



Trinity walled gardens and summer house, Restormel Manor;
Archaeological assessment and test trenches

Cornwall Archaeological Unit

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Trinity walled gardens and summer house, Restormel Manor, Lostwithiel, Cornwall;

Archaeological assessment and test trenches

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Report authors	Catherine Parkes BA MCIfA (archaeological assessment) Anna Lawson-Jones BA ACIfA (test trenches excavation report)
Checked by	Ann Preston-Jones
Approved by	Andrew Young

Cornwall Archaeological Unit

Cornwall Council

Fal Building, County Hall, Treyew Road, Truro, Cornwall, TR1 3AY

Tel: (01872) 323603

Email: cau@cornwall.gov.uk Web: www.cornwall.gov.uk/archaeology

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Within CAU, the Project Manager was Ann Preston-Jones. Catherine Parkes carried out and reported on the research and assessment. Anna Lawson-Jones directed the archaeological excavations and provided the record of results, incorporated in this report as Part II. Carl Thorpe commented on several finds from the excavations.

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CAU is grateful for permission from the British Library and Cornwall Records Office to reproduce images of original historic maps held in their archives.

This assessment draws on, and is intended to complement, the full, detailed building record and garden survey carried out by CAU in 2010 by Eric Berry and Nigel Thomas, who kindly assisted in 2016 with discussion of their findings. Several photographs taken by Eric Berry are included in this report.

The views and recommendations expressed in this report are those of Cornwall Archaeological Unit and are presented in good faith on the basis of professional judgement and on information currently available.

Freedom of Information Act

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Cover illustration: *The ruined summer house above the walled gardens, pictured by Eric Berry for CAU in 2010 as vegetation control by the Duchy of Cornwall began*

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Abbreviations

BARS	Bedfordshire Archives and Records Service
BHO	British History Online
BL	British Library
CAU	Cornwall Archaeological Unit
CC	Cornwall Council
CIfA	Chartered Institute for Archaeologists
CRO	Cornwall Record Office
HER	Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly Historic Environment Record
LB	Listed Building
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, City of London
NA	National Archives, Kew
NGR	National Grid Reference
OS	Ordnance Survey
PWDRO	Plymouth and West Devon Record Office
RHSC	Royal Horticultural Society of Cornwall
RIC	Royal Institution of Cornwall

Part 1 Archaeological assessment

Catherine Parkes

1 Summary

An archaeological study of walled gardens with a summer house at Restormel Manor, near Lostwithiel, was carried out in 2016 by Cornwall Archaeological Unit, Cornwall Council, for the Duchy of Cornwall. The site lies on the side of the Fowey valley, above the grand barton house, formerly named Trinity, built after the mid-16th century when nearby Restormel Castle was ruinous and its great deer park dis-parked. The study elucidates the origins, use and development of the gardens, especially the summer house, to inform plans to restore and re-use them. It draws on research and analysis of maps and other documents, and the results of evaluation trenches excavated with the help of volunteers; so complementing a building survey by CAU in 2010.

The north garden was enclosed 1650-1755, probably after 1717 when the tenants were the Sawles, merchants in London, but from an old Cornish landed family. The summer house, and the south garden of the same phase or later, were made 1755-1787, for one of two successive residents of Trinity. Both of these tenants held the barton as well as the mansion (sub-letting the farm), and embellished the landscape with 'Firr and other Forest trees'. A planted walk above the gardens links the summer house to ancient Castle Wood with its early zig-zag bridleway between castle and river crossing. The tree belt here had an opening behind the summer house for a view to the keep.

Thomas Jones, a successful attorney, twice deputy Sheriff of Cornwall, lived here 1755-1775; he freed the castle ruins of 'rubbish and bushes', and had building works done at Trinity c1768-1775, which may well have included the summer house for displaying the ancient keep to the gentry he entertained as lawyer and officer of the Crown. William Masterman, Jones' business associate and heir, was a very prosperous self-made man, a leading political agent, and an MP 1780-1784. He may have financed the re-fronting of the house with its Gothic style, and perhaps the doubling of the walled gardens.

In the early and mid-19th century, the Edgcumbe family leased the estate, and sub-let the mansion and inner grounds. As a result the residents of Restormel House, as it was now known, did not develop the wider ornamental park, and the tree belt above the gardens grew up behind the summer house, so that it ceased to function as a visual link between barton and castle. The walled gardens, though, continued to thrive, and lessees – the Hexts c1799-1846, and Sawles 1846-c1862 – were active in Cornwall's Royal Horticultural Society of 1832 and other gardening societies. In the later 19th century the Robartes of nearby Lanhydrock leased the estate, Restormel House was occupied by farming families, and the ornamental character of the gardens declined.

The summer house being ruined, similar buildings are considered, to indicate its past character; the earlier 'Folly' at Mount Edgcumbe and the 'Castle' of 1773 at Saltram, both near Plymouth, and the Classical 'Folly' at Clowance, Crowan (possibly later). Circumstantial evidence points to a possible architect, Charles Rawlinson of Lostwithiel.

The site is nationally important as part of the curtilage of the Grade II Listed manor, and highly significant in itself. It is a rare essentially undeveloped early walled kitchen garden, which preserves buried features including a possible pond. The summer house, a little two-storey eye-catcher and viewpoint for the gardens, is of especial interest. Though ruinous it is a fairly good survival of a rare type, showing provision of dramatic views including a line of sight to Restormel Castle to 'borrow' its status and romance.

The gardens are in poor condition, currently being addressed by scrub and ivy control and wall repairs. The summer house is unstable, and protection of it through re-use is considered beneficial, provided that its historic character is preserved or enhanced, and adverse impacts avoided or minimised. Measures proposed to achieve this include careful planning of works to the summer house informed by the recording and research of 2010 and 2016, and a garden design maintaining the integrity of the primary garden while perhaps using planting of the kind associated with the gardens in their prime, c1800-1850, indicated by the research; watching brief for works is also recommended.

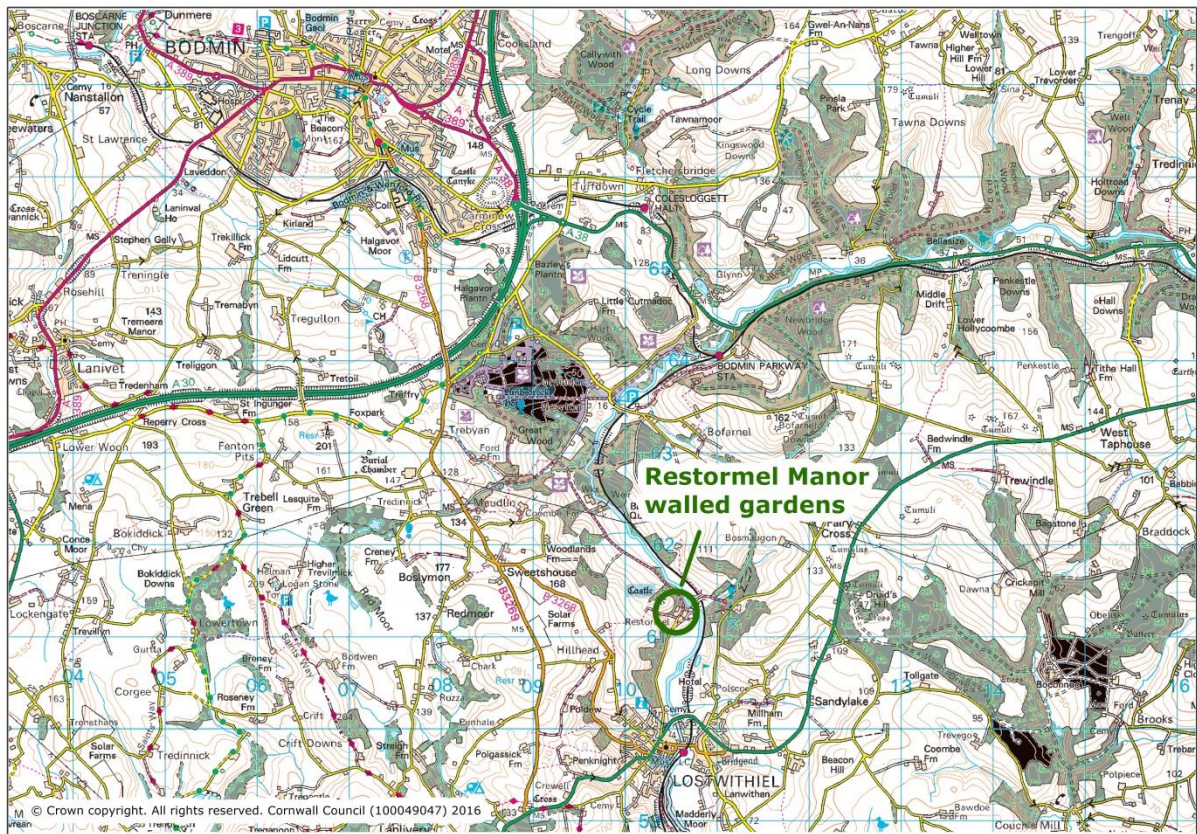


Fig 1 Map of the area indicating the location of the walled gardens at Restormel Manor

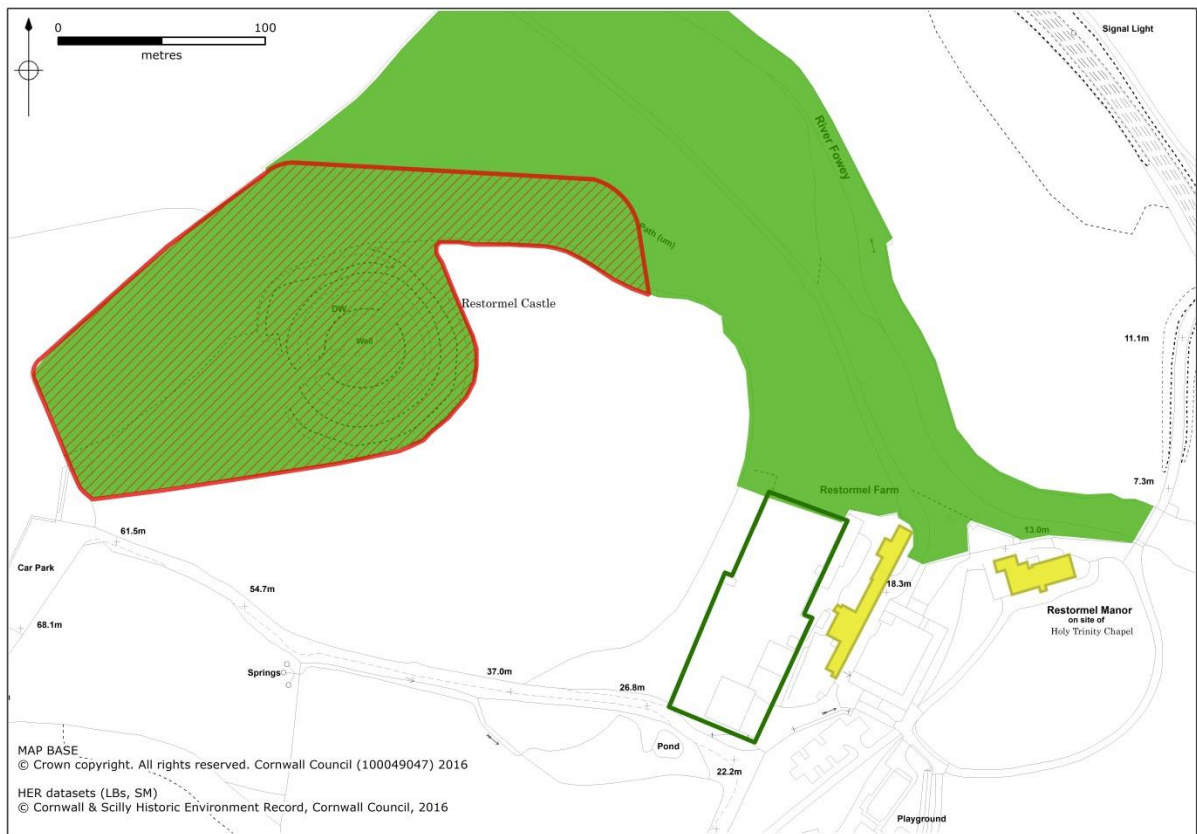


Fig 2 Map showing the site extent (outlined in dark green), with designated Listed Buildings (in yellow), Registered Park (green) and Scheduled Monument (red)

2 Introduction

2.1 Project background

Cornwall Archaeological Unit, Cornwall Council (CAU, CC), was commissioned in 2016 by James Scott, Building Surveyor, on behalf of the Duchy of Cornwall, to carry out an archaeological and historical study of the walled gardens, with a summer house, at Restormel Manor, Lostwithiel, Cornwall (Fig 1). The study was required to inform plans to restore and re-use the summer house and gardens. The archaeological work consisted of two main elements; document- and map-based analysis, and targeted archaeological evaluation trenches. The results of both are presented in the present report; the account of the excavation by director Anna Lawson-Jones forms Part II, while its principal findings are integrated in the main body of the report text, Part I.

This work follows two separate previous projects by CAU at Restormel Manor – historic building analysis of the mansion and farm buildings and rapid assessment of the wider landscape, carried out in 2007 (Berry, Parkes and Thomas 2010), and more recent measured ground survey and building recording for the gardens and summer house (Berry and Thomas 2010).

2.2 Aims

As noted in the CAU project design by Ann Preston-Jones (November 27th 2015), the principal aim of this archaeological work is to elucidate the character and origins, past use and change of the walled gardens and associated structures, especially the summer house. In particular, to achieve this, the two strands of the study – the assessment, and the excavations - are designed to provide the following;

- Identification and interpretation of the site in its historical context, and in its setting, featuring the mansion and inner grounds of Restormel Manor to the east, and the medieval castle to the west. This is intended to complement the previous detailed building record of the garden structures, by Eric Berry and Nigel Thomas (2010).
- Enhancement of understanding of the nature, survival and evolution of the gardens and their features, by selective trial trenching.

2.3 Methods

The following methods were used for the desk-top and field work (see also Section 8 for full lists and details of primary and secondary sources consulted):

Document- and map-based analysis

- Familiarisation with the scope and content of the two existing CAU reports on Restormel Manor, and other published historical or topographical accounts of the estate.
- Analysis of historic maps and other documents for information on the layout and history of the site, and the sequence of residents or other tenants of the estate, with relevant aspects of their circumstances and interests. This involved use of maps held electronically at CAU, and consultation of original material at the Cornwall Record Office (CRO), and (via websites) in other collections including the Plymouth and West Devon Record office (PWDRO), and the National Archives at Kew (NA). Archives consulted include those relating to individuals or families found to have occupied and/or leased Restormel Manor in the 18th and earlier 19th centuries in particular.
- Preparation of a base-map of the gardens and immediate surroundings to serve as a guide and to record observations in the field, using map regression to compile the results of the above process.
- Brief field visits by the documentary researcher to review and update the 2010 survey, using the information gained from the early maps and other documentary records to consider the phasing of the complex, and to gain understanding of its historic roles.

- Rapid searches of primary and secondary sources for any illustrations of Restormel Castle or Restormel Manor capturing the gardens and summer house. Sources were examined by the writer or kindly searched by curators at the Courtney Library at the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro (RIC); the Cornwall Centre, Redruth; Lostwithiel Museum; Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro; and Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography. Historic England and other websites were consulted online. Parochial histories, travellers' accounts and diaries, histories of Restormel Castle and Lostwithiel, old photographs, lithographs, drawings and paintings were examined and considered during this process.
- Further brief study of selected primary and secondary sources relating to garden history to inform on a) possible parallels and the wider frame of reference for the summer house, to inform its rebuilding, and b) likely planting schemes used in the garden in the past.
- *Note:* As mentioned in the project design, the Duchy of Cornwall's record office in London may potentially hold documentary material relating to the site and its history, but this archive is not included in the scope of the present project.

Evaluation excavations

- Walkover of the site by CAU staff involved in both strands of the archaeological work, with representatives of the Duchy, to select locations within it for small-scale investigative archaeological excavation trenches. The positioning of the trial trenches (Fig 24) was designed to reveal if possible evidence for the design, fabric and condition of paths, planting beds, and other features, and the relationships between these and walls and other structures, or earthworks. It was informed by the initial phased base plan prepared as part of the desk-top study (above) showing paths and other elements of the gardens recorded on the historic maps.
- Excavation of 11 small trial trenches, entirely by hand (the steep slopes in the garden ruling out the use of a mini-digger). These extended down to the point where features were revealed but were not fully excavated to the natural subsoil level. Recording included surveying the position of the trenches, and measurement, description and colour digital photography of features, layers or artefacts found (see Section 10, in Part II, the excavation report, for further details of the trial trench locations and methods.)
- Compliance in all recording work undertaken with the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists *Standards and Guidance for Archaeological Investigation and Recording*. CAU staff followed the CIfA *Code of Conduct and Code of Approved Practice for the Regulation of Contractual Arrangements in Archaeology*. The Chartered Institute for Archaeologists is the professional body for archaeologists working in the UK.

Further analysis and reporting

- Integration of the results of the desk-top survey and researcher's field visits with those of the trial trenching to produce the record and discussion of the gardens and summer house in the main body of this report. The full report on the test trenches by excavation director Anna Lawson-Jones forms Part II of the report, and further data from the excavations - the context report - is also included, as an Appendix.

3 Location and setting

3.1 Topography and geology

Restormel Manor is located in the parish of Lanlivery, central Cornwall (Figs 1, 2). The mansion, formerly known as Trinity House, with its barton (home farm), stands west of the River Fowey on a low but distinct rise in the floor of the Fowey valley, by a historic bridging point near the ancient tidal limit. Further west, on top of a spur above the valley and the mansion, is Restormel Castle, late 11th or 12th century in origin, with its well-preserved, if roofless, circular 'shell' keep. The medieval town of Lostwithiel lies around 1.5km (less than a mile) downriver, in sight from the wall-walk around the top of the keep, and possibly from the summer house before the growth of trees to its south.

The walled gardens lie west of the mansion beyond its barton farmstead, on the fairly steep, south east facing lower slope of the castle hill, at around 30m OD. The bedrocks of the area are the Early Devonian Meadfoot Series (meta-limestone, pelite, hornfelsed slate and sandstone). Soils are the 'Manod' type of loam over shale, mudstones and siltstone.

3.2 Designations

The site is protected by and/or closely associated with several designated sites of National Importance (Fig 2).

3.2.1 Listed Buildings (LBs)

The walled gardens are in the curtilage of, and functionally related to, the Listed mansion of Restormel, formerly Trinity House;

- Restormel Manor, LB Grade II, List Entry no. 1137912. (Though dated in the Listing to the mid-late 17th century, it is recorded as a grand barton farmhouse in 1649/1650, and may have been built following the dis-parking of Restormel around a century before that, possibly incorporating the medieval chapel of Trinity which lay in the deer park of the castle.)

The gardens adjoin another Listing protecting further elements of the barton farm;

- Restormel Farmhouse, with attached stables and barn, LB Grade II, List Entry no. 1144257. (The building is described in the listing as formerly a pair of cottages and as late 19th century in date; it was a farmhouse before it was made into cottages in the later 19th century, and is recorded in 1755, so dates from the first half of the 18th century or earlier.)

3.2.2 Registered Park and Garden

The site, together with the LBs at the core of the manor noted above, lies beyond, but immediately adjacent to, the southern end of a larger extent of Registered Park and Garden, and is functionally related to features of the ornamental landscape there, including plantations and tracks in Restormel's Castle Wood;

- Lanhydrock, Grade II*, List Entry no. 1000449. (This Listing states that the Hon. Anna Maria Agar of nearby Lanhydrock House leased Restormel in the late 18th or early 19th century. In fact, as the 1839 tithe schedule records, the lease of Restormel was held at the time of the tithe survey by the Edgcumbes [with sub-tenants], and this family had acquired it c1792; the lease is said to have been sold to the Agar-Robartes of Lanhydrock c1862.)

3.2.3 Scheduled Monument

The gardens are outside, but are features of the immediate setting of, the Scheduling protecting Restormel Castle;

- Restormel Castle: motte, bailey and shell keep, List Entry no. 1017574.

4 Form, features, function and dating of the site

This Section describes and analyses the site, bringing together evidence from three main sources;

- A previous detailed garden and building survey (Berry and Thomas 2010).
- The present project's map and documentary research on the past character and story of the site.
- Associated excavations of January 2016, reported in full by director Anna Lawson-Jones in Part II of the report, below.

Further discussion of maps and other documentary evidence may be found in the chronological summary Section 5, where the development of the gardens and the history of the people who made, maintained and enjoyed them in the past are explored more fully, and details of primary sources and other material used are given.

Note The gardens are orientated NNW-SSE. For simplicity, their sides are referred to in this report as N, E, rather than NNE, ENE, etc.

4.1 Pre-garden features

Before moving on to consider the remains of the garden layout, structures and phases, several buried pre-garden features on the site, part excavated in 2016, may be noted here.

Traces of a long, narrow platform, varying in width but around 0.6m across, were found in each of the two trenches excavated either side of the central boundary of the gardens - that is, the south boundary of the original garden (Section 12, Trenches C, D). A similar feature, with a thin, disturbed, possibly trampled surface layer, was encountered in the investigation of the scarp below the perimeter path on the west in the later, southern garden (Trench I).

These are interpreted as organic tracks such as those made by sheep, being narrow, rather irregular linear steps slanting across the fairly steep slope. That found in the secondary garden could have been made by livestock when this ground lay in a field, before the extension of the garden took it in at some point during the period between 1755 and 1787 (Section 4.5).

The little terrace in the centre of the gardens, though, was found in the excavations to extend under the central garden wall, where buried large stones beneath the brick wall and its more regular foundations were interpreted as the base of the hedge bank of the field in which the first phase garden was made. If underlying this field boundary, the terrace relates to the landscape of the medieval deer park associated with the castle on the hill above, rather than to that of the barton field system made here after the dis-parking of Restormel in the 16th century.

It is possible then that the more easterly of the buried terraces excavated, or, by extension, both of them, may have been trodden by deer or horses using the park. Though slight features in themselves, they are therefore of wider interest, representing potential traces in the garden ground of the life of the great ancient ornamental and hunting park (Section 5.1.).

The linear hollow running up the garden along the north side of the central wall, leading to the front of the summer house from the main, early garden entrance (Fig 7), might perhaps, in another setting, be interpreted as a hollow way or simply as a plough-smoothed hedgers' quarry ditch, dug to obtain material for a hedge-bank beside it which divided two fields before the primary garden was taken out of the northern field. However it seems most improbable that such a feature would remain as an earthwork in a high-status garden cultivated for perhaps 300 years, particularly on the direct approach to the front of its principal (secondary phase) building. The hollow may be the result of robbing of a stepped garden path, though this is not clear (Section 4.2).

4.2 General garden layout and fabric

Note Evidence for the details of the interior of the gardens is discussed in Section 4.7.

The two rectangular walled gardens, joined end-to-end, are laid out north-south along the base of the castle hill, above the mansion and farmstead (Fig 3). They extend for c113m, the whole length of the farmstead as this developed through the 19th century. The principal though fairly small garden building, the summer house, projects from the centre of the western, upper long side of the gardens, at the junction of the two.

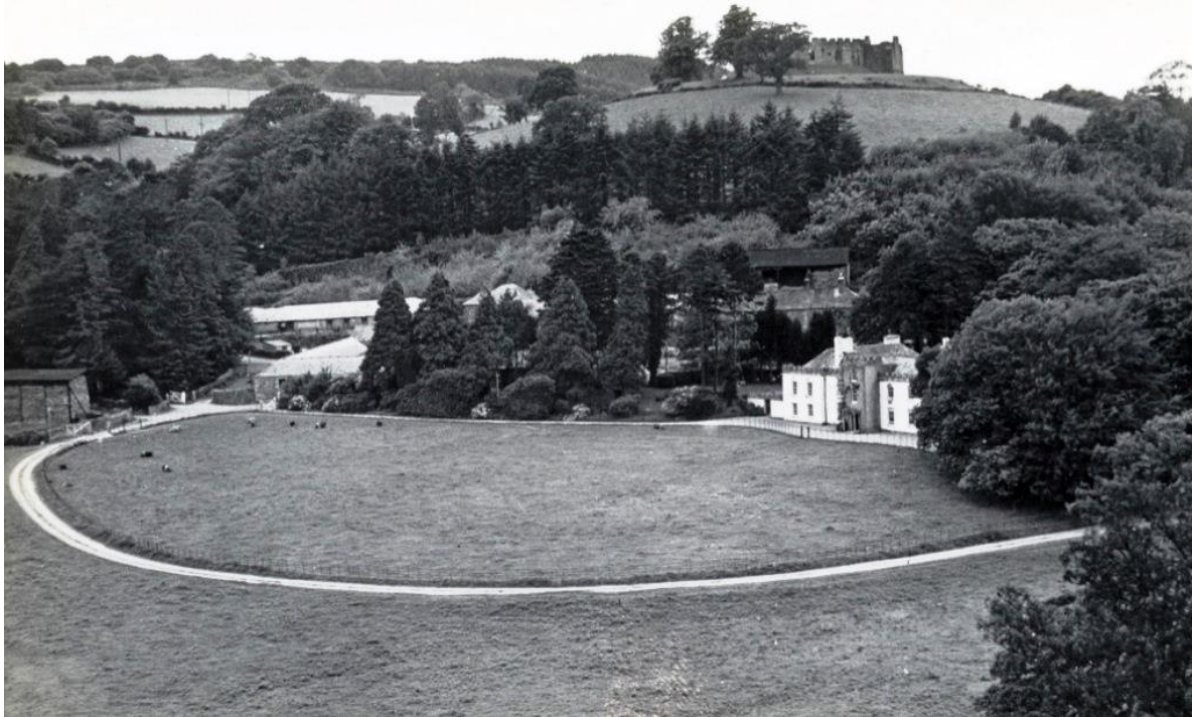


Fig 3 Mid 20th century view showing the site as an orchard with the (obscured) summer house in the middle of its upper long side, centre photo (Cornish Memories website)

The gardens are screened by a tree belt along the western, uphill side, and by an extension to the earlier Castle Wood to the north, both originally planted in the later 18th century, in the years between the map 'horizon' of 1755 and that of 1805 (see Section 8.1 for map details). The belt to the west formerly had a break through it in front of the summer house, important because it provides evidence of a designed view from the rear of the building (see further Section 4.4.1).

The garden boundaries on the upper, north and west sides survived largely intact into the 21st century, and are currently undergoing repair. The south end of the garden by the road has been levelled to admit a modern farm building, and the east side also has adaptations and gaps associated with use of adjoining farm buildings and yard areas (Fig 46). The central boundary between the two gardens has collapsed, leaving spreads of walling material buried under turf along its lower, southern side.

Walls are mostly built of narrow red, pink and orange bricks of hand-made type with no frog, with lime mortar (cover photo, and Figs 4, 9). The bricks were almost certainly made on the estate, since in the tithe apportionment schedule of 1839 a field north west of Castle Wood is named Brick Field, no doubt a reference to nearby site/s of clay pits or kilns. This field is named differently, as Stone Park, on the 1755 estate map, so it may be that the Brick Field of 1839 is the source of the brick clay used for the summer house and southern walled garden, which (as discussed in Sections 4.4.2 and 4.5) post-date 1755. The source of materials for the bricks of the primary walled garden may yet be identified, if any documents in the Duchy archive relate to brick making on the estate; one or more of the park's ornamental tree clumps, recorded on the OS map of 1881, may perhaps have been planted to screen old clay diggings.

The weathered red of the bricks, colonised in places by yellow lichens, gives the structures a warm speckled appearance, forming a pleasing contrast with the green of vegetation, an effect particularly evident as the slope of the site means it displays at once an expanse of both sward and wall (Fig 4). Local rubble stone is also used, but is relatively inconspicuous, forming foundations, the outer face of the south half of the west wall, and a very substantial battered revetment below the north end of the east wall above the early mowhay (stack-yard) levelled into the bottom of the slope.



Fig 4 Northern end of the primary walled garden (with one of the surviving apple trees)

Over a dozen re-used pieces of granite or freestone are visible at the gardens, a couple in the central and southern areas (as noted by volunteer Andrew Langdon, specialist in the crosses of medieval Cornwall and so in its building stones), and the others in the south garden's rear, west wall (Fig 5). They include roughly shaped stones, regular blocks, and architectural fragments, none intact or very large.



Fig 5 Stone of 17th century type in the rear wall of the south garden (photo; Eric Berry)

Some re-used stones may derive directly or indirectly from the castle, known to have had 'hewed stones of the windowes, dournes, & clauels [door frames and lintels], pluct out to serve private buildings....' (Carew 1602, 138R). Other pieces, perhaps those of the pale yellowy Pentewan-type which predominate - and potentially some of the undiagnostic rubble too - may have been brought from the house below when this was altered in the later 18th century. If so this fabric may originate from the medieval chapel of Trinity, incorporated in, or robbed of materials for, the grand barton house at the core of the mansion. Pentewan stone is used for details of ecclesiastical and other fine early buildings elsewhere in the district, such as St Petroc's Church, Bodmin (King 2011, 12), and a 16th century lantern cross at St Bartholomew's Church, Lostwithiel (Ann Preston-Jones, CAU, pers comm).

Inside the walls - including the central wall as this was an edge of the earlier, north garden - are the main, perimeter paths, now buried but recorded on an historic plan (CRO CL/P/40) based on the 1881 map so possibly drawn c1890 (Fig 6). Levelled platforms some 2m wide are visible at the sites of those of the paths which run along the contour. The platforms were clearly made to carry the paths as well as the garden walls, and also to accommodate beds at the foot of the walls with their nails or nail holes for plant supports. However the width of these earthworks may not be quite representative of the full original span of the perimeter path-and-bed arrangements, since a sample area of the latter was shown by the test trench at the west side of the north garden to have been partly cut away, presumably as a result of more recent cultivation after removal of the original path paving (Section 12, Trench H).



Fig 6 Plan of c1890, based on the 1881 map, showing the walled gardens with the main internal paths, and the leat above the gardens running to the farm mill pond beyond CRO ME/2393; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office.

The 2016 excavation trenches by the west wall of the north garden found buried remains consistent with the layout indicated c1890 - the inner edge, 2-2.3m from the wall base, of a clayey and stony layer at least 0.75m wide interpreted as hard-core for the lost path surface probably of slate slabs; and a layer of dark cultivated soil representing a bed inside it (Section 12, Trenches B, H). No trace of a path was present in the trench by the centre of the north wall of the north garden, which extended from the wall to a length of 2m, so either the bed there was wider than this, or the edge of the material making up the path has been cut away by later cultivation (Section 12, Trench A). (Beds, internal paths and planting are discussed in Section 4.7.)

The width of the platform inside the upper wall of the south garden is greater, over 6m. This may have been intended to accommodate a hothouse, with a floor, raised to take heating pipes, served by an 'extra' doorway in the garden wall (later blocked); this doorway, as pointed out by James Scott, is otherwise oddly stranded above ground level. If planned, no such hothouse was apparently made, since the usual traces of side walls, roof line and the like are lacking from the garden wall behind, and the 2016 excavations found no remains of structures or flooring here (Section 12, Trench G).

The central path shown on the c1890 map (Fig 6) is quite different on the ground. This is a marked hollow, up to c4m wide and 0.3m-0.4m deep (Fig 7). As it opens from the original entrance to the garden, and leads straight to the summer house inserted into the top corner of the primary garden, up a fairly steep slope, this route must have had steps or other surface providing a safe as well as enjoyable walk to the top; yet the trial trenches here found no sign of surfacing (Section 12, Trenches C, D). One interpretation might be that the hollow represents robbing of steps such as those extant to either end of it, at the garden threshold and at the summer house itself.



Fig 7 View to the west along the linear hollow in the centre of the garden; the sides of the earthwork are marked by the volunteers working on the trial trench across it

The earliest mapping sufficiently detailed to record such features as steps as standard, the 25 inch OS map, here first surveyed in 1881, shows the garden with steps only in those two places, beyond the ends of the hollow, where they still survive (Fig 44). By that date the manor was leased by the Agar-Robartes of nearby Lanhydrock, and Restormel House was occupied by the farmer, so it is possible that steps had been removed for use elsewhere, and garden paths had generally become overgrown, encroached on by cultivation, or otherwise obscured. (The plan of c1890 might then indicate a plan to re-instate them.) However, the 2016 excavations found no evidence for robbing of steps, such as a clayey or stony bed suitable for topping with granites (again, see Section 12, Trench C). It remains possible that any layers made up to support steps have been disturbed during the 150 years or so since the garden was last used by gentry both leasing and living in the mansion.

4.3 Primary garden, pre-1755, probably early 18th century

As noted in the building survey, 'Structural evidence revealed that the summer house had been added to a pre-existing garden wall on its north side' (Berry and Thomas 2010, 8), the garden wall there having an irregular, truncated end. The earliest representation of the site known in 2010, a plan by Spry dated 1787, shows (in simplified form, as a single enclosure) the full extent of both gardens; and it was suggested then that the garden complex was begun in the mid-18th century (*op cit*, 8, 11).

An estate map of 1755 (CRO, ME/2393) confirms that the northern walled garden is primary (Fig 8). Interpretation of a description of 1649/1650 (Pounds 1982, 111) in the light of the 1755 plan, together with the brick fabric of the enclosure, and documentary evidence for decline of the place by the mid-17th century and contested leasehold in the following decades, indicates that this north garden was probably made in the early 18th century (Sections 5.1, 5.2.1).



Fig 8 Detail of the 1755 map showing the primary walled garden (west of the farmstead with its rear mowhay); and an earlier garden west of and aligned with the mansion

Note too the Little Orchard, east of the river, which was probably the hop-garden of the mid-17th century. CRO ME/2393; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office.

The earliest datable artefacts from the 2016 trenches were a fragment of medieval pottery and two post-medieval sherds. The latter were found in the north garden, in a layer running up to its south wall, now the central wall dividing the gardens (Section 12, Trench C). This was a cultivated soil also including later artefacts and the post-medieval sherds may be residual, left by previous manuring of the barton field in which the garden was made, Barn Close. They derive from broad flanged bowls, of particular interest in the context of Restormel as such vessels are likely to have been used for making scalded (clotted) cream, no doubt produced in the dairy of Trinity recorded in the mid-17th century before the time of the walled gardens (Section 5.1) as it was also in a more recent dairy school held in the mansion (Berry, Parkes and Thomas 2010, 9).

The 1755 plan (Fig 8) shows how the primary walled garden lay west of and above the mowhay (stack-yard), itself fronted by the farm buildings, with, north of these, a farmhouse also made in the century, and probably in the half-century, previous to 1755. The range of farm buildings included the barn - now forming the Duchy Office - which gave its name to the field from which the garden was enclosed, Barn Park.

The garden was taken out of Barn Park at its south corner, that nearest the core of the manor. The 2016 excavation found evidence of the southern boundary of the field used to form the foundations of the garden wall there (Section 12, Trench C). The garden appears to have been positioned beyond the farm buildings, rather than at the rear or flank of the principal house as was usual, to exploit the nearest undeveloped well-drained sunny slope, the farmstead having been laid out previously at the site of the medieval chapel by the river crossing at the foot of the castle hill.

This will have been a more attractive spot for the walled garden than the site to which it was later extended - the lower end of the next field to the south, named Above Town (these fields were later amalgamated). The ground in the latter place was significantly steeper (Fig 7), and more cut off from the mansion by the Barton farmstead. The area of the primary walled garden is almost exactly half an acre.

Interestingly, because tending to suggest conformity to a customary or ideal size for a high-status early kitchen garden, this area is closely comparable to that of an earlier plot beside and aligned with the mansion, interpreted as the medieval garden of the guardians keeping the chapel of Trinity (Section 5.1; see also Section 4.7, for further comment comparing the early gardens of Restormel and Lanhydrock).

The map of 1755, Fig 8, generally depicts gateways, but does not record the access to the original garden as such, no doubt because this was not relevant to the wider layout of fields and tracks. However on the 1755 plan the south wall of the garden kinks a little further south at its east end, as if the surveyor decided while drawing to show it clear of the end of the farm buildings there, implying that there was an entrance approached past the south end of the barn, that is, in its present position.

The positioning of the entrance here, rather than at the other, north end of the slope behind the farmstead (the site which had been chosen for the farmhouse when it was found necessary to provide one in addition to the manor house), reflects the function and status of the kitchen garden. It was clearly for use by the residents of the mansion, who could reach it via their front lawn, or their earlier side garden. The 2010 surveyors found the gateway in the north west corner of the garden to be secondary, noting its inserted timber lintel (Berry and Thomas 2010, 11) now replaced by a brick arch. (This opening may have been made to admit a water supply for a pond; see Section 4.7.)

The 2016 excavations provide some further details of the base of the wall of the early garden, which became the central division between the two gardens, but which fell or was dismantled probably in the later 20th century into the adjoining side of the later garden, leaving a ridge of bricks some 2.5m wide along this (Section 12, Trenches C, D). The wall was found to have foundations of roughly coursed mortared rubble stone, standing on the larger stones or boulders projecting from its line, interpreted as the basal remains of the earlier boundary of the field in which this garden was built.

4.4 'Summer house', 1755-1787, possibly pre-1775

4.4.1 Form, function and relative chronology

The ruined brick structure in the centre of the top side of the walled gardens is a two-storey heated garden building, designed to entertain with the views from its first floor reached by side steps from the approach through the garden, with service from the ground floor which though accessed directly from the garden in front has no other openings. Its original name is not known; it is referred to as a summer house, though this term does not entirely capture its primary original function - as a little banqueting house commanding picturesque views rather than simply an ornamental shady refuge in the gardens. Structures of this kind elsewhere were sometimes described as 'prospect houses' around the time the Trinity building was made.

The building is not named, referred to or depicted in the old accounts of Restormel examined as part of this assessment, probably because it was a relatively small, mid-slope (so not widely prominent), private garden feature, and maybe because it had lost some visibility, as well as part of its original function as a viewpoint, when trees blocked its line of sight to the castle, perhaps after just a few decades (a possibility discussed in Section 5.2.4.2). (An early guidebook to the area mentions that 'Restormel House, a seat of the Sawles' has 'a very picturesque gate-house' - Tregellas 1878, 61 - but the structure meant was probably the superb 17th century gatehouse, not otherwise mentioned by the guide, at the neighbouring park of Lanhydrock. By 1878 the Agar-Robartes of Lanhydrock had a lease of Restormel, which may have contributed to the apparent confusion in the guidebook of the two estates.)

The summer house is inserted in the walling at the west corner of the primary walled garden mapped in 1755; and, as noted by Berry and Thomas (2010, 8), its existence by 1787 though not recorded as such is deduced from the depiction of the outline of the extended garden incorporating it on a map of that date included in their report.

As shown in the plan of 2010, the west wall of the southern garden abuts the summer house, so was built up to it (Fig 9). The surveyors consider that this garden wall was 'evidently added to the garden layout at the same time as the summer house' (Berry and Thomas 2010, 8). It is possible that, as this implies, the building of the southern garden wall, though technically separate from that of the summer house, followed on from the completion of the latter, essentially in the same phase. The brickwork of the two is similar, though the use of stone for the outer face of the garden wall attached to the summer house does give that wall a different character.



*Fig 9 West wall of the south garden ramped up to the ruined summer house
Note the ivy-filled feature at the highest surviving point of the wall (see below)*

It is also possible that the summer house marks a phase of improvement distinct from another represented by the extension of the garden beyond it and creation of a tree belt above. The 1755 map, Fig 8, shows that in the time before its building the farmland above the site lay in two fields, Barn Park and Above Town. As the garden was first enclosed from the 'homer' corner of Barn Park, the field boundary ran on from its original south west corner, slanting up the castle hill. The summer house may have been placed on the site of, rather than just beyond, the south end of the primary garden's upper, west wall, so that the hedge bank above would not shut off from the building its intended view of the castle (see further below), and because removal of this hedgerow, and extension of the garden south of its line, were not envisaged at the time it was built, so are the result of further development of the landscape design.

A feature part fallen away in the ramped top of the garden wall south of the summer house (as noted by Anna Lawson-Jones and Gregory Lean) appears to be remains of an embattled wall-top (Fig 9). (The garden wall to its north, of the primary phase, may have had a matching finish added to it.) This may have been a device to tie the summer house, differently styled, to the extended garden, and to evoke the castle style of the rebuilt mansion, if, as is possible, the doubling of the garden is of a later phase than the summer house, close in date to the restyling of the mansion (Section 4.4.2).

The ruins of the summer house are fully described in the 2010 survey record. In summary, the building was 'two-storey with heated room spaces on both floors, served by fireplaces in the north wall. On the exterior south side is a flight of granite steps allowing access to the upper floor. As the site is effectively split-level with higher ground behind, the steps also allowed access to a doorway onto a path leading up to Restormel Castle....The downstairs room has a tiled solid floor while the upper floor was of timber planking....The ruins of the ground floor front windows suggest a tri-partite window arrangement, most likely repeated on the upper floor (where the principal view was to be enjoyed) and surmounted by a classical-style pediment' (Berry and Thomas, 2010). The evidence found for a Classical style was 'a formal plinth and significant remains of mid-floor string course' along with traces of a fallen shallow brick arch above the doorway just outside the upper room to the castle path above the gardens. The first floor windows provided extensive views across the valley (Fig 10).



Fig 10 View from behind the lost upper floor of the summer house (photo; Eric Berry)

As shown in the 2010 plan the only opening in the ground floor was the front, central double doorway with a window either side. The first floor, in contrast, had a window to the east similar in width to the doorway-and-windows below, large in proportion to the building, and a smaller window in a recess on the south. Another wide window on the first floor, opposite the front one, was deduced in 2010 from the extent of failure of the walling there; and this appears, blocked, in a photograph of c1900 (Fig 14).

The test trenches of 2016 revealed several other aspects of the building's character (see the excavation report forming Part II of this document, and the table of archaeological contexts in the Appendix, for details). It has foundations of differing quality - slight for the east wall south of the doorway, and more substantial for the east end of the main building's south wall, and for the walling south of the external steps (Section 12, Trenches E, J and K respectively). This variation reflects the siting of the structure on what was the boundary of two fields, where a steeper slope (part natural, part shaped by past ploughing) falls away from it in the former field to the south. Fragments of plaster, painted or lime-washed a creamy white, excavated from the ground outside the east front, were thought to represent its historic external finish (Trench E). No pieces of window tracery or lead came were uncovered. Much broken clear window glass, some thin and very probably original, was found around the building, both on and under the ground surface (Trenches E, F). Delabole or similar quality roofing slates visible in the rubble heap in front of the structure, together with a replacement one made of lead (Fig 11), and a single Delabole-type fragment found in the excavation itself, indicate that the roof was covered in this material (Trench E).



Fig 11 Lead 'slate' found in the 2016 excavations (scale bar divisions are 10cm)

The ground outside the east front was made up with brick or a mixture of brick and slate rubble (Trenches E, F). It was probably laid with slate slabs, a couple of which were noted elsewhere in the garden by the excavator. This platform was obscured by debris, but will have extended out from the building to the line of the east side of the western path in the south garden, the path there having been laid out as it was, well in from the garden wall there, to approach the summer house steps. Several finds – notably an oyster shell fragment, a potential corroded knife, and an (undiagnostic) dinner plate sherd – may be vestiges of rich meals served in the first floor of the building, though other explanations for these finds are possible (Trenches E, G).

The ruin's rear window in the first floor opened up a picturesque view of the medieval keep on the skyline, now overgrown but visible by parting tree branches (Fig 12). This would have combined with the access the summer house provided to the path to the castle, and any 'ancient' architectural detailing of its own structure (see further below), to give the building an antiquarian interest, despite its fairly small size. The siting of the building meant it provided these links between the Trinity grounds and the castle landscape without encroaching significantly on the barton land sub-let to the farmer.



Fig 12 View of keep from the summer house glimpsed through intervening branches

The 1805 map shows the tree belt above the gardens with a gap at the summer house, and with tapering of the belt to that point from the south west (Figs 13, 19). This frames a line of sight to the keep, confined to a 'burst' screened by the trees to either side which gave a forest character to the walk to the castle. (The walk did not run up to the castle from here, but followed the contour and then wound its way up through Castle Wood, probably re-using a medieval bridleway; Section 5.2.3.)



Fig 13 OS drawing, 1805, showing landscape design as well as earlier features

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4.4.2 Dating within the later 18th century

The dating currently available for the construction of the building, 1755-1787, means that it was made for one or the other of two successive tenants of Trinity House, as Restormel Manor was then known. The first, Thomas Jones, a successful attorney and twice deputy Sheriff of Cornwall, lived here from 1755 until he died in 1775. The second is William Masterman, Jones' business associate, and his heir through marriage with his niece. Masterman, a very prosperous self-made man, became a leading political agent in the region, was a Member of Parliament 1780-1784, and held the lease at Restormel until his death in 1786.

The history of the site, its landscape and residents over the period when the summer house was built is considered more fully in Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3. From the stories of Thomas Jones and William Masterman, it appears that the former is as likely to have built the summer house as the latter who is better-known partly since he features in Frances Hext's local history of 1891. Jones lacked Masterman's great wealth but had resources for work on this scale, an active interest in the castle as an antiquity, and an incentive to display his connection to this ancient seat of power in Cornwall to the landed gentlemen of the county with whom he worked as lawyer and officer of the Crown. Jones is also known to have had masonry works carried out at Restormel over a period of years around 1770. If, as suggested above, the summer house represents a separate phase from the extension of the walled garden and the opening up of the fields of the castle hill and the plantation along its base, it may be that the building was made for Jones, and the garden extension and wider landscape works for Masterman.

The summer house has lost most of its features which would probably have helped to date it more closely, as well as establish details of its style. As noted in Section 4.4.1, descriptions or images of it are lacking in antiquarian and other early accounts of Restormel. A photograph, a portrait of former tenant Mr Jennings, appears to capture the rear wall of the building and part of the gable above when it was still roofed, around 1900 (James Scott, pers comm). It shows a round headed to the first floor window, but no details of the window itself, the opening having been infilled (Fig 14).

The possibility that the structure was contemporary with or refers to one or both of two other major buildings at Trinity must be considered. These works are the rebuilding of the barn (a barn stood here by 1755, as indicated by the estate map of that date and by the field-name Barn Park recorded on this map), and the re-facing of the mansion.

Trinity's barn is built of brick, in a strong style with wide segmental arches for openings, including first-floor threshing-draught/loading doorways, and a striking series, running around its upper elevations, of tall and relatively broad (blocked) ventilation slits, unlike the sparse and narrow ones typical of barns elsewhere in the region (Berry, Parkes and Thomas 2010, 15). The barn is the principal building between the mansion and the garden, and features in the views from the summer house, being overlooked from its front door and (lost) first floor window. This, with the brick fabric used for both summer house and barn, might suggest that they are contemporary and shared elements of design, despite their very different functions. However building in brick at Restormel spans at least two major phases (the primary garden, and the summer house) and potentially two generations, and the barn openings and the known summer house one have differently shaped arches: so this is a possibility only.

The remodelled façade of the mansion has an 'embattled' parapet and arch headed windows - for further details see the full building record and analysis by Berry and Thomas (in Berry, Parkes and Thomas 2010, 15). The styling clearly refers to that of the medieval keep above (Fig 3), while also showing the influence of the Picturesque Gothic fashion developed at Strawberry Hill (Richmond upon Thames). This work is attributed to the late 18th century, but is not itself closely dated (tree-ring analysis of samples from roof timbers produced no firm dating evidence; Arnold and Howard 2007). A similar style may be seen in the outlying Restormel Cottage which served as a lodge on the eastern approach to the park. There is no evidence, though, that the style of the summer house referred to that of the re-modelled mansion, and, as noted above, there are possible indications that it relates to an earlier phase of improvements.



Fig 14 Photograph of tenant Mr John Jennings c1900, thought to show the rear of the summer house, with blocked, large, round-headed first floor window and gabled roof (photo courtesy of Joyce Kirk Jennings, great granddaughter of Mr Jennings)

4.4.3 Selected buildings comparable to the summer house

The summer house has lost its roof, frames and glazing of windows, doorways, fireplace surrounds and other details; and contemporary or other historic descriptions and images of its elevations are lacking, apart from the photograph of its rear wall forming Figure 14, taken c1900 when the opening in this wall was already blocked up. Several comparable buildings elsewhere in the region are therefore discussed briefly here, to shed further light on its historic character. Also noted are possible indications of a builder or architect for the Trinity work.

This project does not include in-depth documentary research or fieldwork for the comparative study, and most of the structures referred to, with their landscape settings, lack detailed recording and analysis, so could certainly be more thoroughly understood themselves – descriptions of views, and details of interiors, are generally lacking, for example. However, sites selected have known or likely connections to the commissioner of the summer house, and similarity of form, date, and function.

Apart from the Mount Edgcumbe folly - included because of close associations between its owner and the tenants of Trinity - these examples are also in settings similar to that of the summer house, on the edge of gardens, rather than in open parkland. All differ in scale and situation from the much more prominent hilltop 'eye-catcher' towers also fashionable in the later 18th century - though they overlap in terms of style and use with some of these, such as the castle-like Rogers Tower, set on a remote high summit in West Cornwall to 'borrow' a prehistoric fort there as a skyline feature and venue for excursions (Preston-Jones 2004).

4.4.3.1 Mount Edgcumbe 'Folly', c1747 (several phases)

Both possible creators of the summer house, Jones and Masterman, worked in the interests of the prominent Edgcumbe family of Mount Edgcumbe in the parish of Maker, south east Cornwall, with its extensive and famed landscape park by the River Tamar on the border of the county. (Masterman shifted away from Edgcumbe's patronage later in his career.) Jones and Masterman are known to have stayed at Mount Edgcumbe, and both directed restoration or clearance work at Restormel Castle (Sections 5.2.2, 5.2.3), so they shared some of the antiquarian and aesthetic interests of the lord of the Edgcumbe estate in their time, George, the 1st Earl (1721-1795). The Earl was part of the 'Strawberry Hill' set of Horace Walpole (Gaskell Brown 1998, 19) who developed the Gothic style used in the re-fronting of Trinity House.

Mount Edgcumbe's Folly is a fantasy ancient tower fragment, artificially 'ruined'. It features openings, notably the great window above a viewing platform facing the estuary, formed from an extraordinary assemblage of stonework derived from older buildings, giving the structure a strong romantic character (Berry and Herring 2005, 25-27). It pre-dates the summer house, originating from c1747, though it was made in several phases which are undated, including the insertion of steps to the platform giving views through the high window over the water (Berry and Herring 2005, 24-27). An occasion which may have triggered the construction of the platform is 'their Majesties' Journey to Weymouth and Plymouth' in 1789, when the Royal party stayed at Saltram (see below) and visited Mount Edgcumbe as well as the fleet at Plymouth (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1789, 1142), and may have viewed naval exercises from here.

The Mount Edgcumbe tower could have been constructed as many as 20 years before Trinity's summer house, and may have undergone adaptation to a prospect tower sometime after that. It also differs from the summer house in being built of stone, and set in open parkland on an estuarine headland, so serving as more of an 'eye-catcher' despite its mid-slope rather than hilltop location. Nevertheless, it was certainly familiar to the builder of the summer house and made for his principal patron. It is conceivable then that the summer house was ornamented like the Folly with re-used windows or doors. However, though re-used stones, probably from the mansion, occur in the walled gardens, these are fragments, are not in the summer house but in the secondary garden attached to it (following its construction or in a separate phase), and are not prominently set, most being in the outer face of the rear wall.

4.4.3.2 Saltram 'Castle', 1773

Saltram, Plympton St Mary, Devon, the seat of the Parker family, now a National Trust estate, lies just across the River Tamar from Mount Edgcumbe and is intervisible with it. The Parkers were close to the Edgcumbes, as is clear from their correspondence, and can be expected to have exchanged ideas on gardens. A letter of 1770 sent from their household, also mentioning a 'useful and beautiful improvement' which John Parker planned and looked forward to presenting to his brother-in-law Thomas Robinson (for whom see further below), is one of many referring to visits or stays by Parkers at Mount Edgcumbe, or by Edgcumbes at Saltram (BARS L30/14/333/64).

It is possible that the improvers of Trinity and Saltram were aware of each other's garden works, via the Edgcumbes or other connections. John Parker is not recorded in the sources consulted for this project as having business or other associations with Thomas Jones, but he was MP for Bodmin 1761-1762 before becoming an MP for Devon until 1784 when he was made a peer (History of Parliament Online), so probably knew Jones' successor at Trinity William Masterman, MP for Bodmin 1780-1784.

The 'Castle', Saltram's very well-preserved garden building, differs from Trinity's in that it has an octagonal plan, and, being on more level ground with a steep slope to one side, has a fully underground basement, opening from a side passage (Fig 15). It resembles the Trinity building closely, though, in its scale, position on the edge of the garden, and provision of views from a heated upper room. (The most striking view, over the Plym Estuary, is now obscured by trees, rather like that of Restormel's summer house.) Its finish is quite different, with painted roughcast render, but if the summer house was plastered externally as indicated by the excavation (Section 12, Trench E), the walling of the two may have had a similar effect. The fabric of the Castle includes brick, visible in parts of its parapet and in the basement, as well as stone.



Fig 15 Gothic garden prospect 'Castle' at Saltram; note the tunnel to the service room

The Castle is probably close to the summer house also in time, its construction, for John Parker II, being dated to 1773 (Historic England, Listed Building documentation). John became 2nd Baron Boringdon the following year, and the house and park were among the most admired in the county, the Royal Family staying for 12 days as guests in 1789 shortly after John II's death (Lysons and Lysons 1822, 412).

Records of the Castle indicate uncertainty as to its designer. Listed Building documentation for Saltram House states that Nathaniel Richmond (1724-1784) produced unexecuted plans for the Castle and that this was actually built to designs by Thomas Robinson, later Lord Grantham; while the Listing for the Castle itself suggests it may be by Henry Stockman (Historic England). A National Trust guide quotes a letter from Robinson approving plans for a chapel in the garden; identifies Stockman as an estate carpenter mentioned in a letter of 1773 when he contributed some input to Richmond's plans for the garden's Orangery; and notes that leading neoclassical architect Robert Adam (1728-1792) was commissioned to build a castle folly at Saltram, not apparently realised (Evans 2012, 29, 30, 32). However the purpose of the Castle, as well as its date, is indicated in a family letter dated 1771 observing that 'something must be done upon that spot' with its dramatic view of the river (*op cit*, 32). Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham, was John Parker's brother-in-law. He was a statesman from the Grey family, one of whose seats was Wrest in Bedfordshire (Lodge 1844, 156). A key feature of Wrest Park is the great Archer Pavilion, built 1709-1711 by architect Thomas Archer (Historic England, Listed Building documentation). This was built two generations before the Trinity and Saltram summer houses and is very different indeed from these in its grand scale and domed baroque style, but, like them, is a garden prospect house, with a service basement, and is likely to have informed the concept of the Saltram building via Robinson, whether he did design the latter or not.

The Castle, as its name implies, has a Gothic exterior (Fig 15), contrasting with that of the near contemporary Temple in the same garden. It features an embattled parapet, and ogee-arched openings. The doorway at ground level has a pair of three-panel doors, and the windows are 2-light and transomed with leaded plain glazing. The basement incorporates 16th or 17th century windows and doorway, presumably from the house (Listing documentation). The prospect room, however, has a highly ornamented Classical interior evoking that of the mansion (Fig 16). It has plasterwork in Adam style, chimney piece to a design by William Kent (1645-1748), copied from Inigo Jones (1573-1652), medallions, and a central circular moulding to the ceiling (National Trust Heritage Record 104008/MNA106309). Internal features of the basement, as well as its undergrounding and the side location of its entrance tunnel, show its service function and status; it has a niche suitable for storing bottles, and trapdoor to the room above.



Fig 16 Elements of the Classical decoration of the upper room of Saltram's Castle

4.4.3.3 Clowance 'Folly', possibly late 18th century

A garden building known as the Folly stands on the St Aubyns' estate of Clowance, in Crowan parish, west Cornwall. While of different fabric, being made of stone and some brick with dressed granite front and rear walls, the Folly is clearly comparable with the Trinity summer house in terms of setting, form and function.

However, the Folly is not closely dated, and may post-date the Trinity building. The Listing documentation dates it as *circa* early-mid 19th century but the evidence for this is not stated. The OS drawing of 1809 shows an enclosure in the vicinity which could be the original walled garden and/or an adjoining farmyard, but as the drawing is at a much smaller scale than that of the same map era covering the Restormel area, it is not possible to be certain from this whether Folly or indeed the garden at its site were already there (the Listing does not specify the chronology of the Folly relative to the garden walls). (An estate map of Clowance dated 1820 survives at CRO –reference R/5262 – but this was not accessible to view at the time of the project research, due to its fragmented condition.)

The Folly, like the Trinity building, stands on and projects a little from the perimeter of a complex of walled gardens at some distance from the House. The Crowan tithe map of 1840 indicates that, like the summer house, it is proud of the outer face of the garden wall as well as the inner, and also that the line of the boundary wall alters here, perhaps because this was formerly an outer corner of the garden. Again like the Trinity summer house the Folly (as described at the time of its Listing when it was in good disused condition though lacking roof and upper floor) has a square or rectangular plan, two storeys, a ground floor with separate entrance and window (here to the side and rear respectively), and a heated first floor room accessed from the garden up external steps (the steps here have original iron hand rails carried on stanchions, and run to a central doorway at the front, east side), featuring a tall window in the rear or park side.

Pett, noting the provision of a view over the garden from the Folly's first floor, suggests it was for use by a head gardener (1998, 61). However its quality, separate access to the first floor, view over the park to the mansion, and name (if original), all indicate a building with a high status, ornamental and recreational use here, as at Trinity. The style is Classical, with dressed granite pediments surmounting the front and rear walls, and, at either side of the front, screen walls with, midway to each, a half-dome headed niche, with brick arches over (Fig 17).



Fig 17 The Folly, Clowance (photo; Mr Ivor Corkell, Images of England website)

Clowance is also of interest for its association with an architect, Charles Rawlinson (1729-1785), who may have worked at Restormel (Section 4.4.4) – though he is not known to have any connection with the Folly. The architect rebuilt or rectified the front of Clowance House for Lady St Aubyn, in or about 1780 (Colvin 2008, 844).

4.4.4 Potential builder or architect at Trinity; Charles Rawlinson of Lostwithiel

The comparative study suggests Charles Rawlinson (1729-1785) may have been involved with improvements at Trinity. Rawlinson, a master joiner and building entrepreneur who became a designer, was local to Restormel, living in Lostwithiel. Both Jones and Masterman of Trinity had business dealings with him. Jones leased him part of Trinity Moors in 1769 (CRO G/1175), and rented out a house he had built in Lostwithiel in 1771 (CRO CF/1/1670). In 1779 Masterman, as mayor of Lostwithiel, granted the architect a lease of a newly erected dwelling there (CRO BLOS/82).

Several of Rawlinson's major works were at estates known to Jones and Masterman. In 1771-1775 he corresponded with Thomas Pitt, 1st Lord Camelford, on designs for a new, south wing for Boconnoc House (see Fig 1 for location) across the Fowey Valley (BL Add MS 69328). He remodelled with 'battlements' (later removed) the mansion at Catchfrench, St German's, for the Glanvilles (Pett 1998, 222). Thomas Jones was deputy Sheriff for the county in 1754 when John Glanville of Catchfrench was Sheriff (Section 5.2.2); Francis Glanville, son of John and successor to his estate on the death of his elder brother, married William Masterman's daughter Sarah (Jones' great-niece) in 1790 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1846. 206); and the Glanvilles like both Jones and Masterman were eminent in the legal profession (*ibid*).

The architect was granted a patent for slate roofing and published a book on the subject in 1772. His style was described in a 19th century memoir as 'dull' (Colvin 2008, 844) but the memorialist found his work at Catchfrench sufficiently notable to deplore the 'battlements', so this comment may be misleading. Drawings for rebuilding St Euny's Church in Redruth show a plain Georgian style (Fig 18), but this commission was early in his progression to designer (CRO P197/2/48). St Aubyn's Church built c1770 (later altered) in Devonport, Plymouth, for which he was the surveyor in charge and probably the designer, was described in 1830 as having a Doric portico (Brown 2009).

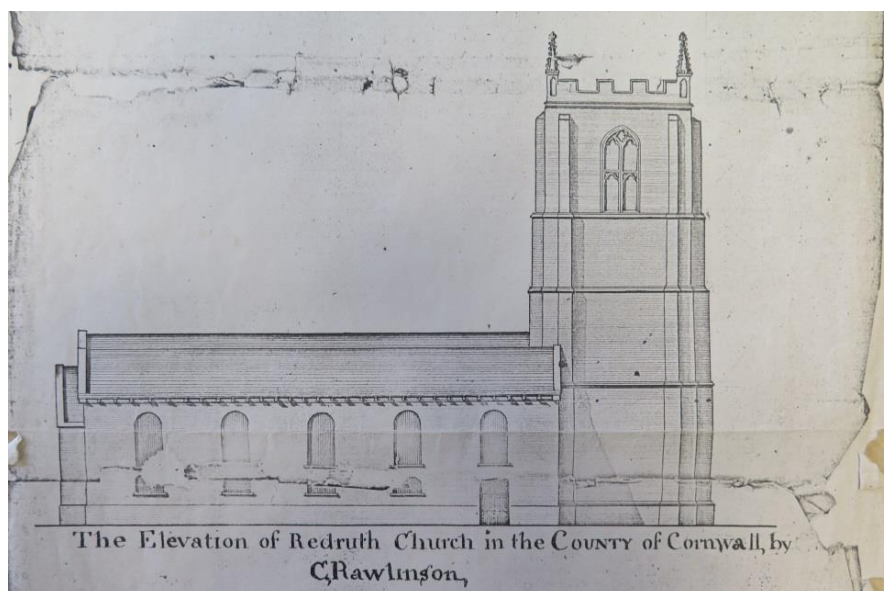


Fig 18 Design of 1756 for elevation of St Euny, Redruth, by Charles Rawlinson CRO P197/2/48; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office

As the St Euny drawings show, Rawlinson used round-headed arches, of interest for their similarity to that of the window in the probable photograph of the rear wall of the summer house (Fig 14), though not sufficiently distinctive to identify this as his work.

4.4.5 Résumé of possibilities for the design of the summer house

4.4.5.1 General design

- Details of the summer house recorded in the 2010 survey such as the alcove on the south in the upper room indicate how space inside it was used.
- Saltram's excellently preserved Castle is close to the Trinity summer house in date, form, function and setting, though octagonal in plan. It shows clearly the differentiation in character within such buildings between the 'prospect' room and the service room below, linked to it directly only by a trap door.
- The Saltram Castle illustrates well how such garden buildings, remote from the mansion with its library and other diversions, could offer a high level of ornamentation within a plainer exterior, in order to add the entertainment of 'reading' the decorations to that of appreciating views and landscape design. (Though the level of decoration of the Castle may be regarded as particularly sophisticated, evoking the integrated Adam interiors of Saltram House.)
- The Castle again shows that c1770, the fanciful diversity of style within one ornamental landscape, seen in gardens with contemporary 'castles' and 'temples' (as at Saltram itself), could also be deployed within a single building.
- Links to the tenants of Trinity suggest that Charles Rawlinson of Lostwithiel may be the architect of the summer house, though the evidence is circumstantial. However, documentation of the range and detail of his designs is poor.

4.4.5.2 Gothic style

- The summer house had a designed view to the medieval keep above, which might suggest it had elements of the 'castle' style seen in the Saltram prospect house. However, the Trinity building also overlooked the differently styled rebuilt barton barn, possibly, but not certainly, close to it in date.
- The photograph of c1900, thought to show part of the summer house on the western, castle side, indicates that here at least it did not have an embattled top, and had round headed openings contrasting with the 4-centred arches of the mansion below which may be of a later phase in the 18th century (and also with the ogee arches at Saltram).
- If the ramped garden wall attached to the south side of the summer house was crenelated as it appears from its decayed top, this finish could have been picking up elements of 'castle' style from the summer house; alternatively, though, it could have been introducing this to link the gardens to the re-designed mansion.
- The builder of the summer house was a protégé of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe and knew the romantic earlier Folly at Mount Edgcumbe, incorporating medieval architectural features. Though the two buildings differ significantly in form and possibly in date, the style of the Folly might be thought to have influenced that of the summer house; there is no structural evidence to support this conjecture, but ornamental carpentry, glazing, leadwork and so on may have been lost.

4.4.5.3 Classical style

- The 2010 surveyors record indications of a Classical style, and, on the basis of the tri-partite arrangement of openings on the ground floor, compare the summer house to the central bay of Palladian stables at Pengreep, Gwennap (Berry and Thomas 2010, 38). The comparative study of other garden prospect houses indicates that the summer house is likely to have been more ornamental than this bay, designed as one part of a grandly functional estate building.
- The Clowance Folly resembles the summer house in form, function and setting, and provides an example of a Classical exterior for such buildings, with a gabled roof and pediment of the kind proposed by the 2010 surveyors, and niches which may hint at lost ornamentation. However it is poorly dated, and may be early 19th century (and may not be part of Rawlinson's work at Clowance). It also shows adaptation of the style to granite ashlar, not used at Trinity.

4.5 Extended garden, 1755-1787, possibly post-1775

The dating of the extension of the walled garden to the south, with the alternative interpretations of this as either essentially contemporary with the summer house or part of a later phase of works, is discussed above (Section 4.4.1), as is possible (unrealised) provision for glasshouses on its upper, west side (Section 4.2). Other notable historic features of this southern garden are a glasshouse on a more central, lower site, and later buildings to the south (Section 4.6).

The second walled garden is very similar in size to the first, but this may be fortuitous in that it fills the space remaining between the latter and the road to the south. The garden here is considerably steeper, sloping south as well as east, so may have been made more to increase capacity for produce, for the table and for display, than for recreation. This would be consistent with it having been made for William Masterman, who had a larger household, and who also had extensive alternative ornamental walks laid out, across the river to the east of the mansion (Section 5.2.3).

4.6 Other garden buildings

A small square or rectangular plan single-storey brick building survives as a ruin by the steps on the main approach to the gardens. It is built against the outside of the south end of the east wall of the north garden, and is shown on the 1805 OS mapping (Fig 19), so may have been made in the late 18th century. Being to the side of the garden entrance, and plastered inside, it may have been a gardeners' shed, perhaps with a south window to light the potting up of plants and so on.

A much larger building, L-shaped in plan, was set south of centre in the secondary garden at some time between 1813 and 1839 when it appears on the tithe survey (Fig 43). The structure must have been on a levelled platform as its main axis ran east-west across the slope (cut away here relatively recently to make way for a large farm building; see Fig 46). The OS revision of 1907 shows a structure in the same spot, with minor alterations to its footprint, using cross-hatching to indicate it was glazed (Fig 45).

It is probable that this was a glasshouse from the start, with a furnace or potting shed behind to one side completing the original L-shaped plan. It is not hatched to show glazing on the survey of 1881 (Fig 44), but omission of the hatching convention for known conservatories, etc., has been observed by the writer elsewhere in the region on this first edition large scale map. It was not a farm building, since as shown by the 1839 tithe schedule the gardens and the house with its little side shrubbery and front lawn were held by the Hexts, while the farmer (John Varcoe in 1839) had the farmstead with its yard and mowhay. A glasshouse was a standard feature of the substantial, highly developed walled gardens of the early Victorian period, and both John Hext, tenant of Restormel when the building was first recorded, and his successor Charles Sawle, were actively involved in horticultural improvement (Section 5.2.4).

Berry and Thomas, discussing this site, note that repair of a glasshouse at Restormel Manor is recorded in 1859 (2010, 11), suggesting, though, that this was sited immediately west of the mansion rather than in the walled garden. However, the buildings west of the house, also shown on the 1839 map (Fig 43), were small, and resemble privy/wash houses, rather than prestigious early glasshouses, in that they were convenient yet concealed by the small shrubbery immediately in front of them.

A range at the south end of the gardens, also removed for the modern farm shed there, was begun with a central building dating from the period between the survey of 1853-1869 (which is quite likely to have been drawn up in connection with it) and the mapping of 1881; it was extended by the time of the map revision of 1907. It does not appear on the plan of 1864 (Fig 23), but the central building, with or without the western one added to it, may have been made by then, as the plan does not include the whole of its site. These buildings, convenient to the lane if provided with doors on the side, and rather out-of-the-way for the core of the garden, may have been for farm use, or conceivably functional garden stores for produce or perhaps for wood ash to fertilise beds, brought from the numerous hearths and ovens in the old manor house.

4.7 Garden beds, possible water feature, and planting

The garden was covered in rough grass by the time of the survey of 2010. Changes in ground level in the northern third of the north garden, modified by later cultivation, mark some of the layout recorded on the OS drawing of 1805. Such drawings, precursors of the first edition OS 1 inch map, were typically made at a scale of 2 inches to the mile. That for the Fowey district, including Restormel, was drawn at the larger scale of 3 inches, so provides a very useful early record of the Trinity grounds (Fig 19).

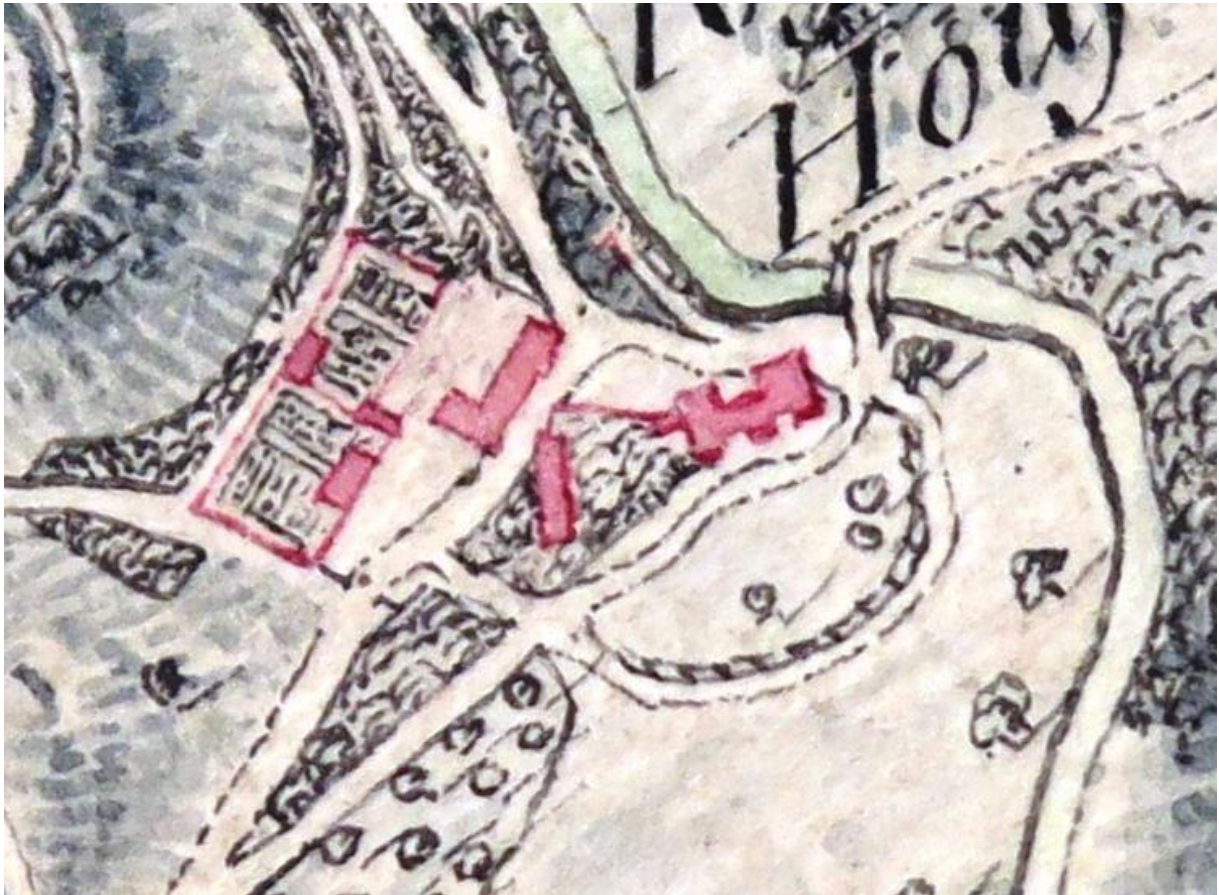


Fig 19 Detail of the grounds at Restormel as shown on the 1805 OS drawing

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Besides much else of great interest, including the 'ha-ha' fence of the lawn in front of the mansion, the drawing records the layout of the walled garden, including;

- Summer house on the west (shown rather large, perhaps a reflection of its high status)
- Garden structure on the east, projecting from the enclosure, close to the farmstead and probably the gardeners' main working building
- The central wall, formerly the south boundary of the primary, northern garden, retaining its integrity
- Perimeter paths, and central paths running down the slope, in each garden
- Plots laid out both along and across the slope (probably schematic to a degree)
- A feature in the north west corner, potentially a pond (see further below).

The 1805 surveyor's rendering of the north west corner of the complex is of particular interest, capturing a potential early ornamental focus of the interior of the garden. He depicts a sub-rectangular feature with its longer axis running along the slope, shaded not red but black so not a building and probably sunken, and surrounded by a pathway (possibly crossed by channel/s, but this is not clear).

While the scale of the drawing, though greater than usual, is rather too small to allow positive identification, this appears to be a pond, both ornamental with its surrounding path, and useful for dipping garden water. The leat supplying water to Trinity's farmstead passed by on the other side of the garden wall (see Fig 6). Water may have been brought from this by a covered channel under the doorway in the north end of the wall. That doorway is identified in the 2010 survey as secondary, so a pond fed in this way would post-date the original layout of the garden. Ornamental ponds elsewhere in Cornwall with a regular rectangular plan tend to date from the mid-18th century or earlier (Parkes 2007), though this applies more to the larger garden ponds or parkland lakes. The leat above Trinity does not appear on the 1755 survey, so if a pond, the garden feature mapped in 1805 was made after 1755, perhaps for Thomas Jones.

As noted in Section 4.2 beds also ran around the foot of the walls. Prolific small holes in the inner faces of the walling, some with remains of iron nails, reflect the use of these high, regular, warm surfaces to grow espalier fruit trees, vines or other climbers. Excavation on the west side of the north garden found marked differences in the buried soils either side of the perimeter path; the soil in the bed at the foot of the wall was darker yet lacking in artefacts, so probably well fed with farm manure to nurture the fruit (Section 12, Trench H).

The primary walled garden, being roughly half an acre like the earlier garden by the west side of the house (Sections 4.3, 5.1), will have meant that - if the latter was maintained as a productive plot until after the walled garden was extended, then becoming purely ornamental as the 1805 map indicates - the two provided kitchen garden ground of about one acre. An acre or so was the size of the early kitchen garden of nearby Lanhydrock, now greatly changed but depicted in some detail on an estate atlas of c1695 (the atlas surveyor is particularly likely to have been representational rather than schematic in his record of this site at the core of his client's home manor).

The early walled garden may have been similar to Lanhydrock's with its spinal and edge paths linked by half a dozen others to either side of the spine defining five pairs of beds (Herring 2010, 32). Pears may have thrived here, as they apparently did at Lanhydrock, where the atlas shows two separate pear gardens. Of course, the considerable slope at Trinity will have required adaptation; the side paths, running across the contour, may have been more for gardeners' access than for recreational walking. The slope here may have contributed to the persistence of a framework of this kind with relatively little change through the dawn of OS mapping in 1805 (see above).

The barton leat above the gardens, already mentioned in connection with the probable garden pond, will have supplied water for beds on its way from the north around the castle hill to the extant mill pond, used to power farm machinery, by the road below the gardens. Large scale maps such as that of c1890 (Fig 6) show an interesting kink in the leat above the summer house at the south west corner of the primary garden. This might be an indicator of a water supply to the garden taken off from that point, but could simply reflect a contrivance to provide drinking water for livestock in each of the two fields in which the slope above formerly lay, divided by a hedge bank at this point.

The first edition large-scale OS map of 1881 depicts a row of fruit trees running down the slope in the north garden (Fig 44). No orchard trees appear on the 1907 OS map revision (Fig 45), but this cannot be taken as indicating that there were none, as the 25 inch map revision, unlike the first edition, does not record individual trees. Several post-1881 apple trees are plotted on the 2010 survey; grafts from these have been taken from these to allow regeneration (James Scott, pers comm).

Both gardens have slight hollows indicating other possible sites of trees; these are not shown as such on the 1881 map or the 2010 survey, so if real will be either considerably older than 1881, or planted after that but removed before 2010. Trees covering the site can be seen in mid-20th century photographs (Fig 3). The 2016 excavations found the edge of a deeper area of soil, possibly an infilled tree hole, by the centre of the north wall of the north garden (Section 12, Trench A). If there was a tree there, it may have been relatively recent - or pre-garden - as it would appear awkwardly situated relative to the perimeter path indicated by the c1890 map.

From the 19th century, there are indications of some of the produce likely to have been grown in the gardens and glasshouse here. An overview of this evidence, with the nature of its relevance to Restormel, is provided below; it is set out with full references in the course of the chronological discussion of the gardens, Section 5.

1800 *Early in the tenancy of the Hexts, active in local horticultural societies*

- The walled garden at Trinity had apple tree/s of an early fruiting variety (unnamed), producing fruit at this time so clearly established in the later 18th century or earlier.
- Apple varieties 'in the orchard' at Restormel, probably the large farm orchard south of the gardens, were 'Duffin, Woodcock, Gull, Red Aromatic, New Town Pippin, Red Shanked Buckland, [and] Stubland.'
- Apple trees elsewhere, admired by the family resident at Restormel, included a specimen named July Flower at Lord Falmouth's Tregothnan estate, and a tree known by the same name but found to bear different apples at Mr Rashleigh's Menabilly near Fowey.

1829 *In the Hext period, but relating to the Gregors, who lived here c1790*

- Various fruit trees are known to have been chosen for cultivation at Trewarthenick (near Tregony, east of Truro) by or on behalf of members of the Gregor family of that estate, after they were resident at Restormel. These were 'Golden Drop Apple Trees...Peaches or Nectarine Trees [including] the Catharine Peach for preserving....pears, Six Duke [?] and May Duke Cherries, 3 Morello Cherries'.

1833 *Near the mid-point of the Hexts' half-century at Restormel*

- John Hext's bundle of turnips from Restormel won second prize in its class in the vegetable section of the eastern show of the prestigious, county-wide Royal Cornwall Horticultural Society.

1844 *Shortly before the tenancy of CGB Sawle, horticultural society president*

- Flowers from Restormel (unspecified) were among those supplied by local gentry for their stand at a garden society show. Gooseberries were also noted and had been promoted by the society since its inception in 1830, though the places where these fruits were grown are not mentioned.

1861 *Towards the end of the Sawle's time at Restormel*

- Exhibits at a local garden show, which C.B.G. Sawle attended and addressed as president, included pineapples, Black Hambro and Muscat grapes, and melon.
- Among the flowers admired at the same show, produced by professional nurserymen, were dahlias, verbenas, petunias, hollyhocks, china asters, carnations, and cut roses.

5 Historical development, functions and context

This part of the report presents a summary of the story of the place and its people from medieval times as currently understood, focussing on the development and use of the gardens.

Note dates given for lessees in the sub-headings here are those of their known or potential periods of residence at Restormel, rather than their lifespans.

5.1 Restormel and Trinity before the walled gardens

In the medieval period the site of the walled gardens lay in the deer park, the largest in Cornwall, belonging to Restormel Castle, acquired by Richard Earl of Cornwall in 1268 (Berry, Parkes and Thomas 2010, 54). The earldom was raised to a dukedom in 1337/1338, when Edward the Black Prince became the first Duke of Cornwall, and the manor has remained in the Duchy ever since (*op cit*, 110). This part of the park was known at the time as Trinity, after a chapel which stood below the garden site, by the bridge over the Fowey, probably on the east part of the footprint of the later mansion; Trinity was a hermitage, endowed by the Earl (Ashbee 2015). 'At the foot of the hill in Restormel Park, there formerly stood an ancient chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, from which circumstance the name became general....so that in common language the whole district was known by no other name than Trinity' (Hitchins and Drew 1824, 394).

Restormel Park was dis-parked around 1540 (Berry, Parkes and Thomas 2010, 115). The manor was leased in 1559 to the Earl of Bedford (Twycross 1846, 8). In 1627 'premises' here were let 'by L.P.' [Letters Patent] of 11th May, with 3 acres of wood to Mr John Samuel, 'for 90 years on the lives of Mary (60) his w[ife] and William (dec) and John (dec). their sons....Exceptions: the castle, great trees, woods, underwoods....' (Pounds 1982, 111-112). These premises comprised 'The Park of Restormell and Trinity Chapel within the precincts of the said Park' (NA, E 367/1564).

Two decades later, during the Civil War, Trinity was fought over for its river passage linking the castle, now ruined but temporarily re-fortified, and the important Beacon Hill commanding Lostwithiel (Coate 1933, 145-146). After the Civil War, Restormel Park with Trinity Chapel passed to the Arundells of Lanherne, St Mawgan-in-Pydar, through the marriage of Sir John Arundell with Ann, widow of John Trevanion. John, the son of Charles Trevanion of Caerhayes, served as colonel in the Royalist army until his death in service at the siege of Bristol in 1643 (Warrant Books: January 1709 1-10, Calendar of Treasury books Vol 23 1709, Reference Book VIII, p.346).

The Trinity lease was granted to Richard and Nicholas Arundell by Charles II on his Restoration in 1660 (CRO CF/1/1470), and accounts relating to Trinity Barton appear in the Arundell archive from 1661 (CRO catalogue). Hearth tax returns for Lanlivery in 1664 record a house in the parish held by Sir John Arundell, Knight, with 8 hearths in use (Forebears website; entry transcribed by Pauline Pickup). The large number of hearths indicates a mansion, and this may be Trinity. (The Lanherne Arundells *had* held another manor in Lanlivery, Bodardle, but had sold it c1618-1620; Fox and Padel 2000, xxxi.)

The lease, held for the term of the lives of members of the Trevanion family, was renewed in 1675 (Warrant Books: January 1709 1-10, Calendar of Treasury books Vol 23 1709, Reference Book VIII, p.346). An entry of the demise of 1675 to Sir John Arundell, Kt., of Lanherne, Cornwall, of Restormel Park records 'three acres of wood and a chapel called Trinity chapel' there (Calendar of Treasury Books Vol 4, 1672-1675, February [1?] 1675). During the period from around 1679 to 1684, however, Sir John, a Catholic, was outlawed for treason, and lived in exile in St Germain, France (CRO AR/25/35-48; Warrant Books: January 1709 1-10, Calendar of Treasury books Vol 23 1709, Reference Book VIII, p.346). In 1701 Sir John, the last male heir of the Arundells, died, and Richard Trevanion, grandson of Ann, petitioned for a fresh lease of 'the disparked park of Restormel and the ruins of an old building called Trinity Chapel

parcel of the Duchy and in the County of Cornwall' (Calendar of Treasury Books Vol 16, 1700-1701, December 17th 1701).

An appointment and lease dated 1674 mentions 'orchards and gardens', as well as buildings and fields, 'called or known by the name of Trinity Chapell' (CRO CF/1/1470), and these are mentioned again in a lease of 1717 (Section 5.2.1). However the gardens (plural) referred to are gardens in several farms within the wider Park, rather than at Trinity alone, as can be seen where they occur in generic phrases such as the 'all....Lands Tenements Meadows Pastures Yards Orchards Gardens' of the 1717 lease. A combination of map- and other documentary evidence indicates that in the mid-17th century, when it passed to the Arundells, Restormel had only one garden, and its westerly walled garden was not yet made. A parliamentary survey of Restormel dated 1649/1650 specifies that 'The scite consists of one garden, one hop-yard, two orchards, one courtyard and divers other outyards about the same house....' (Pounds 1982, 111). All these elements of the grounds listed in 1649/1650 can be located with a high degree of confidence, through analysis of the detailed estate map made in 1755 (Fig 8), as follows;

- The 'one' garden is considered to be that plotted in 1755 immediately west of Trinity, east of the farm buildings. This was recorded as Little Garden, plot 1093, in the survey of 1839 (Fig 43). Already by the time of the 1805 drawing (Fig 19) it had been truncated on the west for a building, probably a stable and coach house (which itself made way for the model farm courtyard c1864 – see Fig 23), and had been opened up on the south; but it was still an intimate garden with little paths and planting. The former enclosure on this site can be seen to be early (though perhaps altered in several phases), occupying a primary position relative to the farm buildings, even to the adjoining west wing of the house. It may have been attached to the medieval hermitage chapel, provided for the priests there when the area lay in a hunting park where any unenclosed garden crops would be subject to the depredations of deer.
- The 'hop-yard' or hop garden was most probably the little enclosure on the east bank of the Fowey just across the bridge from Trinity, planted as an orchard by 1755 (Fig 19). Hop-gardens, very similar to this in their plans, scale and riverside locations, are recorded on the Lanhydrock Atlas of c1690, at nearby Cutmadoc, for example (Herring 2010, 32).
- The 'two orchards' are thought to have lain to the south east of the house where a very large farm orchard is recorded on the 1805 map (Fig 13). Its irregular outline mapped at that time and later, and also traces of earlier sub-division recorded by the NMP, indicates this formerly lay in more than one enclosure. (The early walled garden is not thought to be one of the 'two orchards', for two reasons – it will have been walled for cultivation and recreation, not cider-apple growing; and the brick, used to wall it, would have been limited in early 17th century Cornwall to structures with the very highest status.)

The same 1649/1650 survey, which refers to the Castle as the ('utterly ruined') manor house, records the mansion that inherited the keep's function as the chief settlement of Restormel in some detail as 'All that farme house commonly known by the name of Trinity House, consisting of two halls, one kitchen, one larder, one pantrie and one dayrie house below staires; over the said rooms are eight little chambers....house and outhouses are in great decay and out of repaire.'

Of particular interest here for the present study is the statement that Trinity too was neglected and in disrepair. This, with the 1701 reference to the 'ruins' of Trinity noted above, indicates that during the second half of the 17th century, while Trevanions petitioned for the lease, the post-medieval barton continued in use with its 'one garden' and orchard enclosures, and no further significant development of the grounds. While cider was made on a large scale by the farmer at Trinity, to supply the lessee, provision farm labourers, and to market, as indicated by several entries in the 1700-1701 accounts for sales of one or more hogsheads of 'sider' (CRO AR/3/425), there may have been no need for a large prestigious new kitchen garden.

5.2 Creators and curators of walled gardens and summer house

5.2.1 Sawles of the Strand and their kitchen garden, 1717-c1755

In 1717 the lease of Trinity passed from John Trevanion of Caerhays to Francis Sawle (CRO CF/1/1473, 1474). Francis was a younger son of Joseph Sawle of Penrice, St Austell, and Amy, née Trevanion, daughter of Ann Arundell and her first husband, Colonel John Trevanion (Geni website). Francis Sawle died in 1732 (*ibid*) and his son, Richard Sawle, possessed the lease of Restormel in 1733 (Hext 1891, 216). Richard Sawle still held the lease in 1750 (CRO CF/1/1475), but sold it a few years afterwards to Thomas Jones (Section 5.2.2).

The north half of the walled garden, representing its original extent, appears in outline on the detailed map of 'Restormell Park otherwise called Trinity' and other lands 'belonging to Mr Thomas Jones' (CRO ME/2393), made in 1755 (Fig 8). This is the first record of the garden known at present – though it is possible that maps or other documents in the Duchy of Cornwall archive, not seen for this assessment, may refer to or imply its presence at an earlier date. Early 18th century images of Restormel feature the Castle – mostly from the approach to the keep on the west, like the Buck brother's print of 1734 (CRO AD151/11), though a 1727 drawing of 'Restormel Castle and Park' by Edmund Prideaux is taken from the north (Harris 1964, plate 91) – and these views do not capture the mansion and its garden.

The estate map of 1755 was made at or around the time of Thomas Jones' purchase of the lease from the Sawles, so the primary walled garden was enclosed *before* Jones' time at Trinity. Bearing in mind the suggested *terminus post quem* of 1649-1650 based on the parliamentary survey of that date (above), it seems probable that the garden was first made for the Sawles, perhaps for Francis not long after he took the lease in 1717, rather than in the Edegcumbe/Trevanion period when the lease was disputed and Trinity House was decayed so possibly occupied by the farmer some of whose accounts survive.

Both Francis and Richard Sawle were merchants based in London. The 1717 lease specifies that Francis was a woollen draper of St Mary le Savoy (St Mary le Strand), and Richard was in the same business and parish in 1761, when he was declared bankrupt (*General Evening Post*, August 4th, page 1). Richard Sawle was also stated as being 'of St Mary le Strand' in 1750, when he had an agreement drawn up to allow two tanners local to Restormel to work the valley floor there for alluvial ore (CRO CF/1/1475).

This might perhaps suggest that the Sawles had more interest in exploiting the landscape of Trinity than in laying out or developing its grounds (CRO CF/1/1475). Nevertheless, Francis' forebears, the Sawles of Penrice, were very long established Cornish gentry (Gilbert 1820, 260). (Francis Sawle is said to have been the great-great-grandfather of Charles Brune Graves-Sawle, who was tenant of Restormel in the mid 19th century before inheriting Penrice - Hext 1891, 221 and footnote –though this appears to be a simplification of the descent.)

Francis and Richard may have been resident here with their households for summer seasons, or for longer periods. They may have required a kitchen garden to provide both fruit and other garden produce for family and guests, and also for sunny strolls for visitors out of sight of the tinworks; such gardens, like that at nearby Lanhydrock recorded at a similar period, being high-status, diverse private places for recreation and display, rather than simply productive plots (see Sections 4.3, 4.7).

The gardens of Penrice where Francis grew up might have been a source of ideas for the primary walled garden at Restormel; however the grounds there were subject to decay and then alteration before the later 18th century (Pett 1998, 160), the period when their early form might otherwise have been recorded by early maps and travellers' accounts. The 1842 tithe survey of the parish, St Austell, shows a walled garden there resembling that of Trinity in size at around 0.6 of an acre, but archaeological research would be needed to reveal its origins and any features of interest for Trinity – the 1842 survey shows only a central transverse path within it and the 1881 OS map and aerial photographs add little to this.

5.2.2 Jones retires by the 'composing constant rush of the Fawy', 1755-1775

Thomas Jones Esq practised law at St Austell, bought the lease of Trinity from Richard Sawle, and lived there until his death in 1775 at the age of 65 (Hext 1891, 101, 216). A memorial tablet to Thomas Jones, recording that he 'retired to Trinity', is preserved in St Austell church, over the doorway to the Chapel of St Michael, known locally as the Lady Chapel (Hammond 1897, 148-149).

An early wider history of mansions and gardens gives the year of Jones' purchase as 1756 (Twycross 1846, 8). He may have been in possession of the lease before that. The legend to the estate plan of 1755 (Fig 8) states that it shows 'Restormell Park otherwise called Trinity' and other lands 'belonging to Mr Thomas Jones' (CRO ME/2393); while a document in the Pipe Office relating to the lease to 'Jones, Thomas, gent' of 'the farm of all that the Park of Restormel, a chapel called Trinity Chapel in the precinct of the said Park' is dated 1753 (NA E 367/7149). In any case, Jones took up residence in the Park in the middle of the century or a few years after this, being styled 'late of St Austell, but now of Trinity' in 1758 (CRO T/942).

Through his professional practice Thomas Jones developed working relationships with Cornish gentry and with the very influential and wealthy George Edgcumbe (1st Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, 3rd Baron Edgcumbe, 1st Viscount Valletort) of Mount Edgcumbe with its great landscape park by Plymouth Sound, which George was painted displaying in a portrait of c1762 at Cotehele House also in east Cornwall. Jones was admitted one of the Capital Burgesses of Lostwithiel in October 1757 (Hext 1891, 100), allowing him to represent the Edgcumbe interest there as borough agent. The attorney continued serving Edgcumbe and his other clients, and visiting their estates, after his 'retirement' to Trinity; in mid-September 1765, for example, he was staying at Mount Edgcumbe on business, while corresponding with Lewis Tremayne of Heligan (CRO T/2297).

Jones, then 'of St Austell', was Under Sheriff of Cornwall in 1754, when John Glanville of Catchfrench was High Sheriff (Gilbert 1820, 357). In 1761, Jones, now living at Trinity, served as Under Sheriff again, this time as deputy to Nicholas Kemp of Rosteaque (*ibid*). The Sheriff's office was a demanding as well as honourable one, involving ceremonial costs, and expenditure on hospitality for some of the county's leading inhabitants, officials and dignitaries (Ivall 1992, 174-175). Deputy Sheriff Jones seems to have been comfortably, though not remarkably, wealthy; he enjoyed an estate of 'somewhat about £150 per annum' according to a well-informed local contemporary, the Reverend Forster of Boconnoc Parsonage, writing around the time of Jones' death (Nichols 1828, 861-862).

Rev Forster also recorded his great appreciation of the vale of Restormel enjoyed by Jones; 'if I could envy any thing, I could envy Trinity with its composing constant rush of the Fawy through its grounds' (*ibid*). The old attorney Jones himself had an interest in landscape and antiquities; in William Borlase's *Antiquities* survey of the county in 1754, Trinity was marked on the map of Cornwall, and Restormel Castle was featured and illustrated, and Jones subscribed to Borlase's *Natural History of Cornwall* of 1758.

Jones demised part of the demesne lying to the east, across the river, along with the Barton of Polmaughan, to farmer Richard Stephens in 1772 – specifying with his lawyer's precision that Stephens was allowed the Little Orchard on the east bank of the river, probably the hop-garden of the 1649/1650 survey (visible in Fig 8). The attorney reserved for his own pleasure and sport 'the Grounds and [tree] Nursery', warren and fowling marshes, with access ways serving those areas and linking them to his 'Mansion House of Trinity'. Jones also excepted from the lease 'Fir and other Forest trees, *to be Planted,*' (my italics).

These plantings were probably in or by Castle Wood, curving round and up the hill to the north to reach the castle. As shown on the plan of 1755, the inner end of the wood was then a narrow tail by the river; it was broadened by a plantation reaching up to the top side of the walled garden for Jones and/or his successor Masterman, appearing on the OS drawing of 1805 (Fig 13).

The castle itself was the focus of Jones' improvements. He had the striking profile of the castle keep on its spur painted large at the head of the map of Trinity made on his acquisition of the lease from the Duchy (Fig 20), and carried out various estate works to 'improve' the castle landscape and enhance experiences of it for his visitors. In particular he 'was at a considerable expence [sic] in clearing the building [the keep] from the rubbish and bushes with which it was encumbered and over-run this venerable piece of antiquitybefore had, for time out of mind, been abandoned to the depredations of the under-tenants' (Grose 1783, 39).



Fig 20 Profile drawing of Restormel Castle on Thomas Jones' estate map of 1755 CRO ME/2393; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office

Jones' improvements also included building work at Trinity. In 1818, a mason of Lostwithiel, William Matthews the Elder, questioned by local justices regarding his parish of legal settlement, deposed that he had served an apprenticeship with Thomas Jones Esq of Restormel 'for the space of seven years or upwards', after which at the age of 22 he had bound himself apprentice to Gregory Nance, mason of Bodmin, before moving on to work for a Mr Philp of Lostwithiel (CRO P128/13/4/60). Matthews stated age in 1818, 'about sixty two years', together with the other details of his account, indicates that he was working for Jones around 1770, when just 15 or so years old. From the mason's evidence, together with the known date of Thomas Jones' death, it appears that building works were under way at Trinity in the period from c1768 until c1775.

Jones' masonry works could have been in his house, or his garden, or both. As established from the evidence of old maps and of the structures themselves, the summer house was built between 1755 and 1787, with the secondary walled garden added to it either as part of the same building programme or in a later one (Section 4.4.1). The summer house and second garden phase/s may then be attributed either to Jones or to his successor at Trinity, William Masterman. At present, though, it seems likely that the summer house was built for Jones, its design allowing him to admire and present to visitors views of both 'the rush of the Fawy' and the 'venerable' castle ruin, exploited by Masterman through the wider appropriation as an ornamental landscape of the demesne east of the river, which had been let by Jones to farmer Stephens.

5.2.3 Masterman deploys his 'very independent fortune' at Trinity, 1775-1786

Thomas Jones' niece, Loveday Sarah Luke, married attorney William Masterman (1722-1786), son of a tanner and small landowner in Yorkshire, who prospered in business as partner and then successor to her father William Luke (Hext 1891, 177, 215, 216; History of Parliament website). Attorney Masterman was a political agent, and was Clerk of the Council and Registrar of the Duchy Court of Lancaster in 1762 (*ibid*). He was 'of Red Lion Square, Middlesex' (Holborn, London) in 1772 (LMA ACC/1272/005) but was active in the Restormel area by 1774 when he was Mayor of Lostwithiel (Hext 1891, 178). Jones bequeathed the lease of Restormel, held for the term of three lives, to Masterman, who lived at the mansion. Masterman went on to be Lostwithiel mayor again in 1779 and 1783, and late in his career (1780-1784) was MP for Bodmin; he died c31st July 1786 (History of Parliament Online). Like Jones, he worked in the interests of the wealthy and influential Edgcumbe family, and stayed at Mount Edgcumbe, writing from there on estate business in 1784 (PWDRO 81/H/1/75).

Masterman had, as a contemporary put it, 'a very independent fortune' (quoted in Christie 1970, 240). To his profits from practicing law in Holborn Court, Gray's Inn, he added occasional payments from secret service funds for his management of the borough of Saltash (Namier and Brooke 1964, 118); large sums thought to be connected with his political activities - £3,000 and £4,000 in June and July 1785, the year after the general election of 1784 when he was a noted agent in Plymouth and several west Cornish boroughs; and income from estates in 6 other counties besides Cornwall and his native Yorkshire: his property was valued at the then huge sum of £125,000 following his death (Christie 1970, 243).

At Restormel Castle Masterman 'strictly followed' the 'laudable example' of his predecessor Jones in 'giving great attention to the protection and preservation' of the keep, and he had at his house a picture of the castle from which he permitted a drawing to be made for inclusion in a wider survey of antiquities (Grose 1783, 37-39). An engraving of this dated 1786 (Fig 21) shows the keep being studied by two gentlemen visitors with a local guide (CRO D/E/18/4/14). Masterman is said to have directed the laying out of 'The terrace and winding walks, which are carried through the plantations that wave over the [castle] mount, and shelter this mouldering ruin' around c1784 (Gilbert 1820, 880).



Fig 21 The keep, Restormel Castle, engraved in 1786 from a picture at the mansion CRO D/E/18/4/14; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office

A later history, which also attributes to Masterman extensions to the house, and the eastern landscape park – ‘...the drive to the Eastern entrance, through the steep wood... the lodge opposite the gate...the bath house and the walk around the wood... the ponds and cascades’ – notes further detail of these changes near the gardens (Hext 1891, 220). ‘Around this hill Mr Masterman made a winding walk to the Castle, and placed stone seats at intervals, so that the visitor is led by an easy ascent to the top of the hill now covered with forest and ornamental trees – among which may be noticed some very fine Silver Firs, two magnificent Tulip trees, a large variegated Sycamore, Turkey Oak, &c. The declivity is considerable, as the hill though naturally steep has been scarped in many places to make the ascent more difficult [less difficult?].’

In fact, as the 1755 map records (Fig 8), there was already a zig-zag way on the steep slope linking the east side of the castle with Trinity before the time of both Masterman and Jones, and it probably originates from a bridleway to the river crossing, coeval with the castle. However the granite seats, and adaptations to the winding walk, providing access to it around the gardens, can still be seen on the ground.

The castle hill plantations developed by Masterman, as indicated by the 1805 OS drawing, included a belt extending south around the contour from the earlier Castle Wood. This lined the upper side of the track above the walled gardens extending to the winding walk, *except* at the point in their centre where the summer house stands (Fig 13). Here, a gap was left in the belt, later obscured by tree growth (see Section 4.4.1). Together, Masterman’s walk and its planting can be seen as forming a privatised and ornamented link between the gardens and the castle, while maintaining a line of sight to the keep from the summer house, whether this garden building was first made for him, or as suggested in Section 4.4.2, made a decade or so earlier for Mr Jones.

As shown by the structural survey, the southern walled garden is built on to the summer house; it may be either effectively contemporary with that building, or of a different phase. In the absence of more precise dating evidence this extension to the garden is considered most likely to date from the period of residence of Masterman, who may have required one for a larger household living with him at Restormel, and had plentiful means to create it.

5.2.4 Gregors, Hexts and Sawles enjoy the mature gardens, c1786-1862

5.2.4.1 Francis and Catherine Gregor c1786-1792

Francis Gregor, born in 1759 to a family established at Trewarthenick, near Tregony, mid-Cornwall, was Sheriff of Cornwall in 1788, and was an MP for the county for 16 years from 1789. His first wife was Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heiress of William Masterman (Hext 1891, 178). Gregor is said to have lived at Restormel ‘for some years’, including 1790 when he was first elected member for the county (Hext 1891, 178, and 221, quoting Davies Gilbert), and was certainly in residence in June 1790 when he sent correspondence from here (CRO P111/16b/2).

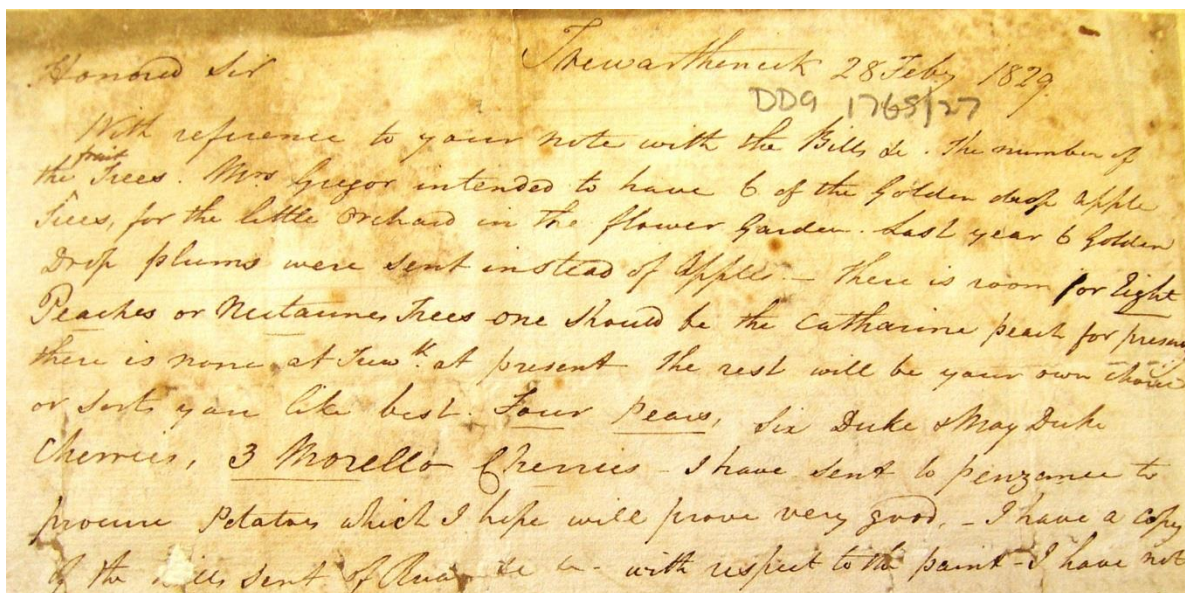
Gregor and another Francis, Francis Glanville who had married Masterman’s other daughter and heiress, sold the lease of Restormel to Lord Mount Edgcumbe, possibly in 1792 (Hext 1891, 216, referencing Lysons and Lysons 1814). The Edgcumbes, for reasons of political influence as well as economics, were ‘desirous...of acquiring all species of property, and most of all, gentlemens’ residences situated near Lostwithiel’ (Hext 1891, 221).

The walled gardens, though not mentioned specifically in any surviving accounts of such excursions so far identified, will have been among the attractions of Trinity noted by genteel visitors. These visitors would often visit the castle ruins from the mansion, like the family and their house guests, commonly crossing the Fowey on the bridge there, *en route* to or from the turnpike road near Boconnoc. ‘Raistormel Castle: the ancient residence of the Dukes of Cornwall, [is] situate on a larger eminence behind Mr Gregor’s pleasant house, whose grounds and plantations amidst a variety of natural inequalities of wood, hill and vale afford a charming scene’ (Shaw 1788, 227).

The Gregors, like the Mastermans, maintained the kitchen gardens; by now, if not before, the gardens must have had apple trees as well as beds, since fruit was gathered here in plenty in 1800 (Section 5.2.4.2). Other kinds of fruits are recorded in a rare record left by the family (CRO G/1765/27) – it must be noted though that this relates to Trewarthenick, their principal estate, and dates from 1829, after they were resident at Restormel (Fig 22). The Gregors' agent at Trewarthenick writes;

'Honoured Sir,

With reference to your note with the Bills about the number of the fruit trees Mrs Gregor intended to have 6 of the Golden Drop Apple Trees, for the Little Orchard in the flower Garden, Last Year 6 Golden Drop plums were sent instead of Apples – There is room for Eight Peaches or Nectarine Trees one should be the Catharine Peach for preserving, there is none at Trewk. at present. The rest will be your own choice or Sorts you like best. Four pears, Six Duke and May Duke Cherries, 3 Morello Cherries I have sent to Penzance to procure Potatoes which I hope will prove very good.'



Honoured Sir
Trewarthenick 28 July 1829
DDG 1765/27
With reference to your note with the Bills, &c. the number of the ^{fruit} trees. Mrs Gregor intended to have 6 of the Golden Drop Apple Trees, for the little Orchard in the flower Garden. Last year 6 Golden Drop plums were sent instead of Apples – There is room for Eight Peaches or Nectarine Trees one should be the Catharine peach for preserving there is none at Trewk. at present the rest will be your own choice or sorts you like best. Four pears, six Duke & May Duke Cherries, 3 Morello cherries – I have sent to Penzance to procure Potatoes which I hope will prove very good. – I have a copy of the bills sent of Penzance &c. with respect to the point – I have not

Fig 22 Rare record of planting of the early 19th century at Trewarthenick, home estate of the Gregor family, tenants of Restormel House at the turn of that century

CRO G/1765/27; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office

5.2.4.2 c1799-1846 Hext family

John Hext was an army Captain, son of lawyer Samuel Hext of Lostwithiel (Hext 1965, 8) and his wife Margery née Taylder of Helland (Hext 1891, 177). Samuel, Mayor of Lostwithiel in 1768, 1775 and 1782, was the youngest son of Thomas Hext of Trenarren, and Gertrude, daughter and co-heir of Henry Hawkins of St Austell (*ibid*). The Hexts, a well-connected family, had lived at Trenarren as early as the 16th century, and Samuel was an eminent attorney (Gilbert 1820, 147-148). John married Elizabeth Staniforth, from a wealthy banking and merchant family of Liverpool, in 1799, and the couple lived at Restormel from that time (Hext 1965, 8); it is not quite clear at present whether John had been in residence here previously. After the death of John Hext in 1838, his family continued to live at Restormel until 1846, at which time it was occupied by Thomas Hext, a magistrate of the county (Twycross 1846, 8).

The Hexts were tenants at Restormel of the Earl of Mount Edgumbe, who held the lease of manor, castle and park (Lysons and Lysons 1814, 177). A plan of 1845 shows the extent of the demesne lands, running from the far side of the River Fowey east of Restormel House to the parish boundary on the west, and from Polmaugan and Brownqueen north of the House to Coombe, Woodlands, Barngate and Hillhead on the south (CRO KL/29/1).

The detailed diary of Elizabeth's father Thomas Staniforth, who stayed here in 1800 (Hext 1965), demonstrates how the family of the house with their guests walked and rode extensively around the grounds, the castle and the eastern park developed by William Masterman; and the ornamental landscape continued also to be admired more widely. 'Restormel House, the residence of John Hext, Esq., is a low embattled structure, said to have been erected on the site of an ancient chapel...The valley in which this house is built, with the castle on the eminence near it, form for the artist a very pleasing picture' (Stockdale 1824, 44-45).

However, as listed in the schedule of the 1839 tithe survey (Fig 43), the areas leased by the Hexts comprised only the walled gardens, and the grounds immediately around Restormel House, adapted in the 18th century from the medieval layout - the Little Garden on the west of the mansion (the 'one garden' of the mid-17th century, opened up on the south and threaded with paths), and the Lawn by the south front. This 1839 schedule, together with the census returns of 1841 and 1851, indicate that the old farmhouse on the north of the main range of farm buildings was occupied by the farmer who ran the 300 or so acres of the barton, with his household and farm servants - John Varcoe, followed by John Short in the mid-19th century.

The Hexts' holdings were therefore limited in extent, relative to those of Jones and Masterman, who had leased the whole directly from the Duchy, sub-letting the farmland. This, along with changing fashions, probably contributed to cessation of the use of the summer house for viewing the castle. The reduction of the 'prospect house' function of the building is apparent from the 1839 tithe survey (Fig 43) which shows the plantation immediately above the gardens as a continuous belt with no gap in the trees to reveal the castle to the west as on the 1805 drawing (Fig 13). This is confirmed by the 1881 OS map (Fig 44). Possibly by the early 19th century the building was less frequented by the gentry, even used as an apple loft or other more practical garden-related purpose as well as a summer house, since it is not mentioned in the Staniforth journal of 1800 describing the walks and other outdoor activities of the family.

Elsewhere in the walled gardens, however, the Hexts improved the infrastructure, adding the building west of centre in the south garden, and possibly that in the south corner of the north one. The first of these appears on the OS drawing of 1805 (Fig 19), while both of them appear on the tithe map of 1839 (Fig 43). These are interpreted as a glasshouse, and a gardener's shed or similar, respectively. A glasshouse will have been essential to provide the high-status exotics such as grapes prized by the Cornish gentry in the early 19th century, and the Restormel Hext family are known to have had an interest in gardening and its produce.

Improvements were carried out by Thomas Hext at Trenarren during the early part of the 19th century (Pett 1998); Thomas, elder brother of John, who inherited the family's estate after the death of their father's older brothers (Mosley 1837, 429), might be expected to have shared plants and plans for gardening with John and Elizabeth at Restormel. However, while the St Austell tithe map of 1842 marks the new house at Trenarren, it indicates no garden features there (they do appear on the 1881 OS map) so this connection does not help us to understand better the layout of the garden at Restormel in the Hexts' time.

John Hext of Restormel is listed as an annual subscriber in the first report of the Royal Horticultural Society of Cornwall, formed in 1832 (referred to below for simplicity as the RHSC). This society was highly successful and prestigious, rapidly gaining royal patronage, highly influential donors, and nearly two hundred members, though it declined by the middle of the 19th century (Pearson 1974). It held annual 'exhibitions' or competitive shows in several parts of the county. Captain Hext, Royal Navy, of Lincarffe, was active in the RHSC in its busy, early years, serving on the committee and as one of the judges of flowers in 1834, while the Rev FJ Hext of Tredethy, vicar of Helland, was a subscriber, like John Hext of Restormel (third annual report). The Lincarffe and Tredethy Hexts were from a junior branch of the family (Gilbert 1820, 148).

The second RHSC report records that in the Vegetable Section of the Society's fourth show at Bodmin, on June 13th 1833, John Hext won a prize of 2 shillings for the second best bundle of turnips. Since 'turnips' in Cornwall include swedes, traditionally used for pasties, and as the Hexts did not hold the Barton farm, these prize-winners are very likely to have been table produce from the walled garden (rather than the field crops of the kind slowly adopted by agricultural improvers in this region; Marshall 1796, 194).

There are hints too from the Hexts' time of fruit from the walled gardens, and of a family name for the site. Thomas Staniforth, himself a keen gardener, recorded in his journal during his stay in 1800 that on August 25th 'I walked up to the quadrangle & having gathered as many apples off the sward as I cd dispose of, returned home....' (Hext 1965, 21). The quadrangle must be the walled gardens, essentially rectangular in outline and with straight paths within their walls emphasising their regularity. (There was an outlying garden to the north, roughly a parallelogram in plan, but this is not a contender for the name as it made after the OS drawing of 1805, so was not there by the time of Staniforth's visit – presumably it was added for the farmer's use.) It seems then that there were apples of an early-fruited variety here in 1800. The 1839 tithe survey schedule lists the site as 'walled garden' rather than orchard, so there may have been a small area of apple trees, perhaps the row in the north garden plotted after the Hext's time by the OS in 1881 (Section 4.7).

Also noted by Staniforth are 'Names of apples in the orchard at Restormel'; 'Duffin, Woodcock, Gull, Red Aromatic, New Town Pippin, Red Shank'd Buckland, stubland, and I met an excellent apple at Lord Falmouth's at Tregothnan wch he call'd the *July flower* & another at Mr Rashleigh's of Minibillie [Menabilly] of the same name, very good, tho' of a very diffrent kind' (Hext 1965, 67). Assuming his editor has transcribed the heading of this list from Staniforth's journal exactly as it was written, the trees noted were in the orchard proper, south of the House, rather than the walled garden. It does, though, indicate some of the varieties which may have been present in the 'quadrangle'.

Perhaps there may have been joking references to the walled gardens as Trinity Quad among any Oxford men at Restormel! In the Hexts' time, though, the mansion was generally referred to at least by the gentry as Restormel rather than Trinity. Frances Hext, in her version of the Lysons' account of the place, says that Masterman was responsible for changing the name (Hext 1891, 215). The Lysons' history does not specify this, stating simply that the mansion, 'some time ago called Trinity, [is] now Restormell house' (Lysons and Lysons 1814, 177); the 'restoration' of the name Restormel is attributed to Masterman by Hitchins and Drew (1824, 394).

An earlier source dates the mansion's name change to 'a very few years ago' (Whitaker 1804, 51, fn), so around the opening of the 19th century. This dating is supported by the probate records of the wills of Jones and Masterman, made in 1775 and 1786 respectively, in which they are both styled 'of Trinity' (NA PROB 11/1009/312; NA PROB 11/1146/40); and also by the label 'Restormel House' on the OS drawing of 1805. The initiative for the alteration may have come from John Hext, or the Gregors, or even the Edgcumbes.

5.2.4.3 1846-c1862 Sawles

Mrs Hext, the last of her family to live at what was now generally known as Restormel Park (or Restormel House), moved to Lostwithiel in 1846, and Charles Brune Graves Sawle became the tenant (Twycross 1846, 8). C.B.G. Sawle was eldest son of Sir Joseph Sawle Graves Sawle of Penrice, and returned to Penrice to live on inheriting it; he is said to have been great-grandson of the Richard Sawle who had sold the lease to Thomas Jones (Hext 1891, 221 and footnote), though the succession of the family estates seems rather more complicated than that might suggest (Pett 1998, 160).

Sir J.S.G. Sawle, Baronet, of Penrice, was among the donors who founded Cornwall's Royal Horticultural Society in 1832, named in the society's first report. His son C.B.G. Sawle shared his interest in gardening and its promotion. Before, during and after his establishment at Restormel, he was periodically an officer of, and exhibitor with, gardening societies whose summer shows were important events in the district.

Charles served terms as President of the Tywardreath Rural Gardening Society, described as 'the mother of all the Horticultural Societies in the county' since it was founded in 1830, a couple of years before the RHSC to which the Hexts had subscribed (*Royal Cornwall Gazette* newspaper, July 26th 1844, p4; *op cit*, July 28th 1848, p4). The St Austell Cottage Gardening Society was begun under his presidency in 1860 (*Royal Cornwall Gazette* August 9th 1861, p4).

As recorded in these newspaper accounts, at the societies' annual exhibitions a display would be mounted for the finest produce of gardens of the gentry, clergy, military officers, and another for that of the 'cottagers'. These shows were attended by large crowds (whose decorum and sobriety reporters praise, an indication that they included the labouring poor) and by 'company' including the Grylls of Luxulyan, Kendalls of Pelyn, Rashleighs of Prideaux and Menabilly, and Stackhouses of Kilmarth.

The report of the 1844 show at Tywardreath refers to the Restormel gardens, noting that the flower stand was 'well filled with flowers from the gardens of Menabilly, Prideaux, Pelyn, Restormel, Lanwithin [sic] and other gentlemen's gardens in the neighbourhood'. Also mentioned were the 'enormous' gooseberries which attracted attention, 'the Society having been first established to encourage their growth'.

Some of the exhibits at the St Austell show of 1861, where C.B.G. Sawle presided, are recorded, though if there were any from Restormel House that year, none were mentioned. Fruits on the 'gentlemen's table' included Major Carlyon's pines [ie pineapples], and from Rev Treffry of Place (Fowey), Black Hambro and Muscat grapes, as well as pine and melon. Professional gardener Pontey of Plymouth had stands of excellent dahlias, verbenas, petunias, hollyhocks and china asters, and Hodge of St Austell promoted his fine carnations, verbenas, and cut roses.

The walled gardens appear to have been maintained through these decades of the Sawles residence at Restormel with little change to their essential layout. A range of structures in the south garden, at its outer, south end against the road, may have been built after they left. These post-date the tithe survey of 1839 and appear on the OS map of 1881; a plan of the location of the range, which shows no building there but which may have been drawn in connection with its establishment, was made at some point during the years 1853-1869 (Duchy of Cornwall archive B/4/4); and a plan of the whole farmstead dated 1864 shows that the east end of the range at least was not made by then, but however does not capture the west end of the site (see Fig 23).

The southern buildings were the most recent structures at the site, before a large modern shed was levelled into the slope, removing them and their footprints. Being in the walled gardens, and opening into them as implied by the presence of tree planting on the verge on the road side of them shown on the 1881 map, they may have been garden stores. Other interpretations are possible, though, as they would seem to have interrupted the garden perimeter path plotted here between 1853 and 1869, and since the map of c1890 appears to show an associated enclosure taken out of the garden behind them, conceivably a yard for some other purpose such as poultry keeping (Fig 6).

Towards the end of this Sawle period, particularly after the Cornwall Railway of 1859 brought excursionists to Lostwithiel (Body 1984), Restormel became more frequently visited for its picturesque castle ruins, woods and valley views. As indicated by an early guide book, the visitors' approach to the castle at this time skirted the walled gardens; 'At the foot of the hill stands Restormel House, residence of C.B. Sawle, Esq., but property of the Duchy. The road to this mansion is the road to the castle. At the farmyard behind the house turn l. up the hill, and rt. in the field above, where a stile shows the way into the wood.' (Anon 1859, 239).

In or around 1862 Restormel passed from Lord Mount Edgcumbe to the Agar-Robartes of neighbouring Lanydrock, on a lease of 60 years (Hext 1891, 216). When Sir J.S.G. Sawle the first baronet died in 1865, his heir Charles moved home to Penrice, and Restormel House, reduced in size and with other alterations for the purpose, was occupied by the farmer (Hext 1891, 221).

The use of the former farmhouse, to the east of the gardens across the mowhay, seems to have changed accordingly, along the lines proposed in the 1864 plan of the farmstead and mansion which has the farmhouse altered to form two cottages (Fig 23). The census returns of 1871, 1881 and 1891 record three households living at Restormel, and the two most recent of these returns confirm that, as one would expect, there were two agricultural labourers' families, at Restormel Cottages in the old farmhouse, and farmer Sambell's family and servants in the mansion house.

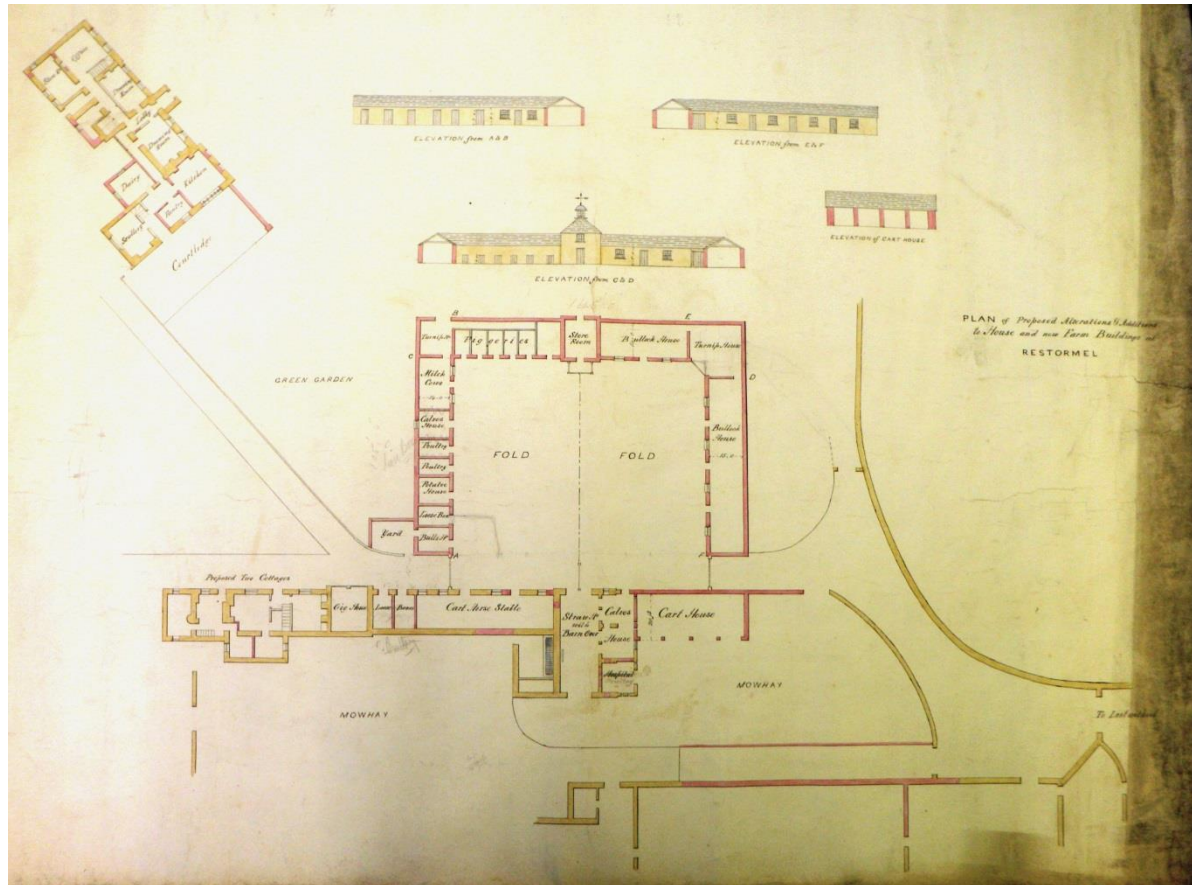


Fig 23 Survey of Restormel Barton, 1864, with proposed improvements in red. The plan captures the east side of the walled gardens, showing doorways there (bottom)

CRO CL/P/230; reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office

By the turn of the last century the walled gardens appear from aerial photographs to have been used as orchards rather than kitchen gardens (Fig 3). The first edition 2½ inch OS map of 1950 shows the old summer house still roofed, and the central garden wall still standing, but in the following decades these structures fell into a dilapidated and overgrown condition, rather like that of the castle keep two hundred years earlier when Thomas Jones cleared it of ivy to enjoy its romantic ruin with his friends.

6 Statement of significance

This largely 18th century, essentially two- or three-phase site comprises two adjoining walled gardens and summer house. A kitchen garden, showing design for pleasure and recreation, as well as food production, it is a core feature of the grounds of the post-medieval mansion of Restormel, previously known as Trinity, built after the decline of medieval Restormel Castle. The site itself was referred to as the 'quadrangle' in 1800.

In terms of its structures, and the integrity of its extent, the complex is well-preserved overall, despite deterioration or loss of some fabric and ground especially on the south where modern farm buildings are levelled into the slope. The garden walling in the centre is collapsed, but elsewhere survives well, and restoration is in progress in 2016. Built of hand-made bricks, the walls have high aesthetic appeal and contribute greatly to local distinctiveness. Survival of historic planting is limited, but the layout is recorded in some detail in 1805, and principal pathways remain visible, though grassed over.

Landscape design deploying plantations and routeways is evident on the flanks of the castle hill immediately above and north of the site, contributing to understanding of the setting and role of the complex in a wider ornamental park. Time depth within the site is legible in relationships between gardens and summer house. With the benefit of evidence from historic maps and other records, the social context of its development can be understood, although at present it lacks specific documentation. This lack, along with the generally low level of past disturbance, or redesign, of the site, is itself of historical interest, reflecting side-effects of the tenure of the manor from the Duchy.

The complex is regarded as lying in the curtilage of a Grade II Listed Building, the nearby country house, formerly a grand barton farmhouse; and so as being in the area protected by this designation. The gardens are functionally related to the mansion, and associated also with the Grade II Listed barton barn between house and gardens, and the surrounding ornamental landscape of which an area immediately north of the site forms part of a Registered Park and Garden. Like the house and farmstead, the gardens are important elements of the setting of the substantially intact medieval castle of Restormel on the hill above, a Scheduled Monument.

The site is important in its own right as a rare survival of an early walled kitchen garden, contrasting with those originating in Victorian times; its first half being earlier than 1755 and its extension being made by 1787. The integrity of the primary part can be appreciated, due to its markedly different incline, despite collapse of the boundary against which the extension was built, and it provides a valuable example of the siting, scale and fabric of a high-status kitchen garden from a period since which other once-similar sites have often been radically changed, for example at nearby Lanhydrock.

The main garden building, a little two-storey eye-catcher, refuge and viewpoint for the gardens, is of especial interest. It is ruinous and unstable, and has lost architectural features, but even in this state is considered a fairly good survival of a rare type. The external steps and generous windows to its heated upper storey convey social distinction and the provision of dramatic views. With map evidence for a line of sight to the keep skylined above, and combined with documentary evidence for the residents of the estate at the time, this form shows well the late 18th century fashion for 'borrowing' status and romance from a prominent antiquity; here benefitting tenants whose stories illustrate how advancement to influence and wealth could be achieved in the period.

The ground here, in particular by the summer house as shown by trial trenches, and in the north west corner where mapping of 1805 indicates a pond, can be expected to have buried remains relating to its layout and use. Although outside the settlement of Trinity, the gardens have potential too for diverse other below-ground deposits. As demonstrated by the trenching, it may contain domestic debris from the grand barton house deposited through manuring; marks, such as tree-bole pits or informal trackways, of activity in the deer park of the castle era; and artefacts relating to prehistoric exploitation of the diverse valley environment. It may also preserve traces of weaponry of periods when the riverside below, an ancient bridging point at the head of the tidal reach, was contested, such as the Civil War of the 17th century.

7 Recommendations

As a result of benign neglect in the later 20th century the gardens fell into a poor, overgrown condition, currently being addressed by vegetation control and wall repairs. The summer house shows cracking and other indications of instability, so is deteriorating and at risk of further collapse. The proposed restoration of the site to protect it through re-use of the summer house as a residential unit may then be considered highly beneficial; provided that experiences and understanding of it as a historic building are preserved or enhanced, and potential adverse impacts are avoided or minimised. The following measures are proposed to achieve this.

7.1 Design of the summer house and its immediate setting

Preservation of the summer house through re-use may entail extension of its space, besides rebuilding of walls and roof. To avoid degradation of its historic character, and if possible to enhance this, careful consideration of plan and detailing is needed.

- **Maintain existing or similar fabric and character** for garden walls and summer house, using tumbled fabric, and matching techniques, guided by the record provided by the 2010 survey and details yielded by the 2016 excavations.
- **Site, scale and style extension/s to the summer house carefully** for minimum adverse impact. No extension should be made on the east front, designed to overlook and link to the garden. Any substantial extension should use instead ground to the rear (west) side beyond the garden wall. Ideally, in order to avoid the start of that part of the planted walk, which links the summer house to the castle, extension (on this outer, west side of the garden wall) would be to the south, rather than to the north, of the summer house. However, the 'dog-leg' in the garden perimeter by the summer house (reflecting the development of the complex in several phases) means in effect that an extension to the north, if sufficiently narrow, could have other benefits. It might be set further back (east); so would project less from the line of the original rear of the summer house, and it would take up less of the span of the historic walk. A low outhouse similar in size to the existing fuel store under the steps to the summer house might perhaps be accommodated on this southern 'service' side of the building.
- **Preserve and restore the function and scale of the summer house.** In the principal, upper room, the openings indicated on three sides should be re-instated in a style compatible with the limited evidence for their historic forms, and with the function, status and character of similar buildings indicated by comparative study. The integrity of the room should be respected, and its fireplace renewed if possible, to show how and on what scale it was used to entertain. The view to the castle from the west side should be restored if possible (see further note below on the desirability of an opening in the trees behind it). If other factors require an extension attached to the summer house on the west, this could perhaps be designed so that a window in the outer, west side of the extension corresponds with the reconstructed one in that position in the summer house (or with an open doorway there if internal access to the summer house is needed), so that an east-west line of sight is maintained through the whole.
- **Consider all evidence for the design of the summer house,** as survival of its architectural details and interior features is poor, and pictorial evidence for it is limited. Styles considered should include those, discussed in the comparative study, of buildings similar in form, function and date at other sites, certain to be familiar to the summer house builder (at Mount Edgcumbe) or with possible connections to them (at Clowance and Saltram). The frame of reference indicated by the 2010 survey and 2016 research includes Classical designs, consistent with the ornamental, recreational and prestigious character of the building, with 'prospect' and dining room distinguished from service room below.

- **Take account of impacts on the settings of nearby heritage assets.** A 'castle' top to the flanking walling would make a visual link to the embattled Restormel House below and crenelated castle keep above; the evidence for one, visible from the ground, should be reviewed from scaffolding and incorporated in the designs if possible. The summer house itself is likely to be of a different phase from the re-fronting of the mansion and the openings of these two buildings do not match. It is also important to pay attention to the visual impact of the re-built summer house from Restormel Castle above, assuming that the line of sight between the two is recreated as suggested below. Use of a plainer style for any extension at the rear of the summer house may be appropriate.
- **Reinstate and respect the south, garden approach to the summer house.** Steps, perhaps set at intervals, may be necessary to address the slope, though the archaeological trial trenching found no evidence to confirm they were used here. If so granite steps similar to those at the garden entrance would be ideal.
- **Re-establish a line of sight to the castle skylined on the spur above** by re-creating and maintaining a viewing 'window' through the trees immediately west of the summer house, indicated on the 1805 map.
- **Maintain also the summer house's views to the core of the manor and the valley** by avoiding tree planting in the garden close to all sides of the building but the north.

7.2 Garden design

- **Maintain the integrity of the north garden**, through a system of paths and planting which is a self-contained (though linked at the historic gateways to that of the south garden); and through re-construction of the central division between the gardens, ideally by rebuilding its brick wall, or if this is not feasible, by marking the wall line with a clipped hedge.
- **Avoid building or (tree) planting on the potential infilled pond site** in the north west corner of the gardens.
- **Consider a garden layout informed by the plan of 1805**, including perimeter paths, perhaps laid with traditional, large slate slabs, to permit the recreational walking accommodated by these early, high-status kitchen gardens (see also suggestion in Section 7.3 for investigation of the possible garden pond which if confirmed might be uncovered with archaeological guidance).
- **Consider a planting scheme relating to the prime of the gardens**, in the early/mid-19th century. This could draw on the range of fruit espaliers, bushes and trees, flowers, and vegetables (including prize-winning turnips!) attested in this period as favoured by the families and peers of the tenants of Trinity or Restormel House as it was then named.
- **Re-introduce if possible apple varieties associated with Restormel** – whether represented by surviving or former trees in the walled gardens, or recorded in the nearby farm orchard. This could contribute much to local distinctiveness and semi-natural diversity. (See further Section 4.7.)
- **Consider unimproved grass under fruit trees for the south garden**, where levelling and development of the outer end of the enclosure, combined with the steeper slope, would make re-establishment of a more formal layout difficult. Apple trees were present before 1800, though only predominant in the 20th century.

7.3 Further archaeological work

- **Provide for archaeological watching brief** for any ground disturbing works (other than cultivation) both in and adjoining the gardens. This would allow recording to an appropriate level of any significant remains of the post-medieval or earlier periods captured by the gardens, and also of any material relating specifically to the detailing or use of the summer house.

- **Seek guidance for building programme/s by a historic building specialist** as works progress to allow plans to be adapted to take account of any significant discoveries resulting from them, through inspection from scaffolding, etc.
- **Consider research at the Duchy of Cornwall archive** for any further information on the exact date and style of the summer house (if this source has not already been consulted). This could involve searches for material relating to tenants and others now indicated as having had connections with phases of building or garden works at Trinity (including Sawle, Jones, Masterman, and Rawlinson for the 18th century; and Hext, Graves Sawle and Edgcumbe for the earlier 19th century).
- **Consider archaeological investigation of the possible pond site** on the north west in the primary, northern walled garden, to confirm its identification and inform future management of this corner of the complex.

8 References

8.1 Primary sources

Notes Sources are listed in chronological order. Historic newspapers are included in this section.

A map dated 1820 of the Clowance estate map (CRO R/5262) was not available for examination at the time of the research because of its very poor condition.

*Asterisks denote sources used in the form of the summary version provided online, rather than consulted in person.

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- Images of England, Historic England's online archive of photographs of Listed Buildings
- History of Parliament Online
- National Trust Heritage Records Online

9 Project archive

The CAU project numbers for the work at Restormel Manor gardens in 2016 are **146542** (the desk-based research) and **146543** (the evaluative excavations).

The projects' documentary, digital, photographic and drawn archives are maintained by Cornwall Archaeological Unit, Cornwall Council, Fal Building, County Hall, Treyew Road, Truro, TR1 3AY.

Electronic data is stored in the following locations:

Desk-based study

Project admin and report: G:\TWE\Waste & Env\Strat Waste & Land\Historic Environment\Projects\Sites\Sites R\Restormel Manor walled gardens 146542

Digital photographs (of site, and of historic maps and other images): R:\Historic Environment (Images)\SITES.Q-T\Restormel manor walled garden 146542

Excavations

G:\TWE\Waste & Env\Strat Waste & Land\Historic Environment\Projects\Sites\Sites R\Restormel manor walled garden excavations 2016

Historic England/ADS OASIS

Online reference: cornwall2-245657

Part II Excavation Report

Anna Lawson-Jones

10 Introduction

Eleven small trenches were excavated within the area of the Restormel Manor walled gardens, on the lower part of the east-facing slope below Restormel Castle. The excavations were designed to look at the evolution of the two walled gardens, as described in the project brief (Ann Preston-Jones, 26/11/2015).

The excavations took place over one week between the 11th and 15th January 2016. The work was carried out by one Cornwall Archaeological Unit (CAU) supervisor and three volunteers (Richard Hoskins, Andrew Langdon and Roger Smith), to whom CAU are very grateful.

The 11 trenches were labelled A to K, in the order that they were excavated. They are identified on Fig 24, summarised below, and then described individually, in more detail. A record of archaeological contexts is included as an Appendix.

11 Summary of results

11.1 Excavation trenches

Trench A – was located along the northern wall to record the position and character of the garden path, record any differences in garden soils and collect any finds.

Results – the garden path was not found. Evidence for a noticeably good garden soil was recorded. Finds were collected.

Trench B – was located by the western wall of the northern garden to record the position and character of the garden path, record soil differences and collect any finds.

Results – the position of the garden path was found. Contrasting garden and orchard soils were identified. Finds were collected.

Trench C – was located half way down the northern side of the central dividing garden wall to record any garden path, soil differences, collect finds and in particular to look at the character, function and potentially date of the east-west hollow running up-slope from the eastern garden entrance.

Results – the garden path was not found. Different soil layers were identified. No evidence for surface compaction, cobbling, or steps was identified for the linear hollow. A pre-garden field boundary was found to form the foundations for the later garden wall. It had what has been interpreted as an earlier sheep track running beneath it. Finds were collected.

Trench D – was located half way down the southern side of the central dividing garden wall to record the presence and character of any garden path, compare differences between soils (with particular reference to soils on the other side of the wall - reflecting differences in garden use and history), and to collect any finds.

Results – the garden path was not found. The garden wall was found to have fallen/been pushed north. Similar, but slightly less mixed soils were identified. The pre-walled garden field boundary foundations were again recorded with the underlying earlier sheep track. Finds were collected.

Trench E – was located against the eastern front of the summer house to record the character of the external surface area and to locate any minor structural details that may have fallen from the windows etc., with a view to informing the proposed repair and conversion works.

Results – no surviving surfacing was identified, although it is possible that the loose rubble-like layer formerly supported slates slabs. In this trench, a small piece of slate and some painted plaster were found – indicating the likely roofing material and external finish of the structure when in use. Very poor frontage foundations were noted.

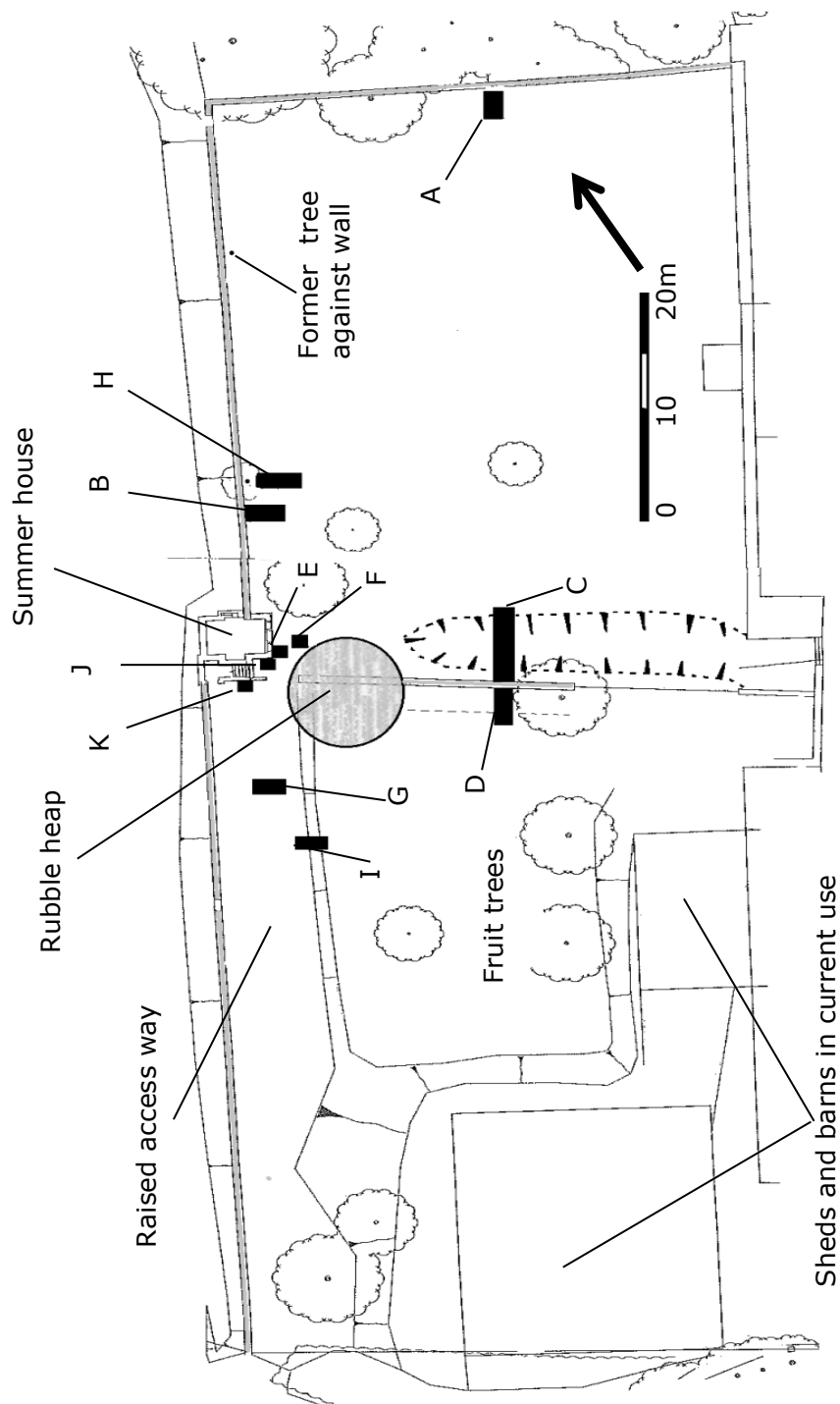


Fig 24 Plan showing the location of all trenches within the walled gardens
The plan is based on the garden survey produced by CAU (Berry and Thomas 2010).

Trench F – was located 1.5m in front of the summer house door to look at visible changes in the ground surface and to collect any finds.

Results – a levelled surface consisting of brick and tile was found, which may well have formed or supported a more formalised surface area for the front of the building. Finds were collected.

Trench G – was centred on the high ground along the western side of the southern garden, in order to look at the character of the ground, and to collect any finds.

Results – the ground was found to preserve the original ground level, but did not provide clear evidence for its use as a track. Finds were collected.

Trench H – was located by the western wall of the northern garden (close to Trench B) to record the position and character of the garden path, record any differences in garden soils and collect any finds.

Results – the garden path alignment was clearly identified and distinct garden and orchard soils identified to either side of it. A recent sheepdog burial was found at the western end of the trench. Finds were collected.

Trench I – was located on the steep slope marking the eastern edge of the high ground along the western side of the southern garden to look at the character of the slope and retrieve any finds.

Results – the slope was found to be cut, but not revetted with a stone wall, (although loosely arranged, un-mortared stone may have been used to partially stabilise the slope). There were no finds.

Trench J – was located against the southern summer house wall, close to the foot of the granite steps to look at the character of the ground surface, the wall foundations and to retrieve any finds.

Results – the trench uncovered a stone filled French drain, presumably designed to absorb the down flow of water from the steps. It also identified better wall foundations than those recorded in Trench E. Finds were collected.

Trench K – was located on the southern side of the building to look at the ground surface, the step and wall foundations and to retrieve any finds.

Results – a dense, levelled mass of red bricks were found to underlie the turf which may have acted as drainage. There were no finds, other than the bricks.

11.2 Additional information from walk-over

Additional information was obtained during a rapid walk-over of the walled garden.

It was noted that the summer house was surrounded by a scattering of shattered, thin clear, featureless window glass. No evidence for the use of coloured or decorative glass was found. Note: many of the trenches produced a small amount of window glass, not all of which can have come from the summer house. Almost no glass at all was found to have come from such domestic wares such as wine glasses, although occasional potential medicine bottle glass was found. A single piece of glass with a bevelled edge and two slight parallel lines was found unstratified on the western side of the summer house. It has a very slight curve, suggesting that it was not window glass.

The large rubble heap located in front of the summer house (approximate location shown on the site plan), consisted primarily of bricks from the collapsing summer house structure. Many of the bricks were uniformly red and flat faced (no frog), with soft, weathered angles denoting long exposure within the walls of the building. Some contained frequent small pale inclusions, and many retained remnant lime mortar. These simple bricks are likely to have been locally hand made. A slightly smaller number of bricks were more modern, sharply angled, slightly greyer in colour and much harder. A number had variably shaped frogs and mortar spaces. One was identified as a modern fire brick. The later bricks, including the fire brick all relate to post-original-build repairs and alterations to the summer house. Included with the bricks were many broken (probable Delabole) fine quality roofing slates, plus a single lead slate replacement with damage on its upper corner caused by hammering in to position.

The central dividing garden wall contained a similar range of soft uniformly red, weathered bricks, plus slightly harder grittier bricks, as those identified within the build of the summer house. Fewer obviously modern bricks were noted. No evidence for coping along the top of the wall was found in the excavated section (Trench D). Walls surrounding the northern and eastern edges of the garden are topped with a combination of slates and tile-like bricks. The northern wall in particular has some very large, good quality, well-shaped coping slates.

At least two large, complete slate slabs are present, one in the south-eastern part of the garden, and one leaning against the western edge of the western garden wall (south of the summer house). It is suggested in the following text that these might represent the last few of a much larger number of slate slabs used for surfacing the garden paths, and perhaps the levelled area outside the front of the summer house.

12 Results of individual trenches

12.1 Trench A

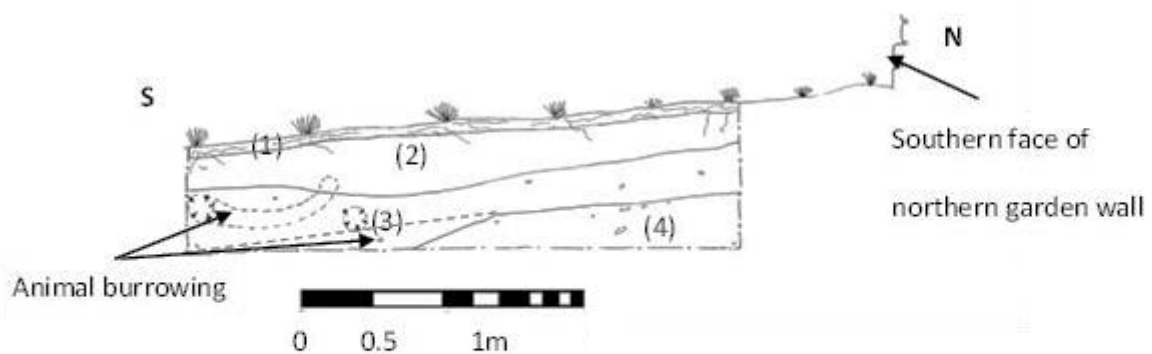


Fig 25 Section and photos of Trench A

Top – East facing section through Trench A.

Left – showing fully excavated Trench A, near the foot of the wall. Right – showing the drawn east facing section.

Trench A measured 2m x 1m and was 0.5m deep. It was located 0.5m to the south of the northern garden wall. Potential wall instability along with scaffolding and ongoing repairs prevented the trench from looking at the wall foundations.

From top to bottom the trench revealed: thin rooty turf line (1); a well-mixed, aerated garden soil (2), associated with planting along the south-facing side of the wall with limited evidence for manuring (dark organic matrix), and the addition of sand. Finds included occasional early modern (19th and 20th century) pottery, clay pipe stem (c. 1850), small glass shards and a recent green bottle base, plus occasional small brick/mortar pieces associated with wall construction.

Below (2) was heavier, less mixed more clayey subsoil (3) which produced a pebble, a marine shell, and a single post-medieval/modern sherd. The pebble and shell suggest soil improvement via the introduction of beach sand to improve drainage and soil aeration. The alkaline sand would have reduced soil acidity, improving plant productivity. (These comments refer to all similarly improved soils recorded in other trenches).

Underlying (3) was natural clay (4) which ran across the full length of the bottom of the trench. The dip, shown in section, appears to relate to an area of deeper cultivation, perhaps associated with fruit tree planting or perhaps root vegetable growing?

12.2 Trench B

Trench B measured 2.85m x 1m and was 0.45m deep. It was located against the eastern face of the western wall in the northern garden. From top to bottom the trench revealed thin matted, rooty turf (1); loamy grey brown top/garden soil (7); and a slightly clayey, but well mixed garden soil (2) associated with cultivation running up to the wall. This can be seen to thin to the east and overlie the former garden path (5).

Below the garden soil was paler, more clayey, less mixed soil (3), which thinned as it approached the wall and former path (5). Context (3) appeared to represent an early garden soil, and is shown in the section as forming the fill of a convex based garden bed running between the wall and the path. Beneath (3) was natural, dense stone free clay (4) (on which the foundations of the wall lay).

At the eastern end of the trench, soil (2) overlay the hard standing for garden path (5), which was composed of natural clay (4) with occasional crushed stone. Soil (2) also overlay a small clay deposit (6), associated with the creation of the path. Originally the path was probably topped by large slate slabs – occasional examples of which can still be found around the site. The removal of these slabs allowed soil (2) (and (7)) to run over (5).

Finds from layers (7), (2) and (3) included modern domestic pottery, glass, a shot gun casing, coal, flowerpot and clay pipe (c. 1850) fragments, pebbles and a marine shell. Combined, these suggest the occasional use of domestic kitchen waste, plus the probable addition of beach sand.

The mortared stone built base of the garden wall was recorded as extending 0.3m below and 0.4m above ground level, on top of which was the brick walling. The wall was seen in section at the summer house to consist of two horizontally laid brick faces with an intervening cross laid brick course. Other sections of the wall were noted as having an external stone facing (see south of the summer house).

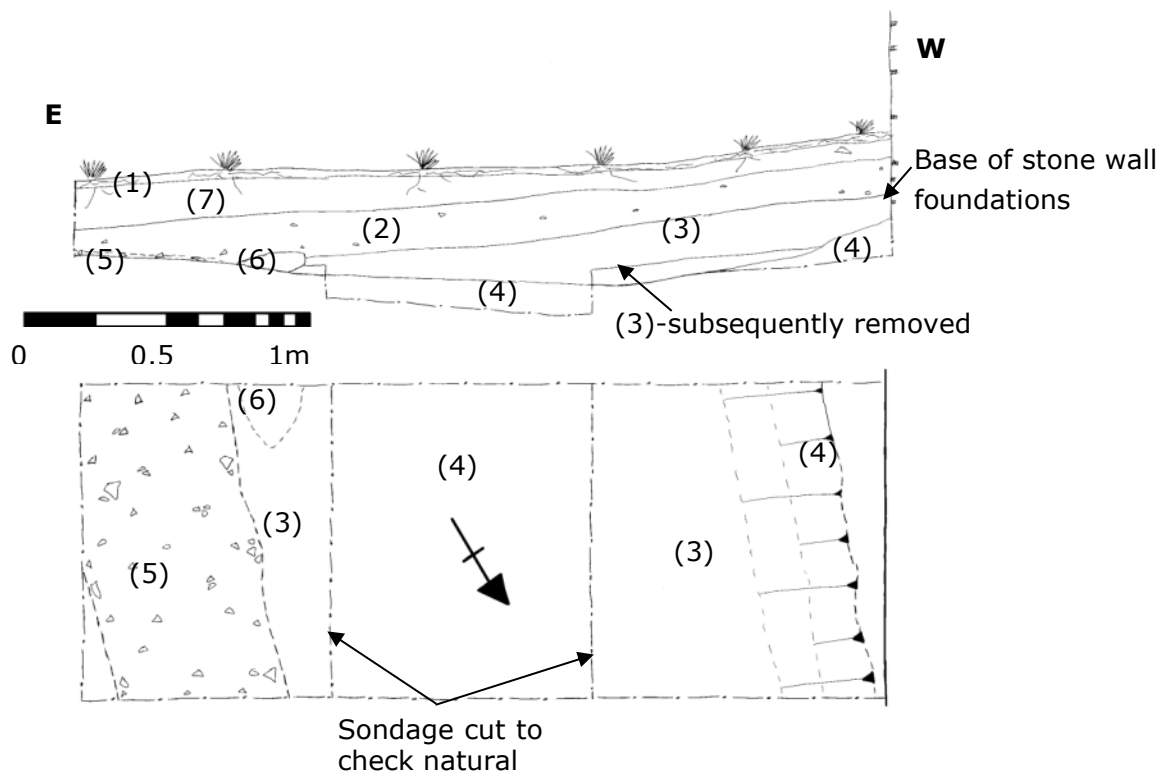


Fig 26 Trench B: section, plan and photos

Drawings: Top – North facing section through Trench B. Bottom – Plan showing Trench B (note path alignment (5)). Photos: Left – showing the western two thirds of Trench B and the wall foundations. Right – showing the former route of the garden path (5) in the eastern third of Trench B.

12.3 Trench C

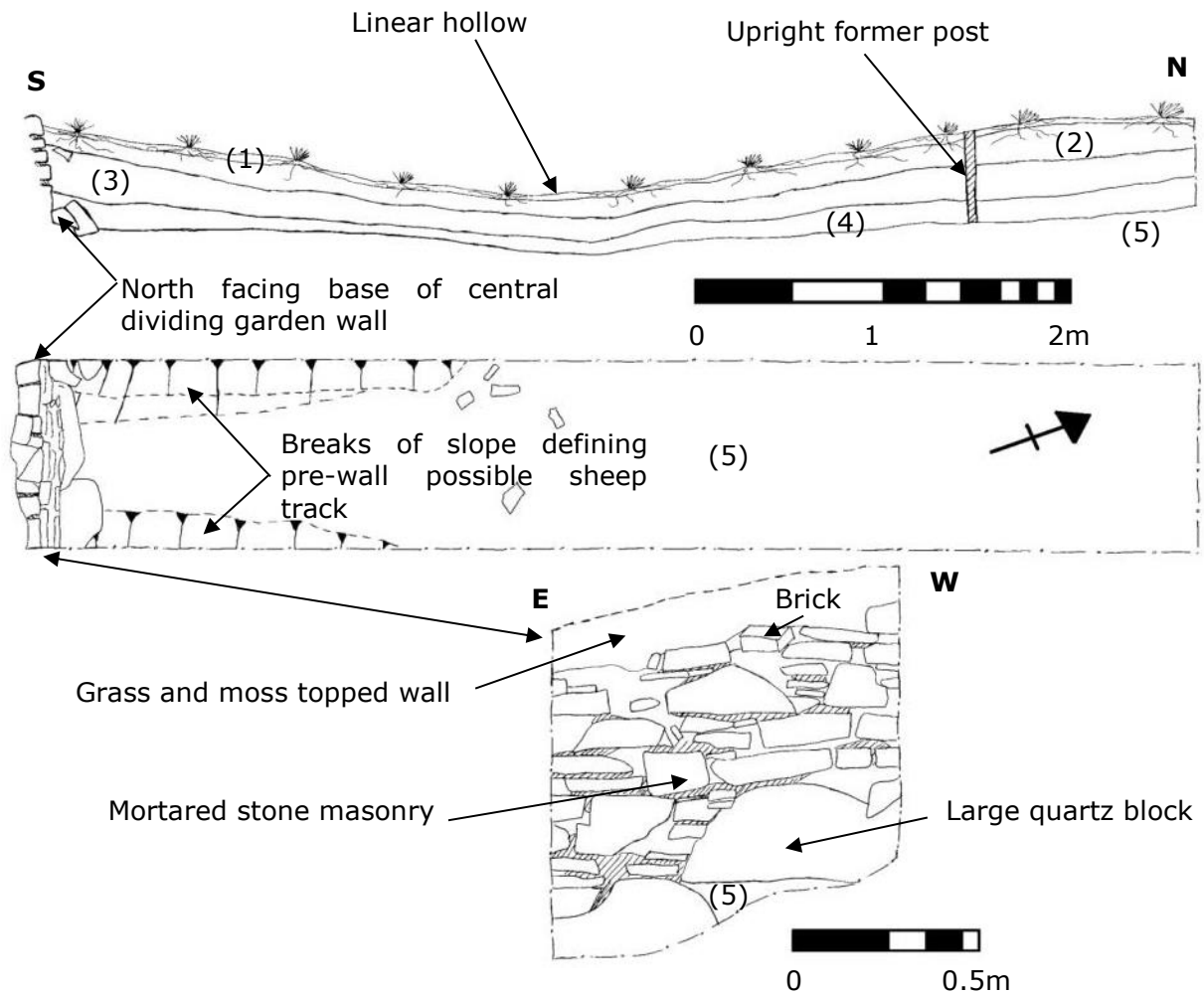


Fig 27 Plan and sections of Trench C

Top – East facing (upslope) section of Trench C. Middle – Plan showing Trench C (note possible sheep track, running beneath wall foundations, horizontally along the steep slope. Bottom – North facing wall foundations.

This trench revealed very much more substantial wall foundations than those recorded in Trench B. They represent the basal remains of a pre-existing field boundary, overlain by mortared horizontal courses of stonework. Combined, the boulders and stonework had a maximum depth of 0.8m, above which was the probably largely single brick wide dividing garden wall. A single surviving red brick can be seen in the recorded wall section.

Pre-dating the wall construction were two clearly identified breaks in slope, defining what may have been a 0.6m wide sheep path. There was no evidence for it having represented former steps against the northern face of the wall (in the form of horizontal or vertically cut edges, or any kind of surfacing/preparation). The terracing was recorded as running south, along the line of the slope, beneath the wall and into Trench D, where the lower slope continued on for in excess of 3m – much longer than would be required for a stepped path.

The northern two thirds of the trench ran across the earthwork resembling a hollow-way, visible as a linear, east to west aligned sunken feature. Interestingly, this feature has escaped mapping. It runs west from the eastern entrance in to the garden, along the northern side of the former field boundary, up towards the castle itself, via the summer house. It is not visible as a surface feature beyond the lower edge of the tumble in front of the summer house and there is no evidence to suggest that it ran on to the west towards the castle. It is possible that it has been shaped by use as an access point into the garden for carts/tractors during soil improvement/manuring or the removal of garden/orchard produce. The trench did not reveal any marked compaction, obvious steps, wheel rutting or cobbling associated with its use.



Fig 28 Trench C photos

Left – The north facing base of the central dividing garden wall (note the breaks in slope and the potential sheep path. Right - looking south along the length of Trench C (note the steep slope, and the post left in-situ).

Soil contexts seen in section, from the top down include (1) turf layer, (2) a slightly mixed, cultivated soil containing occasional bottle and window glass, post-medieval pottery, several pieces of iron, including part of a chain and occasional fragments of brick, slate and mortar. Context (3) was more compacted, slightly paler and more clayey. It contained occasional brick, mortar and glass fragments, clay pipe stem (c.1813), and two pieces of late medieval (mid to late 1500's/early 1600's) Cornish, flanged bowl (probable cream making dish - Carl Thorpe pers. com). This represents the earliest securely dated material from the site. The lowest layer (4) was very clayey and dense. It included a square headed (handmade) iron nail, a marine shell and very occasional charcoal flecks. The underlying natural clay (5) was bright yellow-brown in colour and very dense. Running through all layers was a post. It stood on the northern side of the linear hollow and has been interpreted as a fruit tree support, since it is relatively well preserved, and therefore late.

12.4 Trench D

Trench D measured 3m x 1m and was 0.75m. It was located on the opposite (southern) side of the main dividing garden wall (adjoining the southern end of Trench C). The trench showed very clearly that the whole garden wall had fallen or been deliberately pushed south. This tumbled wall, once cleared of patchy turf and brambles was visible as a 2.5m wide ridge of jumbled bricks (7) running down the southern edge of the former dividing wall.

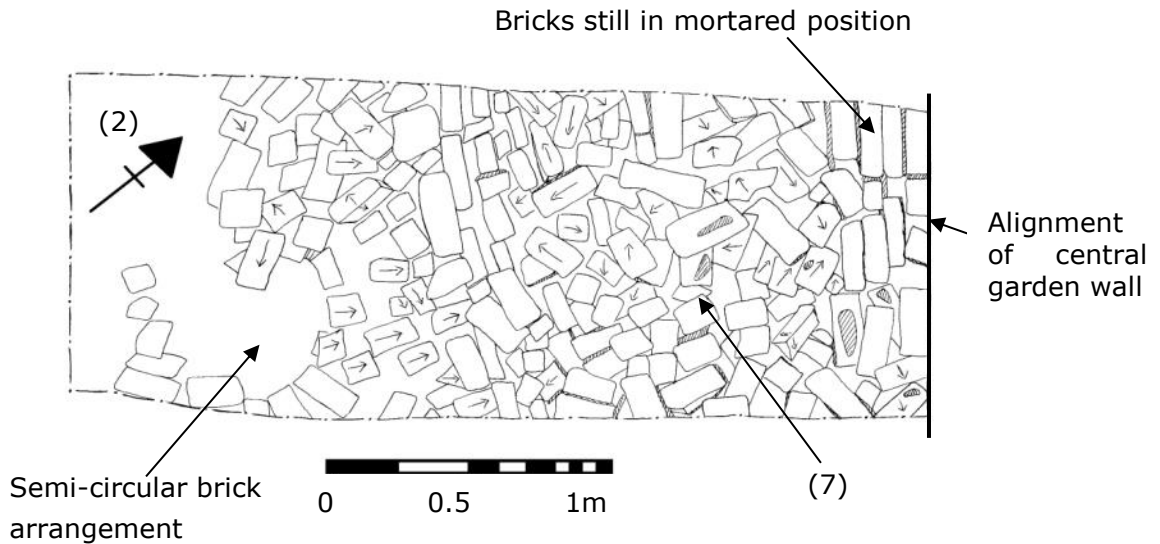


Fig 29 Trench D: brick tumble

Top – Measured sketch showing brick tumble in plan. Lower left – Looking west across wall tumble (7). Lower right – Looking north across wall tumble (7), showing the semi-circular brick arrangement.

A measured sketch plan (below), suggests an approximate 2m original wall height, and shows the lowest four brick courses as still adhering to each other as neat horizontally laid brickwork. It is possible that the very lowest courses were of double thickness.

A curved arrangement of bricks seen at the southern end of the trench appears to post-date the falling of the wall, and represents the re-arrangement of loose, surface bricks in an un-mortared half-circular pattern. The circuit did not surround any internal digging suggestive of either pet burial or planting.

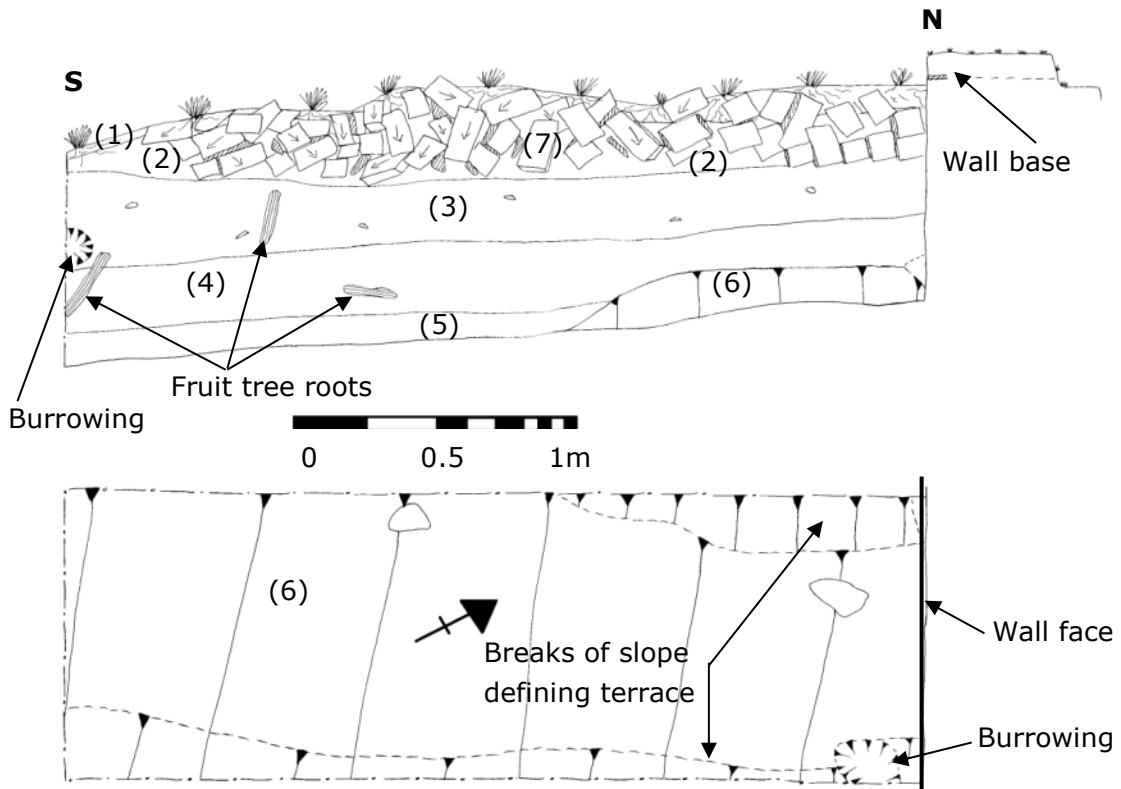


Fig 30 Section, plan and photos of trench D

Above: Top – East facing section through Trench D. Bottom – Plan of excavated Trench D. Below: Photos of trench D. Upper left – South facing wall foundations. Middle – The section, showing the removed wall tumble (7). Lower right – working shot looking north along Trench D (foreground) and C.

Following the removal of brick wall tumble (7), a series of layers were identified in section. From top to bottom these were: a thin rooty but patchy turf layer (1); a loose dark, former turf/topsoil (2) (including a long strand of garden twine attached to the former south-facing side of the wall) on to which the wall had collapsed; a deeper layer of mixed garden soil (3) with occasional brick and mortar fragments, glass, china and small animal bones (possibly associated with the frequent burrowing and animal disturbance); a slightly mixed clayey loam (4) which contained occasional beach

pebbles indicative of soil improvement through the addition of beach sand, a flint fragment associated with local prehistoric activity and a piece of sawn cattle rib (suggestive of the use of kitchen midden material in manuring). Below was dense stone and find-free, slightly loamy clay (5); overlying dense, pale heavy natural clay (6). Layers (3) and (4) contained a number of substantial fruit tree roots.

As with Trench C, the natural clay showed two breaks of slope which ran beneath and so pre-dated the lowest field boundary/garden wall foundations. The breaks in slope have been interpreted as a continuation of the likely animal track identified in Trench C.

12.5 Trench E

Trench E measured 1m x 1m and was 0.4m deep. It was located against the east facing front of the summer house, at the southern corner. The northern part of the building was too unstable to dig near (it had shifted since scaffolding had been put up). It was hoped that remains such as window tracery would be found amidst the fallen debris, in order to help with the proposed consolidation and reconstruction work.

The trench revealed, from top to bottom; thin turf layer (1); brick tumble with (2) topsoil build-up including an iron nail, coal, wall plaster, much clear window glass and a piece of oyster shell. Below was compact dark loamy clay (3) with occasional small pieces of red brick and mortar, a nail and possible corroded knife or file, a sheep tooth, a miscellaneous triangular piece of wood (5cm long), plain off-white painted wall plaster and window mortar?; over animal and root disturbed natural clay (4).

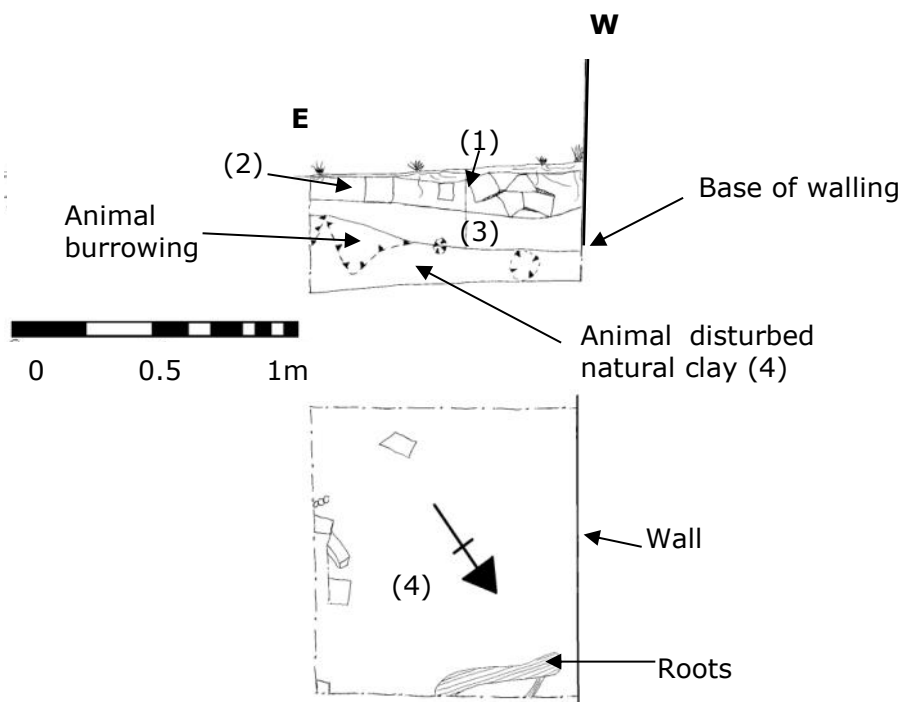


Fig 31 Section and plan of Trench E

Top – North facing section through Trench E showing summer house walling. Bottom – Plan of Trench E, showing large tree roots very close to the front of the building.



Fig 32 Photos of trench E

Left – Patchy red brick levelling. Top left – North facing section through Trench E. Top right – summer house wall foundations (**note** the large root extending beneath the shallow brick foundations, and the crack immediately above it).

This trench revealed very insubstantial foundations for the front of the summer house. Close to the former doorway it only consisted of a single course of sub-surface brickwork. One meter to the south, at the point where the section was drawn, it had four brick deep subsoil foundations. The trench did not show any surviving levelled surface at the front of the building, although it is probable that brick tumble (2) represented levelling for large slate slabs.

12.6 Trench F

Trench F measured 1m x 1m and was 0.5m deep. It was located approximately 1.5m in front of the summer house building and clearly revealed a layer of brick and slate levelling which would originally have supported probable thicker slate slab surfacing (the same as that suggested for the garden paving).

The trench position was in part designed to look at what appeared to be surface brick rubble at the eastern edge of the break of slope in front of the building. This has been shown to have extended the area of potential levelling east from the summer house. In effect it would have allowed the paved platform area in front of the building to be made larger.

From top to bottom the trench revealed: turf line (1); dark silty clay loam (2) with many bricks including 83 pieces of clear window glass, part of a glass bottle, modern pottery, a lump of lime and a marine shell. Below was slate and brick levelling (6). The density of bricks might suggest an attempt to prevent, or slow down slippage of the front of the summer house, in addition to extending the paved surface area. Compact clay loam layer (3) lay beneath this and included four pieces of iron (including a nail and a chain link), a pebble and a piece of asbestos roofing; substantial burrowing (5); and underlying natural clay (4).

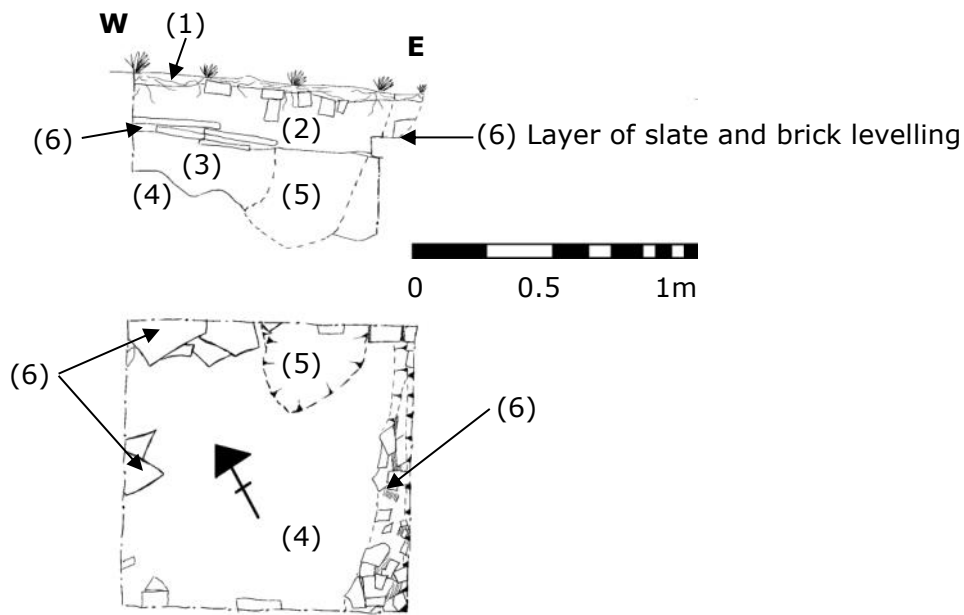


Fig 33 Trench F, section and plan

Top – South facing section of Trench F. Bottom – Plan showing brick and slate levelling layer (6).



Fig 34 Trench F, photos

Left – Looking east across Trench F showing the brick and slate levelling projecting from the sides. Right – Looking west across Trench F (note the pile of bricks removed from the trench (indicating the amount of levelling material required).

12.7 Trench G

Trench G measured 2m x 1m and was 0.4m maximum deep. It was positioned on top of the raised access way which runs along the eastern side of the western wall of the southern garden. The trench was expected to reveal clear evidence for hard core build-up and perhaps evidence for compaction or wheel rutting associated with regular cart access. In contrast, the trench showed that its apparently raised course was in fact preserving the natural ground contour.

The trench revealed, from top to bottom: turf layer (1); dark brown slightly mixed topsoil (2); dark compact loamy clay subsoil (3) and natural underlying clay (4).

Layer (2) seems to have seen some mixing, but did not appear heavily cultivated. Finds included a modern/post-medieval dinner plate sherd, a flower pot fragment, two iron objects, coal and occasional glass. Because the trench was located 3m to the east of the unstable western garden wall (to avoid wall disturbance), any potential garden cultivation or paving running parallel and against the wall was not revealed. Layer (3) appeared largely undisturbed, thinning as it approached the natural drop in contour - reflecting minor changes in the underlying geology.

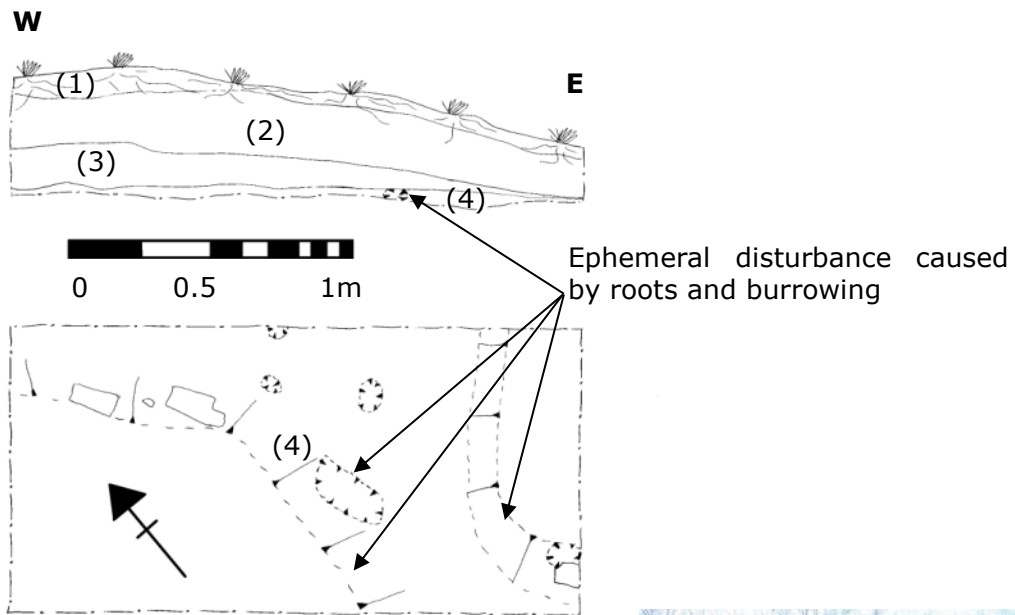


Fig 35 Trench G: section, plan and photos

Plans: Top, South facing section through Trench G. Bottom, Plan of trench base, showing marked unevenness associated with the quantity of animal disturbance. Photos: left, South facing section of Trench G. Right, View of the excavated trench showing the garden wall, the raised area and the eastern cut-away slope in the foreground.

12.8 Trench H

Trench H measured 2m x 1m and was 0.55m deep. It was located just to the north of Trench B, and was designed to look more closely at the garden path (the approximate course of which had already been identified in Trench B). The trench did successfully locate a further section of the path, in addition to a relatively recent probable sheepdog burial.

From top to bottom this trench revealed: turf line (1); recent sheepdog burial (6)/[8]; rooty, loamy topsoil (2), containing four pieces of modern pottery; dark loamy garden soil (3), which was identified between the path and the wall; loamy clay and stone garden path hard-core (4); slightly mixed but relatively compact orchard soil (5); and underlying natural clay (7).

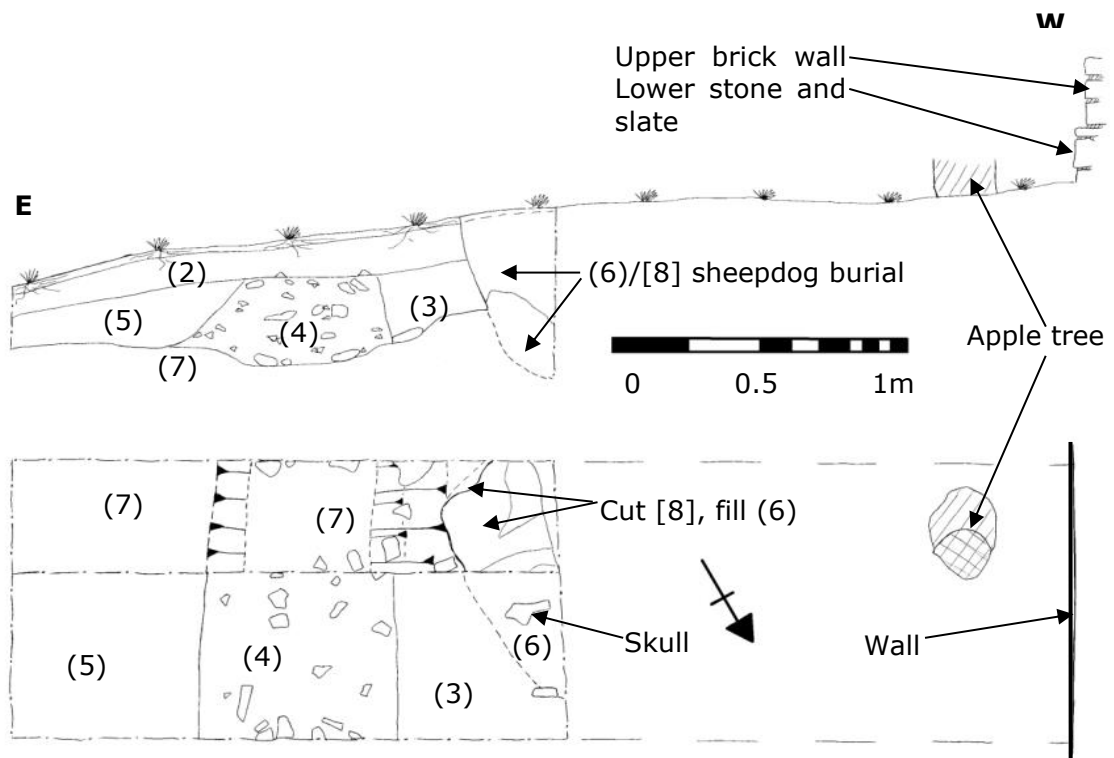


Fig 36 Trench H section and plan

Top – North facing section through Trench H. Bottom – Excavated plan showing garden path, garden and dog burial.

The photographs clearly show the pale yellowish brown path alignment running north to south across the trench. Dark, cultivated garden soil can be seen running along the western side of the path. It represents the well mixed and manured former garden bed running along the front of the wall. Interestingly, despite its obvious inclusion of dark organic-based material (manure), no finds were recorded, suggesting that in this layer farm animal waste, rather than sporadic kitchen-midden waste, was added to improve soil fertility. Numerous nails in the wall, illustrate the presence of fruiting (and flowering) plants trained up and supported by the wall. To the east of the path is a mid-brown, slightly heavier and less mixed soil interpreted as orchard soil.



Fig 37 Trench H photos

Top – North facing section of Trench H. Right - Looking west, showing the unexcavated path alignment on the right and the blanket-wrapped burial at the end of trench.

This trench showed most clearly the marked differences in colour between differently used garden contexts. The garden bed at the base of the wall would have been about 2m wide and the path about 0.6m wide.

The path alignment was made from redeposited natural clay mixed with small naturally occurring stones to produce a hard-core-like support for the path. Occasional peripheral stones projected slightly above the clay to help level probable slate slab surfacing. The original surface material has long-since been removed.

The plan shows an apple tree planted against the wall. Proximity suggests that it may perhaps originally have been trained against the wall. Interestingly, the tree originally had a much broader trunk (see plan), with the current live tree representing more recent growth (possible grafting?). Its position mirrors a similarly positioned fruit tree located further north along the wall. The current tree clearly became the focus for the sheepdog burial.

12.9 Trench I

Trench I measured 1.8m x 0.5m and was 0.5m deep. It was located 14m to the south of the central dividing garden wall, on the eastern cut edge of the raised former access way looked at by Trench G. This trench records the character of the steep east facing slope. Further to the south, where the edge was deeper, it had been faced with a stone revetment wall. The trench revealed that the northern, steep slope had been cut back, but was never re-enforced by the construction of a mortared revetment wall, though occasional loose stones may suggest a loose stone-defined edge? The original cut of the slope has been marked on the section drawing as a dashed line.

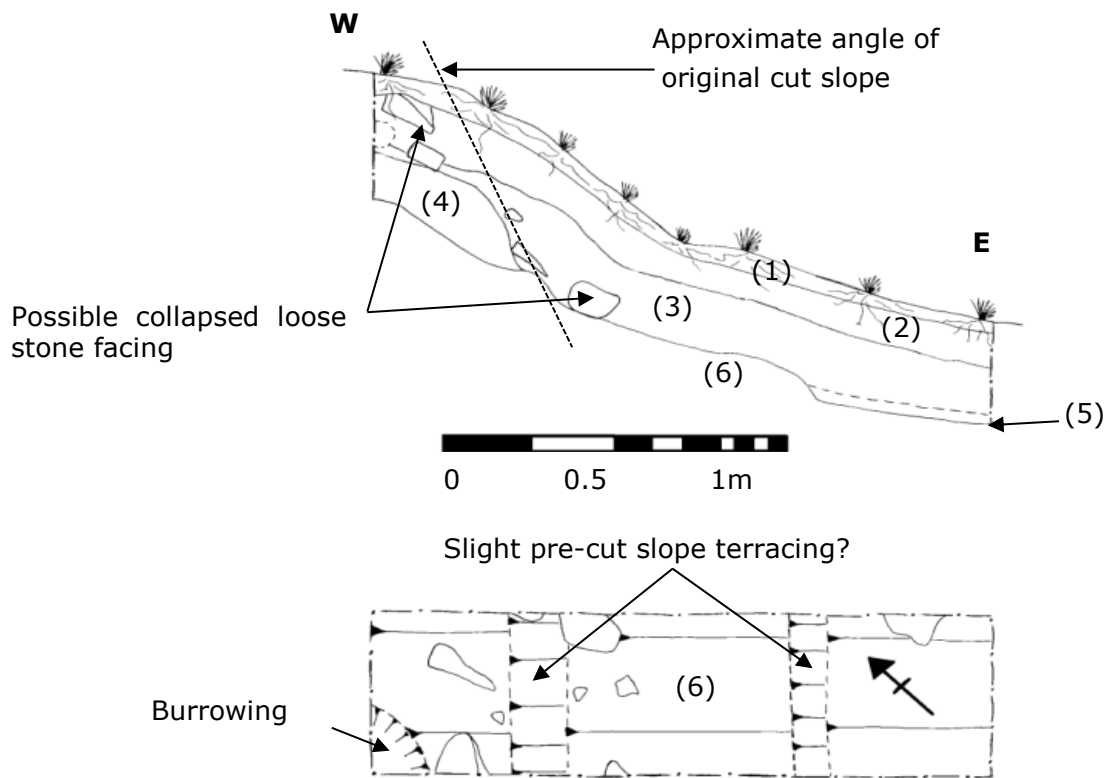


Fig 38 Section and plan of Trench I

Top - South facing section through Trench I. Bottom - Plan of excavated trench.

From top to bottom the trench revealed; turf line (1); dark clay loam topsoil (2); dense clay loam subsoil (3); dense 'dirty' clay (4), which represents the original, upper natural clay layer; a pocket of thin slightly disturbed or possibly sheep trampled clay (5), bounded on its upper western side by a slight terrace-like break of slope possibly representing the edge of a sheep walkway?; and dense, clean, undisturbed natural clay (7). This clay is paler and cleaner than the upper, slightly disturbed clay. It is shown clearly in the upper left photo. Its presence marks the level to which the slope was originally cut, removing layer (4) from the eastern two thirds of the trench, but preserving it as *in-situ* upper natural clay in the western third of the trench.

As with Trenches C and D, this trench again strongly suggests the movement of animals around the hill prior to the establishment of the garden. Such tracks are a frequent feature found on steep sheep-grazed slopes.



Fig 39 Trench I photos

Top – South facing section of Trench I (note the marked slope). Right – Looking west and upslope across Trench I.

12.10 Trench J

Trench J measured 0.9m x 0.5m and was 0.4m deep. It was located against the southern side of the summer house and was designed to look at any subsurface layers associated with the granite steps, surfacing around the summer house and the wall foundations along the southern side of the summer house.

From top to bottom the trench section revealed: thin rooty turf line (1) with 19 pieces of modern window glass; dark loamy topsoil and brick tumble (2); a dense layer of sorted 4-6cm quartz stones (3), forming the remains of a probable French drain (associated with the potential concentration of rain water at the foot of the granite steps). Below was natural clay and occasional stones (4).

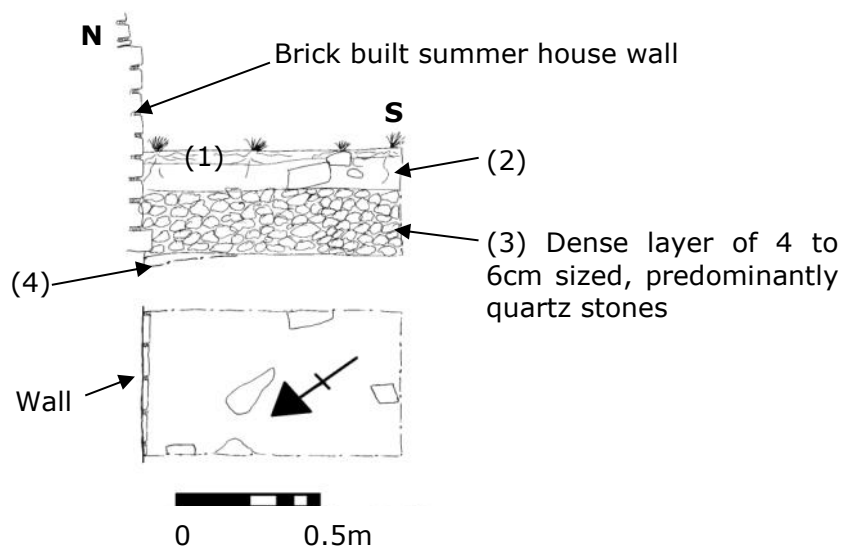


Fig 40 Trench J section and plan.

Top – West facing section through Trench J. Bottom – Plan of excavated trench.



Fig 41 Trench J photos

Top left – Looking north towards Trench J and the summer house (Note the pile of excavated stones (3) visible in all photographs). Upper right – West facing section of trench J. Left – Looking north at the excavated trench, showing the basal wall foundations for the southern side of the summer house.

This trench revealed neater, more substantial wall foundations than those identified in Trench E. The lowest course of bricks lay directly on the natural clay. Context (2) produced, in addition to brick and occasional mortar the probable lower jaw of a toothed gin trap. Gin traps were made illegal in 1958, but prior to that point were frequently used by game keepers, small holders, farmers and gardeners to trap and remove garden pests like rabbits. The presence of gin traps within and around the garden would have been entirely in keeping with the use of the walled garden.

12.11 Trench K

Trench K measured 0.9m x 0.5m and was 0.55m deep. It was located on the southern side of the granite steps which run up beside the southern wall of the summer house. The section revealed, from top to bottom: thin rooty turf line (1); a thick layer of red brick rubble (2) with intervening pockets of silty loam; compacted clay loam layer (3) which included small stones but no finds; and basal natural clay (4).

Jumbled brick deposit (2) may represent tumble from the adjacent collapsing wall. It predominantly consisted of weathered, soft red bricks. There were no modern forms, glass or other inclusions. The bricks do appear to have been purposely levelled, after which point voids filled with silty loam. It is possible that the bricks were designed to facilitate drainage (much like the French drain found in Trench J).

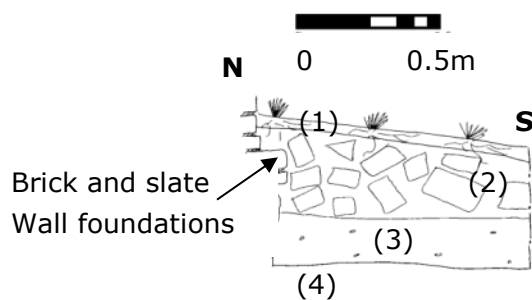


Fig 42 Section and photo of Trench K

Left – West facing section through Trench K, showing dense brick rubble/tumble.
Right – Looking north across the excavated trench.

Appendix: Excavation contexts table

Trench	Context	Interp.	Description	Findings
A	(1)	Turf line	4-6cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Topsoil	11-20cm thick. Mid grey brown clay loam with occasional stone fragments.	3 x M pot, 1 x coal, 1 x clay pipe c.1850, 4 x glass
	(3)	Garden soil	12-22cm thick. Pale yellow brown silty clay.	1 x M pot, 1 x pebble, 1 x marine shell
	(4)	Natural	Dense yellowish brown coloured clay.	-
B	(1)	Turf line	3-5cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Garden soil	8-15cm thick. Mixed dark brown clay loam with occasional small stones.	1 x pebbles, 1 x clay pipe stem c.1850, 2 x clear glass
	(3)	Lower garden soil/subsoil	8-18cm thick. Mid grey brown clay loam with occasional charcoal flecks and small stone.	1 x marine shell, 1 x pebble
	(4)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay.	-
	(5)	Path course	0.6m wide. Compacted, pale grey brown, redeposited natural clay with a slightly higher stone content preserving the original line of the path. Original (probable slate slab) surface missing.	-
	(6)	Clay lump	24cm long by 9cm thick. A discreet lump of pale mushroom coloured natural clay, possibly the result of disturbance to or the creation of (5).	-
	(7)	Topsoil	5-15cm thick. Very dark grey brown slightly clayey loam with occasional very small stones and brick fragments.	2 x M terracotta, 2 x coal, 4 x animal bone, 3 x green glass, 1 x shot gun casing
C	(1)	Turf line	4cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Top / orchard soil	8-14cm thick. Dark grey brown clay loam with occasional small stone fragments, plus small brick, slate and mortar fragments.	1 x M pot, 2 x green bottle pieces, iron chain, 2 x oysters, 2 x iron objects, 21 x M glass
	(3)	Former improved / mixed soil	10-20cm thick. Pale grey brown slightly loamy silty clay. A few small stones and very occasional brick fragments.	2 x pot (late 1500s-early 1600s), 1 x PM/M pot, 1 x square headed nail, 1 x c.1813 clay pipe stem, 8 x glass
	(4)	Subsoil	6-16cm thick. Pale yellow brown silty clay with occasional small stones and charcoal.	1 x iron object, marine 1 x shell
	(5)	Natural	Dense bright yellowish brown clay with occasional stones.	-
D	(1)	Turf line	3cm thick. Loose grass and root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Fallen / pushed	2.5m+ wide, 30cm thick. The full height of the collapsed/ pushed over	-

Trench	Context	Interp.	Description	Finds
		brick wall	central dividing garden wall. Consisted of mortared locally made red brick. Voids filling with leaves.	
	(3)	Top/ orchard soil	20-37cm thick. Slightly clayey, mixed dark brown loam with occasional small brick and stone fragments. Burrowed and fresh animal bone.	1 x M pot
	(4)	Former improved soil	14-24cm thick. Mixed, compact, slightly gritty clay loam. Mid yellow brown, with occasional fruit tree root disturbance.	1 x flint, 1 x coal, 1 x pebble, 1 x rodent bone, 1 x sawn rib bone
	(5)	Basal subsoil	10cm thick. Mid/pale brown very slightly loamy clay.	-
	(6)	Natural	Dense yellowish brown coloured clay with occasional stones.	-
E	(1)	Turf line	1-3cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Topsoil & levelling?	6-14cm thick. Dark grey brown slightly silty clay loam with broken red bricks, possible used as patchy levelling.	1 x iron nail, slate, 4 x coal, 1 x wall plaster frag, 22 x glass, 1 x oyster
	(3)	Subsoil / construction level?	7-16cm thick. Compact mid yellowish grey-brown loamy clay with moderate small (possibly crushed) brick, mortar and stone fragments.	2 x iron nail and knife/file, 1 x sheep tooth, 2 x plain painted wall plaster, 1 x mortar pointing, 1 x wood object?
	(4)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay with occasional stones.	-
F	(1)	Turf line	2-5cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Topsoil / levelling	13-22cm thick. Formerly mixed, but compacted dark grey brown silty loam with bricks pushed down in to the top.	84 x glass, 3 x M pot, slate, 1 x animal bone, 1 x marine shell
	(3)	Subsoil	14-20cm thick. Compact, fine, mixed dark brown silty clay loam, which has been severely burrowed.	4 x iron, 1 x pebble, 1 x wall plaster, 1 x asbestos, 4 x glass
	(4)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay with occasional stones.	-
	(5)	Burrow	25cm wide by 25cm+ deep. Animal burrowing, disturbance and subsidence.	-
	(6)	Levelling / surface?	8-12cm thick. A patchy layer of slate (closest to the Summer House) and red brick (to the east). Despite a gap caused by disturbance (5), both the slate and the brick appear to form a levelled surface.	-
G	(1)	Turf line	3-11cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Topsoil	14-23cm thick. Mixed dark brown, slightly gritty clay loam with occasional small stones. Grit may suggest minor treatment to reduce slippage on what may have been an	1 x PM pot, 2 x M pot, 2 x iron objects, 1 x coal, 2 x animal bone, 1 x plant pot, mortar lumps, 3 x

Trench	Context	Interp.	Description	Finds
			early access way to the garden.	glass
	(3)	Subsoil	2-14cm thick. Dark reddish brown loamy clay. Dense and compacted – probably the result of track compaction?	-
	(4)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay with occasional stones.	-
H	(1)	Turf line	2-4cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Topsoil	8-13cm thick. Grey brown clay loam with small stone fragments.	1 x PM pot, 3 x M pot, 1 x coal
	(3)	Garden soil	16-26cm thick. Dark, soft grey brown, well mixed slightly clayey silty loam.	-
	(4)	Path course	Approximately 0.7m wide at top, sides dug away to an approximate 26cm depth. Compact, yellow brown clay with small stones, plus some larger stones (10cm) pressed in to the top edges suggestive of levelling for probable slate slabs. Extending up from natural clay to the top of the garden soil.	-
	(5)	Orchard soil	12-21cm thick. Mid/pale grey brown silty clay loam with occasional small stones.	-
	(6)	Burial	30cm wide and 60cm deep. Extended west towards the wall, beyond the excavated trench. Recent sheepdog burial in a blanket.	-
	(7)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay with occasional stones.	-
	[8]	Burial cut	30cm wide and 60cm deep. Western side of sheer cut recent sheep dog burial.	-
I	(1)	Turf line	5-8cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark blackish brown loam.	-
	(2)	Topsoil and stones	10-15cm thick. Mixed dark brown clay loam with occasional stones from possible loose stone facing.	-
	(3)	Subsoil and collapse	4-26cm thick. Dense mid brown loamy clay with occasional collapsed stones.	-
	(4)	Upper level natural	15cm thick. Dense mid brown clay. Root and worm activity.	-
	(5)	Disturbed natural	5cm thick. Mid/pale brown disturbed/trampled? clay.	-
	(6)	Lower level natural	Dense yellowish brown coloured clay with occasional stones.	-
J	(1)	Turf line	2-6cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark blackish brown loam.	1 x M ceramic tile, 19 x glass
	(2)	Topsoil and brick	9-12cm thick. Near black loam with red bricks.	1 x gin trap jaw
	(3)	French	18-20cm thick. Dense layer of 4-6cm sized, predominantly quartz	-

Trench	Context	Interp.	Description	Finds
		drain	stones.	
	(4)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay.	-
K	(1)	Turf line	3-5cm thick. Grass and matted root growth in dark brown loam.	-
	(2)	Brick rubble	17-29cm thick. Dense layer of red brick (handmade) rubble in near black topsoil.	-
	(3)	Subsoil	17cm thick. Compacted, very dark grey brown clay loam with occasional small stones.	-
	(4)	Natural	Dense mushroom coloured clay.	-

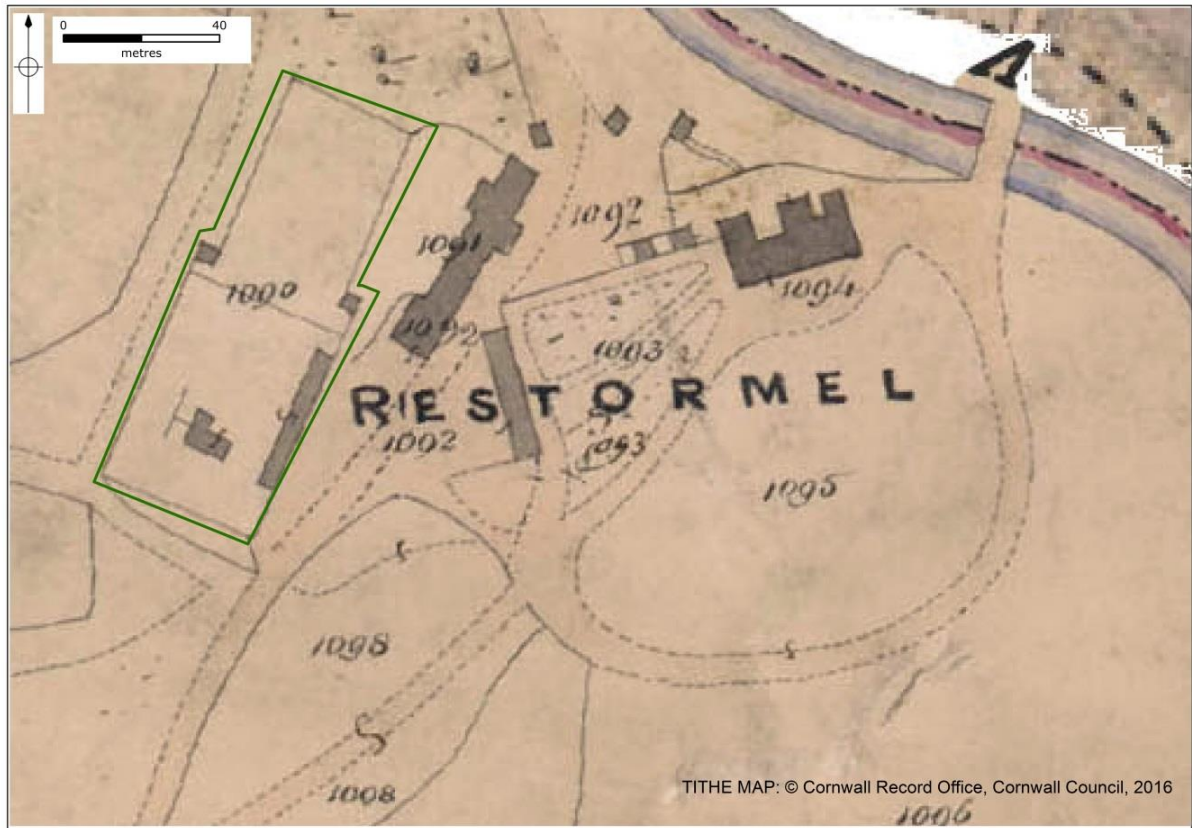


Fig 43 Tithe survey for Lanlivery, 1839, recording the site as no. 1090, 'Walled Garden'

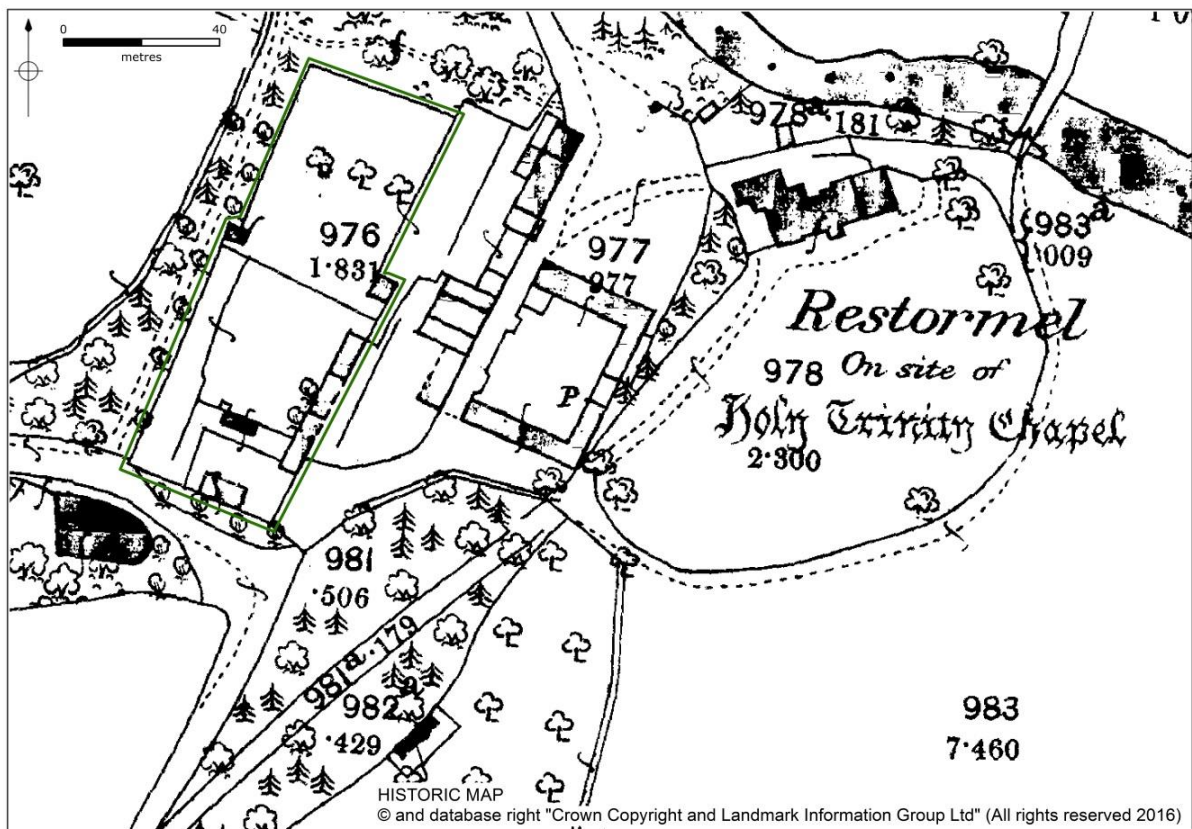


Fig 44 OS map of 1881 plotting fruit trees on the north, and glasshouse south of centre

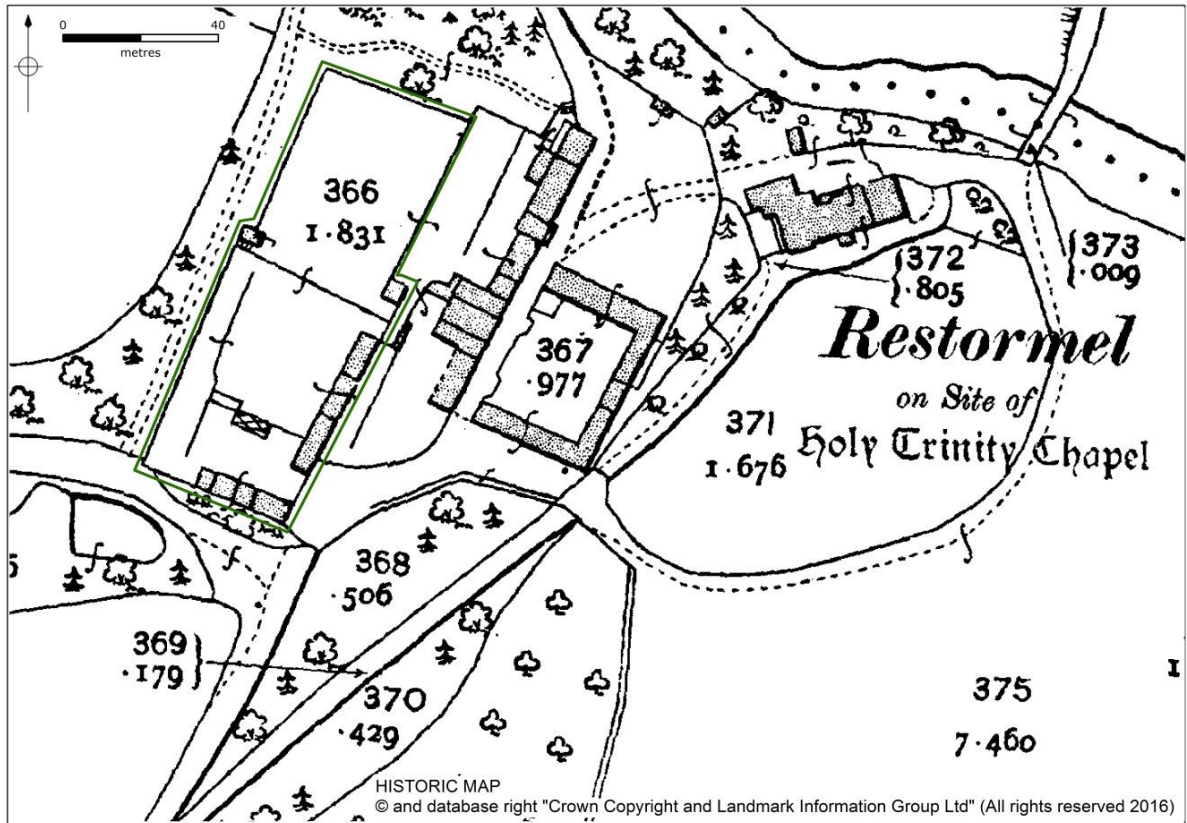


Fig 45 OS revision, 1907, showing little change other than small buildings on the south



Fig 46 Aerial photograph, 2005, recording the modern farm buildings on the south

Cornwall Archaeological Unit

Fal Building, County Hall, Treyew Road, Truro, Cornwall,
TR1 3AY

(01872) 323603
enquiries@cau.org.uk
www.cau.org.uk

