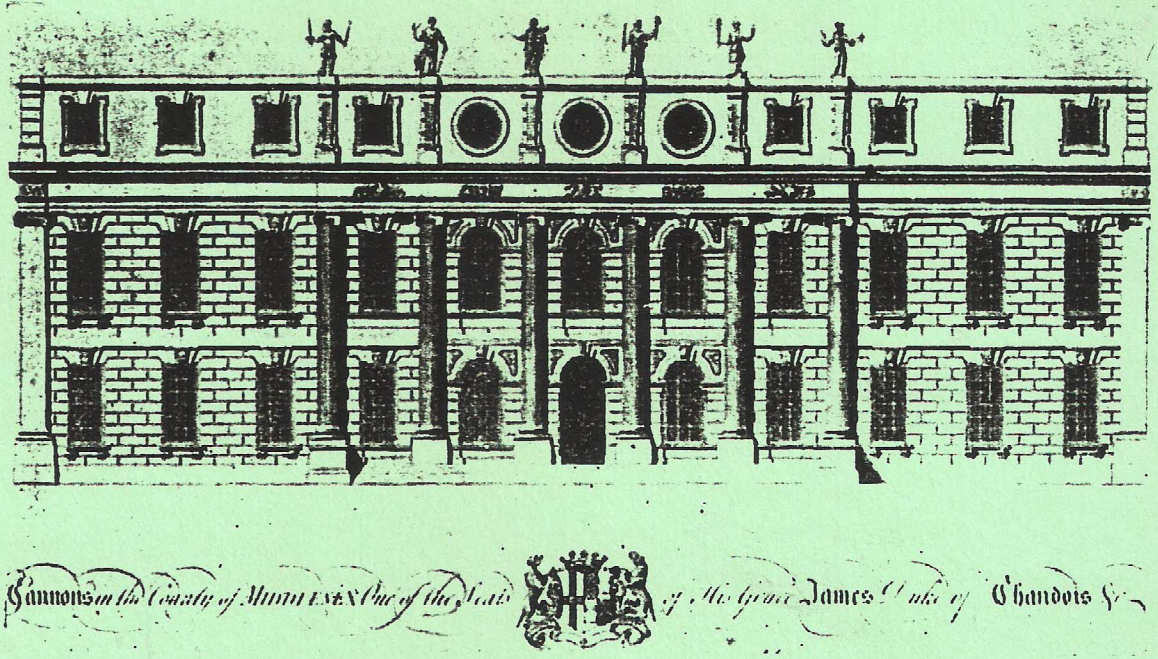


The Gardens of Canons

Proceedings of a Study Day held at the North London Collegiate School, Canons, Edgware, Middlesex

30th May 1997

London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust

including squares, churchyards and open spaces

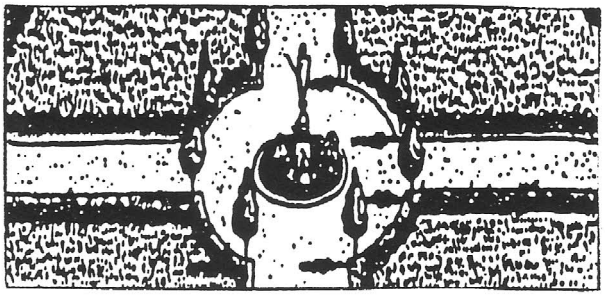
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The London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust

is an independent charitable Trust whose objective
is to promote education about historic gardens and parks in London
and to seek to conserve and enhance these gardens
for the education and enjoyment of the public.

Preface

Pamela Paterson ; Chairman of the London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust

Part of our aim is to draw together the expertise of researchers working in their own fields with a view to furthering the knowledge of the history of Greater London's extensive and rich fabric of historic landscapes. The Study Day at Canons was the first of its kind for the Trust, it was richly instructive and we hope that this will be the first of many such fruitful days.

We are indebted to the generous co-operation from the North London Collegiate School for Girls whose grounds are situated in the important historic gardens of Canons who not only allowed access to their archives but also hosted the Study Day at their school.

We are most grateful to our expert speakers, David Jacques, Hazel Fryer and Lucy Dynevor, for presenting their original papers on their researches into Canons and related subjects which has provided a sound basis for new conjectures and connections to be made and thereby enabling a more thorough understanding of the historic landscape at Canons.

The Trust is most fortunate in having such an industrious Education Working Party who singled out Canons for special study and in particular, our warm thanks go to Katy Myers who both organised the Study Day to such excellent effect and has also meticulously edited these proceedings from the day.

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Introduction

Katherine Myers

On the 30th May 1997 the London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust held a Study Day on the gardens of Canons. It took place at the North London Collegiate School for Girls, which is partly housed in the mid-eighteenth century mansion built by William Hallett on the site of the Duke of Chandos's earlier palace. Of the original extensive garden and park, much has disappeared beneath housing estates; but a considerable portion survives as the grounds of the school and as the adjoining public Canons Park. We were able to visit both.

The Study Day arose from an approach by the Trust's Education Working Party to a number of schools in the London area whose grounds were the site of important gardens. NLCS gave a particularly positive response, allowing us to investigate their archives. Canons was a name well known to garden historians as the remnant of an estate of outstanding historic interest, although little hard evidence of its layout has survived. Its history falls into three periods: first and foremost, the creation of the vast formal garden and park for the Duke of Chandos, reputedly the last work of George London before his death in 1714; secondly, the obliteration and landscaping of this layout in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which Humphry Repton may have had a hand; and lastly, the design of an 'Arts and Crafts' garden round the house by C.E. Mallows in c1910.

What survives of Canons? Of the ducal mansion nothing remains (although Hallett's house was largely built from its materials, and on its foundations). Something of its grandeur, however, can be felt in the parish church of Little Stanmore on the edge of the park: Saint Lawrence Whitchurch, rebuilt and decorated for the Duke in 1715, which we were able to visit. At the time four avenues radiated from the house, the church being at the termination of the southern one, of which traces can still be seen in the public park. There are also remnants of the western avenue, but the original view to Belmount, or Belmont, an artificial mound which still exists in Stanmore Golf Course, has been obstructed by the railway line. The northern avenue, which took the eye up Stanmore Hill, has disappeared, but the main approach to the house, from Edgware in the south-east, survives as a residential street, still with its basin as described by Defoe. The Duke's great seven-acre lake remains, but is hidden and inaccessible in the middle of a housing estate. The nineteenth-century kitchen garden, reduced from the vast enclosures of the Duke, is now a Memorial Garden in the public park, laid out in the thirties. Also in the park, among the fine trees of the former pleasure grounds, is a garden temple, probably dating from the early nineteenth century. But what has survived in large part in the school grounds is the architectural garden laid out around the mid-eighteenth century house in the early twentieth century by C.E. Mallows.

There are a number of enigmas concerning Canons. One is that the Duke's sumptuous garden, much visited in his day and notorious as supposedly satirized by Alexander Pope, should be so unknown to us: only rudimentary plans, and no views, survive of its layout. Until now we have had little idea of the exact arrangement of the parterres, walks, basins and statues described by contemporaries. Another puzzle concerns the possible involvement

of the designer Humphry Repton in the gradual transformation of the ducal estate. The evidence connecting him with Canons is contained in a letter of Repton's of 1816 mentioning work there, and in a mysterious water-colour, undoubtedly portraying the house in its landscape and apparently by Repton or his son John Adey, reproduced by Lawrence Weaver in *Country Life* in 1916. No source for this was given, and its whereabouts are unknown. Whether any work was carried out at Canons to Repton's design cannot be established at present.

On the other hand, Canons undoubtedly contains a rare example of the work of C.E. Mallows, even if part has been obliterated by school buildings. Photographs show that in its day this was a splendid setting for Hallett's house, which Mallows also enlarged for Arthur Du Cros. He is clearly a designer who deserves to be better known.

The Trust was fortunate in having speakers particularly well qualified to address these questions. David Jacques, working from a contemporary survey, was able for the first time to give us a conjectural plan of the layout of the ducal gardens. Hazel Fryer related the reborn Canons to work by Repton in the area at Brandsbury and Stanmore Park; and Lucy Dynevor put Mallows' design into the context of his career, showing us slides of Tirley Garth in Cheshire, Craig-y-Parc in Glamorgan, and of his many drawings, as well as of Canons itself. We were thus able to go some way towards a reconstruction of the Canons landscape at different stages in its development, though much research remains to be done.

Canons or Cannons?

The name was spelt with a double *n* until the early years of the nineteenth century, when one was dropped.The modern spelling with a single *n* has therefore been adopted except in the case of David Jacques's talk, which refers to the earlier period.

George London's Last Masterwork

David Jacques

Introduction

'That noble Design of the Right Honourable the present Earl of *Carnarvan*, at *Edger* in *Hertfordshire*', was the 'very last Undertaking' by George London, 'before the finishing of which he died'.[1] These words were by Stephen Switzer, London's admiring pupil, writing his 'History of Gardening' in 1715, only the year after. They seem unequivocal – George London was setting out a 'noble' scheme as he died in 1714. However J.C. Loudon was confused; he wrote in 1822 that 'London's last work, was Edger, in *Essex*'.[2] He corrected the county to *Hertfordshire* in 1835, but evidently he had no more clue as to which place was meant than before, as he mentioned Cannons, *Middlesex*, the real identity of the place, on the very next page.[3]

This identity of 'Edger'[4] seems to have been realised by Gordon Nares, a writer for *Country Life*. David Green, in his book on Henry Wise,[5] relates how 'for 250 years generations of garden-historians have copied the word from Switzer without... any clear notion of where Edger was', but then Nares suggested that it was 'none other than Canons'. In fact Cannons, near Edgware, had been attracting the attention of architectural historians for some time.

The 'Earl of Carnarvan' was James Brydges (1674-1744), the heir to the eighth Baron Chandos, MP for Hereford from 1698, and Paymaster-General of Forces Abroad from 1707-1712. As the person responsible for the finances of the Marlborough wars, he handled huge sums of money that he managed to his own advantage and which made him enormously wealthy. In 1714 he not only succeeded his father as ninth Baron Chandos but was also created Viscount Wilton & Earl of Carnarvon in the honours at the accession of George I. He went on to be elevated to Marquis of Carnarvon & Duke of Chandos in 1719.

Cannons was the family home of Brydges's first wife, Mary Lake (1666-1712), whom he had married in 1696. The Lake family had become prominent in the reign of James I. S^{r} Thomas Lake was Secretary to the King between 1617 and 1619. He had bought Cannons in 1604 and his descendants lived there in a large manor house till Brydges demolished it in 1714. Technically, Brydges acquired it by purchase from the trustees of the will of Mary's

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[1] Stephen Switzer, *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (London 1715), p. 84.
[2] John Claudius Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London 1822), p. 89.
[3] John Claudius Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, new edition (London 1835), pp. 316-7.
[4] 'Edger' seems not to have been an unusual spelling for 'Edgware', as John Macky used it in his *Journey through England* (1724).
[5] David Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise (1653-1738) and the formal garden* (London 1956), pp. 129-30.

childless uncle, Warwick Lake, though he may well have been living there himself at the time. Anyway, his period of mourning was brief, and in 1713 he married Cassandra (1670-1735), a daughter of S[r] Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire.[6]

The interest from architectural historians I have alluded to was sparked by two contemporary eulogistic descriptions, one by John Macky, published in 1722,[7] the other by Daniel Defoe in 1725.[8] It was fuelled by the identification of Cannons with the 'Timon's Villa' of Alexander Pope's *Epistle to Lord Burlington* of 1731, of which more later.[9] Finally, papers relating to Cannons found their way into the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, from the dispersal of goods from Stowe in the 1920s. The Huntington librarian, Collins Baker, was thus inspired to write a book on Chandos, which fleshed out the character of the controversial Duke.[10]

One of the main points of interest has been the private chapel, for which the Duke maintained an orchestra, led by Handel, a symbol of the opulence of the whole establishment. John Theophilus Desaguliers also needs an introduction. He was a Huguenot, became the Duke's private chaplain in 1716 and rector of the local church, St Lawrence Whitchurch, in 1719. He was an active natural philosopher and a prominent freemason.

The 'very large and well disposed' gardens

The chronology of the house is well established. Brydges appointed William Talman to be his architect in 1713. He started building two 'outhouses', probably the stables west of the future house, but Brydges, soon to be Lord Carnarvon, found him too expensive, sacked him, and took on John James to sort out the muddle.[11] Carnarvon then turned to James Gibbs in 1715 for a completely new design for the body of the house, one which Defoe eulogised as 'a most magnificent palace or mansion house, I might say, the most magnificent in England'. The main credit for it thus goes to Gibbs, and the shell was completed to his designs by 1717. Maybe Talman's chief legacy was the garden layout by George London. The two men had often worked as a team since the 1680s, as John Harris has pointed out.[12]

The ample descriptions by Macky and Defoe can be followed through a survey which has been dated 1729,[13] John Rocque's map of Middlesex published in 1754, and estate maps of

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[6] Cassandra has herself been the subject of a biography: Joan Johnson, *Excellent Cassandra: The Life and Times of the Duchess of Chandos* (Gloucester 1981).

[7] John Macky, *A Journey through England*, II, second edition (1724), p. 10.

[8] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 3 vols, II (1725), Letter 6, p. 11.

[9] Alexander Pope, *Of Taste* (Epistle to Lord Burlington) (1731), lines 99-176.

[10] C.H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts*, Clarendon Press (Oxford 1949).

[11] Baker and Baker, pp. 114-15.

[12] John Harris, *William Talman: maverick architect* (London 1982), pp. 43-5.

[13] Anon., 'Reference Book to Estate Plans' (1729?), London Metropolitan Archives, Stowe 72/1 Little Stanmore. There was a survey in 1729, mentioned on a copy map (Stowe 71/1). Fragments of the accompanying map survive as Stowe 71/2. The reference book was partly as Frank Marcham, 'The Duke of

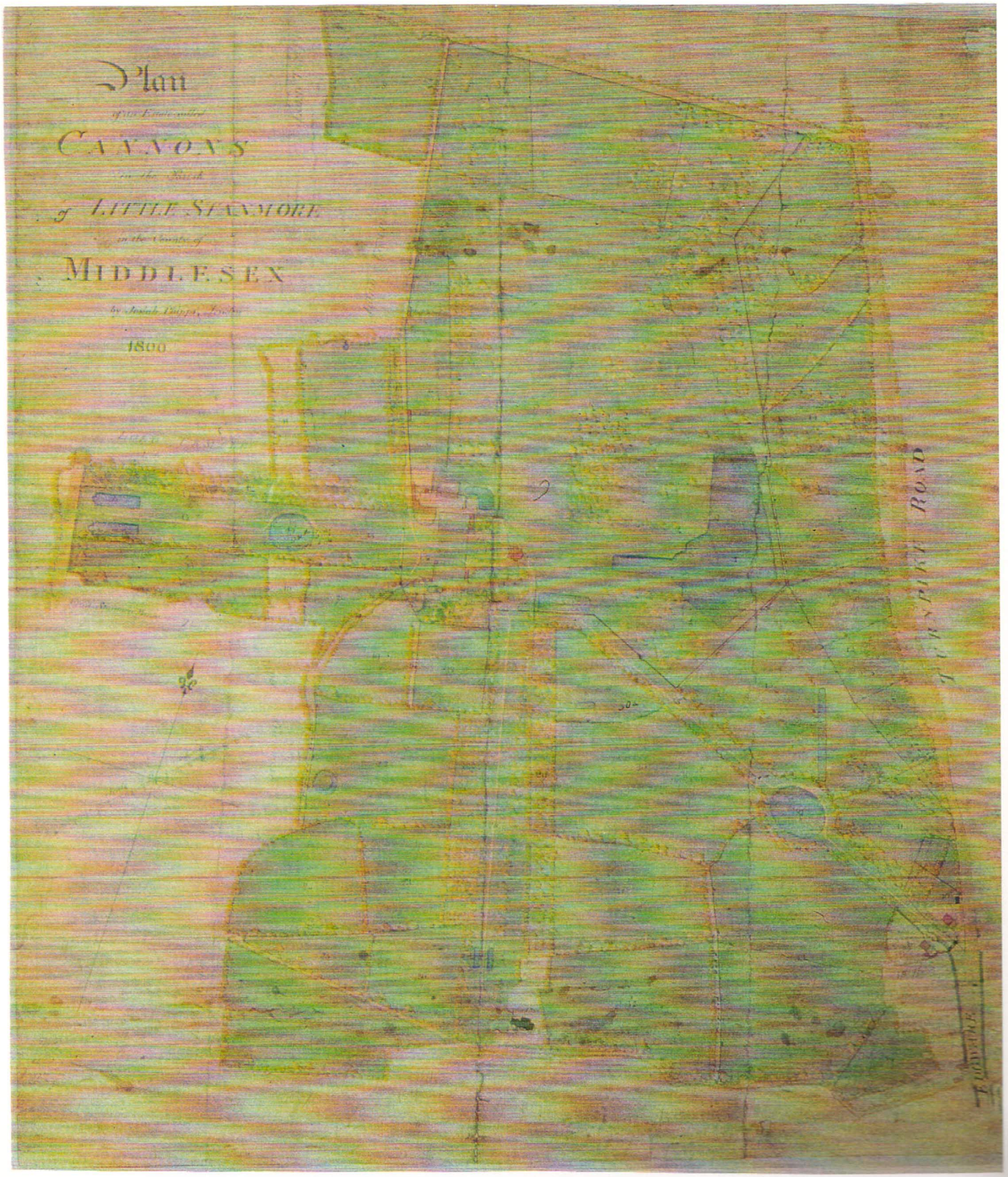


Fig. 1 Josiah Phipps, *Plan of an Estate called Cannons in the Parish of Little Stanmore in the County of Middlesex* (1800). Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection.

much later.[14] No doubt there were changes in detail as construction progressed, but the garden as a whole remained reminiscent of Queen Anne layouts. Hence it seems that Switzer's assessment that the 'undertaking', or at least the general layout, of the gardens at Cannons was London's was probably substantially correct.

It is not known who supervised the construction of the garden until 1717, when Carnarvon was employing Richard Bradley, author of *New improvements of planting and gardening* (1717). Bradley was also author of *Historia plantarum succulentarum* (1716-27) and so it seems likely that his work concentrated upon the hothouse and its garden. Meanwhile the waterworks such as reservoirs and pipes came under the charge of Dr. Desaguliers. He also had an interest in designing greenhouse chimneys so that they would not smoke, so perhaps he would have collaborated with Bradley.[15] The latter, unfortunately, seems to have been no manager, and was dismissed for financial mismanagement and neglecting the pineapples just over two years after his appointment.[16] In 1720 Tilleman Bobart, fresh from *his* sacking from Blenheim by the Duchess of Marlborough, was in charge of the gardens and remained at Cannons till 1724.[17] Thomas Knowlton took over as head gardener in 1724 before being head-hunted by Lord Burlington for Londesborough, Yorkshire, the next year.[18]

Size

Macky thought the gardens 'very large and well disposed', though still uncompleted. Cannons certainly had 'very large' gardens. For comparison, Hampton Court had been twenty-seven acres in 1689, and by the addition of another twenty-nine acres within an iron fence reached its maximum extent of fifty-six acres in 1710. Gardens of the 1710s, though, often included areas of rural wilderness, and sizes leaped up. Cannons, according to the survey of perhaps 1729, had twenty-eight acres within its iron fence, and another sixty-three acres of forest and physic garden, to bring the total up to ninety-one acres of pleasure garden, plus eleven acres of kitchen garden, melon ground and orchard, making 102 acres.[19] Arguably, then, it was fractionally larger even than Boughton House, in Northamptonshire, which claimed to be the largest garden in England with 100 acres of parterres, groves and wildernesses within the enclosure.[20]

Chandos and Cannons', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, New Series, 7 (1937), pp. 621-3, though he gave it the date of 1717.

[14] Joseph Phipps, 'Plan of an Estate called Cannons. . .' (1800), RIBA, Drawings Collection.

[15] Bradley dedicated Part III of *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening* (1717) to the 'Earl of Caernarvon'; in this book Bradley mentions 'my learned and ingenious Friend Dr Desaguliers, F.R.S.' (p. 336), and his improved greenhouse chimney, on the subject of which he had written *Fires improv'd: being a new method of building chimneys, so as to prevent their smoaking* (London 1715).

[16] Blanche Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800*, 3 vols (London 1975), II, 435.

[17] BM, Add MS 19,617; quoted by Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, p. 146.

[18] Blanche Henrey, *No ordinary gardener: Thomas Knowlton 1691-1781* (London 1986), pp. 43-5.

[19] Reference Book to Estate Plans (1729?)

[20] This, at least, was the claim by Colen Campbell in about 1722, when he prepared his plan of Boughton for *Vitruvius Britannicus* volume III (1725). (See p. 10 and plates 73-4.) He remarked that the 100-acre gardens 'were formed by the late Duke, and improved by his present Grace, with so many Additions, that they are esteemed now, the largest in *England*'.

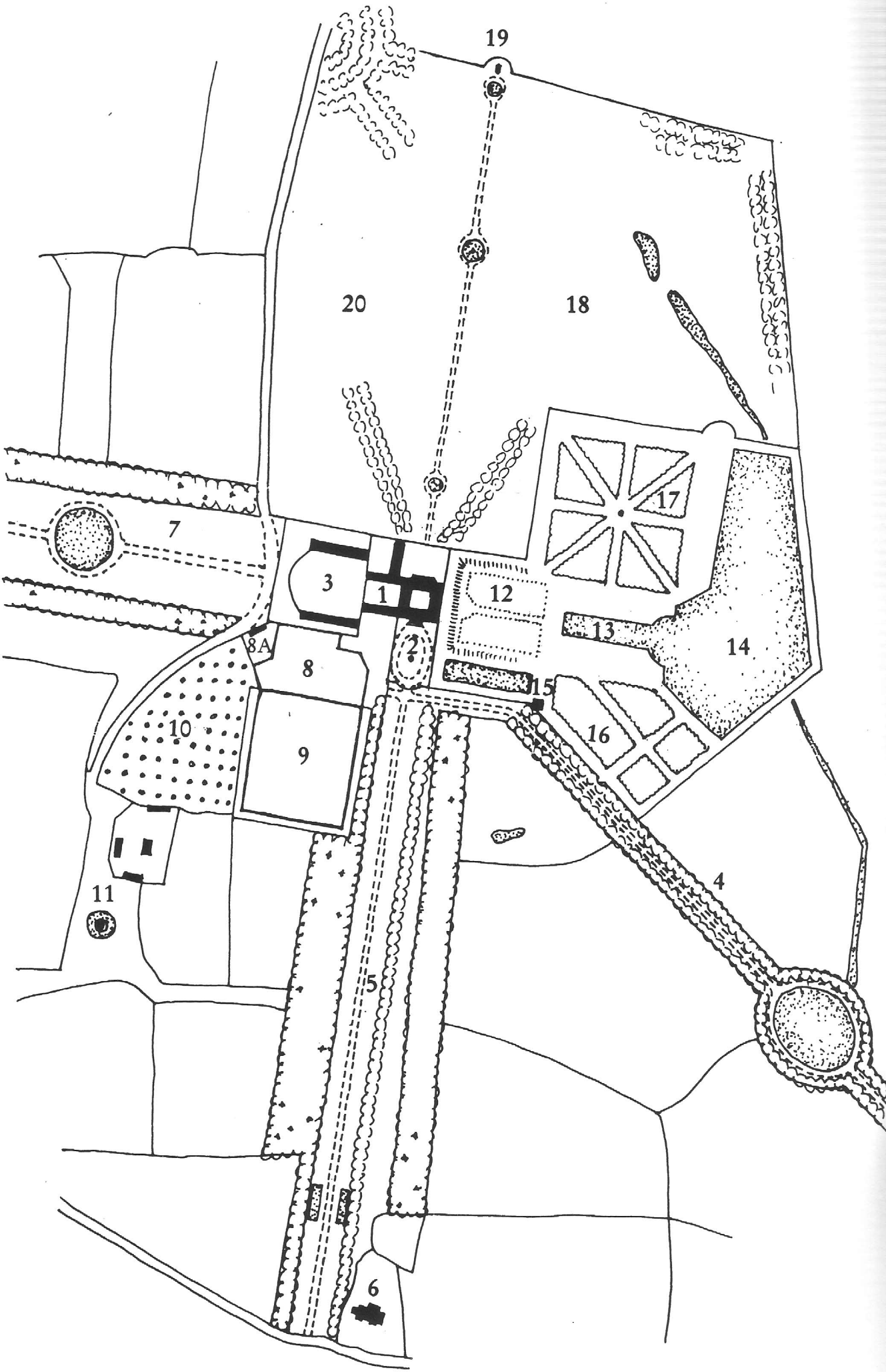

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Fig. 2 David Jacques, Conjectural plan of the gardens at Cannons, ca 1730

1 Cannons House and Office Court
2 Great Court
3 Stable Court
4 Edgware Avenue
5 Whitchurch Avenue
6 St Lawrence Whitchurch
7 Stanmore Avenue
8 Garden and melon ground (8a)
9 Kitchen garden and slip
10 Orchard
11 Marsh House and dove house
12 Parterre and terraces
13 Canal and grass panels
14 Great Bason
15 Gardener's lodge and canal
16 Alcove Wilderness
17 Star Wilderness
18 North Garden
19 Equestrian statue of George I
20 Approximate position of physick garden

Topography and general layout

As to the gardens' disposition: the situation, the approach, the forecourts and vistas, the parterres and wildernesses, and the forest, physic, and kitchen gardens can be looked at in turn, and then reviewed stylistically.

First, then, the situation. Cannons stood on a mild ridge coming south from the higher land above Stanmore. Being on higher ground, Cannons had moderately good views, including one towards Harrow-on-the-Hill, to the southwest. Upper branches of the Silk Stream passed both to the east and the west of this ridge, and thus the land fell three ways from the house. The most marked fall was into a small valley to the east, and this gave an opportunity for terraces and a lake in this direction.

Approach

Cannons was only half a mile west of Edgware and hence the Edgware Road, and was thus very accessible from London. The principal approach was from the southeast. At the entrance there was

> A fine Iron Gate, with the Duke's Arms and Supporters on the Stone Pillars of the Gate, with Balustrades of Iron on each Side, and two neat Lodges in the Inside.

These lodges were inhabited by Chelsea pensioners who acted as watchmen for the estate.[21] Inside them was the Edgware Avenue, 1,000 yards long, which was lit along its length by lanterns atop stone obelisks, similarly to the way Rotten Row had been lit on its way to Kensington Palace in the 1690s.[22] The avenue soon came to an elliptic basin of nearly an acre.

From there the avenue rose towards Cannons. As the house had fronts almost facing the cardinal points, the south and east fronts were both seen from this avenue at the same time. Macky observed this, and Defoe expanded on it in writing of the beauty of the elevated situation of the house:

> The avenue is spacious and majestic, and as it gives you the view of two fronts, joined as it were in one, the distance not admitting you to see the angle, which is in the centre; so you are agreeably drawn in, to think the front of the house almost twice as large as it really is.

Forecourts and vistas

As the Edgware Avenue arrived at the garden perimeter it turned forty-five degrees to run westwards, arriving at the entrance into the forecourt. This was through finely wrought iron gates hinged on pillars surmounted by great vases. Within this South, or Great, Court, which was nearly an acre, was a paved sweep circling a large brass sundial on a pedestal

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[21] Macky, pp. 5, 9.

[22] Anon.,'Voiage d'Angleterre, d'Hollande et de Flandre fait en l'année 1728' (1728), V & A Library, 86.nn.2, p. 139; hereafter this is referred to as the 'Frenchman's account'.

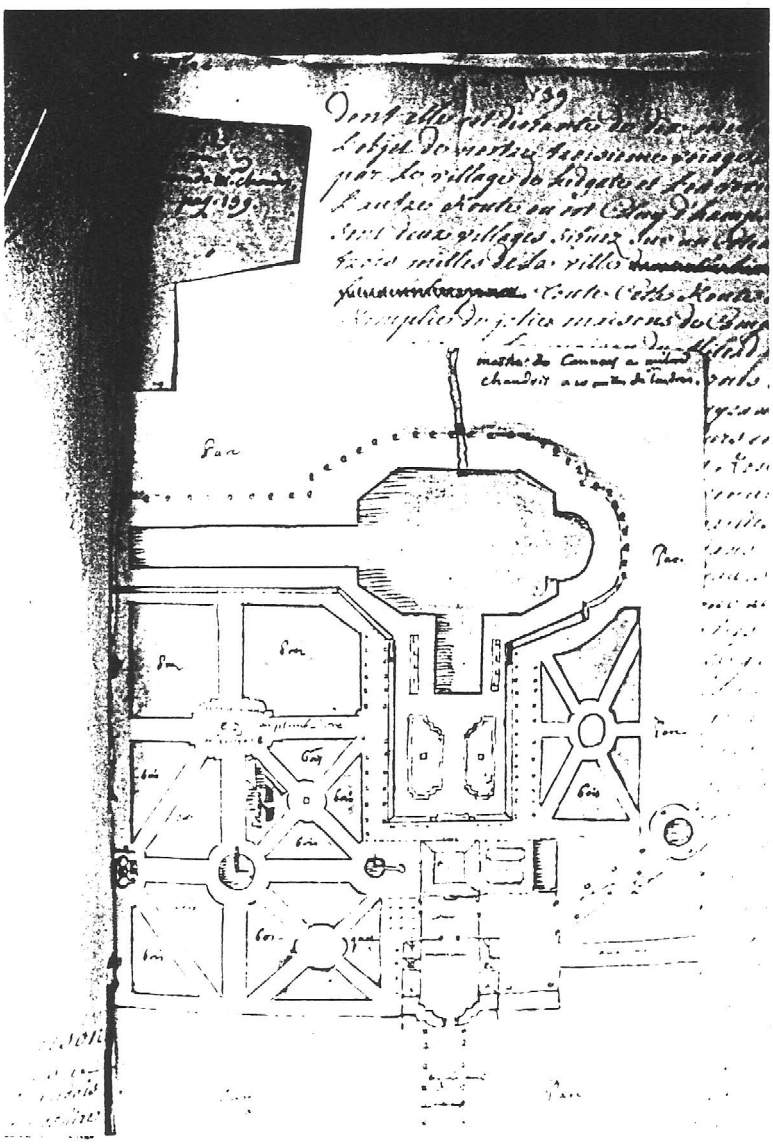


Fig. 3 The Frenchman's map accompanying his account of Cannons in his 'Voiage d'Angleterre . . .' (1728). Victoria and Albert Museum.The top of the map is roughly east. Comparisons with Phipps's survey of 1800 (Fig. 1) and written accounts reveal inaccuracies: the statue of George I and the Edgware Avenue are misplaced, for example. It is therefore not clear how far this version of the rest of the layout can be relied upon.

surrounded by steps.[23]

A vista ran southwards, away from the house and Great Court for 808 yards down through the park and alongside the parish church of St Lawrence Whitchurch. In 1721 there were elms in the nursery for planting out, perhaps in the multiple (quintuple?) Whitchurch Avenue.[24] Two small canals were dug towards the bottom of the avenue.[25]

The other forecourt was the expansive Stable Court, round to the west of the house. This was one-and-a-half acres in size and flanked on the north and south by stables and coach houses. It was probably the day-to-day entrance. At the back of the stables were smaller courts such as a poultry yard, a wood yard and a coal yard. Between the Stable Court and the block of the house was a smaller paved court flanked by domestic offices including the laundry and the kitchens. To the west, an iron grille enclosed the Stable Court, allowing a view down a great vista, the Stanmore Avenue, running 1,303 yards to the park pale and beyond. A third of the way along this was a circular basin, this one of three-quarters of an acre. Lamps supported on obelisks illuminated the way here too,[26] and towards its end were two small canals on either side of the central ride, at least one of which was dug in 1721.[27] In fields beyond the park was a partly artificial 'mountain' as an object of view.[28]

The parterres, wildernesses and 'Great Bason'

The principal pleasure gardens were on the east side of the house. Immediately under the east front was the 'Grand Terrace'.[29] This seems to have run alongside the Great Court, east front and the gardens north of the house. It was supported by a *glacis* slope, had a 'grand flight of steps' at the centre,[30] and two more towards the ends,[31] decorated in some way with pots in gold and vermilion.[32] Lead statues of Apollo and Diana on Portland stone pedestals stood at the base of one flight of steps, and a piping shepherd and a shepherdess with a lamb at the base of the other.[33]

Below the terrace was a huge *parterre à l'Angloise* with borders and grass interiors, maybe 120 yards long and the same in width.[34] It was divided by a Great Walk on axis flanked by

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[23] This sweep remained in about 1790 when the third Duke of Chandos visited, remembering how it had been in his childhood. The Duke's letter to his Duchess is printed in Baker and Baker, pp. 450-1.
[24] Baker and Baker, p. 155, note 2.
[25] Shown on Phipps's map of 1800; a similar but larger pair is shown towards the end of the Stanmore Avenue.
[26] Anon., Cannons Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 26 (London Metropolitan Archives, Acc. 262 Stowe, Temple bundle 13).
[27] Baker and Baker, p. 158.
[28] This is what Macky termed it (p. 6). The third Duke's letter referred to 'Mr Drummond's Summer House on the top of the hill'. A mount remains, now within Stanmore golf course, and called Belmont.
[29] This was noticed by Macky (p. 8), and there are several references to it in the 'Grand Inventory, Cannons' (1725), p.1f.; Huntington Library, Stowe MSS, ST.83.
[30] Baker and Baker, p. 156.
[31] Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 16.
[32] Baker and Baker, p. 158.
[33] Grand Inventory, Cannons (1725).
[34] If the plan accompanying the Frenchman's account can be trusted.

> the divisions of the whole being only made by ballustrades of iron, and not by walls; you see the whole at once, be you in what Part of the Garden or Parterre you will.... It is incredible the ironwork about this noble palace...[47]

So, for instance, you could have seen from the Great Court east into the pleasure gardens, as well as out into the park all around.

The rural wilderness

Information on the gardens north of the house is hazy. The Reference Book simply refers to them as 'The remaining part of the garden - 61a[cres]. 1r[ood]. 25p[erches].', and elsewhere they are the 'North Garden'. However the general arrangement appears to have hinged around a vista extending from the north front and through the forest garden before leading the eye to the higher ground to the north where the Crabtree Orchard reservoir was situated. The sixty-acre forest garden was criss-crossed by a network of walks.[48] To the east it sloped down to water in 'Cannons Bottom', the valley above the 'Great Bason'.

Immediately under the north front was octagon paving with black square infill.[49] Further out along the great walk was a *jet d'eau;*[50] the water supply for this and to the 'Great Bason' was the responsibility of Desaguliers. He had to establish reservoirs to collect spring water and feed it through elm bored pipes to Cannons. One reservoir, under construction in 1720, was situated at 'Crabtree Orchard' about two miles to the north. Near it the Duke made a bowling green and house.[51] There was a second, lower, reservoir to the north of the 'Great Bason'. Elm pipes supplied the fountain in the North Garden,[52] which was described as a 'Portland stone cascade'.[53]

A terraced boundary where the vista crossed the end of the north garden 600 yards from the house is suggested by accounts for 'raiseing and forming the slopes of the terras at the extremity of the North Garden'.[54] This may have been the platform for the thirteen-foot high gilt equestrian statue of George I supplied in or before 1723 by John Nost, which was set up within ironwork. The Duke did not want many buildings in the gardens, but did accede to a belvedere, or 'banqueting house' with Corinthian pilasters and a dome at the extremity of one walk, at the highest point of the garden.[55] There may possibly have been a separate

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[47] Macky, p. 9.

[48] The Frenchman's account observed that 'le jardin s'etend en bosquets avec des salles et un potager. On voit au milieu d'une tres longue allée un grand bassin d'ou s'élève un beau jet d'eau. Cette allée vous mêne partout et croise avec toutes les autres du jardin.'

[49] Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 49.

[50] This is mentioned in the Frenchman's account quoted above, and Baker and Baker quote the Duke's remark that 'the northwest door faces the Jet d'Eau' (p. 154).

[51] Baker and Baker, p. 155, note 1, mention both. This place appears on several maps.

[52] Baker and Baker, pp. 152-3; they thought that the fountain was in the Stanmore Avenue, but the Frenchman's account places it in the North Garden.

[53] Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 21.

[54] The statue was certainly in the vista, as the Duke could read inscriptions on it with the aid of a telescope; see Baker and Baker, p. 159.

[55] Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 37. This was shown on the Frenchman's map, though its position was probably not accurate. It was known to have been not far from the statue of George I.

pavilion somewhere at the boundary between the gardens and this forest garden.

There was a 'physick garden' outside the 'iron palizadoes',[56] and somewhere within the North Garden. The name suggests medicinal plants, but it clearly also contained a 'stove', or hothouse, where pineapples and other tropical plants were raised, heated by turfs imported from Holland.[57] The physick garden seems to have lain northwest of the house, close by 'the old ground', which was possibly a garden area left from the Elizabethan house.[58] It was enclosed and access was through wrought iron gates.[59] A gardener's house was perhaps part of the hothouse structure.[60]

There was also a menagerie from the 1720s, perhaps somewhere in this North Garden.[61] Most probably the collection consisted mainly of birds, which would have been kept in wire cages, as in the 'volerie' at Hampton Court.

Kitchen gardens

The five-acre kitchen garden, a melon ground and the five-acre orchard were situated south-west of the house, in the angle between the stable court and the southern avenue. According to the Survey and accompanying fragment of map, the kitchen garden was across a coachway from the south stables.The small melon ground was in the northwest corner, and the orchard was west of both.Together with 'The Ground between ye Rails and Kitchen Garden walls' they comprised just over eleven acres in area.[62] Macky noticed 'beehives of Glass, very curious' in the kitchen garden.[63] The walls were covered in trained fruit trees, but appeared not to have had hothouses.[64]

Beyond the kitchen garden was a farm with barns and yard called Marsh House. This was not remarkable except for a moated dove house nearby.[65]

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[56] The Reference Book to Estate Plans (c1729?) includes it with the 'rest of the garden' outside the iron railings, and the Frenchman's account refers to it as a 'potager' which was 'sur la gauche' of the main garden along with the bosquets.

[57] Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 15.

[58] Baker and Baker, pp. 159-60; a grille ran 248 yards from the corner of the west front to the Physick Garden, and beyond that another grille ran 23 yards to the Old Ground.

[59] Sale Catalogue (1747), p. 26.

[60] Baker and Baker, p. 159, and Sale Catalogue (1747), p.14.

[61] Baker and Baker cite accounts for tortoises, storks, quails, pheasants, partridges, wild geese, ostriches, blue mackaws, ducks, parakeets, eagles, etc. (pp. 127-8).

[62] Reference Book to Estate Plans (1729?). These enclosures were shown on an accompanying fragment of map, and as parcels 2 and 21 on the Phipps map of 1800; in part they remain today.

[63] Macky, p. 9.

[64] Baker and Baker print the third Duke's letter, which noted that 'The kitchen garden, remains with all the walling, the same as in my Grandfathers time, of which there is a very great quantity covered with fruit trees, excepting a piece of ground they have turned into pasture . . . There are no hot houses . . . the walls are all high, & of old burnt bricks' (p. 451).

[65] This dove house was listed in the Reference Book but had been pulled down by the time of the Phipps map. The moat survived at least till 1887.

Style

The features described by Macky and other visitors are reminiscent of other late George London schemes, though there are uncertainties. John James, the translator of the most famous book on garden design of the day,[66] had been involved with the mansion immediately after London's death, and may have modified the garden scheme. Against this, he seems rarely to have been involved himself in garden design, and his association with Cannons was short-lived.

Another uncertainty is the difficulty of distinguishing the style of late designs by London from those by Stephen Switzer and Charles Bridgeman at this date. Bridgeman's design for Eastbury in 1718, for example, could easily have been taken as being by the designer of the early Wanstead. The forest garden was London's innovation for Waldershare and Wanstead that the others adopted. Though London was a parterre maker *par excellence*, Bridgeman too set out several parterres in his early days. Sweeps in forecourts were anyway coming into fashion at this time, as were wide vistas.

Nevertheless at Cannons some features were created that, in retrospect, were decidedly late. The basins in the Edgware and Stanmore avenues had similarities to George London's basins on approach avenues in Bushy Park and at Wanstead House,[67] but such features were rarely seen again after Cannons. The richness of the parterres in terms of statuary seems to be more reminiscent of the cluttered parterres of the 1690s than the simpler, grander, ones of the 1710s. Likewise, the iron 'palisade' at Cannons was a late example. The first great one was that by Jean Tijou that had enclosed the Fountain Garden at Hampton Court at enormous expense in the 1690s in order to preserve views out into the park. The Cannons example was twenty years later, and perhaps the last major one. Thereafter one expects ha-has.

Perhaps, then, the use of water on the approach, the complex programme of statuary on the parterre, and the railings instead of ha-has can all be taken as an indication that the conception for the gardens at Cannons was, and largely remained, George London's.

Modifications in the 1730s

The upkeep of the gardens must have been crippling, even for the Duke of Chandos. In 1721 he was employing eighteen on the parterres, thirteeen on the north and greenhouse gardens and six in the kitchen garden, making thirty-seven in all.[68]

By 1730 he was spending more time and money on Shaw House, near Newbury, Berkshire. The next year he could 'see no reason for keeping the walks with so much nicety and

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[66] Antoine-Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, *La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage* (1709), translated by James as *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1712).

[67] The similarity to the Bushy Park basin was indeed pointed out by Macky (p. 5).

[68] Anon., 'His Grace ye Duke of Chandos's Garden Account at Cannons commencing Jan. 1, 1721/2'; Huntington Library, California, Stowe MSS, ST.63.

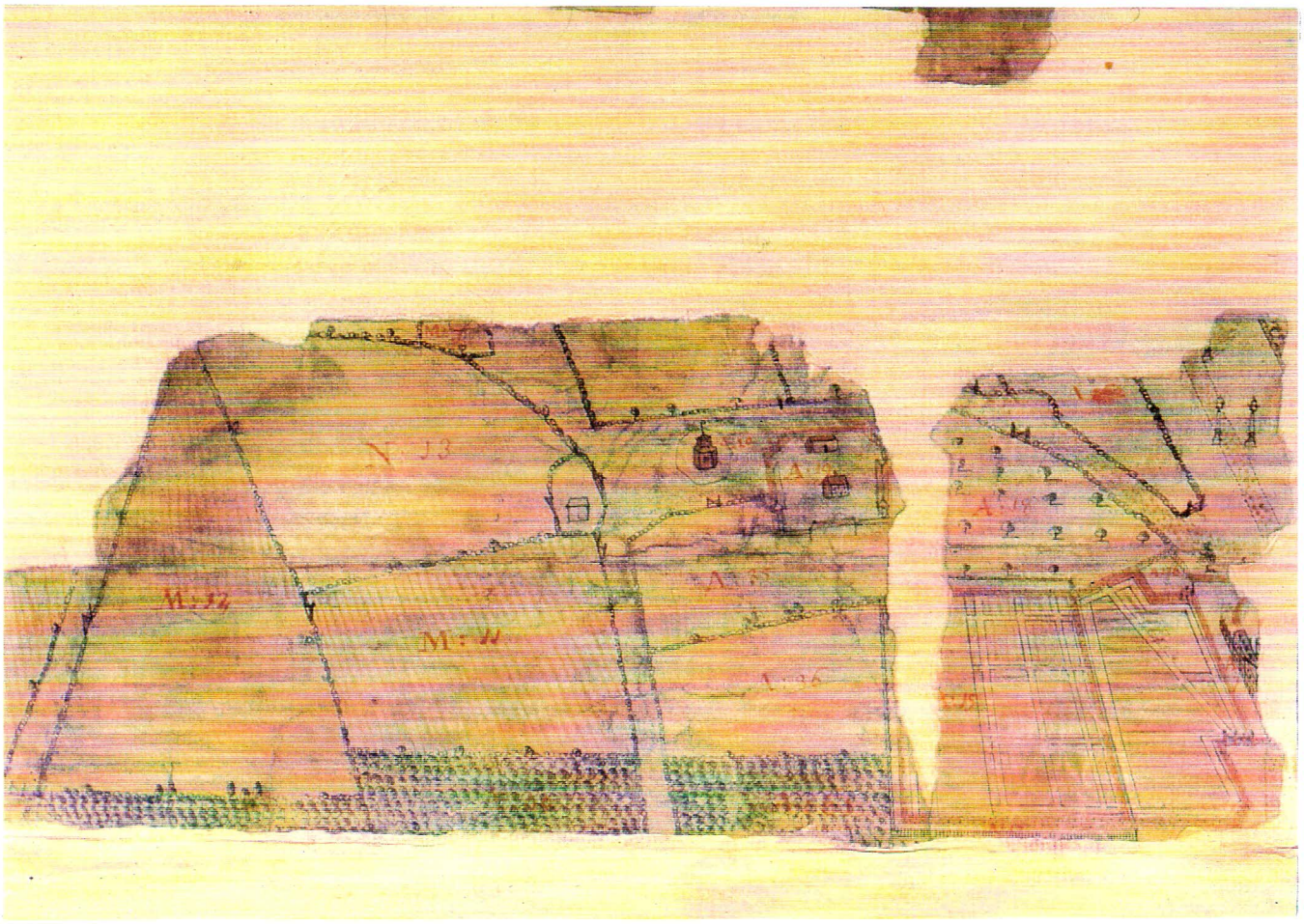


Fig. 4 Fragment of Estate Map of Cannons (ca 1729?). London Metropolitan Archives. The top of the map is roughly west. On the right can be seen the back of the South Stables and the beginning of the western avenue, with two lamp posts. Further south are the kitchen garden (A:15), the melon ground (A:16), and the orchard (A:18). (The numbers relate to entries in the contemporary survey.) South of the kitchen garden are plantations bordering the Whitchurch Avenue on the west.

expense' at Cannons. He directed that only the walks in sight of the house should be

> kept well and fine, and if the rest, instead of being mowed twice or thrice a week and weeded every day, are mowed once a month and weeded twice or thrice in a summer, it will be enough.

He went further in 1736 when the flower borders along the Great Canal were grassed over.

A reservoir for a fountain was being attempted when the Duke vainly tried to get John Hore of Newbury, an early canal engineer, to help at Cannons in 1730. In 1731, the basin in the Edgware Avenue was enlarged, and the Duke planned for the Whitchurch Avenue to be extended by planting large platoons of elms on the rising ground beyond to three miles distant. Actually he was not able to widen the Whitchurch Avenue till 1736 because of objections from Cassandra to the necessary felling. From 1735 the Duke started disposing of his iron fencing, and five years later was encouraging Desaguliers to offer railings to his friends at moderate prices.[69] The walling of the park began about this time. Alexander Blackwell, who with his wife produced the enormously popular *A Curious Herbal* (1737-9), directed improvements at Cannons 1738-42.[70] His pamphlet on *A New Method of improving cold, wet, and barren lands* (1741) may have derived from his experiences there. Hore did visit in 1740.

Hence, during the 1730s, the Duke seems to have been conforming to the new fashion of noble simplicity – a process seen at Boughton House and many other places from the late 1720s. It was perhaps rather ironic, then, that his enemies tried to identify Cannons as the place that Pope had in mind when composing his lines on 'Timon's Villa' in his Epistle to Lord Burlington 'Of Taste' of 1731:

> At Timon's Villa let us pass a day,
> Where all cry out, "What sums are thrown away!"
> So proud, so grand; of that stupendous air,
> Soft and Agreeable come never there.
> Greatness, with Timon, dwells in such a draught
> As brings all Brobdignag before your thought.
> To compass this, his building is a Town,
> His pond an Ocean, his Parterre a Down:
> Who but must laugh, the Master when he sees,
> A puny insect, shiv'ring at a breeze!...
> His Gardens next your admiration call,
> On ev'ry side you look, behold the Wall!
> No pleasing Intricacies intervene,
> No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
> Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother
> And half the platform but reflects the other.
> The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,
> Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as Trees;
> With here a Fountain, never to be play'd;

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[69] Baker and Baker, pp. 162, 157, 161.
[70] Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature* (1975), II, 236.

And there a Summer-house, that knows no shade...[71]

This identification has been frequently alluded to since, as has Pope's denial to the Duke that this was so. Probably, though, Maynard Mack's assessment that Pope's claim that Timon was a composite figure, as was his garden, should be accepted.[72] In any case, why should Pope satirise a layout already more than a dozen years old?

Postscript

William Hallett, a speculator, purchased the house in 1747. He demolished it and built another, smaller, one for himself. The parterre and forest garden were incorporated into the adjoining park.

The third Duke of Chandos died childless in the early nineteenth century, and his heir was the Marquis of Buckingham of Stowe, Buckinghamshire. The papers relating to Cannons thus went there, but when the contents of Stowe were up for sale in 1921, tons of them were thrown out. Mr Frank Marcham recovered most of them, and sorted them out.[73] The Stowe papers, including a few fragments on Cannons, went to the Huntington Library in California, but Marcham kept much of the Cannons material, which he initially offered to the British Museum. It is now in the London Metropolitan Archives (formerly the Greater London Record Office) in London. Here tribute must be paid to Katherine Myers who has done a wonderful job in ferreting around for material on Cannons, and without whom this talk would be much the poorer. Probably the next major advance in our understanding will come when someone is able to make a detailed analysis of the papers in the Huntington Library.

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[71] Lines 99-108, 113-22. The title was later changed to 'Of the Use of Riches'.
[72] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New Haven and London 1985), pp. 498-500.
[73] Marcham, p. 63.

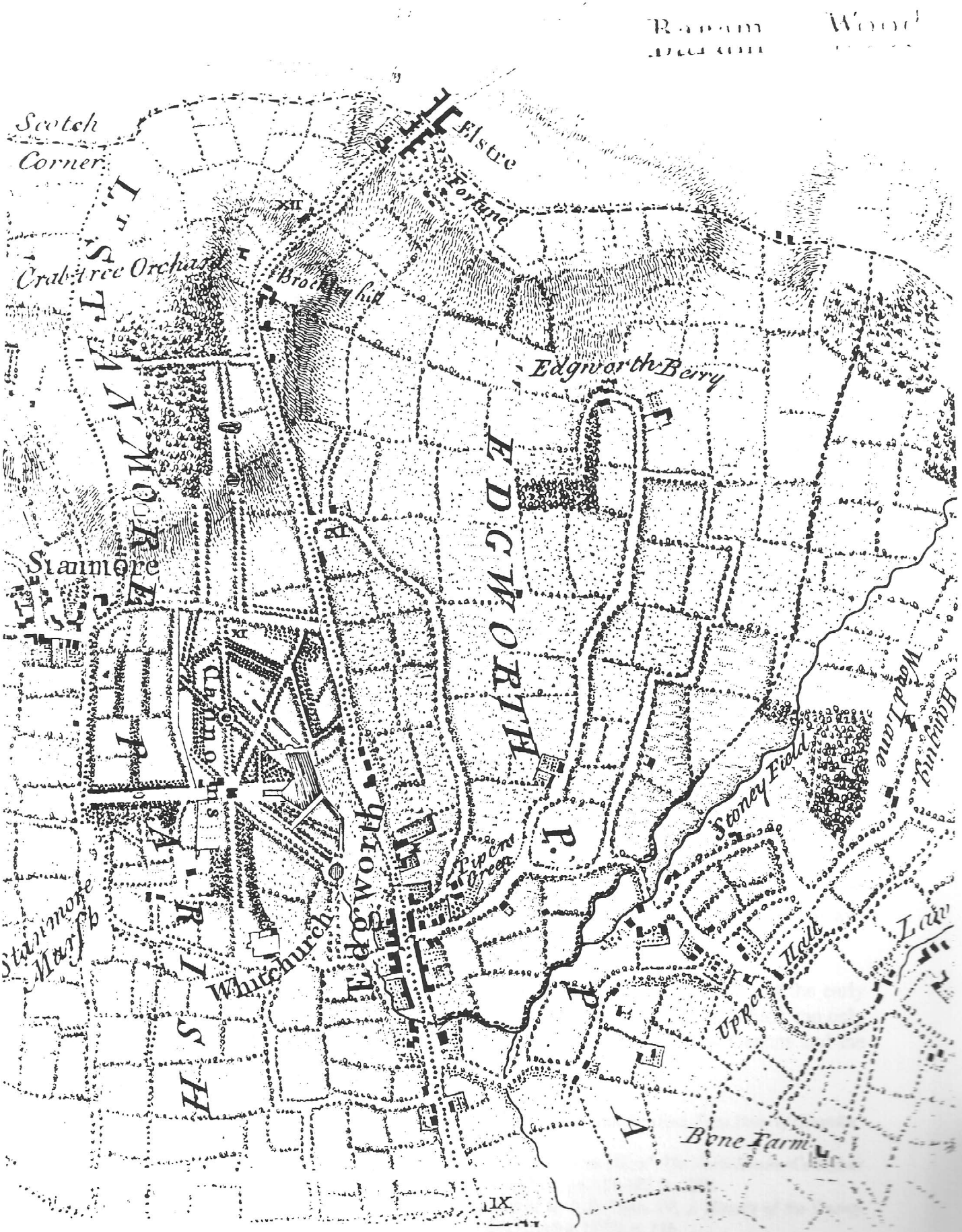


Fig. 5 John Rocque, *A topographical Map of the County of Middlesex* (1754) (detail). London Metropolitan Archives.

Reptonian Landscapes: An Introduction

Hazel Fryer

To attribute a designer to the later landscape at Canons is somewhat difficult. With the exception of two elevations dated 1720 recording the south and east fronts of Canons,[1] there appears to be very little visual evidence of the sumptuous palace and gardens created at Edgware for James, first Duke of Chandos. This magnificent mansion, set in its formal landscape, was a place of pilgrimage and considered a location of significance for parties making the English Tour. One such group, on a journey to observe the wonders of the estate, was a party of travellers from the new Colony of Georgia. This small and somewhat unusual band, consisting of an Indian royal family and five chiefs, might possibly have expressed the view recorded by Myers that 'to leave England without visiting Canons was an impossibility not to be conceived'.[2] Although frequently to attract such praise, the estate also, on occasions, attracted criticism for its opulence. Whether admired or criticised, Canons was to retain its period of glory for a comparatively short time. The gradual decline in Chandos's fortunes was to affect expenditure on the estate, which although still apparently at its height, was beginning to undergo significant reductions. It became necessary to retrench as early as 1731 when reports indicate that expenses were being pruned and further projects halted.[3] In 1735 Chandos experienced a further setback when his second wife Cassandra, the daughter of Francis Willoughby of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, died after a long illness. Although he was to marry again, the alliance with his third wife, Lady Davall, does not appear to have substantially improved his fortunes or halted the process of decline and at his death in 1744 he was to leave debts of approximately £15,000.[4] It was however the second Duke's debts of £50,000 that caused Canons to be sold.

After Chandos's death the gradual dismembering of the great house and estate at Canons commenced. This process was to take several years, but perhaps the most widely recorded occasion was the first great sale in 1747. The event was spread over several days and large numbers flocked to Edgware to purchase souvenirs, not only of the magnificent building but also of the intricate formal gardens. After this dramatic break-up of the great mansion and splendid formal gardens it might appear that all of Chandos's glorious era was swept away - but this was not to be the case.

Although the estate was never again to rival the splendour and ostentation of the early eighteenth century period, it was to experience a series of stylish changes which can only be described as an exercise in 'downsizing'. The building of the New Canons and the

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[1] C.H. Collins and Muriel I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos* (Oxford 1949), facing pp. 117, 124.

[2] W. Myers, 'Canons, Edgware: A Historical Study of the School's New Home', *The North London Collegiate School 1850-1950*, edited by R.M. Scrimgeour (London 1950), pp. 158-182 (p. 180).

[3] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, edited by R.B. Pugh, IV, *A History of the County of Middlesex*, edited by J.S. Cockburn and T.F.T. Baker (London 1971), p. 116.

[4] Baker and Baker, p. 446.

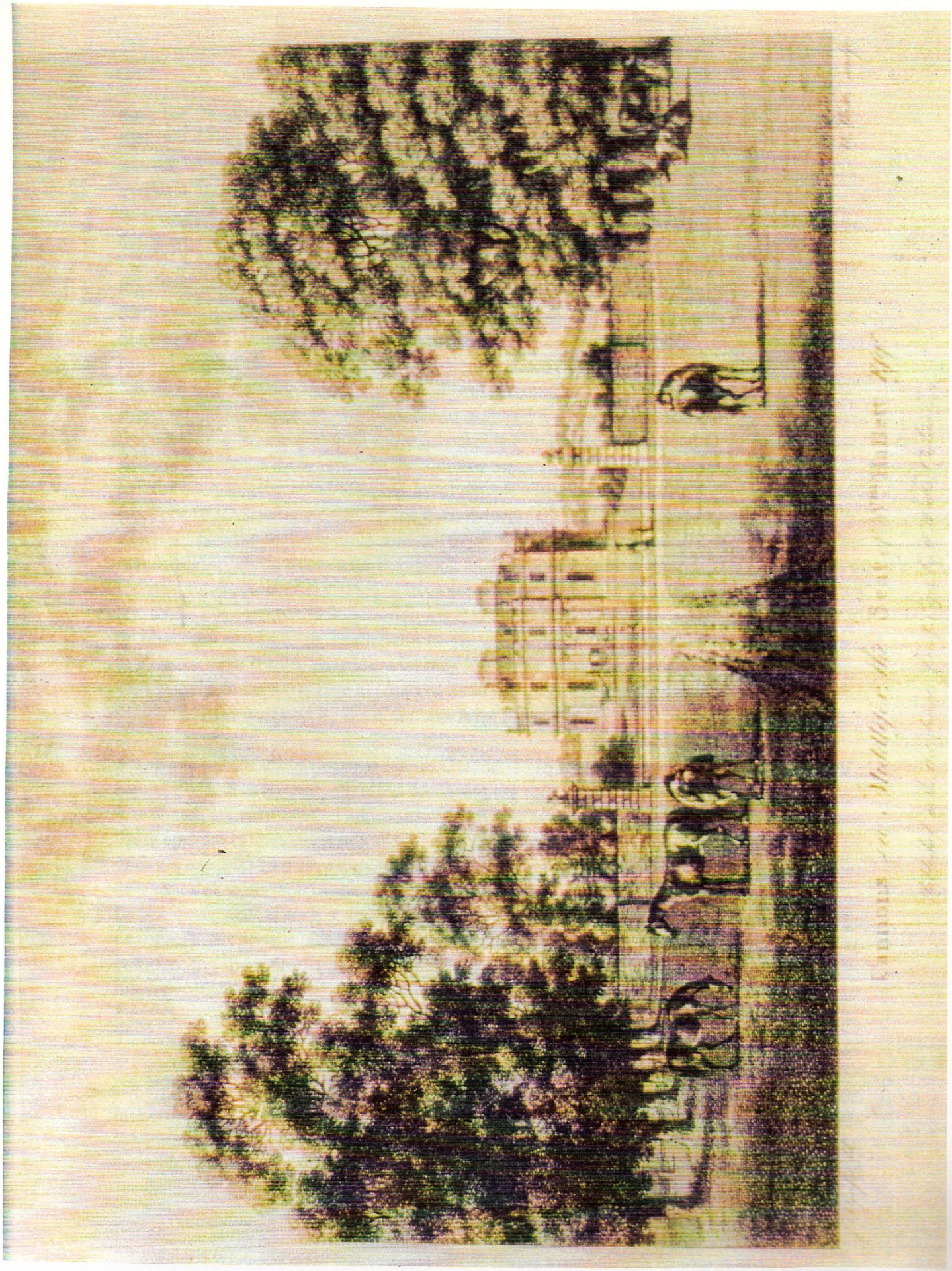


Fig. 6 J.A.Gresse, *Cannons in Middlesex the Seat of Wm. Hallett Esqr.*, in W. Watts, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry* (Chelsea, 1779). The view is taken from the south, at the end of the Whitchurch Avenue.

sum for travelling. Uncertainty concerning the exact date of the commission, however, makes it difficult to validate. Although it is not known whether Repton presented his advice or even whether his proposals were implemented, circumstantial evidence, and preliminary research into the adjacent property of Stanmore Park (considered in conjunction with his references in the Red Book for Brandsbury), suggest there was a wider range of influence at Canons than it is currently possible to confirm.

Repton is often a difficult designer to trace and although well known for his Red Books, the distinctive method he used to present his proposals and his personal trade mark, validating his proposals on the ground can frequently be complex. His advice, often only partially implemented, is known on several occasions to have been completed by clients. It was not unusual for Repton to be consulted and present conclusions and then find that clients, for financial or other reasons, were unable to undertake the scheme. Recommendations were frequently put to one side until more favourable circumstances enabled work to commence. Several Reptonian landscapes, in the spirit of the designer's original proposals, were known to have been implemented after his involvement with the commission had ceased. Repton's Red Books invariably explained his own theories of landscape gardening, adapted to the client's specific requirements and to those of the individual site, but there are many commissions where there is no Red Book to document his intervention. This is the case at Canons, where Repton is known to have presented his opinion, but only one prepared sketch has so far been traced. When validating a commission where recommendations are of an architectural nature it can be difficult to discern whether the proposal should be attributed to Repton, or to one of his sons, who may have assisted in the preparation of the drawings. This may have been the case at Canons, as in the sketch accredited to Repton the designer may have been assisted by his elder son John Adey.

An article published in *Country Life* in October 1916 illustrates a view of the house with a figure, not unlike Repton, standing surveying the rolling landscape of the park at Canons.[9] The sketch appears untitled and it is not known whether the view is of the south front and illustrates the extensive nature of the view to the east. Unlike Lancelot Capability Brown, with his business-like drawings and contracts, Repton presented his advice in his Red Books as a series of water-colour illustrations with descriptions of the delightful improvement to be achieved, and as such it was often to prove ephemeral and difficult to implement. The designer's proposals lacked the substance of contracts and Repton was frequently to bemoan the fact that, although he advised at many sites, his work was only fully implemented at few.

To understand whether Repton did in fact come, theodolite in hand, to change the landscape at Canons, it might be illuminating to consider the changes which were occurring throughout the eighteenth century, not just at Canons, but also at the adjacent Stanmore Park estate. In 1715 James Brydges, Earl of Carnarvon, acquired the manor of Great Stanmore. Little Stanmore, described as such to distinguish it from the mansion of Canons, passed to him from his wife's uncle and the two manors were united in a common Lordship as they had

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[9] Lawrence Weaver, 'Canons Park', *Country Life*, 40 (1916), 518-26 (p. 524). Weaver dates the watercolour as 1805.

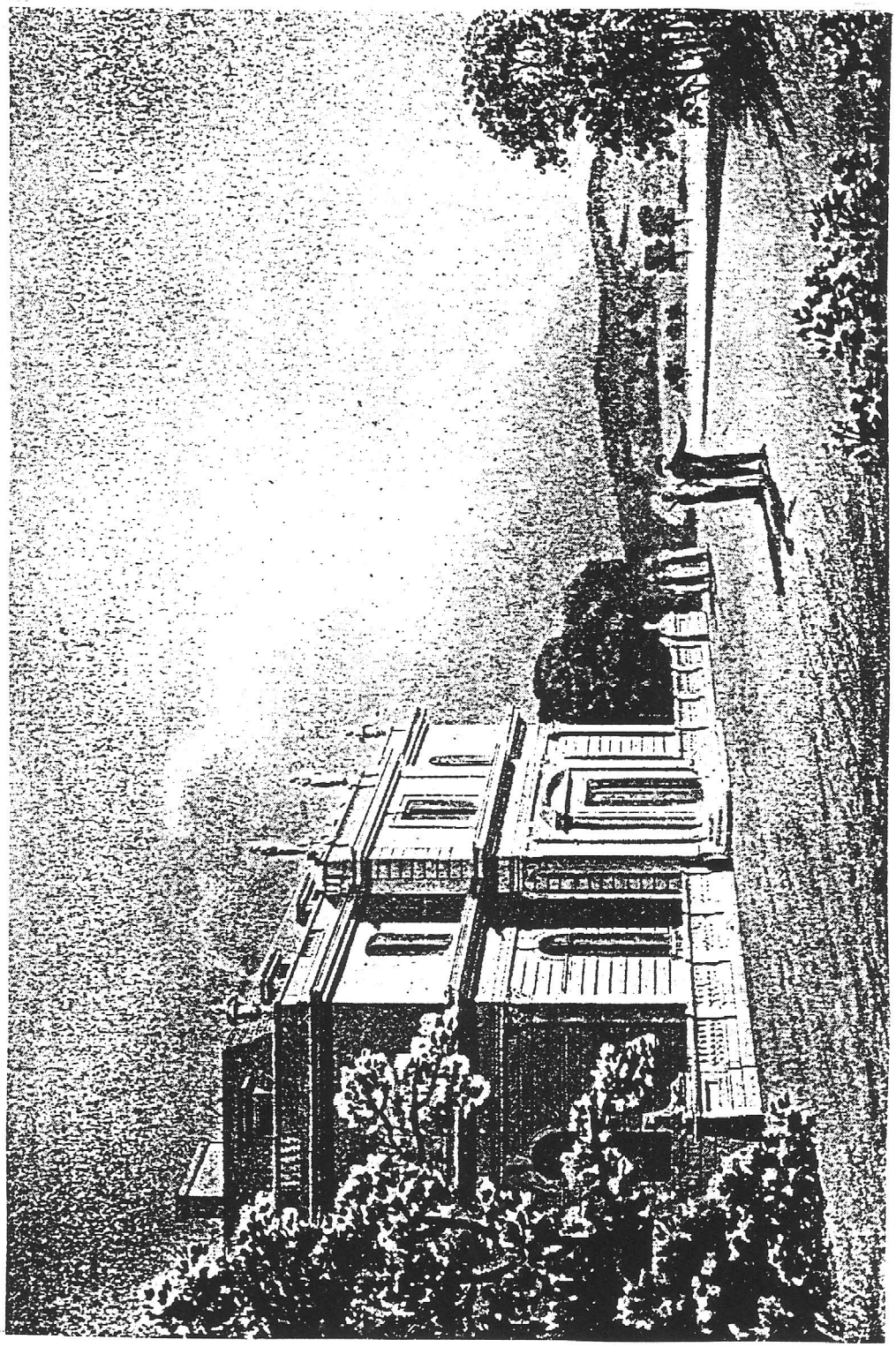


Fig. 7 Attributed to Humphry Repton or John Adey Repton, View of Canons from the South-West(?), *Country Life* (1916).

previously been under the Lakes.[10] James soon succeeded as Lord Chandos of Sudeley and in 1719 became Duke of Chandos and commenced his extensive improvements to both the house and gardens. Improvements to the neighbouring landscape at Stanmore Park were to evolve far more slowly and it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that the park was to fully rival the neighbouring landscape of Canons. Of considerable importance was the friendship between Chandos and his neighbour Andrew Drummond, and it has been suggested that the introduction of the two men should be attributed to John Drummond of Blair. This is quite possible as John Drummond was a warm friend of Chandos and a frequent visitor to Canons, and was responsible for importing from Holland many of the Duke's paintings by Holbein, Titian, Bellini and other masters.[11]

The introduction was to prove particularly fortunate for the young and aspiring Andrew Drummond as in 1725 Chandos opened an account at his bank in Charing Cross.[12] Within four years the young banker chose to purchase a property at Edgware and became the owner of Stanmore Park, the estate adjacent to that of his new client. The fine mansion called Stanmore House was not built within the park until 1763 and although this building is well documented, information concerning the earlier house purchased by Andrew Drummond in 1729 is vague and inconclusive.[13] Suffice it to say that just forty one years old when he occupied his country residence, Andrew Drummond was prospering in business sufficiently well to consider a new way of life, with 'Princely Chandos' as neighbour and friend.[14]

It is of considerable interest to observe the late eighteenth century development of these two Stanmore mansions (Canons and Stanmore House [later Stanmore Park]) and their extensive parks. It is, however, most illuminating when discussing the two properties to compare them with several other estates nearby, and examine the cluster of parks which were evolving and shaping this interesting landscape. These included not only Canons and Stanmore House, but also estates such as Bentley Priory and Stanmore Hall. Set within a landscape of diverse topography, this gathering of mansions, predominantly improved in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was to create a wonderful panorama of parks of considerable variety and interest.

Today, development has much reduced the extent of Canons and Stanmore Park and it is perhaps only at Bentley Priory, where William Sawrey Gilpin is known to have advised, that we have an estate which is still substantially complete and where it is possible to have some understanding of the full extent of this delightful landscape where estates enhanced and contributed to each other.

An interesting example of interlinking landscapes still remains partially intact in the avenue of trees planted by Chandos from the mansion at Canons to the limit of his property to the

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[10] VCH, *Middlesex*, p. 115.
[11] H. Bolitho and D. Peel, *The Drummonds of Charing Cross* (London 1967), p. 36. See also Baker and Baker, pp. 45, 70-1, 73.
[12] Bolitho and Peel, p. 36.
[13] Richard Michael Robbins, *Middlesex* (London 1953), pp. 331-2.
[14] Bolitho and Peel, p. 37.

west. The avenue was positioned to focus on the huge mound known as Belmont, which was viewed on the western boundaries of the Stanmore Park estate. Today development has blocked the view but Belmont and the remnant of Stanmore Park estate, now used as a golf course, still remain, as does part of the west avenue.

In his design for the New Canons Hallett was to retain many of the features of Chandos's formal park. The dismantling of the estate, drawn out over seven years, commenced with the first sale of books and pictures early in 1747, and was not concluded until Hallett finally took possession of the estate in 1753, and quickly proceeded to construct his villa on the site of the original house. The new property was to attract much attention and there are several descriptions of Hallett's stylish new house which present an eighteenth century view of the new Canons rising out of the ashes of the old. It is possibly in James Brewer's frequently quoted description of the property that there is some indication of contemporary attitudes to the New Canons:

> The building raised by Mr Hallet is entirely composed of stone, purchased from the wreck of the sumptuous edifice which for a short, yet an envied and a troubled season, proudly stood on the same spot, and engrossed a considerable tract of adjacent ground, now verdant, and "smiling, as in scorn." This is a structure of considerable elegance; of modest but capacious dimensions; and temperately but sufficiently embellished. The house is placed on a gentle elevation, and is surrounded by extensive grounds, from which are attained, at several points, views rather limited but soft and attractive. Stripped of their statues and urns, and restored in part to "the laughing Ceres," these grounds still retain the wide avenue of tall and sheltering trees, in memory of past days of superfluous grandeur.[15]

Hallett was to enjoy his new home for several prosperous and happy years and at his death in 1781 his grandson William, then a minor, inherited the estate. Little information is available concerning William's life at Canons. His marriage in 1785 at the age of twenty-one is celebrated in Gainsborough's painting *The Morning Walk*.[16] It is of interest to contemplate the setting of the portrait of William and his young wife, but although the work has been examined in detail, the possibility that it may illustrate the landscape at Canons cannot be confirmed. There is little information to document the sale of the estate in the following year.[17] Hallett's grandson chose to sell the villa to Dennis O'Kelly, Esq., a well known gentleman in the sporting world, 'whose name is usually mentioned in conjunction with that of his horse, the celebrated Eclipse'.[18]

It is, however, in the *Memoirs* of the new owner Dennis O'Kelly that we have a further and somewhat unusual description of Canons. Written in 1788, it provides a charming retrospective description of Chandos's house and comments on Hallett's astute rebuilding of the property:

> What made his Grace choose that spot, except it was to overcome difficulties, we cannot possibly imagine, for, in the formation of artificial ground alone, he expended many thousand

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[15] James Brewer, *Beauties of England and Wales* (London 1816), volume X.4, pp. 642-3.

[16] John Hayes, *Thomas Gainsborough*, The Tate Gallery (London 1980), pp. 140-2.

[17] Baker and Baker, pp. 438, 440.

[18] Brewer, pp. 642-3.



Fig. 8 Christopher Greenwood, *Map of the County of Middlesex from an Actual Survey made in The Years 1818 & 1819* (1819) (detail), Map Collection, British Library. Remnants of the western avenue can be seen, focused on 'Bell Mount' on the edge of Stanmore Park. Canons Park has shrunk since Rocque's map of 1754.

> pounds, to which the advantage of prospect was by no means adequate. The Mansion was superb and extensive, and the Out-offices, Gardens, and Grounds, elegant and beautiful. It was in fact, as has been mentioned in the daily prints, the boast and glory of its owner! but, notwithstanding all its original grandeur and apparent permanency, it was doomed to be the very sport of time and fortune. When the Duke sold off everything, Hallet purchased it at a price, supposed at the time not to be half its value. But, when he carried the intention into effect, pulled down the Mansion, and raised up the artificial ground, - - - incredible to relate! the materials altogether sold for more money than the whole cost him.[19]

It appears that Hallett was doubly successful, for not only did he build an attractive residence for himself, but the operation also appears to have been most lucrative. In the *Memoirs* of O'Kelly there is a further comment on Hallett's shrewdness:

> Not satisfied with this uncommon advantage, he converted the two avenue lodges into convenient and elegant houses, one of which was afterwards occupied by Sir David Lindsey, and the other by a person of equal fortune... The house in which the Count [O'Kelly] lived was built upon the scite of the first Mansion, and is centered in the midst of every thing desirable; Garden and grounds beautifully disposed, and one of the finest Deer-Parks in England.[20]

At the time of the sale of the property to Colonel O' Kelly it is interesting to note that the third Duke of Chandos also visited the park with his friend Mr East with the apparent aim of inspecting the property with a view to purchase. In a letter to his second wife Anne he outlines the features of the house and park in considerable detail, and it is this letter concerning the New Canons that contains the most thorough description of the house and a comparison of the new Park with Chandos's earlier landscape. The letter clearly describes the elements of the early eighteenth century landscape which were retained and is invaluable as a record as it also describes the features which were redesigned. It is only possible to speculate why the property finally went to O'Kelly and what caused the third Duke to withdraw from the purchase of the New Canons he had so carefully described:

> Approach to the House from Edgworth [Edgware] through wooden gates painted white, between two pillars of stone & brick, as originally. - on each side the gates, the four little lodges that used to be, are now made into two houses, one of which I understand is let for one year, the other *now* to be let. - The Avenue I suppose may be a *good* half mile, or better, with a bason in the middle; when you arrive at the house you enter into a shrubbery which is contrived to give a good view of the situation grounds, views, by [?] water. - In the centre of which is the individual sun dial as before, & all *my old* elms, the present sweep is exactly where the old one was, the pillars and part of the iron railing remaining. -
>
> *The Situation of the House*
>
> It stands on a beautiful knowle, in a *flat*, rich as description can make, finely wooded & plenty of Water. - The south front commands the Avenue to Whitchurch & the country beyond with a view of Harrow. The east looks over part of the lawn to the *lake*, which is much enlarged & beautified with two very fine groves on each side. - The north looks over a beautifull lawn to the road, the other side of which is Pareswood, Elstree &c.-The west commands the Avenue

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[19] *The Genuine Memoirs of Dennis O'Kelly, Esq. Commonly Called Count O'Kelly* (London 1788), p. 68.
[20] Ibid. pp. 68-9.

to Stanmore, *perfect as before*, with the bason in the middle, terminated by Mr Drummonds Summer House on the top of the hill. -[21]

The third Duke's description of Hallett's house was most complimentary and the only area which attracted some criticism was the kitchen, which he informed his wife 'smoaks and stinks the house infernally'. This comment is of interest, however, as the letter confirms that the house was built upon the old cellars of the earlier property. It also described in some detail Chandos's kitchen garden, which still remained.

The third Duke's descriptions of the new features in the landscape also make it possible to understand the extent of the changes which should be attributed to Hallet and those implemented after O'Kelly purchased the estate. It is also possible to identify in Josiah Phipps's plan of 1800 many of the features which were described.[22] The formal avenues to the west and south clearly remain and the avenue to the south-east with its central 'bason', gates and altered lodges is most clear. A small pool exists immediately to the south of the house and the lake to the east is shown to be somewhat angular in shape with a canal projecting west towards the house. It appears from the notes on the survey that it may have been prepared with a view to selling some section of land along the eastern boundary and a number of plots are indicated adjacent to the turnpike road and along the south eastern drive. This plan is invaluable as it confirms much of Chandos's description of the site, given below, which appears still little changed in 1800:

> There is a beautifull park of I suppose full two miles round, which comes close up to the house, which contains between 3, & 400 head of deer besides sheep, horses, cows &c - The park is *walled* entirely round. - I find Mr Hallet has compleated my grandfathers plan which he had begun before he died - There is one very handsome piece of water made of my lake, & the lines drawn for one through the whole vale in the park which would be seen from every front (but one,) of the house; the ground in very fine order, naturally irregular, & the woods & clumps in great taste. - The park is surrounded by the rest of the estate, which may form one, or as many farms, as you please - on the whole it is the most compact thing I ever saw, not to be equalled by anything at the same distance from London -[23]

Colonel Dennis O'Kelly's residence at the estate was short and he was succeeded at his death by his brother Philip O'Kelly, who remained at Canons until 1811, when he was succeeded at his death by his son Andrew. Although Repton is reputed to have advised at Canons after the O'Kellys sold the estate it is interesting to note that in his first publication, *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening,* published in 1795, he refers to the adjacent property of Stanmore, where he presented proposals, and it is likely that he would have had some knowledge of Canons.[24] It is also of considerable interest that in his Red Book for

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[21] Baker and Baker, pp. 450-1.

[22] Josiah Phipps, *Plan of an Estate called Cannons in the Parish of Little Stanmore in the County of Middlesex* (1800). London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection. Presented by Wyatt Papworth (1872).

[23] Baker and Baker, pp. 450-1.

[24] *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.,* edited by J.C. Loudon (London 1840), p. 40.

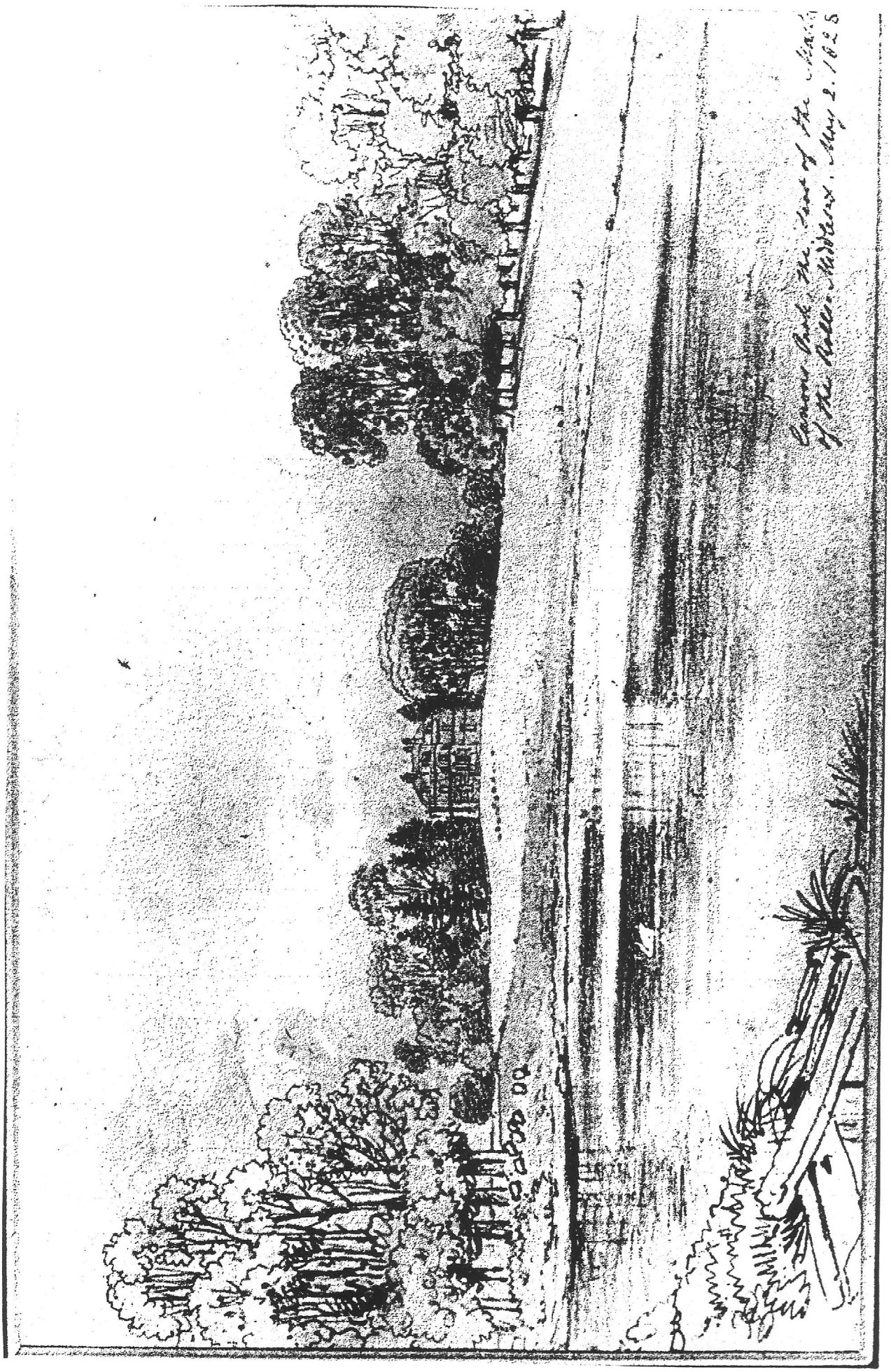


Fig. 10 John Preston Neale, *Canons Park, the Seat of the Master of the Rolls, Middlesex* (May 2, 1828), from a photograph in the Witt Library, London, Courtauld Institute of Art. The view is from the east across the lake.

Brandsbury, completed in 1789, Repton refers to the landscape at Stanmore.[25] Repton's reference to the Stanmore estate in *Sketches and Hints* had previously placed the approximate date that the designer had offered advice there as pre-1795. The early reference to the Stanmore estate in the Brandsbury Red Book, only Repton's third commission, suggests he had an extensive knowledge of the estate very early in his career. It appears that Repton's predecessor at Brandsbury had modelled his improvements on Mr Brown's work for Mr Drummond and had not been deterred by the discrepancy in size between the much larger Stanmore estate and Brandsbury, a villa with a landscape of just ten acres. The adaptation of the ideas observed from the more spacious landscape at Stanmore was most difficult and the results somewhat unsuccessful. Repton had been concerned to impress his authority on this early design and explained in the dedication that he would be 'minute and particular in delivering his sentiments' as his predecessor 'was incompetent on the subject'.[26] He used his knowledge of both estates to explain his theory of Character and Situation: Character he described as teaching what is advisable for a place and Situation as demonstrating what it is possible to achieve, and he was at pains to point out that 'the extent of the property has less influence than is generally imagined; as, however large or small it may be, one of the fundamental principles of landscape gardening is to disguise the real boundary'.[27]

The commission for Brandsbury (now Brondesbury, Willesden), was of particular importance for the designer as it was the first place of consequence he had been consulted about so near London and was to be most important in advancing his reputation. The Red Book presented to Lady Salusbury was also of interest as, although Repton's third commission, it was the first time he had delivered his opinion in this format. The site was somewhat disappointing as with the exception of two venerable elms near the house it was devoid of trees.The villa stood on a broad swelling hillock with the ground gently falling from the house. It appears that Repton's predecessor had attempted to follow the plan of Stanmore without reference to the topography of the sites or the discrepancy in acres. Repton was at pains to explain the difference between designing a landscape with a concave form (Stanmore) and the technique used in designing a convex landscape.

The main issue seems to have been the enclosure of the site. The Stanmore estate was enclosed by a boundary fence and perimeter planting, which at Brandsbury would have unnecessarily restricted the view and drawn attention to the limited extent of the park. Repton advocated an invisible fence at Brandsbury which would allow views of the charming landscape beyond.

Repton presents a humorous view of visitors to the park trying to obtain a view of the landscape beyond the pale fence and illustrates the difference with the fence removed. The contrast is the delightful view of the surrounding landscape made possible when the sunk fence is used. In advocating that the boundary should be hidden Repton created a landscape that became far more spacious, and whilst enclosing the estate the sunk fence also allowed

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[25] Humphry Repton, *Plans, Sketches, & Proposals for the improvement of Her Ladyships Villa lately purchased, call'd Brandsbury in Wilsden in Middlesex* (March 1789).
[26] Ibid., dedication.
[27] Loudon, p. 39.



Fig. 11 Humphry Repton, 'Before' scene at Brandsbury, Red Book (1789).



Fig. 12 Humphry Repton, 'After' scene at Brandsbury, Red Book (1789).

the pleasure of the commanding views of the landscape beyond, previously lost in the earlier layout.

Repton's plan for the landscape of the villa at Willesden proposed extensive planting and delicately wrapped a series of footpaths throughout the site. He outlined a series of views which would be seen from all aspects and the feeling of extent which could be achieved if the perimeter fences were removed.

Repton's references to Mr Drummond's estate at Stanmore demonstrate his knowledge of the site and it is likely that he may, at this stage of his career, have wished to achieve a further commission for one or both of the Edgware estates. The date for his involvement at Stanmore is placed in the early 1790s, but as at Canons, there is no Red Book and very little documentary evidence. The design of the extensive pleasure grounds at Stanmore is attributed to Repton but it is only through the Red Book for Brandsbury that we learn of the designer's knowledge of the site.

It is interesting to speculate whether Repton had knowledge of, or was involved with, the changes to the pleasure grounds at Canons which occurred at the time the O'Kellys owned the estate. It is also possible in the following description of the work at Stanmore Park to draw some parallels with the changes which were being undertaken at neighbouring Canons:

> To the south front is a beautiful flower garden, on a velvet carpet, bounded by a balustrade, adorned with vases. The lawn and other parts, included in what are generally denominated the pleasure grounds, are nearly twenty acres: and having been altered and improved by Repton, a degree of elegance pervades the whole.[28]

The Phipps survey of Canons of 1800 is most interesting in this respect as it illustrates what appear to be pleasure grounds to the south west of the house. It is this section of the site, when visited today, which is the most Reptonian in its Character and appears from the plan already to have been in existence.

Sir Thomas Plumer was to commission Repton very late in his career. Repton's letter of 31st March 1916, previously reputed to give details of his earnings, has not fully been understood and a re-reading of Repton's own words gives a rather different understanding of the commission. A letter of that date was indeed sent by Repton to his son William at Aylsham in Norfolk, but it states that he has not yet been to Canons but is intending to go later in the week, east wind permitting, to make a plan:

> Sir Thomas Plummer - Vice Chancellor, has proposed to give me 30 guineas for going 10 miles from London one day this week and making him a map & I mean to try the east wind on Wednesday & Thursday next...[29]

Repton's career was at a very low point at this time. He had in the years immediately before Sir Thomas's commission for Canons undertaken work which included an extensive Red

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[28] William Keane, *The Beauties of Middlesex* (Chelsea 1850).
[29] Huntington Library, Lit M/8.

Book at Sheringham Hall for Abbot Upcher, presented in July 1812, and a delightful Red Book for the seventh Earl of Bridgewater at Ashridge in 1813. It is possible that Repton's commission for Sir Thomas was more extensive than has previously been understood.

A study of the pleasure grounds at Canons which appear to be most Reptonian in character is difficult to document. The next detailed survey after that of 1800 was for the particulars prepared for the sale of the estate in 1887.[30] In a comparison of the 1800 survey with that of 1887 it is of some interest to note the similarities between the two plans. Much of the estate remains unchanged, with the exception of a number of properties which now line the Edgware Road. Although the park remains substantially the same this is not the situation with the pleasure grounds, which are considerably altered. The earlier map indicates an area of ground, quite small in extent, situated to the south west of the house. In the 1887 survey the pleasure grounds are shown much enlarged both on the west and the south side of the house and appear to have totally replaced the earlier formal landscape.[31] It is the delicacy of the design of the pleasure ground which might reflect the hand of Repton and poses a number of questions. Was it Repton who removed the formal gardens from the south and west front of the mansion, indicated on the 1800 plan? Secondly if this landscape was designed by Repton, or was a Reptonian landscape influenced by him, it is also possible that the designer may have had some earlier involvement and was responsible for creating the pleasure grounds shown in the 1800 survey.The plan might then indicate an earlier phase of Repton's work at Canons. Research is required to document these questions and might illuminate further this important site and validate this very late commission. It is also possible that extending the knowledge of Repton's work and involvement in the two Stanmore landscapes might inform a wider understanding of the outstanding group of estates which existed in the Edgware area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[30] Messrs. Fairbrother, Ellis, Clark, in conjunction with Messrs. Humbert, son & Flint (1887).

[31] The plan of the manors of Great and Little Stanmore of 1827 (Acc.262, Temple Bundle 26) and the tithe map of 1838 (TA/S'MORE Lt. and map), both in the London Metropolitan Archives, illustrate that changes to the lake and pleasure grounds had already been made. The temple which exists in this area of the grounds (in the public park) is also marked on both these maps, but not on the Phipps plan of 1800.

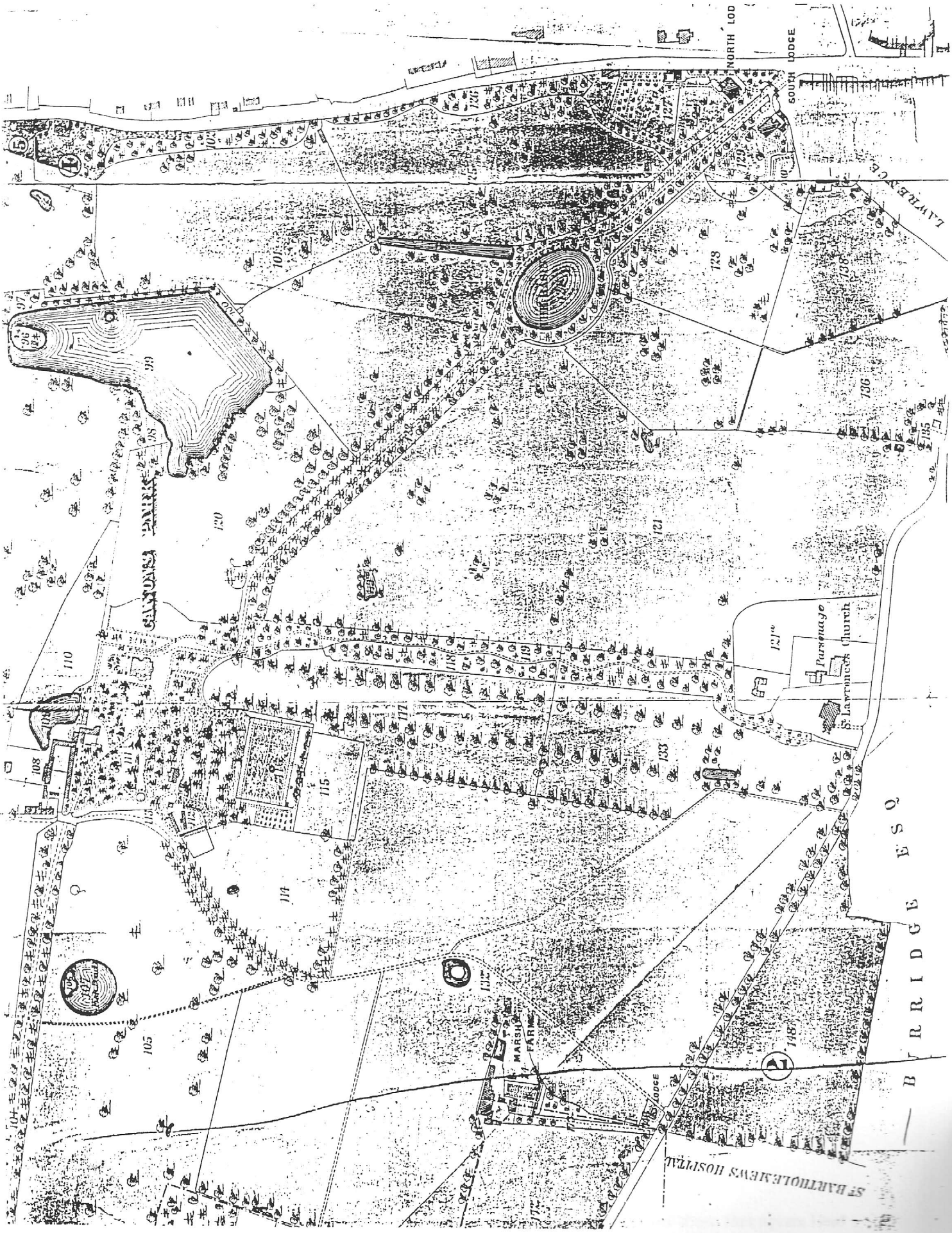


Fig. 13 Map accompanying sale particulars (detail), issued by Messrs. Farebrother, Ellis, Clark in conjunction with Messrs. Humbert, Son & Flint (1887).

C.E. Mallows at Canons

Lucy Dynevor

Some years ago, when I was a student at the Architectural Association, I was looking for a subject for my dissertation, and when I saw some photographs of a garden in Cheshire called Tirley Garth and learned that it had been designed by the architect Charles Edward Mallows, I knew at once I had found my subject. I went to see the garden, and fell in love with it, but initially it proved so difficult to find out enough about Mallows and his background that I wondered if I might have to abandon the idea of writing about him. However, all that changed when I was put in touch with his son, Professor Wilfred Mallows, retired head of the department of town and country planning at Witwatersrand University in South Africa. In answer to my queries concerning his father he wrote me several letters full of information about his family background and gave me invaluable leads to follow. He emphasized his father's lifelong devotion to the Arts and Crafts movement, and I came to see that to fully appreciate Mallows as a garden designer it was important to look at the history of that movement. Mallows came to garden design as an architect and not as a plantsman; planting he left for others, like furniture for a room.

So before discussing Mallows' involvement with Canons, I will indicate something of his life and a little about the Arts and Crafts movement. His work as a draughtsman should also be mentioned. He was always in demand as an architectural illustrator, and often worked in collaboration with his friend and colleague F.L. Griggs.

Charles Edward Mallows was born in 1864 in Bedford, where his father owned an old-fashioned bootmaker's in the High Street. He attended Bedford Art School and was then articled to a local architect before joining the London office of William Flockhart, a Scot who came from the same circle as Charles Rennie Mackintosh. At the same time Mallows attended the Academy Schools, where he was taught by Richard Norman Shaw. Shaw was a fine and inventive architect, who gave much encouragement to the younger men who were to become part of the Arts and Crafts movement. The year that Mallows came to London, 1882, was the year that William Morris published *Hopes and Fears for Art*, and Mallows was soon attracted by Morris's ideas and drawn into his circle.

Five years earlier Morris had founded the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings to draw attention to the current desecration and destruction of so many fine buildings, either through demolition or through poor restoration. It was at the meetings of this society that the younger generation of architects gathered to hear Morris and Philip Webb evolve the principles which would become the guiding light of the Arts and Crafts movement. William Lethaby wrote later, 'It is a curious fact that this Society, engaged in an intense study of antiquity, became a school of rational builders and modern building.'[1]

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[1] W.R. Lethaby, 'Ernest Gimson's London Days', in *Ernest Gimson: His Life and Work*, Shakespeare Head Press (Stratford-Upon-Avon 1924), pp. 1-10 (p. 4).

Arts and Crafts architects looked back to seventeenth century vernacular buildings for inspiration and admired simplicity of design, regional character, decent craftsmanship and use of local materials. An Arts and Crafts house should look as though it has evolved from the landscape and not been imposed on it. These architects were in the main as concerned with the layout of gardens as they were with the design of the house. Again, the seventeenth century fired their imagination: enclosed gardens, hedged with box and yew; walls and paving; and architectural features built of the same materials as the house. They held that the design of the garden should relate closely to that of the house. William Morris wrote that he liked his gardens `both orderly and rich', but rich with plants that were considered English.[2] A writer on gardens at that time, Avray Tipping, wrote:

> In such old gardens . . . the older garden plants will always be the most suitable. China roses, damask roses, Scotch briars and the sweet old cabbage rose, sweet briars and cluster roses of the so-called Ayrshire kinds, peonies and columbines, flag irises and white and orange lilies - these are the plants that should be in profusion. Tall, stately hollyhocks, sweet bushes of southernwood, lavender and rosemary should also be in quantity, and stocks, wallflowers and pansies. . . . There should be nothing to remind one of flower shows, or the "latest novelty," but everything to foster the impression of repose and serenity - of a "haunt of ancient peace."

Tipping deplored the fashion of fifty years earlier for cutting up lawns to make new beds, often with no design, 'a shapeless sprinkle of stars and crescents, diamonds and circles, to be filled with garish plants, ill-assorted, whose blooming-time would endure for a bare three months. At about the same time came the worship of the specimen conifer, whose presence has destroyed the character of many a fine old garden.'[3]

Though Mallows was firmly rooted in the tradition of the Arts and Crafts movement, it was for him a bed-rock of sound building principles, from which he could and did develop. 'It is not wise . . . in approaching the question of design today to be too prejudiced in favour of any one particular school', he wrote. 'By doing so one is apt to miss some very good things that make for success.'[4]

After completing his training, Mallows opened his own office in London, designing houses, offices and pubs in Brentford. He was also able, through a strange commission, to spend six months of every year travelling. This came about through an approach by the American artist and friend of Whistler, Joseph Pennell, who had spotted Mallows' talent and wanted him to do a series of drawings of cathedrals in France and England. However, these drawings were to be published in *Century Magazine* in New York not under Mallows' name, but signed by Pennell. Unlike many of his fellow-students, Mallows had not had the opportunity to travel abroad, so after much heart-searching he agreed. This commission was

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[2] William Morris, 'Making the Best of It', in *Hopes and Fears for Art* (London 1882), pp. 114-68 (p. 128).

[3] *Gardens Old and New,* 3 vols. (London 1900 etc.), III, edited by Henry Avray Tipping, p. 149. Tipping was quoting from Tennyson, 'The Palace of Art' (1832), stanza 22:
An English home - grey twilight poured
On dewy pasture, dewy trees,
Softer than sleep - all things in order stored,
A haunt of ancient peace.

[4] C.E. Mallows, 'Architectural Gardening II', *The Studio,* 45 (1909), 31-42 (p. 34).

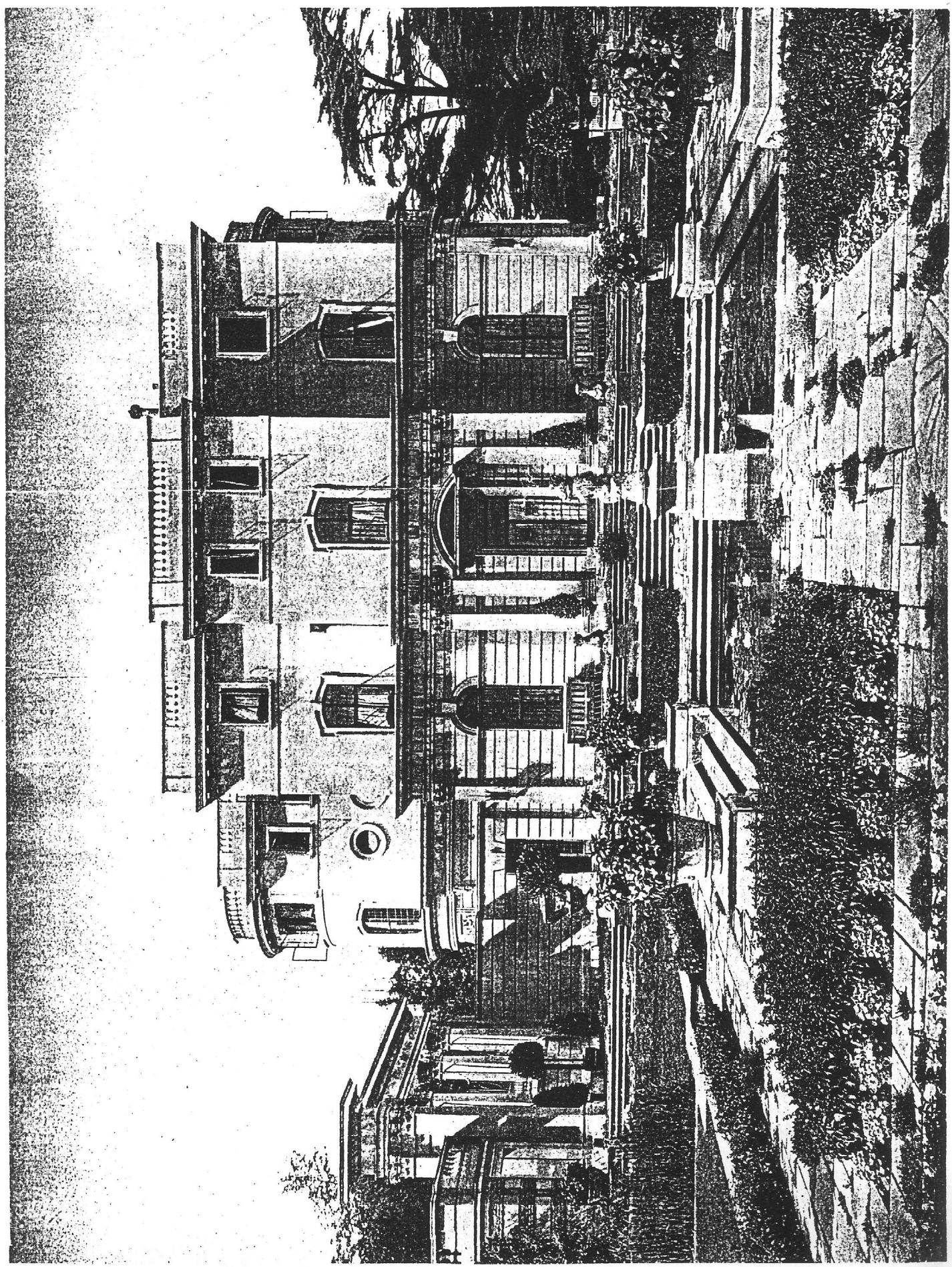


Fig. 14 House and South Garden, *Country Life* (1916). The spinxes on either side of the door can be seen in a different position in Repton's drawing.

to have lasted six years, but it seems that his architectural work combined with the travelling and illustrating brought about a complete physical breakdown, so that in 1893 he had to abandon his London practice and go home to Bedford, where he would remain for two years before he was able to return to architecture. However, the drawings published in *Century Magazine* were later submitted in a competition at the Royal Institute of British Architects, where Mallows was awarded the Pugin studentship.

In 1895 he resumed work and opened an architectural office in Bedford. He designed offices, town halls, schools, and even an opera house; and increasingly, small country houses with gardens. This was partly brought about by two friendships. Most important for Mallows was his association with John P. White, who ran a joinery called the Pyghtle Works in Bedford. Hermann Muthesius wrote in *Das englische Haus*, 'Much credit must go to the manufacturer John P. White for his improvements to all kinds of garden-furniture . . . . His practice of commissioning the best artists to design for him . . . may be described as exemplary.'[5] Mallows supplied White with drawings of pergolas, summerhouses and bridges. The bridge built over the lake at Eaton Hall in Cheshire was designed by Mallows, but sadly has recently been removed. Also working for White at that time was Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott, by then an internationally known Arts and Crafts architect, who also designed gardens and wrote about them. Like Mallows he preached design first, saying 'the flowers are for the garden, not the garden for the flowers'.[6]

When John P. White decided to move to a nearby village called Biddenham, he engaged Mallows to build him a house and lay out a garden. The house is called King's Corner, and can still be seen in Biddenham. Although it has been altered, it is a delightful village house with deep gables and an enclosed formal rose garden, which I believe was Mallows' first attempt at garden design. The success of King's Corner brought about another commission, also in Biddenham. His clients were a Mr and Mrs Peacock. Their house has had a number of names, but I shall call it Three Gables. This perfect little house and garden was highly praised by Lawrence Weaver and Gertrude Jekyll and used as an illustration for their book, *Gardens for Small Country Houses*.[7] It was also praised by Hermann Muthesius in *Das englische Haus* and featured in an article in the *Studio* in 1910.[8] The building of Three Gables started in 1900 and in that year Mallows married Sibyl Peacock.

In 1899 Mallows had reopened an office in London and soon after was persuaded to occupy the adjoining offices to T.H. Mawson, the highly successful landscape architect. The two men collaborated on many projects, and Mawson, whose family owned the Lakeland Nursery in Windermere, was often brought in to advise on planting Mallows' projects, as at Tirley Garth. Mallows and Griggs did a number of the illustrations for Mawson's book,

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[5] Hermann Muthesius, *Das englische Haus* (Berlin 1904-5), translated by Janet Seligman as *The English House,* edited and abridged by Dennis Sharpe (London 1979), p. 117n.22. Muthesius was a German diplomat who during his years in London (1896-1903), was so impressed by what he saw of the Arts and Crafts movement that he wrote three volumes on the subject. These books, together with the *Studio* magazine, were responsible for spreading the new architectural ideas on the continent.

[6] Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott, *Houses and Gardens* (London 1906), p. 152.

[7] Country Life (London 1912), second edition (1913), pp. xvii, xviii.

[8] Muthesius, p. 201; 'Country Cottages and their Gardens', illustrated by C.E. Mallows, *The Studio*, 48 (1910), pp. 289, 290.

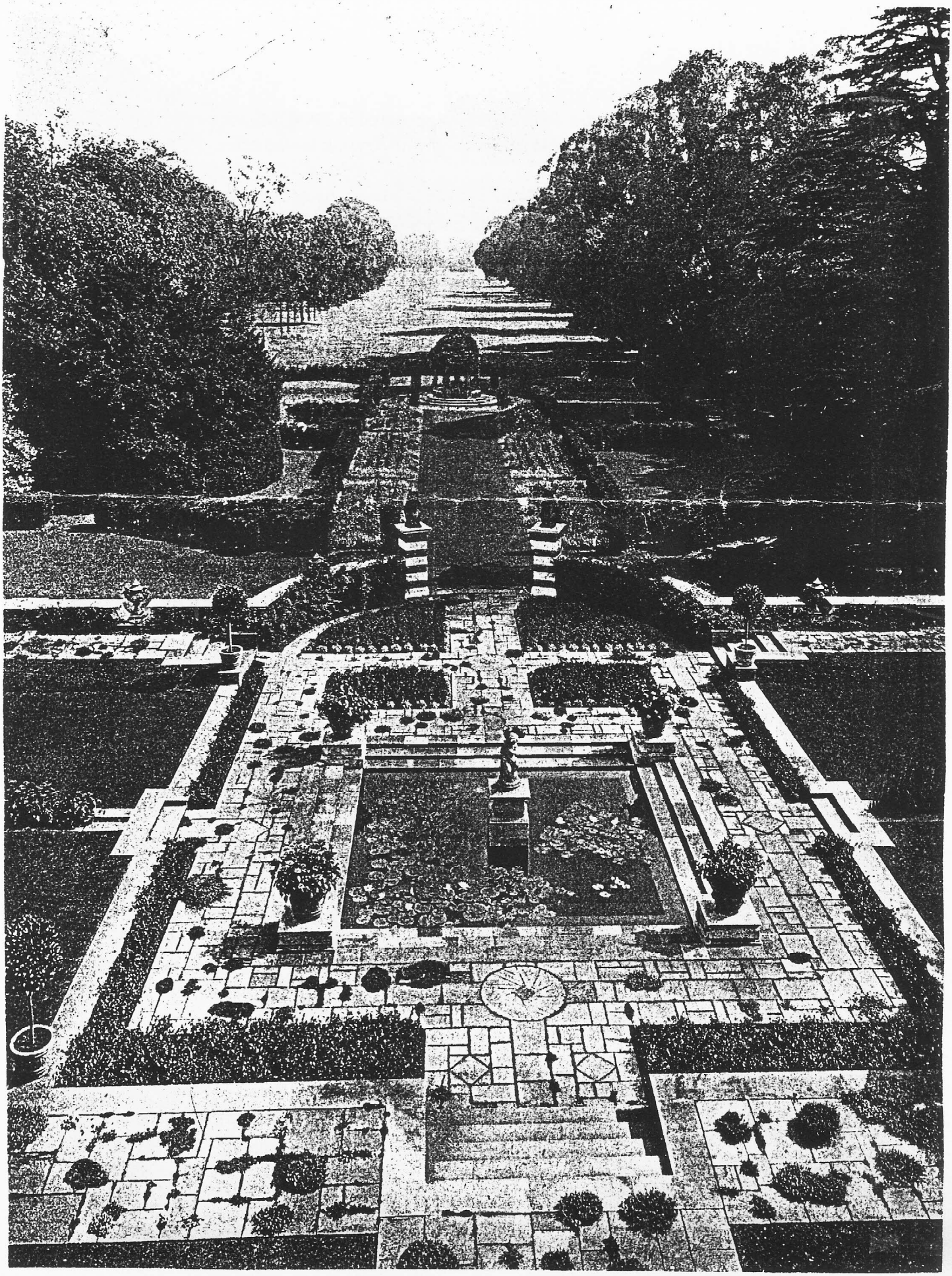


Fig. 15 South Garden, *Country Life* (1916). View from the house showing the Whitchurch Avenue.

The Art and Craft of Garden Making, which appeared in 1900. Mawson offered Mallows a partnership on a number of occasions, but he never took up the offer.

Mallows' drawings in the RIBA testify to the extent of the demand for his work, both as architect and as illustrator. The first scheme which he did in collaboration with Mawson was a design for a new wing and garden at Dalham Hall in Suffolk for Cecil Rhodes, but Rhodes died before building commenced, and the plan was abandoned. (This was to be the case with so much of Mallows' work; he was dogged by ill-luck all his life.) In 1906 came the chance he had been waiting for: a major commission to build a house and design a large garden in Cheshire. However, there were constant problems and delays with this project, and Tirley Garth was not finished until 1912. Meanwhile Mallows was writing a series of articles in the *Studio* called 'Architectural Gardening'.[9] He wrote: 'We are slowly, but it is to be hoped surely, taking up once more the thread of the classic tradition, and with it, naturally, the old tradition in garden design.'[10] He illustrated these articles with drawings of proposed work at Tirley Garth. It may have been through these articles in the *Studio* that Arthur Du Cros became aware of Mallows' work. He summoned Mallows to look at Canons Park in 1910.

Du Cros had bought the estate and reduced it in size in 1905, a portion to the north being sold to make a golf course, and a piece to the south becoming the Whitchurch Gardens Estate.[11] He was a man of considerable wealth; a founder and president of the Dunlop Rubber Company and Member of Parliament for Hastings from 1908 to 1918. He was created a baronet in 1916. Among his friends he could count the King and the King's former mistress, Daisy, Countess of Warwick. Daisy Warwick was an interesting woman: a socialist, a philanthropist and a knowledgeable gardener. Her friendship with Du Cros had, however, tragic repercussions on the later history of Canons, as we shall see.

It was clear that Du Cros wanted a remodelled and enlarged house and extensive gardens to entertain his guests on a grand scale. When Mallows visited Canons for the first time the layout would have been little changed from that shown on a map drawn up for the sale of 1887. The avenues were still intact, although Canons Drive had been replanted. The main entrance was on the south side and to the west there was a clear vista into the park. There was some sort of formal garden to the north. It also appears that there was a quantity of building stone from the original house which Mallows was able to use in his alterations. Du Cros set about buying urns, statues and fountains to furnish the gardens and Mallows threw himself so wholeheartedly into the rebuilding that Avray Tipping commented that 'the shade of "Princely Chandos" seems to have inspired the designer with a touch of his own lust for unrestrained splendour.'[12]

Mallows, I believe, had a very clear idea of his plans for Canons. There are some notes for a lecture in the Royal Institute of British Architects' library: 'Broad avenues . . . looking down them you see the most alluring hints of fine things . . . undefined and mysterious . . and here and there some bright folds where shapes are clearly seen . . . ' He goes on to show

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[9] There were seven articles, spread over nos 44-47 (1908-9).
[10] 'Architectural Gardening I', *The Studio,* 44 (1908), 181-88 (p. 184).
[11] Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-Detached London* (London 1973), p. 249.
[12] Henry Avray Tipping, *English Gardens* (Country Life, London and New York 1925), p. 82.

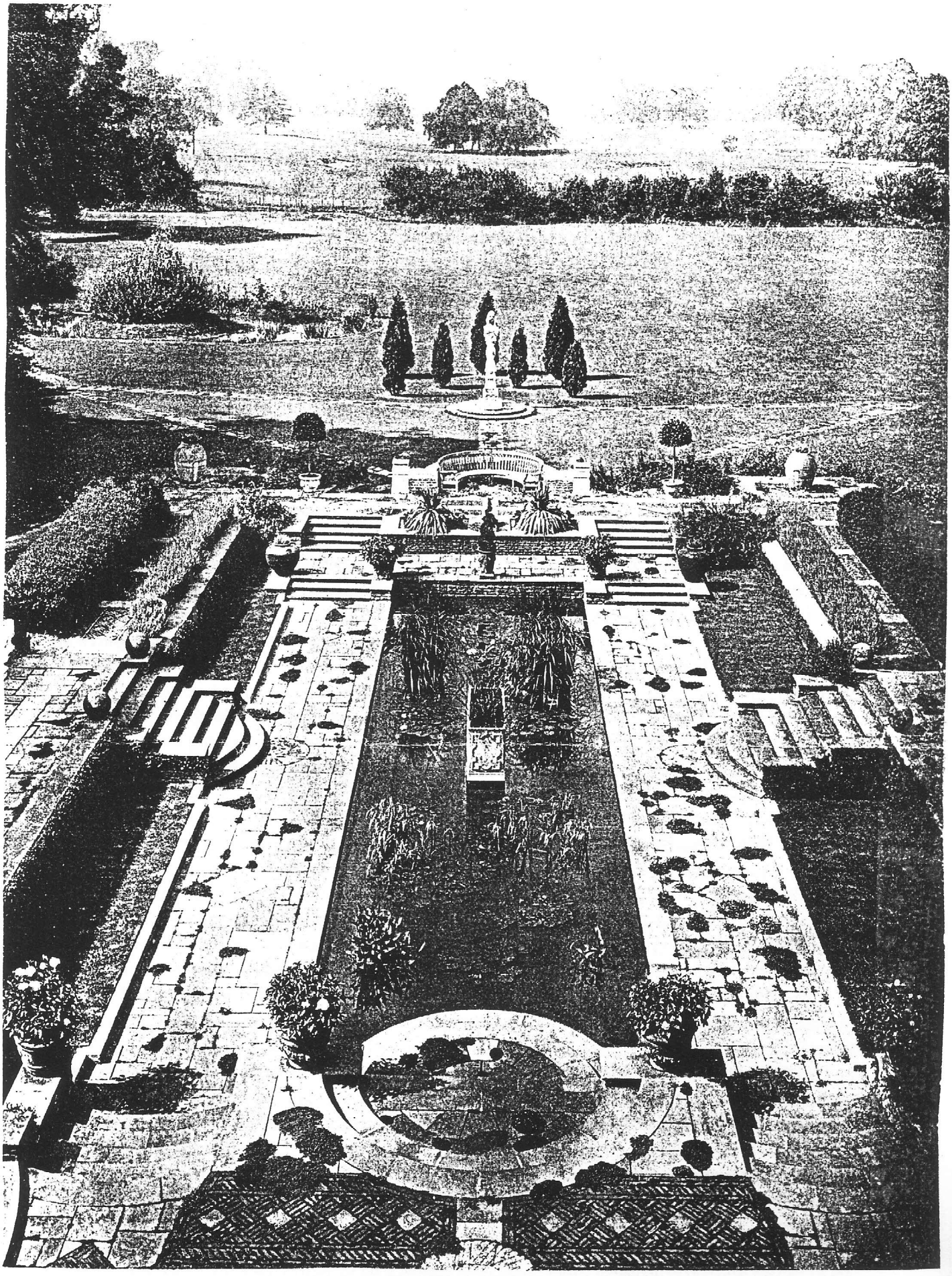


Fig. 16 North Garden, *Country Life* (1916).

slides of a recently excavated Roman garden and points out 'fine plants, fountains, vases, shade from trees and awnings . . . Notice the colonnades, floors, marble tables and basins. Interest in design as a whole. These things were not placed haphazard, but were carefully considered points on a plan.'[13] Although he was to make the two main gardens at Canons, north and south, as grand, precise and organised as the Roman garden he described, further away from the house he balanced the severity of the formal with a rose garden and arbours, herbaceous borders, brick paths and green walks.

Mallows would have had to use white stone for all additions to the house, incorporating and enhancing much of the original carved stone which had come from the ducal house. He created a new entrance and court on the west side, and then, to balance the new north wing, built a stone screen to link house and garden and give privacy to the south garden. He designed two mainly paved gardens on the north and south sides, with pools, water-courses, basins, fountains and urns. At the far end of the south garden he re-sited the tempietto and behind it emphasised the layout of the original garden by planting trefoil-shaped hedges. This was remarked upon by Lawrence Weaver in *Country Life* in 1916.[14]

Further away from the house the white stone was used in diminishing quantities, being mixed with brick, brick tiles and a darker stone, which linked the architecture to the landscape. I believe Mallows may have been constrained from doing any significant planting in the immediate vicinity of the house, because of the remains of the vast platform and foundations of the ducal palace, which are about twelve feet above the surrounding area on the south side and six on the east.

York stone was used for the terracing, and from the beginning space was left between the flags, thereby lessening the harshness and formality of such a large area of paving. Mallows also used brick paving in various patterns. Below the terrace to the east and in the area of the old foundations there is a walk and generous herbaceous border, running the entire length of the old house. At each end is a stone castellated arbour to house a seat, shaded by climbing plants. In contrast to the rest of the garden these are quiet and private places.

Mallows often deferred to Mawson's advice on planting, but I wonder if Daisy Warwick might have had a hand in the design of the herbaceous border. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* of October 1916[15] mentions the borders having been completed in May. Mallows had died by this time. I imagine the young trees seen in the distance beyond the south garden (*Country Life* photograph of 1916), may have been replanted in Mallows' time, and I would have thought he was responsible for the replanting of the lime avenue down to the lake.

Canons displays all Mallows' ability to make a minor work of art out of the design of a wall or details of paving. Here he used slightly curved roof tiles, the curve set one way and then the other. He used millstones to define the major intersections of the layout, the centres set

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[13] Ref. MaC/1. Notes and drafts by Mallows for articles and lectures on architecture and gardening, c.1898-1913.

[14] Lawrence Weaver, 'Canons Park: The Middlesex Residence of Sir Arthur Du Cros, Bart.', *Country Life*, 40 (1916), 518-26 (p. 525).

[15] 60 (1916 ii), 208-11 (p. 208).

with tiles in square or herringbone designs. Most effective of all is a semi-circular platform, now almost derelict, twelve metres in diameter, set with 4,800 tiles in 130 concentric circles. He used tiles in the risers of the steps, piled horizontally, five-and-a-half throughout. Another splendid detail which must not be missed is the design of the lead downpipes on the house. As with all Mallows' gardens, one is aware of his all-over planning, his attention to detail and his thoughtful understanding of the garden's uses. He always provided sitting-out places for different seasons and times of day.

Sadly Canons' second period of splendour was as short-lived as the first. In 1914 Du Cros paid £75,000 on behalf of his friend the Countess of Warwick for what became known as the 'Dear Daisy' letters, and then after the war the Dunlop Rubber Company's shares slumped so badly that Du Cros was forced to sell Canons in 1926. The statues, fountains and urns all went.

The new owner, Mr Cross, sold the house and ten acres to the North London Collegiate School in 1929, and the land to the west and south to Harrow Council in 1928.[16] Within the public park a fine memorial garden was built in 1938, well worth a visit. Its paving, I suspect, came from Canons north garden when it was destroyed. It disappeared under the huge new building designed for the school by Sir Albert Richardson. It is sad that Richardson did not have enough respect for Mallows' building to leave the north side of the entrance court intact. My hope is that perhaps one day that might be restored.

Mallows died at the age of fifty-two, before the planting at Canons was established. To comment on his life is like reviewing a half-written book. His list of work in the RIBA library is indeed a catalogue of ill-luck. Here was an architect who gained praise and respect for his work from Gertrude Jekyll and from fellow architects, including Norman Shaw and C.F.A. Voysey, but was dogged by ill-luck from the outset of his career, and died just as he was achieving success. The opera house he designed for Bedford . . . not built, nor the town hall and law courts at Bournmouth. Plans admired by Norman Shaw . . . not carried out for lack of money. Cottages at Crowcombe built but later destroyed by fire. A house at Brackenden, Kent, was built, but had the misfortune to become council offices, and the beautiful garden a car park. Now it is an hotel, where Mallows is still remembered, as the restaurant is named after him. Plans for a house and garden at Crowborough were never realised, because May, Duchess of Sutherland, went to prison for falsifying her husband's will . . . and the list goes on.

I am aware only of the gardens I have mentioned, with the addition of The Green at Eckington in Derbyshire, which I have tried to see without success; and the Dutch Garden at Eaton Hall in Cheshire, which has recently been restored. It had been attributed to Lutyens, but has now been proved to be by Mallows. I hope as time goes on more of his work may be identified. Meanwhile we have Canons; and looking out over the south garden from the first floor, it is not too hard to conjure up the image of what it might have been: the white stone terraces, the pools, the urns and statues and water-courses and fountains; and below the steps a lush green garden with clipped hedges leading beyond to the

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[16] *The Victoria County History of the Counties of England*, edited by R.B. Pugh, IV, *A History of the County of Middlesex*, edited by J.S. Cockburn and T.F.T. Baker (London 1971), p. 116.

magnificent south avenue, with the church still discernible in the distance. It must have been a dazzling experience, and I hope that money may be found to restore it, particularly as parts of it are in danger. I am aware that some repairs have recently been carried out, but far more needs to be done and the school needs financial assistance in undertaking these expensive restorations. The gardening team are to be congratulated on maintaining the gardens so well.

Mallows died suddenly on 2 June 1915. In his obituary in the *Studio* a fellow architect wrote: 'His gardens caught the fancy and were irresistible.'[17]

[17] Alfred Yockney, 'In Memoriam: Charles Edward Mallows', *The Studio*, 65 (1915), 227-38 (p. 234).

Appendix: Sculpture at Cannons

Katherine Myers

At present we have two main sources of information about the sculpture at Cannons at the time of the first Duke: the Inventory of 1725 and the Sale Catalogue of 1747. Assuming that no changes of position were made between these dates, these documents, taken together, help not only to place the sculpture, but also to locate the position of various garden features.

Thus it becomes clear that to the east of the house there were, as well as an east terrace, north and south terraces running alongside the parterres and canal, with steps on each side going down to the parterre. (This agrees with the Frenchman's map.) Since we know that the gardener's house was on the south side (the Inventory states that it was 366 feet from the 'Great Court'), it was probably the south steps that were flanked by Apollo and Diana, and those on the north by the Shepherd and Shepherdess. At the east end of the canal, Apollo apparently pursued Daphne from south to north across the water, with Venus and the Roman Youth nearby at the ends of the south and north terraces respectively. At the west end on the central axis was the Roman Gladiator.

In the North Garden, according to the Inventory, there was a goose foot, with a central walk leading to the statue of George I, and 'Angle Walks' containing gilt vases; the Sale Catalogue states that these walks ran beside the Physick Garden and to the Pavilion. Rocque's map shows just such a goose foot.

We do not know the position of the gravel walk bordered by the lead statues of the Four Seasons, or of the marble statues of Queen Anne and the Duke of Marlborough, although the order of the Inventory suggests that they would have been either east or west of the house, rather than in the North Garden.

The statues are listed according to the order given in the Inventory.

	Inventory (1725)	Sale Catalogue (1747)
[1]	A Marble Statue of Queen Anne One ditto of the Duke of Marlborough	*A fine large marble statue of Queen* ANNE, *cut at* Rome, *on a marble pedestal enriched with basso rilievos, and other emblematical ornaments* *The Duke of* MARLBOROUGH, *its companion*
[2]	The Seasons. Vizt: Winter. A Dutch man Scading wth: a Gun on his Shoulder & a Dog wth: a Woodcock in his mouth Summer. A country Woman wth: Wheat on her head. An emblem of Harvest Spring. Flora Dancing wth: a Baskett of flowers and a Nose Gay in her hand Autumn. A Vintager wth: a Baskett of Grapes and a Staff Entwin'd wth: Branches of Vines and Clusters of Grapes	A leaden statue of *Spring*, on a Portland stone pedestal, *by the side of the gravel walk* Ditto, of *Summer* Ditto of *Autumn* Ditto of *Winter*
[3]	In one parter, Diana the Goddess of hunting holding a Buck by the Horn wth: her Quiver at her back and a Bow in the other hand In the Other. Fawnas the God of the Woods wth: a Fawn on his Shoulder and his Batt in his hand being his Weapon	A leaden statue of a *Hunter*, on a circular Portland stone pedestal, *in the Parterre* *Diana* with a stag, it's companion
[4]	Steps next the Gardiners Steps. Apollo wth: his Harp - proper Emblem On Do. Steps Diana wth: a Hound	A leaden statue of *Apollo*, on a Portland stone pedestal, *on the Side of the steps, going down to the Parterre*, in the garden Its companion, *Diana*, on the other side
[5]	On the Steps at the Corner of Ash Orchard. A Shepherd wth: his Pipe playing and his Bottle and Bagg by his Side On Do. A Shepherdess wth a Crook & Lamb in her Arms.	A leaden statue of a *Shepherd and his Dog*, on a portland stone pedestal, *on the side of the steps going down to the parterre* Its Companion, a Shepherdess with a Lamb, *on the other side*
[6]	Att ye end of the Canal a Gladiator wth: Sword & Target.	[A leaden statue] of a *Gladiator*, gilt, *at the head of the canal.*

[7]	On each Side the Canal the end next the Pond South Side. Apollo in pursuit of Daphne North Side. Daphne Turning into a Lawrell She[?] being pursu'd in her flight by Apollo	A leaden statue of *Apollo*, on a Portland stone pedestal, *by the side of the canal,* in the garden *Daphne*, its companion
[8]	Att the End of the South Terrass. Venus naked sitting and washing her Feet Att the End of the North Terrass. the Roman Youth pulling a Thorn out of his Foot	[A leaden statue] of the *Roman* ---------- taking a thorn out of his foot, on a portland pedestal, at the bottom of the stone canal, next the great pond Ditto, of a *Venus*, on the *other side of the canal*
[9]	In the North Wilderness a Negro Slave Kneeling on one Knee and bearing a Sun Dyall on his head wch: He Supports wth. both hands	A leaden statue of a *Black kneeling*, with 2 circular portland steps, and the paving round, *in the Garden*
[10]	In the two Angle Walks from the North Front are two Large Vauzes, Guilt and Emboss'd round wth. Venus, Bacchanalians, Celerus and Satyrs	A fine large leaden vase with basso rilievo's Gilt, 5 feet 6 inches high, on a portland stone pedestal, *at the end of the walk towards the pavillion* It's Companion, *at the end of the walk next the physick garden*
[11]	In the middle walk of the North Front King George on horseback in Armour and panells in the pedestall of Do. wth. Trophies of Warr.	A large equestrian statue gilt, of the late King George on a Portland stone pedestal, about 13ft. high, in the garden