¹Report issued by Hal Moggridge (Member of the Trust's Architectural Panel) after a Site Visit of 19th September 2003.

³²Memorandum from Martin Drury Director General National Trust to Mark Bradshaw 26th October 2000, post site visit to record discussions

a) An area on the valley floor, east of the access track and close to the junction with Harley Way

The rationale for this proposal was that this area was well away from the New Bield and its garden setting and would therefore not impede on views of the New Bield and its garden setting. Mark Newman, the Trust's North Territory Archaeologist, noted that, although much of the valley floor in the vicinity had been the subject of Steane's archaeological investigations³³, the area immediately to the east of the track 'was probably unexcavated and therefore archaeologically sensitive.'³⁴

The case for a modified version, to avoid possible disturbance of buried archaeology, was made by Chris Gallagher³⁵.

'I think everyone was agreed that the location at the bottom of the hill was by far the best option of those we looked at ... I had another look at the new proposed site ... and I think that, if it were sited slightly up the hill from the more level ground at the bottom (the site of the mediaeval workshops), it might (surprisingly) be possible to hide it altogether, when viewed from the top of the hill.'

b) Linear parking alongside the access track

This is the option referred to in the memorandum above as the 'proposed site adjacent to the hedge' and the case for it is articulated in the summary³⁶ provided by Hal Moggridge below.

'It is proposed to provide linear parking on the west side of the approach track immediately off the public road. ... This is a well screened space, invisible from the Garden mounts and inconspicuous from the public lane.

This is a straightforward, inconspicuous, inexpensive and thoroughly sensible proposal. I recommend approval be granted forthwith by the Panel's chairman or secretary on the basis of my site inspection.'

This proposal was discussed with H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester and the representatives of the Barnwell Estate, whose land it was, and – although generally supportive of the Trust's work and objectives at Lyveden – reservations were expressed over vehicle security and visitor safety. Of concern was the juxtaposition of visitor movement and agricultural traffic, particularly at times such as harvest³⁷. It was also reported that Barnwell Estate's agent thought that the water course along the hedge line might not belong to them but to the freehold of Lyveden Manor.

c) Parking at the north end of the Orchard

It was also noted that the Barnwell Estate favoured a location at the northern end of the Orchard, near the boundary with Lyveden Manor. This location had been considered by the Trust and although the siting would, no doubt,

³³ Excavations on site were made by John Steane and Kettering School in the 1960s and early 1970s and the findings have only been partially published

³⁴ Memorandum sent in 11th July 2003 from Mark Newman, Territory Archaeologist, North to Mark Bradshaw summarising site visit made on 27th June 2003

³⁵ Memorandum sent on 24th April 2003 from Chris Gallagher, Curator (Gardens and Parks) North Territory to Mark Bradshaw summarising visit to the New Bield by CG, David Wilson & Roger Carr-Whitworth

³⁶ Report issued by Hal Moggridge (Member of the Trust's Architectural Panel) after a Site Visit of 19th September 2003.

³⁷ Undated (but post 15th October 2003) Email correspondence from Mark Bradshaw to Chris Gallagher copy to David Wilson.

increase visibility and therefore vehicle security, anxieties remained that sight lines, views and buried archaeology might be compromised. These points were summarised by Chris Gallagher³⁸, who felt this proposal to be undesirable in terms both of its visual intrusion into the designed landscape and also – perhaps more significantly – because it would intrude on the middle of Tresham's former terraced gardens, compromising the physical and intellectual links between the Old and New Bield, and the progression from one to another.

In the event, none of the above proposals received total support from all the interested stakeholders and, by the summer of 2005, a radically different proposal was put to the National Trust, East Midlands Regional Committee. This proposal was to acquire three parcels of land adjacent to the New Bield to,

- help safeguard the setting and scheduled importance of Lyveden New Bield;
- protect the area of the former parterre to the north of the New Bield;
- provide new safe and adequate car parking for staff and visitors to the property;
- provide new access route to the proposed parking area.

This, in essence, is the proposal for the current access drive and parking provision that was completed in 2008. Access to the site is from Harley Way and via the right of way as shown on the change of ownership documents dating from the first quarter of the 20th century. A very modest gate spans the width of the track some twenty metres south of the junction with Harley Way. For visitors, arriving in cars to find a closed gate before the property is open, this provides ample space to turn or wait in safety. The gate itself is workmanlike in design, construction and materials which give it an estate / farm character. Signs are kept to minimum and there is no sense of the announcement that normally (and understandably) accompanies the entrance to the Trust's (or many other) heritage properties. The only thing of age to be seen, notwithstanding that the track passes over or very close to the archaeological remains of the Deserted Mediaeval Village, is a very impressive, veteran ash, partially submerged in the hedgerow and 20th century planting on the west of the track.

Again, the track to the New Bield is estate/farm like in nature. It traces the eastern line of the boundary of what were once the terraced gardens of the Manor. No views of either the New Bield itself or the recently replanted orchard or the water garden's mounts and terraces are offered; only the farmed horizon is visible to the south and east.

It is evident that the surfaced drive (the historic route shown on the 1st Edition OS) continues to the south, but the presence of a small traffic cone and smaller sign indicates that the visitor vehicle route swings sharply to the east, and then to the south, to follow a recently planted hedge line to the car park. Neither the newly constructed access track nor the car park is tarmacked; both are surfaced with a rolled stone that maintains the agricultural look and tactile nature of the setting. No road markings are employed. The newly constructed track is outside the area of the former garden and it follows the outer edge of an historic field boundary. This ensures that the majority of vehicles do not pass directly in front of either the water gardens or the New Bield and legitimately expressed concerns about vehicles passing close by the Scheduled Ancient Monument have been addressed.

In short, the new access road and parking is a success. It maintains the agricultural feel of the setting and the car park, although relatively close to the New Bield, is

³⁸ Memorandum sent on 27th January 2004 from Chris Gallagher, Curator (Gardens and Parks) North Territory to Mark Bradshaw summarising visit/meeting to the New Bield by CG, David Wilson & Julie Bradbury and Mark Newman

completely hidden by an established hedge. It does not, however, allow the visitor to start the journey, by foot, from the bottom of the hill.

5.3 Analysis of Status, Development and Character - Character Area A: Lyveden Manor and the North Environs

This Section to be read in conjunction with HTLA Plan No. Lv (02) A01

5.3.1 Summary of Layout and Use

This Character Area, slightly larger than 11 hectares in size, lies in the valley to the north of Lyveden New Bield and moated gardens. The area is rhomboid in shape with its northern boundary of c.352 metres set against the long established public road, Harley Way. The southern boundary of 384 metres is the longest, whilst the west and east boundaries are 261 and 340 metres respectively.

The north of the Character Area straddles the Lyveden Brook, which flows from west to east. North of the Brook, and between it and Harley Way, the land is dominated by a plantation (**A11**) of western balsam poplar (*Populus balsamifera* ssp. *trichocarpa*) probably dating from the 1970/80s; it is neither shown on the 1944 Luftwaffe aerial photograph nor the OS, 1958, 1:2500 Edition. Significantly, the balsam poplar is one of the most vigorous trees grown in Britain³⁹ which suggests that, notwithstanding the plantation's commercial forestry style of planting, in martial lines, its primary function was to provide shelter and privacy for the Manor (**A12**) which stands c.70 metres south of the brook (Fig.5/4).



Fig.5/4 Martial lines of balsam poplar, planted to N & W of Lyveden Manor

³⁹ Alan Mitchell, *A Field Guide to the Trees of Britain and Northern Europe* 1974, pp.184-5.

The Manor has also long been referred to as Lyveden Old Bield, even though it is generally agreed that much of what we see today post-dates the New Bield. As the relevant sections below describe, the building and historic gardens and landscape have changed considerably over the years and relatively little of the original fabric of either appears to be intact in this area. Nothing of the Tresham's terraced Lower Garden, which occupied the valley sides to the south and east of the Manor, remains. Archaeology shown on historic aerial photographs has been mostly lost under the plough of intensive post-War arable production; this has now ceased and the land, classified as semi-improved grassland, is currently managed as a hay crop.

Access to the Manor is provided by a surfaced track **(AI3)** from the public road, Harley Way, to the Manor. Currently in poor condition, the track crosses Lyveden Brook on a stone bridge and swings round to approach the Manor from the west.

Most importantly, the Manor and surrounding land, which had been in separate ownership from the New Bield since the latter was acquired by the Trust in 1922, was purchased by the Trust in 2013, thereby giving the opportunity to reunite, manage and present the site as a whole. The Manor is currently rented and used as a family home, although it is understood that this is not a long term agreement.

The large timber garage **(AI4)** to the north east of the Manor is used currently by the Trust to store grounds maintenance vehicles and equipment. Access from the garage to the New Bield, gardens, meadows and orchards is via a short newly-stoned track **(AI5)** that joins the visitor car park track to the east. The timber garage is at the moment relatively out of sight, however if the terraced gardens were to be reinstated in any way this building might be inappropriately visible.

5.3.2 *Description and Current Condition - Use and Management*

As already indicated elsewhere, it is thought that relatively little is now left of the original 16th century / early 17th century buildings, and even less of Tresham's terraced gardens leading up to the Lower Orchard; furthermore, the archaeological remains suggested in the 1944 aerial photograph and explored in the Brown & Taylor 1972 Archaeological Paper, have not survived sufficiently to show on a geophysics survey completed in January 2014. The valley sides to the south west and south east of the Manor now comprise semi-improved grassland (used in recent years for hay) and juvenile / semi-mature unmanaged copses, possibly planted as game cover.

The Manor itself is very much altered and is described in the John Heward 1998 report as being part of one range of the 17th century building. It has been much changed, enlarged and reduced over subsequent centuries⁴⁰. Around the Manor the landscape is dominated by 20th century garden features, including a tennis court, garden hedges, lawns and hard standing. The Manor is currently rented as a family home.

From 1922, when the Trust acquired the New Bield, to 2013, the Manor, adjoining buildings and land had been owned by others. These have included a Mr. Vestergaard who owned the Manor House and Farm in the middle years of the century, a Mr. Robinson who purchased the property in 1957 and in 1977, the Duke of Gloucester and the Barnwell Castle Estate. In turn it was sold to a Mr and Mrs King in 1989 and latterly, in 1996, to Mr. A. Halstead.

⁴⁰ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Historic Building Report*, 1998.

This report explores the history and development of this house in some detail and makes it clear that what remains is just part of one range of the 17th century building, which have been much changed / enlarged and reduced again, in later centuries.

In 2012 the opportunity arose for the Trust to purchase the property. Members of the Trust's Archaeological Panel acknowledged that, notwithstanding the Manor's Grade I listing⁴¹, little of the 16th /17th fabric was extant and its acquisition was desirable for the following reasons ⁴².

'The Panel agreed that ... by acquiring it [the Manor] the potential for the whole site could be unlocked. It would allow the whole site to come to life and to make more sense to visitors as they would approach Lyveden New Bield (as) visitors would have done in the past and as it was originally perceived and thereby increasing the visitor offer and potential VE [visitor engagement].'

The Meeting also noted that,

'The vision for the property is to increase visitors to the site and this could be achieved by using Lyveden Manor as the visitor start point to direct them to different parts of the site, so helping them to limit damage by trampling as well as the potential to be a hub giving access to Rockingham Forest. With the potential large increases in population nearby, the Panel appreciated that there would be benefits to the Trust of having a building and space to be able to disperse visitors from. It would allow the property to maximise the conservation elements as well as being the last element of the 'jigsaw' to enable flexibility of the site.'

In our opinion, the Trust deserves great credit for taking the initiative to purchase the Manor and its land and we fully endorse the rationale and vision described in the minutes above.

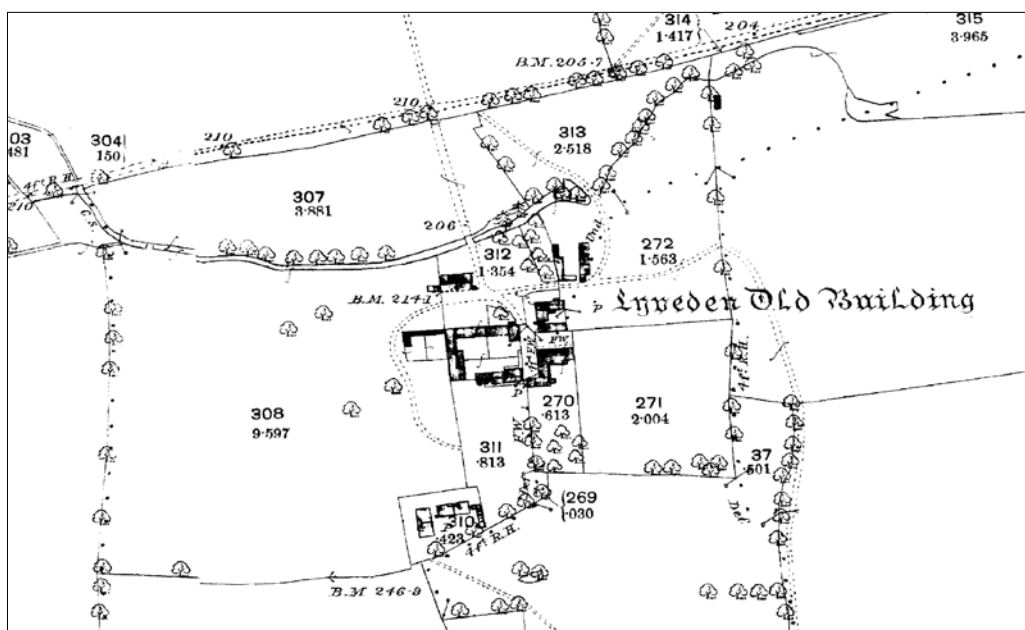
5.3.3 *Description and Current Condition – Boundaries*

The south boundary of the area is shared with the north boundary of Character Area B. It comprises a hedge (**Ab1** & **Bb1**) running west to east along between the Lower Orchard and the Manor grounds. Neither of these parcels of land was in the Trust's ownership until the late 20th / early 21st century, when they were purchased from the Barnwell Estates.

The hedge line is not shown on the 1886, 1: 25" (1:2,500) OS 1st edition, although four trees are depicted on an east to west line, in a manner which suggests that they might, at one time, have been hedgerow / boundary trees (Fig.5/5).

⁴¹ Lyveden Old Bield and Attached Outbuildings (also known as Lyveden Manor) is listed as Grade I; List Entry Number 1040347; first listed on 23rd May 1967, amended on the 31st July 1987.

⁴² National Trust Archaeology Panel: Feedback Meeting, 12 October 2012



The 1901, 1:2,500 OS edition indicates neither a boundary nor possible remnant boundary trees, and this remains the case on the 1926, 1:2,500 OS edition. The Luftwaffe 1944 aerial photograph, however, shows a possible boundary feature approximately on the current hedge line, and marked with what appears to be a young hedge of approximately 35-40 metres at its east end. By the the 1958, 1:10,000 OS edition, the boundary line is shown running east to west without a break and it is likely that the hedge / or hedge and fence was the work of Mr. Vestergaard who was the owner of the Manor House and Farm in the middle years of the century.

In 1957 the Farm and Manor was sold to a Mr. Robinson, who, according to the Property's minute books⁴³, ploughed up grassland and uprooted boundary hedges and it is possible that this hedge was removed by Mr. Robinson before the land was sold to the Duke of Gloucester in 1977. In any event, no boundary line is shown on the 1970-1971, 1:2,500 edition OS.

The sequence of plans and aerial photographs would suggest, therefore, that the current hedge dates from the last quarter of the 20th century; an understanding supported on the ground by the lack of mature trees or shrubs, or remnants thereof. The hedge is aligned virtually on a west/ east axis, 90° from North, which is at variance with the alignment of the southern face of the Manor House and the Water Garden's North moat, which are parallel to each other at 86° from North.

The hedge comprises principally hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), field maple (*Acer campestre*) and bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*). It is in reasonable condition, although it was flailed in October 2013 which lends the overall environment a modern farmed character, at odds with the aspirations and presentation of the Lower Orchard. If this hedge line were to be retained – and we consider that it should be removed – it would seem to present an opportunity for a more appropriate hedge-laying management regime as practised elsewhere on the property. Perhaps work of this type could be integrated into the property's already very active engagement initiatives in the form of volunteer or working holiday

⁴³ The Acquisition of Lyveden New Bield by the National Trust, Paper by Geoffrey Fairhurst, January 2009

activities. A modern functional and well made timber pedestrian gate (**Ab2**) has recently been inserted in the hedgerow at its junction with the east boundary hedge.

The hedge marking the Area's western edge (**Ab3**) is mature and varied suggesting a long established field boundary; a supposition confirmed by the 1886, 1: 2,500 OS 1st. edition which plots seven individual trees along its line (see Fig.5/5). Close to the bottom of the valley, and the Lyveden Brook, the depicted trees may be related to the substantial goat willows (*Salix caprea*) (**Ab4**), which are well suited to the wet boulder clay soils. Slightly higher on the valley slopes, some of the OS-depicted trees were probably elms, all of which were lost to the Dutch elm disease epidemic. The positions of some of these are now recorded by explosions of regenerated growth (**Ab5**) which will thrive until mature (as these are), after which they will soon succumb to the disease. Field maple (*Acer campestre*), apple (*Malus sylvestris*), cherry (*Prunus avium*), hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*) and blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*) are also represented in this hedge which, at the moment is thick and tall, providing a good corridor habitat for insect, bird and bat movement, feeding and breeding.

Harley Way, the minor public road between Oundle to the east and Corby / Kettering to the west, is the property's north boundary. A low and gapped hedge (**Ab6**) comprising principally of thorn and of little historical or ecological significance, is reinforced with a timber fence; neither is stock proof. A modest timber gate marks the entrance to the Manor from the public road.

The east boundary hedge (**Ab7**) is similarly rich in species to the western hedgerow, and includes sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*), field maple (*Acer campestre*), hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), hazel (*Corylus avellana*), blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), oak (*Quercus robur*), guelder rose (*Viburnum opulus*) and regenerated elm suckers. Of particular note is a veteran field boundary ash (Fig.5/6) (**Ab8**). It stands on the west side of the entrance gate, leading off Harley Way. It is marked on the 1886, 1: 2,500 OS 1st edition and deserves veteran tree status and management.



Fig.5/6 Veteran ash, on NE corner of the estate, to west of entrance gate on Harley Way.

This tree is also just visible on the aerial photograph of Lyveden DMV, taken in 1967 (Fig.5/7)⁴⁴, although it is salutary to note that the rest of what appears to be a richly diverse and well established hedge is not, or barely, shown at all in 1967 – confirming that, although we initially concluded that the mixed hedge on the west of the drive was of some age – and it does include some mature specimens – after the War, such changes were made that only a few individual specimens were left untouched.



Fig. 5/7 Aerial Photograph of the Lyveden Valley, c.1967. The Manor is at the top of the photograph and the veteran ash, and remnant eastern boundary hedge (& current entrance drive, off Harley Way), at the NE corner.

The line, age and provenance of this boundary hedgerow were also interrogated by Newman⁴⁵ who, in his 2003, *Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity*, observed that,

'Just as important, though much subtler, is that much of the hedgeline marking the Old Bield property has been realigned since the 1960s. This is not immediately obvious as it is quite well established However, what was clearly once a long straight boundary now has angles in it (though it remains anchored in the same large ash trees in the north). Undoubtedly the accompanying drainage ditch is similarly modern in origin.'⁴⁶

5.3.4 Description and Current Condition - Circulation, Paths and Drives

Vehicular access to the Manor is via a drive (**Ac1**) from the public road, Harley Way, a drive which dates back to at least the 19th century, where it was shown on the 1886, 1: 2,500 1st edition OS. Approximately 4 metres in width, the cambered drive is now hard surfaced with a tarmac, or similar, wearing course, in poor condition and flanked by young horse chestnut trees (*Aesculus hippocastanum*). Acceptable for family use, the drive may need to be upgraded and slightly widened if it were to be the principal visitor access route (Fig.5/8).

⁴⁴ J. Steane, First Interim Report 1967, and referenced in the report by M. Newman, *Lyveden New Bield, Proposal for additional parking, autumn 2003: Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity*, September 2003

⁴⁵ Mark Newman, National Trust, Territory Archaeologist, North

⁴⁶ M. Newman, *Lyveden New Bield, Proposal for additional parking, autumn 2003: Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity*, September 2003, P.5



Fig.5/8 Entrance drive to Lyveden Manor, looking towards Harley Way, 2013

In comparison, the new rolled stone track to the car park is approximately 4.7 metres in width; wider than the Manor drive, but narrower than the 6 metres recommended in highway guidelines for access roads. We consider the track (**Ac2**) to the New Bield car park to be of an appropriate size and character for its location and context and would urge a similar approach is applied to any modifications to the Manor drive.

We also note that, not only is the entrance drive to the Manor well-cambered, it is raised above the adjacent land to the west and east, perhaps to reduce the risk of flooding and to aid the drive's drainage; the land in the valley floor is a heavy clay.

It is probable that, given the Trust's purchase of the Manor, perhaps with the intention to use it a visitor centre/hub for the New Bield, the gardens and the Rockingham Forest in general, the location of car parking facilities may be revisited. And the possibility of using an area within the poplar plantation is one worth considering; however, drainage, and the protection of the water courses from oil or spills, will be issues to consider.

Secondary access is also provided on a stoned track (**Ac3**) created between the drive to the New Bield and the land to the north east of the Manor. This has been used particularly by the Trust to aid in the movement of grounds maintenance equipment to and from the timber barns where it is stored.

There is not at the moment any recognised path between what has been the privately owned Manor and the New Bield via the Lower Orchard and moated site.

5.3.5 Description and Current Condition - Archaeology

The history of habitation along the Lyveden Valley is well documented, in both the History Section above (refer to *Section 4.3.1 The Setting: Mediaeval Lyveden*) and in a range of archaeological and scholarly texts. The fascinating pattern of mediaeval settlement is summarised in the introduction to the Section 4.3.1 above:

'Lyveden New Bield, Old Bield and the Elizabethan gardens now stand in some isolation, the garden lodge (New Bield) itself overlooking the Lyveden valley and the expansive, landscape all around, virtually unintruded upon by any modern structures. Yet, in the mediaeval period (between, perhaps, the

late 11th century and the 14th century), the valley was busy, and there were several different villages, hamlets and isolated farms associated with the area.

Research in recent years has focused not only on discovering the documentary and archaeological remains of these settlements, but also on the wider Northamptonshire landscape, the evolution of its populations, the management of its woods, coppices, commons, geology, flowing streams, pasture and arable land, its economic functions. It has become apparent that the collection of mediaeval settlements in the Lyveden valley must be read as the outcome of a particularly unusual pattern of ownership and occupation'⁴⁷.

The History section also makes the point that much of the early – and, as it turns out, invaluable – archaeological work at Lyveden and environs was undertaken by dedicated archaeologists acting on their own initiative; of whom John M. Steane is one of the most significant and influential. A thoughtful introduction to Steane's work at Lyveden is provided by the Duke of Gloucester in his forward to Steane's book the *Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*.

'I first met John Steane, the author of this book, when he was Headmaster at Kettering Grammar School. He spent six summers excavating a deserted medieval village at Lyveden on my farm in Northamptonshire. Here he found and published his excavations of an industrial site which extended our understanding of the medieval pottery industry. His sixth formers were involved in the excavations and a number went on to become professional archaeologists.⁴⁸

The reference to past students of Kettering Grammar School going on to become archaeologists is somewhat of an understatement. At least three of those sixth formers are now eminent archaeologists in their own right; a tribute indeed to John Steane's contribution to the development and understanding of archaeology in Britain⁴⁹.

Steane's work at Lyveden, undertaken over the six summers in the late 1960s and early 70s, gave rise to a number of interim reports and, although his results were only partly published⁵⁰, these papers remain of use today, not least because they record

⁴⁷ This quotation is taken from the impressive on-line resource, produced by the Rockingham Forest Trust's Heritage Resource Centre. Over recent years, and supported by, amongst others, the Heritage Lottery Fund, English Heritage, Northamptonshire Record Society and East Northamptonshire Council, the Trust has undertaken a remarkable body of research, mapping and analysing the changing landscape of Northamptonshire over the past 800 years. For details of Lyveden, see, <http://resource.rockingham-forest-trust.org.uk>.

⁴⁸ HRH Prince Richard of Gloucester, Forward to J.M. Steane, *Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 2nd Edition 1998

⁴⁹ John Steane was educated at Dulwich College and was a Demy (scholar) at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he read Modern History. From 1964 to 1976, he was headmaster of Kettering Grammar School, where he founded a local history and archaeological society, which carried out an extensive programme of fieldwork and excavations of Romano-British and medieval sites. Kettering Grammar School has a number of interesting *alumni* including John Alfred Gotch (eminent architect and one of the first to research and document Lyveden at the end of the 19th century) and at least three eminent archaeologists, Dr. Paul Stamper, Bob Croft and Brian Dix. From 1976 to 1990 John Steane was the County Archaeological Officer for Oxfordshire Museums Service. He has undertaken research into many aspects of the historic landscape, including fishponds, palaces and parks. He is the author of *The Northamptonshire Landscape* (1974), *Peopling Past Landscapes* (with B.F. Dix, 1978), *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales* (1984), and *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (1993)

⁵⁰ J. Steane, *Journal of Northamptonshire Museums and Art Gallery*, Vol. 2, 1967.

J. Steane, *Archaeology in Northamptonshire* in *Bulletin of Northamptonshire Archaeological Societies*, 1973;

findings that were being lost under the deep ploughing of the last half of the 20th century. In 2003, Mark Newman referred to their findings when assessing the viability of the valley floor, on farmland to the east of the Manor (**Aa1**), as a possible New Bield visitor car park⁵¹. In his *Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity* Newman concludes that,

‘On the balance of the available evidence, it would seem that the area with which we are concerned {the farm land to the east of the Manor and the current New Bield car park access track} has the potential to retain the least damaged sections of archaeological remains of the deserted medieval village of Lyveden.... to the west the village earthworks {around the Manor and its environs} had already been levelled, the sub-surface archaeology damaged by C19 out-buildings and now extensively perforated and root-damaged by densely planted trees {the balsam poplar plantation (**Aa2**) between Lyveden Brook and Harley Way}.’⁵²

This far from optimistic view, offered by a much respected archaeologist, regarding the lack of archaeological potential of the grounds around the Manor is perhaps surprising given the extraordinarily rich history of the valley; it is nevertheless one that is reflected in the site’s few Historic Environment Record entries, which are as follows.

SMR Number 112/1/1 – MNN108176 Lyveden Old Bield & Attached Outbuildings
This entry applies to Lyveden Old Bield, also known as Lyveden Manor (**Aa3**). The Manor is Listed as Grade I and according to the SMR entry the structure incorporates a fragment of a 16th century building, with a very substantial south range added by Lewis Tresham in the 17th century⁵³. Over the years it has had numerous additions and losses which have continued to the end of the 20th century, notwithstanding its Grade I status.

The SMR Description is the same as used in the English Heritage List Entry Description. Parts are reproduced and analysed below in Section 5.3.10: *Description and Current Condition - Buildings and Structures*.

SMR Number 112/1/2 – MNN37316 Possible Post Mediaeval Garden Features
This entry applies to a find comprising a pit with mediaeval and post mediaeval pottery immediately south east of the house (**Aa4**) and other late pits found to south of house. The finds were located by G. Cadman in 1990 and are recorded on an SMR Report Form. A summary is also noted in the South Midlands Archaeology 1991 Newsletter which describes the work:

‘Ongoing watching brief during constructional and landscaping works has led to several post-medieval and later elements being recorded, including, during 1990, a stone drain and a small pot. A quantity of medieval crested roof tile which was recovered is retained by the owner.’⁵⁴

These finds tally with Heward’s statement⁵⁵ that,

J. Steane, *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, Vol. 8, 1973

⁵¹ M. Newman, *Lyveden New Bield, Proposal for additional parking, autumn 2003: Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity*, September 2003

⁵² M. Newman, *Lyveden New Bield, Proposal for additional parking, autumn 2003: Assessment of Archaeological Sensitivity*, September 2003, P.5

⁵³ Elsewhere, we question the attribution to Lewis Tresham of the core of the extant south range of the completed Manor. There cannot be much doubt that Thomas Tresham undertook quite a lot of building in this vicinity.

⁵⁴ Graham Cadman, *South Midlands Archaeology, The Newsletter of the Council for British Archaeology, South Midlands Group (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire)*, Number 21, 1991, P.59

⁵⁵ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Conservation Report*, October 1998, P.2

'A major campaign of restoration began at Lyveden in 1990. In the first phase, modern farm buildings close to the house were demolished and garden terraces have been cleared. The house was then put on the market again...'

No subsequent finds have been recorded in this area.

SMR Number 112/1/7 – MNN37319 Possible Post Medieval Tree Avenue

This entry relates to a reference in a text published in 1791⁵⁶, many years after the author, the County historian, John Bridges, had died in 1724.

'...a walk leading to the house which is planted with witch-elms...several walks pointing from the house and planted with sycamores and elms...'

This text is considered in detail above in the History Section 4.4.9 *Tresham at Lyveden: the 'Old Bield'*

SMR Number 112/1/11 – MNN143737 19th Century Farm Building

This entry relates to findings that recorded remnants of structures that may possibly have been farm buildings, including a barn, cart shed and hovel (**Aa5**), all dating from between 1800 to 1950. The Prentice 2001 Report describes the findings.

'A number of roughly squared oak posts were seen, along the edge of a line of C 19th bricks which appeared to be the side of a probable barn or cart hovel. In what would have been the inside of the hovel was a thin layer of hard core or rubble, along with cobble stone indicating a former surface. Brick, mortar and tile were also seen in the soil, along with pieces of blue and white china and bottle glass, along with occasional pieces of medieval pottery. Towards the south of the site another parallel wall footing was revealed which represented the rear wall of the hovel.'⁵⁷

SMR Number 112/1/4 – MNN37318 The Lower Garden (**Aa6**)

It would not be unreasonable to think that, given the locality's history, the above finds are rather small and insignificant; only shards and fragments of the past; however SMR Number 112/1/4 relates to the lost terraces and walks that formed the structure of the Lower Garden - of which still less survives.

The SMR description of the Lower Garden archaeology is principally drawn by reference to appropriate texts, the most thorough of which comprises the section under curly bracket six {6}. This is a summary of the A. E. Brown and C. C. Taylor, paper on *The Gardens at Lyveden*, and we are reproducing the part of the original paper that relates directly to the Terraced Lower Gardens and which is summarised in the SMR.

'The north part, or Lower Garden, on the valley side is a rectangular area 170 metres by 400 metres. Much of it is now under permanent cultivation which has destroyed all but the major earthworks and only by reference to aerial photographs taken between 1945 and 1950, together with a short and inadequate note on the remains published in 1935, can the original layout be

⁵⁶ John Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, P.372.

The manuscripts were donated to the Bodleian after Bridges' death and *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* was first published in two volumes in 1791. Though Bridges visited Lyveden in August, 1721, his published text did not appear at that date.

⁵⁷ Joe Prentice, *An Archaeological Recording Action at Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire*, Northamptonshire Archaeology Field Work Reports, 2001.

ascertained. On the lower, flatter slopes immediately E and SE of the Old Bield were six long, low scarps orientated east-west and apparently less than one metre high. Between these scarps and cut by them were traces of low ridge and furrow running north-south. These scarps must have been intended as the major divisions of a formal garden adjacent to the Old Bield, but the existence of the ridge and furrow clearly shows that this part of the garden was never completed. To the south of these minor scarps, as the slopes of the valley increase, there are the remains of a much larger scarp which survives to almost two metres in height in the modern arable and which returns southwards through a right-angle at its west end. This scarp is still very irregular and in the centre extends forwards down the slope to form a large rectangular projection 60 metres wide and 20 metres deep. Modern ploughing has removed its detailed form but air photographs taken before its destruction show that its irregular appearance was due to the partial dumping of spoil on its downhill face. This spoil overlay the ridge and furrow. below the scarp and east of the projection there was another small projection or platform, probably less than one metre high, also overlying ridge and furrow. Traces of this still exist. The large scarp, with its projection is certainly an unfinished terrace which was meant to separate the two halves of the Lower Garden.'

The text is accompanied by sketch plan, based upon aerial photographs and field work carried out in 1969 ⁵⁸. We include the northern half of this plan, for information (Fig.5/9).



Fig.5/9, Brown & Taylor, northern half of archaeological survey of Lyveden, 1972.

5.3.5.1 Consideration of impact of the Brown and Taylor Paper on our Understanding of the Lower Gardens

It is clear that all of us, who have been blessed or cursed with an incurable curiosity about Lyveden, are indebted to A. E. Brown and C. C. Taylor for responding in 1969,

⁵⁸ A. E. Brown & C. C. Taylor, *The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire*, *The Archaeological Journal*, Volume 129, for 1972. The survey which formed the basis of this work was carried out in 1969 by students attending a field archaeological course organized by the Department of Adult Education of Leicester University

to a plea made by Professor Webb in 1953, for someone to undertake a full survey of the Lyveden gardens⁵⁹.

Their ensuing report, small and concise by today's standards, forms the foundation on which more recent studies and debates have been built and their sketch plan of the garden's archaeology has been referenced and reproduced on many occasions.

It is worth remembering that this plan and their descriptions were based on their own site surveys and aerial photographs available to them. Thankfully, these dated from 1945 and 1950⁶⁰ and before the post war ploughing destroyed much of the garden archaeology; it should be noted however, that the very informative Luftwaffe Aerial Photograph taken in 1944, but only discovered in 2009, was not known to them.

Since the 1967 Brown and Taylor Survey was undertaken, it is certain that further archaeological remains of the terraces have been lost due to:

- a continuation of deep ploughing and arable cultivation which continued on the site until virtually the end of the 20th century;
- significant changes to the landscape and landform, which were made in areas south and east of the manor; starting probably in 1990 and with a watching archaeological brief (refer to **SMR Number 112/1/2 – MNN37316** above - although no references to garden terraces were included in the SMR report), these probably destroyed any remnants of the four lower (north) historic terraces (**Aa7**);
- the planting, in the latter years of the 20th century, of a new (densely planted and unthinned) copse (**Aa8**) to the south east of the Manor; aligned north to south and approximately 95 metres by 31 metres, the copse spanned almost totally what would have been the top (south) three terraces.

And, notwithstanding the debt that we all owe to Brown and Taylor for their innovative and perceptive work, it is also interesting to note the following.

- Brown and Taylor reported their measurements in metres and, although accurate and familiar for today's users, the employment of the metric unit (without the imperial equivalent) does not aid the reading of the garden's design and setting out, particularly bearing in mind that we are finding that Tresham appeared to favour his measurement (the 18 foot pole or poole) as a setting out unit in the gardens.
- Whilst many, if not all, Lyveden researchers over the last forty years still refer to the Brown and Taylor plan of the garden archaeology, it would appear that the recently discovered, Luftwaffe aerial photograph questions elements of the terrace layout as drawn; this is, of course, not surprising, since we know that in the 23 intervening years between the 1944 photograph and 1967 survey, intensive agriculture, designed to feed post-War Britain, had already taken its toll on some of the site's archaeology. Thus, the 1944 Luftwaffe photograph is, perhaps, the most useful of all the 20th century surveys.
- We have measured the terraced scarps on the Brown and Taylor plan (using a large scale print out, a drawn grid and their scale bar) to confirm and translate their findings and positions of the terrace scarps, and draw it onto our GIS survey, (**Aa9**) commissioned for this *CMP* from Greenhatch Surveyors in October 2013 (Fig.5/10).

⁵⁹ G. F. Webb, *Lyveden Old and New Buildings*, *Archaeological Journal* , 90; P.199-200

⁶⁰ RAF Vertical air photographs , CEP/UK 1891, 2294-5



Fig.5/10 Drawing of archaeological terraces on 2013 GIS survey

- Brown and Taylor suggest that the six 'minor scarps' were 'apparently less than one metre high'. This cannot be: the land drops from approximately 12 metres from the top of the scarp in the south (the 6th terrace, not the large platform plus bastion, which is the 7th terrace, which we consider below) to the bottom of the terrace scarps in the north. The relevant contour lines, based on the 2013 Greenhatch topographical survey, are, in the south, 77 metres (252.5 feet) and in the north, 65 metres (213 feet). If we are to assume that the intervening platforms and walks etc. between the scarps were designed to be fairly level, then simple arithmetic would demonstrate that the falls must have been in excess of one metre and closer to two.
- We have plotted the 7th and largest south terrace, above, and, although we acknowledge that the most recent, 2014, Geophysical Survey (see below) detected nothing of significance here, the platform terrace does coincide with a slight, but nevertheless noticeable, change in contour pattern (**Aa10**) shown on the 2013 Greenhatch survey.
- The Brown and Taylor plan has the 250 foot (76.2 metric equivalent) contour running along the top of the large south platform terrace, which they identify as being 2 metres in height. We have this contour running well below (to the north of) the large platform terrace - which must, therefore, have been somewhat higher than 2 metres.

These and other anomalies indicate uncertainties about the form and character of the terraced Lower Gardens and, in 2013-14, the Trust commissioned Archaeological

Project Services to undertake a Geophysical Survey of the area around the Manor House, including the valley floor and the land once occupied by the terraced garden. The report⁶¹ was issued in January 2014 and its Summary confirmed that virtually no archaeological remnants of the mediaeval settlement, Manor and Lower Garden could be identified. Its conclusions are as follows.

‘The magnetic survey around the site of Lyveden Manor was unsuccessful in identifying features of possible archaeological origin. No remains associated with the village were identified. Wider areas of disturbance might possibly relate to landscaping for garden terraces but the form and extent are not clear enough for any certainty.

Constraints on area available for survey and widespread modern disturbance hinder interpretation. However, linear features would be expected to be identifiable if present. Discrete positive anomalies would be more difficult to pick out given the widespread disturbance and variability of the background. However, none are convincingly of archaeological origin.’

Disappointingly, then, this geophysical survey offers no clarification regarding the shape, form or size of the Lower Garden terraced walks and scarps described by both contemporary and modern writers. It does, however, confirm that the wholesale destruction of the terrace archaeology continued past 1969, when Brown and Taylor identified remnants of low ridge and furrow running north south between the scarps and, at the base of the large platform terrace, spoil overlying ridge and furrow. None of this was found in the 2014 Geophysical Survey.

Finally, we note that even when J. A. Gotch, in his 1882 drawing of the ‘Lyveden Old Building from the SE’ shows the relevant slope – where we might have expected to see at least some remnant of the terraces – Gotch does not oblige and depicts a meadow gradually descending, with no indication of scarps or level walks (Fig.5/11).

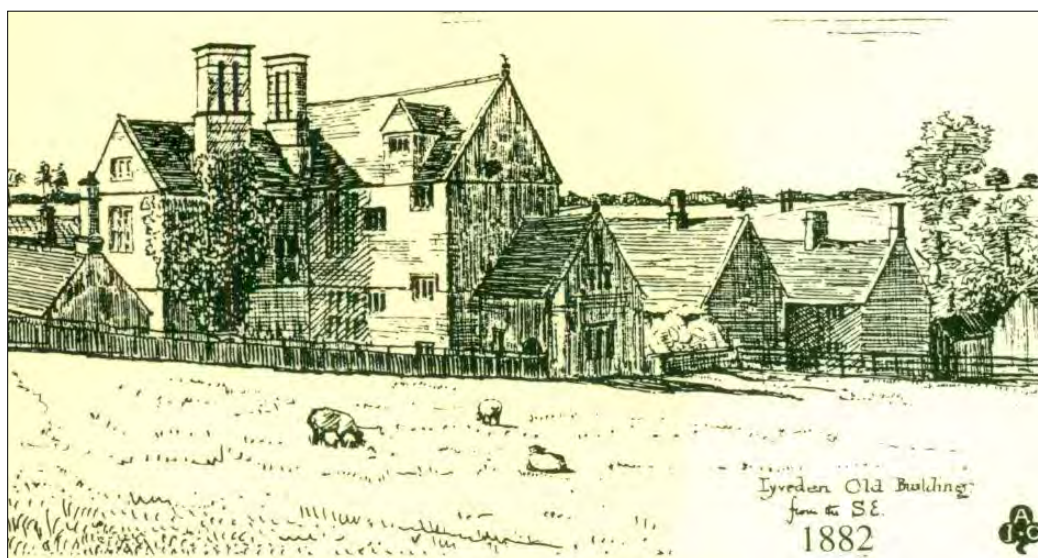


Fig. 5/11 Lyveden Old Building from the S. E. J.A. Gotch, 1882

5.3.6 Description and Current Condition - Geology, Topography & Soils

⁶¹ S J Malone, *Land at Lyveden Manor, Northamptonshire, Geophysical Survey*, January 2014, Archaeological Project Services

The land to the south west of the Manor rises from the valley floor at a gradient of c.3° (1 in 19) and the land to the south east (the location of the lost terraces) at a gradient of c.4° (1 in 15).

As described in Section 2, the local geology is mainly Kellaways Formation and Oxford Clay Formation (undifferentiated) with mudstone, siltstone and sandstone also noted. The superficial geology of the area is Mid Pleistocene Diamicton Till. The soils on the bottom valley slopes include calcareous and non-calcareous, clayed soils, often referred to as boulder clay, with a slightly impeded drainage (an issue raised in 1993 regarding drainage conditions on the structure of the Old Bield - see below), known as polesols, developed on glacial drift over Middle Pleistocene till.

5.3.7 Description and Current Condition - Waterbodies and Drainage

The principal water course is the Lyveden Brook (**Aw1**) that runs west to east across the property between the Manor and Harley Way. Rising in Fermyn Woods, the Brook joins the River Nene immediately south of Oundle and, for most of the way, it passes through agricultural land. We have seen the brook nearly dry (September 2013) and, virtually in spate, on the 29th October 2013, a day after heavy storms; and the assemblage of established marginal plant species suggests that the fluctuation of water level and volume is the norm.

Topographical and drainage issues were raised in 1993 by Charles Shapcott, Senior Structural Engineer from the Conservation and Engineering Branch of English Heritage. When assessing the Manor's east and south elevations⁶², he noted that,

- the area to the south and above the manor was very wet;
- the Manor is downhill of a long slope so it could have a local dam effect on surface water run off;
- a series of land drains may have been beneficial in removing the water away from the Manor's footings.

Shapcott also noted that some – if not all – of these problems were probably associated with post-War alterations to the terraces and levels to the east and south of the Manor.

5.3.8 Description and Current Condition - Views and Vistas

Our explorations of the possible configuration of terraces and platforms have been discussed in the Archaeology Section above. As part of that investigation, sectional drawings were produced not only to analyse gradients and slopes but also to assess possible designed views that may subsequently have been blocked by trees and /or buildings, or otherwise lost - or, for that matter, never realised. The most significant of these investigations involved projecting and analysing possible views that might have been available from the large rectangular (viewing) platform (**Av1**) at the top (southern) end of the terraced Lower Garden. The results of this are described in the History Section above.

'One would have been pleased to pause and survey the landscape once the final step had been negotiated; from this elevation, the house, in the valley below must have been visible. But, if we then wonder whether the prominent,

⁶² Charles Shapcott, English Heritage Conservation Engineering Branch, Lyveden Old Bield Report, 12th December 1993. East Northamptonshire Council On-line Planning Applications; www.east-northamptonshire.gov.uk/planning, Ref. No. 96/00382/LBC

rectangular vantage point that Tresham had provided here, was of any greater moment, we must ask, what else might have been visible? If we can admire the view northwards, could we also turn to the south, and enjoy any of the features associated with the top of the hill from here?

Examining the levels on site today proves to be rewarding. True, of course, the land-modelling has changed and we need to remember that we are dealing with an unfinished building programme. But the levels cannot be so very different from what they were 400 years ago. And, were Thomas Tresham to have stood on this promontory, looking up the hill, towards the south, he would just have seen the top of the pyramidal mount that stands to the SE of the orchard. Much more extraordinary is the fact that, had the Lantern superstructure been built on the Lodge, optical illusion would have ensured that the two, polygonal, upper storeys would have appeared to sit neatly on the top of the pyramidal mount (see Fig.4/61, 'History').

If nothing else, this observation clarifies – to us – several aspects of the designed gardens. The function of the narrow, rectangular promontory, thrusting itself northwards, was to provide a defined viewing platform, from which was available an impressive panorama. To the south, the vision of the (imaginary) Lantern seeming to rest on the pyramidal mount would only have been available from this bastion - not the much wider terraces. There was never to have been a hedge dividing the terraces from the orchard, obscuring the exchange of views; nor would there have been a planting of trees or shrubs on the terraces that was so dense that it might have hidden these long views. And, the tops of the pyramidal mounts were never intended to have been planted with trees or shrubs. No obstacle was to have come between the visitor and what he might behold on the hill-top. If not in reality, at least in Tresham's imagination, there must have been the possibility of his glazed Lantern glittering in the sun – perhaps most spectacularly on a day such as Easter Day? – a promise of light as if from heaven, cast on the earth (a glimpse of the 'New Jerusalem', the 'Heavenly City'?). For Tresham, preparation and deliberation were all.'

It is acknowledged that, although the viewing promontory is barely noticeable on the ground today, modifications to the contours were identified on the 2013 Greenhatch surveys reinforcing the view that this feature was either fully or partially constructed and is a key element in the design of the gardens.

5.3.9 Description and Current Condition - Buildings and Structures

Lyveden Manor (**As1**) is listed by English Heritage as Grade I. On the listing entry it is named as Lyveden Old Bield and Attached Outbuildings (also known as Lyveden Manor), Entry Number 1040347. First listed on the 23rd May 1967 it was amended on the 31st July 1987. The building has undergone numerous changes, additions and demolitions over its 400 year history, including the loss of the original north and east ranges, with the result that the existing house (with entrance on its north elevation) is, in fact, part of the original south range (Fig.5/12). Thus it is described in the History Section⁶³ above, and by others, including John Heward in his two studies⁶⁴ from 1998.

⁶³ Refer above to Section 4.8.1, 'Tresham at Lyveden: the 'Old Bield'

⁶⁴ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Historic Building Report*, 1998 and John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Conservation Report*, 1998. These documents were commissioned by the then owner Mr. A. Halstead in support of proposals to extend, modify and reinstate lost features including the oak staircase

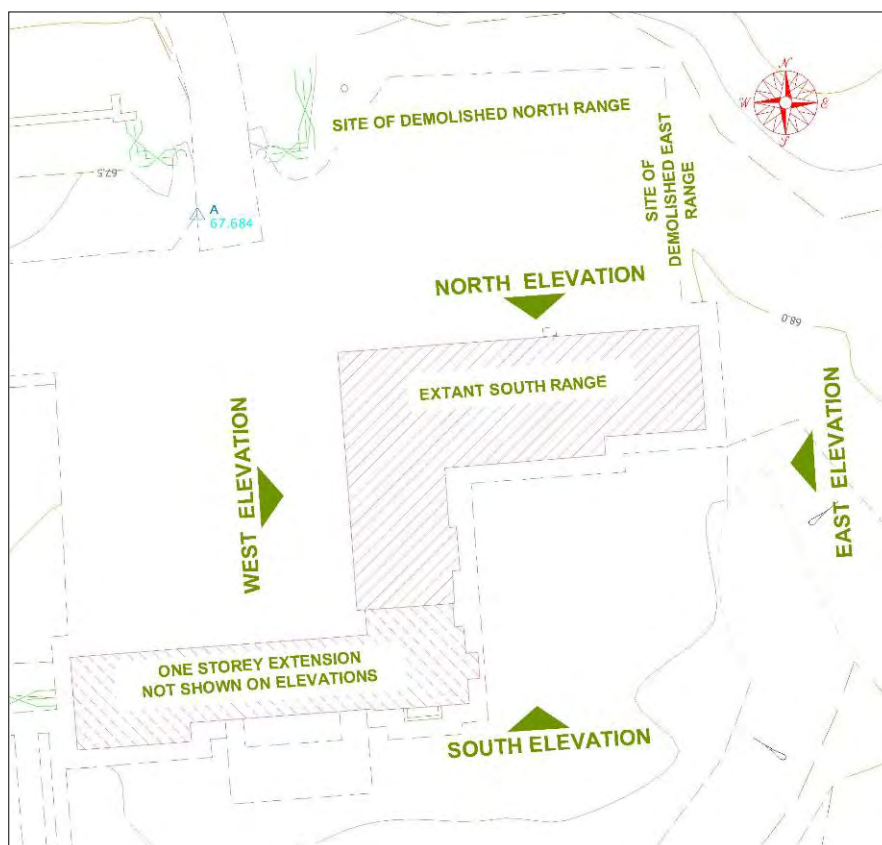


Fig. 5/12 Plan of Manor in 2013, showing L-shape layout and location of extant and lost ranges. Greenhatch 2013 plan annotated (one storey SW extension not on GIS elevations survey).

The English Heritage description entry introduces the Manor thus.

'Also known as Lyveden Manor. Manor house. Late C16 for Tresham family with early C20 alterations. Limestone ashlar with Collyweston and Welsh slate roofs. L-shape plan, originally part of larger house with open courtyard. 2 storeys with attic.'

This listing was last amended in 1987. We now examine our 2013 measured survey of the principal elevations, undertaken by Greenhatch, to analyse alterations and extensions made to Lyveden Manor since the 1987 listing.

English Heritage (and John Heward, in 1998) reports that the,

'surviving range dates from the second decade of the 17th century and was built by Lewis Tresham, a prominent courtier. The work was of a very high standard and the rooms provided were extremely grand.'⁶⁵

Our first observation is that we have quarrelled with the attribution of the core of the extant building to Lewis Tresham. We attribute it, instead, to Sir Thomas Tresham, who died in September, 1605, and who had been been working on the house for a number of years. Lewis Tresham was responsible for the family arms on the moulded panel below the attic window and may have brought other works to a conclusion. Nevertheless, we repeat the EH description of the west elevations, below (Fig.5/13).

5.3.9.1 The West Elevation

⁶⁵ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Historic Building Report*, 1998. P.1. a



Fig. 5/13 The Manor's West Elevation (Greenhatch Survey October 2013)

- 'The two-light first floor window to centre is C20'.

We understand that the window was probably inserted to illuminate new internal spaces made to accommodate a bathroom, pre-1987.

- 'The window to ground floor right was originally a doorway'.

This observation is supported by the two 19th century illustrations, the first from 1818 (Fig. 5/14), in which a large, almost agricultural, door occupies the space and the second from 1847 (see Fig. 4/23), when the aperture appears to have been sealed. We do not know when, after 1847, the window was introduced instead of the door.



Fig. 5/14 1818 Drawing of the West Elevation

EH also describes the, 'billeted moulded panel below attic window'. This panel (is now blank (see Fig.5/13), although 19th century illustrations show it with the carved coat of arms of Lewis Tresham. Also depicted in 1818 is the large stone gateway that

marked the entrance to the west-facing courtyard, which was later removed to the Fermyn Woods estate (see Fig.4/24).

Finally, on the 2013 survey of the west elevations (see Fig.5/13), we see that, added after the 1987 entry, is the modified porch linking the main range to the new, one storey building to the south.

5.3.9.2 The North Elevation



Fig. 5/15 The Manor's North Elevation (Greenhatch Survey October 2013)

The 1987 EH Listing describes this elevation (Fig.5/15) thus.

'Elevation to left of main front is a 2-window range of large 3-light cavetto-moulded⁶⁶ stone mullion windows with transoms. Central plank door has moulded stone surround with 4-centred arch head. Building attached to left has lower eaves level.'

One anomaly is immediately apparent: the 2013 elevation has no, 'central plank door', but one to the left and hard against the lower left window. A comparison with the 1988, Gotch, Saunders & Sturridge 'As Existing' drawing – prefacing a new extension programme – confirms that the central door, described in 1987, has been moved in the years since 1988 (Fig.5/16).

⁶⁶ A cavetto moulding is a concave moulding of quarter-round section

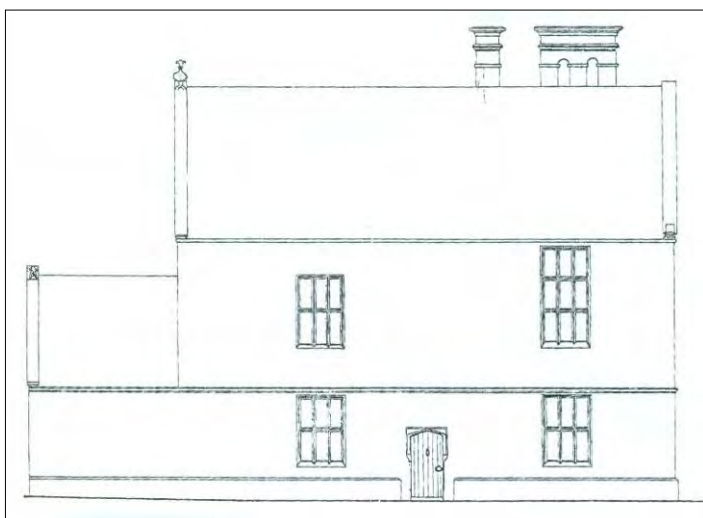


Fig. 5/16 Lyveden Manor's North Elevation in 1988 (Gotch, Saunders & Sturridge)⁶⁷

A photograph from the early/mid years of the 1990s and featured in the Knight Frank & Rutley sales brochure for the Manor, also shows the door placed centrally (Fig.5/17).



Fig. 5/17 Photograph of North Elevation of the extant South Range c.1991

In the same sales brochure, details were included of proposed additions and modifications that had been granted planning permission by East Northants District Council in July 1990. These were principally to,

- build a substantial east wing abutting the extant south range and approximately on the footprint of the original and now demolished original east range;
- demolish a one storey 19th century addition on the east gable of the extant south range and replace with a three storey building to increase the accommodation, enhance the internal circulation and address structural failings on the east elevation of the south range;
- reinstate a facsimile of the oak staircase that had been removed and sold to the Edsel and Eleanor Ford House in the 1920s⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Taken from 'Elevations as Existing' drawing (at scale 1/100 on original paper copy) in support of planning application for a three storey extension to north elevation (renewal - EN/90/580).

⁶⁸ The Edsel and Eleanor Ford House was the home of Henry Ford's only son and his family; the house, designed by Albert Khan and constructed between 1926 and 29 was inspired by Cotswold vernacular

This background information helps to demonstrate that the rationale for relocating the door to its current position, was to increase (or reinstate) a ground floor hall into which the replacement staircase could be fitted. We should add, perhaps, that had the 1990 scheme been realised – with a new, substantial, east wing replacing the single-storey, 19th century building – this relocated door would, in fact, have been unnecessary. The main entrance to the house would have been on the west-facing elevation of the new east wing. In such a context, this curiously located door on the north front would not be the primary entrance; it would not have been necessary here at all (Fig.5/18).



Fig. 5/18 Proposed North Elevation with projecting new East Wing (Gotch Saunders & Sturridge May 1990⁶⁹)

The proposed north elevation above shows the proposed new east wing extending from the north face of the extant south range and the central doorway to be relocated drawn in a dashed line. This scheme received planning permission but was not built and was superseded by a more modest proposal in 1996, which retained the removal of the central doorway, but did not include the building of a new east wing or the demolition and replacement of the 19th century one-storey building on the east end of this range. Hence, the North Elevation has emerged as we see it today.

5.3.9.3 The East Elevation

There has been change, here, too, over the last thirty years.

A study of the 2013 survey of the east elevation reveals that the 1987 EH description is no longer pertinent (Fig.5/20).

building, in much the same way as were a number of the architects and designers of the British Arts and Crafts Movement. Historic architectural elements including timber panelling, chimney pieces, stained glass and, in this case, a staircase were purchased, dismantled and re-assembled in the new house.

⁶⁹ Taken from the Gotch, Saunders & Sturridge, 'Proposed Elevations' (at scale 1/00 on original paper copy) and dated May 1990 in support of planning application for the 'extension, alteration and restoration' of Lyveden Manor (95/00465/RWC)



Fig. 5/20 Lyveden Manor's East Elevation (Greenhatch Survey October 2013)

EH reports, 'building attached {to east end of extant South range} has lower eaves level. Gable end ... has 3-light stone mullion windows with arch-head lights to ground and first floor.' This ties into another Planning drawing, 'As Existing', from Gotch, Saunders and Sturridge, in 1990 (Fig.5/21).



Fig. 5/21 Lyveden Manor's East Elevation - As Existing (Gotch, Saunders & Sturridge 1990)⁷⁰

The earlier history of the low extension on the east end of the extant range is well documented in John Heward's *Conservation Report* and his *Historic Building Report*, both 1998. He notes that this single storey building was called a 'Chapel'.

'The main east range opposite the gate was demolished at some stage between 1847 and 1882. It appears from the surviving illustrations to have been of 16th... century date but could have been much older. It was a

⁷⁰ Taken from 'Elevations as Existing' drawing (at scale 1/100 on original paper copy) in support of planning application for a three storey extension to north elevation (renewal - EN/90/580); Drawing stamped 'E.N.D.C. TECH. SERV. DEPT. 13 JUN 1990

relatively short range, running north south, with a gable shown at the north end. Although the arrangement at the south end of the range does not appear on any of the drawings and its form is uncertain, rationally the roof of the east range would have run on to a gable on the line of the south wall of the low building that now stands against the east wall of the stair hall. This low block, which in its present form dates from the 19th century, is now known as the Chapel although there is no evidence for it being used for worship.⁷¹

Heward continues:

'The so-called chapel at the east end of the house was almost completely rebuilt between 1847 and 1882 when the older east range was demolished. Part of the east range was retained and incorporated. The north wall, with a blocked stone doorway is original although the wall has been refaced on the outer side...The east wall was completely rebuilt apart from the lower courses of the plinth but two earlier windows with mullions and shaped heads to the lights were reused. Coping and stone finials were also reused. They are not of a form associated with 19th century work but appear to date from early or mid 17th century. The beam has been cut through or truncated at the south end for the insertion of a modern staircase giving access to the attic room.'

Heward's hypothesis, that the Chapel was erected between 1847 and 1882 is supported by a comparison with 19th century illustrations of the Manor. The first, G. Clarke's drawing from 1847 shows the east range still intact (See Fig.4/23). In contrast, the Gotch 1882 drawing depicts the east range gone and the 'so-called chapel' in place and in a form that was to remain more or less unaltered to the end of the 20th century (Fig.5/22).

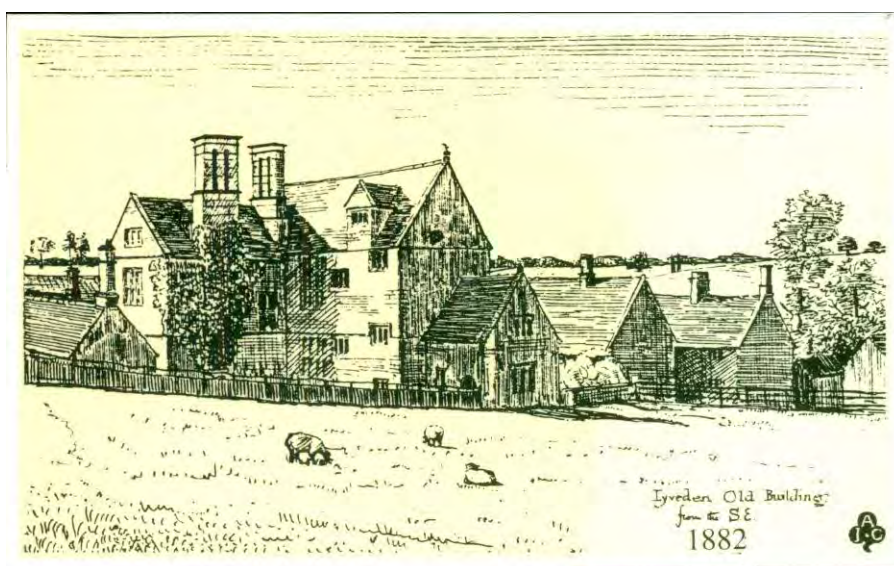


Fig.5/22 J.A. Gotch, View of Old Bield from the SE (with 'Chapel' on E end of principal range)

One might think that all this begs the question as to why a mid-19th century element of a Grade I listed building was taken down and replaced with a three storey structure, that appears to have little historic precedent; notwithstanding the use of reclaimed materials and architectural features.

⁷¹ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Historic Building Report*, October 1998, p.10

Reasons were given: three fold. The first was an aspiration to extend and improve the Manor's accommodation. The case to maintain the Manor as a private dwelling was set out in Heward's *Conservation Report* and, under the heading of 'general conservation problems' Heward articulates the rationale as follows⁷².

The long-term viability of the Old Bield as a private house has to be taken into account in any rational assessment of the proposed plans. Its relatively small size and its relatively remote location suggest that commercial or public use is not tenable. Despite the proximity of the Old Bield to the New Bield and the gardens, and the fact that historically and topographically they form a single unit, the National Trust cannot consider the running and maintenance of the whole group as viable financially. Essentially the Old Bield will only survive if it can be maintained as a private house.'

This theme is developed in the section dealing with, 'The site of the east range'⁷³, in which Heward states:

'The proposal is to enlarge the house by building on the site of the north-east range. This may be completed in two stages. The first ... to buttress the east wall of the staircase and the second stage to provide the extra accommodation that is required in order to make the building a viable house and in order to replace accommodation lost if the secondary partitions in the main rooms are removed.'

The second reason reflected an aspiration to reinstate internal historic layouts and features and, in particular, to reconstruct a replica of the great oak staircase sold to the Edsel and Eleanor Ford House in the 1920s. Heward's *Conservation Report* articulates this aspiration, whilst acknowledging that the stonework in the stair hall was in particularly poor condition where the beams of the upper landing were removed with the inevitable consequence of weakening the structural integrity of the east gable. Heward considered that it might be desirable to incorporate a steel frame within the oak structure, in particular to support the landings and the very wide steps against the north wall. Originally, these main timbers would have been housed into the wall as both were being constructed and new housings might disturb or weaken the historic stonework. We do not know whether the steels were brought in, or not.

Heward notes that there is sufficient information about the form and detail of the original staircase. Photographs, historic measured drawings and information from the curators of the Ford House (who provided great help), ensured that accurate drawings could be produced. Legitimate concern was, however, voiced regarding the shaping of the timber elements in a manner that reflects the original's handmade and bespoke character.

'The moulding on the rails and posts and the turned balusters of the handrails were irregular. Individual elements of the staircase vary by as much as 2cm. There is a danger that the new work will look mechanical, like a 19th century fake unless the carpenters are given careful and specific instructions.'

The third reason, and perhaps the most pressing, was the need to make safe the structure at the east of the extant south range. In 1993, Charles Shapcott, Senior Structural Engineer from the Conservation and Engineering Branch of English Heritage had surveyed the Manor and identified structural and drainage problems that were

⁷² John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Conservation Report*, October 1998, p.5

⁷³ Op.cit., p.9

compromising the stability of the east gable end⁷⁴. In his four page report, Charles Shapcott noted that landscape modelling works on the south face of the building may have contributed to the structural problems of the chapel. He writes,

'but now, with less ground restraint, the SE corner and east gable do look vulnerable. This wing has been badly adapted and neglected since it became a separate unit. The ground lowering {along the building's south face} has made it more precarious in that surface water disposal is conducted below ground in perforated pipes, depositing moisture to the wall foundations.... There was a proposal to leave this part of the building but in structural terms some works are needed.'

The report also notes concerns with the east gable wall and the implications of removing partition walls in the main range which may have become more structural as historic structural elements had succumbed to gradual deterioration through neglect etc. (the underlining is on the original report).

'The room rationalisation could start, once the stair is in with the offices and lounge being returned to one room, likewise the child's and main bedroom at 1st level. I have issued a health warning on partition removal especially as the 'dip' in the first floor repeats above. It should be that the lowest level wall is doing more than its share. I suggested an engineer be employed to examine the structure should the wall removals be required, {because of} the near failure of a main beam.'

Ascough and Associates were appointed to undertake further structural examinations and their report, issued in August 1996, confirmed a number of Charles Shapcott's initial findings, including that the excavation of soil on the east side of the house had almost certainly added to the foundation problems, because of ground shrinkage and heave; that rot and deterioration caused by wood boring insects may have compromised some timbers' structural integrity and that masonry (particularly behind the east gable) was in poor order.

Heward summarises the structural position thus⁷⁵.

'The east gable wall has severe vertical fractures on the exposed east face. There are three separate factors that contributed to this failure.

- It was not designed to be an external wall. A plan to rebuild the rest of the house was abandoned after the completion of the rebuilding of just the west end of the south range of the house.
- The substantial timber bearers in the gable wall have rotted leaving voids in the rubble.
- The poor original design and structure of the main roof aggravate the problem with the stonework of the gable. The timbers are of insubstantial scantling given the size and pitch of the roof. There are no windbraces and no ridges or purlins to provide lateral support so the roof is free to move. Given the exposed position of the house, it is surprising that the roof has survived this long without a more significant failure or collapse.'

⁷⁴ Charles Shapcott, English Heritage Conservation Engineering Branch, Lyveden Old Bield Report, 12th December 1993. East Northamptonshire Council On-line Planning Applications; www.east-northamptonshire.gov.uk/planning, Ref. No. 96/00382/LBC

⁷⁵ John Heward, *Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Conservation Report*, October 1998, p.4-5

Heward concludes that, whilst the gable wall is not in imminent danger of collapse, the repair of the masonry was crucial to reduce the effects of weather on the exterior face, which would exacerbate the structural instability within the rubble-built wall.

The final solution was drawn in 2000 by Ross Thwain and Co., in which the 19th century extension is replaced by the three storey structure that is seen today. It has to be noted, however, that even this build was different from that originally proposed, with the fenestration on the extension's north face not as drawn.

5.3.9.4 The South Elevation

This elevation has witnessed relatively little change in recent decades - other than that associated with the new east extension. The 2013 survey depicts what we have today (Fig.5/23) and it compares closely with the Gotch, Saunders and Sturridge 'As Existing' drawing, of 1990 (Fig.5/24).



Fig. 5/23 Lyveden Manor's South Elevation - (Greenhatch Survey Oct. 2013)



Fig. 5/24 The South Elevation as Existing (Gotch Saunders & Sturridge 1990)⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Taken from 'Elevations as Existing' drawing (at scale 1/100 on original paper copy) in support of planning application for a three storey extension to north elevation (renewal - EN/90/580);

Furthermore, the EH listing description is here recognisable.

'Elevation of return wall to right is of 2 bays. Large 3-light stone mullion windows to ground and first floor left. One transom to ground floor window and 2 transoms to first floor hall window. Bay to right is a 2-window range of 3-light stone mullion windows at landing levels of former staircase hall. Gabled eaves dormers above this bay. Moulded string course between floors rise over one staircase window head. Plank door, with chamfered stone surround and 4-centred arch head, to right. Large ashlar stack, similar to that at main front, rises from valley. Ashlar gable parapet to right has moulded finial. Building attached to right has lower eaves and C20 openings.'

The significant changes made to the Chapel building on the east – referred to in the listing above as the 'building attached to right' – have already been discussed in some detail above. The other anomaly is the listing reference to a 'plank door with chamfered stone surround and 4-centred arch head'. Shown clearly on the Gotch, Saunders & Sturridge drawing of the existing fabric, the door has been removed and the wall resurfaced, probably to accommodate the planned re-introduction of the historic staircase or similar.

5.3.9.5 Summary of Modifications to the Fabric of the Manor House

In order to understand the changes that have been made in recent years to the fabric of the Grade I listed building, we have examined Planning and Sales Documents from 1980 to 2012. Of particular interest have been the modifications to the east end of the North range, the east gable end and the 19th century Chapel extension. The latter was dismantled in c.2000 and replaced with a three storey extension, with a double pitch roof on the same alignment as the north range roof. We understand that, at one time, this work was intended to be the first stage of two; the second being the reconstruction of a building on the alignment of the east range which was taken down in the middle years of the 19th century.

We acknowledge the pressing need to support the structurally compromised east wall and associated structures and the admirable aspiration to restore historic spaces (and features) in the extant range; however the design of the three storey east extension appears to be neither a rebuild of the Chapel nor a reconstruction of a link building to a any future reconstruction of the missing east range. It is acknowledged, however, that its construction provided additional internal space to maximise circulation around the reinstated staircase.

5.3.10 Description and Current Condition – Trees and Planting

Some of our concerns regarding the trees at Lyveden have been covered in the Whole Site Section of this report. In this Section we will look at the few individual trees of note in this area and modern groups and plantations.

Inevitably, there will be occasions when the Section overlaps and cross-refers to others; for example, the balsam poplar plantation is considered below, in the Ecology Section.

One of the most significant trees in this area is the veteran ash (**At1**) already referred to above in the paragraphs on Boundaries. It stands to the west of the entrance drive and modern ditch and is one of the few genuine veteran specimens on the site.

Other large ash trees occur in the north west of the property between the poplar planting and Lyveden Brook. These lapsed pollards (**At2**) are significant specimens and are also deserving of veteran status and management to maximise their potential and life expectancy. Coinciding with the ash, and perhaps dating from a similar time, is a line of tall thorns (**At3**), which may have been part of an early boundary line / stock enclosure. On the west boundary hedgerow there is a thicket of large regenerated elm (**At4**). These are probably at the peak of their development and will no doubt succumb to the Dutch elm disease in the near future.

5.3.10.1 Modern tree groups and plantations

Other than the poplar plantation, the largest of the remaining modern plantations is a densely-planted, irregularly- shaped copse (**At5**) on the eastern slopes. As discussed in the Archaeology Section above, this copse straddles what, we believe, would have been the top three terraces. Already virtually obliterated by intensive agriculture, the roots of these quite closely planted trees will no doubt have removed any residual garden earthwork remnant. Comprising mainly oak (*Quercus robur*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and lime sp. (*Tilia*), this copse may well have been planted initially as game bird cover, although there is no suggestion that it is being used for this at the moment. We are of the opinion that its ecological interest – and its contribution to the designed landscape – is minimal at the moment.

In the south west corner of the west meadow is another, slightly smaller copse (**At6**), comprising principally semi-mature ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and oak (*Quercus robur*) with additional lime, field maple (*Acer campestre*) and wild cherry (*Prunus avium*). Densely planted, again possibly intended initially as game cover, this copse is in need of thinning to encourage the development of selected specimens and improved understorey.

There is also a miscellaneous collection of tree groupings in the west meadow. Probably planted towards the end of the 20th century, this collection is comprised as follows.

- The southern-most group (**At7**) includes two large leafed limes (*Tilia platyphyllos*) and a goat willow (*Salix caprea*) protected by a timber and wire mesh fence.
- Two cherries (*Prunus*, in poor condition - possibly showing signs of fire blight⁷⁷), a lime (*Tilia platyphyllos*) and a multi stemmed lime, make up the middle group (**At8**). The multi-stemmed specimen appears to have been browsed (in spite of the group being fenced) and the general health of this small collection is poor. It is recommended that the cherries are monitored for any future signs of disease and if fire blight is detected the trees should be removed to reduce the possible impact on the adjacent orchard trees where the apples and pears are particularly vulnerable.
- Two horse chestnuts, showing signs of leaf miner, are the principal trees in the southern grouping (**At9**).
- A single mature sycamore (**At10**) immediately to the south of the garden hedge, is in what appears to be an area of enriched ground, possibly the site of a former midden or similar area of agricultural waste; it is immediately south of the former farm buildings, now demolished but still shown on the 1970-71, 1:2500 OS map.

⁷⁷ Fire blight is a disease caused by the bacterium *Erwinia amylovora*. It can affect cherry trees although it can have a greater impact on fruit trees principally apple (*Malus*) and pear (*Pyrus*).

5.3.10.2 Entrance to Lyveden Manor

Associated with the Manor and its access are a number of relatively modern tree additions which include the following.

- Two lines of twelve immature horse chestnuts (**At11**) on either side of the entrance drive between the bridge over Lyveden Brook bridge Harley Way.
- A further four horse chestnuts (**At12**) on both sides of the entrance drive south of the bridge.
- Three fastigate elms (**At13**) on the west side of the drive.
- A group of mature sycamore (**At14**) between the south end of the drive and the Manor courtyard.

We note that the Foster and Barker Report⁷⁸ recommends that consideration is given to replacing planted horse chestnuts with more disease-resistant broadleaves and we acknowledge that in certain locations this point is valid. The young horse chestnuts planted on either side of the entrance drive give cause for concern and, whilst their selection is understandable for a relatively little-used family drive, it might not be so appropriate if the drive were to become part of a visitor traffic route. It is also acknowledged that the drive's surface, which is currently in poor condition and inadequate width, would possibly need addressing to meet today's visitor standards. All of this would require work and disturbance that would not benefit the young planting; it may be better to remove these trees and replaced later (if required), with more formal and/or reliable and tolerant specimens.

5.3.10.3 Gardens to the south and west of the Manor

To the south and west of the Manor the garden area is contained and separated from the wider grassland with a mixed hedge (**At 15**) including hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), dogwood (*Cornus*), blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), field maple (*Acer campestre*), spindle (*Euonymus europaeus*), guelder-rose (*Viburnum opulus*) and buckthorn (*Rhamnus sp.*). Interspersed along its length are standard red flowering horse chestnuts (*Aesculus x carnea*); no doubt introduced as ornamentals to enhance spring colour in a garden hedge planted in its present form in c.1990⁷⁹. In July 2013, Foster and Barker reported that the red listed yellowhammer and orange listed whitethroat had been heard singing from the hedge.⁸⁰

The gardens to the south west of the Manor have an air of neglect, even abandonment; a character emphasised by what appears to be a mound of arisings (**At16**) on the site of the demolished farm buildings and a ground cover of rank, herb-poor grassland dominated by false oat grass, a coarse grass, very common in rough grasslands. Inevitably, bramble and nettles thrive as, indeed, does one oak (*Quercus robur*) (**At17**). Less healthy is a line of young ash (**At18**) planted along the garden's southern margins inside the hedge described above. These are in poor condition with signs of die-back and disease. This ignored strip of former farm or garden land is divided and hidden from the gardens to the east and south of the Manor by a modern hornbeam hedge.

⁷⁸ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, National Trust National Consultancy, Lyveden New Bield Nature Conservation Evaluation, 2012 & 2013 Survey, incorporating 1999 Survey, P.27

⁷⁹ Knight Frank & Rutley and Berry Bros & Holmes, Lyveden Old Bield Sales Particulars c. mid 1990s

⁸⁰ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, National Trust National Consultancy, Lyveden New Bield Nature Conservation Evaluation, 2012 & 2013 Survey, incorporating 1999 Survey, P.28

The aerial photograph featured on the front of the property brochure produced by Knight Frank & Rutley portrays a simpler landscape layout than at present. Dating from 1991, the aerial photograph shows the landscape south of the Manor as a simple lawned area with a grassed terrace bank and, close to the Manor, a stone retaining wall with stone steps to provide access to the south lawns.

There is no formal flower garden laid out to the south west of the Manor, and neither is there the tennis court nor garden hedges, which indicates that much of the present, and somewhat *ad hoc*, garden layout, dates only from the last twenty years. It has little or no historic precedent or significance. The tennis court, originally grass, was resurfaced with a grass substitute in c.2008; a modification that was part of a planning application for the construction of a swimming pool and pool house⁸¹. The proposal was to build the pool on the site of the small formal garden and for the pool house to be an extension of the one storey building that runs west to east on the south end of the main Manor. The proposal was given permission; but only the resurfacing of the court was implemented.



Fig. 5/25 Brick retaining wall between formal garden and tennis court (to the right), 2013

This area is still unresolved and it is quite clear that disturbance to historic levels and topography was undertaken in the general improvements and clearings that were carried out after 1990 (Fig.5.25). We are not sure about the provenance of the stone retaining wall shown in the sales brochure discussed above; however the modern brick retaining wall which now serves to manage the levels between the tennis court and the small formal garden does not reflect the historical and cultural significance of the site.

5.3.11 Description and Current Condition - Vegetation and Ecology

On the purchases of the additional land in the north of the site, the Trust extended its *Lyveden New Bield Nature Conservation Evaluation* to include the semi-improved grassland, the poplar plantation, Lyveden Brook and the garden areas of the Manor⁸². The National Trust commissioned Foster and Barker's site survey, which was undertaken on the 18th July 2013, and this was complemented by a walk-over survey by David Broom (consultant ecologist) and Peter Vickers (HTLA) on the 29th October 2013⁸³. The conclusions of these surveys are as follows.

⁸¹ Application for Permission for the Construction of New Pool House, Swimming Pool and Tennis Court Netting, November 2007, Application Number EN/07/2255

⁸² A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, National Trust National Consultancy, Lyveden New Bield Nature Conservation Evaluation, 2012 & 2013 Survey, incorporating 1999 Survey

⁸³ D. Broom, Lyveden New Bield, Review of Biodiversity Management Issues, November 2013

5.3.11.1 Semi-improved grassland

There are two principal areas of semi-improved grassland. To the south and east of the manor are the gentle slopes of the valley that are the site of Tresham's terraced Lower Garden (**Ae1**) and, to the west, farm land (**Ae2**) that was not part of the 16th century designed landscape. Foster and Barker's survey noted:

'At the time of the survey in July 2013 most of the western section had been mown for hay, whilst the eastern section had been topped, making difficult a full assessment of the botanical interest. There are indications that the grassland has been subject to localised disturbance and compaction in the past, with patches of creeping thistle *Cirsium arvense*, ragwort *Senecio jacobaea* (some being eaten by larvae of the cinnabar moth) and creeping buttercup and an unusual abundance of bristly oxtongue *Picris echioides*, whilst grassland herbs are generally rather infrequent. These include goatsbeard selfheal, cat's-ear, red and white clover and, very locally, knapweed.'

Foster and Barker's July survey also noted that,

'The taller sward in the eastern section supported a good range and abundance of common grass-feeding butterflies at the time of the survey, including meadow brown, ringlet, gatekeeper, speckled wood and small skipper. Six-spot burnet moths were present, also a brown hawker dragonfly, but neither of these species will breed within the new land. An additional species of grassland butterfly, Essex skipper, was seen at the margin of the poplar plantation to the west of the Manor.'

The sward's principal species are described below.

- False oat-grass (*Arrhenatherum elatius*)

C. E. Hubbard in his seminal work⁸⁴ on grasses describes false oat-grass (also called tall oat-grass) as,

'A coarse grass, very common in rough grasslands, hedgerows, roadsides, shingle and gravel banks, and waste ground; widespread in the British Isles... Flowering June to September... at one time included in seed mixtures, it being very leafy, of rapid growth, deep rooted, drought-resistant, and on this account of considerable value for dry situations. It is of rather short duration, will not withstand heavy grazing, and is most suitable for hay.'

- Timothy-grass (*Phleum pratense*)

Hubbard describes timothy-grass (also called meadow cats-tail) as being,

'widespread in the British Isles, being grown extensively for grazing and hay. It is also common on field margins, roadsides and waste places, but is probably native only on the moist soils of water-meadows and other low-lying... Flowering June to August... There are numerous strains of this important fodder plant which vary considerably in growth and value to the farmer. Some of the older varieties are short-lived and very

⁸⁴ Charles Edward Hubbard, *Grasses: a Guide to their Structure, Identification, Uses and Distribution in the British Isles*, first published in 1954, second edition 1968 and notwithstanding the date of these editions this text is still held in high regard

stemmy...Timothy-grass is shallow rooting succeeding best on moist heavy soils...'

Timothy-grass is also a secondary food source the larvae of the Essex skipper and the small skipper, note that both species were recorded above.

- Cock's-foot (*Dactylis glomerata*)

Hubbard describes cock's-foot as,

'A rather coarse grass of meadows, pastures, roadsides and rough grasslands, widespread in the British Isles, often very abundant and much cultivated; occasional in open woodland....Flowering June to September... A very important pasture and hay grass, with numerous indigenous and introduced strains.'

Cock's-foot is also a very important food plant for the caterpillars of many butterfly species including, meadow brown (*Maniola jurtina*), wall brown (*Lasiommata megera*), gatekeeper (*Pyronia tithonus*), large skipper (*Ochlodes venata*), Essex skipper (*Thymelicus lineola*), small skipper (*Thymelicus sylvestris*) and speckled wood (*Pararge aegeria*).⁸⁵

Again, it is worth noting that meadow brown, gatekeeper, small skipper and speckled wood were all recorded by Foster and Barker in July 2013.

- Yorkshire fog (*Holcus lanatus*)

Hubbard describes Yorkshire fog (also known as tufted or meadow soft grass) as,

'A very common grass, found in a great variety of situations; frequent as a weed in meadows and pastures, often abundant in rough grassland, on waste land, and in open woodland, etc., growing on a wide range of soils, from heavy loams to sands, and under dry and wet conditions; distributed through all parts of the British Isles...Yorkshire fog is generally regarded as a weed, but when young it has some value for grazing, especially on poor soils unsuitable for more [agricultural] desirable grasses.'

Yorkshire fog is also an important food plant for the caterpillars of four butterflies namely marbled white (*Melanargia galathea*), small skipper (*Thymelicus sylvestris*), speckled wood (*Pararge aegeria*) and wall brown (*Lasiommata megera*)⁸⁶. As noted above speckled wood and small skipper were present in the July 2013 survey.

- Perennial rye-grass (*Lolium perenne*)

Hubbard describes perennial rye-grass as,

'A valuable grazing and hay grass, prominent in old pastures and meadows, especially on rich heavy soils of the lowlands, also on roadsides and waste land. Extensively sown in most parts of the British Isles for the formation of new pastures, with other grasses and white and red clovers... Flowering May to August...Flowering May to August ...Perennial rye-grass has been cultivated in England for about 300 years. During this time numerous strains have been selected, ranging from short-lived stemmy types to the very persistent leafy

⁸⁵ <http://www.ukbutterflies.co.uk/foodplants.php>

⁸⁶ <http://www.ukbutterflies.co.uk/foodplants.php>

varieties derived from old grasslands. The latter strains are most desirable pasture plants giving heavy yields of highly nutritious and very palatable grazing over a long period.'

It is interesting that Hubbard reports that perennial rye-grass has historically been sown with red and white clover. Both are present in the sward which retains its agricultural grassland character. Without doubt, the Yorkshire fog and cock's-foot grasses have contributed significantly to the success of the grass-feeding butterflies, and, although the species recorded by Foster and Barker constitute neither a list of rarities, nor of threatened species, their presence adds to the grassland's interest. It is recommended that any significant works to modify the sward composition and management should be undertaken in a phased manner to ensure the continuity of butterfly supporting grassland species.

Foster and Brown also highlight the localised presence of species such as knapweed which suggests that the grassland is not excessively fertile and has the potential to develop a more diverse, flowery sward given appropriate management.

The knapweed and butterfly populations should not, however, disguise the fact these grasslands do not currently have the characteristics of a hay meadow and that the nature conservation value of these (and other grasslands at Lyveden) would benefit from an increased diversity of tall wildflower species. David Broom, notes that the increased diversity,

'would benefit both the intrinsic value of these areas for the conservation of notable grassland vegetation and habitat, and the wider value of these areas as an invertebrate nectar source.

Ideally, this enhancement process would require a very close vegetation cut, followed by a shallow cultivation to around 150mm depth. The cultivated surface would be chain harrowed then over-seeded with an appropriate mixture of wild flower species. As most grassland areas at Lyveden are arable reversion sites where grassland has been established on formerly ploughed land, soil disturbance by shallow cultivation for over-seeding should be contained within the former plough layer.'

We are very conscious of the archaeological potential and sensitivity of this site - and the extent to which shallow cultivation within the former plough layer could disturb buried archaeology should be considered prior to implementing this process of grassland diversification. We now know that the Geophysical Survey⁸⁷ commissioned to examine the former site of the terraced gardens and mediaeval village in the east grasslands found that virtually no archaeological remnants had survived the post War agricultural ploughing. A similar exercise on the west grassland would inform recommendations on how best to implement the arable reversion.

5.3.11.2 Lyveden Brook

Lyveden Brook (**Ae3**) runs from west to east through this area; to the north west of the Manor it forms the southern boundary of the late 20th century poplar plantation and to the north east the plantation extends to both sides of its banks. In the west the brook is backed by a relict hawthorn hedgerow, now absorbed by the poplar plantation and a line of five veteran ash 'lapsed pollards', and a large, lapsed pollard crack willow.

⁸⁷ S J Malone, *Land at Lyveden Manor, Northamptonshire, Geophysical Survey*, January 2014, Archaeological Project Services

The Foster and Barker survey recorded that, at the time of their survey in July 2013, the Brook was dry for most of its length, save for a small isolated area of water (**Ae4**) which held three-spined sticklebacks, indicating that the ditch is normally in water, a toad tadpole and whirligig beetles (*Gyrinus* sp.). Indeed on the 31st October of the same year we found the brook in full flow.

Both surveys recorded similar marginal vegetation, including gypsywort (*Lycopus europaeus*), reed canary-grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*), tufted hair grass (*Deschampsia cespitosa*), great willowherb (*Epilobium hirsutum*) and yellow iris (*Iris pseudacorus*). This plant range is very similar to that found colonising the tongue of wetland immediately to the west of the North Moat (refer to Section 5.4.7 below); wetland that experienced fluctuating water levels and flow.

In conclusion it is our opinion that the brook,

'should be recognised as a valuable component of the woodland edge sub-habitat assemblage and identified as an opportunity for considerable ecological enhancement. The principal objective here should be to develop a belt of flood plain Alder woodland within sections of inundation grassland along the stream margins. As an uncommon woodland type, the development of Alder woodland would provide general nature conservation interest and would make a significant contribution to the development of a varied assemblage of different woodland types at Lyveden.'⁸⁸

5.3.11.3 The Balsam Poplar Plantation

We have already remarked on the Balsam Poplar Plantation (**Ae5**) on the property's northern boundary. Tolerant of waterlogged and heavy ground, these trees have thrived in the valley floor and, although probably not planted before the 1970/80s, the plantation is now well established and successfully screens, particularly in the summer, the Manor from Harley Way. No doubt also, the poplars' extremely vigorous and invasive root systems will have disturbed any archaeological remnants that may have survived from the mediaeval settlements on the valley floor.

The quality of the woodland is however, not appropriate to the setting, particularly now the occupants of the Manor are no longer seeking wholesale privacy. In parts, the plantation has an air of neglect; an observation that is supported by Foster and Barker's reference to the field layer being rather rank, especially in the north-east where nettles dominate the understorey⁸⁹. Other understorey and marginal species included hogweed, hedge woundwort, great willowherb, cleavers (*Galium aparine*) and the grasses giant fescue (*Festuca gigantea*), cocksfoot and Yorkshire fog; summarised by Foster and Barker as a rank, rather weedy field layer, notwithstanding some natural regeneration of ash, hawthorn and white willow.

Broom also observes that:

'Tree and shrub regeneration within the plantation is patchy and comprises relatively few woody species. As a consequence, this is unlikely to be viable as the sole mechanism for plantation diversification and conversion to semi-natural broadleaved woodland. Also, a dense grass-dominated ground flora is likely to suppress regeneration after group selection thinning. In response to these issues, plantation diversification and conversion to semi-natural

⁸⁸ D. Broom, Lyveden New Bield, Review of Biodiversity Management Issues, November 2013

⁸⁹ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, National Trust National Consultancy, Lyveden New Bield Nature Conservation Evaluation, 2012 & 2013 Survey, incorporating 1999 Survey

woodland character is likely to require consolidation tree and shrub planting within canopy gaps formed by group selection thinning.⁹⁰

It is possible that given the Trust's purchase of the Manor, possibly with the intention to use it a visitor centre/hub for the New Bield, the gardens and the Rockingham Forest in general, the location of car parking facilities may be revisited. And the possibility of using an area within the plantation will be considered.

5.3.12 Description and Current Condition - Access & interpretation

At the moment the whole of this character area is private for the sole use of the tenants at the Manor. It is not open to visitors.

5.3.13 Summary of significance and vulnerability

Levels of significance: 1 exceptional; 2 considerable; 3 some; 4 little; 5 negative or intrusive features.

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
United Site: The vision of Lyveden	Lyveden, was the vision and work of one man, Sir Thomas Tresham - In his time Lyveden comprised what is now called the Old Bield (the Manor) and its grounds and the New Bield with its water gardens. Since 1922 to 2013, when the Trust purchased the Manor and grounds, it has been in separate ownership from the Trust.	1	The site is reunited for the first time in nearly a century; however this has come at a financial cost to the Trust which will have to be offset, in the future, with increased revenue and visitor numbers. The threat is that significantly increased numbers might affect the fragile character (spirit of place) and vulnerable fabric of the site (particularly the New Bield and its gardens).
Lyveden Manor	The Manor became the property of the Trust in 2013. It is listed by English Heritage as Grade I and although parts of it date from the 17 th century much has been altered since then. Indeed much has been altered since the Listing Entry was amended in July 1987. The quality of stone and workmanship is outstanding - & ties the building firmly to its local environment.	1	The Trust purchased the Manor, knowing that it had been much modified, and that it had the potential to be used in some form or other as the principal reception point for all visitors to the New Bield. Much of the interior is substantially modern in finish and detail. The concern is that it needs to be both conserved and adapted to accommodate: • the anticipated number of visitors; • the access facilities required by a range of visitors; • the range and size of facilities required; • changing requirements demanded by a sequence of events, exhibitions, displays and workshops etc. • possibly facilities for gardeners

⁹⁰ D. Broom, Lyveden New Bield, Review of Biodiversity Management Issues, November 2013

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
			and estate staff. All future developments need to be responsive to the importance of the Manor's style, materials and workmanship.
The approach to the Water Gardens and New Bield from the Manor	Tresham designed the New Bield to be approached through the lost terraced gardens to the south & east of the Manor, and the, unfinished but extant, water gardens. This approach has not been possible for nearly a century because of the Manor and New Bield's separate ownership.	1	With the Trust's purchase of the Manor there is the possibility to reinstate, to some degree, the original designed approach to the New Bield from the Manor in the valley floor. This would be lost however if the Trust were to sell or relinquish control over the lost terraced gardens or choose, for whatever reason, not to implement or reinstate the route in some form.
Rockingham Forest	The Manor is reasonably close to surviving stretches of the Rockingham Forest, with its ancient oaks and nationally important colony of purple emperor butterflies.	1	The designated walk that includes Lyveden and Rockingham Forest passes close by the Manor, which could have the potential to serve as a hub for nature lovers and walkers etc., from which to explore the wider area. Such a use might, however, impose more pressure for more facilities etc. on a site that is relatively small and vulnerable.
Record of Terraces and other Garden Archaeology	Documentary evidence of historic aerial photographs and historic accounts provide persuasive evidence of their presence. As evidence of 17 th C garden layout, & as a means of launching and carrying the narrative of Tresham's vision, these terraces have the potential to be of even greater significance.	2	The Trust is in a position to consider reinstating the route from the Manor to the New Bield, including renewed terraces. Great care will have to be taken to design and execute the terraces sympathetically and robustly. Attention must be given to managing flow of water down the All historical evidence, particularly aerial photographs, should be interrogated thoroughly & provide a rich resource to inform the design & interpretation.
Lyveden & the Valley Archaeological Record	Lyveden itself and the wider site of the Lyveden valley are rich in documentary evidence of significant archaeology. Investigations have revealed evidence of Roman activity, mediaeval settlement as well as Thomas Tresham's garden and structures.	2	Much archaeology at Lyveden itself – especially around the Manor – has been eradicated. It will be important to bring together and manage the extant records, to inform interpretation. Care must be taken to ensure that any surviving archaeology (i.e., in area newly-acquired or to be newly-remodelled) is fully researched and protected.
Lyveden & the Valley: Archaeology Heritage	Lyveden and the valley have been the site of a number of archaeological surveys from the early studies of J.A. Gotch at the end of the 19 th century	2	This very strong archaeological tradition deserves to be recognised, recorded and continued in some form or other. Consideration should be given for the Manor to provide: a focus for local and regional

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	through the inter-war years and to the post-War surveys undertaken by Steane and sixth formers from Kettering Grammar School. This is strong and flourishing archaeological tradition stimulated by work in the Lyveden Valley		archaeology with events and exhibitions and displays etc.; • volunteer / public involvement in archaeology similar to that successfully carried out at Belton by Rachael Hall, (National Trust, Regional Archaeologist, East Midlands); • links with local schools. The Lyveden archaeological heritage was founded on individual enthusiasm and initiative. The Trust and other interested parties should embrace this to ensure that it is acknowledged, celebrated and active in the future.
Veteran trees	The site is not well endowed with old, veteran or ancient trees. This is surprising given its history of settlement, however there is one ash to the west of the access track and lapsed pollarded ashes to the north of Lyveden Brook that are deserving of veteran status.	2	These trees are vulnerable to lack of appropriate, or inappropriate, management which could shorten their lives. Given the pressures on ash trees in general, this would be a great loss for the site.
Lyveden Brook	Lyveden Brook flows through the north of the site and is subject to seasonal fluctuations in water level and is quite frequently dry for most of its length through the site. In places, it is in a rather narrow and over-shaded ditch. Historically, however, the Brook played a vital part in the development of the Manor and gardens – and it has the potential to make a greater contribution to diversity and visitor enjoyment in the future - &, therefore, of greater significance.	3	Subject to seasonal fluctuations in water level and is frequently dry for most of its length in the summer; there may be issues associated with abstraction of water upstream. There may also be nitrogen enrichment etc., from upstream farming practices. It may be that flood management has resulted in rather clumsy modifications to the character and depth of the bed / banks of the Brook. Marginal plants are present but there is potential for enhancing habitat. If fluctuations in water level is caused by abstraction up stream this should be investigated with the intention of maintaining a regular flow where possible.
Hedgerow forming west border	The hedgerow is well established comprising a good variety of species and as a consequence it provides a good linear habitat for nesting birds and for use by bats as foraging and commuting corridors. The significance rests not	3	We have noticed that other hedgerows on the site have been felled which reduces the habitat potential and it is recommended that mechanical interventions are replaced with hedge laying integrated with sections identified where a non-intervention approach would allow the development of large, structurally varied habitat

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	only on the quality of the hedge itself, but also on its role in the wider arable landscape.		corridors.
Butterflies in the fields the south west and south east of the Manor	A good selection of meadow and grassland butterflies have been recorded the fields.	3	The fields retain only species-poor classification; however two of their dominant grasses produce food for the larvae of a number of grassland butterflies which, although not rare, are not found in the intensively farmed arable land that surrounds Lyveden. Any intervention to reinstate the Terraced Garden or improve the sward should do so carefully, to ensure continuity of butterfly habitats.
Documentary references to various agricultural and farm buildings now demolished	Over the years the area around the Manor was well supplied with farm buildings of various dates and unknown provenance	3	Although the character, construction and appearance of many of these buildings are not known (though Heward, 1998, explores some of these) their footprints are recorded on various maps and records. The historical presence of these structures might create useful precedents for future development of facilities. But it is essential that the last surviving structure of real historic significance – the surviving S range of the original courtyard development – must not be challenged by a proliferation of additional estate buildings.
The Fields to the south west and south east of the Manor	These fields were in arable production until recently and are now undergoing reversion by the Trust. They are not currently part of the HLS agreement.	4	The fields have been returned to pasture however they retain the characteristics of species-poor improved grassland with only the occasional localised tall herb wildflower species present. They will retain this status and not revert to a species-rich, or herb-rich, sward without intervention.
The Trust's Storage Barn	The Trust uses a clad timber clad garage/barn to store its large grounds maintenance equipment	4	At the moment, and with the site's current use, the barn does not impact on the appreciation of site's layout and presentation. However, should the Lower Gardens be reinstated in any form, the garage's location on what would be just below the lower terrace's scarp, would be particularly intrusive.
The Hedge to the west and south of the Gardens	This hedge dates from the last decade of the 20 th century and has a country garden character with red flowering chestnuts left as standards.	4	The hedge comprises a reasonable range of species and is in healthy condition. We have no historical precedent for it although it may be useful to retain parts of it (notably the west) to demark gardens from meadow – to the south and east it

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
			will need to be removed if the terraces are going to be re-established.
Hedge between the Manor Grounds and the Lower Orchard	This is a hedge was probably planted in the last quarter of the 20 th century to separate farm fields and now more recently the land belonging to the Trust and Lyveden Manor.	4	The hedge provided a useful sense of containment for the Trust's land and Lower Orchard, particularly so when the Manor and New Bield were under different ownership. Its presence now, however, significantly disrupts any appreciation of the gardens as a whole and contradicts the aspiration to reinstate the approach to the New Bield from the Manor.
Roundels of trees in the west field	Three small groups of trees including lime, horse chestnut in the west field. They are protected with a post and wire fence, however at least one of the limes has been badly browsed in the past – two cherries are in poor condition – see below.	4	These groups are dotted in the field without any apparent thought given to their arrangement and views and currently they lend the field a neglected appearance.
United Site: The Vision of Lyveden	The separate ownership between the Manor and the New Bield has contributed significantly to the difference in management and current condition. The Manor has had a sequence of owners, who have managed the site in different ways, with the result that the majority of the garden and other below-ground archaeology has been lost. Potentially, a coherent vision, embracing the whole site, would be of exceptional significance (1).	5	The purchase gives the Trust the opportunity to apply high level conservation standards across the whole site. Financial pressures, perhaps leading to demands from too many visitors, however, could prove as damaging as separate ownership.
Archaeology Lost Material	The series of archaeological investigations over the 20 th century revealed how much was lost in the post-war period of intensive arable farming.	5	It is universally agreed that the deep ploughing undertaken as part of the increased food production effort after the War damaged, and in places, eradicated archaeologically important material that existed in the top 300 mm of soil. The damage caused by the ploughing is understood and safeguards have been established to reduce the possibility of further information being lost.
Views Lower	Historic accounts describe views along the walks in	5	The walks have been lost under the plough, so identifying the location of

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
Gardens	the Lower Gardens; none of which is apparent now. Reinstating key views – which will be vital if the legibility of the gardens is to be recovered – will secure an exceptional significance (1) for the views.		designed views will be difficult. Views have been further compromised by late 20 th century hedge and copse planting. Great care will have to be taken when remodelling and replanting this landscape – future management, to ensure that views are not again compromised, will be critical.
Views Promontory at the south end of the Lower Garden terraces	We believe that the promontory shown in aerial photographs was designed to be a viewing platform that addressed views northwards over the Terraced Gardens and southwards, towards the Water Gardens and possibly of the 'Lantern' on top of the New Bield had it been completed. The recovery of this very important terrace & views will secure exceptional significance (1).	5	The promontory has been substantially levelled, although a 2013 contour survey in the area suggests a modified land form that would tally with that shown on the the Luftwaffe aerial photograph. The division of land between the Trust and various owners of the Manor has resulted in hedge planting that lies on the site of the former promontory.
The poplar plantation	The Balsam poplars are planted in regimented ranks towards the end of the 20 th century. Probably to form a shelter/ privacy belt for the Manor	5	Balsam poplar is particularly fast growing and has a very vigorous root system which will have severely compromised any archaeology (probably from the mediaeval village that predated Tresham's works. The character of the plantation is unsuited to this setting.
The bowl to the east of the Manor	We have not been able to discover the history of the crudely-sculpted bowl to the east of the Manor, except that it was a recent intervention.	5	This is a major intervention in the land form on the slopes to the east of the Manor. It is a large area that would have extended over at least three and quite possible four of the historic terraces.
The plantation in the east field	The plantation is aligned north to south and is on the site the three of the lost terraces in the Lower Garden.	5	Possibly planted as cover for Shoot purposes, the young, dense, plantation has little arboricultural or ecological interest at the moment. Its position interrupts any understanding or appreciation of how the Lower Garden might have appeared.
The tennis court and related gardens	The tennis court and brick retaining wall to its north would appear to have been constructed just to the west of the historic, lower Garden Terraces.	5	The tennis court was an addition made in the latter years of the 20 th century and it interrupts the fall of the land (or any earthworks dating from Tresham's gardens). The brick retaining wall is inappropriate in every way
Drainage and the land form to the south of Manor	The recent history of the landform immediately south and east of the Manor is not clear however it is known that	5	The lowering of the land levels around the base of the Manor's south east and east elevations was cited as a reason for changing the drainage pattern in these areas, with

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	the land was lowered in approximately 1990.		the consequence that the performance of footings were affected. Any modifications to land modelling must be supported by an understanding of drainage implications and management.
The Mound to the south west corner of the Manor Gardens	We have found no reference to this in either the Trust or the planning archives, although it is on the site of the agricultural buildings demolished - we think - in the early 1990s. We believe, therefore, that it may comprise some of the arisings from that demolition.	5	We are not certain how this mound is constituted, however it contributes to the general air of neglect and abandonment that characterises this area of the Manor's gardens between the tennis courts and the gardens west boundary hedge.
Line of young ash trees to east of the mound	There is line of young ash trees planted inside the garden hedge and to the east of the mound noted above.	5	These ash trees are in very poor condition. We do not know whether they are suffering from Ash die back however they should be monitored and / or removed as they may present a threat to other ash in the vicinity and it is difficult to see how they may be incorporated into a revised plan for the gardens, particularly if the terraces are to be re-established in any form.
Two adjacent cherry trees in central roundel in the west field	These are part of one of three small groups of tree planting in the east field.	5	The two trees did not appear to be healthy and were possibly infected with fireblight, a disease that is particularly damaging to fruit trees particularly apple and pear and given the proximity of the Lower Orchard this could be a real threat of not monitored and addressed.

5.4 Analysis of Status, Development and Character - Character Area B: The New Bield, Cottage, Moats, Mounts, Orchards and Meadows

This Section is to be read in conjunction with HTLA Plan No. Lv (02) B01

5.4.1 Summary of Layout

This character area represents the surviving elements of an original scheme that was laid out as a series of compartments rising from the Lyveden Old Bield (the Manor) in the Lyveden valley floor (at c. 223 feet above sea level) to the New Bield (the Lodge) approximately sixty foot higher (at c. 282 feet above sea level) on top of the valley slope to the south east.

The area includes not only Tresham's unfinished and mystifying garden Lodge, the New Bield, but also the Lower Orchard, the Moated Orchard, three completed moated channels, and the unfinished west moat channel, terraces and mounts including the two snail mounts. These are all exceptionally significant, late 16th

century garden structures and features, making Lyveden one of the best-preserved sites – if not *the* best – of its date and type in England⁹¹.

The lower orchard is divided from the moated orchard by a stepped embankment, at the top of which is a walk, with pyramidal mounts at either end, perhaps eroded but quite recognisable. From here, the top of the embankment, there are views across the water-filled moat, towards the moated orchard and, beyond, to the site of Lyveden New Bield. The view to the moated orchard is, today, somewhat obscured by trees on both sides of the northern moated channel. The west arm of the moat, where a fragment of an earlier moated complex survives, was left unfinished. The pyramidal mount to the north are mirrored by the snail mounts at the south-west and south-east corners of the moat, which, in turn, sweeps around and encircles them. Spiralled paths, travelling respectively clockwise and anti-clockwise, climb to the top of each mount, from where there would have been views south-east to Lyveden New Bield, south across pasture to the park pale and Bradshaw Wood and north over the concentric rings of beds on the moat island, designed to be planted with standard roses alternating with raspberries. Tresham also intended cherry and plum trees to be included in the planting here, and the moat itself was to be used as a fishpond⁹².

The New Bield is now well presented; probably better than at any time in the Trust's ownership. In the early years, sheep grazed up to and inside the New Bield and, in post-War years, ploughing was taken almost up to the walls of the Lodge. Now, thanks to good management, the land immediately around the New Bield (beyond its platform) has been taken out of arable production and is being returned to meadow - in Spring, richly-studded with wild flowers. Likewise, the land to the south west and north east has been recently acquired by the Trust, thereby securing the New Bield's environs and setting.

To the east of the New Bield, improved visitor access has been gained by further thoughtful acquisitions to facilitate the new access drive and car park. Although close to the New Bield, the car park, located beyond what we believe to be the old deer park pale and ditch, is out of sight from the New Bield, and impacts little on its special atmosphere.

The Cottage, located approximately fifty metres to the NNW of the New Bield, dates from the mid-18th century. For most of the Trust's ownership the Cottage was occupied by tenants who were the site's caretakers or custodians. This practice continued until 2012, when its use was changed to visitor facilities, with tea rooms and internal toilets. Office accommodation for the Trust staff was allocated on the first floor.

5.4.2 *Description and Current Condition - Use and Management*

All of the area is accessible to visitors to explore in their own way and at their own pace; this is not a place for the timed ticket. Guided mainly by their own curiosity, visitors are encouraged to meander around, through and over the New Bield, moats, mounts and meadows, to take in the timeless atmosphere of the site. There are no surfaced routes, other than that from the car park to the Cottage's visitor reception, refreshment and toilet facilities, which are small and modest in character and, in our opinion, appropriate to the property's character and current use. It is acknowledged however, that on busy days the area around the Cottage can be overwhelmed; perhaps the draw of the Trust's teas overlooking the moat, or in the garden, is just too appealing. Audio guides, paper maps and guide books are provided by the Trust to

⁹¹ English Heritage, Register of Parks and Gardens, Reasons for Designation

⁹² English Heritage, Register of Parks and Gardens, List Entry Description

stimulate wider exploration and dispersal from the Cottage area, which will probably become more pressured if the projected growth in numbers is realised.

In the last twenty years, much has been done to address the conservation and management of the property and, in particular, the distinctive landscape features. A programme of activity and works has been successfully established to:

- undertake archaeological surveys and watching briefs of potentially archaeologically sensitive land;
- thin the woods that at one time engulfed the moats and their banks;
- desilt the moats to improve water quality and visual amenity;
- rationalise fish stock to improve water quality;
- stop the intensive arable use of the land throughout the registered site and adjacent land;
- convert arable land to herb- and flower-rich meadow;
- interpret archaeological findings on the ground through planting, notably the fruit trees in the Lower Orchard;
- interpret archaeological findings of lost garden features on the ground through the use of grass management and mowing regimes;
- acquire land to the west, north west and north east of the New Bield- to secure as much as possible the integrity and presentation of the New Bield and its gardens;
- plant new hedges, using a palette of species found elsewhere on the site;
- improve visitor access to the site.

To aid in the continuing delivery of these management aspirations and achievements the National Trust has a Higher Level Stewardship Agreement with Natural England, operating from October 2012 to September 2021. This agreement applies to The management of nine parcels of land, of hedgerows and ditches, and it includes capital works relating to protection of historical and archaeological features and tree removal. It is focused on the land on the upper reaches of the hillside, including all the land acquired up until c.2000. It does not apply to any part of the landscape in the vicinity of Lyveden Manor.

The summary of this agreement is provided in Section 2.3.1.

The current condition and status of the tree management, archaeology and its interpretation, moats and water condition, hedgerows, fences, drives and meadows are considered in the appropriate sections below.

5.4.3 Description and Current Condition - Boundaries

The northern boundary of the area is shared with southern boundary of Character Area A. It comprises a hedge (**Bb1**) running west to east along between the Lower Orchard and the Manor grounds and it is discussed above in Section 5.3.4

The Lower Orchard's eastern hedge boundary (**Bb2**) contains the Lower Orchard and separates it from the access track and the broad arable countryside to the east. The 1st Edition OS shows a hedge on this line articulated by approximately six individually represented trees. At least three mature oaks (*Quercus robur*) are still present in the hedge, which is one of the most varied and established hedgerows on the property comprising at least ten species including English oak (*Quercus robur*), field maple (*Acer campestre*), apple (*Malus sylvestris*), cherry (*Prunus avium*), hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*) sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*), blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), birch (*Betula pendula*), pear (*Pyrus sp.*) and damson (*Prunus insititia*).

At the south end of this hedge, the boundary line is continued for approximately 40 metres with a cleft timber fence (**Bb3**) to secure the east end of the east pyramid mount and, whilst not claiming to be authentically 16th century, its hand-worked quality is appropriate in this setting.

It is also noted that approximately 12 metres of the east boundary hedge has been removed at its northern end (**Bb4**). This gap facilitates the movement of agricultural vehicles as part of the Farm Business Tenancy Agreement made with Barnwell Manor Estates in 2000. Prior to 2000, farm machinery crossed the site from east to west along a route that ran immediately north of the raised terrace walk between the two pyramid mounts⁹³. More than compensating for the loss of hedgerow (created by the new gap), the Trust undertook to plant a new hedge (**Bb5**) running north to south between the Lower Orchard and the Field to the west. This is predominantly a single species hedge comprising mainly hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), reinforced by a post and wire mesh fence. Planted in 2000, this hedge follows more or less a north south boundary line marked on the 1886, 1: 2,500 1st Edition OS. Four individual trees are indicated on the map but none remains. Timber vehicle gates (**Bb6**) have been incorporated into the south end of this hedge and the east boundary hedge, approximately on the line of the original farm access route.

The south and west boundaries of the recently acquired field, west of the Lower Orchard, is a well established hedge (**Bb7**) comprising hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*), dog rose (*Rosa canina*) and goat willow (*Salix caprea*). In the autumn of 2013, the hedge was full and thick, thereby providing bird nesting habitats and a corridor for bats and other wildlife corridor. This boundary is shown on the 1886, 1: 2,500 1st Edition OS and it remains on all subsequent editions, although the mature hedgerow trees indicated on the 1886 1st Edition are not now visible.

The Moated Orchard's west boundary is marked by a hedge and ditch line (**Bb8**), which runs approximately south-west from North Moat. Andrew Bryant's County Map of 1827 showed a track running to the west of the gardens on a line that is similar to this and the boundary is an ever-present feature on OS maps from the 1886, 1: 2,500 1st Edition map to the present. As noted above, the ditch can be dry in the summer months but fills and flows after heavy rain. The hedgerow and associated scrub growth contains large elm (*Ulmus procera* and *Ulmus glabra*) suckers and saplings, some of which have started to show signs of die-back, and a mature (although neither ancient nor veteran) sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*) (see Fig. 5/3 above) and field maple (*Acer campestre*). Other species include ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*) and blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*).

Along the south margins of the water gardens, the boundary between the moat banks and the meadow to the south west of the New Bield is not substantially marked on the ground. In the east and close to the Cottage, the meadow extends up to the water's edge in places, whilst further to the west, a thin and gapped hedge is patched with hazel hurdles (**Bb9**) or similar.

Close by this hedge is a cleft timber pale fence (**Bb10**) which divides the area south of the moat into west and east sections. Visitor access is provided by a pedestrian gate (**Bb11**), also of cleft timber and constructed with hand-made nails and furnished with a simple timber peg closing mechanism (Fig. 5/26). All of this serves to remind the visitor, in a modest way, of a pre-industrial age; and, notwithstanding that the

⁹³Letter from Mark Bradshaw on 5th April 2000 to Miss R. Booth, East Northamptonshire Council re the removal of the hedge along the north of the Orchard to allow the realignment of farm machinery access.

hinges are of a modern galvanised variety, the tactile experience of opening and closing the gate is, in our opinion, good and appropriate interpretation.



Fig. 5/26 Cleft timber fence and gate with timber peg closing device

The recently acquired land to the south west and north east of the New Bield has been marked by additional hedges, reinforced with post and wire fencing. The hedge along the west boundary of the south west field (**Bb12**) includes thorn, *Crataegus monogyna*, guelder-rose (*Viburnum opulus*) and hazel (*Corylus avellana*). These species are also present in the more established hedgerow that marks the southern edge of this field (**Bb13**) and the adjacent field to the south of the New Bield (**Bb14**). Here the hedgerow, coincides with a ditch that, whilst not wet all the year round, is nevertheless moist enough to have encouraged the growth of healthy willows (*Salix alba* and *S. caprea*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*) and ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) amongst the ever-present field maple (*Acer campestre*), oak (*Quercus robur*), wild cherry (*Prunus avium*), blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*) and regenerating elm thickets. A number of these species are represented by mature trees, including at least three large hawthorns and a good example of a hedgerow wild cherry. We have speculated elsewhere about the likelihood that part of this boundary and ditch (**Bb15**), which currently separates the New Bield from the car park, is one and the same as the park pale, defining the southern boundary of the c.1540 Tresham park (see Fig.4/1). A line of nine field maples (*Acer campestre*) has been added along the outer (eastern) edge of this ditch and hedge (**Bb16**). Planted, no doubt, to reinforce the visual barrier between the New Bield and the car park, their growth and impact should be monitored to ensure that the relationship between the New Bield and the eastern sunrise is not impeded.

A relatively new hedge has also been planted by the Trust between the south west and south fields (**Bb17**). Reinforced by a post and wire mesh fence the hedgerow comprises a good mix of specimens typical of the site including thorn, (*Crataegus monogyna*), guelder-rose (*Viburnum opulus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), oak (*Quercus robur*), willow (*Salix alba* & *S. caprea*) and dogwood (*Cornus*). Individual trees have been left to grow, at fairly regular intervals, into standards. Vehicular access between the two fields is provided by timber gates at the north and south

Also recently planted, probably in 2008, is the hedge that follows the inner line of the new visitor access track in the south east of the property (**Bb18**). The mix is similar to that found elsewhere on the site and comprises thorn, (*Crataegus monogyna*), field maple (*Acer campestre*), blackthorn / sloe (*Prunus spinosa*) and hazel (*Corylus avellana*).

5.4.4 Description and Current Condition - Circulation, Paths and Drives

The visitor circulation is, with the newly installed (2008) car park (**Bc1**) and visitor amenities, focused on and around the Cottage (**Bc2**) and its visitor reception, refreshment and toilet facilities. As described above, there are no paved paths on the site except for the surfaced right of way and the recently constructed access track (**Bc3**) to the car park.

The character of the track and car park is, in our opinion, appropriate for the remote setting and location. The granite stone base construction and the 40mm granite binding course of 6-2 mm granite chippings⁹⁴ provides a well-drained, robust surface; a fact we can testify, as we were on site on the 29th October 2013, a day after very heavy storms, when we found the track and car park dry and usable. In addition, the rolled stone surface lends the track an entirely appropriate rural estate character.

The car park is located not far from the visitor reception and other amenities at the Cottage and, once paid or counted, visitors are encouraged to explore the building, gardens and archaeology at their own pace and route. Inevitably, as visitor numbers grow, pressure on sensitive areas is starting to show. The garden with its terraced walks and mounts was designed for use by a small number of family and friends. Visitor numbers are now in the region of 20,000 a year and are anticipated to rise to an estimated 40,000 by the end of the first quarter of the century. Grass paths on banks and slopes will become increasingly difficult to sustain and manage. This obviously is an issue that is not underestimated by the Trust and the property files show a record of exchanges regarding the management and impact of visitors on the garden remains. In 2001 Julie Bradbury (then the National Trust Assistant Gardens Adviser) noted that⁹⁵:

'The spiral mounds are in remarkably good condition and it will be important to ensure that visitors keep to the paths and do not erode the sides of the slopes. I will ask a volunteer here at Cirencester to look at different historic planting techniques for mounds and will send this on as soon as possible.'

We have no record as to whether this line of enquiry was pursued, however neither the pyramid nor the snail mounts have any low level shrub/tree planting that would protect vulnerable gradients from visitor footfall and the ensuing compaction and erosion. Hawthorns are present on the mounts but their etiolated habit does not provide an appropriate understorey, and is not typical of their true form, which, if managed sensitively could provide a practical and historically acceptable solution.

At the end of the warm 2013 summer, we noted some compaction and erosion on the snail mounts, both at path junctions (**Bc4**) and on some slopes. The pyramid mounts were showing more evidence of use. Photographed below is the south face of the west pyramid mount, where a desire line path has become established and is causing compaction (Fig. 5/27) (**Bc5**). This area is particularly vulnerable as the clay

⁹⁴ Specification for Proposed New Car Parking Facilities, Lyveden New Bield, December 2007

⁹⁵ Notes of site meeting from Julie G. Bradbury, NT Assistant Gardens Adviser – to David Wilson NT Area manager 20th September 2001

bank below the desire-line has, in the past, slumped, perhaps due to water movement and undermining by carp, as well as the pressure of footfall⁹⁶.



Fig. 5/27 Erosion and slumping at the base of the West Pyramid Mount, and damaging desire-line path

5.4.5 Description and Current Condition - Archaeology

This character area is rich in archaeological interest and investigation.

Not only do the canals, terraced embankment with triple level paths, great circular mounts with spiral walkways and mounts of double truncated pyramidal form all still survive, but other forms of archaeological investigation have added greatly to the picture. It has been much lamented that deep ploughing around the New Bield and in the areas of the middle garden, including the moated orchard and lower orchard, destroyed much of the archaeology. Nevertheless, we do have access to one invaluable aerial photograph⁹⁷, taken before the destruction occurred. This indicates:

- that when the construction work came to a sudden end, in September, 1605, some of the half-completed terraces lay on top of mediaeval plough ridges;
- possible signs of mediaeval enclosures;
- the presence of parallel rows of planting pits, visible as crop marks in the lower orchard, and taken to be evidence of a formal orchard, described in Thomas Tresham's papers;
- the presence of a very faint set of concentric rings, again visible as crop marks and taken to be evidence of a circular labyrinth, perhaps hedged, or – more likely – perhaps modelled with slightly raised grass bunds, in the moated orchard area;
- the presence of formally-planted garden areas to the north east of the New Bield;
- the presence of a ditch surrounding the New Bield.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Northamptonshire County Council Historic Environment Records, HER Map annotates eight monuments in this character area comprising:

⁹⁶ Refer to 5.4.7 below: Description and Current Condition - Waterbodies and Drainage

⁹⁷ Luftwaffe Aerial Photograph taken 1944, only rediscovered in 2009

SMR Number 112/1 - MNN11299 Lyveden Manor Monuments

This entry applies to the whole of the Lyveden Manor site and incorporates historical and physical descriptions, references and sources of Lyveden Old Bield, Lyveden New Bield and the gardens. The HER Records are noted and referred to, where appropriate, in this document.

SMR Number 112/1/5 - MNN37320 The Middle Garden

This entry describes the extant and mainly above-ground structural features and notes that, despite the loss caused by the post-War deep ploughing, the Middle Garden is the best surviving part of the garden. The description in the HER record comprises material included elsewhere in the History and Character Area Description Sections in this document and does not need repeating here.

SMR Number 112/1/9 - MNN121290

This notes that the Moated Orchard might have been the site of a mediaeval enclosure identified in a mapping programme of Morphed Aerial Archaeology Interpretation, undertaken in 2007⁹⁸.

Also inside the Moated Orchard, is **SMR Number 112/1/0 - MNN37315**; a collection of unstratified finds of much mediaeval building material, glazed ridge tiles and ordinary glazed and unglazed roof tiles, discovered⁹⁹ in an area that may have been occupied by a mediaeval moat¹⁰⁰. Quite possibly, the interior of the moat had been the site of a dwelling until work began on the garden. Also noted was some burned limestone rubble and a fair scatter of sherds, sandy in texture and with a noted absence of shell tempering. Two whetstones of southern-Norwegian origin and an iron spur were also found.

In the north west of the area, bellarmine sherds and fragments of brown-glazed wares have been found in profusion with clay tobacco-pipestems¹⁰¹. The reference to Bellarmine remnants is particularly interesting in the context of Lyveden. Bellarmine jugs were produced throughout most of the 16th and 17th centuries at Frechen near Cologne, Germany; an area that provided fine, silica-rich clay and clean quartz sand that enabled the stoneware to be fired at high temperatures. Bellarmine jugs are also referred to as Bartmann jugs or bottles and were distinguished by the face of a bearded man stamped on the neck of the vessel. Bartmann is German for 'bearded man' and it was thought that the image represented a 'Wild Man' common in European myths at the time. At some stage, and probably not before the end of the 16th century but certainly by 1634 (when the name is used in a play of that date), the bearded man pots attracted the name of 'Bellarmine', an unflattering Protestant reference to Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621), a fierce opponent of northern European Catholicism and a man much disliked in Germany and the Low Countries¹⁰².

Such pots are not uncommon in 16th and 17th century England¹⁰³ and they may have been on the site before the Bellarmine association was coined, however their presence at the recusant stronghold of Lyveden is intriguing. Unfortunately, the 2011

⁹⁸ Alison Deegan and Glenn Foard, *Mapping Ancient Landscapes in Northamptonshire*, English Heritage 2007

⁹⁹ Journal, *Bulletin of the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies*, 1969, p.19.

¹⁰⁰ Report, P.C. Potter, *Archaeological Survey: Lyveden New Bield*, 1987, p.5.

¹⁰¹ Journal: *Bulletin of the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies*, 1969, p.19.

¹⁰² Cardinal Bellarmine was involved in an exchange of texts with King James I regarding the 1606 Oath of Allegiance.

¹⁰³ The Museum of London has an impressive collection with a very accessible and comprehensive catalogue available on the web.

archaeological investigations ¹⁰⁴ did not confirm the Bellarmine or Bartman findings, although a significant number of more locally produced pottery sherds were identified.

SMR Number 112/1/10 - MNN112148 The Park

The field to the north west of the water garden and west of the Lower Orchard the area is named as 'The Park' on Inclosure Map dating from 1826¹⁰⁵.

No mention is made in the SMR of what is thought to be a substantial mediaeval moated site, remains of which are visible on the Luftwaffe photograph. Brown and Taylor, however, noted the presence of a lost moat¹⁰⁶. A clear rectangle of damp vegetation is still present and visible (Fig. 5/28) (**Ba1**), notwithstanding the damage to the top layers of soil done by the deep ploughing. The vegetation is noticeably more lush and includes a significant stand of hard rush (*Juncus inflexus*); a plant that, although tolerant of dry periods, is one that colonises marginal shelves and/ or wet soils. This would appear to indicate that a water retaining structure/or part of structure is still present and is worthy of archaeological investigation.



Fig. 5/28 Rectangle of visible lush vegetation suggesting presence moat or other ditch structure

The east end of this feature is identified on the plan that accompanies the Deed of Grant between the National Trust and Ian Boswell (then the owner of Lyveden Farm, now demolished) which grants permission for the laying of a water pipe across the Lower Orchard and taking of water from the North Moat as a 'filter bed'. Refer to Waterbodies Section below.

5.4.5.1 The Archaeology of the Lower Orchard (**Ba2**)

The Lower Orchard sits outwith the Scheduled Ancient Monument, although it is within the English Heritage Registered site.

¹⁰⁴ J. Prentice, *An archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, September 2011; P. Blinkhorn, Pottery Section p. 24

¹⁰⁵ Map: 1826. NRO Inclosure Plan 4; T174 of Benefield

¹⁰⁶ A. E. Brown & C. C. Taylor, 'The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire', *The Archaeological Journal*, Volume 129, for 1972

Early post-War aerial photographs, dating from 1953, showed crop/vegetation marks in the middle terrace of the garden which suggested that planting pits survived beneath the surface until at least the mid-twentieth century. Contemporary records indicate that an orchard garden was probably planted in this location by Thomas Tresham in the late 1590s, but that at least some of the tree stock was removed and (perhaps) sold by his widow by 1609. From, perhaps, a few decades after this, the site reverted to agricultural (mainly pastoral) use up to the date of the aerial photographs, since when the practice of deep ploughing and soil improvement continued until the 1980s. In 2001, Mark Newman (then the National Trust Archaeological Adviser for the East Midlands Region) thought it highly likely that the ploughing had considerable potential for the diminution or destruction of the archaeological resource, although it was acknowledged the extent of preservation of archaeological features had not been tested by excavation, or any other form of archaeological investigation at that time¹⁰⁷.

At the turn of the new Millennium it was the Trust's aspiration to replant an orchard to emulate the late sixteenth century predecessor on the middle terrace of the garden and it was agreed that an initial geophysical survey be undertaken to assess any extant archaeology before works commenced.

Stratascan, a specialist archaeological geophysics consultancy, undertook the work in Autumn 2001 but were unable to identify the location of the planting / grubbing-up pits and the findings did not identify any significant variations in soil character and constituencies that would have explained the differences in vegetation shown on the 1953 aerial photographs.

The lack of information regarding the planting pits was confirmed by Mark Newman in a Memorandum to Mark Bradshaw¹⁰⁸ in which he states,

'You'll see that, as they suspected while on site, the surveyors were not able to identify any trace of the planting holes. The linear anomalies that they did find, they suggest arise from cultivation activity. As the anomalies are not aligned with the current field boundaries, but are closer to the alignment of the moated site, I wonder if they in fact represent remains of mediaeval cultivation. Either way, they have no obvious bearing on the use of the site for gardening purposes.'

The memorandum continues with the note that 'even if the features haven't been destroyed by modern agriculture, their fill may simply not be sufficiently different from background soil values to be visible to geophysical survey methods.'

Following this disappointment there was, within the Trust, a difference of opinion on how best to proceed, and whether or not to proceed at all with the orchard planting without further and more intrusive archaeological investigations. In the end the view that prevailed was that small orchard trees planted in hand-dug pits would not directly disturb any deeper archaeology and that the subsequent effect of the fibrous roots would also be negligible.

A further archaeological study was commissioned by the Trust in 2011. In this case the investigation was a geophysical survey by magnetometry¹⁰⁹. The report concluded that although the site conditions proved relatively receptive to geophysical surveying

¹⁰⁷ Invitation to Tender letter: Geophysical Survey, Lyveden New Bield; Mark Newman May/June 2001

¹⁰⁸ Memorandum, Mark Newman to Mark Bradshaw, Subject - Geophysical Survey, September 2001,

¹⁰⁹ *Archaeological Evaluation Report: Geophysical Survey by Magnetometry in the Orchard Field, Lyveden New Bield, Near Oundle, Northamptonshire*, December 2011; Report prepared for the National Trust By Allen Archaeology Limited

by the magnetometry method, 'the survey had not identified any below-ground archaeological remains that pre or post-date the Tudor Orchard within the study area, or former tree planting boles.'¹¹⁰

The survey picked up a number of dipolar responses spread randomly across the site, indicating near-surface ferrous metal or other highly fired material, and a linear bipolar anomaly, running through the study area towards the south-east corner of the field. The latter, in particular, is very likely to be a modern service, perhaps it is part of the water pipe that fed Lyveden Farm from the North Moat, an agreement made by the Trust in 1957.

It is agreed by all now that it is highly likely that any evidence of fruit tree cultivation which existed for no more than 20 to 25 years, some four centuries ago, has been eradicated by the post-War ploughing.

5.4.5.2 The Archaeology of the Moated Orchard (**Ba3**)

The discovery in 2009 of the Luftwaffe Aerial 1944 photograph, which appeared to show circular rings within the Moated Orchard, inevitably reignited the debate as to what the Moated Orchard garden might have been. As with the Lower Orchard, the area has, in the post-War years, been subject to deep ploughing and much surface archaeology appears to have been lost; features visible in pre-War and immediately post-War aerial photographs are no longer evident in more recent aerial views.

Rachel Hall (National Trust Archaeologist), commissioned a detailed magnetic gradiometer survey over two areas of land at Lyveden New Bield from S. J. Malone of Archaeological Project Services¹¹¹, with the aim of locating any features of possible archaeological significance, with a particular aspiration to increasing the knowledge of the circular rings. The Moated Orchard area, comprising some 2.6ha, was studied and compared with aerial photographs and a Resistivity Survey which had been undertaken by Colin Merrony of Sheffield University. The report records that the:

'Magnetic survey within the Moated Orchard proved successful in identifying features of probable archaeological origin. Resistivity survey previously undertaken within this area provided an interesting comparison. The most striking feature showing in both the magnetometer and resistivity surveys is the wide rectilinear anomaly in the north west of the Moated Orchard (**Ba4**). This is c.10m across where best defined at its eastern corner, perhaps forming an enclosure 50m by at least 40m. Further anomalies at the eastern corner and further south have also been detected in both surveys and presumably reflect further related features. Features of a similar alignment and form can also be discerned on the Luftwaffe air photograph, although here the western arm is the clearest. These appear to be earthworks within the photograph but are no longer visible today (the small area of ridge and furrow within the south west corner of the moated orchard (**Ba5**) has likewise disappeared)¹¹².

The rectilinear feature shows as a positive magnetic anomaly within the gradiometer survey and as a high resistance anomaly in the resistivity survey suggesting a rubble filled feature or foundation. The earthworks within this area on the aerial photography appear to form a platform and suggest some

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹¹ S. J. Malone, *Land at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, Geophysical Survey Work undertaken for The National Trust, April 2011

¹¹² Evidence was presumably lost in the era of deep ploughing and has been subsequently buried beneath the deposition of silt from the 2012 dredging works.

building and/or moated enclosure here pre-dating Sir Thomas Tresham's garden works.'¹¹³

These findings confirmed earlier interpretations of the Moated Orchard, recorded in Northamptonshire County Council Historic Environment Records, which suggested that the north-west area of the Moated Orchard may have been the site of a mediaeval enclosure (**SMR Number 112/1/9 - MNN121290** and **SMR Number 112/1/0 - MNN37315**), although neither the resistivity survey nor the detailed magnetic gradiometer survey revealed any evidence of the sixteenth century circular planting beds.

In September 2011, Northamptonshire Archaeology was commissioned to undertake further and more intrusive investigations to identify, if possible, the concentric circular planting beds and paths indicated in aerial photographic evidence. The work also aimed to investigate earlier, underlying, mediaeval features identified as a moat or moats and possible pits detected during the previous geophysical surveys.

The agreed method was to investigate eight trenches 30 metres (save one which was 20 metres) in length and 1 metre wide dug at locations identified by the Trust. The locations, findings and evaluation for each trench is provided in detail in the final report – *An archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire, September 2011* written by Joe Prentice and issued to the Trust in December 2011.

The majority of the finds comprised pottery sherds, ceramic roof tile sherds, ceramic floor tile sherds, brick fragments and stone roof tile fragments and one nearly complete roof tile. The report observes,

'the ceramic roof and floor tile assemblages are datable to between the 14th and 16th centuries, contemporary with the pottery. They are probably a combination of rejected tiles from a kiln firing with some at least being reused in the kiln together with the brick. The stone tiles are the scattered remnants from a roof.'¹¹⁴

This material is very similar to that noted in the 1969 Bulletin of The Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies and recorded in the HER Records for **SMR Number 112/1/0 - MNN37315**. In fact the 2011 states that 'the assemblage was dominated by late Medieval Oxidised Ware, a pottery type which was manufactured at Lyveden, with another manufactory being at Glapthorn, some 5km to the north-east of this site.'¹¹⁵

Sadly, the excavations did not find any evidence of the concentric circle planting layout and confirmed that the post-War ploughing had very probably obliterated most of the surface archaeology that was still visible until the middle of the 20th century. In the 2011 Archaeological Report's Conclusions, Joe Prentice considers this and related issues which, in our opinion, admirably summarises the current condition and understanding of the Moated Orchard's archaeology. We have therefore reproduced it virtually in its entirety¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ *Ibid*

¹¹⁴ J. Prentice, *An archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, September 2011; Blinkhorn, Pottery Section p. 24

¹¹⁵ J. Prentice, *Op. cit.*, Blinkhorn, Pottery Section p. 17

¹¹⁶ J. Prentice, *Op. cit.*, pp.26 - 28

'..Ironically, this incompleteness and subsequent abandonment ensured the survival of the site until the 1940s when modern ploughing erased almost all earthwork and potentially vegetative, evidence of this garden within the confines of the Moated Orchard. The relatively intensive modern cultivation in the form of ploughing continued until the early 1980s. Given the fact that the original planting beds, presumably in the form of concentric bedding trenches, would most likely have been relatively shallow, and cultivated for a relatively short period of time, and that modern ploughing was relatively deep and prolonged, the chances of the former surviving the latter is not possible. The only survey carried out before this modern cultivation did record that garden features were visible on the site although not in the Moated Orchard. Given that the person who recorded the garden evidence elsewhere on the site was apparently camping on one of the mounds overlooking the central moated area, one can only assume that at the time he was there (mid-summer), the grass had either been cut for hay or was grazed short by animals and any variation in growth was not visible. At that time of year, unless very early or late in the day shadows would not have been low enough to cast a raking light over any surviving earthwork remains.

The coverage of trenches across the entire area of the central plot suggests that there are not likely to be pockets of survival of buried archaeology from the period of the garden within this moated part of the complex. What appear to be relict shallow headland ridges visible around the perimeter of the plot suggest that the modern ploughing was taken close to the top edge of the surrounding canals (**Ba6**).

Underlying mediaeval features which are cut much more deeply into the natural substrate have survived beneath the layer of modern ploughsoil. One comprises the southern arm of a mediaeval moat (**Ba7**) known previously from aerial photographs, and the position of which has been confirmed by recent geophysical survey. This section of the moated enclosure extends into the fields to the north-west of the Moated Orchard and is clearly visible on aerial photographs (**Ba8**) of the area although it too has undergone a prolonged period of ploughing and little is now visible on the surface. Whilst the exact nature of the extended enclosure area is uncertain, it appears that to represent part of a mediaeval farmed landscape and was largely surrounded by ridge and furrow cultivation, also now obliterated. It seems likely that much of this altered landscape will survive below ground and be detectable by both geophysical and archaeological investigation. A second feature, almost certainly a pit and located to the east of the moat, was shown to be broadly of the same date and almost certainly relates to the moated enclosure. The pottery and other ceramic finds from the features suggest that the moat was finally backfilled during the mid sixteenth-century, probably shortly before, and as part of, the creation of the Moated Orchard. The pottery from the pit suggests that it had been backfilled during the mid fifteenth-century, and was most likely not visible or known about at the time the circular flower beds were created.

The evaluation appears to confirm that the natural domed appearance of the central area (**Ba9**) within the canals is a natural topographical feature. This was determined partly by the completion of the topographic survey which shows the domed appearance, while apparently regular when viewed from the ground, is in fact fairly irregular and seems to be the eastern limit of a natural ridge. Archaeological investigation further confirmed that the doming was not connected with the creation of the surrounding canals for two reasons. Firstly a small sondage revealed no evidence of anything other than

natural clays of different nature. Secondly, and perhaps more conclusive, is the fact that both of the mediaeval features, the moat and the pit were both cut into the mid brown clay which overlies the whiter, more mottled clay found in the central trench. If mid fifteenth-century (or in the case of the moat, probably earlier) features are cut into the mid-brown clay this can clearly not represent upcast from the sixteenth-century canals and therefore be re-deposited on top of the whiter clay in the centre. What seems more likely is that the mid-brown clay which overlies the whiter clay had been removed by modern ploughing. It seems most likely that it was this whiter clay area which was observed during the 1969 walkover survey and mistakenly identified as a man-made central feature.'

5.4.5.3 The Archaeology of the New Bield and Environs

SMR Number 112/1/3 - MNN108208 Lyveden New Bield (Ba10)

The entry offers a choice of Monument descriptions for the New Bield including Hunting Lodge, Pavilion or Summerhouse. The description is thorough and uncontentious and the themes are investigated in more depth in a variety of other documents including this *CMP*. It should be noted, however, that the SMR states that the Gardens are registered as II* not I, as now designated. It is recommended that this entry is revised as a matter of urgency.

SMR Number 112/1/6 - MNN108208 The Upper Garden (Ba11)

This entry refers to the Upper Garden to the north east of the New Bield. No description is provided in the SMR entry however the Upper Garden's archaeology is discussed in some length both by Eburne and Felus¹¹⁷ and in the History Section¹¹⁸.

The visible remnants of the Upper Garden were first observed in 1932 by Col. K.C. Brown, when he recorded the very precise and useful description of the garden's visible archaeology.

'Two hundred and twenty five feet from the front door (of the Lodge) and on the same axis was a formal garden, four hundred and seventy five feet by one hundred and fifty, and this was laid out in a diamond pattern It can still be seen when the grass is long and the sun low..'

This find is replicated by Brown and Taylor in their plan and paper which stated,

'150 metres NE of the New Bield, and aligned on it, are the remains of a rectangular formal garden. In 1935, this lay in grassland but it is still visible today in the modern arable by virtue of its gravel paths. It consists of a long rectangle 30 metres by 100 metres divided by lines or paths of gravel into diamond patterns, with a long axial path'¹¹⁹.

Brown and Taylor's reference to what was visible in 1935 refers to information provided in the 'short inadequate note' on the remains published by Col. K. C. Brown¹²⁰. In more recent times and at the instigation of Mark Bradshaw, then the Property's Custodian, and Rachael Hall, the Trust's Regional Archaeologist, further

¹¹⁷ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp. 38-39.

¹¹⁸ Section 4.9.4. The Gardens at Lyveden - Bowling Green, New Gardening Quarter, Warden Hills, Broadway Terrace.

¹¹⁹ A. E. Brown & C. C. Taylor, *The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire*, The Archaeological Journal, Volume 129, for 1972

¹²⁰ K. C. Brown, 'Lyveden New Building', *Northants. Natural History Society and Field Club*, 28, 1935

and more sophisticated archaeological surveys¹²¹ have been undertaken; alas with disappointing and inconclusive results that serve to confirm the damage done by post-War ploughing.

What is interesting, however, is the discrepancies in the reported size of the diamond patterned garden feature given in the 1935 and the 1972 survey reports. In 1972 A. E. Brown and Taylor reported it (remember, it was 'still visible by virtue of its gravel paths') as being 100 metres by 30 metres, that is 109.36 yards (328 feet) by 32.8 yards (98.4 feet). Or to put it another way just over 18 Tresham poles by five and half Tresham poles: 18 Tresham poles is a length made familiar to us in a letter written by Tresham, in October 1597, from prison to John Slynne, his Lyveden Keeper in which he states that the garden platt around the New Bield should be 18 poles square and perhaps even more significantly that a pole is 18 feet.

And, although sorely tempted to accept Brown and Taylor's measurement of 18 Tresham poles by five and half Tresham poles as the intended size of this garden feature, an examination of the 1944 Luftwaffe aerial photograph suggests that the feature was considerably longer than that shown on the Taylor and Brown plan.

Col. Brown, on the other hand, recorded it as being 475 feet by 150 feet; that is approximately twenty six and one quarter Tresham poles by eighteen and one third Tresham poles; and, whilst not convincing in terms of our understanding of the Tresham pole setting-out unit, Col. Brown's dimensions appear to us to be more compatible with the evidence provided by the 1944 aerial photograph.

In recent years the Trust has mown the diamond patterned garden outline in the meadow grass using, we believe quite rightly, the information on the 1944 photograph as a guide.

SMR Number 112/1/8 - MNN121292 Medieval Moated Enclosure
(Morphed Aerial Archaeology Interpretation) (**Ba12**)

We find this entry confusing and quite probably in error. The monument types and dates are given as Enclosure (Medieval - 1066 AD to 1539 AD) and Moat (Medieval - 1066 AD to 1539 AD) whereas the SMR's grid reference (Centroid SP 9838 8532) clearly identifies the land around the New Bield. The HER Map showing the location of monuments identifies a ditch to the north of the New Bield. This is visible on the 1944 aerial photograph and was included on the Brown and Taylor Plan; they, quite correctly, in our opinion, identified it as part of Tresham's New Bield's formal garden perimeter. We can find no evidence to support the implication in the SMR description that this lost ditch was part of a mediaeval enclosure and moat that predated Tresham's work at the New Bield. We recommend that this entry is revised accordingly.

The design of the garden setting of the New Bield is, nevertheless, fascinating and we, like other researchers, have seized upon Tresham's 1597 letter¹²² partially reproduced above in the History Section and more fully below, to inform our thoughts on its layout.

'I have dyrected george how to draw the peremiter (or circuit)
of the garden platt, wherein my garden lodge now standeth.
Within the walks ytt ys – 108 yardes – square · Which of – 18 –
feete to the poole, conteneth – 18 – pooles · Consequently the

¹²¹ S.J. Malone, Archaeological Project Services report on, *Land at Lyveden New Bield Northamptonshire*, Geophysical Survey, April, 2011.

¹²² British Library Manuscript, [ff66-71], Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, Appendix 7.1, p. x.xi

area measure thereof (called square measure) ys – 324 –
 pooles, *which* is – 4 – acers and – 4 – pools · (*mem* that the perimeter
 of the house is iuste – 324 – foote · *which* also maketh a
 poole (or pertche) in area (or square) measure {cetera} [device]
 So soone as this platt ys drawne lett ytt accordingly be staked
 oute · for I wyll presently have ytt mounded, with a dytche and
 quick: *which* quick sett I wolde have sett some – 6 – foote from
 the directe range hedge (or wall hedge) of – 108 – yardes square
 as above specified to that ende the earth of the ditche may be ther
 xxx {q}uicke sett fence xxx
 layd upp, and yett sufficient space to come between the
 one hedge and thother, for {p}lasshing, pryninge, weedyng
 <thereof> of them{1/4.} {1/41/4..}re yf nott fyttinge to bee
 {1/41/4..}, some – {1/41/41/4.} as wherby to vsyng a
 {1/41/4..}ke rounde {1/4.} {bet}ween those – 2 – hedges · [cetera] ·
 {..} the vttermost hedge, I wold have ytt of – 2 – cheste · the ditch
 aboute – 4 – foote, or – 5 – foote broade · on the other syde (or opposite
 side of the doble cheste) of the ditche, a quick of one cheste or
 {head} *which* wyl make a very stronge fence, as is the mounde
 of Broddway hedge along fardyngsale and lylforde woods ·
 ye deppt and bredth of this dytche I refer ytt to *your* discretions, so
 as yt bee quick sett as I directe you, specially for beinge that it bee
 workmaly don and sett with choycest {sette} in {fytingst} seasonable tyme.
 Xi The walle hedge (or inwardest garden range hedge) wolde
 bee a foote sett quick, and in my opinion, would do {best}
 to bee so sett and brought vpp as ys my tarras quick sett.
 no delay hearin wold bee vsed, that it might bee sett in for sea-
 sonablest tyme. The dytche *would* not bee {wrought} too {deep}
 xxx Dytche xxx nor too steeppe. Lyngsted wyll worke ytt {1/41/4..}
 wyll not be aboute – 30 roode – of worke · yt {1/4.} {1/41/4}
 {cod} with a hedge vntill I cane provyde pale f{ence}
 sorte sale I thinke you {have} wherwith {to} {1/41/41/4.}
 then spare the {charge} {1/41/4.}g ytt · {The} {1/41/4} {1/4..}
 pale, for ytt {affords} {1/41/4} for <1/4> my parke pale,
 in the meane time wy{ll} hearin mucche pleasure mee · [device]'

We have endeavoured to unravel this and, more importantly, draw what we think Tresham intended and what might have remained until the second half of the 20th century. The plan is shown below (Fig. 5/29). The first thing to note, is that the ditch remnant (SMR Number 112/1/8) to the north and north east of the New Bield (scaled from the 1944 aerial photograph) appears to coincide closely with the line of the New Bield's garden plat perimeter ditch as specified by Tresham. So, at least we are confident that part of the garden platt enclosure was built. We do not know, however, whether the south and west perimeter ditches were constructed. Certainly the north west corner was either not built or lost by the mid 18th century when the Cottage was added. We have not encountered any documentation that suggests that the remainder of the perimeter ditch was built and only the north east corner is shown on OS maps dating from the 1st Edition to the middle of the 20th century; likewise aerial photographs show nothing of south and west perimeter earthworks.

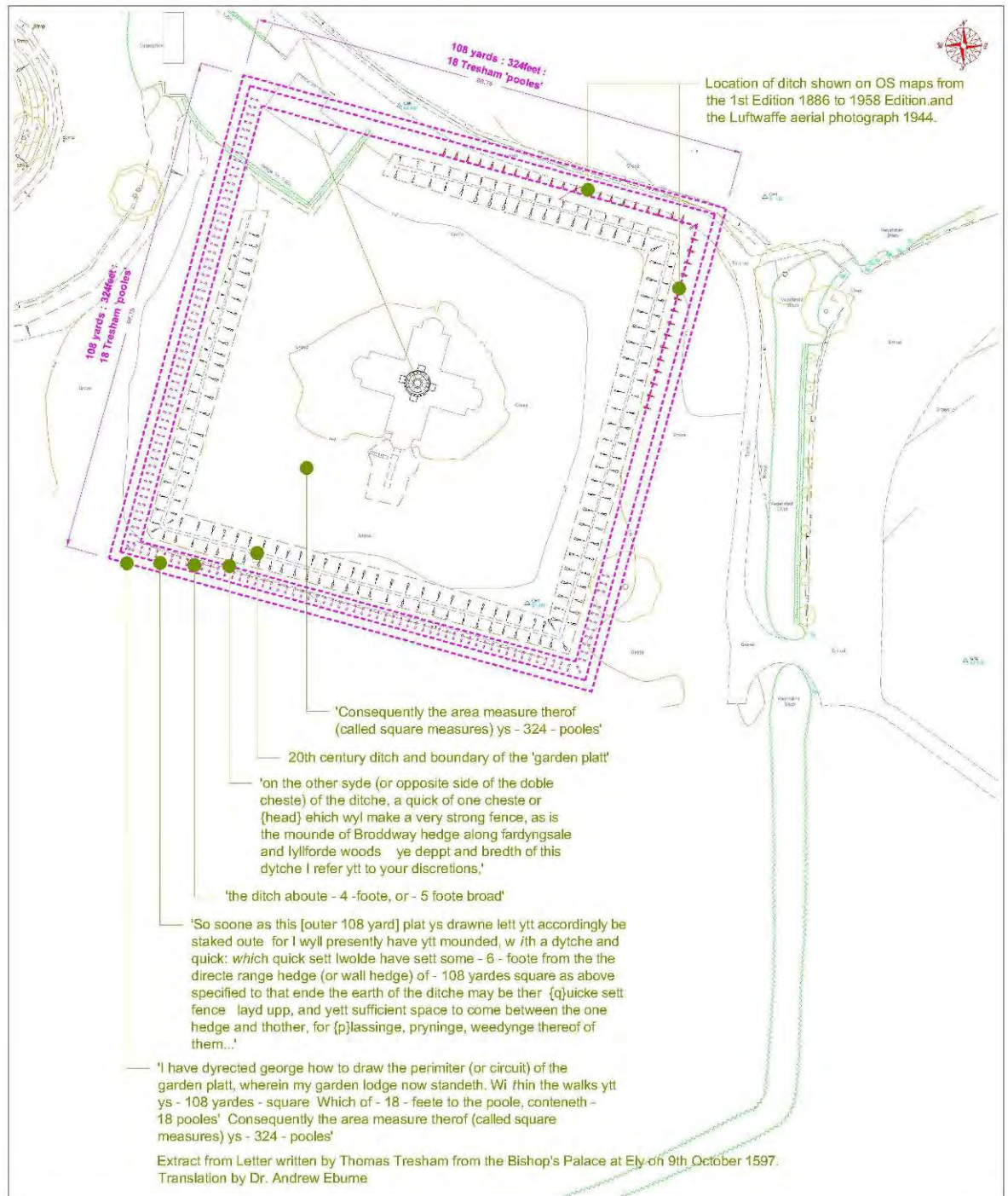


Fig. 5/29 Plan of the New Bield Garden Platform Setting-Out, as described by Tresham, 1597

By the beginning of the 20th century it would appear that the adjacent fields had already encroached close to the New Bield. No fence or hedge lines are shown on the 1886, 1: 2,500 1st Edition OS and in 1918, Herbert A. Evans¹²³ describes the New Bield thus.

'When I saw it in autumn of 1913, it served as a refuge for the cattle turned out to graze on the surrounding grass, but as I write, efforts are being made to

¹²³ Herbert A. Evans, *Highways and Byways in Northamptonshire and Rutland*, with illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs, 1918.

secure it for the National Trust. It is hoped that they will be successful, and that order and decency may be restored.'

Farming activity continued to be carried out close to the New Bield, as can be seen in a photograph dating from the 1960s. The wry comment made by Bobby Gore¹²⁴ in which he describes the presentation of the New Bield on a 'parsimonious piece of grass' would appear to be accurate, if not generous (Fig. 5/30).



Fig. 5/30 The New Bield with ploughing close to the structure, 1960s

It should be reiterated at this point that the Trust has not always had full control over farming issues, due to ownership and tenancy agreements; however it is to their credit that this issue of presentation was addressed in the last decade of the 20th century, when they were able to implement the perimeter ditch much as described by Tresham. The plot enclosed by the Trust's ditch is slightly smaller than that specified by Tresham as it has to accommodate the track to the north, the Cottage to the north east and the important oak to the south west. It should be remembered that Tresham intended the perimeter ditch to be a sunken walkway (not moat as suggested in the SMR entry) and that it was designed with hedges on either side.

5.4.6 Description and Current Condition - Geology, Topography & Soils

Refer to Section 2.1.3 of this *CMP* for a summary of the site's geology and soils

It is noted in the *Nature Conservation Evaluation* report¹²⁵, that the calcareous and non-calcareous clayey soils are prone to being seasonally or occasionally waterlogged and there is a slight risk of water erosion. At the time of the August 2012 nature conservation field survey, the exceptionally wet summer had resulted in much of the Middle Garden (Central Field) retaining surface water locally, and saturated ground throughout. This condition was apparent again at the end of October 2013 when, following a major storm after a dry summer, the Moated Orchard's water logging was apparent. This appears to be exacerbated on the northern perimeter where the relict shallow headland ridges form a shallow basin between the canal banks and the ploughed land (Fig. 5/31) (**Bg1**).

¹²⁴ Comment made by St John (Bobby) Gore (1921 - 2010) who was one of the great post war figures of the National Trust for whom he worked at various times as the Trust's first Adviser on Paintings, historic buildings representative for south-east England and Historic Buildings Secretary for the National Trust

¹²⁵ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation, Final Report October 2013



Fig. 5/31 Standing water on the depression between the ploughed land and the North Moat bank in the Moated Orchard

5.4.7 Description and Current Condition - Waterbodies and Drainage

Much of our current knowledge about the moat's construction, profile and condition has been gleaned from investigations and archaeological watching briefs undertaken as part of the 2000 and 2012/13 de-silting operations. Discussions to consider clearing the debris from the moats were initiated in the later years of the 1990s. A letter from Gifford and Partners in 1998 to Beth Dawson¹²⁶ indicated that the exercise to clear the moats would be both archaeological and engineering in nature. Gifford's proposal was that the moats' original profiles could be determined by the use of ground (and water) penetrating radar so as to ensure that the silt-clearing operations could be carried out without damaging the archaeology and fabric of the moats' clay bases.

We have not seen any records to confirm whether this survey was undertaken, however it is recorded in the *Archaeological Watching Brief Report* for the 2000 de-silting works¹²⁷ that a series of six auger-transects were made in July 2000 by Dr. Chris Hunt of the Geographical Sciences Department, University of Huddersfield. The findings suggested that, 'the moats were originally constructed with an approximately flat bottomed or very broad V-shaped profile.'

This was endorsed when the moats were drained as can be seen in the photograph (Fig. 5/32) taken in 2000¹²⁸. This is further confirmed by a series of reconstructed sections of transects produced in the 2012 de-silting work's *Archaeological Watching Brief* undertaken by Rackham & Jefferson¹²⁹.

¹²⁶ The Land Agent then responsible with the Mark Bradshaw, the property's custodian, for the management of the property

¹²⁷ Brian Dix, *Moat Dredging Report on the Archaeological Supervision and Watching Brief during dredging works at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, September – October 2000

¹²⁸ Photograph courtesy of Brian Dix, 2000

¹²⁹ D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, the Environmental Archaeology Consultancy, *Environmental Assessment and Archaeological Watching Brief, Lyveden New Bield*, Draft March 2013, p. 45 - 47



Fig. 5/32 Photograph of moat profile taken in the 2000 de-silting works

The surveys also readily identified layers of silt deposited from different periods to ensure that only the recent organic matter was removed to leave the historic material *in situ* and undisturbed.

Similar surveys were undertaken prior to the 2012 de-silting works including an auger survey¹³⁰ which was undertaken to establish:

- the original profiles of the moat;
- the nature and character of the of the sediment fills;
- the best locations for the archaeological excavation of small 1m square test pits to reveal the deposits in greater detail and allow their sampling;
- the depths of the silts that can be safely removed without damage to significant or archaeologically important deposits.

The moats were desilted in 2000 and 2012 and it was confirmed that they were cut directly into the boulder clay. No evidence has been found either in contemporary accounts or through archaeological investigations, of stone or timber substructures or cladding. We suspected that erosion and slumping caused by water flow, undermining of banks by carp, fluctuations in level, vegetation growth and tree root ingress – and footfall – would have, over a period of time, modified the line and profile of the banks and our thoughts were confirmed in the draft *Environmental Assessment and Archaeological Watching Brief* which was undertaken to monitor the 2012 de-silting works. Rackham & Jefferson report as follows.

‘During the auger survey, and previously when section A, the northern moat, was partially drained it was apparent that a ‘bench’ of clay, of variable width ran along the edge of the moat. When the moat is filled this creates a shallower margin, generally approximately a metre in width, along the moat which had previously been interpreted as an original step on the moat floor. The current work concludes that this bench represents the boulder clay underlying a strip of the moat bank that has been eroded away by wave action, fish, tree roots, and perhaps earlier moat cleaning. The very uneven line of the moat bank, the presence of numerous tree stumps and root boles

¹³⁰ D. James Rackham, the Environmental Archaeology Consultancy, *Lyveden New Bield Moats, What are We Doing*, leaflet produced for the National Trust, 2012

sitting on this bench, the survival of parts of the bank where trees have protected it, and the occurrence of 'lumps' of clay within the silts indicating inwash and slump of clay into the moat is evidence of this erosion. In areas where the moat is relatively unprotected from the wind, for instance the eastern outside bank of the eastern snail mound moat, the erosion is severe and exceeds 1- 2m.¹³¹

5.4.7.1 The North Moat (**Bw1**)

The North Moat is approximately a long thin rectangle in shape, aligned at 4° north of east (86° east of true North), the same alignment as the Manor's current south elevation. Its width is not constant because of the vagaries of the bank alignment as discussed above; at its widest point it is 19.56 metres (c.64 feet 2 inches) and at its narrowest 18.59 metres (c.61 feet).

Measuring the length of the North Moat is slightly more arbitrary, as neither the west nor the east end is at right angles to the long sides; the east end is c.6° from perpendicular with the sides and the west end is apparently unfinished and presumably awaiting the junction with the barely-started west moat to formalise the geometry. As it stands (and presumably has stood since work stopped in the early years of the 17th century) the west end of the north moat addresses the north canal of what is now believed to be a mediaeval moated site (**Bw2**) as referred to in the recent archaeological investigations described above^{132 133}. In fact, the moat appears to merge into fen scrub (**Bw3**) along the line of the former mediaeval moated site, remains of which were exposed in several places along the south bank (**Bw4**). These are reported in the *Archaeological Watching Brief Report*¹³⁴ as being:

'submerged lengths of limestone walling and stone tumble glimpsed in the base of the later garden moat in addition to stratified layers that have been cut through at depths of 300-350mm along the water's edge. The visible finds contain pottery and roofing materials, including crested ridge tiles as well as plain ceramic and stone tiles. The deposits were left undisturbed.'

We have speculated earlier that it is possible that both the mediaeval and Tresham's moats were filled from a sustainable, if intermittent, perched water table source. The HER entry for the Middle Garden reports that the 1817 OS surveyor's drawings show that only the northern arm of the moat was water-filled¹³⁵ as indeed does the 1886, 1: 2,500 1st Edition OS (the east and south moats are shown filled with trees). All of this suggests that the North Moat, physically separated from the East and South Moats, was maintained by a viable water supply entering from the west, possibly along the line of the mediaeval moat. This is now a tongue of land and water colonised by what could loosely be described as fen scrub (Refer to **Bw3**) comprising goat willow (*Salix caprea*), tussock sedge (*Carex stricta*), water mint (*Mentha aquatica*), yellow flag (*Iris pseudacorus*), gipsywort (*Lycopus europaeus*) and reed canary grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*). Goat willow can thrive in many situations, however the others are best suited to a fen habitat with slow moving water. Flag and tussock sedge in particular would not survive if dried out in the summer; all of which indicates that the

¹³¹ D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, the Environmental Archaeology Consultancy, *Environmental Assessment and Archaeological Watching Brief, Lyveden New Bield*, Draft March 2013, p.28

¹³² S. J. Malone, *Land at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, Geophysical Survey Work undertaken for The National Trust, April 2011

¹³³ J. Prentice, *An archaeological evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, September 2011

¹³⁴ Brian Dix, *Moat Dredging Report on the Archaeological Supervision and Watching Brief during dredging works at Lyveden New Bield*, Northamptonshire, September – October 2000

¹³⁵ SMR Number 112/1/5 - MNN37320; Reference {5}

inflow into the north moat was via the remains of the west moat and ditch network beyond. It has also been consistent and reliable as we have not encountered any indication that the North Moat has run dry, unlike the East and South which for many years were taken over by trees and scrub.

In 2013, Rackham & Jefferson state that,

'The moat is almost certainly fed by rain water, and run off from the surrounding land, mainly on the south and west sides. Augering found the underlying clays were fairly dry and the auger hole did not fill with water. The relative lack of hard water aquatic snail species would support rainwater rather than ground water as the main source.'¹³⁶

The argument for what must have been a fairly unreliable water supply to the east and south arms is persuasive and explains, at least partially, the encroachment of vegetation documented in the 19th century. We must argue that the same situation does not apply to the North Moat. Our observations confirm that water flows into the North Moat along the line of the mediaeval moat from the south west - though that does not mean, of course, that the perched water table is not, itself, fed by rain water. Moreover, the geology of the site confirms that the boulder clay comprises calcareous and non-calcareous soils¹³⁷ - so the aquatic snails might be telling a slightly different tale. As discussed below, the North Moat is sealed from the remainder of the moats by a baulk at the north end of the East Moat. Recent auger investigations¹³⁸ have confirmed that this comprises undisturbed boulder clay and there is persuasive argument that this baulk, and the one at the South Moat, might have been removed on completion of the works, to allow the water input along the line of the mediaeval moat to feed the whole of Tresham's moat system.

This flow of water was cited by the Trust as one of the principal causes for the erosion of the North Moat's bank (**Bw5**) at the base of the West Pyramid Mount (**Bw6**).

'Apparently as a consequence of very long term, slow, erosion of the canal bank opposite the major inflow into the canal system, a degree of slumping of the canal side has occurred, exposing a vulnerable clay face up to 0.80 m high.'¹³⁹

The Application for SAMC sought to consolidate the slumped clay face by proposing to,

- a) 'Insert stakes of up to 150mm diameter (rough cut from site-grown untreated timber) at 1.5m centres between 2m and 10m east of the end of the extant fencing to the WNW of the pond. These will be sited approximately 200-800 mm south of the present clay face. The tops of the stakes will be cut off to reflect the finished bank profile;
- b) Interweave site-grown withies between these stakes to create a retaining structure;
- c) Infill the space between the retaining structure and the extant bank with local clay excavated from nearby agricultural fields outside the scheduled area. The slumped bank material has either gone into suspension or sunk into deep water and is not readily recoverable;
- d) The bank profile will be established from immediately adjoining intact

¹³⁶ D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, the Environmental Archaeology Consultancy, *Environmental Assessment and Archaeological Watching Brief, Lyveden New Bield*, Draft March 2013, p.33

¹³⁷ See Section 2, para.2.1.3 of this CMP.

¹³⁸ D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, *Op.cit.*, p.28

¹³⁹ Mark Newman, Application for Scheduled Ancient Monument Consent, Consolidation of the western end of the north bank of the north canal, July 2008.

- sections;
- e) The upper surface of the infill will be seeded to re-establish the vegetation cover identical to that presently adjoining.'

These operations were not implemented¹⁴⁰, and the problem of the bank slumping remains and may be further aggravated, in the long term, by the desire-line visitor route that passes above it. Rackham & Jefferson note that the bank survey undertaken by them affords a base line against which to measure any future erosion¹⁴¹. They continue with the sensible recommendation to re-survey the banks, already thought to have suffered from erosion, in ten years (and at similar intervals thereafter) to ascertain the severity or otherwise of the situation. They conclude that if significant erosion occurs, bank stabilisation should be considered perhaps using the gabions recommended by Miles Waterscapes, and possibly restoring the moats to their 'original' widths on an experimental stretch of the moat.

We have reservations about the use of gabions (equivalent to using hard cement mortar repair on a friable wall?) - and, for that matter, withies and stakes. The moats are in excess of 400 years old, as indeed is the New Bield, and any intervention to make the extant fabric of either the building or the landscape as-new has significant conservation implications.

Nevertheless, we return to the Rackham / Jefferson assessment that the width of the moated channels might, in the worst case, have been eroded by as much as 1 - 2 metres. We are not wholly persuaded of this.

There appears to be no argument about the planned length of the North Moat channel. We must assume that the intended relationship of the moat with the uncompleted West Moat would be similar in configuration to that of the junction with the East Moat: the moat was, surely, intended to describe something approaching a symmetrical rectangle. Applying this analysis, we should have a channel length (measured along the centre line) of c.162.79 metres (c.178 yards or 534 feet). If we divide 534' by 18 (number of feet to the Tresham pole), we have 29.6 recurring, which suggests that the intended length of the North Moat was probably 30 Tresham poles.

It is about the original width of the North Moat that we have a few questions. Today, the Moat's width varies considerably and, as stated above, is c.19.56 metres (21 yards 1 foot) at its widest point and c. 18.59 metres (20 yards 1 foot) at its narrowest. Rackham & Jefferson, however estimate that the original dimension was about 17 yards¹⁴². This suggests that, over the years, there has been an increase in width of over three yards at the moat's widest point.

We have quoted, above, Rackham and Jefferson's observation that there is, below water level, a 'bench of clay, of variable width ...which when the moat is filled creates a shallow margin approximately one metre in width'. If this were (roughly) applied to both sides of the North Moat (accepting that it is unlikely that both banks of the moat have eroded in parallel), this would imply that the existing width would be reduced by approximately two yards, giving a measurement of somewhere between eighteen and nineteen yards. A measure of eighteen yards is of course, the equivalent of 3 Tresham poles (54 feet divided by 18); a unit and measurement consistent with Tresham's setting-out elsewhere in the gardens. Confirming that this is likely to have been the intended width is our conclusion – discussed in Section 4, para. 4.9.3 – that Tresham did not retain the banks of his channels with stakes or

¹⁴⁰ Rachael Hall, personal comment

¹⁴¹ D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, *Op.cit.*, p.34

¹⁴² D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, *Op.cit.*, p.28

withies or anything else that would create a bank-side that was close to vertical. The coherence of his design meant that the slope of the sides of the moat formed a smooth and line, continuous with the side of the embankment above. Thus, it would be possible to recreate this geometry, were it necessary. A rough calculation would suggest that, indeed, we would have a channel width of about three Tresham poles. For the moment, we are inclined to argue that monitoring and excluding foot-fall might be the chosen – if temporary – answer.

To the north of the moat is a stepped embankment (**Bw7**), which also serves as a dam, and terminates at the west and east ends with double pyramid mounts and viewing platforms that are approximately 15 feet above the surrounding land form. The terrace itself is approximately 9 feet (half a Tresham pole or 'poole') above the moat's northern bank.

Immediately below the south-west corner of the East Pyramid Mount (**Bw8**), part of a limestone abutment (**Bw9**) was exposed at a depth of 200-300 mm when the water levels were lowered to facilitate the 2000 de-silting works (see Fig.4/67). The feature is described in the *Report on the Archaeological Supervision and Watching Brief during dredging works at Lyveden New Bield*¹⁴³.

'It comprises the stubs of two limestone walls c.1.50m apart and measuring c.2.90m (9ft 6in) overall, with clay and rubble packed in-between. They appear to form the ends of a projecting box-like structure but the side facing the moat is now lost. Each of the surviving walls has been built in horizontal courses of roughly squared limestone blocks 300-360mm across and c.75mm thick (12-18in x 2-3in). The western wall is 0.76m wide (approximately 2ft 6in) and survives only up to three courses high (350mm), the other is 0.46m wide (18in) and of at least four courses. They were not investigated further and remain *in situ*. There is no evidence for a corresponding arrangement on the opposite bank and it seems likely that the feature may have been intended as a small landing stage or jetty rather than a bridge abutment.'

It seems, on the face of it, unlikely that there was ever intended to be a jetty here. But, for the 'penitent pilgrim', a difficult walk around the mount might, eventually, have led to the jetty and the means of crossing the water. We have discussed this possibility in our History (Section 4, para. 4.9.3.2). The fact is, however, that it is probable we shall never know exactly what was intended. All we can say, with some confidence, is that there are messages in the measurements.

5.4.7.2 The South and East Moats

As we know, the East Moat (**Bw10**) is separated from the North Moat by a causeway (**Bw11**), approximately 15 ½ feet in width, which, at its core, is also undisturbed.

'Finally a single auger hole, BH8, was sunk in the centre of the causeway across the north end of the eastern moat. A covering of limestone hardcore was first removed by hand excavation to a depth of approximately 15cm and then the remainder cored. The core showed clays and chalky clays (diamicton) throughout to a depth of 1.2 m. Clearly the baulk is original and undisturbed 'natural'.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Brian Dix, *Moat Dredging Report on the Archaeological Supervision and Watching Brief during dredging works at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, September – October 2000

¹⁴⁴ D. James Rackham & N. Jefferson, the Environmental Archaeology Consultancy, *Environmental Assessment and Archaeological Watching Brief, Lyveden New Bield*, Draft March 2013, p.6

The second causeway (**Bw12**), linked with the bridge to the west of the East Snail Mount, was also augered as part of the preliminary studies prior to the 2012 de-silting works and was found to be undisturbed glacial clays¹⁴⁵. This leads to the conclusion that the moats were dug in sections separated by undisturbed clay baulks.

The East Moat is a long thin rectangle in shape, before it opens out at the south to accommodate the circumference of the East Snail Mount. Aligned almost at right angles to the North Moat (it is less than 1° out) it is, however, noticeably narrower being 13.28 metres (c.43' 7" inches) at its widest and 12.87 metres (c.42' 3") at its narrowest point. Our initial thoughts were that we could find no correlation between the dimensions of the moat and Tresham's pooles. Yet, Rackham and Jefferson's hypothesis is – as we have seen – that the moats have been widened considerably by wind and water erosion and this might assist us here. They conclude that the East Moat may have been as narrow as eleven yards (10.05 metres). Again, as with the North Moat, this is a significant loss, which is in excess of three metres at the widest points and, whilst accepting the principle, we wonder whether the original width might have been in the region of twelve yards (10.97 metres), and not eleven¹⁴⁶. Twelve yards is of course thirty six feet; two Tresham pooles.

The South Moat follows the circumference of the snail mounts. Around the East Snail Mount (**Bw13**) the moat's width is again not consistent; at its narrowest it is 15.48 metres (c.50' 9") and its broadest 19.16 metres (c.57' 6"), and the variations in width around the West Snail Mount (**Bw14**) are equally marked, with the broadest being 15.05 metres (c.45' 2") and the narrowest 11.22 metres (c.33' 6"), where the moat tapers as it reaches the start of the unfinished west arm north of the Snail Mount. Rackham & Jefferson suggest that the original width of the moat around the Snail Mounts was fourteen yards (12.8 metres). Again this is significantly less than the dimensions of the extant moats given above, however if the estimated erosion were to be slightly reduced to give an intended width of fifteen yards (13.71 metres) this could be expressed as two and half Tresham pooles.

The East Snail Mount appears to be set out in the Tresham 'poole' unit. The dimension of the East Mount (measured between the tops of the banks) is 43.87 metres; that is almost exactly 48 yards and therefore 144', which, if divided by Tresham's 18' to the 'poole', gives a setting-out measurement of 8 poles. The circumference of the mount, again measured along the top of the bank, gives a measurement of 138 metres; almost exactly 150 yards, 450 feet, and therefore 25 Tresham pooles.

It is interesting to make comparisons with the North Moat, where variations in alignment are small and readily explained by erosion and slumping of the clay banks. In the south, the moats' geometry appears less formal and perhaps not finished. It is thought now, for example, that the low bank (**Bw15**) extending into the water south of the West Snail Mount, was not caused by a failure in the bank (Fig.5/33). Auger hole investigations have found undisturbed glacial clays, indicating that it was never excavated. Neither was the ramp (**Bw16**), north of the West Snail Mount, which is thought to be a haul (by horse drawn cart or barrow) road.

¹⁴⁵ D. James Rackham, the Environmental Archaeology Consultancy, *Lyveden New Bield Moats, What are We Doing*, leaflet produced for the National Trust, 2012

¹⁴⁶ The East Moat is protected from the prevailing east wind by the terrace along its east bank and historic maps suggest that it was filled with trees and vegetation for the best part of the 19th century at least.



Fig.5/33 The low bank south of the West Snail Mount, thought to be undisturbed clays indicating that this was never excavated; the moat was not finished.

5.4.8 Description and Current Condition - Views and Vistas

The major formal garden elements, terraces and moats are aligned west to east across the gentle south facing slopes of the Lyveden Valley. Inevitably, this determined that a number of the formal designed views were long, lateral, views, focused along terraced walks (now lost) in the Lower Garden, through formal lines of orchard planting (Fig. 5/34), along terraces (Fig 5/35) and moats (Fig. 5/36).



Fig. 5/34 Views through the Lower Orchard



Fig. 5/35 Views along North Moat & Terrace



Fig. 5/36 View along North Moat

On the other hand, the New Bield and the Water Garden Mounts address the wider horizons of a 360° world. The two mounts that flank the ends of the North Moat are four sided pyramids, whose faces address equally the landscape to the north, east, south and west (Figs.5/37, 5/38). Similarly, the snail mounts actively demand that the viewer moves through 360° in his progress to the summit; again to be rewarded with a potential sweep of 360° views too numerous to catalogue.



Fig.5/37 View westwards, from the western pyramid mount



Fig.5/38 View from eastern pyramid mount, towards the Warden Hills (on the right)

Finally, to the New Bield. Although to the south there was woodland, we know that Tresham was at pains to establish the Lodge on raised ground; and that the ground floor was, itself, raised above the kitchen basement. Therefore, there can be little doubt that the views afforded from the Lodge – certainly from the principal rooms – were panoramic and embraced designed gardens (Fig.5/39) and the wilder landscape.



Fig.5/39 View from principal floor of New Bield over the New Gardening Quarter and Warden Hills to the north

In fact, the New Bield commanded a panorama. Designed on a Greek cross plan, Tresham aligned the north arm at 15° east of compass north. This alignment has given rise to much speculation, to which we have contributed in the History Section above. We have also added our support to the theory that the ornamental structure drawn by Stickells, which we believe was called the 'Lantern', was indeed intended to be placed on top of the New Bield, albeit on an additional storey, as proposed by Mark Girouard. If the building had been completed with the 'Lantern' then its twelve faces would have addressed twelve compass points within the 360° panorama (Fig. 5/40). We have no doubt that this panoramic command was an important feature of the design.

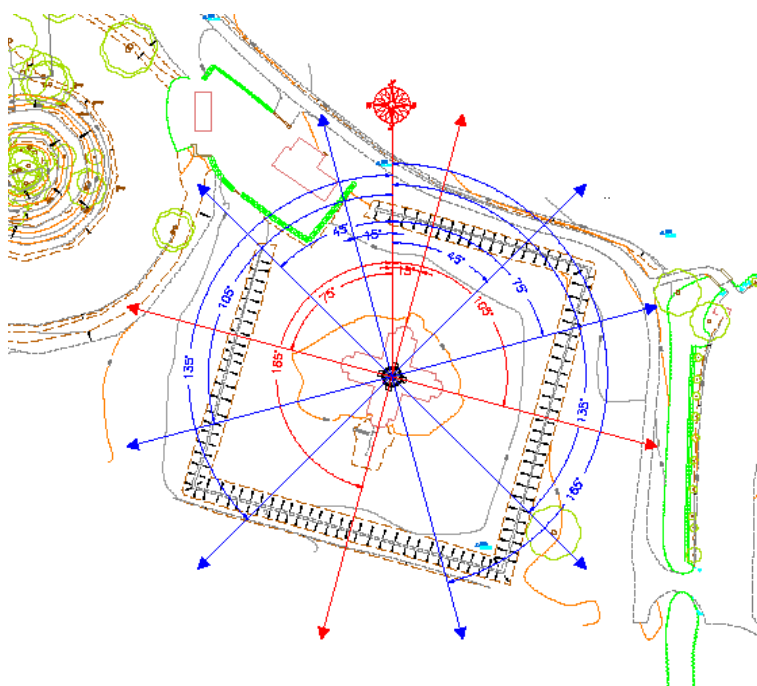


Fig.5/40 Sight Lines from the New Bield's cruciform arms (in red) & the Lantern's faces (in blue)

5.4.9 Description and Current Condition - Buildings and Structures

There are two principal buildings in this area, the Grade I Listed Lyveden New Bield and the Grade II Listed Cottage.

5.4.9.1 The New Bield (**Bs1**)

The New Bield's history, character, cultural and religious significance has been considered in detail in this *CMP* and elsewhere by others, including such eminent architectural historians as John Alfred Gotch, Sir John Summerson and Mark Girouard.

In this section, we look at the Bield's post-War condition, the summary of which indicates that the conservation issues regarding the building's fabric are – inevitably – chronic in nature. Over the years, these have been identified, monitored and addressed in a programme of quinquennial surveys and remedial works and, whilst we have not seen a complete set of these surveys, we have seen one report from 1952¹⁴⁷ and two more recent ones from 1991 and 1996. We have also looked at a series of plans dating from 1982 in which a sequence of remedial works has been

¹⁴⁷ John A. D. Gaul, Lyveden New Building Inspection Report, 1952

logged¹⁴⁸. The first thing worth noting is the comment made by Paul Bancroft in his brief introductions to the reports in which he notes that,

‘the building is of a unique and extraordinary cruciform plan and exhibits a richness of stone carved detail to the friezes and string course externally and internally to various partition walls which are in a remarkable state of preservation considering the exposed nature of the structure.’ (Fig.5/41).



Fig.5/41 New Bield from the north, 2013

The report goes on to summarise the general structural condition.

‘The general structure and condition of the fabric would appear to be reasonably sound bearing in mind the exposed nature of the site and the unprotected form of construction.’

The chronic issues which have been identified relate to the more vulnerable elements of the construction and detailing and include the following.

- Timber lintels
Problems were identified in the 1952 report. Although no subsidence had occurred, a few minor cracks had appeared in the stonework. These, although not serious at the time, would develop if the oak lintels over door and window openings were not repaired or replaced. The report noted that, in some cases the lintels had been made from timber with the sapwood present and that this had decayed and attacked by wood grub. We presume that the appropriate action was taken, but note that further concerns regarding the quality and performance of timber lintels were recorded in the 1996, in which it was stated that a number of the lintels had shrunk, causing some distress to stone work above the openings. Death watch beetle infestation was also observed on a number of the untreated timber lintels. Specialist advice was sought to address this problem.

¹⁴⁸ Paul F. Bancroft, Paul Bancroft Architects who has carried out Quinquennial Inspections on the Bield for at least 25 years from c. 1982.

- Stone work – mortar repairs

Movement in the stone work above shrinking lintels and elsewhere has resulted in the minor opening of joints which has been addressed by selective repointing with lime mortar.

Historic mortar repairs to cornice and string courses, flaunching of wall heads and window frames, undertaken with hard mortar of various constituents, was causing differential movement and damage to original stone stonework. This was addressed by the careful removal of hard mortar and application of lime mortar where appropriate.

- Stone work - surface deterioration
Cornice, frieze and string courses are particularly vulnerable to the effects of weathering and this has been addressed by regular monitoring, cleaning and where appropriate the application of shelter coatings¹⁴⁹.
- Plant growth
Plant growth is a concern particularly at the upper levels where the top 1.5 to 2 metres of the wall head are vulnerable. This is addressed by the careful removal of plant growth and disturbed fabric made good with lime mortar pointing.

The plans produced by Paul Bancroft are a good and useful record. It is anticipated that the elevation surveys of the outer walls – commissioned for this CMP – will provide a good template onto which problems and remedial works can be logged in the future.

5.4.9.2 The Cottage (**Bs2**)

It is documented elsewhere that the Cottage has had a chequered history since the Trust acquired the site in 1922. Unreliable tenants, unsupportive neighbours, vandalism and at times neglect have all contributed to the problems of maintaining the Cottage and its associated garden in good order. Problems continued well into the late 1950s when the Cottage still had neither running water nor electricity. Added to its isolated position, this made finding the right tenant difficult. This situation culminated in a frustrated Trust advertising, in July of 1959, for a tenant hermit, to occupy the Cottage rent and rate free and a note from the time states that the Trust received 'hordes of applications'!

In more recent and settled times the Cottage has been much restored and provided with services; the tradition of its providing accommodation for the Trust's representative, be it either caretaker or custodian, on site continued until recently, when, in October 2011, the Trust submitted a planning application.

'Change the use from cottage with attached National Trust office to National Trust tea room and office on ground floor with residential flat upstairs. Change of use from domestic garden to tea garden. Alterations to listed building comprising removal of 20th century studwork partition and insertion of new studwork partitions and doors to convert bathroom to toilets; insertion of studwork partitions and doors to convert bedroom to shower room and kitchen; insertion of door at foot of stairs to separate flat from tea room ; insertion of mechanical extract ventilation vented through new ridge or tile vent.'

¹⁴⁹ Stone that has been cleaned or is severely eroded is much more vulnerable to atmospheric pollutants and the weather. It is common practice with limestone conservation to work in a protective lime coating to the surface once all other conservation and repair work is complete. This coating is called a shelter coat and is made up of putty lime, fine stonedusts and fine sand.

The Cottage, which is now very well conserved and presented, is built from squared coursed limestone with Collyweston slate roof, ashlar gable parapets and ashlar stacks at the ends. The door on the south west elevation has a moulded stone surround with keyblock. As part of the planning application the Trust submitted drawings of the existing external elevations and the proposed; only a new ridge vent and soil pipe were the visual signs of change.

5.4.9.2 Structures in the Cottage Grounds

A timber visitor reception building (**Bs3**) is located to the north west of the Cottage, and between it and the moat. The building has the outward appearance of a well made timber garage; temporary and unassuming in scale and character. In itself it neither adds nor detracts from the enjoyment of the property, although its position adjacent to the moat prevents the possibility of a circular walk around the moat's perimeter.

Two large steel storage containers (**Bs4**) are located behind the reception building. Inappropriate in appearance, the problems of theft and damage of ground maintenance equipment in what is still a very isolated site remain a very real threat. The purchase of the Manor and the possibility of building a secure store in a less sensitive area is to be welcomed.

5.4.10 Description and Current Condition - Trees and Planting

Concerns regarding the generic issues of trees at Lyveden have been covered in the Whole Site Section of this report. In this section, we will look at individual trees and groups of trees, concentrating on distinctive specimens although, in common with the whole of the site, there are certainly no trees that date back to Tresham's day and the majority date from the 20th century.

5.4.10.1 The North Moat and Environs

The majority of the trees along the raised north embankment are hawthorns (**Bt1**) distributed roughly in a straight line along the south facing bank of the terrace overlooking the North Moat. The spacings are not regular, indicating that they were not part of a formal planting design or hedge, although the alignment suggests a degree of premeditation in their planting and/or management. Whilst none appears to predate the 20th century in their present form, it is possible that they are remnants and regeneration from an earlier layout. It is understood that this terrace had a greater density of thorn and scrub prior to the thinning works being undertaken in the early years of the 21st century. This is noted in the Trust's Nature Conservation Evaluation¹⁵⁰.

'There are a few veteran hawthorns *Crataegus monogyna* remaining along this bank, though some have been removed since the 1999 survey. The remaining specimens support the Nationally Scarce hawthorn jewel beetle *Agrilus sinuatus* and stumps from the felled specimens support solitary wasps occupying old beetle borings. There are also a few scattered trees including field maple *Acer campestre*, sycamore *Acer pseudoplatanus* and ash *Fraxinus excelsior* - lesser stag beetle *Dorcus parallelipipedus* was found on one of the latter during the current survey.'

¹⁵⁰ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, *Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation, Final Report* October 2013,

Mature (although not veteran) sycamores and ash are also present on both the north-facing and south-facing sides of the embankment, the largest of which is a sycamore (**Mt2**) with a girth of 2.3 metres suggesting a planting (or self seeded) date from the early years of the 20th century. Two trees (**Mt3**), a mature sycamore and ash, growing c. 4 metres apart, are the only ones established on or very close to the moat's north bank.

The East Pyramid Mount has no trees on the top or faces, although there are a number of small stumps on the east face. These may be remnants of trees taken out in the thinning works undertaken in the last 10 years. At the foot of the mount's east face there is a group of three mature, but not veteran, sycamores and one ash (**Mt4**). All seem to be in reasonable condition.

There are no trees at the east end of the North Moat so ensuring that views are left open. There are, however, two small groups of trees on either side of the causeway between the East and North Moats. These comprise mature sycamores, hawthorn and two field maples.

Immediately south of the North Moat a line of ten trees (**Mt5**), comprising five hawthorns, two English oaks, two field maples and an ash, is established along the edge of the moat's clay bank. All appear to be in good condition. At least five other stumps are also visible along the bank line, however it is difficult to ascertain a designed formal planting rhythm or pattern and we are left again to speculate that these are in the main self-set specimens. Dating hawthorns is notoriously problematic; but none of the trees appears to pre-date the 20th century.

Vegetation in the small tongue (only approximately 700 sq. metres) of fen land that forms the North Moat's western end, is arguably the most various and interesting habitat in the vicinity of the North Moat. A description of the habitat and its grasses, sedges and flowering plants is detailed above in 5.4.7, Waterbodies and Drainage. Around this area are a number of trees worth noting and on the south bank there is a mature multi-stemmed (perhaps coppiced at one time) hawthorn (**Mt6**), two good and thriving goat willows (*Salix caprea*) (**Mt7**) and a large and healthy field maple (**Mt8**).

On the fen's north bank in particular, the trees are surrounded by dense ruderal vegetation which partially conceals (particularly in the summer) perhaps two of the oldest trees on the site. A hawthorn and a field maple have grown intertwined together (**Mt9**), making it difficult to distinguish one gnarled limb from another (Fig. 5/42). As stated above, the dating of hawthorns and indeed field maples is not reliable; however, if we were to speculate as to their age, whilst they are venerable, they are very unlikely to have survived from Thomas Tresham's time. We nevertheless recommend that they are afforded veteran tree status and a tailored management programme.



Fig. 5/42 Intertwined veteran hawthorn and field maple

West of the maple and hawthorn pair, are further examples of good individual specimens, namely one hawthorn, one field maple and a thriving mature ash at the west end of the North Moat.

The ditch to the south-west of the fen area also has a number of mature trees including one field maple and a sycamore (**Mt10**) leaning heavily over the ditch. A girth of c. 2.5 metres does not signify any great age, however its interest lies in the lichens that have colonised it (see Fig.5/3).

5.4.10.2 The East Moat and Environs

The East Moat is lined with trees along both its west and east margins. On the east, the land has been raised with the moat arisings to form a low terrace that runs the length of the moat from its junction with the North Moat to the gardens of the cottage in the south. East of the moat, lines of trees are found along the water's edge and on the adjacent terrace; thorn, ash and field maple are common to both areas. Along the water's edge the tree collection includes:

- at least five hawthorns, the southernmost being a multi-stemmed specimen with signs of die back in the upper limbs;
- a young willow growing partially on the bank's face (**Mt11**);
- one mature ash growing on the bank edge (**Mt12**);
- a pair of ash trees (**Mt13**) growing hard against each (perhaps both from one original bole?); both are against the bank, with the one virtually in the water in poor condition, with significant canopy loss. The concern is that if it should fall ensuing damage might be caused to the moat bank.
- a group of self-set young ash, hawthorn and field maple colonising c. 15 metres of bank side the moat's south end (**Mt14**);
- a mature English oak (**Mt15**), growing on the inner face of the moat's clay bank and notwithstanding that *Quercus robur* likes both sandy loam and clay (even

heavy clay) soils it should not thrive in waterlogged conditions and it is recommended that the condition of this tree is monitored.

On the terraced bank above the moat the principal trees are:

- seven field maple including two mature coppiced or browsed specimens (**Mt16**) at the north of the terrace;
- one mature ash (**Mt17**) in good condition immediately south of the (coppiced) field maples;
- one ash (**Mt18**) showing early loss of leaf in late summer (not autumn) although, without the extensive browning of the leaf midrib and stems which indicates possible *Chalara* infection;
- at least five hawthorns, a number of which suggest successful regeneration from veteran stock;
- one good mature crab apple (*Malus sylvestris*) (**Mt19**).

As with the trees that edge the North Moat, it is not possible to decipher any planting plans or patterns, let alone anything that might reflect a 16th or 17th century design or a continuation thereof.

On the west margins of the East Moat, the trees are spaced more openly, however this is probably a result of thoughtful thinning, rather than planned planting; a theory supported by a scattering of stumps dispersed along the bank. Small floriferous trees predominate, with nine hawthorns and four crab apples (**Mt20**) occupying the bank; these contribute to the garden character of this area, particularly in the spring, as well as providing a nectar source to a wide range of insects.

The majority of these trees are well established and a number may well be of some age, either in their own right or as remnants or phoenix growth from parent trees now gone. Of particular note, is another intertwined pair; this time a hawthorn and a crab (**Mt21**), which warrant veteran tree status. Seven metres to the north of this pair is a dead standing ash (**Mt22**), a monolith, which is highlighted in the Trust's Nature Conservation Evaluation¹⁵¹.

'One dead standing ash alongside the eastern moat is significant in that it supports a population of the Nationally Scarce brown tree ant *Lasius brunneus*, along with nesting solitary bees (including leaf cutter and mason bees) and wasps. The Nationally Scarce wasp *Saggya clavicornis* was seen investigating a nearby gate post – it is a cleptoparasite in the nests of mason bees and will also use standing dead trees to search for suitable hosts. The heart of the tree is also riddled with larval workings of lesser stag beetle and rhinoceros beetle.'

Other trees along the west bank of the East Moat include an old field maple (**Mt23**), with fallen dead wood retained under its canopy, adjacent to the dead ash, and two goat willows (*Salix caprea*) (**Mt24**).

5.4.10.3 The South Moat & Environs

The trees on the snail mounts, along the moat edges and in the woods to the south west of the water gardens, are surprisingly exaggerated in their etiolated form. This applies primarily to the ash but also to the hawthorns that are scattered through the ash. This growth habit suggests that they grew in an extremely competitive forest

¹⁵¹ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, *Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation*, Final Report October 2013.

environment, one that was probably not planted but self-seeded and left unmanaged and un-thinned for at least their first forty years or so of growth. Dense and closely packed, hardly any of the trees have had adequate light, space and nutrition to develop into sound healthy specimens.

The thinning, which we understand took place in the early years of this century, was needed to reduce competition, encourage understorey growth and to remove the heavy shading over the moats. The specimens that remain still display their formative struggles in the exaggeratedly tall branchless trunks topped by light feathery canopies (Fig. 5/43). In fact, of course, the competition of the early years has promoted a habit which is peculiarly delightful, today; these slender and elegant trees, which do not exclude much light, appear entirely appropriate to their setting on the mounts and on the banks of the moats. They remind us of evocative, 17th century landscapes by Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin, for example, whose Classical scenes are often inhabited by arcadian figures.



Fig. 5/43 Etiolated ash along the north bank of the South Moat

The problem is that this habit is not sustainable. How to manage and maintain this feature in the future poses considerable difficulties. Most of the trees are of a similar age and most are not robust, healthy specimens; some are in poor condition, with die-back in the canopy and are, therefore, particularly vulnerable to wind-throw, fungal attack and other diseases; this is especially true on the snail mounts – where the loss of one or more of these trees might inflict serious damage to the fabric of the mount (let alone people in the vicinity) (Fig.5/44).



Fig.5/44 Ash trees on snail mount, showing signs of die-back, summer, 2013

Some of the ash in the woodland is in much better condition and there are some good (although not veteran) trees in the woodland to the west of the moats and in particular along its south boundary.

The general condition of the ash and the threats facing this species are discussed elsewhere; and it is in the areas around the South Moat and in the adjoining woodland where these threats may have the biggest impact on the current appearance and character of Lyveden.

The East Snail Mount has fifteen ashes and eight hawthorns. At least one ash tree (**Mt25**) is showing die-back in the crown, as are four of the hawthorns (**Mt26**). One of the other thorns (**Mt27**) is already dead. The West Snail Mount has only one thorn with the remainder of the cover comprising approximately thirty two ash trees, of which at least three (**Mt28**) displayed bracket fungus on their trunks in early September. This quite possibly indicates an outbreak of *Inonotus hispidus*, a fungus found on a number of broadleaf trees, but most commonly found on ash and, unfortunately, apple, which is also particularly vulnerable. It causes bark death and brittle timber which can lead to fractures of branches and stems. *Inonotus hispidus* is classed as a white rot decay fungus attacking both cellulos and lignin at a similar rate. The fruiting bodies enter the tree through wounds on the branches and trunk and decompose the heartwood leading in time to failure and death. By the time a bracket appears there will usually have been extensive heartwood decay and this inevitably has a health and safety implication. It is emphasised that this report is not an Arboricultural Health and Safety Audit. It is strongly recommended, however, that these trees and other vulnerable trees in the vicinity are monitored on a regular basis and prioritised in the Trust's Arboricultural Health and Safety Audits and that action is taken as required to safeguard visitors, volunteers and staff.

To the north of the West Snail Mount is the stub of the unfinished West Moat which has a good ash and veteran damson (*Prunus insititia*) (**Mt29**) on its east bank. Also worthy

of veteran status is an exceptionally large hawthorn (**Mt30**) (with a girth of 2.2 metres) on the west bank of the truncated moat. Immediately to the south of the hawthorn and also on the bank along the unfinished moat there is a dense thicket of ten to twelve metre high elms (**Mt31**). Unfortunately, although the British countryside has many millions of hedgerow and thicket elms regenerated from either root suckers or seeds, they are still not resistant to Dutch elm disease and rarely grow into mature specimens. Here is no exception, and at least two of the trees (**Mt32**) are suffering from the disease as can be seen from the condition of the leaves (Fig. 5/45). In the heart of this elm thicket is a mature healthy field maple (**Mt33**).



Fig. 5/45 Evidence of the onset of Dutch elm disease on the regenerated elm thicket

5.4.10.4 The Woodland to the South and West of the Water Gardens

The block of woodland to the south and west of the snail mounts is dominated by ash with some oak, hawthorn, and an understorey, in parts, of elder (*Sambucus niger*). The majority of the trees date from the 20th century; however along the woodland's north boundary there is what appears to be a remnant of a hedge or boundary line (**Mt34**) marked by an old ash and hawthorns of a similar provenance, growing along a low bank. The 1886, 1: 2,500 1st Edition OS confirms a boundary marked in this position and, interestingly enough, no woodland at all, although by the time of the OS 1901, 1:10,560 Edition the woodland is shown in the same location and form as at present.

Of particular note, and virtually impossible to date, is the once-coppiced ash (Fig. 5/41) (**Mt35**) at the west end of this boundary line. As H. L. Edlin, in his seminal work *Trees, Woods & Man*, wrote about ash coppice¹⁵².

‘Ash coppices freely, and it is often in the form that one will find it in mixed woodland...The poles, if fast grown, are suitable for turnery, and especially for tool handles; sometimes they are used as fence stakes, but although very

¹⁵² H.L. Edlin, *Trees, Woods & Man*, Third Edition, 1972; published by Collins in their outstanding series ‘The New Naturalist’, p.181.

strong they have no natural durability and rapidly rot if not creosoted. Ash poles are used for cleft-bar gate hurdles, and as cleft handles for axes and pick-axes, which are cunningly shaped by skilled craftsmen.'

Edlin's book was written in the 1950s, and revised in 1970, and it describes ash coppices and coppiced scrub covering 40,000 acres. Little is seen of this today and this fragment of ancient woodland management is of value and deserving of veteran status for its age, heritage interest and ecological richness. Its presence also suggests possible alternatives to the woodland management by careful coppicing to produce a mixed coppice with standards woodland.



Fig. 5/46 Veteran coppiced ash on the north boundary of the woodland

Parts of the woodland to the south have been thinned since 2000. This is recorded in the *Conservation Evaluation* 2013 report¹⁵³, although no reference is made to the stands of thinned ash that are in poor health. A copse (**Mt36**) to the south of the moat is in evident poor health and, as David Broom¹⁵⁴ notes,

'Many trees are moribund, and an important management prescription should be to investigate and understand the likely cause of poor tree health in the managed part of the woodland. The unmanaged section of Ash woodland (**Mt37**) has relatively few canopy trees in poor health, implying that tree thinning might have triggered a decline in tree health. Investigation of whether this is the case should precede any further tree thinning management. In addition, the likely cause of poor tree health should be

¹⁵³ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation, Final Report October 2013

¹⁵⁴ Lyveden New Bield, National Trust 2013 Nature Conservation Evaluation – Review of Biodiversity Management Issues for 2013 CMP, November 2013, David Broom for HTLA

investigated to consider the risk of an increase in tree health elsewhere at Lyveden. As Ash is an important tree species for the notable epiphyte communities at Lyveden, understanding issues that might threaten its continued predominance .. should be a management priority.'

5.4.10.5 The New Bield Environs

By far the most distinctive tree in this area is the oak (*Quercus robur*) (**Bt38**), approximately 50 metres to the south east of the New Bield, and, whilst not from Tresham's day, it is nevertheless a handsome specimen. A girth of 4.25 metres suggests that this open grown tree was planted in approximately 1775 – 90, at a time when Lyveden was part of the Farming Woods Estate owned by the 2nd Earl of Upper Ossory¹⁵⁵. Amptill Park, in Bedfordshire, was the Earl's principal country seat; but it is interesting to note, however, that Eburne & Felus record that both the 1st and 2nd Earls of Upper Ossory made minor improvements at Farming Woods.¹⁵⁶

The Tree is also noted in the Foster and S.R.J. Barker, *Nature Conservation Evaluation*¹⁵⁷ as being significant for its support of various scarce wood-decay associated beetles. Two Nationally Scarce species were noted during this survey – the chequered beetle *Tillus elongatus*¹⁵⁸ which is a predator of various wood boring beetles and the soldier beetle *Rhagonycha lutea*¹⁵⁹ also a predator of other invertebrates, probably those under bark or at base of trees.

The tree appears to be in healthy condition. We note, however, that the grass was cut very short under the canopy: fewer cuts beneath the canopy would reduce compaction and pressure on the surface roots (Fig.5/47).



Fig.5/47 Turf cut closely beneath the canopy of the English oak on the SE of the New Bield

¹⁵⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp. 46

¹⁵⁶ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, pp. 46. No details of the Earls' work at Farming Woods are given; however, it is interesting to speculate that the choice of English oak and its positioning near the New Bield may have been influenced by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, whose work for the 2nd Earl at Amptill Park in 1771-72 is well documented.

¹⁵⁷ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, *Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation*, Final Report October 2013,

¹⁵⁸ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, *Op. cit.* p. 33. A species of open woodland, parkland and scrubby grassland. Larvae are probably free-living predators in leaf litter or at base of trees. Adults are usually found on tree and shrub foliage in open sunny situations. Widespread but local in England, also recorded from Wales and south-west Scotland.

¹⁵⁹ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker, *Op. cit.* p.33; A red and black beetle predatory on wood-boring Anobiid beetles, particularly *Ptilinus pectinicornis*. Widespread but scattered records in England and Wales, especially in the south where it is most often recorded from old woodland sites.

5.4.10.6 The New Bield Car Park and Environs

The additional trees, field maples (**Bt39**) planted on the car park side of the hedge that hides the car park from the New Bield have been discussed elsewhere in Section 5.4.3 – Boundaries.

On the east of the car park a strip of land that varies between c. 18 metres and 40 metres in width has been planted with approximately 15 to 20 juvenile trees (**Bt40**), mainly field maple (*Acer campestre*) and oak (*Quercus robur*) and in manner and spacing that suggests the recreation of a wood pasture landscape. Most were in good condition and protected by well built and maintained crates.

5.4.11 Description and Current Condition - Vegetation and Ecology

We have used the National Trust's *Nature Conservation Evaluation Report* by A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker as a base document for this review and we thank them for it. The first draft of the Evaluation report was completed in 2012, before the acquisition of the Manor and surrounding grounds, and it was updated and reissued in October 2013.

Peter Vickers and David Broom¹⁶⁰ did a walk over check survey on 29th October 2013 and David's comments and management advice have been integrated into the following summary and management guidelines in the appropriate section.

The majority of this area is now included in a Higher Level Stewardship Scheme, dating from October 2012 to September 2021, and we have reviewed the current condition of vegetation and ecology in light of the HLS designations and management requirements.

5.4.11.1 The Moated Orchard (**Be1**)

RLR Field Number SP98851944.

This 3.55 ha. field lies within the moated channels of Tresham's garden and is included in the HLS Agreement, where it is primarily designated HD4¹⁶¹. The aerial photographs, discussed elsewhere, suggest that this field was not heavily ploughed from Tresham's time until after the Second World War, when it was subject to intensive arable cultivation, before reverting to grazing. The 1999 survey records recent sheep grazing¹⁶² after the cessation of the arable regime and the sward is described as semi-improved neutral grassland. The 2012/13 *Nature Conservation Evaluation* concurred with this description and notes the following species.

'During the current survey (July & August 2012) this meadow was very wet underfoot and with standing surface water present locally. Some areas around the periphery had been mown, but much of the centre of the meadow had been left uncut – hence creating different sward heights. The sward is dominated mainly by grasses such as Yorkshire fog (*Holcus lanatus*), rye grass (*Lolium perenne*), cock's-foot (*Dactylis glomerata*) and crested dog's-tail (*Cynosurus cristatus*). Herbs include abundant white clover (*Trifolium repens*), locally frequent self-heal (*Prunella vulgaris*), yellow meadow vetchling

¹⁶⁰ David Broom, consultant ecologist with whom we have worked over the last fifteen years

¹⁶¹ HD4 – Management of scrub on archaeological features. Trees and shrubs can be very damaging to archaeological features, particularly buried deposits, as a result of disturbance by root penetration, by wind throw, or by attracting burrowing animals or sheltering stock. This option helps prevent expansion of scrub

¹⁶² A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; *Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation*, Final Report October 2013

(*Lathyrus pratensis*) and creeping buttercup (*Ranunculus repens*). There are also some patches of silverweed (*Potentilla anserina*).

The west end of the field (**Be2**) is slightly damper, the sward more open structured, with moss carpets and contains a higher abundance of tufted hair grass (*Deschampsia cespitosa*), hard rush (*Juncus inflexus*) and a sedge (*Carex* sp.) Wood small reed (*Calamagrostis epigejos*) and southern marsh orchid (*Dactylorhiza praetermissa*) have been recorded here in the past, both are of interest as they have restricted distributions. The former still occurs alongside the ditch on the southern border of the property.'

We believe that the survey of the west end of the field (**Be3**) was undertaken before the silt was deposited here and that the floristic interest noted for this area will have been adversely affected. We do not anticipate seeing the southern marsh orchid in the near future and we recommend that an addendum be attached to the *Nature Conservation Evaluation* report to reflect this and to inform future management.

We do have concerns regarding the deposition of silt on the grassland, as this would seem to contradict the stated conservation management objective, to maintain vegetation interest by restricting fertiliser applications. Nutrient-rich silt is such a fertiliser and the Trust is urged in future to cart the material off-site for use on arable land if at all possible. It is also noted that the western area has been used to collect and burn vegetative waste which is in contradiction of the HLS requirement not to 'tip, dump or burn any material on the feature'.

The report also makes reference to the west end of the field being 'slightly damper' however occasional seasonal waterlogging is unlikely to detract from the maintenance of floristic interest within meadow grassland. Periods of shallow standing water in uncultivated grassland areas during the winter can provide conditions of interest to wader and wildfowl species.

Contiguous with the moated orchard, to the south west and along the west border of the woodland, is a woodland edge ride (Fig. 5/48) (**Be4**).



Fig. 5/48 Woodland ride with north south alignment (viewed from the south)

David Broom describes it thus.

'The potential for development of tall herb wildflower grassland margins to a sinuous mown path could create a valuable habitat feature. The north-south alignment and potential for relatively extensive patches of ride-margin wildflower grassland could provide a habitat corridor of particular value for a

variety of invertebrate species, in particular thermophilous species that would benefit from the south aspect of the ride.

This part of the site is relatively little visited area and incorporation of a mown would provide a valuable opportunity for visitors to Lyveden to enjoy the vegetation and invertebrate interest that is likely to develop within this corridor.'

5.4.11.2 The Lower Orchard (Be5)

RLR Field Number SP98852263

This 3.25 ha. field accommodates the replanted lower orchard and is included in the HLS Agreement, where it is primarily designated as HC20¹⁶³, HD4 and HD5. The 2012/13 *Nature Conservation Evaluation* report noted that, as recently as 1999, this was part of a large arable field which included the field to the west - see below. It was divided when the Trust planted a hedge in 2000. The 2012/13 report notes that,

'The grassland gets mown in strips between the trees. Much of it is dominated by coarse grasses such as Yorkshire fog and false oat grass, but herb rich patches occur with yellow-rattle, yellow meadow vetchling, ribwort plantain and smooth tare. It is given G3¹⁶⁴ grading. The edge of the pathway alongside the eastern perimeter was particularly species rich - here the flora includes germander speedwell, self-heal, red and white clovers, cat's-ear, daisy and lesser trefoil.

The grassland invertebrate fauna within the orchard includes good range of locally distributed species such as common blue and large skipper butterflies. Red & Priority Listed yellowhammer were present in the old hedge along the eastern edge at the time of the 2012 survey....During the 2013 survey a family party of the Red & Priority listed yellow wagtail was feeding in the orchard, suggesting that they had bred on or near the property.'

5.4.11.3 The North West Field (Be6)

RLR Field Number SP98850257

This parcel of land of some 6.52 ha. lies to the west of the orchard and SSW of Lyveden Manor and is included in the HLS Agreement, where it is primarily designated as HD5¹⁶⁵, HK15¹⁶⁶ and HK18¹⁶⁷. At the time of the 1999 survey, this field was part of a

¹⁶³ HC20 – Restoration of traditional orchards. This option applies to existing traditional orchards, managed extensively for wildlife and historic landscape benefits, that are under-stocked or in need of restoration. This option aims to restore degraded orchards by re-planting traditional varieties of orchard trees to restore tree numbers to an appropriate level. Ongoing management will require livestock grazing and the protection and maintenance of the trees

¹⁶⁴ Foot note from A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; *Lyveden New Bield, National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation*, Final Report October 2013 – 'A simple grading system for enclosed grasslands was devised at the start of the NT Biological Surveys in 1979. This pre-dates the now familiar Phase 1 classification, and is still in use today. Among the many uses it provides a basic way of gauging change in the condition of our grasslands over time. Enclosed grasslands are graded on a G1 to G4 scale where G1 is exceptionally species-rich, G2 includes a variety of herb-rich swards, G3 encompasses fairly species-poor swards, and G4 is agriculturally improved, species-poor grassland. These grades broadly equate to the unimproved, good semi-improved, poor semi-improved and improved grassland categories within the Phase 1 system. It should be noted that although of low botanical interest, where long established, G4 grasslands can be of interest for fungi, other soil biota or for their soil type.'

¹⁶⁵ HD5 – Management of archaeological features on grassland. Well-managed permanent grassland is the best agricultural management option for archaeological features and pastoral landscapes, such as ridge and furrow, to conserve them for present and future generations.

¹⁶⁶ HK15 – Maintenance of grassland for target species and to protect other features, such as historic sites. This option can be used to maintain moderately species-rich, semi-improved grassland, where it

larger arable unit which also included what is now the reinstated Lower Orchard and was not in the Trust's ownership. It had been used for intensive arable production and had been subject to the same deep ploughing regime as other fields around the property. As a consequence, both archaeological and ecological interest was reduced and the 1999 report only noted the presence of a few common arable plants amongst the stubble. Since the purchase by the Trust it is in the process of being turned into hay meadow using seed collected from a historic Northamptonshire hay meadow site. The 2012/13 *Nature Conservation Evaluation* noted that,

'The flora includes abundant red and white clovers, bird's-foot trefoil, and lesser trefoil, frequent yellow-rattle and tufted vetch, and occasional species such as knapweed and rough hawkbit. Grasses include frequent crested dog's-tail and false oat-grass, the latter especially around the edges. Some orchid spikes were evident, and Ann Hoxley¹⁶⁸ (pers. comm.) reports that hundreds of common spotted orchids were present earlier in 2012.'

David Broom in his walk over survey, October 2013, whilst applauding the Trust's aspirations to implement arable reversion, expressed concern as to the meadow's potential to become established without further intervention. He notes:

'As with other arable reversion areas [at Lyveden], when assessed during October 2013 the floristic character of the vegetation indicates species poor, improved grassland with localised occasional tall herb wildflower species. As with other grassland locations, diversifying the vegetation and enhancing the conservation character and value of this area is likely to require more direct intervention that will introduce wild flower and wild grass species as necessary through overseeding with a seed mixture and the process of arable conversion to hay meadow should be seen as on-going.

Notwithstanding the need to monitor and improve the species mix in the grassland, it is acknowledged that the current vegetation is currently attracting a variety of fauna.

'Grassland invertebrates present included an abundance of meadow grasshopper, the locally distributed grass bug (*Megaloceraea relicticornis*), the robber fly (*Leptogaster cylindrica*), and meadow brown and common blue butterflies. The abundant flowering component of the sward, notable an abundance of red clover and bird's-foot trefoil, and locally tufted vetch, was attracting large numbers of bumble bees - all six species of common bumble bee were present, including the red-tailed *Bombus lapidarius*. Also of note is the occurrence of Roesel's bush-cricket (*Metrioptera roeselii*) along the edges of the field – formerly given Nationally Scarce status and restricted to the south-east, this species has spread in recent years and is now widespread in the southern England, though it is probably still quite localised in the Midlands.'¹⁶⁹

lacks the potential to be restored to species-rich semi-natural grassland (option HK7), but which is identified as a priority in local targeting statements.

¹⁶⁷ HK18 – Supplement for haymaking. This option aims to ensure the continuation or re-introduction of hay-making on sites where the ready availability of livestock and/or the climate difficulty of haymaking means that they would otherwise be grazed and not cut. These fields will have high existing or potential value as meadow land

¹⁶⁸ Ann Hoxley - Assistant Visitor Operations Manager at Lyveden

¹⁶⁹ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; Lyveden New Bield, *National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation*, Final Report October 2013

5.4.11.4 The South West Field (Be7)

RLR Field Number SP98851622

This 3.55ha., field lies to the south of the SW spiral mount (separated from the mount by field no. -1331). The grassland is, again, still showing signs of enrichment from past farming practices. It is now to be managed for the protection of archaeological features (HD5) and for the promotion of target species in the grasslands (HK15).

The 2012/13 *Nature Conservation Evaluation* noted that it was likely that the field, when under the arable farming regime had been subjected to high nutrient inputs which according to the Evaluation's map allocated a grassland grading of G4 – a herb-poor improved grassland. This appears to be contradicted in the text, where the field is described as warranting a G3 grade – a herb-poor semi-improved grassland. Notwithstanding anomalies of classification, the consensus is that the sward was, and still is, herb-poor as described in the *Nature Conservation Evaluation*¹⁷⁰.

'At the time of the 1999 survey the south western field was arable set aside, with the majority having been cut. This supported a rather weedy flora, including yarrow, bladder campion (*Silene vulgaris*), oxeye daisy (*Leucanthemum vulgare*) and greater plantain (*Plantago major*). Whilst a tall uncut section at the southern end of the field was much more densely vegetated, to 1-2m tall, and dominated by common couch grass and a cabbage crop species. Teasel (*Dipsacus fullonum*), bramble (*Rubus fruticosus agg.*) and dock (*Rumex*) species also occurred.

The field has subsequently been converted to permanent pasture and is now sheep grazed, with approximately 30 sheep present at the time of the current survey. The sward was short grazed and graded G3. Dominant grasses were rye grass and crested dog's-tail, with dandelion and white clover occurring frequently. A variety of other species such as ribwort plantain, self-heal, red clover and creeping buttercup all occur occasionally, and rarely occurring herbs included smooth hawk's-beard (*Crepis capillaris*) and spear thistle.

David Broom concurred with the analysis of the sward. He also agreed that the introduction of cattle grazing would contribute to a more floristically and structurally diverse sward, although he had concerns that this alone would be successful in improving grassland diversification. He is of the opinion that,

'No seed bank of wildflowers and wild grasses will be present within an area that has been under arable cultivation then converted to improved grassland. In addition, conservation grassland species have not been introduced by seeding. Significant diversification of vegetation within this area to develop stronger semi-natural conservation grassland interest would require more direct intervention. This is likely to involve shallow cultivation after a hard grassland cut and removal of arisings, followed by overseeding with appropriate conservation grassland species.'

The recommendation to cultivate and over-seed may need to be discussed with the Natural England advisor, to ensure that it did not contravene the HLS rules that ploughing, sub surface cultivation and re-seeding are not permitted.

¹⁷⁰ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; *Op.cit.*, p.22

5.4.11.5 The South Meadow (Be8)

RLR Field Number SP98853024

This 3.7 ha. field lies to the SE of the New Bield. In 1997 it was seeded with a general wildflower mix and has, since, been carefully-managed to provide a rich, early-summer display and is included in the HLS Agreement, being managed for the protection of archaeological features (HD5) and for target species of herbs, grasses and wildflowers (HK15). Foster and Barker¹⁷¹ reported that,

'At the time of the 1999 survey the main part of the field to the south west of the Hall had been sown with a wildflower and grass seed mix (in November 1997) and was being managed with an annual hay cut in mid summer. At that time it comprised a patchy establishing sward of red fescue, perennial rye grass, crested dog's tail *Cynosurus cristatus*, yellow oat grass *Trisetum flavescens* and Yorkshire fog. Red clover, bird's foot trefoil *Lotus corniculatus*, salad burnet *Sanguisorba minor*, sainfoin *Onobrychis viciifolia*, ox-eye daisy *Leucanthemum vulgare* and ribwort plantain were the commonest herb species. The plants were considered larger than is usual, possibly indicating that the soil was still of relatively high fertility.

The meadow now supports a species-rich and very flowery sward for much of the summer. Oxeye daisy, yellow-rattle *Rhinanthus minor* and bird's-foot trefoil are particularly abundant, along with frequent red and white clovers, lesser trefoil, meadowsweet, self-heal, ribwort plantain and lady's bedstraw, and occasionally occurring species such as cowslip, common spotted orchid *Dactylorhiza fuchsii*, dandelion *Taraxacum* agg., goat's-beard *Tragopogon pratensis* and sainfoin. Grasses present include Yorkshire fog, timothy, cock's-foot and false oat-grass, but all occur occasionally. The field is of G2 standard¹⁷².

David Broom was slightly more circumspect in the analysis of the meadow's current condition and considered that there might have been a decline in species diversity since the arable reversion areas were seeded with a wildflower mix. He was of the opinion that the predominance of white clover and red clover and ribwort plantain along with grass-dominated sward might be suppressing the diversity provided by tall herb forb species that would provide the wildflower hay meadow character. It is also however, acknowledged that red clover, along with sainfoin and birds-foot trefoil, were important nectar sources for a number of bumble bees, solitary bees and other insects.

It is recommended that the meadow flora is monitored on an annual basis and changes in management and diversity are recorded. Recommendations to graze cattle instead of sheep should also be investigated.

5.4.11.6 The East Meadow (Be9)

RLR Field Number SP9884352

A field of 7.23 ha., this lies to the east of the moated orchard and north of the New Bield. It includes the areas identified (by Eburne & Felus) and described by Tresham in 1597 as his bowling green, and orchards planted on Warden Hills and in the 'new gardening quarter'. It is included in the HLS Agreement where it is primarily designated as HD5 (to protect archaeology in grassland), HK6 (to promote species-

¹⁷¹ A.P. Foster and S.R.J. Barker; *Op.cit.*, p.p.20,21

¹⁷² G2 grassland – Herb-rich semi-improved grassland

rich semi-natural grassland) and HK18 (a supplement for haymaking). Foster and Barker describe what they categorise as G3¹⁷³ grassland.

'A hay meadow established on former arable land. It is less diverse than meadows 1 & 2 – possibly as a result of sheep grazing it for longer during the initial establishment phase (Ann Hoxley pers. comm.). Much of the sward is dominated by coarse grasses such as Yorkshire fog, false oat-grass, timothy and a type of 'barley'. Crested dog's-tail is also present. Locally the flora is more diverse with a good content of herbs, notably in the southern sector where there is a series of mown paths. Locally frequent species include yellow-rattle, red clover, yellow meadow vetchling, tufted vetch, along with occasional common knapweed, bird's-foot trefoil, rough hawkbit and oxeye.

Common bumble bees were present including garden, white and red tailed, and there was an abundance of narrow bordered five-spot burnet *Zygaena lonicerae* and six-spot burnet *Zygaena filipendula* moths.'

5.4.11.7 Field and Meadow Summary

The Trust is to be congratulated for its vision and perseverance in stopping the arable farming in and around the New Bield and gardens. It has also made significant progress in the long-term process of reverting intensively farmed land to hay and wildflower meadows, however it would be unreasonable to assume that this process can be achieved in a matter of a few years and the consensus is that there is still work to be done, with the support of Natural England's HLS scheme, to create a diverse and timeless grassland character for the New Bield's environs and gardens.

5.4.11.8 The Moats as Dragonfly Habitat

A dragonfly and damselfly survey was undertaken in 2006 by Mark Tyrrell, the Northants. County Recorder for the British Dragonfly Society. The survey recorded thirteen species in the 2006 flying season; suggesting that the silt removal in 2000 and the management regimes implemented at Lyveden in recent years have been successful conservation measures, for, as the survey states dragonflies and damselflies are:

'excellent bioindicators as their presence Indicates that the associated wetland habitat is of high quality both with clean water and as an ecosystem that can support many other animal groups. Pollution, excessive weed growth and tree shading will limit their presence as well as the other lifeforms on which they feed. It is important to note that pollution covers not only man-made chemical effluents but also waste from water fowl – many small wetland sites that have a large number of ducks , geese or swans often have poor dragonfly assemblages - and deoxygenation caused by decaying plant material such as fallen leaves.'¹⁷⁴

Thirteen species identified in the 2006 Survey are as follows.

<i>Common & Scientific Name</i>	<i>Status at Lyveden</i>	<i>Habitat & Conservation</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Common Blue Damselfly <i>Enallagma cyathigerum</i>	Breeding with abundant population	Prefers managed partially shaded / open water with some floating surface vegetation – is resilient to many habitat changes	Conservation status: common nationally and locally

¹⁷³ G3 grassland – Herb-poor semi-improved grassland.

¹⁷⁴ Mark Tyrrell; *The Dragonflies of Lyveden New Bield*, 2006, p.1

Azure Damselfly <i>Coenagrion puella</i>	Breeding but less abundant than the Common Blue	Prefers shadier conditions and abundant floating surface vegetation than the Common Blue and will disappear if all the water is opened and marginal vegetation removed	Conservation status: common nationally and locally
Blue Tailed Damselfly <i>Ischnura elegans</i>	Breeding but less abundant than the Common Blue	Will breed in most wetland habitat sites and is more tolerant of pollution than most other species and will thrive in most wetland habitats	Conservation status: common nationally and locally
Large Red Damselfly <i>Pyrhosoma nymphula</i>	Breeding but in small numbers	Prefers acid water conditions and can be very abundant at suitable sites - also requires maintenance of dense marginal vegetation and some shading to retain small colony	Conservation status: common nationally but not particularly so in Northants where acid water habitats are absent
Banded Demoiselle <i>Calopteryx splendens</i>	Regular visitor but no breeding colony	Breeds in slow moving , muddy or silty rivers and favours linear (river and canal) habitats	Conservation status: Common nationally with closest known colony to Lyveden at Harper's Brook to the west of Lyveden
Black-tailed Skimmer <i>Orthetrum cancellatum</i>	Breeding in reasonable numbers	Favours open, bare habitats with limited marginal vegetation this species is commonly found in flooded gravel pits and reservoirs with bare shores and limiting growth of marginal vegetation will be of benefit	Conservation status: common in southern and central England and South Wales although is under threat in traditional breeding sites in Northants
Broad-bodied Chaser <i>Libellula depressa</i>	Occasional visitor No evidence of breeding	Prefers bare, muddy, shallow ponds which is not habitat associated with the Lyveden water bodies and it is not likely to breed at Lyveden	Conservation status: common in southern and central England and South Wales with nearest known colony at Fermyn Woods Country Park
Four-spotted Chaser <i>Libellula quadrimaculata</i>	Breeding in small numbers	Prefers sites with abundant vegetation overhanging the water but with males very aggressive and territorial large areas of open water required to sustain breeding colony	Conservation status: common and widespread throughout the country
Emperor Dragonfly <i>Anax imperator</i>	Breeding in small numbers typical for a site the size of Lyveden	Males are highly territorial and therefore need large expanses of open water to sustain breeding colony; females lay eggs into surface floating vegetation / pond weed some of which should be retained for this purpose	Conservation status: common on large ponds and lakes throughout southern and central England and South Wales
Migrant Hawker	Breeding in large	Prefers densely vegetated	Conservation status:

<i>Aeshna mixta</i>	numbers	and undisturbed wetlands with muddy banks with partially submerged trees or branches	common throughout southern and central England and South Wales
Common Darter <i>Sympetrum striolatum</i>	Breeding colony	Will breed in most wetland habitats from small garden ponds and ditches to rivers, lakes and gravel pits	Conservation status: widespread and very common throughout the country
Ruddy Darter <i>Sympetrum sanguineum</i>	Small breeding population	Favours shallow water with lots of emergent vegetation and the loss of marginal vegetation could have a significant impact on this species at Lyveden	Conservation status: The only dragonfly recorded at Lyveden that is included in the Northamptonshire Red Data Book of threatened species Resident in south-east and southern England
Red-eyed Damselfly <i>Erythromma najas</i>	Breeding in large numbers	Found on canals and slow-flowing rivers, ponds and lakes and requires abundant surface floating vegetation such as lily pads or rigid hornwort which should be retained where possible; programmed thinning can take place providing that the arisings are left by the water's edge as it is thought by some that that the larvae can return to the water	Conservation status: Common in Southern and central England, spreading north and into Wales.
Small red-eyed Damselfly <i>Erythromma viridulum</i>	Breeding in high numbers	Breeds in sites that have extensive areas of rigid hornwort (<i>Ceratophyllum Demersum</i>) and Canadian Pond Weed (<i>Elodea Canadensis</i>). The loss of the hornwort (considered to be an invasive species) would eradicate this population.	Conservation status: First recorded in the UK in 1999 this species spread rapidly throughout South-east England in the years immediately following its first appearance. The range has now reached Devon in the West and Yorkshire in the North.

There is no doubt that the sight of dragonflies and damselflies over the water at Lyveden is yet another of its timeless attractions. What is also not in doubt, is that the list above catalogues species with very different habitat and management preferences. Some favour abundant surface floating vegetation, whilst others need large expanses of open water; some prefer sites with abundant overhanging vegetation and others thrive in open and bare habitats. Management of the moats to sustain all of the above might, therefore, be difficult: however a general watching brief to maintain, where possible, a variety of water and marginal habitats for dragonflies and other species would be a reasonable aspiration.

We are also conscious that the above survey was undertaken in 2006, and therefore before the 2012 de-silting operations were undertaken. It would be interesting and valuable to commission a further report to record the current status and assess if the works have had any long term impacts of the on the dragonfly and damselfly populations.

5.4.12 Description and Current Condition - Access & interpretation

See above for the Section on Whole Site - Access and Interpretation; all of which apply directly to this Character Area. We find that many of the current provisions and arrangements are thoughtful and well considered, combining as they do, the Trust's commitment to engage visitors with Lyveden's unique spirit, whilst at the same time protecting its intangible, but inevitable, frailty.

The purchase of the Lower Orchard, has been the Trust's aspiration for some time as can be seen in the letter by the Trust's Director-General in 1999¹⁷⁵.

'Given the interest and importance of the garden, we would very much like to enable visitors to approach the New Bield through the garden, as Tresham intended, and also to emphasise the historic link between the New Bield and the Old Bield, which in Tresham's day was the main house on the property..'

The acquisition of both the orchard and more recently the Manor will inevitably reopen debates about access, circulation and interpretation.

5.4.13 Summary of significance and vulnerability

Levels of significance: 1 exceptional; 2 considerable; 3 some; 4 little; 5 negative or intrusive features.

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
Spirit of Place	The New Bield and the gardens were designed and built as a statement of faith, a narrative and a place of private worship. Something of this intent and character remains.	1	Lyveden is essentially a private and quiet place. Removed from 20 th and 21 st century sights and sounds, it offers space and time for reflection and perhaps prayer. This is still an isolated location with a very fragile, spiritual atmosphere, vulnerable to disturbance. Threats to the spirit of place include: - the already proposed development of wind turbines; - possible future threats of encroaching urban development; - more intensive agriculture.
Lyveden New Bield	The New Bield is a unique building; unfinished and open to the elements, the structure is in a remarkably good state of repair.	1	The Trust has a programme of Quinquennial Inspections which has been successful in maintaining the fabric by a process of regular but modest interventions to address problems with: - timber lintels; - repainting of minor cracking; - application of a shelter coat on vulnerable carved features such as string courses and mouldings etc. This management regime should

¹⁷⁵ Extract from letter written by Martin Drury (then Director-General National Trust), 12th January 1999. Lyveden Property File

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
			continue and be recorded in a manner which is accessible to future managers and conservation architects/ engineers. The principal threat would be that regular care is not maintained.
The religious, political and cultural vision of Lyveden	Lyveden was the vision and work of one man, Thomas Tresham - a Catholic recusant reflecting on and responding to the political, religious and cultural climate of the second half of the 16th century. That this site casts light on the foundations of a British identity that is – even today – partly predicated on a cultural Protestantism – is of exceptional significance.	1	Lyveden is the product of one man's imagination. It is one man's coded statement of defiance in the face of a hostile and turbulent world; it is not possible to understand, conserve and interpret what remains of the built fabric without working towards an understanding of Tresham's complex character and the milieu of the times in which he lived. It is not possible to attempt to interpret this site unless it were grasped that it is a commentary on the formation of English & British identity - which remains of relevance, even today.
The iconographic language of Lyveden	The recusant's proclamation of Catholic loyalties in the design of buildings and gardens, often incorporated coded iconography and religious symbolism. That this garden should be understood as a narrative – as well as decorative and intended to delight the senses – is essential.	1	Religious references, iconography and symbolism were very much part of the narrative of 16 th and 17 th century England and Europe. Today, however, they are barely understandable to a modern, secular audience - which inevitably makes the conservation and interpretation of the fabric less informed and less accessible.
The structure of Tresham's gardens	The site is particularly special in that, although it was not completed and many of the plants were removed quite early in the 17 th century, we are left with the bones of the garden with mounts, moats and terraces, which appear not to have been altered or 'improved' in the subsequent 400 years. It is to all intents and purposes original, even if not finished or intact.	1	It is very rare for the structure and layout of a garden from this age to survive virtually intact, without the addition of later 'fashionable' landscape layers. Much of the detail of what we see is, however, a legitimate late 20 th century presentation of the 16 th century structure. It is important that subsequent management of the gardens is reviewed at regular intervals to check that the integrity of the 16 th century fabric is not compromised or overwhelmed by the management required to maintain a successful visitor attraction.
The scholarly and artistic significance	Thomas Tresham was not only a deeply religious man but also an	1	This site is especially significant as a work of art; a unique statement, which, like all great art, is universal in

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
of Lyveden	exceptional scholar and artist		its timeless and ever-relevant response to the human condition. If sight of this is lost, and its religious, scholarly and artistic significance diluted, then its potential to communicate with future generations is endangered. This is truly a site of world interest; in short, Lyveden is surely a site deserving of UNESCO World Heritage Site Status consideration.
The numerological language of Lyveden	It is generally accepted that Tresham employed numerological & symbolical devices to reflect his Catholic faith in the design and setting out of his buildings and gardens.	1	The symbols and numerical relationships are not apparent (or in most cases decipherable) to a modern secular audience - which could lead to meanings being lost and conservation and management being compromised through lack of understanding – or through a lack of continuing enquiry and scholarship.
The numerological language and setting out of Lyveden The unit of measure	A number of extremely scholarly and well researched papers on the archaeology and history of Lyveden provide measurements mainly, or solely, in metres. A measuring unit probably not known or employed by Tresham ¹⁷⁶ . A study of Tresham's papers and analysis of the Water Gardens' layout strongly suggests that Tresham's preferred landscape unit was the pole - what we have called the Tresham Pole (or poole as he sometimes spells it) as it differs from pole measurements elsewhere. Thus: 5.48 metres = 6 yards = 18 feet = 1 Tresham Pole. There is potential to investigate geometry and measurement especially using historical measuring units – poles perches and chains etc. – as children's	1	The understanding of the numbers is made more problematic due to uncertainty over the units used by Tresham in a non-standardised world. Inevitably some of the landscape feature have been eroded or compacted over a 400 year period and a view may have to be taken on what reasonable tolerance might be applied to aid the understanding of the design's original setting out. Conducting this exercise in an inappropriate unit makes this task even more complicated and prone to misjudgement.

¹⁷⁶ One of the earliest decimal measuring devices was developed in England as early as 1620, when the English clergyman and mathematician Edmund Gunter, introduced two new units of measure — the chain and the link — and a new measuring device: Gunter's chain. Gunter's chain was one chain (one tenth of a furlong or in other words 22 yards) in length and consisted of 100 links, making each link 0.001 furlongs. This method was in fact a hybrid of imperial units and metric subdivisions.

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	educational and family activities.		
The Lyveden New Bield views	The New Bield was constructed in an isolated location on a ridge overlooking the shallow Lyveden valley, which makes it highly visible from the surrounding countryside. We now also believe that it was Tresham's intention to complete the building with the dodecagon 'Lantern' as drawn by Stickells. Thus, the command of a panorama was one of the reasons why Tresham selected this site for his 'Lyveden Lantern' - which was, perhaps, to be an observatory?	1	The 'Lantern' had 12 faces, from which the entire 360° panorama of the valley, and the heavens, could be viewed. Equally the 'Lantern' is visible from 360°, and would have been particularly visible if it were intended to be lit. With or without the 'Lantern', the building addressed the 360° horizon and the sky without interruption on what then was, and still is, an intensely rural landscape. Virtually no modern interventions are seen in the daylight hours, save perhaps the occasional movement of farm machinery and at night there is very little light pollution making the study of the heavens accessible. The New Bield is presented in a landscape that has changed little since it was built (and, indeed, since it was managed as an open-field, mediaeval landscape). Its position in a pre-industrial world is an important element in establishing its spirit of place. One threat might be that the late 18th / 19th C response to the intensely Romantic Lyveden – when Bradshaw Wood was in place and moats and mounts were overgrown – might lead us to believe that the New Bield was supposed to be enshrouded in woodland. The Major threats are the urban and industrial developments impinging on the exchange of 360° views between the New Bield and the open farm land and forest which reach to every horizon. There is also the added threat of additional light pollution should the urban expansion of Corby and other developments encroach ever closer.
The Snail Mounts Tree cover	The two snail mounts are striking features that are synonymous with Elizabethan gardens. Both the west and east mounts are heavily treed, mainly with ash and hawthorn.	1	The trees are of a similar age and all are etiolated in habit and many are poor in condition and showing signs of disease. At the moment, the canopy is light; however if any were able to make full maturity, the much heavier canopy would be out of scale with the mounts and, in the

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
			fullness of time, inhibit views from and to the Mounts. Many of the trees, in poor condition, are more susceptible to disease, sudden limb loss and complete failure - they are also more vulnerable to loss through wind-blow when the disturbed root plates could damage the ground structure of the mounts.
The Snail Mounts Access, circulation and compaction	Both snail mounts invite access and they are popular as viewing places.	1	Designed to be used by relatively few people – family and guests, there is no evidence that the mounts were, or intended to be, provided with surfaced paths. The erosion and compaction at the pinch points at the base of the mount and start of the snail ascent in particular, is causing damage. The provision of mechanical grass reinforcement is not appropriate in this visible and highly sensitive area and it is possible that visitor management might have to be considered as part of a long term solution as indeed would careful low shrub planting.
The Pyramid Mounts Access, circulation and compaction	The pyramid mounts at either end of the North Moat are essential elements in the Tresham design.	1	Both mounts are accessed to provide views over the moats and Moated Orchard. Unlike the Spiral Mounts there is no designed route incorporated into the ground modelling, however there is still evidence of compaction on the East Mount. A compacted / eroded desire line path runs along the base of the West Mount above the moat's bank which has also slumped. The Trust is aware of this and consideration has been given to alternative methods of reinforcing the bank structure. We would caution against the use of gabions which we understand has been been discussed. Without excluding people, however, this problem will get worse.
The Moats Bank and bed profiles and alignment	The moats are a very distinctive feature and attraction of Lyveden. They are over 400 years old and are inevitably, in some exposed places,	1	Erosion has taken place over a long period of time and in parts it is considered that 3 feet or more might have been lost on both sides in exposed areas.

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	slightly ragged. Maintaining the moats is an important element in establishing the character of the site. The profiles of the moats and moat edges were measured and recorded at the time of the last de-silting in 2012 to provide a base line from which to monitor any future erosion.		Establishing the planned size of the moats should be calculated in imperial measure, including Tresham's 18 ft. to 1 pole. Bank reinstatement (to what might have been an original line) has been considered. We recommend, however, that bank protection and consolidation should be guided by the same conservation aims and policy that is successfully applied to the New Bield's fabric – selective and light of touch, with no intention of returning fabric to a wholesale as-new condition.
Bats	Daubenton's bats forage over all the moats and soprano and pipistrelle bats have been recorded along the moat margins.	2	The consensus is that the pond clearing works, dredging and thinning of trees and tree canopies undertaken in the early years of the 20 th century have improved the habitat. It is hoped that the maintenance of selected open water will continue to provide suitable feeding habitats although current population has not been monitored after the 2013 moat works. Conflict of significances may occur if bats are roosting in open joints in the New Bield's fabric.
Dragonflies	Northamptonshire has a resident population of twenty two breeding dragonfly species of which thirteen were recorded (not all breeding) at Lyveden New Bield at the time of the last survey in 2006	2	The thirteen species recorded in 2006 favoured different water and marginal habitats that may be difficult to sustain and manage.
Veteran trees Hawthorn & Field Maple	The site is not well endowed with old, veteran or ancient trees. This is surprising given its history of settlement, however hawthorn and a field maple have grown intertwined together on the edge of the marginal fen habitat to the south west of the North Moat.	2	These trees are vulnerable to lack of appropriate, or inappropriate, management which could compromise their future and we recommend that they are afforded veteran tree status and supported with a tailored management programme.
Veteran trees Pair of thorn and crab apple	On the west margins of the East Moat the trees are spaced more openly. Small floriferous trees predominate on the west bank of the East Moat with nine hawthorns and four	2	The two trees appear to be of similar age and may be remnants or phoenix growth from parent trees now gone. Veteran tree management plan recommended.

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	crab apples, including an intertwined pair comprising a veteran hawthorn and crab.		
Veteran tree Dead ash standing trunk	Dead standing ash on the west bank of the East Moat	2	This standing trunk is highlighted in the Trust's Nature Conservation Evaluation as being a major habitat for rare invertebrates and should be afforded veteran status to extend and maximise its habitat potential.
Veteran tree Lapsed pollard ash	On the north boundary of the woodland to the west of the West Snail Mount this tree is virtually impossible to date because of its history of pollarding.	2	Very distinctive tree showing evidence of tree / woodland management methods which once commonplace are now becoming increasingly rare. Veteran tree management plan recommended.
Nectar trees	Small floriferous trees predominate on the west bank of the East Moat with nine hawthorns and four crab apples - these and others elsewhere are a significant in providing a nectar source to a wide range of insects. The new orchard of fruit trees will further support this provision.	2	Except for the Orchard, most of these trees are of a similar age with little succession evident.
Ash wood to the south west and west of the Snail Mounts	This woodland comprises mainly ash, oak and hawthorn. In parts the ash trees are healthy, however there is also a significant number showing signs of disease including dieback, canopy loss and fungal infection.	3	It is not clear whether any of the ash trees are suffering from ash die back but those in poor health with thin canopies are vulnerable to disease and loss. Ash tree should be subject to health checks and regular monitoring.
The Meadows	Six former arable fields that surrounded the Bield, including areas now known as the Moated Orchard and Lower Orchard, are being returned to grassland under a HLS Agreement. These meadows have the potential to be of greater significance.	3	The composition of these grasslands indicated that conversion of arable to species-rich or hay meadow vegetation is incomplete. The vegetation comprises a low diversity of mainly coarse grass species with a low abundance of tall herb wildflower species and will remain so unless further interventions are undertaken.
Oak adjacent to the New Bield	We think that it was possible that the English oak to the south east of the New Bield was	3	The tree is in reasonable condition at the moment, however the close mowing under the canopy and close to the trunk (some bark is

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	planted by the 2 nd Earl of Upper Ossory towards the end of the 18 th century. It is now a familiar element in the New Bield composition as well as being an important host tree for two scarce wood-decay associated beetles		missing at the trunk's base - a situation often caused by a machinery blow) will have an impact on its long term health. A comparison of historic oaks on an estate where part is subject to golf course grass management and part left un-mown or grazed is very telling.
Barn owl and little owl	Reports in the past have noted the presence of a little owl day roost and barn owl day roost in the New Bield. The presence of these birds in the heart of the great swathe of arable land is encouraging as their presence suggests that the increased provision of long rough grass, field margins and hedgerows is providing the necessary feeding habitats.	3	Both species have been decline (the barn owl is listed as an amber species) although the significant loss recorded in the little owl population in the last 15 years or so has not been reflected in any conservation listing. The use of the New Bield as day roosts is important and should be monitored and considered when undertaking conservation work on the Bield's fabric.
Woodland edge ride	Woodland edge ride to the west of the ash woodland.	3	The north-south alignment provides the opportunity (to be realised) for the introduction of relatively extensive patches of ride-margin wildflower grassland which could provide a habitat corridor of particular value for a variety of invertebrate species and a delightful visitor walk.
The Cottage	Built in the mid 18 th century the Cottage is located on the line of what would have been the New Bield's perimeter fence and sunken walkway. Used for much of the Trust's ownership as the home for the site's resident caretaker / guardian / manager its role is now that of visitor tea room and Trust office.	3	The Cottage has had a chequered maintenance history but is now in good state of repair and provides a welcome visitor facility near the New Bield. As yet, it may be too early to speculate on how financially sustainable the tea room is, or what its future might be, should the Manor provide similar visitor facilities in the fullness of time.
The Cottage timber reception building	The current reception facility is housed in a modest building which has the outward appearance of a well made timber garage; temporary and unassuming in scale and character. In itself it neither adds nor detracts	4	The role of the reception building will have to be reviewed should the property's principal visitor reception facilities be relocated to the manner at some time in the future, although the question of controlling unpaid access to the site will still need to be addressed if the Trust were to remove all staff from the immediate

Significant feature	Details	Level of significance	Vulnerability / issues
	from the enjoyment of the property.		vicinity of the New Bield.
Access the car park	The car park was constructed in 2008 to provide access for all to the New Bield and visitor facilities at the Cottage. Hidden from the New Bield by a mature hedgerow and served by a stoned access track that is also hidden from the property; the car park is unobtrusive and impacts very little on the New Bield's identity and presentation.	4	The car park serves its purpose very well at the moment although should the principal visitor reception (and car parking) be transferred to the Manor the future scale and management of the car park will need to be reviewed.
Steel Containers	The steel containers provide a much needed secure store for hand held grounds maintenance equipment; notwithstanding that, they were broken into in 2012.	4	The steel containers are relatively discreetly placed and screened although it would be desirable if this provision could be made elsewhere.
Archaeology Lost Material	The series of archaeological investigations over the 20 th century revealed how much was lost in the post-War period of intensive arable farming.	5	It is universally agreed that the deep ploughing undertaken as part of the increased food production effort after the War damaged, and in places, eradicated archaeologically important material that existed in the top 300 mm of soil. The damage caused by the ploughing is understood and safeguards have been established to reduce the possibility of further information being lost. Much of the land surrounding the New Bield has now been brought into the Trust's ownership and is undergoing arable reversion to reduce the possibility of further agricultural interventions.
Scale of Use	The garden was designed to be used by a relatively small number of people and numbers have increased to c.20,000 a year in 2013 with an anticipated rise to 40,000 by 2025.	5	The gardens' physical fabric is vulnerable to the pressure brought by increased visitor numbers on grass paths, terraced walks and moat sides.
Tree Health	We have considered at length the current health of trees and the threats that face the ash stock in particular.	5	Vigilance is needed to monitor vulnerable trees on the site.

6 ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE

6.1 Introduction

It must be the case, when studying any aspect of human endeavour, that there will always be gaps in knowledge. At the very least, this might be a consequence of limited skill and time - in the context of Lyveden, the most obvious example being the need to make further progress in identifying, studying and transcribing all the known (not to mention the unknown unknown) documents, contemporary with Tresham and written either by or to him, or on his behalf. That there is this resource of numerous contemporary, primary, documents is, indeed, remarkable and more needs to be done to interrogate it. In addition, scholars will bring their own background and interests to bear when studying and trying to make sense of this fascinating place. For example, there can be little doubt that there is material relating to Lyveden which should be the stuff of analysis by an historical theologian. We also consider that Lyveden needs to be placed in a larger context of contemporary political and cultural life. Sir Thomas Tresham's work at Lyveden represents one half of a bitter debate, reflecting on religion, of course, but of very great consequence. This is the site where one of the stones of religious, political and cultural controversy was cast into the pool of Elizabethan thought. It can be argued that the ripples are still being felt today. It is the role played by Lyveden in this bigger narrative that lends the site its national, and international, significance - and this is a theme which would reward further study.

We make no apologies for focusing, in this *CMP*, on the context which shaped Sir Thomas Tresham and on the few years at the end of the 16th century, when he was making Lyveden. It is the work of his hand and mind which we still see, today. But, of course, there has been a good deal of subsequent change, much of this having had an impact on the Manor and on the landscape which surrounds it. There can be no doubt that the hill-top site, of 'New Bield' and earthwork gardens, has benefited from the protection afforded when the National Trust acquired Lyveden after the First War. Although we can see that there was damage done to this property, even within the last half of the 20th century, without the NT, this treasure could have been quite lost. The Old Bield has not been so fortunate. Now, however, the acquisition of the Manor creates the opportunity to reunite the two vital halves of this work of art; it also offers the opportunity fully to recognise the wider significance of the role of the NT in 20th and 21st century life and in our attitudes to our heritage. There must be a continuing record of what the Trust does at Lyveden in the future, and why.

Thus, the following summary of what we know to be gaps in our knowledge will – like everything else in this document – need to be updated from time to time.

6.2 History

Lyveden has a great depth of significance. So much of this resides in the individual life and scholarship of one Elizabethan Catholic recusant and so much more relates to the bigger drama of what was happening in the rest of Northamptonshire, at court and Parliament in London, and even on the European stage, that it is very unlikely that there is a finite body of relevant historical material to examine. In particular, the Tresham Papers in the British Library, Add. Mss. 39828-39, must still be capable of yielding a great deal of relevant and illuminating material.

Most of the work that has been undertaken, thus far, on examining and transcribing these papers can be found in Section 7.1 in the Eburne & Felus *CMP*, 2010, and in the work of Peter Foden, included in *Appendix B* of this report.

Northamptonshire Record Office also includes boxes of manuscript material (NRO X5174-93). Much of this material relates to the history of Lyveden post-Sir Thomas Tresham; but the fact that it remains incompletely catalogued renders this collection difficult to interrogate.

The recently-attributed Tresham documents – now the Brudenell Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford – focus on contemporary theological debates. This material does need to be studied, if we are to come to terms with the full range of theological exploration being undertaken in the late 16th and early 17th century. Moreover, as Eburne & Felus note, the Tresham papers in the BL demonstrate that, 'Tresham's speculations on possible designs for Lyveden existed alongside – and were sometimes interwoven with – speculations of a purely theological nature'¹.

The Tresham Library – supplemented by his son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell – exists at Deene Park and it certainly opens a huge new area for further investigation. This library is of particular interest in that, in many ways, its collection reflects Tresham's links with the world - his engagement with contemporary life and thought, at a time when his access to the wider world of individual scholars was curtailed by imprisonment.

6.3 Archaeology

The archaeology of Lyveden and its wider setting has been the subject of a good deal of research. The Rockingham Forest Trust is an enterprising charitable organisation, which has a valuable, on-line, *Heritage Resource Centre*, wherein there is interesting material – following HLF-supported research projects – which helps to illuminate something of the historical and environmental context of Lyveden. Relating to Lyveden itself, there is a good archaeological record of some areas: the first such study must be credited to J.A. Gotch, with his carefully-measured drawings of the above-ground structures. In more recent years, the National Trust has sponsored several archaeological desk-based and on-site surveys. Further opportunities for similar research may follow the recent acquisition of the Old Bield - though, information to date would suggest that so much has been altered in this area that archaeology may not be very rewarding.

6.4 Geology, Topography, Soils

The acquisition of the Manor means that any detailed proposals for the renewal of the gardens around the Old Bield and the creation of a link with the New Bield and its setting, will have to be informed by a proper understanding of the condition of the soils. Their pH, fertility, workability etc. should be subject to a survey, with samples of top- and sub-soils being taken from key areas across the site.

In addition, a greater understanding of the geology & topography² in the area around the Old Bield will be essential. More needs to be known about the downhill flow of water – including something about the outflow of water from the moats – to inform how the passage of water can be slowed down and sustainably managed on

¹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.82.

² The GIS survey commissioned as part of this *CMP* should be of great value, here.

the terraces, to limit potential flooding and / or damage to the foundations of the Old Bield at the bottom of the slope.

6.5 Buildings & Structures

As noted above, the extant fabric of the New Bield has been carefully studied. It is likely, however, that there is more to be discovered about the original vision for this 'Lyveden Lantern'. Learning more about Tresham's theology, and his engagement in symbology and numerology, may help to illuminate this exceptionally interesting structure.

The historical development of the Old Bield, Lyveden Manor, has been fairly well-studied and our analysis of the changes wrought to the external fabric in the last couple of decades has brought this up-to-date. Assuming that the NT does decide to use the Manor as a welcome / visitor centre, there will be opportunities available to scrutinise the internal fabric in more detail; this has the potential to be very informative.

Eburne & Felus recommend further research into the history of the Cottage, 'to unearth its origins and function'³. The suggestion is that NRO might yield more information and it would certainly be interesting to discover more⁴. But, whilst the Cottage was not, clearly, part of Tresham's original vision, we do not wholly agree with the implication that the Cottage now damages the Tresham composition. It is modest and relatively unassertive and it does provide interesting evidence of the way of life pursued at Lyveden, certainly from the early 18th century. On the other hand, we do consider that the interpretation should make very clear that the Cottage is a relict of a much later period than c.1600.

The constructed terraces, embankment and mounts are key elements of the Lyveden composition. Archaeology has indicated that there is little surviving earthwork evidence of the terraces; but the embankment and the mounts are in remarkably robust condition. On the balance of evidence to date, we believe that the mounts were to have been planted with shrubs, which would have helped to assert the sculptural form of the features and to limit erosion. Given plans to increase visitor numbers in coming years, the need to combat erosion will become more pressing. Further research, including, perhaps, limited archaeological investigation of the mounts, might add to our knowledge, here, and thus help to confirm future decisions. A similar line of investigation might help to inform plans to conserve, and make more accessible, the embankment. Access to the top of the embankment will require careful thought; the current situation, where the impress of visitor footfall creates *ad hoc* 'desire line' paths to the top, will not be acceptable in the future. It is our recommendation that stepped and/or ramped access needs to be made available, in a sensitive fashion: but any such intervention does need to be thoroughly informed.

Finally, we note the interesting suggestion by Eburne & Felus that the, 'number of Lodges on the Lyveden estate, and their relation to each other and to the park needs further investigation'. In particular, they refer to, 'Lodge Close' north-east of Lyveden house listed on the 1617 survey'⁵. We have not looked into this and it would,

³ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.83.

⁴ It seems likely that more information was discovered about the fabric and construction of the Cottage during its various renovations and modifications in recent years. If so, then this record should be added to the archive.

⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.83.

indeed, be interesting if there were any evidence that Tresham built more than one Lodge on this estate.

6.6 Waterbodies and Drainage

Eburne & Felus suggest that, 'the hydrology of the moats is mysterious'. To some degree, the most recent examination of the moats, undertaken in 2013⁶, reinforces this view, partly because augers indicated that the underlying clays were 'fairly dry suggesting the ground water table lies below the base of the moat'⁷. The conclusion of the latter study is, quite simply, that the moats are filled by run-off from the surrounding land. The Rackham & Jefferson report is well-argued and the role of run-off water seems to be incontrovertible. Nevertheless, it may not be quite as simple as this.

Our close examination of the site has suggested that the northern moated channel is filled from an inflow to the west – where there was an earlier moated system – as we have seen the water actually flowing into the moat, after a heavy rainfall. Thus, we believe that there is at least one area where a perched water table can be found in the clay, to the WNW of the north channel; and that, had the moat been completed, it was possibly the intention that this resource would be used to serve the whole of the moat; a more reliable provision than local rainfall. But, of course, this does not contradict the indication that the moat is largely fed by surface water. The fact that the northern channel seems to have survived, with water in it, for a much longer period than the other channels, which were silted-up and full of vegetation by c.1800, might well suggest that the channels to the east and south do still depend, in a general fashion, on run-off, while the inflow of water to the northern channel comes more substantially from a perched water table - in turn, fed by a much larger catchment of rainfall. Further investigation of the hydrological system might be productive. We may also learn more from a comparative analysis of the water quality and ecology in the north channel, the eastern channel (which includes the water around the SE spiral mount) and the southern channel. It seems that these three waterbodies exist more-or-less separately from one another and this may be reflected in differences in fabric, ecology and status today⁸.

The Rackham & Jefferson report has suggested that the moat has been eroded to the extent that the channels are now much wider than intended. In such a context – and in light of erosion caused by footfall – we understand why there has been serious consideration about employing gabions to contain and straighten the northern bank of the north channel. It is our view, however, that such a severely-engineered solution is not appropriate. If, as we have argued, the gradients of the sides of the moat were intended to be the same as the sides of the above-ground embankment or mounts, we recommend that a civil engineer, with conservation experience, might advise further on whether, and how, a more modest intervention might be able to achieve this outcome.

We also recommend a closer study of the Lyveden Brook, focusing on its historic management and modelling and the current status of its banks, its water quality and ecology, and its potential.

⁶ D.James Rackham, Neil Jefferson, with contributions from R.G. Scaife and J.A. Giorgi, *Environmental Assessment and Archaeological Watching Brief, Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire*, March 2013.

⁷ Rackham & Jefferson, *Op.cit.*, p.31. Augers were taken from the baulks (undisturbed ground, providing bridges, to NE and SE of the moats) and from the base of the moat.

⁸ There is some good environmental analysis of the pollen, macrofossils and the various taxa associated with the moat today, but we have not come across any attempt, to date, to assess differences between the moats.

6.7 Views and Vistas

It should be apparent that the significance of views to and from Lyveden is exceptional. And – though the cruciform layout of the Lodge clearly implies some specific exchanges of view – the most significant vistas attached to the ‘Lyveden Lantern’ were, we believe, panoramic in scale. Moreover, the views were not simply of what lay within sight of the Lantern (though, had it been completed to the height we suggest, these views would have been very extensive indeed), but were conceptually extended far beyond, to places in this country and abroad, which were replete with religious meaning. Using 16th century maps and technologies, it would be interesting to investigate this theme further.

On a more practical level, available views associated with the Manor and with the gardens around the Manor – to be renewed to provide links with the Lantern and the moated gardens above – need to be carefully assessed. At the moment, it is impossible to do other than study our GIS survey, other maps and aerial photographs, as there are hedges and densely-packed stands of trees preventing any proper on-site confirmation of these important relationships. The creation of a car park and provision of grounds maintenance infrastructure etc., will also need to be carefully located and screened: views of busy comings and goings, horticultural depot, car parks and other such intrusions must be excluded from the important, N/S alignments.

6.8 Designed Planting

Although Eburne & Felus were hopeful that archaeological deposits might yield, ‘an unexpected wealth of information on the site’s botanical history’⁹, this does seem to have been rather over-optimistic. The recent environmental survey of the pollen and fossilised evidence of plant material from the moats has done little to expand the somewhat limited range of material already listed, little or none of which can reliably be attached to the 16th century. Therefore – given the fact that we already have access to a long list of trees, fruit and ornamental material discussed, ordered and planted by Tresham – we may well find that additional transcription of the documentary resource, especially the papers in the BL, might be more useful. The theological papers – now in the Bodleian – may add to what is understood to be the symbolic significance of some of the plants employed; but we should bear in mind that the Elizabethans were very familiar with the language of plants and so this common lexicon may have been assumed, rather than articulated.

6.9 Ecology

Lyveden is already identified as a LWS and, as reported elsewhere, the site has the capacity to be of even greater ecological significance, lying, as it does, at the centre of an area largely devoted to arable farming. There have been many surveys but – especially prior to any work to trees – there needs to be a survey of bats in the area. Likewise, prior to any work on waterbodies etc., there should be an up-to-date assessment of species, including BAP Priority species and habitats.

The ecological significances – like the historical, cultural and archaeological – should all be highlighted on an electronic database, so there is ready access to these key issues to inform all continuing estate management.

⁹ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.84.

6.10 Use, Access & Interpretation

There are clear plans to increase the visitor numbers coming to Lyveden in the future (and, of course, they will not only gain undoubted benefits but also contribute to its financial stability). There should be regular monitoring, over the next decade, to ascertain the range of ages and interests reflected amongst visitors. *Tripadvisor.com* is quite a useful way of keeping in touch with visitors' views; but on-site surveys (as are already undertaken) will help to highlight who does *not* come, as well as who does. Lyveden is a very unusual (?unique) site in the NT portfolio, in that it has such a particular and important tale to tell. This is a site which should appeal to scholars – national and international – including students of theology, the English Renaissance, the English Reformation, historical geography and conservation architecture, as well as general enthusiasts for the NT's collection of places of historical significance. It would be useful to know whether, and to what extent, Lyveden has engaged this kind of audience. A greater national and international profile will help to defend its very precious and powerful 'spirit of place'.

7 ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: PHYSICAL, HISTORICAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY SIGNIFICANCES

7.1 Introduction

We have discussed, elsewhere, Lyveden's peculiar quality of being 'special'. As the NT Director General, Dame Helen Ghosh, recently said, 'Lyveden is a remarkable building with a very particular spirit.' Accordingly, as Mark Bradshaw, NT Property Manager, has observed, 'Lyveden is of international importance'.

We make no apology for launching the discussion of the 'Significances' of Lyveden with this sequence of what must be acknowledged as less-than concrete attributes. The fact is – and this can be empirically proven, if not theoretically – that there is a singular atmosphere which impresses itself upon visitors to Lyveden: a quick trawl through comments, left on various websites, confirms this. And, although it must be possible to identify and describe some of the contributory factors which lead to this 'special' quality, we start by insisting that the synthesis of what appears to be a timeless English landscape and a major work of art, can – as occurs in the presence of some historic country churches or paintings by Constable or Turner – invade the imagination and lift the spirit. That the composition of buildings and landscape which make up Lyveden can effect such a reaction is exceptionally precious.

In sections 4 and 5 of this long document, we have listed and analysed the history, the personal ambitions, the political and cultural changes, the natural assets and the many uses which have been woven together to make Lyveden. It must be apparent that very much of what we see today is the expression of the life of one man, living in the difficult years of the late 16th and very early 17th centuries. Despite generations of change and a good deal of neglect – and despite the fact that it was not finished in the first place – what Sir Thomas Tresham wrought here has survived with its spirit remarkably intact.

That Tresham's vision was intensely religious, personal and abstruse makes some of the meaning of his creation difficult to read and interpret; it does not, however, mean that it is wholly alien to those visiting today. This is a composition which speaks of his understanding of England, of the spiritual life to which he was committed, and of the difficulties and hardships he endured. Something of this is still possible to see and feel, if not wholly to apprehend. It is also, however, an expression of the way of life of a rich and hospitable Elizabethan, a demanding employer, a family man who liked to live well and manage his estates with efficiency, an intellectual polyglot with a voracious appetite for learning, who gathered together one of the largest libraries of the day. All this is much easier for us to grasp today. The aim, then, must be to try to clarify and reveal how the material reality of Lyveden is infused and enriched with what one can only call its spiritual authority. That is what we shall endeavour to do in this section.

Here, we shall explore the Significances in a less incidental, more coherent, thematic, style than elsewhere in this document. In an attempt to fill some of what we have described (in Section 6) as gaps in recognition or understanding, we shall examine several different aspects of the site. We have made judgements about whether the Significances are of 'Exceptional', 'Considerable', 'Some', 'Little', or of 'Negative' value, reflecting the 1-5 classification of individual features or activities which is appended to the end of each of the parts of Section 5.

In order to understand the Significances, we have examined the site's values, by testing against the following headings.

- Evidential:
 - geomorphology;
 - natural diversity;
 - trees and woodland;
 - technology.
- Historical:
 - archaeology;
 - religion and culture;
 - politics and economics;
 - historic events;
 - people: families, scholars, designers, craftsmen;
 - plant species / cultivars.
- Aesthetic:
 - design & architecture: intellectual, spiritual and symbolic philosophy
 - trees and planting;
 - views and vistas;
 - designed waterbodies;
 - 'spirit of place'.
- Community:
 - Lyveden and its community;
 - sport and recreation;
 - national and international visitors;
 - social and recreational activities;
 - education, interpretation and communication.

It must be said, of course, that the degree of significance – whether it be attached to a single item or activity, or manifest in the more nebulous processes of design, history and community – is a matter of judgement. We hope that our acquired understanding of the gardens and buildings – in the context of the wider estate – has helped us to make a sound judgement, both of exceptionally important attributes and those issues which pose a threat. It must be acknowledged, however, that the background and views of any individual or scholar, when approaching such a task, will inflect his/her judgements; and future research or activities on the estate will certainly raise new opportunities, pose new threats and possibly alter understanding of the balance of significances. Such a continuous process of change is likely to be beneficial and should be actively encouraged, as long as that change is illuminated by a shared knowledge of the significances identified herein.

7.2 Evidential Significances

7.2.1 Geomorphology

Lyveden lies within Natural England's Character Area 92, the Rockingham Forest¹. The area embraces the north and east of the county of Northamptonshire. Amongst the characteristics which especially apply to Lyveden are the following:

- an undulating landform rising to prominences ... in Rockingham Forest;
- large woodlands on higher ground;
- high historic and nature conservation interest in woodlands;
- remnants of unimproved grassland throughout, with limestone heaths and fragments of acid bogs in the Soke² of Peterborough;
- foreground views occupied by large arable fields with low hedges;
- large mature landscape parks and country houses;
- nucleated villages often in sheltered streamside locations;
- distinctive buildings constructed in local stone – iron stone in the west of the area and limestone in the east;
- undisturbed, deeply rural quality despite nearby towns and adjoining trunk roads;
- a sharp transition between the countryside and the main towns of Kettering, Corby and Peterborough (lying just outside the area) which have developed rapidly in recent years.

Amongst the most significant attributes of Lyveden, then, is that it embodies, within a relatively small compass, many of the most distinctive features of the Rockingham Forest. In particular, its, 'undisturbed, deeply rural quality' provides (and can continue to provide) what appears to be timeless peace and undisturbed beauty, available to the burgeoning populations of the neighbouring towns, as well as visitors from much further afield.

The geology and geography of Lyveden have shaped the gardens and its buildings. The undulating land-form, rising sharply from the river valley to the crest of the scarp, has been subtly exploited to frame the layout and direct its narrative. The Lyveden Brook and the boulder clays have helped to secure the pattern of the original settlements and facilitate the creation and management of water bodies which are essential to the character of Lyveden. The distinctive and robust ironstone, quarried from the beds of Northamptonshire Sand in the neighbourhood, lend the buildings at Lyveden their subtle colour and warmth and ensure that ornamental and emblematic carving, executed four centuries ago, retains much of its original clarity and richness.

- **The composition of house, gardens and lodge at Lyveden is the outcome of a sensitive exploitation of the local geomorphology for practical and aesthetic effect. As such, it is of exceptional significance.**
- **The apparent isolation of Lyveden, accessible along the ancient Harley Way, lends the estate a sense of timeless peace. The fact that this National Trust estate is available to the populations of nearby Corby and Kettering (to W & SW of Lyveden) and Peterborough (to E of Lyveden) – urban and industrial centres which are set to experience substantial growth in the coming years – reinforces the exceptional importance of the balm of Lyveden's tranquillity.**

¹ http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/images/jca92_tcm6-5090. For further discussion, see Section 2.

² The Soke of Peterborough was a distinct administrative area for many centuries and this title is conveniently used to the present to define the physically distinctive countryside to the west of Peterborough

7.2.2 Natural Diversity

The natural texture and variety of Lyveden supports a rich array of flora and fauna, including national and regional BAP priority species and habitats. The combination of long-established trees, hedges, waterbodies and species-rich grassland is now paired with more modern, ecologically-sensitive planting and management techniques – in the southern half of the estate, tailored to Natural England's HLS requirements³ – thus ensuring that Lyveden is distinguished by its rich natural diversity. As a result, Lyveden supports a wide range of protected species and Red- and Amber- listed birds.

Of particular importance are the ecological corridors, comprising wet ditches, the Lyveden Brook, trees and hedges (historic and recently-planted) and wildflower meadows, which link Lyveden with the wider landscape. In a largely arable environment, these corridors provide vital and sustainable links to the woodlands and landscape features beyond.

Rockingham Forest – once a royal forest, managed for its many resources – retains some of the best-preserved mediaeval woodlands in England. The woodlands around Lyveden represent fragments of that forest and include Lady Wood, to the south, Lilford Wood to the south-east, Bearshank Wood to the east and Fermyn Woods, to the west. Lyveden provides a vital, biodiverse link between some of the hedges and woodland parcels in the area.

There are numerous, more local features at Lyveden which individually support some distinctive ecology. These include stone walls, mature and/or veteran trees and self-contained water-bodies.

Historically, Lyveden is known to have been planted with a range of fruit trees and bushes. Although there is no remnant of this historic plant material, there is a remarkable collection of letters and notes which allows us to discover the identity of some of Tresham's choice, 16th century, orchard fruits. Replanting some of the historic varieties of apples, pears and plums named in Tresham's correspondence, and employing traditional orchard management techniques, Lyveden's orchards not only respond to a Northamptonshire BAP target, but have the capacity to become a very valuable genetic resource of historic fruit varieties.

The recently-planted orchard, together with the wild-flower meadows which are the outcome of recent arable reversion, ensure that Lyveden can provide the nectar-rich flowers which support bees and other pollinating insects through many months.

The 20th century history of ploughing, enriching and managing arable crops on parts of the site – especially in the northern half of the estate – has been responsible for enriching the soils and replacing historic turf (which might have supported perennial wild-flowers and species-rich grassland) with coarse, vigorous grasses and ruderal herbage. Adding to such enrichment has been the use of the grassland to the west of the moated orchard as a site for the deposition (and occasional burning) of arisings, whether these be from managing the woodland or vegetation, or from desilting the moats.

- **The actual importance of Lyveden as a richly-diverse natural environment is considerable and its potential is of exceptional significance. The wider context of a landscape which is dominated by arable farming reinforces the exceptional significance of Lyveden as a beacon and a source of biodiversity.**

³ There is a Higher Level Stewardship Agreement between the NT and Natural England, running from October, 2011 to the end of September, 2021. See further details in Section 2.

- **There are several specific species and landscape types at Lyveden which are endangered, rare or uncommon, as well as a wide range of more well-known flora and fauna. European protected species, as well as national and regional BAP targets, are represented here, including species-rich, semi-natural grassland; hedgerows; deciduous woodland; ponds; invertebrates; and numerous bats, birds, bees and butterflies. The capacity of Lyveden to be managed in such a way as to fulfil national and regional BAP priorities is of considerable to exceptional significance.**
- **The recently-planted orchard of historic varieties of fruit is already of ecological significance and has the capacity to become of considerable or exceptional significance.**
- **Some historic (and even current) land management practices have led to the flourishing of coarse and ruderal vegetation, at the expense of more valuable flora. Whilst the historic arable farming has now ceased in the area of the gardens, the continued use of the grassland to the west of the moated orchard for storing arisings from landscape works, is deleterious. This is having a negative impact on Lyveden's natural diversity.**

7.2.3 Trees and Woodland

The location of estate, at the heart of what was once the royal Rockingham Forest, lends Lyveden an iconic authority, linking it to one of great, mediaeval forests in England. The Forest, since Norman times managed on behalf of the crown, comprised not just trees and parkland, which were exploited for game, but, with the imposition of Forest Law, also constituted a means of exerting and securing authority over the country as a whole. Gradually, royal control of the forests diminished, as it was challenged by local enclosures and emparkment. Parliament passed the final Act of Disafforestation in 1832.

Although the wider area of the Rockingham Forest still contains evidence of surviving ancient woodland, in the Lyveden gardens, there is only a small number of individual trees which are of great age and / or significance. Amongst these is the fine, mature, English oak, *Quercus robur*, near the Lodge; and a veteran ash tree, *Fraxinus excelsior*, close to a ditch on the west side of the entrance track, as it leaves the Harley Way. The majority of the most valuable trees at Lyveden, however, are the smaller specimens, including mature and veteran field maples, *Acer campestre*; hawthorns, *Crataegus monogyna*; birch, *Betula pendula*; and a variety of native / wild fruit trees, including crab, *Malus sylvestris*, and blackthorn / sloe, *Prunus spinosa*, on the banks of the moated channels and in the hedges. It is possible that some of these are descended from the 16th century plantings in the gardens.

Newly-planted, with native, deciduous trees, are the areas of woodland – especially in the southern parts of the site – which have the capacity to enrich the significance of the site in years to come.

In contrast, the planting of ranks of poplar, *Populus balsamifera*, to the north of Lyveden Manor, and the dense, unmanaged copses and groups of trees which are now dotted over the fields to the west and the south of the house, offer little enrichment or diversity to the landscape. Moreover, the condition of many of the ash trees on and around the mounts and in the woodland to the SW of the mounts, is cause for concern. Likewise the suckering elms in the damp ditches and woodland.

The ash trees, selected from stands of dense, overgrown vegetation when the

Lyveden gardens were being rediscovered and cleared in recent decades, are poor and etiolated specimens. Moreover, they, like the elms, appear to be suffering from disease, manifest in die-back and browning of the canopy. The cause of the ill health of the ash trees may be due to *Chalara fraxinea*; of the elm, it is certain to be Dutch elm disease.

- **Lyveden lies at the heart of the area managed, since Norman times, as the Royal Forest of Rockingham. The area still retains some of the most significant ancient woodland in England. Lyveden itself has long been surrounded by clearances, but it retains considerable significance as an historic, Forest settlement.**
- **Individual mature and veteran trees at Lyveden are relatively few in number, but, in themselves, they are of considerable significance, for their beauty and diversity. They include a number of small, visually insignificant, specimens of native deciduous trees, which may well have been in Tresham's gardens: hawthorn, sloe, field maple.**
- **There are trees at Lyveden – including the rows of balsam poplar in the north of the site – which are of negligible significance. Together with the poor specimens of ash and elm, and the threat of disease, there are trees at Lyveden which are having a negative impact on the landscape.**

7.2.4 Technology

The mediaeval history of the area immediately around Lyveden was shaped not only by contemporary farming practices and the historic management of the Rockingham Forest, but also by a busy pottery industry; there is documentary evidence of a Lyveden pottery-making centre in the late 13th century. This was an industry which depended upon locally-available materials – most obviously, timber and clay – and which generated Lyveden-ware artefacts, including vessels and tiles, which were widely distributed throughout the East Midlands.

The boulder clay overlying Oxford clay, which dominates much of the area above the Lyveden valley, has not only enabled the development of mediaeval industry, but also supported a number of settlements in other ways. Fishponds and moats, filled by seepage from perched water tables on the higher slopes of the valley, have been managed to underpin the domestic economy of settlements and provide defence.

Lyveden – as first emparked by the Treshams in the mid-16th century and thereafter transformed by Sir Thomas Tresham in the late 16th century – exploited familiar technologies to manage the Lyveden Brook, in the valley itself, and to construct at least one system of moated channels on the hillside above.

The quarrying and working of local stone to build Lyveden Manor and Lodge have ensured that these buildings have a strong local identity. The crisp quality of the worked stone, especially on the 'New Bield', is also witness to a highly sophisticated and skilful stone-masonry industry in the area.

- **The development of mediaeval settlements and industry, along the Lyveden valley and on its higher slopes, has been facilitated by technical exploitation of the local geology. The success of Lyveden-ware pottery, and evidence of its widespread regional distribution, is witness to a sophisticated technological and commercial infrastructure. This history is of considerable significance.**

- **Before the 16th century emparkment of the area, and culminating in Sir Thomas Tresham's developments at the close of the century, exploiting the use and management of the local geology and hydrology has been crucial. This has facilitated the creation of settlements and of the lavish water gardens which are a major feature of Lyveden. The technological sophistication is of exceptional significance.**
- **The quarrying of local stone, and its working by stonemasons to very fine effect, ensures that the buildings – especially the garden Lodge – appear firmly attached to their local environment and still display a crispness and refinement of finish which is witness to outstanding technical skill and craftsmanship, of exceptional significance.**

7.3 Historical Significances

7.3.1 Archaeology

The archaeology of Lyveden, and its wider environment along the valley, is a very rich resource and continues to be the subject of research.

Until the mid-20th century, there was above-ground earthwork evidence of a long history of farming, including of management of the land for both arable and pastoral purposes, and of industry, especially pottery. The discovery of the 1944 Luftwaffe photograph has proved to be a key to understanding the early and mediaeval history of the area. This has been supplemented by careful surveys, which have included non-intrusive investigations, employing some of the latest geophysical technologies, and several programmes of directed trenching.

The early involvement of the National Trust in the gardens and the lodge at Lyveden has resulted in the protection of some of the major features of the site. This has meant that we now have exceptional evidence of the appearance and character of a late Elizabethan garden.

One notable theme has emerged from several of these studies. From the 1960s, John Steane, headmaster of Kettering Grammar School for Boys, led a team comprising members of the 'Local History and Archaeological Society' of the school. They undertook surveys at Lyveden over several years, focusing on the mediaeval settlements in the valley. Indeed, some of the earliest and most significant studies of the area were a product of the enthusiasm and skill of staff and pupils, amateur archaeologists, from this school. Working at Lyveden has, in fact, encouraged a number of pupils to go on to become leading professional archaeologists (including John Steane, Brian Dix, well-known garden archaeologist, who has worked at Lyveden in recent years and Dr. Paul Stamper⁴).

There is no escaping the fact that, since WWII, deep ploughing has eradicated much of the above-ground earthworks, and a good deal of below-ground evidence.

⁴ John Steane was involved not only with Lyveden, but also with the excavated garden at 41, The Circus, Bath; Brian Dix worked at both Harrington, Lincolnshire, and Holdenby. We note, too, that Dr. Paul Everson, long with the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and involved in the EH excavations at Kirby, was founding secretary of the Northamptonshire Archaeological Society (though we have no information about his schooling!).

- **The well-documented archaeological evidence of living and working in the Lyveden valley, especially in the mediaeval period, remains of exceptional significance, despite the loss of much below-ground archaeological fabric.**
- **The evidence that early clearances in the Lyveden valley were the outcome of an unusual and, in part, still unexplained pattern of competing ownerships and pressures is significant. The fact that Lyveden lay at the junction of several mediaeval parishes – including Pilton, Benefield and Aldwincle – is undoubtedly one of the reasons for the development of various villages and settlements. The unusual development pattern is, archaeologically and historically, of some significance.**
- **The clear, above-ground, archaeological evidence of Lyveden's late Elizabethan garden and its lodge is of exceptional significance.**
- **It is a notable fact that a local school, Kettering Grammar School for Boys, was, in pre- and post-War years, responsible for much of the most productive archaeology in the Lyveden valley. That this dedication and enthusiasm, inspired by local teachers and by Lyveden itself, resulted, thereafter, in the professional careers of a number of distinguished archaeologists, is of some significance.**
- **Post-war farming techniques – mainly deep-ploughing – have ruined much of the archaeological evidence, beyond recovery. This has had a very negative impact on the site.**

7.3.2 *Religion and Culture*

The fact that Lyveden Manor ('Old Bield'), Lodge ('New Bield') and gardens are individually listed and registered Grade I, by English Heritage, highlights the international cultural significance of the Lyveden composition.

The fact that the Treshams were Catholic, at a time when the Protestant Church of England was reasserting itself and forming the core of the Elizabethan political, as well as religious, settlement, is of great significance. Sir Thomas Tresham – whose grandfather had been the last English Prior of the Knights Hospitallers – was a man of education and authority. Whilst his Catholicism had not been a difficult constraint on his social and cultural life during Elizabeth's early years on the throne, in 1570, a Papal Bull released Elizabeth's subjects from allegiance to her; from the 1580s, with increasing sectarianism, and with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, Catholics found themselves under pressure to conform. Sir Thomas Tresham's achievements at Lyveden – and at his neighbouring estate, Rushton – represent one of the most significant and complex responses to the political and religious tensions of the period. What now remains at Lyveden is, in fact, unique, as the embodiment of a Catholic recusant's theological and intellectual beliefs.

In 1575, however, Tresham was still participating fully in mainstream society, and was knighted in 1575. Indeed, he was knighted during the Queen's progress to the Earl of Leicester's Kenilworth, where one of the most magnificent entertainments of the day – with symbolic masques and displays of fireworks – were presented in Leicester's lavish new gardens. This great occasion set a pattern for later courtly celebrations, which became ever more elaborate – and which ultimately found expression in the great traditions of English theatre. It also introduced Tresham not only to his peers but also to the highly influential gardens at Kenilworth.

For Tresham, the developments at Lyveden represented much more than an exercise in fashion or utility. This means that the estate's significance lies in its conceptual underpinning, as well as its physical manifestation. Although not always open to our scrutiny today, we can ascertain that, for Tresham, his Lyveden estate – and especially the Lodge, or 'Lyveden Lantern' – was a beacon, communicating with the panoramic landscape not just in its immediate vicinity, but across the earth and even with the heavens.

In order to be able to grasp something of Tresham's complex intellectual and religious life we have the extraordinary good fortune of having some access to his mode of thought in both documentary sources – including correspondence written to and by Tresham himself – and the survival and recording of his library. These documentary sources make a major contribution to our ability to penetrate the religious and cultural preoccupations and ambitions of this remarkable Elizabethan recusant.

That Tresham's Lyveden is witness to his religious preoccupations should not obscure the fact that it is also the expression of modes of thought and behaviour which were informed and expressed in the library which Tresham amassed. There were few contemporary libraries which commanded such respect (those of Lord Burghley and John Dee, mathematician, philosopher, necromancer, being amongst those few). Tresham's library was supplemented by his son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell, another man of Catholic faith and considerable learning. It was to Brudenell's neighbouring estate, at Deene, that the Tresham collection was transferred after 1605; remarkably, it survives there, still.

The current landscape setting of Lyveden – and especially its Lodge – betrays no obvious or immediate sign of the intrusions of modern life. Because so much of the religious and cultural meaning of Lyveden is an expression of one man's view of a very particular time in England's history – a time, in fact, which, to a considerable extent, forged the character and the institutions of the country which we recognise even today – the apparent isolation of Lyveden helps to create the circumstances in which we can begin to imagine and apprehend something of its significance.

- **There can be no doubt that, as a whole, the Lyveden composition represents a unique religious and cultural icon of exceptional, international, significance.**
- **In the 1570s, Tresham witnessed – and took part in – some of the earliest expressions of loyalty to the Crown. These theatrical experiences – masques, celebrations, processions – began to constitute a significant part of the exercise and acknowledgement of power in the Elizabethan era. Amongst the major consequences of this growing confidence in handling drama, metaphor, music and spectacle was not only Elizabeth's success in creating 'Gloriana' – a replacement for the Virgin Mary as an object of worship – but also of inspiring the English theatre. That Tresham was witness to, and learned from, what was to become one of the most important cultural expressions in England, is of exceptional significance.**
- **As a poetic evocation of particular ideals and beliefs, at a period in English history which is still of immediate relevance to the country's modern identity, the Lyveden composition is of exceptional significance.**
- **There can be little doubt that Sir Thomas Tresham envisaged his Lyveden estate, and especially the 'Lyveden Lantern', as a beacon of religious conviction, communicating with the wider world and even with God. For him, Lyveden functioned as a metaphor for the route to the 'New Jerusalem'. The conceptual underpinning of his creative task at Lyveden ensures that it is a site of exceptional**

significance. Likewise, anything that might intrude on our capacity to make an imaginative and intellectual link with his beacon – including anything that might be a clear sign of modernity – would have a very **negative impact.**

- **The area in the immediate vicinity of Lyveden has a documented and archaeological history which tells much about the development of the mediaeval Rockingham Forest; the religious and secular centres of authority and economic activity during the pre-Reformation period; and the religious and cultural debates which shaped the Elizabethan years. The wider setting of Lyveden is, in itself, therefore, of considerable significance. As the context for the development of Sir Thomas Tresham's estate in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign and the early years of James VI/I, the wider setting is of exceptional religious and cultural significance.**
- **The array of contemporary documentary evidence (in the form of letters, diaries and library) which allows some access to Tresham's modes of thought as a Catholic recusant theologian and philosopher, is of exceptional significance.**

7.3.3 *Politics and Economics*

In some ways, it is quite difficult to disentangle the cultural and religious significances of Lyveden from its political and economic importance. It is inevitable that these issues are intertwined. Nevertheless, there are several historical strands which relate quite specifically to the political and economic context which shaped them.

The origins of the estate lie in a complex pattern of clearances and developments which took place at the heart of the mediaeval royal Rockingham Forest. The evidence of its mediaeval history – made manifest through both documentary and archaeological scholarship – communicates much about the economic, social and political life of the mediaeval settlements in the vicinity of Lyveden.

The Rockingham Forest must have supported the economy of the mediaeval Lyveden valley. In turn, the flourishing pottery industry must be seen as one of the motive forces for settlement in the valley.

In the 16th century, the impact of the Tresham family was transformational. Emparkment and the management of the estate for hunting and for sheep – the latter making a major contribution to the family's wealth in the later 16th century – offer a model of the social and economic life of a well-established family, on the lower rungs of the nobility, at a time which witnessed military, religious and political strife, as well as the consolidation of the court of Queen Elizabeth as one of the growing powers in Europe.

The religious preoccupations which shaped Sir Thomas Tresham's remarkable creation of house, lodge and gardens at Lyveden were, in themselves, formed under the intense political pressures which undermined the earlier Elizabethan policy of practical tolerance of religious difference. Once the Elizabethan court was threatened by the authority of the Papacy, and then by Catholic military onslaught – notably from Spain – then the lot of the Catholics in England was fixed. Lyveden was the consequence of the political and economic constraints on Tresham's life, after the 1570s.

Many aspects of the lives of both Sir Thomas Tresham's and his wife, Muriel Throckmorton, provide us with an interesting insight on contemporary economic and political experience. From the management of the family, household and estates –

wardship, marriage, domestic economy, enclosures, prosperous sheep farming and quarrying, hospitality, social and familial links with many others of similar status and disposition, patronage of builders and other craftsmen – to Tresham's imprisonment and constant payment of fines as a Catholic recusant, the Treshams offer a window on their world.

The fact that Sir Thomas Tresham's eldest son, Francis Tresham, was involved in the Gunpowder Plot is well-known. Less familiar is his involvement with the failed rebellion against the government, led by the Earl of Essex, in 1601. The political and economic context – as well as the religious restrictions – which helped to create the climate wherein treason could flourish, contributed to the post-1600 decline of Lyveden, as well as to the imprisonment of Francis Tresham.

- **There is sufficient information concerning the mediaeval economy of the Lyveden valley before the arrival of the Treshams to make this history of considerable significance to our understanding of the area.**
- **Information about the social, political and economic life of Sir Thomas Tresham, his wife, Muriel, a daughter of the Throckmorton family, and their household, offers a remarkable insight to the period: patterns of upbringing and guardianship; Elizabethan farming practices and estate management; the development of enclosure and the social / political consequences thereof; the relationship between families of influence in the county of Northamptonshire and further afield; the rapid growth of the printing / publishing industry and the Renaissance intellectual life this reflected; the development and patronage of craft and building skills; the costs of recusancy. The range and depth of this information, offering such potential for understanding of Elizabethan life, is invaluable and of exceptional significance.**
- **The lives of Sir Thomas Tresham's children, including Francis Tresham, place this family at the heart of some of the greatest political strife of the period. This link with Lyveden is of exceptional significance.**

7.3.4 Historic events

The most significant historical events attached to Sir Thomas Tresham, at Lyveden, must relate to his commitment to building a new house, lodge and gardens, from c.1590 and the intense period of activity which was brought to a halt only by his death, in 1605. His investment in Lyveden was not the outcome of a single historic event, but followed from a sequence of political shifts and manoeuvres, all consequent on the Dissolution, effected by Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, and – in Tresham's own time – by the 1570 Papal Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which, effectively, gave Catholics not only the freedom, but even the responsibility, to reject any loyalty to the authority of the Queen. From this time on, Elizabeth, with the clever political support of Lord Burghley, imposed increasing restraints on her Catholic subjects. This drove a number of them to retreat from public life in London, to prison, to impoverishment, to betrayal and to death.

In December, 1581, Edmund Campion was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn. He was an English, Roman Catholic, Jesuit priest, who had arrived secretly in England, with a mission to persuade Catholics to admit their faith and take the consequences. He was the first to be martyred to the cause. It is clear that he knew Thomas Tresham and even took advantage of Tresham's hospitality at some time in this year; indeed, it is more than likely that Tresham was already close to the Campion circle and entertained a fellow Jesuit, Thomas Bramston, as tutor – and, perhaps, priest – in his

own home, over a number of years. It was Campion's arrest that led to Tresham's first appearance in the Star Chamber and his first period of imprisonment. From this time on, Tresham – and a number of his fellow Catholics – found their lives constrained by imprisonment, heavy fines, or death as a traitor.

For much of his life, Tresham endeavoured to appeal to, and appease, Elizabeth and her great mentor and political support, Burghley. Following Elizabeth's death, in March 1603, the last representative of the Tudor dynasty was followed by the Stewart King James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England, thus uniting the English and Scottish crowns. Sir Thomas Tresham made contact with the new King, welcomed him to Northamptonshire and received promises that the punishing fines would cease. In fact, his lot improved very little. Two years later, Tresham died. And a few months after that, his eldest son, Francis – who had already been imprisoned and fined after his involvement in the failed Essex Rebellion of 1601 – was involved in the Gunpowder Plot (also called the Jesuit Treason), to blow up the House of Lords, during the State Opening of the Parliament. Once again, the small Northamptonshire estate of the Treshams was associated with events of national significance.

- **Tresham's achievements at Lyveden – as at Rushton – represent the expression of a life lived in the midst of great historical shifts. What one can only call his persecution was a consequence of the Dissolution and a herald of the Reformation, actions which were launched in the 1530s and gathered momentum over a period of 150 years. In the last 25 years of his life, Tresham devoted himself to expressing his horror at the chasm he could see, opening up between the England that existed before the 1530s and what was to come. That his major works of art were created as a commentary on this period – which is so vital to British identity, even now – is of exceptional significance.**
- **Tresham's friendship with Edmund Campion, and the fact that his offering hospitality to Campion led to his own life as a recusant, tie Tresham and Lyveden into the last period of intense religious persecution and martyrdom in England. This is of exceptional significance.**
- **Tresham's own attempts to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth, to welcome James VI of Scotland into England, as well as the involvement of his son, Francis, with the 1601 Essex Rebellion and the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, demonstrate how this Catholic family remained at the heart of British historical life during this period of dramatic change. This is of exceptional significance.**

7.3.5 *People: families, scholars, designers, craftsmen*

We know a good deal about Sir Thomas Tresham, his wife and family, some of his employees, his friends and relations, his correspondents and his religious and intellectual peers and superiors. Tresham's creations at Rothwell, Rushton and Lyveden were the expression of a lifetime of being guided, inspired, assisted and ruined by the people who surrounded him and whose interest he resisted or sought. It is remarkable that the life and achievements of this one man – and the one creation, at Lyveden, which survives with very little in the way of later overlay to distract – can communicate so much about his life and times.

At least as remarkable is the fact that Tresham's life and achievements serve to introduce us to some of the great intellectual and creative developments of the period. Tresham's familiarity with historians, philosophers and mathematicians of the Ancient world places him firmly within that very small group of European Renaissance intellectuals who saw, in their Greek and Roman predecessors, the origins of their own

modes of thought and understanding. Tresham's grasp of several different languages enabled him to read contemporary texts, which ranged from translations and commentaries on the Bible, to the expression of the most up-to-date concepts in design and architecture and the results of current scientific investigations into the functions of time and the universe. Amongst contemporary scholars and scientists, we know that Tresham particularly admired men such as Gerard Mercator, Tycho Brahe and Francis Lucas. Tresham's achievements place Lyveden – physically located in a remote corner of Northamptonshire – at the heart of western intellectual life.

Amongst Tresham's contacts in Elizabethan England were those who had also devoted themselves to the building of new houses, gardens and lodges: especially, perhaps, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, whose work at Theobalds and Burghley must have been known to Tresham; Sir Christopher Hatton, whose Holdenby was very near; and Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's younger son, who was obliged to allow James I to take on Theobalds, in exchange for Hatfield.

In developing Lyveden, we know that Tresham depended heavily on his retainers, notably, George Levens, who had served the family for a long time and who had obviously learned much from his master. Likewise, Tresham employed a number of named builders, stonemasons and assistants, including the Grombolds, the Tyrrells and individual craftsmen whom he knew by the quality of their work.

- **That there is enough information available about Tresham and his immediate family, friends & servants – via his work at Rothwell, Rushton and Lyveden, and the notes and correspondence which accompanied these developments – provides a remarkable insight to their modes of life, relationships and even their thoughts, is of exceptional significance.**
- **Tresham's library and his creations at Rothwell, Rushton and Lyveden place him firmly at the heart of English Renaissance intellectual and scientific life. Amongst the great scholars whom he particularly admired were Gerard Mercator, cartographer and mathematician, Tycho Brahe, astronomer and mathematician, and Francis Lucas, exegete and theologian. Tresham's links with these scientists and philosophers lend his achievements at Lyveden an exceptional significance.**
- **Tresham's links with the Cecils and Sir Christopher Hatton (and other, slightly more distant links with those such as Philip Sidney and Francis Bacon), contemporaries who devoted themselves to the creation of great new houses and gardens, and saw their attachment to these creations as a way of expressing their devotion to their Queen, country and philosophical ideals, place Tresham's achievements securely in the van of English aesthetic thought. This is of exceptional significance.**
- **That we have access, via Lyveden, to named, skilled, contemporary craftsmen, and can learn something about the pattern of their labours, materials and techniques, is of exceptional significance.**

7.3.6 *Plant species / cultivars*

Given the 16th century date of the Lyveden gardens, we have a surprising amount of information – gleaned from letters, pollen analysis (from the silt in the moats) and the evidence of what remains on site today – about the plants employed therein. We know that familiar broadleaf trees – wych elm, sycamore and wild cherry – were planted for walks and avenues. Native evergreens were represented by juniper; and

hawthorn was used, too – perhaps to clothe the mounts and almost certainly in hedges. Orchard fruit featured largely at Lyveden, and documentary evidence gives access to some of the species and cultivars Tresham favoured. Roses figured strongly amongst more ornamental plants and, again, we have some idea of which varieties Tresham selected.

Although Tresham himself seems to have collected none of the contemporary English volumes about designing a garden or the practicalities of cultivating plants, it is evident that he had sufficient practical knowledge, especially about fruit trees, for his expertise to be recognised by none other than Sir Robert Cecil. Not only did the latter hope that his gardener ('Mountain' Jennings) would learn something from Tresham's garden at Lyveden in 1605, but, after Tresham's death, fifty fruit trees were presented, by Dame Muriel Tresham, to Hatfield, in 1609.

- **There is limited, but nonetheless remarkable, information available about the species and cultivars of trees and bushes chosen for Lyveden. This allows us to have some insight to Tresham's selection and cultivation of a range of plant material – especially orchard fruits – and is of considerable significance.**

7.4 Aesthetic Significances

7.4.1 *Design & Architecture: intellectual, spiritual and symbolic philosophy*

We have already discussed several of the named philosophers and scientists who helped to shape and direct Tresham's thinking: Gerard Meractor, Tycho Brahe and Francis Lucas amongst them. In addition to these, we know that Tresham consulted contemporary textbooks and pattern books, by Renaissance artists and architects, such as the Italians, Leon Battista Alberti, Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio; the Frenchman, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau; and the Dutchman, Hans Vredeman de Vries. Each of these – with others – contributed to the development of Tresham's aesthetic philosophy.

Again, it was probably via his library that Tresham came to recognise the significance of the philosophies of the Ancient Greek mathematician, Pythagoras and the writer, Plato; the Roman poet, Virgil and the early Christian theologians, Origen and Augustine. The ideas of these major figures – each, in his way, a contributor to Western Renaissance thought and, thus, still significant to us today – were vital to the development of Tresham's philosophy (and, thus, his philosophy of art).

Tresham's profound Catholic commitment led to his becoming a secular theologian of great scholarship. There is no doubt that, by the 1590s, his theology infused everything he created. From the metaphorical pilgrimage which led from the Lyveden manor house in the valley, upwards to the top of the hill and then beyond – to the *Terra Sancta*, represented by the 'New Jerusalem', or 'Heavenly City', presaged by the Lyveden Lantern – the shape and meaning of Tresham's work of art was a profound expression of his spiritual journey.

Informed by his studies – and by his familiarity with the houses and gardens of his peers – Tresham developed a powerful style, dependent on Renaissance principles of symmetry and proportion, which gave birth to his Lyveden Lodge and to the axial layout of the gardens linking the Lodge to the Manor, in the valley floor.

- **Informed and inspired by contemporary and historical scholars, whose international significance still reverberates today, Sir Thomas Tresham developed**

a philosophy of art which shaped the design and architecture of Lyveden and is of exceptional significance.

7.4.2 *Trees and Planting*

Whilst there can be little doubt that Tresham selected a range of plants, including fruit trees, for ornamental and practical reasons, it is also true that, 'most if not all of the plants known to have been present in the gardens at Lyveden had a particular Catholic symbolism'. In particular, 'the association of roses, raspberry and willow with the Passion of Christ'⁵, is likely to be deliberate.

Lyveden benefited from having what must have been fairly extensive nurseries, laid out on the west side of the gardens. We know that Tresham grew walnuts, pears, apples, medlars, cherries and plums, amongst 'many young fruit trees'. Interestingly, we know, too, that he brought in some of his fruit trees as 'pips', or wild stock, and then grafted selected cultivars onto this stock, in his own nursery. We even have some insight to the way Tresham instructed that his trees should be thinned and staked as they grew and were transplanted.

As well as having some access to the range of plant material Tresham cultivated at Lyveden, we have enough information to understand that his style of planting – into a garden which was given form by extensive modelling of terraces, steps, mounts and moats – reflected a shift from the somewhat static enclosures of earlier Elizabethan gardens, towards a more dynamic, even sensational, layout. Walks shaded by tall, forest trees, were contrasted with sunny, open spaces; panoramic views were presented side by side with intimate arbours, which suggested a contemplative and private experience; cushions of small, colourful flowers were scattered at the feet of tall orchard trees. These changes were not, in themselves, dramatic; but their suggestion of a move away from artifice and towards a balancing appreciation of the wilder, more 'natural', qualities of a landscape were intimations of a greater aesthetic shift to come.

- **There is sufficient information available about the plants introduced to Lyveden under Tresham's auspices to communicate a good deal about the symbolism employed therein. This is of considerable significance.**
- **That Tresham was recognised, towards the end of his life, as something of an expert at cultivating orchards is of considerable significance.**
- **The stylistic shift from the experience of an Elizabethan garden as a sequence of enclosures, which tended to exclude the outside world, towards a sense in which there was a dialogue between the artifice and intimacy of a private garden and the more public experience of the wider, wilder, environment, is an exciting aspect of the Lyveden layout. That Tresham's planting was selected and presented in ways which facilitated this dialogue is of considerable significance.**

7.4.3 *Views and Vistas*

The geography of Lyveden means that the manipulation of views and vistas is a key feature of the character of the gardens. Despite the fact that the whole layout remained uncompleted by Tresham, there can be little doubt that one of the attractions of the site – for us as for him – is the fact that it is laid out along a fairly

⁵ Eburne & Felus, *Op.cit.*, p.73.

open and steep hill, leading from the valley floor to the crest of the hill. The nature of this geography means that an exchange of views was more-or-less unavoidable; it was here exploited to magnificent effect.

If the N/S exchange of views contributed to the narrative of the Catholic pilgrimage, leading from the valley floor to the heights above, then the terraced landscape, with its mounts and embankment, also facilitated exchanges of view between the inner gardens and the wider landscape around. The expressive possibilities of such exchanges lent the composition as a whole a sense of movement and dynamism.

From the 18th century, ownership of the site has been fragmented; moreover, since the NT first acquired part of the site, later hedges and alterations of the topography (especially in the vicinity of the manor house) have interrupted the original continuity. With the acquisition of the house by the NT in recent months, there now exists an opportunity to reinstate something of the original vision.

We have no doubt that the alignment of the Lyveden Lodge, at the top of the hill – which Tresham definitely described as his, ‘Lyveden Lantern’ – was deliberately removed from the fairly strict N/S alignment of the major part of the gardens. This allowed him to maximise the significance of the cruciform plan of the Lodge and – amongst a number of more local references – he thus linked the eastern arm of his cross with the *Terra Sancta* in the Middle East. We know that George Levens made and magnetised a compass to employ on a theodolite; and we know that Tresham's library included more than one contemporary map of the world, which laid great emphasis on the Holy Land. Thus, the alignment – which embraced conceptual visions on a grand scale, not just locally-available views – was a crucial part of Tresham's layout.

- **The sense of a self-contained and ordered narrative engendered by the strictly axial layout of the gardens, and the path climbing upwards, is challenged by the dynamic possibilities of commanding the panoramic landscape beyond. The axuality is an early and interesting sign of the English Renaissance. The command of a much bigger picture does not mean that Lyveden is a Mannerist garden; but it is a garden on the cusp of a change which reflects aesthetic – and, therefore, philosophical – shifts which were to become of great importance in the 17th century. This aspect of the character of Lyveden is of exceptional significance.**
- **The vital significance of the views which were to be available from the ‘Lyveden Lantern’ cannot be over-estimated. There were local references - to neighbouring churches, for example; and regional references, suggested by alignments with places of English pilgrimage. Above all, we have no doubt that the Lodge was be imbued with dynamic relationships to places in the wider world of great Catholic significance – not least, the *Terra Sancta* – and even with the cosmos: the heavens above. The narrative embedded in the Lyveden composition and expressed in the views and vistas – real and conceptual – from the Lyveden Lantern is of exceptional significance.**

7.4.4 Waterbodies

The initial settlements along the Lyveden valley must have been supported by the Lyveden Brook, which was later managed as part of the infrastructure of Lyveden Manor. It must also have played a role in enhancing the visual attractions of the setting of the Manor.

That there were at least two moated systems close to the top of the hill, before Sir Thomas Tresham began to build there, has been well-documented and these are likely to have been associated with pre-16th century settlements. Tresham's moated gardens were physically linked to the earlier moats but they represented a much more sophisticated piece of design, as they played their part in the Catholic narrative which was threaded through the rest of his gardens. Most strikingly, the embanked dam, which closes the wide, northern arm of the moat and which is flanked by two pyramidal mounts, acts as a physical – and, therefore, emotional – barrier between the lower gardens and the upper reaches. From this dam, the moat must have appeared impassable, precluding access to the labyrinthine *Chemin de Jerusalem* – and the Lyveden Lantern – beyond.

Today, the visual delights offered by the Brook and especially by the moated channels lend an enormous amount to the beauty to be found at Lyveden.

- **The value of the brook to the mediaeval Lyveden villages – supporting the residential settlements, the farming and the industry which developed there – is of considerable significance.**
- **The fact that the Lyveden Manor was able to manage and exploit the brook, perhaps to keep fish and generate energy, as well as to support the infrastructure of the estate and enhance the setting of the Manor, is of considerable significance.**
- **The vital contribution made by the Tresham moated channels to his gardens – in terms of their beauty, design, narrative and meaning – is of exceptional significance.**

7.4.5 Spirit of Place

We have already invoked the 'special' quality with which the Lyveden composition is invested. This is, indeed, best summed up as its unique spirit of place. The fact that the 21st century visitor has such immediate access to a work of art comprising buildings in a landscape, left unfinished in the first decade of the 17th century, is remarkable.

Amongst the contributing factors – both elusive and very concrete – which help to make up this 'spirit of place' is the apparent isolation of Lyveden from much of the rest of the world, experienced on the plateau at the top of the hill. The scale of the composition of house, gardens and lodge is relatively small and its intimacy, its human scale, is exaggerated by contrast with the vastness of the panoramic setting – the great space of sky, fields and forest. Tranquillity and relative silence – as well as the darkness of the night in this place of scattered settlements – are also contributory factors. The crisp quality of the stone and carving on the small, unfinished, Lodge; the sense that the masons have just left off working; the assertive substance of the mounts and the reflective capacity of the water: each of these elements contributes to the picture, which has both an humanity and a timelessness, divorced from the modern world. Above all, perhaps, is the intimation of mystery inevitably attached to a piece of work left unfinished; and the strong sense that there was a driving vision behind what we see. All of these sensations cohere to challenge the intellect and the imagination in a peculiarly powerful way.

- **The unique spirit of place attached to Lyveden is of exceptional significance. Much depends on retaining: the relative isolation and small scale of the place; its tranquillity; the timelessness derived from the panoramic setting and the lack of**

anything to signify the intrusion of the modern world. The apparently artless contrast between the composition of buildings and gardens and the ‘wilder’ setting of summer meadow and woodland lends a completeness and authority to the whole picture. The quality of the Lodge – the ‘Lyveden Lantern’ – is of particular moment. It depends on the refined finish of the stonemasons’ work; the humanity expressed in the Renaissance poise and proportion; the sense of intrigue consequent on a work of art driven towards perfection and then left, not quite finished.

The whole composition challenges the intellect and imagination of the visitor in a powerful and – in today’s busy world – rare and exceptional manner.

7.5 Community Significances

7.5.1 Lyveden and its community

Visitors, staff and volunteers at Lyveden are, without exception, enthused by Lyveden. Staff and visitors remain attached to the site for many years, acquiring a sense of ownership, working to research and discover as much about it as possible and to communicate their understanding to new visitors.

In the early years, the NT approached Lyveden in a rather unusual way for the Trust; visitors were not much encouraged. This was partly because of the relatively small size of the plot of land which lay in the Trust’s ownership, and the fact that it was surrounded by other owners; and partly because the full significance of the site was not initially recognised, as so much remained buried under dense, woodland and scrub, consuming the mounts and filling the dried-up beds of the moat. One consequence of this was that the peace of the place was preserved; even at the same time as modern ploughing was eroding the archaeology and the topographical modelling of the site. Curiously, there remains, today, something about Lyveden which demands peace and a degree of silent contemplation. This is obviously still recognised and enjoyed by visitors and, as more of the site becomes available, so it can absorb greater numbers of people without loss. The balance at present is carefully-poised. Care will have to be taken to maintain it.

- **The peace and tranquillity of Lyveden, combined with the mystery attached to a place which remains impossible fully to analyse and comprehend, is an essential part of its compelling quality. This has generated a strong sense of commitment and ownership in staff and visitors. In our experience, this is a very unusual, if not unique, relationship between a public site and a community of people who know, visit and work there. It is a quality of exceptional significance, and every effort should be made to maintain it.**
- **The opportunities for volunteering at Lyveden, participating in research and conservation, assisting members of the public, learning new skills and meeting new people – and acquiring a sense of ‘ownership’ – are of considerable to exceptional significance.**

7.5.2 Leisure, Recreation and Access

Lyveden lies at the heart of a network of footpaths and bridleways which cover much of this part of Northamptonshire, linking villages, woodlands and open countryside. In particular, it is one of the jewels in The Lyveden Way, a long-distance path which was officially opened in 2005, and includes also Fermyn Woods Country Park and

Wadenhoe. Lyveden is not far from several major centres of population – Peterborough, Corby and Kettering being the most obvious – and it can thus provide a peaceful place to stop. That the Cottage now provides excellent refreshments is a bonus.

The acquisition of Lyveden Manor could now create opportunities for providing the facilities of a welcome / visitor centre. Likewise, the development of the gardens in the vicinity of the Manor could help the site to absorb a greater number of visitors without overwhelming its 'spirit of place'.

- **That Lyveden offers a place of interest and refreshment to those enjoying the footpaths and bridleways in this part of Northamptonshire is of considerable to exceptional significance.**
- **The steep climb up the hill, from Manor to 'Lyveden Lantern' does limit access for all. Without strategies to manage this problem, this has the potential for having a negative impact on the perception and understanding of some visitors.**

7.5.3 National and International Visitors

As a Grade I site, Lyveden represents a work of art of national and international significance. As such, the estate relates to two or three other comparable sites in the county, including Kirby Hall, Lyveden's Triangular Lodge at Rushton, and Canons Ashby; but this area is not as well supplied with such attractions as many other parts of the country. Therefore, Lyveden takes on an even greater significance for the numerous visitors who come from far afield.

So great is the significance of this composition of buildings and gardens, as an expression of the turbulence surrounding the early years of the Reformation and of the flourishing English Renaissance, that it must be explained and promoted to a wider audience of national and international visitors. Lyveden can say much about England, about our attitude to the rest of Europe, about our relationship with the institutions of state, including Parliament, the established Church and the monarchy. Clearly, this will need to be done with a great deal of delicacy, to ensure that the innate qualities of this relatively small site are not overwhelmed. But, the acquisition of Lyveden Manor does create opportunities to pursue this goal.

At the moment, the range of information and interpretation is suitably low-key. But there are opportunities, here, for enlarging links with local and regional schools and, perhaps, engaging more with film and photography of the site.

On a simple level, there is great deal about Lyveden which will appeal because it is beautiful; and there are now opportunities for expanding this.

- **With its Grade I listed buildings and Grade I registered gardens, Lyveden constitutes an attraction of exceptional significance for national and international visitors.**
- **Lyveden's capacity to delight the senses and illuminate our understanding about England itself is enormous and of exceptional significance.**

7.5.4 Education, Interpretation and Communication

Issues relating to education etc. have already been mentioned, above. We repeat that the quality of interpretation at the moment – with modest, lectern-style stands, discreetly located – is very suitable. The enclosed information might be updated on a regular basis. The brochure is excellent: clear, well-illustrated and communicative. Again, there might be some themes which would benefit from being updated. Much of the best interpretation at Lyveden, however, is presented via special events, for children and adults, and by the seasonal appeal of the blossoming and fruiting orchard etc. Events such as this can offer visitors a means of gaining a greater understanding and enjoyment of Lyveden, without littering the site with notices or gadgets.

If Lyveden Manor were to become available for use as a visitor centre, with a car park, this will make an enormous contribution to managing increasing visitor numbers and to creating opportunities for exhibitions and interactive displays. It will also be of inestimable value to be able to approach the Lyveden Lodge – the ‘Lyveden Lantern’ – climbing the hill, through the gardens, from the north.

It should also be emphasised, here, that Lyveden has a highly valuable resource in its long-standing staff members and its volunteers, who possess, between them, enormous enthusiasm and plentiful knowledge of the fabric and history of the estate and its management. This knowledge should be made much more available without delay, to take advantage of the work that has been undertaken over the years, before people move on to other things(!). To this end, it is essential that, from now on, key staff members and volunteers should maintain an up-to-date record of works, including planting, repairs, research and discoveries etc. This is one area where Lyveden’s history of being somewhat withdrawn from the world should not be maintained.

- **Public access to an understanding of Lyveden, and an enjoyment of what it has to offer, is made available through a variety of low-key interpretation vehicles and a series of special, site-specific, events. This is of considerable significance.**
- **The quality of the staff and volunteers at Lyveden is outstanding. The range and depth of their research into the site, their understanding and their attachment to it, is very valuable and this is a resource which should be harnessed and made more available. The character of Lyveden means that, the more individual people can record and share their knowledge, the more visitors will benefit. This degree of personal ‘ownership’ is of considerable significance.**
- **Facilitating access through the gardens, from the Manor on the valley floor, upwards towards the ‘Lyveden Lantern’ on the crest of the hill, will be of exceptional significance in communicating much, to visitors, about Tresham’s vision for Lyveden.**

8 ANALYSIS & UNDERSTANDING: ISSUES - OPPORTUNITIES & CONSTRAINTS

8.1 Introduction

Having surveyed and analysed many aspects of the gardens and buildings at Lyveden, this is the occasion to sum up progress thus far.

It is clear, from our discussion of the historical development of Lyveden (Section 4), and from our examination of the site's status and condition (Section 5), that Lyveden is of great significance and that what we see now represents a site which is being – perhaps for the first time in several centuries – fully appreciated.

Even though the National Trust acquired Lyveden in 1922 – at which point, it was the garden Lodge which commanded particular interest and attention – we can say that it is only in the last two decades (since the arrival of Mark Bradshaw, as Custodian, in 1995), that a great deal of work has gone into clearing, revealing, conserving and starting to understand and enjoy the gardens. Furthermore, it is only in recent years that the fairly intense post-War arable farming, which has effected considerable change to some parts of the landscape setting of the Lyveden Lodge and Manor House, has been excluded from key areas. Finally, we are now in the privileged position of witnessing the reunification of the heart of this estate, with the National Trust's acquisition of Lyveden Manor, in 2012.

For many reasons, this acquisition is a most encouraging development, not least because it opens the possibility of being able to provide visitor and welcome facilities in the Manor and allow the reinstatement of the 'proper' approach, from the Manor in the valley, to the Lodge at the top of the hill. By 'proper', we refer to Sir Thomas Tresham's quite remarkable, Elizabethan composition of buildings and gardens, which he laid out as a highly ornamental estate and – of even more moment – as a poetic narrative, through which can be read his religious passion and his journeys of intellectual enquiry. Tresham was an Elizabethan who spent much of the last quarter century of his life in prison. This meant that his contacts with his neighbours and friends must have been constrained. Perhaps to counter the desolation caused by such a life, Tresham built a library which enabled him to open the windows of his mind onto the world of European scholarship, both Antique and modern. Thus, Tresham emerges as one of the most impressive Renaissance men of his day. And Lyveden was the last – and, in some ways, the finest – manifestation of his brilliance and passion.

Lyveden, then, is approaching a time when decisions about its future will have an enormous impact on how this estate will be visited, how it will be appreciated, what we can learn from the place. It is in this context that we now explore the opportunities that are available for the future of Lyveden, and test these against the constraints or vulnerabilities which might threaten them.

It is against this background, then, that Section 8 sets out to highlight:

- the strengths of the gardens and buildings, as demonstrated in the significances;
- opportunities and appropriate ambitions for the estate in the future, and the strategies which will support those ambitions;
- the constraints and vulnerabilities which may threaten them.

The analysis will be conducted in two parts. Firstly, we shall consider the *Lyveden Vision Document*, produced by Mark Bradshaw in 2013.

'Lyveden is one of the most important, beautiful and unspoilt Elizabethan gardens in England, yet relatively few people are aware of its special qualities. Over the next ten years, Lyveden presents an opportunity to shine as a beacon for conservation and visitor engagement through an ambitious garden restoration programme which will reach new and diverse audiences and establish Lyveden as a garden and visitor experience of national if not international significance.'

In order to fulfil the aims envisaged here, Bradshaw has identified eight objectives, summarised below.

- Lyveden Manor House will be the 'gateway to the Lyveden experience'.
- The 'story of Lyveden' will be revealed.
- People of all ages will enjoy being outdoors and connecting with nature.
- Visitor enjoyment will be at the 'heart of the plan'.
- Volunteers will be involved in every aspect.
- The setting of Lyveden 'as a special place will be safeguarded' and conservation of historic garden and lodge will be excellent.
- Visitor number will increase to 'over 50,000' with an outdoor offer at all times of the year.
- A 'Lyveden brand' will engage and inspire visitors.

Secondly, we shall test the opportunities and potential threats against the identified significances, employing the same headings as outlined in Section 7. Accordingly, we shall consider the evidential, historical, aesthetic and community values of the site as a whole.

8.2 Strengths, Opportunities and Ambitions: and the Constraints or Vulnerabilities which might threaten them.

8.2.1 *Vision & Objectives from the Lyveden Vision Document, 2013.*

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Lyveden Vision, 2013	- One of the most important, beautiful & unspoilt Elizabethan gardens will 'shine as a beacon for conservation and visitor engagement through an ambitious garden restoration programme' and establish Lyveden as a garden 'of national if not international significance'.	- Opportunity immense and wholly justified. But, its realisation carries the potential for new developments / attractions to overwhelm some of identified significances. Without doubt, Lyveden is intrinsically a site of national & international significance. Its qualities of design and profundity of concept offer a unique reflection on Elizabethan life, politics, art and religion at a time when the foundations of modern Britain were being laid. Thus, Lyveden as a 'beacon for conservation' must not be overwhelmed by a restoration programme. This must be 'ambitious' in its sensitivity, and not in its assertiveness.
Lyveden Vision Objectives	Lyveden Manor House will be the 'gateway to the Lyveden experience'. - Invaluable opportunity to reunite the 'Old Bield' with the 'New Bield' & gardens. - Important to create a place to absorb the expected increase in visitor numbers and offer	- The Manor House is Grade I and is accompanied by associated restrictions. Nevertheless, it is clear that the last decade has witnessed such change in this building (see Section 5), that some damage has been inflicted on its significances - which, at the same time, could be said to create some new

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	interpretation, refreshments etc. Above all, a visit to the top of the hill should be launched here, so that Tresham's vision can be more closely understood.	opportunities for development. Great care will have to be exercised to retain as much historic fabric / character as possible. - There is the potential for archaeological constraints to limit opportunities for garden restoration. On the other hand, the post-War impact of arable farming, followed by extensive remodelling associated with house alterations, has demonstrably eradicated much, if not all, of the archaeological resource in the vicinity of the Manor. - Whilst the Manor provides an excellent opportunity to absorb and engage visitors, it is essential that the potential of creating a 'rival' attraction to the Lodge and gardens on top of the hill is resisted. - The Elizabethan gardens should offer inspiration to any new development, so that a legible link between the Manor and the extant Tresham gardens is created. But the new gardens must also have a distinct, complementary, life of their own. - As a 'gateway', the Manor will attract more visitors. Facilities such as car parking will have to be handled very carefully. No sign of the modern world must intrude on the experience of the Lodge and its setting.
Lyveden Vision Objectives	The 'story of Lyveden' will be revealed. - Essential and rewarding. That Lyveden offers not just a place of designed and natural beauty, but also a deeply philosophical commentary on the world, is its crowning glory. - Rich opportunities for interpretation / education. Much can be provided in the Manor that will then equip the visitor to climb towards the Lodge and gardens on the crest of the hill, and enjoy / understand what they find there. - The long history of studying the archaeology of the site and its setting can be exploited in support of revealing the story of Lyveden.	- The burden of Tresham's investment in Lyveden is such that it can easily be overwhelmed by a simplistic or pretentious approach to 'revealing the narrative'. Whilst there is a vital place for interpretation, which must appeal to people of all ages and abilities, it is essential that there remains the possibility of 'confronting' the Lyveden Lodge and its setting in a quiet and personal manner. Thus, Lyveden can disclose something of its story in a very intimate way. The unique quality of Lyveden is its direct invitation – apparently unmediated by the modern world – to engage the imagination and enter a world of 400 years ago. - Modern education and sensibilities are unlikely to equip many visitors with the means of coming to terms with the significance of Tresham's complex Catholic theology. The task of demonstrating how important this is – in some ways, how very relevant to the notion of 'Englishness' itself – will require great care.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Lyveden Vision Objectives	People of all ages will enjoy being outdoors and connecting with nature. - One of the distinctive characteristics of this late Elizabethan garden is the way in which it was intended to secure an exchange between the ordered, designed layout and the 'wilder' landscape beyond. Views and walks offered the means of exploring these contrasts (which did, of course, have philosophical significance). In designing new gardens for the Manor and providing a route from valley to crest of hill, this relationship must be exploited. - The natural beauty of Lyveden – and the opportunities to use the site as hub for exploring the much wider reaches of the former Rockingham Forest – can be maximised.	- Potential that development of infrastructure designed to help general enjoyment of nature – e.g., car park, bike racks, playgrounds etc. – might overwhelm unrecognised & unprotected assets and significances. - At Lyveden, the panoramic views of nature are amongst the delights. Should there be an intrusion on this panorama of any feature which introduces sight of modern / industrial world, there is potential for serious damage to this quality.
Lyveden Vision Objectives	Visitor enjoyment will be at the 'heart of the plan'. - Enjoyment, derived from wonder at what Lyveden offers, must be the key to visiting this site. - Because Lyveden is a survival from the Elizabethan age, and has suffered relatively little later intervention (apart from post-War farming), there are many unique opportunities to explore something of the life of a gentry family in c.1600. Measuring tools, 'primitive' magnets, theodolites, globes, early maps of the world; the qualities of historic orchard fruits, baking, preserving and cooking to Tudor recipes; styles of planting and selections of plants, techniques of grafting, cultivating and displaying; the locally-quarried materials, the tools, skills and symbols employed by masons in c.1600: information about all of these can be found on site, in the Tresham documents & in the work of contemporaries. Practical activities such as this could be enjoyed by visitors of all ages.	- There will be many ways in which visitors could enjoy themselves, but not know they are at Lyveden. Therefore, although there will be a need to offer a range of general services and facilities, care must be taken to secure some of the most distinctive and significant characteristics of Lyveden itself: qualities of silence and peacefulness; the pleasures of 'discovering' an outstanding and poetic work of art; the opportunity to sense something of the great age of Lyveden and its depth of history; the impress of the powerful personality of Lyveden's maker; occasions for solitude; the invitation to enjoy the beautiful setting of the Lyveden valley. All these have all been marvellously revealed and retained in what has been done thus far. This should be a model for the future. - There are many enjoyable activities to be had at NT sites across the country. Tailoring these to Lyveden will be important.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Lyveden Vision Objectives	Volunteers will be involved in every aspect. - The engagement and enthusiasm of volunteers at Lyveden is now, and should remain, one of the attractive features of this site. It enriches not only the lives of the volunteers but also the visitors' experience. - Given the lack of an immediate population around Lyveden, the fact that volunteers come from quite a wide catchment creates a regional audience, and promotes a sense of 'ownership' amongst a wide community.	- For a number of years, volunteers have played a leading role at Lyveden, in maintaining the site, researching it and engaging with visitors. This has been invaluable. Assuming a considerable growth in visitor numbers, however, the management and direction of volunteers will become more arduous. - The care necessary to maintain Lyveden today is considerable. Even now, however, there are grounds maintenance practices which are not all desirable - but which, with a volunteer workforce, are difficult to control. Times for undertaking some tasks should be modified by the needs of visitors: cutting hedges around the Cottage garden when visitors are lunching there, for example, is not appropriate; neither is depositing and burning vegetative waste on the land to the west of the moated orchard. - In addition to the notes above, the HLS Agreement prescribes some management practices which should to be followed carefully. Not only is there a growing number of visitors, but there is also an enlarged estate, given the recent acquisitions of the NT. A fair amount of this is now under HLS. - The facilities available to support grounds maintenance activities are inadequate. The use of land in the vicinity of the Manor should help to alleviate this problem; but care needs to be given to supporting volunteers with suitable infrastructure. - The likelihood of needing to employ suitably skilled staff in the future carries with it the potential for conflict with volunteers.
Lyveden Vision Objectives	The setting of Lyveden 'as a special place will be safeguarded' and conservation of historic garden and lodge will be excellent. - Emphasising the importance of the setting of Lyveden in enriching and securing its sense of being a very 'special place' is a priority. Recognising the significance of Tresham's vision of the 'Lyveden Lantern' – the Lodge – means that securing the timeless and beautiful quality of its setting becomes imperative. - Opportunities to conserve the historic garden of Lyveden, to make improvements to its	- There are obvious threats to the setting of a place such as Lyveden, where the NT has little control over the wider landscape and can influence any potentially damaging developments only with great difficulty and dedication. - As already noted, the prospect of creating an appropriate new layout around the Manor, and replanting some of the material Tresham is known to have chosen for the setting of his garden Lodge, is exciting. Great discretion will have to be exercised, however. There will be areas where conservation and consolidation

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	planting and presentation, will be rewarding. Carefully done, re-establishing a link between the Lodge and its setting, and the gardens of the Manor, will enhance the significance of Lyveden still further.	must come before restoration or recreation, where the latter might risk detracting from the character of the unique historic survival of the bones of Lyveden.
Lyveden Vision Objectives	Visitor numbers will increase to 'over 50,000' with an outdoor offer at all times of the year. - What Lyveden can offer to a large audience is very considerable. This is especially true in the context of a county which does not have a wide range of similar historic attractions and where the population is set to increase over the coming years. Encouraging the arrival of more visitors, throughout the year, has to be an important ambition.	- The potential threat, of bringing in so many people that the pleasure and enjoyment offered by Lyveden becomes compromised, is obvious. The damage to the vulnerable historic fabric of turf walks, mounts, embankment, edges of the moated channels and etc. could be serious (indeed, is already something of an issue). There are real possibilities of erosion, damage and loss - especially in the vicinity of the Lyveden Lodge, where there is perched water held in boulder clay, resulting in wet conditions underfoot, and not just in the winter. It will be necessary to manage the distribution of people across the whole site and throughout the year with great care. - It should be accepted that there might be times of the year that visitor numbers become so great or conditions so vulnerable that areas have to be closed off.
Lyveden Vision Objectives	A 'Lyveden brand' will engage and inspire visitors. - As intimated already, identifying and focusing on a 'Lyveden brand' will be a key to securing its future. This will, at once, signal Lyveden's uniqueness and its national / international significance and help to secure its protection. It must also give the NT the opportunity to resist pressures – from wheresoever – to treat Lyveden as it might another site. All NT places are, of course, individual; but many are much larger, more robust and more able to withstand the impact of large numbers of visitors. Few depend so much on the combination of peaceful isolation set within a panoramic landscape - qualities which Tresham selected as a proper context for creating this work of art, and which are essential to its power.	- Stamping a brand on a site such as this could offer the temptation of trying to make it fulfil too many diverse expectations. Once the tastes of all the current and future visitors are ascertained, and once facilities are created to engage and inspire every type and segment of visitor - Lyveden could be lost. Treating Lyveden as a unique work of art, replete with natural beauty and infused with history and religion, will serve quite well enough. This will secure and perpetuate its significance; it might not, however, engage and inspire <u>all</u> comers.

8.2.2 *Strengths & Weaknesses attached to Significances in Section 7*

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Evidential Significances	Geomorphology - The mediaeval history of Lyveden is associated not only with arable and pastoral farming, supported by the Lyveden Brook and the light soils of the valley, but also with a flourishing pottery industry dependent on the boulder clay outcrops in the area. The character of the early settlements was made possible by the local geomorphology. Combined with the well-documented archaeological surveys of the DMV at Lyveden, there is plenty of good material, here, for interpretation. - The Lyveden Brook supported the development of what is now Lyveden Manor. It is not clear when this was first built – probably it had mediaeval origins – but it seems that the modest Brook was managed, before c.1600, perhaps to supply water, fish and energy. Mapping and archaeological evidence can help to reveal more of the story of Lyveden. - Despite the inevitable problems – mainly associated with cultivating gardens and providing drainage – Tresham selected the hillside and the boulder clay above the Lyveden Brook for his gardens, moats, garden Lodge. Clearly, the topography of the place – with the narrative implicit in the climb and the panoramic views which were afforded from the hill-top plateau – was both a necessity and an inspiration. This offers opportunities to explore the significance of the geology and topography of this spot of Northamptonshire.	- The failure to recognise that one of the key features of Tresham's landscape layout is the command of the local panorama – explaining the location and alignment of the garden Lodge, the 'Lyveden Lantern' – could easily lead to inappropriate and devastating intrusion on this unique work of art. The fact that Tresham took advantage of the local geography, to imply a command over a much wider stretch of the earth and even the heavens, lends still greater emphasis to the importance of retaining a sense of capacious space and timelessness in the setting of his gardens. - Lack of awareness of this intimate relationship between the mediaeval and Tudor development of Lyveden and the geology and topography which supported it, could be a threat. - Reduction in visibility of the Lyveden Brook in places is partly consequence of deep ditch (?flood control) & some dense vegetation. This might lead to undervaluing the significance & appeal of this feature. - The possibility that water is extracted from the Brook, somewhere upstream, cannot be discounted. This might help to explain the fact that the Brook sometimes runs dry in places. - Threats of flooding or of undermining earth banks of the ditch need to be tackled. - The wet, under-foot conditions attendant on the gardens in places, especially in winter, will require careful management, especially with increased visitor numbers. - The fact that Lyveden Manor lies at the bottom of the steep hill, below the Lodge and gardens, means that water can pour down the hillside and has already – in the past – undermined the structural stability of a SE corner of the house. This followed the late 20th C removal of the terraces & the ploughing of the hillside, followed by crude cut and fill to facilitate tennis court / extension to Manor. Any future redesign of layout and topography of gardens around the Manor must address need to manage the water flowing down the hill etc.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Evidential Significances	Natural Diversity - Lyveden and its setting (some of which is a designated Local Wildlife Site) affords a core of real and potential biodiversity, set within a context which is extensively managed for arable production and has, accordingly, lost many of its traditional hedges etc. Exploit and sustain opportunities for providing / reinforcing corridors of diversity, linking with woodlands, hedges, streams etc. beyond the estate. This will help to support rare & protected species & habitats, including fulfilling appropriate BAPs (e.g., for Ponds; Rivers & species therein; Wood Pasture and Parkland; Lowland Mixed Deciduous Woodland; Wet Woodland; Hedgerows; Traditional Orchards; Otter and Watervole)¹. - There are opportunities to develop more considered programme of tree management & replanting. This applies particularly in the context of the mounts, the woodland to the W and SW of the moated orchard and the poplar plantation to the W and NW of the Manor. - The NT has a wonderful enthusiasm for commissioning ecological surveys; often, however, the reports have remained in hard copy, isolated from either earlier surveys or future management. Opportunities are now much more available to use these surveys to build up a remarkable and illuminating record, which can inform continuing management. For the future: identify and monitor rare & protected species and habitats at Lyveden. This could be undertaken as a regular volunteer/visitor exercise. A useful and accessible record should be kept – electronically – so that Nature Conservation and Biodiversity surveys can be added	- In order to increase and sustain the natural diversity of the Lyveden estate, and the benefits it can bring to the wider setting, there is much that has already been done - e.g., new hedgerow corridors, new deciduous woodland links with Lilford & Lady Wood, new orchard of historic fruit (traditional orchard), newly-seeded meadows (most recently employing seed from local SSSI) and HLS Agreement for management thereof. The demands inherent in reducing the enrichment of the formerly arable fields and suppressing / eradicating coarse, ruderal herbage, will continue to be substantial. - There is the potential for appropriate conservation and protection of the Grade I historic significance of Lyveden to be overlooked. Care must always be taken to balance the significance of ecology and history / archaeology. - It is likely that, in the short term, the works necessary to make the Manor fulfil a role as a welcome / visitor centre, to introduce car park and other facilities, to remodel the gardens of the Manor so that they can provide an appropriate setting to the house and a starting point for the journey to the Lodge, and to improve the management of woodland etc., will cause some short-term ecological damage. Care must always be taken to preface such works with appropriate surveys, consultation, licences and mitigation. - Essential, when desilting the moats in the future, to plan for proper scientific analysis of water, silt and burden of biomass. Also essential - appropriate permissions from the EA & plans for temporary / permanent storage of silt on or near the site (depending on status of silt and receiving site). Deposition sites must exclude all areas of historic and/or archaeological significance (e.g., the SAM); and all areas being managed under HD4, HD5, HK6, HK13, HK15, HK16 in the HLS Agreement.

¹ See *Northamptonshire Biodiversity Action Plan (BAP)*, 2007/8, which provides guidelines and targets to be implemented by 2015.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	to what has gone before and can be used to modify / reinforce management practices (which should also be recorded). - Use this information – and augment it with results of pond-dipping etc. – to enlarge interpretation of natural diversity. - Continue to augment and manage species-rich grassland, especially to contribute to a site-wide policy of providing nectar-rich flowers to support bees and other pollinating insects. Select some shrubs, to plant in suitable places, which increase length of flowering season. - Manage & minimise compaction & erosion, including any that arises as consequence of increased footfall and new design development.	
Evidential Significances	Trees and Woodland - Lyveden is at the heart of an area which once lay in the mediaeval Rockingham Forest, & which (further afield) retains some of the best-preserved mediaeval woodlands in England. The woodlands around Lyveden represent fragments of that Forest. Lyveden is of significance as an historic, Forest settlement and it provides a vital, biodiverse link between some of the surviving hedges and woodland parcels in the area. There are many opportunities to improve the management of the links with – &, therefore interpretation of – the historic woodland in the area. - Closely manage individual mature, veteran and significant trees. There are relatively few of these at Lyveden - though they include the fine English oak near the Lodge, a veteran ash near the entrance gate and the numerous old thorns, field maples, crab apples etc. Prepare Individual or Group Tree Management Plans (TMP) and monitor and manage accordingly. Enhance interpretation.	- Some of the most significant, individual specimen trees in the area – in addition to the small number of oak, sycamore and ash trees of real maturity and veteran status – are small, sometimes visually insignificant and, therefore, overlooked. They include field maple, sloe, crab, birch, hawthorn etc. These represent not only stock that is of considerable age but also suggest exactly the kind of material which would have been found in Tresham's gardens in the late 16th century. Some of these trees are being threatened by age, structural collapse, erosion etc. Though small in stature and sometimes in poor condition, these trees are of real significance and should be cherished and properly managed. - Compaction & erosion is a significant threat to health and longevity of trees etc.; in this instance, this applies especially to the ash trees on & around the mounts. They are very etiolated & show die-back & are plainly in only moderate → poor health. Their casual loss will inevitably damage the mounts. Although their appearance is very evocative, it is probable that they should – some or all – be removed - The threat of disease is a real one in relation to the ash trees on the site and the elms. Saplings (from seed and suckers) of both wych elm and English elm can be found on the site, again with plenty of die-back, signifying disease. It may not be possible to manage the site to

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
		exclude Dutch elm disease, but it should be possible to keep a stock of young elms healthy for as long as possible. - Removal of sycamores in the past, seems to have been implemented following outdated advice about these being 'non-native'. Without the necessity of debating what was or was not here before the loss of the 'land bridge' with Europe, there is little justification for felling healthy trees which, in this instance, clearly had/have both ecological and historic significance. Care must always be taken to interrogate reasons for removing trees and to balance the interests of diversity, beauty and historical significance. - Because the balsam poplars in the north of the site appear relatively young, healthy and provide an effective screen, the temptation will be to keep them. Whilst we do not suggest wholesale removal, this area of single-species woodland, planted in martial rows, can be treated as sacrificial: car parking in the vicinity may be a good option. Renewed planting, with a range of deciduous broadleaf trees, supplemented by some Scots pine, would, in time, create an improved woodland.
Evidential Significances	Technology - The development of mediaeval settlements & industry in & around Lyveden has been facilitated by exploitation of the local geology & skilled craftsmanship. Explore the potential for interpreting the significance & dispersal of Lyveden-ware pottery, for example. Opportunities also for site-specific craft items / local pottery in the shop? - Likewise, interpret the use & significance of the technologies necessary to the practical manipulation of water bodies & creation of lavish water gardens, which are such a major feature of Lyveden. - The quarrying of local stone & its working by skilled stonemasons lends the buildings – especially the Lodge – a highly individual and local character. This again offers opportunities for interpretation, with practical activities; it also demands exceptional levels of skilful conservation.	- The temptation, at Lyveden, is not to make enough of the wider setting of the estate. The early history of the settlements in this area – despite loss of extant archaeology – is not only intrinsically interesting, but also helps to explain the valley's appearance and potential when the Treshams emparked Lyveden and when Sir Thomas Tresham then selected this spot for the development of his significant gardens. - The fact that the Manor has, for a long period, been in separate ownership / management from the gardens and the Lodge has led to a loss of evidence of the remarkable technical skill still displayed in the construction of the Lodge. Care will have to be taken to identify the remnant of historic fabric and stone-working on the Manor, and highlight these, via future interpretation and appropriate conservation.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Historical Significances	Archaeology - The documentary archaeological evidence of living and working in the Lyveden valley, especially in the mediaeval period, is remarkable. This offers great opportunities for interpretation. - The interesting – and still puzzling – reasons for the distinctive development of mediaeval settlements in the Lyveden valley should be explored and interpreted. - The surviving above-ground, evidence of Lyveden's late Elizabethan garden and its Lodge – much appropriately protected by its designation as a SAM – is remarkable. Though much below-ground archaeological fabric has been lost, the importance of what survives invites a range of rewarding interpretation. - The significance of the involvement of boys from Kettering Grammar School in researching the mediaeval history of Lyveden might prompt very useful & productive links with local schools now in the area, as well as other local interest groups etc. - Ensure that all records and interpretation of all the Lyveden archaeology undertaken to date are entered on a single data-base, as a foundation for future work and a resource for interpretation / education.	- Much archaeology at Lyveden has been lost to arable farming since the War. This could lead to down-grading of significance of the archaeological record. It could also lead to desire to transform Lyveden into a restored 'Elizabethan' garden, as well as introduce modern infrastructure and attractions etc., 'free' of archaeological constraints. This could → loss of understanding (even if all proper attention is paid to extant archaeology / historic fabric etc.). It could overwhelm that special 'spirit of place' which is, today, generated partly by the fact that the Tresham gardens were left unfinished. The apparent abruptness of this downing of tools is one of the triggers which, today, challenges and invites responses from intellect and imagination. In itself, this history could be described as 'intangible' archaeology. - That Lyveden has invited archaeological examination since the 1930s is significant. The fact that the results tend to exist in separate reports / mainly hard copy, means that the record might be lost / overlooked.
Historical Significances	Culture - The Lyveden composition represents a unique religious and cultural icon or manifesto. It embodies a narrative of huge importance in the late 16th century. To encourage visitors to explore the significance of this aspect of Lyveden today will be challenging, but very rewarding. - Sir Thomas Tresham envisaged his Lyveden estate, and especially the 'Lyveden Lantern', as a	- There is likely to be a degree of hesitancy in fully exploring and revealing the Catholic significance of Lyveden in a period when the quarrel between Christian denominations was of great moment & reflected political, economic & social change on a grand scale. Today's multi-cultural society, with current tensions & sensitivities, reveals some parallels. But, so important is the ultimate – post 'Glorious Revolution' – definition of 'Englishness' as Protestant, that this narrative must be explored, despite (or because of) the inherently difficult challenges.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	beacon of religious conviction, communicating with the wider world and even with God. This emphasis on the conceptual, as well as the physical, fabric and design of Lyveden should be a very distinct part of the interpretation of the site. It also offers further opportunity for real scholarship in the future. - Establish trail / links with Rushton Triangular Lodge (EH), Rushton Hall (now an hotel), Deene Park (in private ownership), & especially its library, & Rothwell market house, to enhance understanding of Tresham's life, context & achievements. This is in addition to other historic gardens of the period and not far from Lyveden, including: two private estates, open to the public, Holdenby (extant terraces) and Burghley (grand Elizabethan house with Brown landscape, but little evidence of Elizabethan garden layout); Kirby Hall (EH), with major restoration / recreation of Elizabethan Great Garden; & remarkable earthwork remains of early 17th C gardens (probably by Richard Cecil, grandson of William) at Wakerley, N of Lyveden. Also of significance, in context of Lyveden is Lyddington Bede House (EH) & several of the local churches, including Wadenhoe. - The fact that Tresham's post-1580 life is at the heart of Lyveden, should not exclude the interpretation of his earlier life - & that of family and friends. This offers fascinating insight into Elizabethan social relationships, courtly life, expressions of wealth, estate management, theatre, scholarship, architecture and garden design, poetry and music. - The area in immediate vicinity of Lyveden has documented & archaeological history which tells much about the development of the mediaeval Rockingham Forest & settlements in the Lyveden valley. This is a rich resource for interpretation of royal forests, links between parishes & settlement patterns, farming	- It is true that some of the conclusions we have come to, with regard to Tresham's investment of specific narratives in his Lyveden composition, depend on circumstantial, rather than concrete, evidence. The temptation, therefore, will be to overlook them. Yet, the real threat is simply to repeat the well-worn references to symbolic numbers (reasonably easy to comprehend), without a further examination of the complexity of Tresham's vision. Further research will certainly reveal more: but it needs to be accepted that 4 centuries have elapsed and our access to the attitudes / learning etc. of a late Elizabethan religious scholar are limited. A deliberate focus on discovering more, <i>and</i> a clear recognition that informed (sometimes unverifiable) speculation will continue to enrich our understanding, will help to keep Lyveden a vital and challenging place to visit.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	practices etc., as well as depopulation etc., leaving the valley probably fairly empty by the 15th C. - The array of contemporary documentary evidence (in the form of letters, diaries etc.) which allows some access to Tresham's life etc., is remarkable. Further research into, transcription of, manuscript documents will be invaluable. Consider opportunities to commission further research / establish links with post-graduate courses for archivists (see courses accredited by Arts & Humanities Research Council, AHRC).	
Historical Significan-ces	Politics & Economics - Our understanding of the mediaeval economy / power structures of the Lyveden valley before the arrival of the Treshams is well explained by reports on various studies – within last 30-40 years – of patterns of settlement & etc. The Rockingham Forest Trust is also a potential source of much useful commentary. Explore the significance of this context for development of Lyveden. - Information about the social, political & economic life of Sir Thomas Tresham, his wife, Muriel, a daughter of the Throckmorton family, and their household, including children and servants, offers a remarkable insight to the period, both in Northamptonshire & in the country as a whole. Again, this material is the stuff of some fascinating interpretation.	- Failure to recognise & interpret significance of Tresham & Lyveden as a unique (we can think of no competition) exemplar of life as an Elizabethan, a scholar, and a Catholic recusant, subject to immense political & economic pressures, could obscure national and international significance of the place. In future, when more people will be involved in managing a larger site – with many demands being made on it – it might be too easy to overlook and undervalue this aspect of Lyveden's significance. - The lives of Sir Thomas Tresham's children, including Francis Tresham, place this family at the heart of some of the greatest political strife of the period. This is of great importance: but the fact that the 'Gunpowder Plot' is (relatively speaking) such an interesting and well-known event, could lead to its being the single scrap of 'history' attached to Lyveden. - The significance of Tresham should not blind us to the story of Lyveden in later times & the ways in which it provides a commentary on contemporary politics etc.
Historical Significan-ces	Historic events - Explore & interpret momentous historic events as manifest in the gardens & buildings. Tresham's persecution was a consequence of the Dissolution, from 1530s, & an expression of the Reformation. The impact of these events was profound & continued to have direct consequences: Armada; Civil War; 'Glorious Revolution';	- Failure to recognise and interpret significance of links between gardens & contemporary historical context → lack of understanding amongst visitors & gardeners & tendency to lose wider & deeper meanings of the site.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	Enlightenment; Roman Catholic Relief Act, 1829, & further emancipation; even the condition of Ireland today. That Tresham's major works of art were created as a commentary on this period offers tremendous opportunities for education / interpretation / research. - Links between Tresham & Jesuit, Edmund Campion, tie Lyveden into the last period of intense religious persecution and martyrdom in England. This should form part of educational background offering, at Lyveden.	
Historical Significan-ces	People: families, designers, craftsmen - Tresham's library & his creations place him firmly at the heart of English Renaissance intellectual and scientific life. Amongst the great scholars whom he particularly admired were Gerard Mercator, Tycho Brahe, Francis Lucas. Tresham's links with these scientists & philosophers offer possibility of exploring links with European Renaissance scholarship. - Tresham's links with contemporary English philosophers, courtiers, artists – Cecils, Hatton, Francis Bacon, for e.g. – & others who created 'prodigy' house & gardens, should also be explored. - Links with named servants & craftsmen, & extant evidence of the work they produced, will be very rewarding to research and interpret.	- Emphasis on the great tides of history is essential. But, without taking the opportunity to examine some of the individuals – family, friends, retainers, contemporary European and English courtiers, scholars, artists & poets – much will be lost.
Historical Significan-ces	Plant species / cultivars - The replanted orchard, full of historic varieties of fruit, is a great achievement at Lyveden. Making much more about history, sources, cultivation and use of the historic plants we know to have been at Lyveden will be important in the future.	- The cultural demands of the fruit trees – and of plants introduced to the gardens in the future – will increase with time. It is important that lack of skill does not compromise the flourishing health of historic plants at Lyveden.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
Aesthetic Significances	Design & Architecture / Design Philosophy - As already noted above, there are several opportunities to establish links with other venues in Northamptonshire (& further afield) which will help to underline the aesthetic context & significance of Lyveden.	- Lack of awareness that the gardens & buildings – especially towards the top of the hill – represent a work of art, & are witness to a sequence of interesting and detailed design decisions → loss of their legibility.
Aesthetic Significances	Trees & Planting - There is sufficient information available about the plants introduced to Lyveden under Tresham's auspices to communicate a good deal about the symbolism / design philosophy employed therein. This should be explored – it might be a theme which could launch some exciting on-site activities. - In particular, Tresham's expertise in growing orchard fruits was recognised in his time, and can be a useful theme to pursue.	- Lack of recognition of significance of trees & shrubs selected for colour, form, character & symbolism etc. → failure to manage and interpret appropriately. - Today's aesthetic is dominated by preoccupation with the 'natural', 'sustainable' & biodiverse. Failure to recognise the aesthetic significances of historic <i>and</i> modern planting / management styles → failure to interpret, & to balance different aesthetic forces.
Aesthetic Significances	Views and Vistas - Views are of great significance at Lyveden. The narrative depends, in part, on the procession through the self-contained, axial layout of the lower terraces, then challenged by the dynamic possibilities of views afforded from middle platform (below Lower Orchard) & mounts, then overwhelmed by commanding, panoramic landscape from 'Lantern'. The garden is on the cusp of a great aesthetic change, which took increasing advantage of ability to surprise and provoke, to contrast artificial enclosure with wider, wilder Nature - &, at Lyveden, with nothing less than God's universe. It will be essential to recognise, maintain and interpret this characteristic. - Developing this point, the vital significance of the views which were to be available from the 'Lyveden Lantern' cannot be over-estimated. Specific views were more important lower down the gardens: from the Lantern,	- Failure to recognise significance of views → their loss in the gardens, isolation of different features & a major loss of understanding. Once trees and shrubs have grown to obscure views - their recovery is sometimes difficult. - Failure to recognise significance of both real & conceptual 'views' at Lyveden will → failure to acknowledge the significance of this site & lay it open to ruin.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	there were local references & regional references &, above all, dynamic relationships with religious festivals & places in the wider world – not least, the <i>Terra Sancta</i> – and even with the cosmos. The narrative embedded in the Lyveden composition and expressed in the views and vistas – real and conceptual – from the Lyveden Lantern, must be interpreted in many & various ways.	
Aesthetic Significan-ces	Waterbodies - The value of the Lyveden Brook to the mediaeval Lyveden villages – supporting the residential settlements, the farming and the industry which developed there – is of significance & should be interpreted. - The Brook, today, could play a much more significant part in the attraction of the gardens. In particular, views of the Brook from the access bridge can be improved; there are possibilities of exploiting the stream to support some wet Alder woodland, and of managing its vegetation to encourage flowering plants etc. - Historically and today, Tresham's moated channels are a beautiful feature of the gardens. They already play a key role in events such as pond-dipping etc. There could also be photography / art classes etc., focusing on the waterbodies.	- Managing waterbodies is always difficult. The Lyveden Brook can easily be overlooked and / or it can be dry or in flood. There needs to be an active engagement with caring for and presenting the Brook to visitors in the future. - The sides and banks of the moated channels are being, and will continue to be, damaged by erosion and collapse, caused by footfall, loss of trees, etc. There has been a suggestion that there should be an engineered solution to this problem (e.g., retaining the north bank of the north moat with gabions). Whilst an engineered solution would be possible, we do not think that gabions should be used. The water of the moat is very clear and the gabions would be very visible, for quite a long time (perhaps until the channel becomes silted-up once more). It is clear that the angle of the sides of Tresham's moats represented a continuation of the line of the embankments / banks above. Efforts should be made to reinstate this line (which has been lost to erosion, past digging with dumper trucks, etc.). This line could be retained with stone slips: a major exercise, but one which would always appear visually acceptable. At the very least, in the most vulnerable / damaged places – i.e., north channel – people should be excluded from efforts to walk along the margins of the water.
Aesthetic Significan-ces	Spirit of Place - The unique spirit of place attached to Lyveden has been much commented on and written about. It is encouraging that the NT is increasingly confident in putting these rather evanescent qualities into words and engaging visitors with expressing their emotional / imaginative responses to the site. We recommend a brave and	- Failure to recognise intangible, but essential qualities which make up the 'spirit of place' at Lyveden can lead to its loss. These qualities include the relative isolation and small scale of the place; its tranquillity; the timelessness derived from the panoramic setting of the Lodge and the lack of anything to signify the intrusion of the modern world; the immediacy of encountering a building and a garden which appears as if it were only recently interrupted.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	active programme of encouraging a community of shared responses to the 'spirit of place'.	- Loss of those qualities outlined above can be consequent not only on major intrusions beyond the immediate boundaries of the gardens, but also on developments in the Manor and its setting, which might be too grandiose, too busy, too 'finished', too modern.
Community Significan-ces	Lyveden & its community - Lyveden has generated a strong sense of commitment and ownership amongst staff, volunteers and visitors. In our experience, this is a very unusual, if not unique, relationship between a public site and a community of people who know, visit and work there. Every effort must be made to retain this, in the face of enlargement and change. - Promote more volunteering – continuing to bring people in from quite a wide area, to expand the sense of 'pride in 'ownership'. Be more focused in providing more support & training, & more programmes of diverse activities, including more research / interpretation / visitor welcomes and surveys etc. This will be very important to Lyveden in the coming years of change. - Volunteer 'ambassadors' can be engaged in communicating / interpreting some of complex significances of the gardens and buildings as a whole.	- The opportunities for volunteering at Lyveden, participating in research and conservation, assisting members of the public, learning new skills and meeting new people – and acquiring a sense of 'ownership' – have developed, over the years, in the context of a small team of people 'defending' this invaluable resource against what might have seemed, at times, a rather ignorant world. Retaining enthusiasm and dedication at a time when Lyveden is enjoying growth and recognition, and when more 'professional' help is brought in, might be challenging.
Community Significan-ces	Recreation, Leisure & Access - Amongst the key objectives of the 'Vision' for Lyveden is to encourage more people to enjoy more time out of doors and relishing nature. Lyveden offers an ideal centre for those exploring the footpaths and bridleways in this part of Northamptonshire. Providing infrastructure – leaflets, access to refreshments without necessarily paying for entry to the whole estate, even bike racks & sun hats – will contribute to the fulfilment of this objective.	- Focusing on the fit and able can → failure to bring benefit to elderly, single, retirees, disabled and etc. - Provision and location of refreshment for walkers may necessitate some sort of kiosk, etc. – to avoid risk of losing entry fees!

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	- Develop a range of interests / attractions for people of all ages. - In addition to providing a disabled car park at the top of the hill (which will have to be carefully managed), consider innovative ways of interpreting the experience and significance of making the walk from the valley, upwards towards the heights of the gardens and Lodge. Shuttle services running from the Manor to the Lodge would be useful - perhaps especially at weekends. - Multiply ways of inviting intellectual and emotional access to the estate. Incl. well-designed web-based info., etc.	
Community Significan-ces	National & International Visitors - Grade I significances of the estate as a whole should be promoted locally, regionally, nationally & internationally. - Focus on highlighting the 'spirit of place' – and all that goes towards this – through all the web-based and other marketing material. - Focus on Lyveden's capacity to tell us –and others – so much about what 'Englishness' has meant and still, in many ways, means. - Continue to expand and promote the range of unique, unusual, high quality activities, refreshments & goods offered at Lyveden.	- The only real problem might be that the necessarily unique & tailored conservation / interpretation / presentation of Lyveden proves to be so difficult, that it gets overlooked in favour of cakes and toilets. This could disappoint visitors coming from far afield, to find something extraordinary (though they would, of course, expect to find good cakes and toilets too!).
Community Significan-ces	Education, Interpretation & Communication - The range of themes and issues which can be illuminated by a greater understanding of Lyveden is almost too large. It could become a burden. By tailoring different threads of interpretation to different segments of the visitor market, by exploiting different kinds of media and building up the layers of understanding over time, the	- The main potential threat would be the multiplication of too much interpretation littering the site. - Few other constraints, other than lack of awareness of issues / lack of skill in working with variety of media.

Issues	Strengths / Opportunities	Constraints / Vulnerabilities
	offering could be very rich and rewarding indeed.	

**LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS
PART III: DEVELOPING MANAGEMENT POLICIES**

9 STRATEGIC CONTEXT: INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL POLICIES AND GUIDANCE

9.1 Introduction

Changes to planning policies over recent years, culminating in the new National Planning Policy Framework in March 2012, have resulted in the requirement for a renewed approach to Local Authority planning guidance and procedures. Many councils have now completed the consultation phase necessary to the development of their new Local Plans and are in the final process of adopting the proposed plans and policies. Local Plans, perhaps more than hitherto, are key documents when determining local priorities and permissions; at the same time, they must be prepared in consultation with the local populace and they must be, 'justified, effective and consistent with national policy'.

What we have tried to do here, therefore, is to highlight some key strategic guidance, from the NPPF and from sources which are local and regional (e.g., Local Plan, National Trust Strategies), have site-specific relevance and may be less than immediately obvious (National Forest guidance).

9.2 Summary: General Policies

9.2.1 *National Planning Policy Framework¹*

On 27th March 2012, a new National Planning Policy Framework was implemented replacing all previous Planning Policy Statements (PPS). It is designed to make the planning system less complex and more accessible, to protect the environment and to promote sustainable growth.

The focus is on sustainable development in three main dimensions: economic, social and environmental. It is based on twelve core principles.

- Development must be genuinely plan-led, empowering local people to shape their surroundings, with succinct local and neighbourhood plans setting out a positive vision of the future of the area. Plans should be kept up to date, and be based on joint working and co-operation to address larger than local issues. They should provide a practical framework within which decisions on planning applications can be made with a high degree of predictability and efficiency.
- Plans must be not simply about scrutiny, but be a creative exercise in finding ways to enhance and improve the places in which people live their lives.
- Plans must be pro-active, drive and support sustainable economic development to deliver the homes, business and industrial units, infrastructure and thriving local places that the country needs.
- Plans must always seek to secure high quality design and a good standard of amenity for all existing and future occupants of land and buildings.
- They must take account of the different roles and character of different areas, promoting the vitality of urban areas, protecting the Green Belts around them,

¹https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6077/2116950.pdf

recognising the intrinsic character and beauty of the countryside and supporting thriving rural communities within it;

- Plans must support the transition to a low carbon future in a changing climate, taking full account of flood risk and coastal change, and encourage the reuse of existing resources, including conversion of existing buildings, and encourage the use of renewable resources.
- They must contribute to conserving and enhancing the natural environment and reducing pollution. Allocations of land for development should, preferably, focus on land of lesser environmental value, where consistent with other policies in the Framework.
- Plans must encourage the effective use of land by reusing land that has been previously developed (brownfield land), provided that it is not of high environmental value.
- Plans must promote mixed-use developments and encourage multiple benefit from the use of land in urban and rural areas, recognising that some open land can perform many functions (such as for wildlife, recreation, flood risk mitigation, carbon storage, or food production).
- Plans must conserve heritage assets in a manner appropriate to their significance, so that they can be enjoyed for their contribution to the quality of life of this and future generations.
- Plans must actively manage patterns of growth to make the fullest possible use of public transport, walking and cycling, and focus significant development in locations which are or can be made sustainable.
- Plans must take account of, and support, local strategies to improve health, social and cultural wellbeing for all, and deliver sufficient community and cultural facilities and services to meet local needs.

Within the Framework there is emphasis on promoting good design including replacing poor design with better design. Good design should respond to local character and history and reflect the identity of local surroundings and materials without discouraging appropriate innovation.

Promoting healthy communities is another aim of the new regulations and the Framework recognises the importance of access to high quality open spaces for sport and recreation to promote wellbeing.

9.2.2 National Trust, *Property Business Plan*

Over the last few years, the National Trust has placed far greater emphasis on developing business and portfolio plans which are tailored to individual properties or regions, allowing policies to be developed which specifically reflect the needs and visions of the properties, their context and their communities.

One aim is to highlight the individuality of the various sites, invite more people to get involved and get excited about the properties and places which the NT owns. There is also a great emphasis on encouraging people to get out and about, exploring the natural world.

In the case of Lyveden, the *Northamptonshire and Rutland Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16*, drawn up in November 2012, clearly outlines the vision, strategies and guidance notes for managing the site to meet the demands of visitors, whilst conserving and protecting the significantly important, historic environment.

The Lyveden Vision Document² sums up the spirit and vision as, 'A place to love and a space to inspire'.

'Lyveden will be a place loved by the local community and internationally admired. The story of Lyveden, Catholicism and Elizabethan gardens will be revealed through a programme of restoration, recreation and interaction. Lyveden will give space for people from rural and urban areas to get outdoors and connect with nature and history. Lyveden will involve volunteers in every aspect of work and the community will be at the heart of the programme of growth and development. Lyveden will become a place of learning and fun - as Elizabethan gardens were intended to be. And with external funding, Lyveden will grow to provide greater membership value to existing and new supporters and establish an offer which delivers sound financing to secure its future.'

9.2.3 Local Planning Policy

Lyveden New Bield lies within East Northamptonshire, in the heart of Rockingham Forest, and comes under the jurisdiction of the East Northamptonshire Council planning policies. Following a recent assessment, it was agreed that the existing *Rural North, Oundle and Thrapston Plan, July 2011*, should continue to be given full weight following the end of the Government's transition period, after April 2013.

9.2.4 The East Midlands Regional Plan, March 2009

This plan is no longer in force but it still has a role in the development of the existing adopted plans in the county.

9.3 Built Heritage, Culture and the Historic Environment

9.3.1 National Planning Policy Framework. Conserving and Enhancing the Historic Environment

The NPPF offers particular policies relating to the historic environment, including the following key clauses.

- 126 Local Authorities in their Local Plan should set out a positive strategy for the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment, including heritage assets most at risk through neglect, decay or other threats. In doing so, they should recognise that heritage assets are an irreplaceable resource and conserve them in a manner appropriate to their significance.
- 128 In determining applications, local planning authorities should require an applicant to describe the significance of any heritage assets affected, including any contribution made by their setting. The level of detail should be proportionate to the asset's importance and no more than is sufficient to understand the potential impact of the proposal on their significance. As a minimum the relevant historic environment record should have been consulted and the heritage assets assessed using appropriate expertise where necessary. Where a site on which development is proposed includes, or has the potential to include, heritage assets with archaeological interest, local planning authorities should require developers to submit an appropriate desk-

² Mark Bradshaw, 'PM (Property Manager) to GM (General Manager) Transition', March 2013

based assessment and, where necessary, a field evaluation.

- 129 Local planning authorities should identify and assess the particular significance of any heritage asset that may be affected by a proposal (including by development affecting the setting of a heritage asset) taking account of the available evidence and any necessary expertise. They should take this assessment into account when considering the impact of a proposal on a heritage asset, to avoid or minimise conflict between the heritage asset's conservation and any aspect of the proposal.
- 132 When considering the impact of a proposed development on the significance of a designated heritage asset, great weight should be given to the asset's conservation. The more important the asset, the greater the weight should be. Significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting. As heritage assets are irreplaceable, any harm or loss should require clear and convincing justification. Substantial harm to or loss of a grade II listed building, park or garden should be exceptional. Substantial harm to or loss of designated heritage assets of the highest significance, notably scheduled monuments, protected wreck sites, battlefields, grade I and II* listed buildings, grade I and II* registered parks and gardens, and World Heritage Sites, should be wholly exceptional.
- 141 Local planning authorities should make information about the significance of the historic environment, gathered as part of plan-making or development management, publicly accessible. They should also require developers to record and advance understanding of the significance of any heritage assets to be lost (wholly or in part) in a manner proportionate to their importance and the impact, and to make this evidence (and any archive generated) publicly accessible. However, the ability to record evidence of our past should not be a factor in deciding whether such loss should be permitted.

9.3.2 Rural North, Oundle and Thrapston Plan, July 2011

Policy 9 – Buildings of Local Architectural or Historic Interest

When considering proposals which affect a Building of Local Architectural or Historic Interest or its setting, these will only be acceptable where:

- a) the character, appearance and historic interest and integrity of the building is safeguarded;
- b) the setting of the building is preserved or enhanced.

RNOTP specifically states that other elements of the historic and built environment, such as Listed Buildings, Scheduled Ancient Monuments and other statutory designations, are dealt with by separate legislation and national policy, in particular the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990.

9.3.3 Northamptonshire & Rutland, National Trust Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16

The November, 2012, *Portfolio Business Plan* highlights the following aims:

- to review Statements of Significance and Spirit of Place for Canons Ashby and Lyveden, to account for internal and external collections at Canons Ashby and acquisition of Lyveden Manor;

- to undertake QQ inspection on Lyveden Manor and Lyveden New Bield and programme STC works;
- to establish an agreed 'viewshed' for Lyveden to proactively protect setting from external developments;
- to deliver conservation works to moat banks at Lyveden.

9.4 Archaeology

9.4.1 Rural North, Oundle and Thrapston Plan, July 2011

Policy 9 – Buildings of Local Architectural or Historic Interest

The Policy outlined above (para. 9.3.2) covers any proposals which might affect a site of archaeological significance.

9.4.2 Northamptonshire & Rutland, National Trust Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16

The November, 2012, *Portfolio Business Plan* emphasises the need to:

- implement 'archaeology monitoring' at Lyveden to better inform CPI.

9.5 The Natural Environment, Biodiversity and Sustainability

9.5.1 National Planning Policy Framework. Conserving and Enhancing the Natural Environment

The following points in the NPPF seek to offer protection at historic places such as Lyveden, which are also significant in terms of the natural environment.

- 109 Policies must, protect and enhance valued landscapes, geological conservation interests and soils.
- 113 Local planning authorities should set criteria-based policies, against which proposals for any development on or affecting protected wildlife or geodiversity sites or landscape areas will be judged. Distinctions should be made between the hierarchy of international, national and locally designated sites so that protection is commensurate with their status and gives appropriate weight to their importance and the contribution that they make to wider ecological networks.
- 117 Policies must promote the preservation, restoration and re-creation of priority habitats, ecological networks and the protection and recovery of priority species populations, linked to national and local targets, and identify suitable indicators for monitoring biodiversity in the plan.
- 118 Proposed development on land within or outside a Site of Special Scientific Interest, likely to have an adverse effect on a Site of Special Scientific Interest (either individually or in combination with other developments), should not normally be permitted. Where an adverse effect on the site's notified special interest features is likely, an exception should only be made where the benefits of the development, at this site, clearly outweigh both the impacts that it is likely to have on the features of the site that make it of special scientific interest and any broader impacts on the national network of Sites of Special Scientific Interest.

- 119 Planning permission should be refused for development resulting in the loss or deterioration of irreplaceable habitats, including ancient woodland and the loss of aged or veteran trees found outside ancient woodland, unless the need for, and benefits of, the development in that location outweighs the damage.
- 125 By encouraging good design, planning policies and decisions should limit the impact of light pollution from artificial light on local amenity, intrinsically dark landscapes and nature conservation.

9.5.2 Rural North, Oundle and Thrapston Plan, July 2011

Policy 10 – Protection of Local Sites of Conservation Interest and Designation of Local Nature Reserves

Development that may destroy or affect adversely (either directly or indirectly) a designated proposed Local Nature Reserve or other Local Site will not be permitted unless planning conditions or obligations secure practicable, effective and appropriate mitigating measures.

RNOTP goes on to state that the Plan largely relates to the,

'Rockingham Forest, which supports a variety of wildlife. It contains a range of sites forming some of the richest areas of biodiversity in the county. It is important that these sites are protected and enhanced through appropriate management and buffering and through the creation of habitat links between them.'

9.5.3 North Northamptonshire, Supplementary Planning Document, Biodiversity

This SPD explains how biodiversity is incorporated into the development process to ensure legislation and policy requirements are met. It should be used in conjunction with relevant local planning policies.

9.5.4 Northamptonshire Biodiversity Action Plan³

The Northamptonshire BAP sets out the highest priorities for action by BAP partners, to conserve Northamptonshire's most threatened and declining habitats and species. In addition to more general management and conservation there are a few specific policies and actions relating to Lyveden and its surrounding area.

- Habitat Action Plan: Hedgerows
Rockingham Forest is identified as being a target area for hedgerows and has specific management specified for the black hairstreak butterfly, which is breeding in the Forest
- Habitat Action Plan: Lowland Mixed Deciduous Woodland
Specific management of the woodland within Rockingham Forest is detailed, for the protection of the nightingale as well as the black hairstreak.
- Habitat Action Plan: Lowland Meadows
There is a specific action listed under Lyveden, reference NOR_LME_HC_A6, to create 7ha of herb rich lowland meadow from arable land on the Lyveden Estate in 2008.

³ <http://www.northamptonshirebiodiversity.org/images/Docs/Northamptonshire%20BAP%20V1.4.pdf>

9.5.5 Northamptonshire & Rutland, National Trust Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16

The November, 2012, *Portfolio Business Plan* emphasises the need to:

- deliver conservation objectives for the HLS scheme at Lyveden and incorporate the land of Lyveden Manor accordingly;
- to install a wood fuelled heating system in the Cottage refurbishment plans at Lyveden, harvesting wood from the adjoining forest;
- to install LED heritage lighting at Canons Ashby and Lyveden with projected 2 year pay-back
- to develop new visitor facilities at Lyveden which deliver a 10% reduction in energy use and mains water of existing facilities through installation of renewables and grey water capture;
- to improve waste management at Canons Ashby and Lyveden and recycle over 95% of waste by the end of the plan period.

9.6 Climate Change and Extreme Weather

9.6.1 Rural North, Oundle and Thrapston Plan, July 2011

Policy 2 – Windfall Developments in Settlements

Planning permission will be granted for windfall development within the settlement boundaries of towns and villages where the developer has addressed and sufficiently demonstrated through supporting information that:

- e) the proposal would not unacceptably block important views or vistas within the settlement, or of open countryside beyond the settlement, and would not significantly detract from the appearance of the settlement from the surrounding area.

9.6.2 Northamptonshire & Rutland, National Trust Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16

The November, 2012, *Portfolio Business Plan* emphasises the need to:

- take our legal challenge on wind farm development at Lyveden to the High Court with English Heritage and ENDC and seek to influence policy on the protection of heritage setting.

9.7 Trees, Woodland and Hedges

9.7.1 Rural North, Oundle and Thrapston Plan, July 2011

Policy 10 – Protection of Local Sites of Conservation Interest and Designation of Local Nature Reserves

There is a specific section on Ancient Woodlands, stating that Ancient Woodlands are a non-statutory national designation and PPS9 defines national policy for Ancient Woodlands, particularly those that do not have statutory protection as SSSIs or National Nature Reserves.

9.7.2 Forestry Commission - Climate Change & Pests & Diseases

Whilst writing this report – with news of threats to the country's ash trees – we have been reminded of the potentially catastrophic damage which can be inflicted by newly-arrived diseases and by climate change. In practice, monitoring or anticipating the impact of such threats is challenging, but it is, today in the UK, a problem that any owner and manager of trees is bound to have to face.

Forestry Research, an arm of the Forestry Commission, is the principal source for current advice about both these problems and it continues to undertake research - which means that it does update its advice from time to time and should always be consulted for the most up-to-date information.

Forestry Research openly admits that, 'there are many uncertainties associated with climate change, and the likely impact on trees, silviculture and forest operations'. Hence, it is necessary to remain alert to problems perceived on the ground – in this instance, at Lyveden and its environs – and to plan ahead, with an awareness of the interface between local conditions and particular tree species.

Forestry Research observes that, 'a key concept in managing risk is diversification: from broadening the choice of genetic material and mixing tree species in different ways, to varying management systems and the timing of operations'. To assist managers to plan in this way, it is possible to access, via the internet, a, 'decision-support tool', 'Ecological Site Classification' (ESC). By describing possible climate change scenarios, the aim is to provide broad guidance on what might be suitable species to employ in various parts of the country. It is emphasised, however, that this is not anything other than general guidance, and that 'forest planning for the future climate involves careful site-based and stand-based consideration'.

The Forestry Commission also offers advice about the range of pathogens and problems that are affecting British trees.

Phytophthora ramorum (*P. ramorum*), the fungus-like pathogen which, especially since about 2009, has been threatening many trees (and shrubs, including *Rhododendron* and *Viburnum*) in the UK, has now affected many Japanese larches and even (most recently) western hemlock, Douglas fir and birch. As yet, this particular pathogen has not been seen to kill oaks in this country; but *Quercus robur* and *Q. petraea* do face several threats, both chronic and acute, including the ravages of Oak Processionary Moth.

The primary causal agent for bleeding canker affecting horse chestnuts (especially if weakened by leaf-miner) is *Pseudomonas syringae* pv *aesculi*. Horse chestnuts at all stages of their growth are under threat; but the Forestry Commission acknowledges that, at present, there is no clear answer, unless a tree is so damaged that it poses a safety threat.

The most recent anxiety is in response to ash dieback, a consequence of a fungus, *Chalara fraxinea*. There are those who are likening this threat to Dutch elm disease which so transfigured the British countryside. Facing all these and other hazards, the landscape manager has to be very quick to try and identify the signs of diseases and pests. The Forestry Commission's Tree Health Diagnosis and Advisory Service provides useful advice and the 'Tree pest and disease alerts and advisory notes' are invaluable.

9.7.3 Trees and Landscape Supplementary Planning Document⁴

This document supports and is directed by a number of policies at national, regional and local level.

'Trees, and the landscape they form part of, are key to the character of an area and significantly contribute to the environment surrounding us. Issues relating to their protection, and the provision of new landscape features, are vital part of the planning processes.

For the purposes of this SPD, "landscape" includes all visual features that make up the appearance and composition of the natural environment, from country parks and gardens, to woodlands and meadows, through to street planting and community orchards. All of these make up the landscape that surrounds us and contribute to the distinctive character of our towns and villages.'

9.8 Rivers, Waterbodies and Wetlands

9.8.1 Northamptonshire & Rutland, National Trust Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16

The 2012 *Portfolio Business Plan* aims to,

- install a new septic tank at Lyveden to eliminate discharge to watercourse.

9.9 Open Spaces, Access and Tourism

9.9.1 Northamptonshire & Rutland, National Trust Portfolio Business Plan, 2013-16

The 2012 *Portfolio Business Plan* identifies the following key objectives up to 2016 for Lyveden, under the heading of 'Visitor Experience'.

- We shall define our offer through a deeper understanding of our visitor segments, dwell time and expectations through surveys and monitoring.
- All senior managers will be confident in using MI dashboard to monitor VE and deliver timely responses to visitor feedback.
- Our statements of significance and spirit of place will be refreshed to reflect views of the community, staff and volunteers.
- 'Welcome team' roles will be in place at Lyveden.
- A service standard promise will be applied consistently to team recruitment, training, performance management and visitor care.
- Our 'closer to you' activity will deepen our relationship with new members joining in Northamptonshire, e.g. follow up call, target property events.
- New visitor facilities will be developed at Lyveden to get basic standards of reception, recruitment and WCs and form a platform to extending the Outdoors offer.
- New Tea Room at Lyveden will establish a new destination for exploring Lyveden or the wider outdoors.
- Improvement to the visitor approach road at Lyveden will improve its basic standard.

⁴ Prepared jointly by the Borough Council of Wellingborough and East Northamptonshire Council, adopted June 2013. Rockingham Forest Trust is identified in Appendix 1 as one of the consultees.

- Our HLS scheme at Lyveden will deliver biodiversity benefits which will bring visitors closer to nature through 4 focused walks each year, website development and activity programme focussed on visitor experience.
- To develop Lyveden as a local NT Explore hub offering family outdoor experiences with geocache, refreshed Lyveden Way, and wild camping offer.
- We will increase opening at our properties from April to November and build on our winter offer towards a 364 day ambition.
- We will review the staffing structure at our properties to ensure they have the capability to deliver the PBP.
- We will develop our offer at Lyveden as a destination for quality local food coupled with exceptional service.

9.9.2 'Strategic Framework for Tourism in England 2010-2020'

Within the Rural Tourism⁵ section of this Framework, the stated vision is,

'to maximise the potential of the rural tourism offer, which will bring substantial benefits to local economies and communities and contribute to 5% growth, year on year, in the England tourism market by 2020.'

There are three major objectives.

- To diversify and modernise rural tourism products to generate business opportunities suited to local environments and communities and to develop a year-round visitor offer.
- To increase consumer awareness, understanding and enjoyment of the products and experiences available in rural areas
- To encourage rural communities and economies to benefit from the value of rural tourism by taking ownership for the development, management, protection and conservation of rural assets and locations.

The National Trust, along with Natural England and The Forestry Commission, are identified as key partners, signed-up to ensure the objectives are met. The strategy recognises that consumers now rely more heavily on technology and it specifically highlights the importance of the series of National Trusts downloadable walks, iPhone applications and geo-caching, whilst also identifying that the lack of provision of broadband in rural locations is a limiting factor to widespread use of this technology. The latter represents a problem which needs to be overcome.

⁵ http://www.englandtourismframework.co.uk/Images/FINALRural%20Tourism%20Action%20Plan_tcm31-26712.pdf

10 **FRAMEWORK CONSERVATION POLICIES**

10.1 Introduction

The aim of this Section is to secure a foundation for the future care, conservation, development, use and enhancement of Lyveden. This is intended to apply across the entire site, including the buildings, the landscape – including those areas where there is relatively little extant evidence of their historic fabric and layout – and including all areas, whether they be covered by existing designations, or the existing HLS Agreement, or not. It is accepted, however, that – although the large part of the historic gardens now lie within the ownership of the National Trust – there are areas of the larger demesne lands of Lyveden which do not fall under the ownership, or influence, of the National Trust.

These *Framework Conservation Policies* are designed to provide a simple reference document; in the most basic terms, to offer practical principles which can then be translated into detailed instructions.

None of these Policies is intended to run counter to any of the national, regional or local policies, including those outlined in Section 9. None supersedes the prescriptions which will be applied by Natural England to the land under an HLS Agreement. These *Framework Policies* should be adopted and adapted in varying ways, over time, but any changes should emerge from a rationale, shaped by knowledge and understanding of the site as a whole, and in its parts.

All of this site is subject to various designations, including a Scheduled Ancient Monument, Grade I listed buildings and Grade I registered gardens and parkland. Therefore, it is clear that these Policies do not remove the requirement to initiate the usual consultations with National Trust Advisers, the Local Planning Authority, English Heritage, Natural England, the Forestry Commission, the Environment Agency, or any other body that carries responsibility for this site. Thus, before any renewal, repair, conservation, restoration or development work is undertaken, it will be important to ensure that all the required guidance and permissions have been obtained. It may well be necessary to take advice from suitably qualified and experienced historic building, archaeological, landscape and estate management professionals - starting with those now associated with the NT's 'hub' of specialist advisers.

The previous Section, where we have selected relevant national, regional and local advice and policies from a range of documents which articulate the strategic context of the estate, provides the relevant background information. The National Trust, of course, is very familiar with all its sites and understands the means of safeguarding them. The problem is always that there are many pressures on a site such as Lyveden, which is relatively small and vulnerable. Action plans may be in place to respond to emergencies, for example, and a great deal of thought is properly given to the looming problems of climate change and new pests and diseases. But the demands of a dynamic historic landscape and its buildings – always subject to change and decay – are continuous and difficult to sustain. Furthermore, in the future, when the planned increase in visitor numbers materialises, these pressures will become ever more burdensome. Hence, it is imperative that there are a few, basic policies which are site-specific and which are tailored to defend the 'Significances' highlighted in this document.

10.2 Lyveden's 'Spirit of Place'

As reported above, the 'Lyveden Vision Document', eloquently sums up Lyveden's Spirit as, 'a place to love and a space to inspire'. Such a phrase might be dismissed as somewhat general, or it might be attached to a variety of different buildings, works of art or landscapes rich in flora and fauna. Yet it does seem peculiarly apt for Lyveden. Three characteristics lend Lyveden a very distinct personality: that this place is of a relatively small scale, for much of it can be encompassed within a single gaze; that it is set about with what appears to be (despite the extensive arable farming) a timeless landscape; and that the depth of its history can be so quickly conceived (if not wholly understood). This is a place with an extraordinarily powerful atmosphere, which can, indeed, command the affection and inspire the imagination. Lyveden's 'spirit of place' must be acknowledged as precious and protected accordingly.

The rest of the 'Lyveden Vision Document' articulates a range of admirable, but more prosaic, ambitions.

'Lyveden will be a place loved by the local community and internationally admired. The story of Lyveden, Catholicism and Elizabethan gardens will be revealed through a programme of restoration, recreation and interaction. Lyveden will give space for people from rural and urban areas to get outdoors and connect with nature and history. Lyveden will involve volunteers in every aspect of work and the community will be at the heart of the programme of growth and development. Lyveden will become a place of learning and fun - as Elizabethan gardens were intended to be. And with external funding, Lyveden will grow to provide greater membership value to existing and new supporters and establish an offer which delivers sound financing to secure its future.'

The aim, then, must be to capture and retain this vision. In order to satisfy that aim, the objectives must be to protect and promote the 'key significances' presented in Section 7, particularly those pertaining to the, 'spirit of place'. Accordingly, we quote from Section 7.

'Amongst the contributing factors – both elusive and very concrete – which help to make up this 'spirit of place' is the apparent isolation of Lyveden from much of the rest of the world, experienced on the plateau at the top of the hill. The scale of the composition of house, gardens and lodge is relatively small and its intimacy, its human scale, is exaggerated by contrast with the vastness of the panoramic setting – the great space of sky, fields and forest. Tranquillity and relative silence – as well as the darkness of the night in this place of scattered settlements – are also contributory factors. The crisp quality of the stone and carving on the small, unfinished, Lodge; the sense that the masons have just left off working; the assertive substance of the mounts and the reflective capacity of the water: each of these elements contributes to the picture, which has both a humanity and a timelessness, divorced from the modern world. Above all, perhaps, is the intimation of mystery inevitably attached to a piece of work left unfinished; and the strong sense that there was a driving vision behind what we see. All of these sensations cohere to challenge the intellect and the imagination in a peculiarly powerful way.'

The contributory factors which go to make up this rare and exceptional 'spirit of place' at Lyveden might be summed up thus.

- Lyveden Lodge, gardens, moats and orchards possess a unique quality, dependent on retaining the sense of relative isolation and the small scale of the place, in contrast to the panoramic setting and the lack of anything to signify the intrusion of the modern world.
- Vital factors in defining this 'spirit' of Lyveden are its tranquillity, the peacefulness, the quiet and the night-time darkness of the place.
- The timelessness of Lyveden is very precious, derived from the fact that what we see, today, was largely made four hundred years ago, with little apparent damage or intrusion arising from the intervening centuries, including our own.
- The apparently artless contrast between the composition of buildings and gardens and the 'wilder' setting of summer meadow and woodland lends a philosophical completeness and authority to the whole picture.
- The quality of the Lodge – the 'Lyveden Lantern' – is of particular moment. It depends on the refined finish of the stonemasons' work; the humanity expressed in the Renaissance poise and proportion; the sense of intrigue consequent on a work of art driven towards perfection and then left, not quite finished.
- The powerful personality of one man, Sir Thomas Tresham, has left its imprint. That there are letters and notes recording the life and ambitions of this Elizabethan, Catholic recusant, offering opportunities to learn more about his vision, is remarkable. A good deal of Lyveden's power is derived from the fact that this work of art is the profound expression of the vision of one – driven – man.

The Policies outlined below are intended to enhance, maintain and promote these special qualities of Lyveden, as well as to defend the other Significances outlined in Section 7.

There are, of course, also threats. These arise from any development which might contradict or compromise the special qualities outlined above.

Threats can also be associated with the condition of some aspects of the estate today. In particular, although Lyveden Manor, in its current guise, is constructed from finely-wrought, local materials and possessed of a general sense of age and tradition, it has suffered some changes which challenge its qualities. Likewise, the historic gardens which surrounded the Manor have been effaced by intensive ploughing and remodelling in post-War years. Amongst the more damaging recent intrusions are occasioned by modern facilities, such as a tennis court, and – the historic estate buildings having been taken down – a large and utilitarian storage shed. Furthermore, several alterations to the layout and elevations of the house itself – with extensive losses of historic fabric and introduction of new extensions (as outlined in Section 5) – have taken place in the 20th century. All these changes have, to some extent, undermined the historic individuality of the house and its immediate setting, challenging its Grade I status.

Now Lyveden Manor and gardens are in the ownership of the National Trust, where they might very usefully support the wider estate, with facilities and opportunities for education and leisure for all, it will be very important to ensure that some of the blandness and gracelessness which has accrued in recent years should be eliminated, reduced and replaced, wherever possible. The Policies outlined here are also intended to support such measures.

10.3 Governing Principles

(These are the primary Policies; all those which follow provide further detail)

Lyveden/01/i

Any development or alteration of the whole or part of the Lyveden composition must respect the Significances and accommodate the Policies outlined in this *Conservation Management Plan (CMP)*.

Lyveden /01/ii

Where necessary (and when works are not 'like for like'), any significant repair or alteration of the historic buildings and the designed or natural landscape of Lyveden – including any new design, or development to support public facilities or to enhance biodiversity or sustainability, or management (of trees or buildings) necessitated by Health and Safety requirements – will be accompanied by appropriate historical, archaeological and/or ecological investigations and recording, as agreed with the relevant NT advisers.

These studies may already form part of the record of Lyveden (as, for example, embodied in this *CMP*) or they may be new studies, to fill gaps in knowledge. Such studies will facilitate Heritage, or Environmental, Impact Assessments (HIA or EIA) and they should apply both to works that require planning permission and / or listed building consent and those that do not. Included are any works to, structures, services, car parking, circulation, surfaces, materials, views, waterbodies, land modelling, land management, trees and vegetation.

Lyveden /01/iii

Where necessary, any alteration, repair, conservation or restoration of the historic landscape and / or historic structures, will be prefaced by research to fill any 'Gaps in Knowledge'.

Lyveden /01/iv

When undertaking repair, conservation, alteration or new development at Lyveden, in the rare event that there is a potential conflict of interests – between cultural and ecological significances, for example, or archaeological and community significances – then the assessment of the individual significances must be analysed, starting from any relevant designations, taking into account the significances detailed in this *CMP* and responding to any more recent research.

Lyveden /01/v

An up-to-date record of all research, renewal, repairs, alterations, conservation, restoration and monitoring of the landscape and buildings must be kept at Lyveden, in a usable and accessible format and location. These records / reports should be regularly used to inform and refine all future work on the estate.

10.4 Materials for Repair, Renewal and Maintenance

Lyveden /MRR/02/i

Wherever possible, future repair and renewal will respect – in the quality of materials, performance, techniques and craftsmanship – the historic model. Where necessary, this will be informed by further analysis of the existing materials and context, undertaken by appropriate experts. This will apply to everything, including stone-work and mortars, managing the waterbodies, creation or revision of paths and drives, steps, fencing, handrails, gates, planting and caring for trees. It will apply to works intended to: repair and consolidate; conserve; regularly maintain and remodel;

make new. Despite employing historic materials and techniques, normally, there should be no attempt to 'age' the appearance of new work.

Lyveden /MRR/02/ii

Inappropriate materials or uses, which are compromising or obscuring historic meaning or relationships, ecological sustainability, or are exacerbating decay (for example, post-and-rail or sawmilled timber fencing, rusting iron cramps, desire-line footpaths), should be carefully removed and, where necessary, replaced with traditional materials and techniques, or suitably revised layout, or – where agreed – with compatible modern alternatives.

Lyveden /MRR/02/iii

Materials, treatments or chemicals (with reference to invasive / damaging plants and animals, pathogens and diseases in trees, etc.) must be used in the conservation and future maintenance of the historic landscape, its structures and natural features, only in ways that will pose no threats to the ecological health or sustainability of the site (see further details, as prescribed by the HLS Agreement with Natural England).

10.5 Conservation, Restoration and New Development

Lyveden /CRD/03/i

The overall strategy for conservation, consolidation, restoration and development should seek to conserve / support existing historic and ecological characteristics and features. Where appropriate, features that are to be reinstated or newly-modified to respond to a modern need, should contribute to and enhance the significances and meaning of this site (for e.g., new visitor facilities, landscape modelling, steps, accessible circulation, views, planting). Thus, though new materials may be employed, the distinctive significances of the historic / ecological model will be reinforced and not contradicted.

Lyveden/CRD/03/ii

Wherever possible, new development and management (including energy consumption, vehicles, grass management) should strive to use sustainable methods and materials.

10.6 Management

Lyveden /M/04/i

There should be a principle that all management of the estate should be coherent and should be driven by the need to secure the significances and promote the vision for Lyveden.

To this end, a *Management and Maintenance Plan*¹ will include performances, specifications, techniques, materials etc. to be employed in future maintenance of the historic buildings and gardens. This will also ensure that the whole site is managed coherently and sustainably, with reference to all the interests on the estate (i.e., natural and cultural history designations etc.).

¹ A *Management and Maintenance Plan* should be a simple, accessible and applicable document, describing how the NT will conserve, protect and promote the Significances outlined here, in order to fulfil the NT vision for Lyveden and any other stewardship responsibilities.

Lyveden/M/04/ii

Historic and new landscape structures and features will be the subject of a comprehensive survey - quinquennial, or as otherwise appropriate. Likewise, the trees, woodlands, grasslands, waterbodies, protected species and biodiversity of the site will be reviewed at appropriate intervals, whether that be annually, biennially or quinquennially. These monitoring reviews will inform a regular programme of maintenance, conservation and renewal, and shape the *MMP* described above.

Lyveden/M/04/iii

The historic and natural fabric and functions will be well-maintained on a regular basis, in accordance with the recommendations of the quinquennial survey.

Lyveden/M/04/iv

A record shall be kept of all maintenance work. This should be accessible, to inform future care.

Lyveden /M/04/v

Future maintenance and conservation will be undertaken by people with appropriate levels of skill and knowledge².

Specialist skills (in-house or contractors) will always be required to maintain some elements of the historic and natural landscape and landscape structures in proper condition.

Lyveden/M/05/vi

Volunteers play a major part in caring for Lyveden. It is essential that they will be welcomed, and will be equipped with the most appropriate training and support. Experienced specialists should always be responsible for directing the work of volunteers. Care should be taken to ensure that volunteers are not obliged to take on sole responsibility for caring for much, or all, of the site in future years, when visitor numbers are expected to increase significantly.

Lyveden/M/04/vii

During any contract, or regular maintenance, fragile historic fabric (e.g. grassland, earthworks, buildings, mounts and other modified landform) and rare, mature and / or veteran trees and shrubs, and / or protected species must be appropriately protected against intrusion or damage through a combination of physical means, (such as detailed surveys, mitigation, or scaffold or fencing, to full BS specification, where required), and appropriate management (such as altering routes or timetables), or as recommended by expert advisers.

Lyveden/M/04/viii

No vehicles (visitors, maintenance staff), events or intense circulation of people or animals, should normally be allowed to cause long-term compaction, erosion or damage to the grassland, soil structure, archaeology, ecological health, or fabric of any waterbodies, trees, shrubs, or other vegetation. Where such pressures are unavoidable – for example, when bringing in marquees or other event infrastructure – care must be taken to ensure that all locations and circulation routes must be appropriately designed and / or managed for such uses. Post-event reparation should always be anticipated and undertaken.

² The 'appropriateness' or otherwise of the skills of the person undertaking maintenance and conservation is likely to be determined by the General Manager, but with reference to statutory agencies, such as EH and NE, who often require accredited conservation qualifications. It should be assumed that those undertaking regular maintenance will be suitably trained – which will require a dedication to regular opportunities for updating knowledge & skills etc.

Lyveden/M/04/ix

Managers need regularly to consider possible future threats to the natural and historic fabric of the landscape, focusing especially on protecting the identified significances. This might relate to diseased or otherwise stressed trees; eroded footpaths or built structures; silted waterbodies, flood risks. It should also relate to any future constraints, be alert to changes in legislation, or requirements proposed by, for example, Flood and Water Management Act, 2010 (or as revised and updated). There should be a *Forward Plan* in place; this will, of course, address disaster management, but it should also establish the basic principles of any such repair / intervention, which should negate the potentially damaging impact of an ill-considered and / or emergency reaction to change. In particular, for example, at Lyveden, there should be a pre-determined policy to ascertain where arisings from any desilting works might be deposited in future (dependent on EA guidance and current legislation); how the margins of water channels should be maintained / repaired; or how to respond to the arrival of disease in trees and vegetation.

10.7 Interpretation

Lyveden/I/05/i

An Interpretation Strategy should be developed and regularly reviewed for the historic buildings and gardens, ensuring that the historic, archaeological, cultural, ecological and arboricultural significances of the estate are made available to as wide a public as possible and in many different – appropriate – ways. Given the unique history of Lyveden, this will be of particular importance.

Lyveden/I/05/ii

Lyveden should be interpreted in depth and breadth.

There is an extraordinary significance embodied in Sir Thomas Tresham's creation, reflecting on the life and ambition of one man at a time of radical religious and political change, a period which laid the foundations of so much which defines 'Englishness' even today. Lyveden is witness to Tresham's investment of narrative and symbolism; his management of views and circulation; his conceptual exploration of Classical authorities and of Renaissance pattern books; his study of some of the most up-to-date scientific exploration and experiment, of contemporary Biblical scholarship and of the geography of the known world; his endurance and persistence - manifest in the refined detail of his composition, as well as in its unfinished state; his taste for beauty, delight and excellence. In addition, of course, the long history of this area of the Rockingham Forest lends the estate a particular depth of natural significance.

Lyveden/I/05/iii

Any signage associated with on-site interpretation should be of a consistent scale and design and must be regularly updated and well-maintained. Materials and workmanship of permanent interpretation should follow the model of what is so successfully provided today, and should continue to be appropriate to the historic character of the setting: for example, the lectern-style stands in discreet locations; or cleft fences and timber gates fabricated with a craftsmanship which, in itself, speaks of an earlier Lyveden. In addition, there are many opportunities to engage visitors of all ages to study and 'read' the landscape and structures, by various means, from pond-dipping to examining the symbolic motifs or counting lengths and distances, using Tresham's own system of measurements. 'Low tech.' means of interpreting the estate will thus continue to be most suitable to Lyveden, but the web-site should also offer background information, to be used in advance of, or following, a visit.

Lyveden/I/05/iv

The opportunities to offer access and interpretation to all age groups and many levels of interest must be the subject of frequent development and review.

10.8 Access and Use

Lyveden/U/06/i

Access for all is a key aim. Where possible, everything should be done to comply with the Disability Discrimination Act 1995, Part 3, but such interventions will be carried out with minimal damage to the historic and natural fabric of landscape and landscape structures and will respect historic features, spaces, circulation and views³.

Lyveden/U/06/ii

Intellectual, emotional and personal access – via interpretation packages (especially any offerings that may be made available at Lyveden Manor in the future) and web-based information – will be at least as important as securing physical access for all.

Lyveden /U/06/iii

Volunteers should be fully briefed and kept up-to-date with the importance and practical management of the estate, so that they can assist in promoting public access, understanding and enjoyment.

10.9 Health and Safety

Lyveden /HS/07/i

The Management and Maintenance Plan will include a list of Safe Working Practices, especially in relation to regular maintenance or *in situ* repairs. Wherever possible, compromise of the historic or natural fabric and character should be avoided or minimised⁴.

Lyveden /HS/07/ii

All security and protection systems must be designed in sympathy with the historic and natural features.

Lyveden /HS/07/iii

All those responsible for the regular care of the Lyveden estate will be appropriately trained, with skills and understanding of all current legislation and H&S responsibilities regularly updated.

Lyveden /HS/07/iv

There should be a clear plan highlighting access routes for emergency vehicles, including fire tenders.

³ It is acknowledged that this paragraph & the next do no more than summarise relevant legislation. It is important to highlight the fact that, on an historic estate, replete with Significances, comprehensive access is not always possible and new ways of providing access need to be considered.

⁴ It should be emphasised, that there is no question but that the H&S of staff and visitors take primacy. In the context of current legislation, however, the stewardship of an historic estate such as Lyveden – which is constantly changing, vulnerable and often challenging – may require the development of, 'Safe Working Practices' which are carefully (sometimes ingeniously) tailored and applied, to ensure that it is possible to match the challenges. The NT, of course, is past master at this.

LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS
PART IV: CONSERVATION, RESTORATION AND MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

11 CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION PRIORITIES

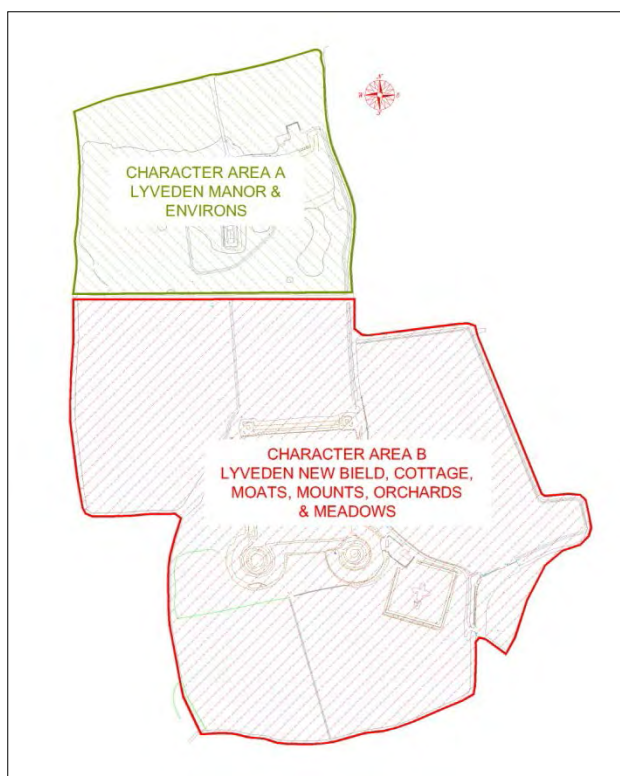


Fig.11/1 Key Plan illustrating locations of Character Areas A & B

11.1 Character Area A - Lyveden Manor and Environs

11.1.1 Summary of Condition and History

This Character Area represents the northern half of Sir Thomas Tresham's late 16th century / early 17th century composition. Forming part of the mediaeval Royal Forest of Rockingham, archaeological research has demonstrated that there was a busy collection of settlements developing along the Lyveden Brook by the 12th and 13th centuries. This included a thriving pottery industry, which produced Lyveden ware goods that were distributed throughout the region. In 1328, the Bishop of Salisbury was given licence to empark, 'his wood of Lytelhawe by Lyveden', probably adjacent to the Harley Way, which still runs along the northern boundary of the Lyveden estate.

By the time the Tresham family acquired the estate, in c.1468, the mediaeval settlements were probably deserted. In 1540, Sir Thomas Tresham (future Prior of Knights Hospitallers) emparked an area of c.420 acres. At about the same date, the traveller and antiquary, John Leland, described the, 'auncient Maner Place and godely Medows about it', belonging to 'Tresham of Leveden'. It is likely that this house was replaced / augmented by a new Lyveden house (now Lyveden Manor), built by Prior Tresham's grandson, the Catholic recusant, Sir Thomas Tresham, from the 1590s.

Before his death, in September, 1605, Tresham directed the developments at Lyveden (sometimes from his prison at Ely). He commissioned named, local stonemasons and builders to work on both the house and a garden lodge, which lay to the south, on the plateau at the top of the hill. The work was overseen by his steward (based at the Tresham estate of nearby Rushton), George Levens and his Lyveden 'keeper', John Slynne. The house is still witness to Tresham's demand for high quality materials – locally quarried – and exceptional craftsmanship. A remarkable archive of diary entries and correspondence (held in the British Library) provides information about the day-to-day progress of some parts of this project.

Linking Lyveden Manor and Lodge, a terraced garden was laid out, along a N/S axis, climbing the hillside to the south. The most southerly part of Character Area A includes the seventh, and most significant, terrace; at its centre, there seems to have been a projecting, rectangular, bastion, which must have commanded views to the north and also offered glimpses of what could be discovered at the top of the hill, to the south. The manipulation of views and viewing platforms seems to have been a very deliberate part of the layout of the gardens, including in the vicinity of the Manor.

Lyveden Manor was probably finished by Sir Thomas Tresham's second son, Lewis. The latter mortgaged the estate in 1635 and died in 1639. In 1649, the estate came into the Gage family by marriage and, at about the same time, it was sequestered because of the family's continuing recusancy. For the rest of the century, Lyveden seems to have been in divided ownership, although the 1670s, 'tax returns .. suggest an extensive and well appointed house'. The estate was reunited in 1691.

In 1721, Northamptonshire historian, John Bridges, reported, 'several Walks planted with Sicamores & Elmes pointing from the house', as well as the, 'Terras of the Garden ... & the Walk coming out of the house planted with Witch Elmes'. Of the house itself, he observes that only, 'one of the wings is intire .. the gateway in the yard and the gate house are still standing'. Clearly, by the early 18th century, much had gone of what had been a larger house, with ranges framing three sides of a west-facing courtyard, which was entered via a stone gateway.

In 1818 and 1847, drawings of the house confirmed that, the 'intire' wing of the old building surviving in 1721 still stood; indeed, this represents the main part of Lyveden Manor today. In 1847, Thomas Bell also described the gardens, where there were several pathways which could be, 'traced in the direction of the Family Mansion, between which, and the new building, these plantations are placed, connecting, as it were, the two together'.

During much of the 19th century, ranges were removed and rebuilt and, by 1861, Lyveden Manor was being used as two farmhouses. In 1882, when architect and scholar, J.A. Gotch recognised the significance of Lyveden, and produced sketches and measured drawings to illustrate his 1883 publication, we see the status of the 'Old Bield' at that date. The extant, south wing of the original house – 'intire' in 1721 – is surrounded by lower, estate buildings. This arrangement is confirmed in the first edition OS, 1 : 25" (1 : 2,500) survey, published in 1886. What we can also see here is the Lyveden Brook, which runs W→E along the valley, between the house and Harley Way. The Brook had been modified with a large pool to serve the house, perhaps even from c.1600. There remains little sign of this, today.

In 1882, J.A. Gotch had not seen evidence of the former, terraced gardens that had been constructed to the east and south of the house; though, even as late as 1905, Margaret Jourdain could still discern, 'the remains of terraces existing at intervals from the Brook by the Old Bield up to the New Bield'. But Gotch's focus had been on the

'New Bield', at the top of the hill and it was probably his campaign to rescue the latter that led to the National Trust acquiring it, shortly after WWI. The 'Old Bield' remained in separate ownership.

After the Second War, most of the land surrounding Lyveden Manor was ploughed for arable production. By the 1960s, when the Duke of Gloucester acquired much of the land and managed it as part of his Barnwell Estate, deep ploughing affected almost the whole of this Character Area. In this period, any remaining sign of terraces or planting linking the Manor with the Lodge was eradicated. Only a Luftwaffe photograph, taken in 1944, reveals some evidence of what had survived until that date.

After the War, most of the secondary buildings were altered or removed. Thereafter, from c.1980 onwards, there have been several programmes of building and reworking the house. In 1993, significant structural and drainage problems were identified as affecting the stability of the SE corner of the Manor. The engineer observed that this was likely to have been consequent on the landscape remodelling effected in the vicinity of the Manor, partly caused by ploughing and partly by cut-and-fill that had attended recent alterations to the building. The problems were rectified during the next building programme, which considerably enlarged Lyveden Manor.

The last major changes to the Manor were wrought in 2000 and, in 2013, the National Trust acquired the property.

Lyveden Manor now lends itself to being reworked as a welcome / visitor centre for the Trust. The fields around it – the formerly terraced gardens to the east and south, and the recently-acquired meadow to the west – are also now owned by the Trust. Having lost all trace of their historic form and having been enriched by years of arable management, both these areas are now entering a new period in which their role in the historic landscape will once again, be vital to the integrity of the whole of Sir Thomas Tresham's c.1600 composition.

11.1.2 The Aims

Tresham's composition of buildings and landscape has now been reunited in single ownership. This opens up invaluable opportunities to recover something of the extraordinary composition created in c.1600 by Sir Thomas Tresham. The starting point for reading and enjoying the passionate, poetic narrative he embedded in his composition starts at Lyveden Manor. The over-riding aim must be to restore to the Manor and its gardens this vital role.

11.1.3 CMP Objectives

- Following a feasibility study, develop Lyveden Manor as a welcome and visitor centre. Note that changes effected to the built structure over the years, and especially since WWII, should not be confused with historic features of the house. Likewise, the historic estate buildings provide some precedents which might facilitate the appropriate development of sensitively managed secondary structures, should they be needed. On the other hand, the feasibility study should be informed, firstly, by a detailed analysis of the internal structure of the house, undertaken by a good conservation architect / historic fabric archaeologist. Much more might usefully be known about the long history of mediaeval / 16th C / 17th C / later fabric in the principal wing of the house.

- With proper protection for the sites on the HER – at the same time as acknowledging the widespread lack of surviving archaeology of the Tresham gardens (and the earlier ridge and furrow) in this Character Area – remodel the landscape so that the gardens not only make an appropriate setting for the Manor, but also reinstate the first half of the ‘pilgrimage’ from the valley to the crest of the hill to the south. Any such design must respond to the carefully-analysed documentary evidence of the layout of the site, but it must also be recognisably new and serve its modern, practical, functions.
- Commission a civil engineer / hydrologist (familiar with conservation issues) to survey the management and drainage of water across the whole site. Ensure that any new modelling of the hillside or the setting of Lyveden Manor minimises future problems of flooding and consequent erosion.
- Linked with the above study, analyse the role of the Lyveden Brook. At present, this Brook is sometimes dry in places and sometimes in spate. As riparian owner of the stretch of the Brook which runs through this property, the NT has a duty of care to both upstream and downstream properties. The objective here is to maximise and sustain the visual and ecological contribution of the Brook to the setting of the Manor, whilst ensuring the efficient management of the water flow and minimising flood risks. Therefore, with appropriate consultations with the EA and Anglian Water, and preceded by a close survey of the Natural Biology of this part of the Brook, develop proposals for its improved management, presentation and biodiversity.
- Visitor access and circulation – on foot, by car or bicycle etc. – will require exceptionally careful management. Liaison with the Highways Agency will inform the requirements for access / egress on the Harley Way. The physical impact of traffic on the Lyveden Brook – and on the bridge and culvert across – will require the expertise of a civil engineer (familiar with conservation issues) to assess possibilities and constraints. There must be limited hard-surfacing with impervious materials. Parking will pose inevitable problems. There must be no visual hint of motor vehicles available to those in the gardens: no reflection or colour; noise, too, must be baffled. It would seem that the poplar plantation, on the north of the Brook, would offer the most suitable location for car parking. But visitor numbers will have to be anticipated and planned-for, the visual impact of the car park must be softened by new planting, and the relationship with the water course will be a limiting factor.
- The entrance drive should be resurfaced (it may require reconstruction) and – if to be used as visitor circulation – probably widened. The flanking horse chestnuts should be monitored, to check their health etc., and replaced if necessary.
- The successful reinterpretation of the gardens – especially the N/S layout – will depend on reopening the key exchanges of view. This means that it will be essential to exclude sight not only of vehicles, but also the large, utilitarian storage shed (currently used for maintenance vehicles), from these gardens.
- Taking advantage of the Greenhatch measured survey of the areas (to the S of the Brook) around the Manor, the topography of the gardens should be carefully planned and revised. It is very important that some of the crude cut-and-fill which has been carried out in recent years is radically remodelled. This may require the removal of some made-up ground, which may be partly the result of arisings from building works.

- On the east side of the Manor, the rising land between the (currently rather crude) platform of the lower gardens and the 7th terrace should, once again, be terraced. Note that, historically, the terraces were quite substantial: the difference in level between the valley floor and the 7th terrace is considerable and the climb was meant to be demanding. Managing the level shifts at the west and east end of the terraces will require subtle handling.
- Access through this garden will be testing. The terraces will be quite steep and we recommend that there should be broad, local stone, staircases providing access. At the west and east end of each terrace, architectonic ramps, probably in turf, will provide easier access for some; but it is unlikely that it will be possible to provide fully compliant access for all.
- Whilst acknowledging the fact that levels may preclude access for all, it will be essential to: provide disabled parking at the top of the hill, where the current car park lies; provide a shuttle, perhaps at weekends, to carry people to the top of the site; create such an attractive environment at the bottom of the hill, in the vicinity of the Manor, that many people will be satisfied to remain in the valley gardens; provide plenty of well-designed, discreetly located, seats etc., as resting places on the way up; and provide such effective interpretation of the whole site in the Manor itself that everyone will find much to delight and interest them there.
- Timber arbours – perhaps one on each side of the 7th terrace – will also provide excellent resting places, as well as viewing point.
- Lyveden is not rich in mature or veteran trees. Therefore, the management of distinctive and valuable trees, including the common ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) to the west of the current entrance drive and elsewhere in this Character Area, should be planned and delivered as a matter of urgency.
- Some of the best opportunities for enhancing biodiversity will be created by careful management of the existing woodland in this area and by introducing what may well be fairly extensive planting of new woodland. Oak woodland once provided a principal feature of the Rockingham Forest and English oak (*Quercus robur*) should be prominent in any new planting. At the same time, other species, including sycamores, walnuts, silver birch and wild cherry should be added. Alder would be appropriate for areas where wet woodland might be a beneficial feature. And, some Scots pine will be a necessary element (for variety and screening). Any existing saplings on site – including oak and ash – should be singled out, protected from rabbits, and space and light created so that they can flourish *in situ*. Acorns from the fine English oak to the SE of the New Bield could be harvested for future stock.
- There may be the need to retain / replant some of the existing hedging around the western and southern sides of the Manor, in order to create sheltered, sunny areas for taking refreshments etc. outside; but the existing crudely-aligned hedge, in its entirety, is utilitarian and inappropriate. The hedge to the east, between the gardens and the access drive, does include some mature shrubs, although, in its current form, it is relatively youthful. Nevertheless, this usefully separates gardens from drive and should be retained.
- The unmanaged, overcrowded copses and small groups of trees which are to the W and SE of the house are relatively recent. They may well have been planted to serve a Shoot in recent decades. They have been fenced against rabbits – and, presumably, deer – and there may be a small number of valuable trees which could be retained within these groups. Otherwise, these plantations should be

removed. In particular, the dense belt of trees to the SE of the house is inappropriate and very damaging to the vitality and legibility of Tresham's gardens. Without its removal, there will be no opportunity to reinstate a significant landscape here.

- Whilst the late 20th century hedge, which currently separates the Middle Orchard from the Manor's gardens, does create an inviting sense of enclosure in the Orchard (and it may well contribute to the warmth and productivity of the Orchard), this, too, must be removed. This hedge cuts across the line of what was, arguably, the most important of the terraces. This, the 7th terrace, incorporated the rectangular promontory (some slight evidence of which remains visible on the ground), thrusting forth from the terrace and commanding views to the north and south. As part of the layout and the narrative, this whole terrace fulfilled – and will fulfil – an essential role. At the same time, views of dozens of people in colourful clothes climbing up the hill will not be desirable. Great care must be taken to plant and manage trees – in walks and lines to echo the Tresham vision – to disperse these visible intrusions (i.e., people!), even if they cannot be quite eradicated.
- The meadow to the west of the house has only recently been acquired. There has not been an archaeological survey of this area and so this should precede any future developments. Given the status of the herbage, however, it would seem that this area has a long history of arable management which has, as elsewhere, destroyed much sign of earlier habitation. Therefore, there are likely to be opportunities – in the lower part of the field, to the immediate west of the Manor – to develop picnic and 'natural play' facilities. This area may also accommodate some of the visitor circulation to / from the car park, for example. Suitable tree planting will help to minimise the impact of views and noise from elsewhere in the gardens.
- The more southerly part of this west field, which becomes quite steep, could be incorporated into a Higher Level Stewardship Agreement with Natural England. As above, we recommend selecting a few of the better specimens from the rather curious roundels of trees in this area, and supplement these with some further trees, to start to create an environment distinguished by its wood pasture, with semi-improved grassland. Developing a more species-rich, bio-diverse setting will, of necessity, be slow and gradual.
- Much of the interpretation of this site can most usefully be done out in the landscape - with good audio guides and some down-loadable electronic information (depending on mobile / tablet reception etc), as well as (a few) more of the lectern-style information boards employed near the New Bield. But, the Manor should be the place where there is a range of excellent exhibition material. This will be where some of the more difficult aspects of Tresham's vision – notably his theology and his enthusiasm for number and symbol – can be explored. Likewise, simple themes, such as Tresham's (?) unique employment of 18 feet to equal one pole, and his interest in globes and maps (as well as George Levens' making of compass and theodolite) can be explored in a variety of ways. Understanding and enjoying – being thrilled by – Lyveden will not be possible without some grasp of how Tresham's life and times shaped this estate; how extraordinary was the early Reformation and, indeed, how it remains relevant today. The development of interpretation, here, should be many-layered, should include plenty of visual riches and can form the basis of special guided tours around Lyveden.

- Lyveden Manor can also be the place to facilitate exploration of the wider landscape. Although there remains no visible evidence of the mediaeval history of the area, there is enough documentary material to facilitate its exploration. Likewise, the link with the circular walk / bridleway creates an opportunity for visitors to discover more about the history and management of the Rockingham Forest. This whole area is rich in flora and fauna (despite the intensive arable): for example, the ponds and other waterbodies in the area support a range of dragonflies, as well as other invertebrates and insects. Finally, the fact that Fermyn Woods is the focus of Butterfly Conservation (see website), with guided tours arranged to discover the Purple Emperor, White Admiral, and the Purple and White-letter Hairstreak, adds to the rich mix.
- We recommend making the most of ways in which the landscape itself can reveal something of both the natural and cultural diversity of this site. As noted above, this will mean thinking about Lyveden in its broader setting. This might include information about the stone employed to build Lyveden Manor, the locations of quarries, how it was selected and worked, what kinds of costs / returns might have been associated with these materials in the past, what tools were / are employed by a stonemason, etc.
- In addition to the above, we suggest that some of the meadows are grazed by sheep. Clearly, this management will have to be accommodated within the HLS Agreements, where applicable. Furthermore, the enriched grassland might be better managed by combinations of sheep / cattle grazing (as we have reported in Section 5). Given the complexities of cattle, however, it should be possible to manage and improve the diversity of the west field by introducing some rare-breed sheep. We do not recommend that this would be an essentially commercial flock. The numbers should be limited and the sheep themselves lighter and smaller and, therefore, less likely to cause poaching, compaction and enrichment. Rare breed sheep would be more suitable to the context of Tresham's gardens. We have not come across any rare breeds which are of particularly local significance. It would be worth assessing whether, for example, the Portland sheep, currently grazing Calke, might be appropriate. Or Jacobs – which take their name from the spotted sheep described in the Book of Genesis and are, therefore, sometimes described as 'biblical sheep' – would seem very apt. Either of these breeds (and others, similar) are useful for conservation grazing and both are relatively straightforward to look after.
- For any necessary fencing, gates etc., employ cleft materials and avoid post and rail, post and wire. Materials and techniques should be sympathetic to a house which is, essentially, 17th century.
- Consider and supply adequate depot facilities, in a discreet location, to support effective grounds maintenance.

11.2 Character Area B – New Bield, Cottage, Moats, Mounts, Orchards & Meadows

11.2.1 Summary of Condition and History

From 1592, when Tresham returned to Rushton, having spent many years imprisoned – sometimes in the Fleet, in Hoxton, in Buckden and in Ely – he devoted himself to a programme of buildings works with a passion and commitment that has a quality of desperation about it. At Lyveden, he focused not only on his new house, but also on the gardens and the Lodge at the top of the hill to the south. It was here – in what we believe Tresham called his, 'Lyveden Lantern' – that he intended to conclude the

narrative that he embedded in the rest of this remarkable composition. Although left unfinished on his death, it is still possible to imagine that this little building is just awaiting the return of its maker: so crisp and refined is the stonework and the symbols inscribed on its elevations, that it is hard to credit that work was stopped over four centuries ago. Since it was acquired by the National Trust, in 1922, regular care has ensured that it remains in astonishingly good condition. Like the Old Bield, it is a testament to Tresham's insistence on quality materials and craftsmanship; unlike the Old Bield, the garden Lodge has not been subject to the vagaries of fashion and time and so it has not been altered, augmented, removed and transformed.

What we see today certainly reveals the formative influences of several of the texts in Tresham's library. He learned from his Antique predecessors a Platonic philosophy of form and an engagement with Pythagorean proportion. From his Renaissance predecessors and peers, he developed an understanding of Classical Orders, and benefited from advice about practical construction and ornamental motif. But this was not simply intended to be a model of Classical perfection; or even an Elizabethan banqueting house or hunting lodge - though there is a familial relationship with such buildings being erected on estates elsewhere. It seems fairly clear that Tresham - with the active support of his steward, George Levens - had bigger ambitions. He was interested in the scientific studies of scholars such as Gerard Mercator and the astronomical observations of Tycho Brahe. He intended that the Lodge should be completed with additional storeys, securing a truly panoramic command of the landscape and also an opportunity to survey the skies. Certainly, the Lodge was tied firmly to its particular setting and represented the culmination of a journey from the valley below. Equally clearly, the Lodge, his 'Lyveden Lantern', was to establish a visionary link with much further afield: indeed, as far as the Holy Land where Moses - with whom he identified - acquired the tablets of the Ten Commandments and spent years leading his people through the Wilderness, before arriving at the, 'New Jerusalem'.

The fact remains, however, that Tresham's 'Lyveden Lantern' was never completed; so it cannot - other than in our imagination - be credited with such an ambitious purpose. Nevertheless, if we understand the Lodge in this light, we find that it also illuminates our understanding of the gardens in this Character Area.

Walking through the Orchard - now planted with historic stock and reflecting Tresham's expertise with fruit trees - to the stepped embankment at the north end of the moat, the traveller would have found a pleasurable respite from the steep climb up from the house. The embankment and its attendant pyramid mounts presented more of a barrier. Beyond, the moated orchard offered a model of a labyrinth - perhaps inspired by the *Chemin de Jerusalem* at Chartres.

There can be little doubt that for Tresham, the Catholic recusant, Lyveden was emblazoned with his commentary on this world and the next. At the same time, he seems to have been experimenting with contemporary motifs - such as he might have found at Theobalds and Holdenby (both of which he knew) - including mounts, moats, steps, terraces: conceits which would make the visitor conscious of both the ornamented gardens close to hand and the wilder landscape beyond. His gardens, with their striking axial layout and system of proportions, and this exploration of contrasts between artifice and nature, represent the development not only of fashion, but also of philosophy.

Now that everything we have described above is in the hands of the National Trust, and much of the landscape is under HLS management, the possibility of recovering much of the beauty and significance of Lyveden is immediate and real.

11.2.2 The Aims

The aims must be two-fold. The fabric of this Character Area – the gardens and the New Bield – must be conserved, restored and consolidated so that this layout can engage and inspire visitors in the future; the vision which inspired this composition must be recognised, researched, and celebrated.

11.2.3 Conservation Management Plan Objectives

- The care of the garden Lodge is exemplary. This is one of the rare instances where a developed programme of interpretation – which will underpin the national, and even international, significance of Tresham's composition – must be one of the primary objectives.
- The apron around the Lodge should be carefully managed and monitored, especially in the future, when greater visitor numbers might impose a threat. As we see this layout today, it is not far from what Tresham envisaged and so maintaining it in healthy condition will be important visually. Likewise, the sides of the ditches need to be monitored, to maximise the appearance and the ecological health of this feature.
- In the above context, it may be useful to allow the grass to grow a little longer. This will help to resist footfall and it will present the Lodge in a more appropriate fashion – less 'amenity lawn' and more historic monument.
- Following from above, the turf around the 18th century oak tree, to the SE of the Lodge, should be allowed to grow longer. Surface feeding roots will benefit from fewer cuts per year.
- The ditch to the south and east of the Lodge – which probably represents the 15th century park pale – should be carefully maintained and interpreted.
- Consider planting the 'New Gardening Quarter' and / or the 'Warden Hills' with fruit trees. To date, we understand that little or no archaeological information has been discovered; nevertheless, any planting must be preceded by careful survey. The fruit trees for the Warden Hills were probably intended to be planted into gentle hillocks and each hillock should have its 'mosaical floor' planted with small herbs and flowers, including strawberries and roses. The root stock will have to be carefully considered: this orchard should offer its blossom to be enjoyed by visitors on the eastern terrace walk, the eastern mounts and the New Bield – so the trees should not be too vigorous. Note, too, that multiplying the range of flowering and fruiting trees at Lyveden will help to support a diversity of fauna - especially important in the middle of this arable landscape.
- We recommend that the ash trees should be removed from the mounts. We realise that this will be a difficult task and may prompt some opposition. At the very least, these trees need to be very carefully monitored for their health and longevity. They should be surveyed to assess whether the unhealthy trees (of which there are quite a few) are suffering from *Chalara fraxinea*. If so, they should be reported, removed and destroyed. Removing these trees before they are lost, perhaps to wind-throw, will ensure that damage inflicted, by falling root-plates, to the fabric of the mounts is limited. We believe that increasing visitor numbers may necessitate that the mounts are planted – with hawthorn, for example, which should be kept trimmed – in order to limit erosion. The tops of the mounts should not be planted.

- The fabric of the moats and moat banks should be monitored. Whilst it is clear that their width does not reflect what was probably the original construction, we recommend that edge repairs should be little and often, rather than a comprehensive or elaborately engineered. Both philosophically and practically, we do not believe that such an approach is sustainable. Should repairs become imperative, we recommend employing a geotextile such as bentonite – a sandwich of clay between layers of matting – as this would allow a gentle profile to be retained on the sides of the moats and would never appear to be too visually assertive, when the work was completed.
- As part of monitoring the health and stability of the moats, their biomass should be assessed on a fairly regular basis. Should bottom-feeding fish, such as carp, reappear (i.e., be introduced!), then they will contribute to the erosion of the sides of the channels. They should be removed from the moats.
- Likewise, it is evidence that the moats will require to be desilted on a fairly regular basis. Whilst, of course, EA regulations always impose constraints, it would be far better to deposit the arisings on an adjacent arable field than anywhere else. There, the material would be beneficial. Left on any of the NT's fields – which are being managed under an HLS Agreement and which are in reversion – it will undo all the good work of management.
- We are inclined not to recommend any planting in the moated orchard. Whilst it is clear that Tresham wished to have roses and raspberries here, neither will be easy to manage in this situation and there is no certainty that they were ever actually planted. On the other hand, the mowing of the 'Chemin de Jerusalem' does contribute to the poetic narrative. We consider that this should be repeated and carefully managed through the season, so that the motif is legible. It may facilitate the management if the pattern were to be created with a slightly raised bund. Obviously, this would be dependent on establishing a clear distinction between archaeological material and a new layer; but, if that were possible, it could maximise legibility and ease of management.
- We strongly urge that this area is not used as a site for accumulating arisings from grounds maintenance, or fires etc.
- On the NE corner of this area, we have noted the interesting fen habitat associated with the mediaeval moats / water inlet. At present, this habitat is somewhat overwhelmed by coarse, ruderal vegetation - doubtless encouraged by the arisings described above. We recommend that the coarser vegetation (and associated arisings) should be removed and the area monitored and managed accordingly.
- The historic sequence of moats in this vicinity should be the subject of interpretation.
- The woodland – to the SW of the moated orchard – would benefit from a careful survey. As noted, there is evidence of poor health amongst the trees and, perhaps surprisingly, some of the least healthy trees are in areas where there has been thinning over recent years. The aim, in this area, is to achieve a wood pasture character (under HLS). There is quite a long way to go and tailored advice would be useful.
- Future management of this woodland would benefit from some traditional techniques, such as coppicing or pollarding. This would benefit the trees, multiply

diversity and produce some useful ash poles for use in the gardens and in educational recreation - or as hurdles to manage sheep.

- We recommend the erection of owl boxes on healthy trees in this woodland, to support and enlarge the existing owl population.
- For the remaining fields, which are currently being managed under an HLS Agreement, careful monitoring will, again, be necessary. Our advice is that some of these fields would benefit from being grazed by small cattle for a while (instead of /as well as sheep), or might benefit from a light harrow. The latter would run counter to HLS prescriptions. Monitoring the successful diversity (or otherwise) of the developing sward will help to refine advice - which is likely to be somewhat different for different fields.
- The walk down the western side of this woodland could be much improved. Manage the footpath as a mown ride, with plants of varied heights at the edge. Again, monitoring will help to refine the management of this area and maximise its diversity accordingly.
- We consider that it is important to exclude people from walking along the north bank of the north mount. At present, this desire-line footpath looks very enticing. It may be that it is necessary to erect a gate or a hurdle at each end – fabricated like the cleft timber gate in the woodland – as a clear message of exclusion.
- In conjunction with the above, we do consider that it is essential that visitors should have a given route up the pyramid mounts and adjacent embankment. This would entail designing appropriate steps and / or ramps. It may be possible to consider timber steps, to minimise – but not exclude – the necessity of creating some kind of footings. This will require careful analysis of the archaeology and agreement with appropriate NT advisers.
- Some of the most floriferous, small trees in the vicinity of the moated channels – including hawthorn, damson, crab, for example – are fully mature and even veteran. We recommend that these trees should receive individual management attention and there should be a phased programme of new planting to maintain this kind of cover.
- There is a wonderful array of interpretation opportunities at Lyveden. Amongst these: 'Sky at Night', will allow the NT to capitalise on the lack of light pollution at Lyveden and on the remarkable vision of the 'Lyveden Lantern'; employing historic maps and traditional devices and units – e.g., the 18' Tresham pole – will engage children and adults in reading and measuring this landscape; special breakfasts at Lyveden, perhaps to celebrate the 'Presentation of the Virgin' or as a prelude to a search for local butterflies (particularly the Purple Emperor!).
- When possible – on an annual occasion – create a lighting display or staged set with projected image – to present the 'Lyveden Lantern' as it was (we believe!) intended. This would help to enhance the status of the remarkable New Bield.
- We recommend that Lyveden deserves consideration as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. So significant is its story that, despite its lack of completion and despite the small size of the estate, it would justify such a designation because of what it tells us about the history of England in c.1600 – and what it reveals about British identity today.

LYVEDEN OLD BIELD, NEW BIELD & GARDENS

Appendix A Bibliography

Information Provided by the National Trust

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
Allerton, Cory Environmental	Allerton, Cory Environmental	<i>Service reports and invoices re septic tank and borehole at the Manor</i>	1999-2011
Allerton	Allerton	<i>Mini Biofilter 10PE Gravity Outlet Information Handbook</i>	Feb -2002
K.J. Allison, M.W. Berresford & J.G. Hurst	Deserted Medieval Village Research Group	<i>The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire No. 18</i>	1966
Paul Bancroft	Paul Bancroft Architects	<i>Lyveden New Bield Quinquennial Inspections Plans + records</i>	Nov- 2007
B. Barfitt	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	<i>Index of the Apple Collection at the National Fruit Trials</i>	Aug- 1985
B. Barfitt & J. Bultitude	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	<i>Index of the Pear Collection at the National Fruit Trials</i>	Mar-1981
Ian Barnes	National Trust	<i>Archaeology Panel Minutes of Feedback Meeting on the Potential Acquisition of the Manor</i>	12-Nov-2013
Thomas Bell		<i>The Ruins of Lyveden with historical notices of the Family of Tresham and its connection with the Gunpowder Plot etc. to which is added a legendary poem</i>	1847
Clare Bense		<i>Sir Thomas Tresham's Letter from Ely (transcribed using modern English spelling)</i>	09-Oct-1597
Clare Bense and Jenny Burt		<i>List of Tresham Manuscripts held at the British Library</i>	List not dated
Clare Bense and Jenny Burt		<i>List of additional manuscripts held at the British Library</i>	List not dated
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Lyveden Vision Document</i>	Mar-2013
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>National Trust, Northamptonshire & Rutland; Portfolio Business Plan 2013 - 16</i>	Nov-2012
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Information on visitor numbers and the type of visitor</i>	

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
		<i>groups(email)</i>	
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Information on staff numbers employed (staff matrix) and volunteer numbers</i>	
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Information on the types of groups that use the sites e.g. Scouts, schools etc</i>	
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Information on opening and access arrangements</i>	
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Information on types of events that are held at the property (weddings, outdoor theatre etc)</i>	
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Bield Property Management Plan 2002 - 2007</i>	June 2003
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Bield Guide Book</i>	2011 reprint of 2004 Edition
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Medium Term Five Year Plan</i>	1995/6
Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Minutes of Property Meeting & background Notes</i>	16-Jul-1997
Brogdale Orchards Ltd.	Brogdale Orchards Ltd.	<i>Brogdale Plant Portfolio</i>	Not dated
Robert Brough	National Trust	<i>A3 plan @ 1/1250 base plan with NT ownership and selected dimensions</i>	18-Aug-2006
Robert Brough	National Trust	<i>A2 plan @ 1/2500 base plan with NT ownership in 2007</i>	07-June-2007
A.E Brown & C.C Taylor	The Archaeological Journal , Volume 129, For 1972	<i>Gardens Archaeology File the most significant being : The Gardens at Lyveden, Northamptonshire</i>	1972
Pauline Croft	The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, The Yale Centre for British Art	<i>Studies in British Art 8 Patronage, Culture and Power , The Early Cecils</i>	2002
Clare Elizabeth Cross	MA Dissertation, University of Bristol: MA in Garden History	<i>Seventeenth Century English Orchards and Fruit Gardens</i>	Nov-2004
Beth Dawson , Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Annual Property Plan 1997/8</i>	Feb 1997
Beth Dawson , Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Annual Property Plan 1998/9</i>	April 1998
Beth Dawson , Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Annual Property Plan 1999/2000</i>	Feb 1999

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
Beth Dawson , Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Medium Term Management Plan 1998-2003</i>	March 1998
Bryant		<i>Bryants Map extract</i>	1827
Brian Dix		<i>Archaeological Monitoring of the Moat De-silting 2000, Lyveden New Bield</i>	Oct-2000
East Northamptonshire District Council Planning Portal Case Ref. 10/00068/FUL	Wide range of authors	<i>Expert Witness statements relating to the Wind Farm case (ours, EH, Northamptonshire and the opposition).</i>	
Dr Andrew Eburne		<i>Translation of Tresham papers</i>	
Dr Andrew Eburne	Garden History 2008 Volume 36 Pages 114 -134	<i>The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden</i>	2008
Dr Andrew Eburne & K. Felus		<i>Draft of 2010 CMP; Site Visit Notes etc.</i>	2019/2010
Dr Andrew Eburne & Dr Kate Felus		<i>Lyveden CMP</i>	Jul-2010
Dr Andrew Eburne & Dr Kate Felus		<i>Lyveden CMP images</i>	Dec-2009
ECUS Ltd. Sheffield	ECUS Ltd. Sheffield	<i>National Trust Great Crested Newt Surveys 2008</i>	2008
English Heritage	English Heritage	<i>E.H. Register File, An introduction to the Register of Parks and Gardens</i>	
Evershed, Hibbitt & Allen	Allen Archaeology Ltd.	<i>Archaeological Evaluation Report: Geophysical Survey by Magnetometry in the Orchard Field</i>	Dec-2011
Eyres		<i>Eyres Map extract</i>	1779
Ted Faulkner		<i>List of Wild Plants at Lyveden</i>	March -1998
Ted Faulkner	National Trust	<i>Thoughts on the Future of Lyveden New Bield</i>	1992
Mary E. Finch	Northamptonshire Record Society – Volume XIX 31 Dec. 1955	<i>Abstract from The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540 - 1640</i>	Dec-1955
Dr Anthony Fletcher	Leicestershire Museum Services	<i>Lichen survey 2001</i>	November 2001
Glenn Foard, David Hall, Tracey Britnell		<i>The Historic Landscape of Rockingham Forest</i>	2003

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
Forestry Commission	Forestry Commission Report	<i>Fermyn Woods Woodland Management Programme</i>	c.2000
A. P. Foster	National Trust National Consultancy	<i>National Trust Nature Conservation Evaluation</i>	March 2013, 2012 Survey incorporating 1999 Survey
Foster Surveys		<i>Topographical Surveys & Proposals</i>	2007
John A. D. Gaul		<i>Lyveden New Building Structural & Condition Report</i>	1952
G.C.R	Gifford & partners Archaeology	<i>Topographical Surveys Fig. 1 - Topographical /Archaeological Map Scale 1/500 Fig. 2 - Contour Map Scale 1/500</i>	4-Jul-1997
Mark Girouard	The National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Bield Guide Book</i>	1990 Edition and 2003 reprint
J.A. Gotch	Country Life Ltd. for The National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Building Guide Book</i>	1947
J.A. Gotch	Country Life Ltd. for The National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Building Guide Book</i>	1956
J. A. Gotch and Sir Gyles Isham	Country Life Ltd. for The National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Bield Guide Book</i>	1963
Guardian	Guardian	<i>Guardian Article Luftwaffe spy photo reveals lost Tudor garden</i>	updated 11-Nov-2010
Stuart Handley	National Trust	<i>William Harbord 1635 - 1692</i>	
Andrew Halstead and John Heward		<i>Lyveden Old Bield, Northamptonshire, Conservation Report</i>	Oct- 1998
Gwyn Headley Mark Bradshaw		<i><u>Lyveden & the Supernatural File</u></i>	2005
John Heward		<i>Lyvden Old Bield, Historic Building Report</i>	Oct-1998
E.J.Hewins & A.P.Foster		<i>Lyveden New Bield National Trust Biological Survey</i>	Sep-1999
C O Hunt and G Rushworth	Geographical Sciences, University of Huddersfield	<i>Sedimentation and vegetation history, Lyveden New Bield (pollen report)</i>	2000
C.O.Hunt & G. Rushworth	Geographical Sciences,	<i>Sedimentation and vegetation History at Lyveden New Bield:</i>	2000

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
	University of Huddersfield	<i>Final Report</i>	
Sir Gyles Isham	The National Trust	<i>Lyveden New Bield Guide Book</i>	1981 and 1984
Matt Johnson	Wildlife Trust	<i>Wildlife Trust Local wildlife Site report</i>	July 2009
Gill Kent, Rob Wilson	Kettering and District Natural History Society and the Northamptonshire Flora Group	<i>The Flora of Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough</i>	1995
Gerard Kilroy	Draft Paper for the Journal <i>Emblematica</i>	<i>Paper – Thomas Tresham : his Emblem</i>	Published 17 th July 2009
Landyke and Ross Thain and Andrew Halstead	Landyke and Ross Thain and Andrew Halstead	<i>Correspondence re proposed lake at Lyveden Manor</i>	Aug 2007
William Lawson		<i>A New Orchard and Garden</i>	Note states 1648 However title page indicates 1618
Prudence Leith-Ross		<i>Fruit Trees sent to Hatfield House , Lady Tresham Letter located and transcribed</i>	Original written 27 th October 1609, transcribed in Feb 2004
S J Malone	Archaeological Project Services	<i>Middle Orchard Geophysical survey and suggestions for replanting 2011</i>	April 2011
Rodney Melville + Partners	Rodney Melville + Partners	<i>Lyvden Old Bield Quinquennial Report</i>	
Rodney Melville + Partners	Rodney Melville + Partners	<i>Lyveden Manor Quinquennial Report</i>	Dec-2012
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Lyveden Tea room report and drawings (Custodian's Cottage)</i>	
National Trust	National Trust Collections	<i>Lost Gardens of Lyveden, NT Treasure Hunt</i>	19-Nov-2010
National Trust	National Trust East Midlands	<i>NT Team Structure</i>	2013
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Info re Proposed Visitor centre including Architectural Panel, site visit Oct 2008</i>	Oct 2008
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Archaeology folder</i> • <i>SAMC for works to moat</i> • <i>Methodology to monitor</i>	2008 2006

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
		<i>erosion on snail mounts</i> <i>Earth resistance data to area north of Custodians House</i> <i>SAMC and Licence for geophysical surveys at New Bield</i> <i>SAMC for ditch filling</i> <i>Orchard area and Archaeological investigations at Lyveden new bield</i>	No date 2002 2001 2001
National Trust	National Trust	<i>News cuttings and letters re wind turbines</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Wind Farm blue folder x 2</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Ecological information</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Property Business Plan 2010-2013</i>	2010
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Details of the HLS</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information regarding the acquisition of Lyveden New Bield (muniments)</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information regarding the acquisition of the access road, car-park and associated land</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>information regarding the acquisition of Lyveden Manor</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information on any covenants relating to the site</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information on any wayleaves (fuel Line)</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information on any tenancy arrangements (Lyveden Manor / Grazing tenants)</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information on who the adjacent land-owners are for wider parkland context</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>CAD plans for the lodge, cottage and Manor</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information on known services (water, electric etc)</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Information on recent building projects (Cottage Tea Room)</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Handwritten copy of extracts from the Lyveden Management Committee from 1946 to 1960</i>	1946 to 1960
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Draft of paper on the</i>	

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
		<i>management of Lyveden</i>	
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Series of A4 plans showing: water supply; electricity cable route; Land Ownership & Tenure; Public rights of way ; Scheduled ancient monument</i>	12-April- 2002
National Trust	National Trust	<i>Collection of plans c.1996 showing tree clearance and electric pylon removal</i>	c.1996
National Trust	National Trust	<i>The National Trust Manual of Building Instruction Quinquennial Surveys on Buildings Held for Preservation</i>	2001
NEM Groundworks	NEM Groundworks	<i>Car Park Specifications</i>	2007
Northamptonshire Wildlife Trust	Northamptonshire Wildlife Trust	<i>Detailed Wildlife Site Record Card</i>	Survey 21-May-1992
Northamptonshire County Council	Northamptonshire County Council	<i>Monument Full HER Report</i>	23-Jan-2012
Northamptonshire County Council	Northamptonshire County Council	<i>HER Event Map</i>	23-Jan-2012
Northamptonshire County Council	Northamptonshire County Council	<i>Lyvden Manor Event Report</i>	23-Jan-2012
Northamptonshire County Council	Northamptonshire County Council	<i>HER Mon Map</i>	23-Jan-2012
OS	OS	<i>6" map extract</i>	1880s
Dr. Margaret Palmer		<i>Plant Survey of the Moat at Lyveden New Bield, June 2nd 2011</i>	June-2011
Ivan Pedley		<i>Lyveden New Bield A Lichen and Bryophyte Survey</i>	Nov- 2007
Neil Porteous	National Trust	<i>Memorandum focusing on car park and orchard</i>	11-Sep-2006
Joe Prentice	Northamptonshire Archaeology	<i>An Archaeological Evaluation within the Moated Orchard at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire September 2011</i>	Dec-2011
RIBA	RIBA	<i>RIBA Collections, The Reformation</i>	
Phil Richardson	Phil Richardson (Bat Consultant)	<i>Bat Survey</i>	2008

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
Michael Ridout & Hilary ?	Mid-Nene RSPB Local Group	<i>Bird Survey</i>	Oct-2007
Round Wood Timber Co / National Trust	Round Wood Timber Co / National Trust	<i>Correspondence re delays to staircase works etc</i>	July – Oct 2002
Royal Commission	Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England	<i>Lyveden Old Building Floor Survey Plans</i>	
Sarah Salway		<i>Article - Here and now, now and here</i>	03-Dec-2008
Charles Shapcott	Conservation Engineering Branch	<i>Lyveden Old Bield Aldwinckle, Northants</i>	12-Dec-1993
M.W.G. Smith	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	<i>Catalogue of the Plums at the National Fruit Trials</i>	June -1978
C. C. Taylor	Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society Volume LXXXV (1996)	<i>Gardens Archaeology File also: An Archaeological Field Survey of Wolthorpe, Cambridgeshire</i>	1996
Ross Thain & Co Ltd	Ross Thain & Co Ltd	<i>Phase 3 drawings (services and details)for extension to the Manor</i>	June/July 2007
Ross Thain & Co Ltd	Ross Thain & Co Ltd	<i>Drawings for proposed shed and staircase in Manor</i>	2001-2005
Ross Thain & Co Ltd	Ross Thain & Co Ltd	<i>Design and Access Statement for New Pool House, Swimming Pool and \Tennis Courts at the Manor, plus LBC and Phase 4 drawings</i>	2007
Ross Thain & Co Ltd, Dennis Fenn, Berrys	Ross Thain & Co Ltd, Dennis Fenn, Berrys	<i>Correspondence re water pipeline / supply for Manor</i>	2006-2008
Sylvia Townsend Warner		<i>Letter re the Helliborous <u>Corsicus</u></i>	06.04.52
Tresham	Tresham	<i>Tresham's Orchard Planting</i>	1597
Tresham	Tresham	<i>Tresham's Fruit Trees</i>	
Tresham		<i>Lyvden extract on plants and trees</i>	12-Dec-1604
Tresham		<i>Tresham Papers</i>	
Mark Tyrrell	Northants County Recorder for the British Dragonfly Society	<i>The Dragonflies of Lyveden New Bield</i>	2006
Various	Various	<i>Archaeology File</i>	Various

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
		<i>Large file – most documents already received and read - see below for others</i>	
Various	Various	<i>The Mutiny of the Black Watch Regiment at Lyveden Manor May 1743</i>	Various
Various	Various	<i>Car Park File including:</i>	Various
Various	Various	<i>Articles on Elizabethan Gardens, Terraced gardens and examples of modern turf banked gardens</i>	Various
Various	National Trust	<i>Guide Books Children File Various dating from 2002 - 2013</i>	2002 - 2013
Various	National Trust	<i>Guide Books File</i>	1984 -
Various	Various	<i>Various articles on the Gunpowder Plot</i>	Various
Various	National Trust	<i>The Hermit and other occupants</i>	
Various	Various	<i>Publications from FWAG, ADAS, Joint Nature Conservation Committee, RSPB, Northamptonshire Biodiversity Partnership, English nature etc.</i>	Various
Various	Various	<i>Predominantly article and EH guide book to Rushton</i>	Various
Various	Various	<i>Initiative between EH, NT and Rockingham Forest (Tourist Association) Leaflets and correspondence</i>	Various
Various including Dr. Andrew Eburne, Mark Bradshaw	National Trust	<i>Audio Guide 2010</i>	2010
Neil Veron		<i>Lyveden Old Building (Manor House) Survey Drawing</i>	July 1975
DW/FC	National Trust	<i>STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE, Lyveden New Bield</i>	05-Jan-2000
		<i>Photo Lyveden</i>	1961
		<i>Results of water samples</i>	1997
		<i>Moat desilting information including method statements and risk assessments 2012</i>	
		<i>2013 Geophysical Survey of the Manor's Ground (Will be completed Nov/Dec)</i>	Feb 2014
		<i>-2012/13 Moat De-silting Archaeological Survey and Paleoenviromental assessment.</i>	

By	Company	Title	Date of Report / Survey
		<i>Sale particulars for Fermyn Woods Hall File</i>	1907, 2007
		<i>Vernon Fitzpatrick Family File - Fermyn Woods (Farming Woods) ownership documents and disputes / family history 18th and 19th century ownership of Lyveden</i>	
		<i>Reconstructing Holdenby</i>	
		<i>One photograph of New Bield with ploughing close to the building</i>	N/A
		<i>Hotel and Spa brief history produced by the hotel</i>	
		<i>Tresham family tree and brief descriptions</i>	

Primary and Secondary Material to Inform the Historic Analysis

Details to follow