
GODOLPHIN AND ITS GARDENS

A survey by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of
England

Request Survey

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Godolphin and its Gardens: a survey by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

Nicholas Cooper and Martin Fletcher

SUMMARY

This report is the result of the survey and investigation of the house and gardens of the Godolphin estate, and of research into published and unpublished documentary sources, undertaken by RCHME in 1994-5. The surviving parts of the house were built in four phases between the late 15th and the early 17th centuries; there are also remains of gardens of the late 16th century. Although much of the house was demolished, probably in the course of the 18th century, substantial parts still stand of the house of a leading family of Cornish gentry of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1937 the house was bought by Sydney Schofield who undertook sympathetic restoration and repair. More information on the former layout of the house and its grounds may be obtained by excavation: the present report seeks to set out the present state of knowledge about the house and its immediate surroundings, and to summarise the history of its ownership in so far as this seems to relate to an understanding of the existing fabric.



Plate 1. North front of Godolphin House (M Fletcher).

LOCATION

The Godolphin estate in the parish of Breage lies in a typical Cornish setting of a lush green and wooded valley surrounded by small pasture fields on a sloping hill which is capped by an exposed

moorland expanse on the rounded summit area at 162m above OD.

The house centred at SW 60103184 is a grade 1 listed building (NMR No SW 63 SW 3). It is situated at 63m above OD and lies snugly in a slight cleft located on the side of a north-facing hillslope.

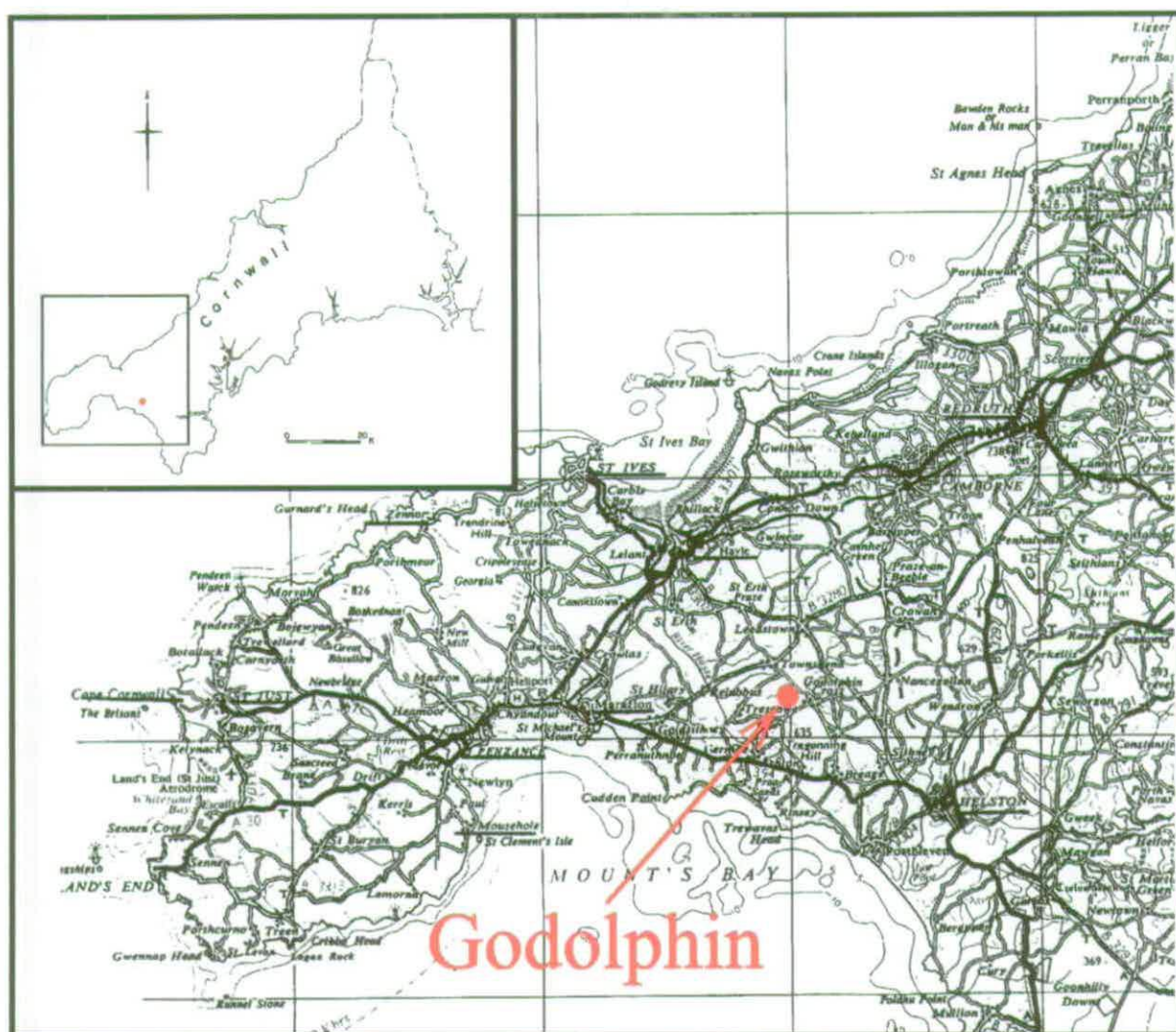


Fig. 1 Godolphin. Location. Based on OS 1:50 000, with additions.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

John Schofield, the owner's son, has undertaken extensive research into the history of the house and the family. He has contributed much to the theories about the architectural development of the building and to the continuing debate about the origins and the history of the gardens and the estate as a house. He follows a line of historians who have reported on the house over the centuries. In 1993 Lewis and Phibbs were commissioned to undertake an investigation into the landscape of the estate and survey of written sources. Their findings were presented in a report (Lewis & Phibbs 1993) which includes many of the known sources relating to the history of the Godolphin family and the house.

In 1994 Nicholas Cooper and George Wilson of the RCHME compiled an architectural report to accompany a 1:100 scale survey of the house. John Gurney researched

the history of the house for this text. During 1995 Martin Fletcher and Simon Probert of the RCHME undertook a 1:500 scale survey of the gardens.

This report, an analysis of both the house and garden, amplifies the work undertaken by the Schofields, the Department of Environment in 1957, the Cornwall Gardens Trust Lewis and Phibbs in 1993 and others. The wider landscape of the estate was examined and surveyed by Peter Herring of the Cornwall Archaeological Unit in 1996 funded by English Heritage.

HISTORY

The house comprises work of four identifiable phases: the late 15th century, c.1540, c.1580-1600, and c.1635. These are described in greater detail in the section headed 'The House', below. There is documentary evidence for the earlier occupation of the site, but nothing of earlier work is now visible.

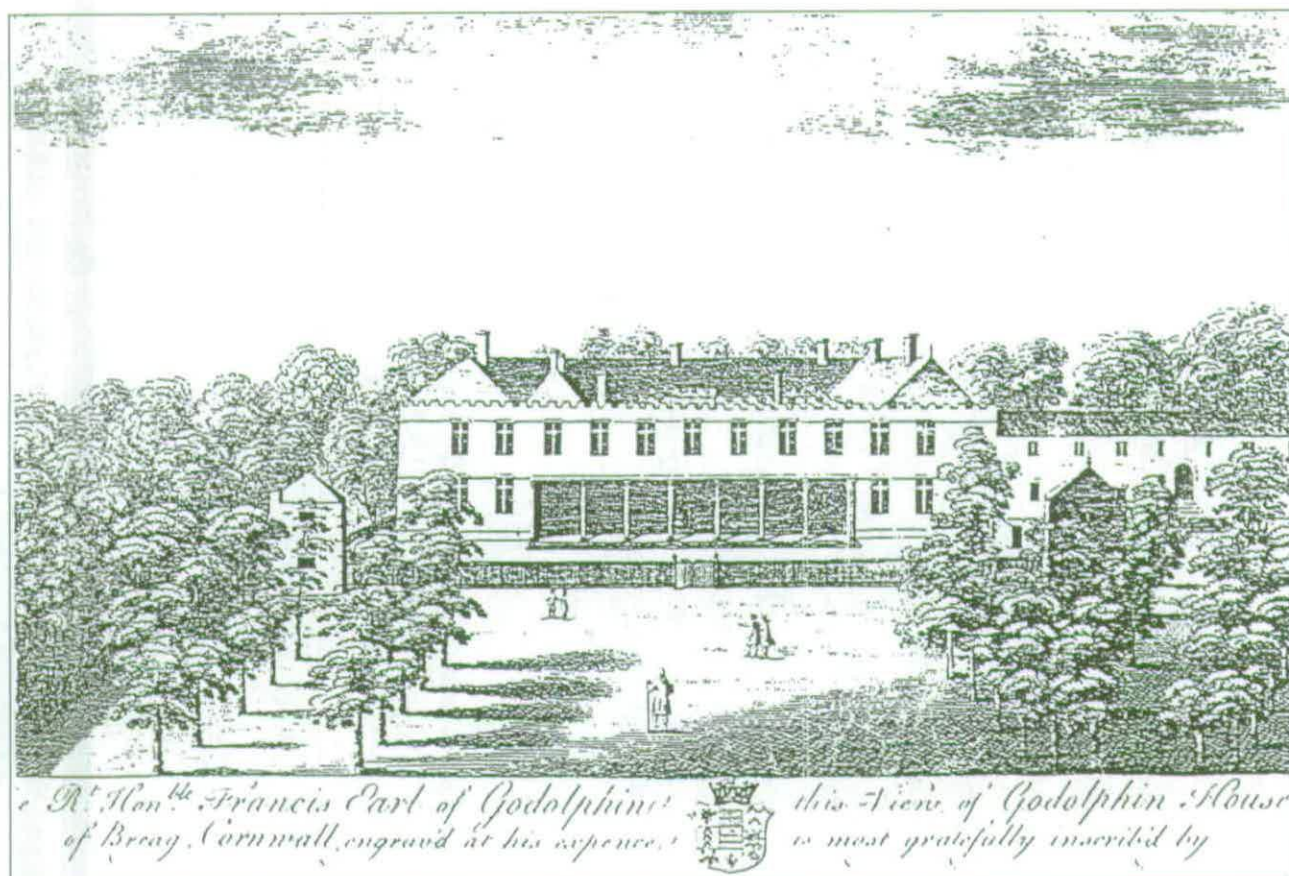


Fig. 2. Copy of print dated 1758 by William Borlase (Schofield Family Papers).

Substantial remains exist of ornamental gardens, probably to be associated with the third phase of building in the late 16th century. These also are described below.

The east range can be ascribed to Sir William Godolphin (1510-1575), as the expansion or replacement of an earlier house on the site¹. The Godolphins were well placed to engage in major building work at this time. Their increasing wealth owed much to their involvement in tin mining, and both Sir William and his father held important stannary offices with Sir William serving as vice warden and comptroller of the stannary (Willen 1981, 39-40). Like other Cornish gentry families who achieved prominence in the 16th century, the Godolphins also benefited - particularly during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI - from their active support for the local implementation of Church reforms. In 1537, for instance, Sir William Godolphin moved quickly to suppress a rising at St Keverne in support of the Pilgrimage of Grace, while in 1547 he was responsible for dealing with a 'tumultuous assembly' in Penwith hundred that had come out in defence of church goods (Whiting 1989, 71). A member of the Godolphin family was involved in supervising the compilation of inventories of church goods in Cornwall, and at least one Godolphin joined the Protestant Marian exiles (Whiting 1989, 221-2, 225, 227).

Although there is evidence to suggest that the Godolphins were committed reformers, their support for government-led church reforms may not have been prompted solely by strong religious principles.² Robert Whiting has pointed out that William Godolphin was 'rewarded by grateful government with lucrative office' after the suppression of the St Keverne conspiracy (Whiting 1989, 226). Members of the Godolphin family were active on the Council of the West, and served as leading Duchy officials; their rights as lessees of the Scilly Isles were confirmed by the Crown in 1570. Godolphins also sat frequently in parliament, both as knights of the shire for Cornwall and as representatives of the boroughs of Lostwithiel and Helston (Hasler 1981, 198; Willen 1981, 39-40)³. Leland claimed that there were 'no greater Tynne works in all Cornwall than be on Sir William Godolcan's ground'; the latter's nephew and heir, Sir Francis, was said to employ 300 men in the mines on his lands, and he no doubt enhanced the family's income from tin through his introduction of important technical innovations in the mining process (Carew 1811, 42, Godolphin Guide 2; Hasler 1981, 198). Sir Francis appears to have died a wealthy man. In his will, which was drawn up on 4 October 1605, he left £2,000 to each of his daughters for their marriage portions, and an

annuity of £300 to his wife Lady Alice. Several other relatives were to benefit from smaller legacies, while the substantial sum of £100 was to be divided among his servants. £200 was left to the poorest towns and parishes of Penwith and Kerrier hundreds for setting the poor to work, and 'for restrayninge them from ydle loytering and wandringe abroade in the Countrie'. £40 was to be used for building a house of correction or almshouses, and provision was also made for 'the buyldinge of fflower chambers or lodges in Godolphin Hill or some parte of the Ball for fower poore decayed Tynners of my Ball'.⁴

Sir Francis is known to have had direct involvement in building activities, having worked with the surveyor Robert Adams in the planning and construction of Starr Castle on the Scilly Isles (Colvin 1982 591-2; Haslam 1994, 78).⁵ It is probable that he was responsible for the third phase of the enlargement of Godolphin - the rebuilding of the hall and the state rooms comprising great chamber [now the King's Room], lobby, withdrawing room and bed chamber on the west side of the courtyard. The main entrance, with its four-centred arch and classical detailing, may also belong to this phase, as does the projecting wing at the north-east of the house which would have been built to match the northernmost point of the newly-constructed west range (Haslam 1994, 77).

Sir William Godolphin, who succeeded Sir Francis in 1608, survived his father by only five years, and it is not known to what extent he was able to continue the rebuilding of the house.⁶ It is clear from his will that he was still saddled with his father's debts and legacies when he died. The debts included his sisters' £2,000 marriage portions; Sir William himself also owed unspecified sums of money to the Agents for tin. Among his father's outstanding legacies were life annuities to his mother and brother, and annuities due to his sisters before their marriage. His own daughter, Penelope, was to receive a marriage portion of £1,000 out of Godolphin's household goods and personal possessions; he could only hope that his executor would later be able to enlarge the portion. Financial difficulties are also hinted at in the preamble to the will, in Godolphin's plea for God's mercy for 'my unadvised act in burninge att my now cominge from London, my draught for the disposicon of

[my] estate'. It must be emphasised, however, that he was still sufficiently wealthy to be able to arrange for substantial provisions to be made for his two younger sons, Sidney and William. The former was to receive, when his older brother Francis reached the age of twenty-one, the Norfolk lands which had come to the Godolphins through Sir William's marriage to Thomasine Sidney, and which had passed initially to Francis. William was to be granted the remainder of Godolphin's lease in the Scilly Isles.⁷ Hyde was later to say that Sidney Godolphin was 'liberally supplied for a very good education, and for a cheerful subsistence, in any course of life he proposed to himself'. (Huehns 1978, 47; Keeler 1954, 188)⁸

After Sir William Godolphin's death in 1613, the Godolphin estates were left in the hands of his brother Francis for the space of fourteen years until his eldest son came of age. Francis Godolphin was enjoined, as sole executor of Sir William's will and as guardian of the estates, to disburse the profits from land and tin for the maintenance and education of Sir William's children, for the payment of the various legacies and debts of Sir William and his father, and for the management of the estate.⁹ There was no suggestion in the will that Francis Godolphin should engage in any costly building activities, and it is highly unlikely that he would have wished to undertake such work during his temporary guardianship of the Godolphin lands. One must assume, therefore, that there was something of a hiatus in the building programme at Godolphin in the years 1613-27, and that work would only have resumed when Sir William's heir came into possession of the estate.

Phase four, comprising the construction of the suites of rooms over the screen wall on the north side of the courtyard and the two loggias beneath these rooms, is of the 1630s. There are similarities in detail to Lanhydrock, which is known to have been built in the later 1630s and early 1640s.¹⁰ The decision to add to the living accommodation at Godolphin may have reflected the need to provide for an enlarged household, since it is clear that Francis Godolphin continued to live at the house after his nephew Francis assumed control of the estates. He was described as being of Godolphin when he wrote his will in October 1637, and the will was not proved until May 1640.¹¹ The new owner had already married by 1635 (Henning 1983, 404). Both Francis Godolphin and his brother Sidney were elected to the Long Parliament

in 1640; both abandoned Parliament in 1642 and took up arms in the royalist cause (Henning 1983, 407).¹² The Godolphins appear to have been moderate royalists, whose wartime allegiance reflected more their alarm at religious and constitutional developments at Westminster in the years 1640-2 than any support for absolutism or Laudianism (Coate 1933, 26-34).¹³ In the previous decade Sidney Godolphin had been associated with the Great Tew circle, many of whose members were to show great antipathy towards the more extreme members of the King's party during the Civil War (Dick 1972, 47-8).¹⁴ In January 1643 Sidney Godolphin was involved in moves to arrange a local cessation of hostilities in Cornwall; his brother was later said to have been 'farr from obstructing' the surrender of the Scilly Isles to Parliament (Coate 1933, 46-7).¹⁵

The effects of the Civil War on Francis Godolphin's wealth and income are difficult to determine. He was offered a free pardon after the surrender of the Scilly Isles, but his Cornish estates appear to have been under sequestration as late as April 1648 (Henning 1983, 404).¹⁶ It is possible that he was given a degree of protection by his relative Francis Godolphin of Treveneage, the MP for St Ives and member of the Cornwall county committee (Keeler 1954, 187; Firth and Rait 1911, 111; Coate 1933, 30).¹⁷ The Godolphins of Treveneage were evidently on close terms with their cousins: Francis's father, William Godolphin of Treveneage and St Hilary, had been buried in the Godolphin aisle in Breage church, and Francis himself had been named as an overseer of Sir William Godolphin's will in 1613 (Henning 1983, 198-9).¹⁸

Few royalists, except the most recalcitrant or unfortunate, were ruined by the Civil War, and there are plenty of examples of royalists who prospered, and who were able to engage in building activities, during the more stable decade of the 1650s. Francis Godolphin of Godolphin would have benefited from his acquisition of the bulk of Sidney Godolphin's property, including the Norfolk estates and Scilly leases, after the younger brother's death at Chagford in 1643; he had also recently been left most of his uncle Francis's goods and possessions.¹⁹

Building work at Godolphin would almost certainly have come to a halt at the start of the Civil War, but what is more surprising is that work did not resume in the next decade. One explanation may be that there was simply no urgency to continue the building programme. The east wing, which was destined to be swept away in the next phase of rebuilding, may have been old-fashioned, but it was undoubtedly still serviceable; failure to replace it in

the succeeding years need not have caused any great inconvenience to the owners of Godolphin. Another explanation may be the financial uncertainty caused by the collapse of the tin industry's coinage system in the 1650s, which benefited the working tin miners at the expense of the wealthier mine owners and stannary officials (VCH 1906, 4489; Coate 1933, 275).

Francis Godolphin was on paper an extremely wealthy man: in 1660 his estate was said to be worth £1,000 a year, and in November 1661 he contributed the substantial sum of £100 on the Free and Voluntary Present (Keeler 1954, 188; Stoate 1974, 195, 250). When he attempted to marry off his heir, after the latter had been created a baronet on his return from Italy, he was able to boast to prospective in-laws that:

I will settle upon him and his heyres, all my lands of inheritance, after my selfe, and mynes of tyn of greater yeerly value ... leaving the rest of my children to be provided for out of my lease lands: our estates ioyned will be able to support the dignitie of a Baron²⁰

Other documents suggest, however, that the Godolphin fortunes were not as stable as they may at first have appeared. Sir Francis's probate inventory, compiled on 15 September 1668, showed that he was owed debts of at least £3,000, not including arrears of rent and reliefs in Penrice which could not be estimated at the time the inventory was drawn up. The bulk of Godolphin's wealth appears from the inventory to have been tied up in chattel leases and in tin mining.²¹ Furthermore, the size of Sir Francis's family would have been financially unsettling. At the time of his death he had six sons and seven daughters still living; his daughters' marriage portions alone would have come to almost £8,000. The difficulties involved in finding these sums is indicated by his request that his daughters 'leave their Porcons after they become due with their brother Sir William Godolphin att ffoure pounds per Cent And hee give them their dyett in the house with their mother and eldest Brother'. His five younger sons were to be provided with annuities totalling no more than £ 380; gifts of a further £1,000 to be shared by three of the sons were to come out of the debts due from Sir Charles Berkeley, and could only be made if these debts were ever repaid.²²

Such problems may well have been exacerbated by the destruction in a fire of Sir Francis's papers (and, presumably, the bulk of

earlier Godolphin papers) less than a fortnight after his death. This fire is known about from the letter from Thomas Holden to James Hicke, in which it is claimed that on 3 April 1667 'it pleased God by an accident of fire to burn down the greatest part of his house: his closet wherein was most of his writings and to the great loss of his lady and children'²¹. The fire is also referred to in the very rough draft of a letter from Dorothy Godolphin, Sir Francis's widow, to her sister-in-law Lady Fitzharding: having spoken of 'our most grievous losse ... [of] ... ye worthiest husband & ye tenderest fath [er]', she describes 'this additionall losse & distraction amongst us by ye burning of yr deare brothers studdie & all yt was in it to ye ground; one box onely scaped.'²² Her letter also mentions the pressing necessities of Sir Francis's affairs, and his decision to make provision for his younger sons out of the Berkeley debts and:

those sums due from yr la[dy]s[hi]p by bonds & otherwise ... which I hope yu will not think amisse off when I have told you that after a serious consideration of his estates his debts, & his children he was not able to leave any [of] them more then annuities for their lives of which ye greatest is but 6 skore 1. a yeare & ye least not 40.

In her own will, drawn up on 17 November 1668, Dorothy Godolphin again expressed her concern for her childrens' future maintenance, and made it clear that her

earnest desire is that those younger children & orphans wch were under my care, that my said Ex[ecu]tor Sir Wm. Godolphin will take them into his charge & care who I hope will have a perticuler regard & indulgence over them untill such time as pleaseth God they come of Age.

She sought to ensure that the bulk of her goods and chattels would be divided among her sons Francis, Sidney, Harry, Charles and Edward, and her daughters Frances, Penelope, Margaret, Katharine and Ann.²³

Sir William Godolphin, who was described by his father as being 'very modest', appears to have had little interest in making additions to his ancestral home.²⁴ No major alterations took place at Godolphin during his tenure of the estate, which lasted until his death in 1710. He was succeeded by

his brother Sidney, whose chief residences lay outside Cornwall, and who survived him by just two years. The latter's heir, Francis, second Earl of Godolphin (d.1766), rarely stayed at Godolphin. There would have been little incentive to engage in extensive building work in the years before the properties passed to the Dukes of Leeds, and it is likely that very little investment would have been put into an estate that lacked a resident owner. As early as 1712 the deer park and warren had been let to tenants: in a letter to the Earl of Godolphin dated 17 November 1712, John Rogers of Breage begged to be quit of the 'foolish bargain' he had made:

when I was not sensible of what I did in taking the Warren and deer Park at the survy. I came at the survy accidentally (sic) not intending to Concern my selfe with any such enterprices for I am not in Power to stock it out for I was overcome with liquor before I came there not fitt to profor at the survy or understand any thing that I did at that time.²⁵

No detailed plans of Godolphin survive from before the demolition of major parts of the house after its acquisition by the Dukes of Leeds, but its earlier size is hinted at in the Hearth Tax assessments of 1664, in which Sir Francis Godolphin was charged for forty-nine hearths in the parish of Breage (Stoate 1981, 112). The destruction of the hall at Godolphin has usually been dated to 1804, owing to the well-known reference in Christopher Wallis's journal in May 1804, when he went to Godolphin to view the materials from Godolphin Mills and Stamping Mills that were due to be sold by auction:

At Godolphin this day was hard to see the venerable old mansion demolished and the materials thereof sold by auction, the handsomnest, largest and best proportioned Hall in England except Westminster Hall.²⁶

There is nothing to show that Wallis was referring to a contemporary event, and his reference to Westminster Hall does suggest that he may not have been familiar with the hall at Godolphin.²⁷ Godolphin was at this time let to Captain Richard Tyacke, the Duke's agent in Cornwall.²⁸ In April 1803 Tyacke was paid for minor repair work at Godolphin: on 6 August 1802 he had spent 10s 8d on 'repairing the lead Roof at Godolphin House',

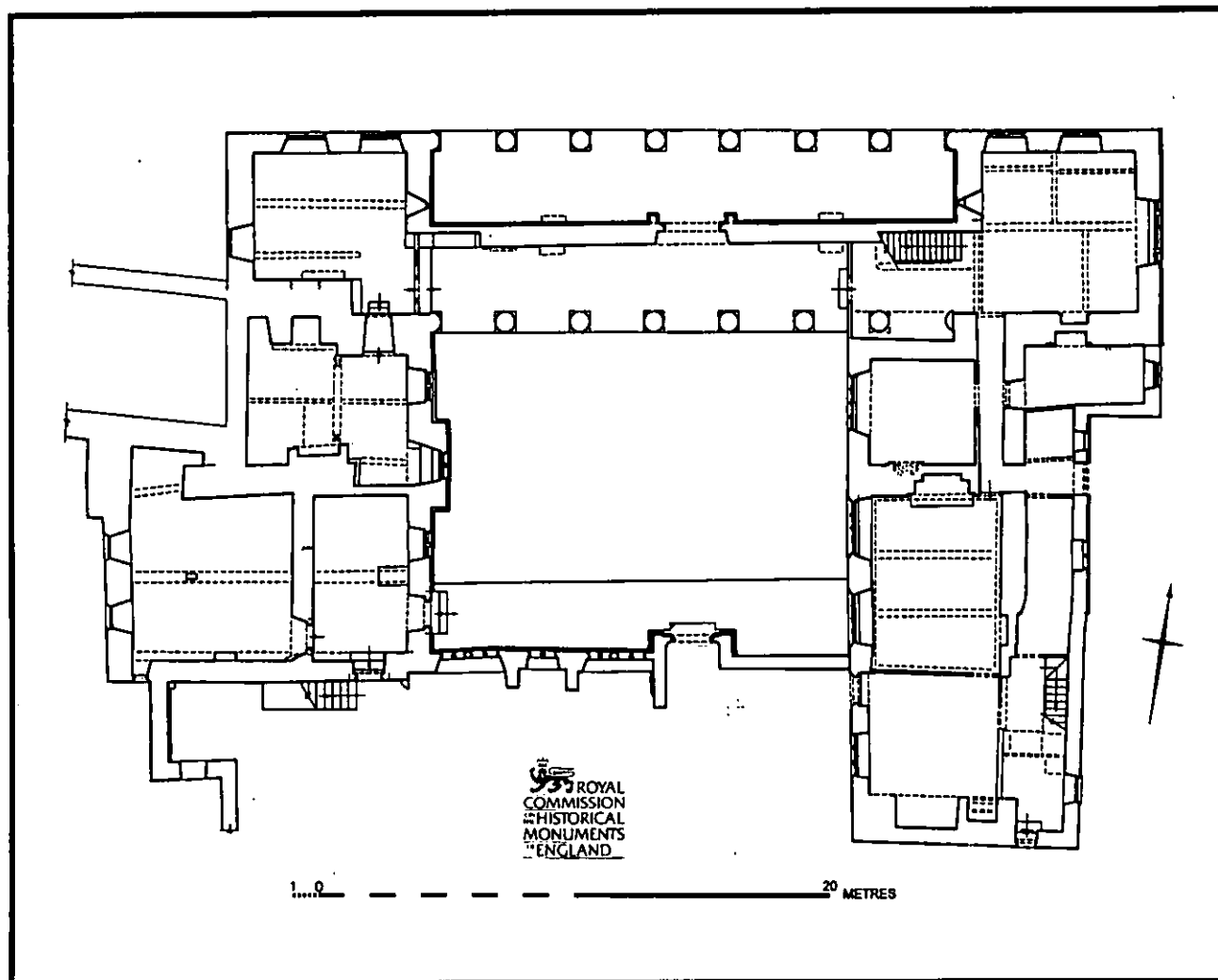


Fig. 3. RCHME plan of Godolphin House, ground floor. Surveyed at 1:100 scale, reduced for this report.

and he had also paid two masons, John Rodda and Richard Faulle, £2 8s 4d for repairs to the roof and walls of the house.³¹ There is no hint of any similar expenditure in the Duke's Cornish accounts for 1803-4, and it does seem inconceivable that the costs of major demolition work and the receipts from the sale of materials at Godolphin would not be included in these accounts.³² It is just possible that the demolition of the hall took place some years earlier. The 1786 Godolphin estate map appears to show the hall in outline, but this is the one part of the main building not coloured in on the map. Did only the shell of the hall survive at this date?³³ If the hall was demolished soon after the Dukes of Leeds acquired the estate, rather than 19th century additions or alterations.³⁴

THE HOUSE

The house is built in local stone with some cob, and of a size and sophistication that are unusual for the area. Substantial parts of it have been destroyed, and the greater part of the surviving building stands around a courtyard entered from the north and formerly having the hall on the south side. On both east and west of the

courtyard are ranges of rooms of high quality, though of different periods. The hall range has been demolished save for fragments of the porch and its north wall, which has been partly rebuilt, while services which probably lay around a further courtyard to the south have wholly vanished. The surviving work is of four main building periods: the late 15th century, c.1540, c.1580-1600, and c.1635. None of this is intact: work of the earlier periods has been partly demolished, and the work of the 1630's was never completed. It is moreover almost certain that the house incorporates at least wall footings of still earlier work the presence of which probably affected the alignment and position of work which survives. While the principal phases of building and the main form and purposes of the house's surviving parts are clear, much of its detailed history remains obscure.

Phase 1 - late 15th century

On the south side of the courtyard are fragments that are probably identifiable as the hall porch, projecting northward into the courtyard at a point rather to the east of centre. This porch has a two-

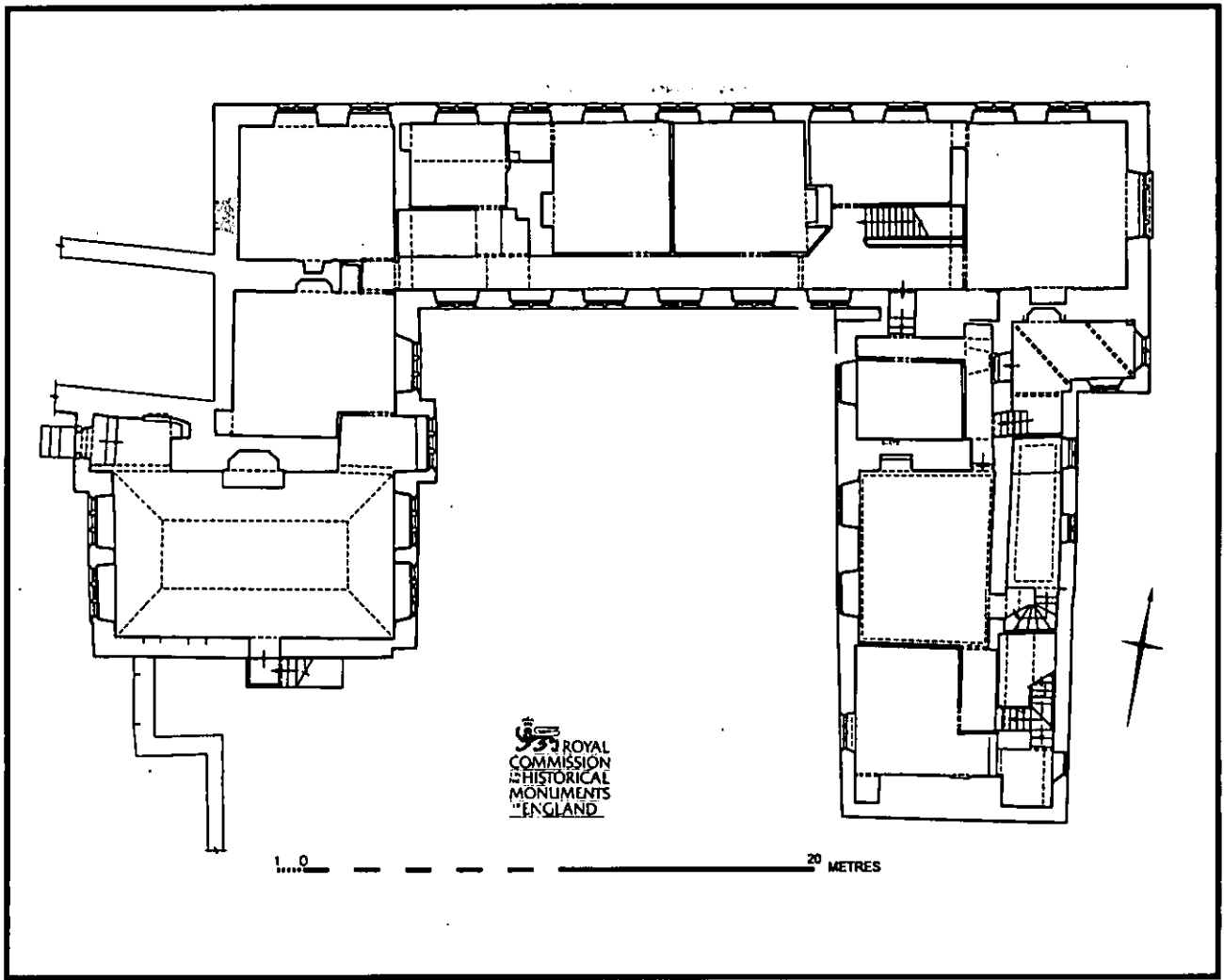


Fig. 4. RCHME plan of Godolphin House, first floor. Surveyed at 1:100 scale, reduced for this report.

centred arched head and jambs that are quarter-octagons with long, sunk panels with trefoil heads, suggesting a date in the second half of the 15th century. The plinth to the porch returns to an unknown point down either flank. The later hanging of a pair of doors seems to have required the cutting back of a rebate on the south face of the arch. The standing, later north wall of the hall extends west from this porch, probably (though not certainly) the location of the earlier hall. It can be assumed that services lay around a second courtyard to the south of the hall, and foundations probably survive beneath ground level.

Phase 2 - c.1540

The next identifiable part of the house comprises a two-storey block on the east side of the courtyard, probably (from its details) of c. 1540 or perhaps slightly later. This now comprises on each floor a single room of high status to the south, each lit by two windows of four lights with pointed heads, and a smaller room lit by one similar window towards the north. The northern window of the southern, ground floor room is taller than that to the south and the reason for this

is not known: neither carries clear evidence of alteration, though the rendering of the wall to the courtyard has concealed all masonry save that of the windows themselves. Though the taller window now accentuates the centre of the courtyard this may not have been the intention: there is no known parallel for such an arrangement elsewhere and neither is there clear evidence for the dimensions or form of the courtyard when this range was built.

Internally the larger room on the ground floor has a ceiling divided into eight parts with moulded cornice, beams and joists, with bosses of carved boscage at intersections. The room is heated in its north wall by a fireplace with a segmental head of 17th century date or later; this is flanked by linenfold panelling which may also be an insertion. North of the larger room is a small one, identifiable as of the early period solely by the window to the courtyard; walls are lined with simple early 18th century pine wainscot. The division of these two rooms may not be original. Above the larger of these rooms is a room of equal size, with a shallow, segmental, plastered barrel vault to the ceiling. The room has the remains of a carved wooden cornice

with wreathed foliage and ceiling ribs of similar character; the roof carrying this ceiling has halved principals and a high, cambered collar; the construction is otherwise obscured by recent insulation. To the north is a smaller room corresponding in size to that below it but also lacking any early decoration.

The original northward and southward extent of this early 16th century work is not known. At either end it now terminates in light partition walls of unknown date. The southern room, now a kitchen, shows extensive signs of alteration in the 19th century and has a roof of that date; to the north it is clear that any existing work must have been destroyed in the 1630's or earlier. The whole range is covered by a hipped roof; the south end of this (see above) is 19th century, and though the northern end has not been inspected the form is not a 16th century one.

The functions of these rooms in the early 16th century are not known, though their size and the quality of the decoration suggest that the lower was a parlour, the upper a great chamber. Nor is it known how these two rooms related to the hall. It has been assumed that the existing south range includes part of a 15th century hall porch, and that the wall to its east, with three late-16th century windows, marks where the hall has always stood. If this is so, then the location of these rooms of high status, at the conventional 'low' end of the hall, is unusual, although it has been observed that in Cornwall low-end and high-end hierarchies are not always so strongly observed as they are elsewhere. It is however possible that the low-end and high-end of the house have been reversed, given the presence off the high end of a stable (see below) that seems to predate the phase 3 work. Alternatively, these rooms may have comprised a superior, low-end lodging range of a kind that elsewhere has been identified as being for the use of a dependant family member - a widow or heir. It has also been suggested that the larger ground floor room was itself formerly the hall, but this seems incompatible with the evidence for a hall on the south side and also with the form of the room itself.

Phase 3 - c, 1580 -1600

Probably in the late 16th century the house was largely rebuilt, retaining - so far as earlier work can now be identified - only parts of the eastern range, the hall porch and a stable to the west. On the south, a new hall was built; on the west, a new suite of state rooms, though these are not quite

contemporary: the two buildings differ in some details, and there is structural evidence that the completion of the state rooms occurred after the rebuilding of the hall. To the north, a screen wall was built with a broad, arched opening into the courtyard.

The rebuilding of the hall involved bringing its north wall forward into the courtyard, close to the alignment of the north face of the hall porch whose plinth runs behind the face of this later wall. This wall contains three windows, of three, two and three lights, with straight heads and hollow chamfers to mullions. It is uncertain from the height of these windows whether this hall was of a single storey only or whether it rose through two storeys; an early 19th century description of the hall as 'the handsomest, largest, and best proportioned hall in England except Westminster Hall' suggests romantic tradition rather than a first-hand account. The head of the wall that contains these windows is battlemented, forming part of a line of machicolation that continues across the top of the hall porch and above a 19th century screen wall between porch and east range, and it is likely that this battlemented cresting is wholly of the 19th century though re-using old material. It is not clear to what extent the wall of the hall itself may have been rebuilt at the same time. The plinth however appears continuous with that of the state room range to the west and seems to confirm that this wall is on its correct alignment, while the internal splays of window jambs indicate that the windows are essentially in their original positions.

The south side of the hall has not been located. The west end, however, may be indicated by what seems to be a stub wall that projects from the south face of the western range some 2ft west of the junction of this range with the north wall of the hall. The hall and west range share a characteristic plinth with a wave moulding and a lip slightly proud of the face of the wall beneath in order to accommodate a render coat of which traces remain. However, there seems to be a vertical joint in the masonry above plinth level where the front wall of the western range abuts the line of the north wall of the hall, which suggests that the completion of the hall predated that of the state rooms. The state room windows are slightly more ornamented than those of the hall, with a

quarter round to the surrounds. However, while the relationship of the hall and state rooms is far from clear, the overall similarity suggests that both were conceived together and that only a relatively short period of time separated their building.

The west range is irregular to the west (the rear, away from the courtyard) apparently on account of the wish to preserve the long range of existing stables (described below) that extends west-north-west on a slightly different alignment. The west range partly wraps around the south wall of the stable which is incorporated into a closet.

The first floor of the west range comprises three principal apartments that extend to the north front of the house. The principal room of these three, now known as the King's room, is the most southerly (south of the junction with the stable), is aligned east and west, and contains a large, four-centred stone fireplace opening in its north wall: this has characteristic chamfer stops of dies with sunk pyramids. The ceiling rises into the hipped roof which has a modillion cornice and at its centre two pendants with crudely carved fruit and flowers: it is not clear (beneath paint) whether these are of wood or plaster, but in any case it is likely given the later character of the roof, ceiling and cornice that they have been re-set.

North of the King's room and on the courtyard side of the main chimney stack is a lobby that forms a link with the next room to the north and occupies a bay that projects forward into the courtyard. This room has a plaster frieze and cornice with applied medallions, and suggests by its detail a date of c.1580. This lobby opens on the north into a chamber, heated in its north wall by a fireplace with details similar to that in the King's room and with a running plaster frieze of flowers and foliage. North again of this room, and occupying the northern end of the west range, is another chamber with a similar frieze but with a wooden chimneypiece of c.1700 lined with delft tiles.

It seems probable that these three rooms in the west range formed a suite of great chamber, withdrawing room and bed chamber. At present, access is from the Phase 3 range (c.1635) at the north, but there must originally have been access from the upper end of the hall to the great chamber - the King's Room - on the south. In the south wall of the King's Room there are at present no visible openings except for a plain doorway at first floor level, reached by an external stair of relatively recent date; the

absence of windows argues for there having been further rooms here. Beside the near certainty that there must have been a stair approximately in this position, south of the King's room, there is some inconclusive evidence for one. Extending south from a point towards the west of this wall is a further wall rising through two storeys and with an eastern return at its south end; this encloses a roofless space adequate for a principal stair, and in its upper part it contains a broad, blocked window. There is evidence of reconstruction in this area, perhaps in the 18th century. The wall containing this blocked window seems to have been rebuilt a few inches west of an earlier one on the same alignment: nibs of the earlier wall project south at the north-west corner of this space. The blocked window has a segmental arch of cut granite blocks, of late 18th century character though difficult to date with accuracy, and of a size adequate to light a stair. However, on the west and south of this space the wall contains an offset at first floor level for the setting of floor joists, which is not comparable with a staircase. It is possible that in the 18th century this space contained a deep landing, lighting a stair which rose further to the east between it and the hall and reaching the King's Room by the first floor doorway that now gives access to the room by an outside stair. This, however, cannot be proved.

The principal, north front of the house now has a pair of open Tuscan colonnades on the ground floor which carry a range of first floor rooms; these colonnades and the storey carried by it are of Phase 4, described below. Between the colonnades, however, and below this upper storey is a screen wall of ashlar which is pierced at its centre by a broad doorway with a high four-centred arch that opens into the courtyard and provides the principal entrance to the house. This doorway is flanked by crude classical pilasters and was originally crowned by some kind of classical composition of which a group of mutules remains; the upper part was removed when the Phase 3 additions were made.

This screen wall connects two short wings that project northward, forming the northern ends of the east and west ranges of the house, and its ashlar masonry returns across these wings' inner faces. At the western end this return corresponds to the line of the east front of the state rooms in the west range, and indicates that the north, screen wall and the west range are contemporary. At the eastern

end it is likely that some work was also done although nothing of Phase 3 remains visible inside the house. The west wall of the north-east wing, across which the screen wall returns, is on the line neither of the Phase 2 work in the courtyard nor on that which was evidently intended to have been the courtyard's east side in Phase 4 - for which the evidence is described below. The Phase 4 ashlar face of this north-east wing appears at the angles to be a facing in relatively thin slabs, further suggesting that it is a refronting of existing building.

When built there may have been a range of shallow rooms or a passage along the courtyard face of the screen wall. The east wall of the west range does not run all the way up to the wall but stops on the line of the (later) internal colonnade, thinning back between this line and the screen. At the corresponding opposite end of the colonnade is no wall at all (although it may have been destroyed). The inner face of the wall has been rendered and masonry is not visible, but this render may have been applied because of irregularities resulting from the removal of whatever range there may formerly have been in this position; if the wall had been from the start no more than a screen, it seems likely that it would have been faced with ashlar on both sides.

Phase 4 - c.1635

The principal work of Phase 4 was the rebuilding of the north front of the house, balancing a range of rooms above the screen wall and carrying them additionally by colonnades against the screen wall's inner and outer faces. These colonnades comprise a row of six columns, probably intended to be Tuscan, between half-column impostes, and they run across both the outer and inner faces of the Phase 3 screen wall to form loggias on both sides.

Building started at the western end, against the face of the state room range; the half columns at this end were set some four inches below the remainder of the piers and have had to have a section of neck inserted above the shafts and beneath the capitals: presumably they were originally set too low and that the subsequent columns were set at the right height to carry the floor of the new, upper storey clear of the door head to the courtyard and at the same floor level as the state rooms in the west range.

The upper floor is faced in ashlar and contains a line of uniform, three-light mullioned windows. This ashlar is continued downwards to form a new north face to the east and west wings, and returned round the wings' outer faces. At the west side, where this ashlar meets the north wall of the earlier stable, it can be seen that the east end of the stable wall has been cut away in order to fit the ashlar in behind it and then made good in rubble: the result is a neater junction than would have been achieved by simply butting the ashlar face against the stable wall.

At the east end, the inner colonnade extends into the body of the house, finishing with a half column that must mark the intended alignment of a new east front to the courtyard that would have involved the demolition of the Phase 1 building and the creation of a courtyard that would have been substantially wider, east to west, than now. The west face of the projected eastern courtyard range would have continued the line of the north east wing's west side. This north east wing at present contains one room only on each floor, which has been shown above to have been a reworking of building of Phase 3. However, the Phase 4 ashlar face of the east side of this wing ends with a line of tothing, on the line of the inner colonnade, that clearly indicates the intention to have continued building southward. The east-west wall between this tothing and the inner colonnade is of rubble, evidently intended to have been an internal wall rather than external, and it contains two fireplaces in its south face, one on each floor, with four-centred heads of different character to those of Phase 3 in the west range and evidently of Phase 4.

The new northern first floor, balanced in Phase 4 over the Phase 3 screen, contains an east-west passage along the courtyard side and a series of rooms to the north, two of which retain simple stone fireplace surrounds to stacks carried by corbels inserted into the screen wall. This accommodation seems originally to have comprised a central room (heated at one end only) flanked by a pair of lodgings, each comprising a larger chamber at the end of the range with a smaller, inner room between it and the room at the centre. Stairs at either end of the range provided access to these lodgings from the inner colonnade; of these stairs only the eastern survives, altered, though at the west end the scar and space survive of a stair in a similar position.

Later work

It is clear that, for whatever reason, the work begun under Phase 3 was never finished. There is evidence of later, minor work of several periods. Around 1700 a new chimneypiece was inserted into the north-west chamber, though what new use this corresponded to is not known. The east range has a bracket cornice to the courtyard, suggesting an early-to-mid 18th century date, perhaps contemporary with the formation of the present ceiling in the King's Room. The southern part of this cornice differs slightly in detail and is evidently a 19th century repair, corresponding to the rebuilding of this end of the roof. There are a number of simple fireplace surrounds in the house of mid-18th century character, and a single length of fretwork stair balustrade of Chinoiserie character and perhaps of c.1760; this is no longer in situ and its origin is not known.

The hall is said to have been demolished in 1804 or 1805. The demolition of the hall had profound consequences. In terms of circulation, it left the west range virtually isolated from the east and only reached by a passage on the first floor of the north range; the King's room now lay at the far end of the sequence of Phase 2 state rooms, and having lost any purpose it and the other state rooms were evidently greatly neglected over the next century.

The east side of the house was partly reconstructed to form a self-contained dwelling. A kitchen was formed in the south end, re-using much old material and perhaps making use of existing stacks. The kitchen fireplace, in the south wall of the east range, has a high, four-centred stone opening, but a key block at the apex and inconsistencies between its jambs clearly indicate alterations. The west face of this block, where formerly it will have connected with rooms in the south (hall) range was rebuilt or re-faced with an assortment of re-used ashlar and rubble masonry, with windows of two different forms, and with an external door probably of Phase 1; the rebuilding of the roof has been described above.

A long, narrow lobby was built against the far side of the east range, probably in two phases. The northern part is faced in ashlar with windows of a curious hybrid form: these have central stone mullions as well as keyblocks, and are probably of c.1820-40. The southern part of this lobby, however, is of rubble, and has a box cornice on the first floor; this space may have contained a staircase

in the 18th century. There remains a stair close to this position, but this is made up out of fragments of different periods with balusters of the early 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and with a 19th century handrail.

DISCUSSION AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE HOUSE

There remains a great deal that is uncertain about the origins of the house and its later development. The reason for the apparent presence of ranges of rooms of high status at both high and low ends of the hall is not clear, while there are details of the surviving fragments of the hall which make its interpretation difficult in the absence of documentation or of below-ground investigation. These problems are increased by the location of the gardens in relation to these ranges. However, while there remain considerable gaps in the present understanding of the house, its 16th/17th century development may have been as suggested in what follows.

While since the end of the 16th century the principal approach to the house has been from the north, it seems possible that previous to that it was from the west, where there remain substantial service buildings partly predating the late-16th century work here and of a character typical of those of a forecourt. Such an approach to the house, at right angles to the hall entry, is not uncommon in the late middle ages; at Shute in Devonshire in the latter part of the 16th century the entrance was reorganised in precisely the way (and at much the same time) that is suggested here - i.e. an entrance that previously led at right angle to the hall porch, through an irregular service courtyard and an inner courtyard, was replaced by a formal approach aligned on the hall porch (and including forecourt pavilions of the kind of which traces remain at Godolphin).

The rooms on the west side, though forming a coherent sequence on the first floor, stand over a highly irregular set of spaces on the floor below which are of earlier origin and of which some masonry walls are very thick. It is possible - though evidence is insufficient to prove it - that these may incorporate remains of some kind of gatehouse range.

What also seems possible is that in the late 16th century, besides the relocation of the principal approach to the house, the orientation of high and low ends was changed as between east and west. It was observed above that the surviving, late 15th

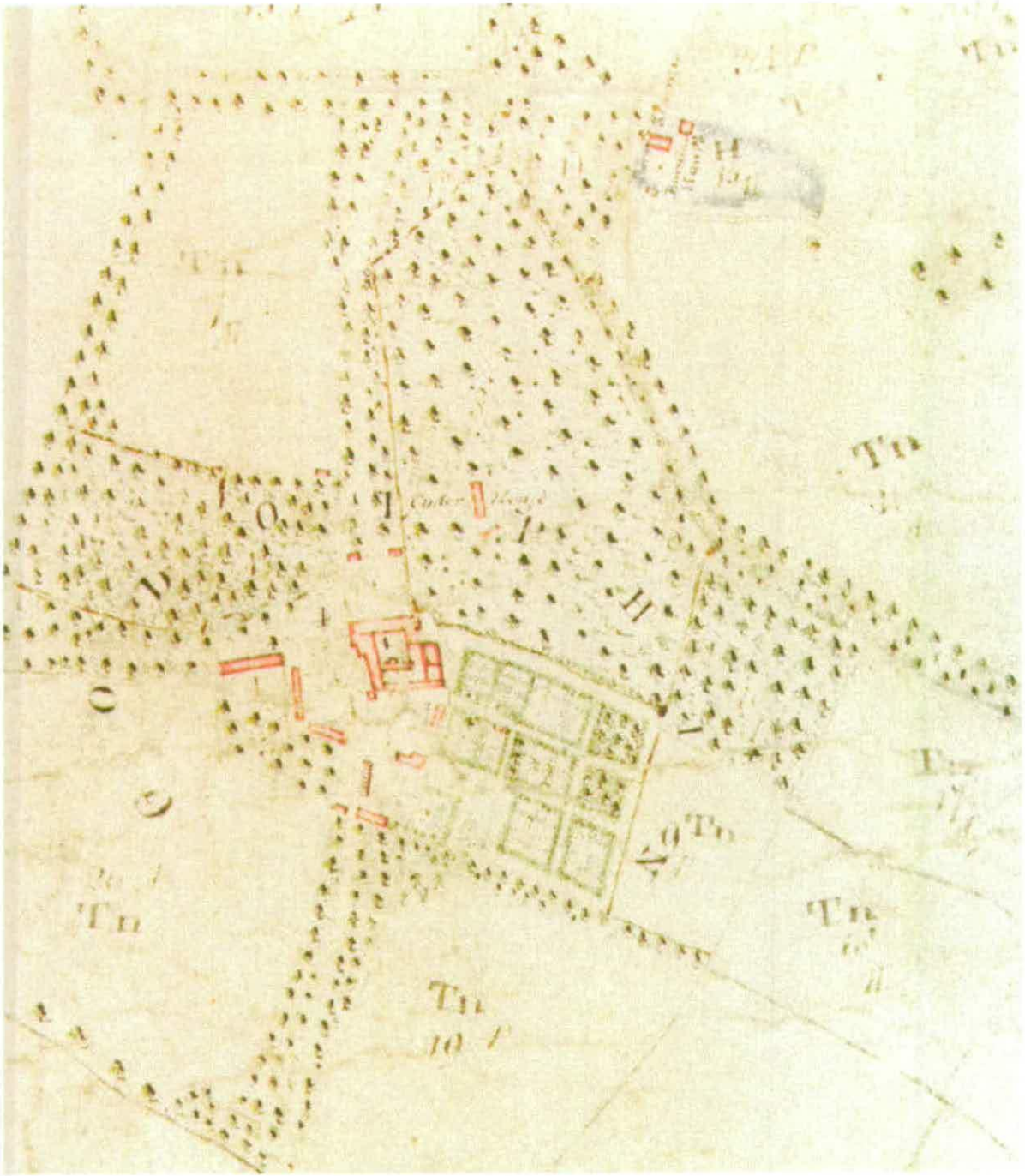


Fig. 5. Plan of the house and garden at Godolphin made in 1791 from a 1786 survey for the Duke of Leeds. CRO RH 210 Loc T (with permission).

century hall porch is earlier than the north wall of the hall which abutts against it. If the porch had originally served a hall that extended to the east rather than to the west, this would place the surviving, late 16th century eastern parlour and chamber in a proper relationship to the hall's original high end. The decision to effect such a reversal would also explain the necessity for rebuilding the hall. The superior end of the house would thus have been to the east until the rebuilding of the hall and the addition of the new west range in the late 16th century, and through most of the century the Side Garden may thus have lain in a more convincing relationship to the former high

end of the house, of which some south-eastern parts may be presumed lost. In conjunction with the relocation of the entry, suggested above, such a reversal would also explain the presence of the barn and stable on the west, typical of forecourt buildings. While it is not known why this reversal was undertaken (if indeed this is what took place) the relocation of the approach to the house provided the opportunity to carry it out: before that it could not have been done.

Such reversal would have associated the mid-16th century parlour and great chamber with the low end of the house rather than as previously, with the high end. However, it is clear that the new,

high-end rooms were rooms of entertainment. There is good evidence from elsewhere of the widespread relocation in the course of the 16th century, in houses of comparable status, of the owner's own chamber from high end to low end of the house. This mid-16th century block would ready have continued to provide a suitable chamber for the house's owner on the first floor and continued to provide a parlour on the ground floor. A low-end parlour in such a position was also normal by the late-16th century, although the absence of a parlour elsewhere is striking. Even after the late-16th century work the amenities were far from ideal and there was ample reason for starting to completely rebuild the house in the early 17th century.

The suggestion has been made that the mid-16th century east range may itself have been a single-storeyed hall with great chamber above. This seems improbable, given that on the south are the remains of a structure that was a hall both before and after this date.

Quite how the work of the 1630s was intended to have been completed is not known. Stylistically the work is not particularly advanced; it has its affinities with certain other Cornish houses, notably Lanydrock, Prideaux Place, Trelowarren and Penheale, but functionally these houses provide no clues as to what may have been intended. The front range was remodelled to provide what was probably lodgings for visitors and a colonnade comparable that at Castle Ashby (though there is no obvious parallel for the colonnade along the outer face of the facade). It is clear that the east range was to have been demolished next, and what may have been planned was a progressive rebuilding of the entire house. If so, it would have been logical to have started the work, as was clearly done, at the north-west.. i.e. working clockwise from the newest part of the existing house, which would then have been the last to have been demolished in the course of a sequential rebuilding. It is certainly difficult to believe that any part of the house that was standing before the 1630s was to have been preserved.

For all the difficulties in interpreting the surviving evidence, Godolphin is an extremely instructive example of the successive modernisation of a house of the upper gentry during a period of very rapid social and architectural change.

The 1786 map depicts a number of buildings immediately to the rear of the present house and also other smaller buildings on a different alignment. Whitleys' rather crude 1887 sketch (1889, plan) shows extensive ruins at the rear of the house which are presumably associated with the effaced South Courtyard. Henderson (1928) reported that 'the foundations of many buildings can be traced at the back of the house'. Even allowing for the space created by the demolition of the second courtyard there is a substantial area of rising ground lying to the south of the house which is unaccounted for in that its function is obscure. This area occupies a prime position as the focal point on the main axis of the Side Garden which a building here would overlook as well as the ground to the north. There may have originally been, as now, a farmyard here but this seems unlikely given its proximity to the former south courtyard. This area is now occupied by a walled plot and the relatively recent Cow Yard. A small square building depicted here on the alignment of the garden in 1786 (1786 map) may have been a viewing platform of some sort; clearly it and the second building to the north are allied to the garden rather than the house.

William of Worcester wrote in 1487 that the old house at Godolphin was in a ruinous condition and interestingly in the mid-16th century Leland (1918,29-30) notes that the remains of 'the earliest house were removed circa 1540'. If the new house was constructed at the beginning of the 16th century then there could conceivably have been an overlap of up to forty years between the construction of the new dwelling and the removal of the remains of the old dwelling. Therefore the position of the new house could have been dictated at least in part by the presence of the ruins of its predecessor, thus both houses might have co-existed for a short time. The case for the siting of the first Godolphin House or Castle to have been located to the south of the present house will be further explored later.

The 'industrialisation' of parts of the estate occurred when the tin mining operations were extended, notably on the eastern fringes of the land adjacent to the house. The shafts and the winding gear with all the noise and activity, must have had an effect on the occupants of the house. The date of these

workings has not been identified although parts have been linked to Sir Francis Godolphin (1534-1608) (Lewis and Phibbs, 1994).

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE GARDEN (fig 6)

The Garden Landscape.

There are at least two gardens at Godolphin: The King's Garden and The Side Garden with its associated Garden Paddock.

The King's Garden

This small privy garden lies adjacent to the west wing of the house and it is overlooked by the first floor Kings Chamber. It is enclosed on the north side by the stable block and elsewhere by tall stone walls. The ground surface level has been artificially raised and it is retained by a stone wall on the west side. It is shown as an orchard in 1876 (OS 1st edition) The origin form and layout of this garden is not known but Strong (1994,40) suggests that it was built as an Elizabethan privy garden.

The Side Garden: History

The earliest known cartographic record of the Side Garden is on the 1786 map (Fig. 5) which depicts a substantial rectangular enclosure located to the east of the house. It is subdivided into nine sections which comprise symmetrical compartments of different sizes with various layouts and plantings. The south-western section is not compartmentalised because two rectangular ponds are depicted which appear to overlies rather than complement the garden plan. The Side Garden was substantially reduced in size, perhaps for reasons of economy, in the 19th century. Only two complete compartments, fragments of three others as well as the section containing the two fishponds survived this savage reduction. As a result of this sub-division the east part of the garden became known as The Paddock. This event occurred at some time between 1839 when the Tithe Map depicts the complete garden and 1876 (OS 1st edition) when the sub-division is shown. In 1876 (OS 1st Edition) the reduced Side Garden is shown with very little internal garden detail; the two ponds and a small building are depicted as well as two greenhouses on the east side and a broad

wall on the north side. None of the compartments are shown and the interior is wooded which conveys the impression that the cut down garden was either abandoned or little used at that time.

In 1906 (OS 2nd edition) the map revision indicates that work had been undertaken to reinstate the compartments: the garden plan is visible in outline with the addition of a set of steps and a small building in the north-east part of the garden. This partial restoration of the garden may have coincided with the introduction of Scots and California pines which John Schofield (*pers comm*) reports were planted before 1890. Some of the terraces were faced with walling circa 1950.

Two adjacent greenhouses located on the east side of the garden in 1906 were later removed but their sites are evident as a linear depression on the 1995 plan.

A mount is recorded in 1915 (*Country Life* 1915, 869-874) however it is not depicted on any known plan and there are no known references to such a garden feature.

Description.

The Side Garden and Garden Paddock have a north-easterly aspect although they are built on a slope which faces due north. They lie on a north-west-south-east axis at about 60m above OD. The maximum fall of height between the top and bottom of the garden is 7.0m. It is sheltered from the south-westerly prevailing winds by Godolphin Hill which rises to a height of 162m. Its construction entailed a fairly major 'cut and fill' exercise reminiscent of many impressive country house gardens although the results of this effort are not immediately apparent in a dramatic vista or a grand sweep of lawns and cascades. This is an intimate garden which does not reveal its true nature to the casual glance and it has many of the hallmarks of a Renaissance garden. The ground plan of the garden as shown on the 1786 map is more or less traceable today, although the cartographic record indicates a number of superficial alterations. Schofield (*pers comm*) suggests that the ground surface level of the compartments may now lie below the original level.

A broad strip of ground is depicted on the 1786 map, on both the north and south sides of the garden within the boundary hedges. The northern strip is a raised walk and this feature once extended into the paddock to the east.

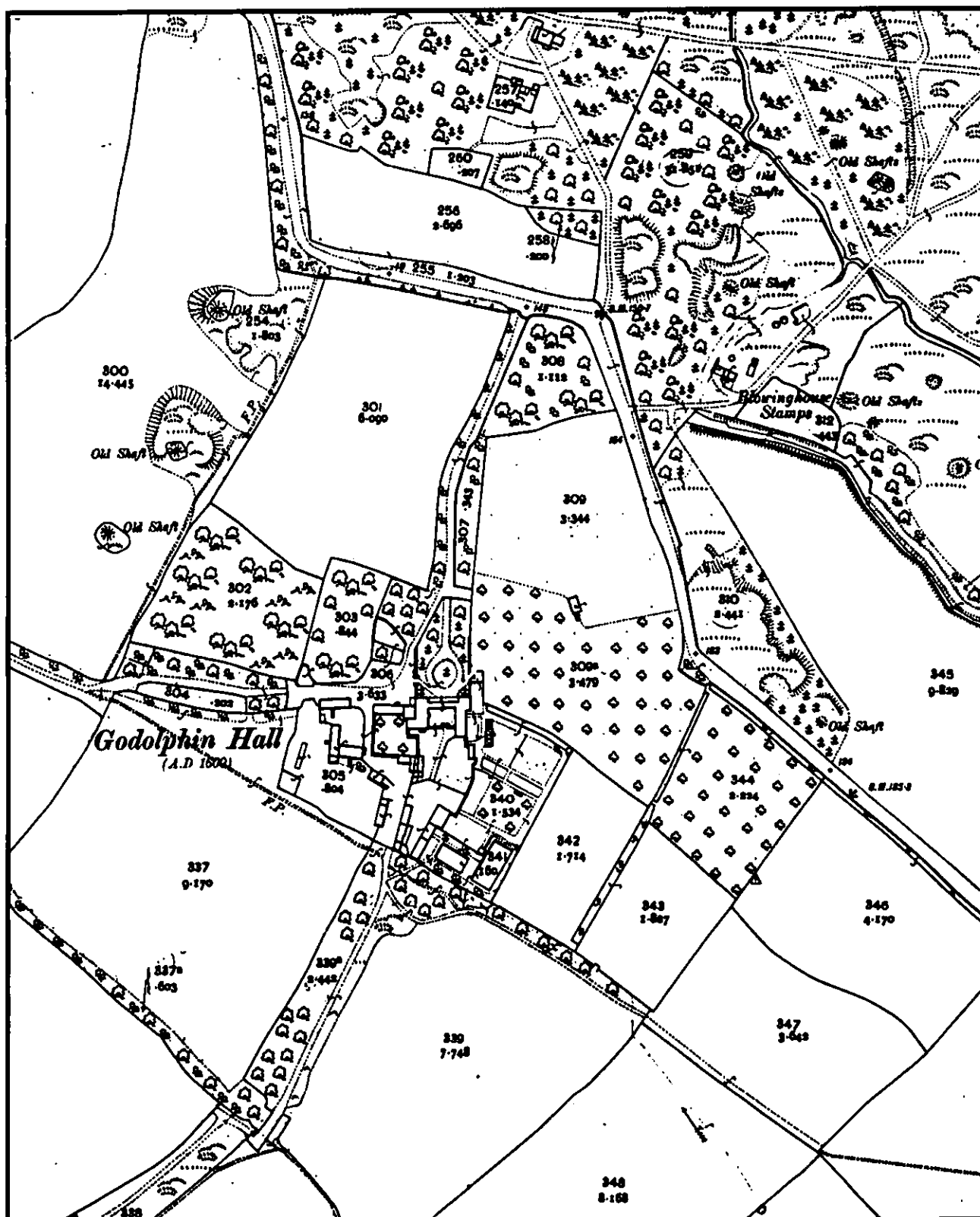


Fig. 7. Excerpt from OS 2nd edition 1906 map, showing Godolphin House, its gardens and surrounding landscape

There may well have been a similar raised walk on the southern side, inside the boundary hedge, which is now overlaid by the ponds. The general consensus however is that at least some of the stone-faced hedges which enclose the garden were once utilised as raised walks to view the various compartments. The tops of these hedges are a maximum 3.0m wide but they are now very uneven. They may have been built as raised walks with low bushes along

each upper edge, however some are up to 2.1m in height and they appear to be rather unsuitable for perambulation especially for promenaders with a poor head for heights! It is of course possible that these boundary hedges were once broad earthen banks which have been cut back and faced with stone, however most were probably constructed as 'rustic' dry-stone walls with roughly coursed faces and an earthen core. Stones and boulders of all

shapes and sizes used in the construction of the stone faces were almost certainly collected from the surrounding fields.

As well as their use as raised walks a principle function of these substantial Cornish hedges must have been to exclude animals from encroaching into the garden. The activities of deer which had escaped from the Park and also wild deer attracted by the deer in the deer park, must have been a particular problem; the solution was in the form of a substantial deer-proof barrier. Records exist which indicate that the ingress of deer troubled a neighbouring farmer. These high hedges would also have served to create shelter belts for the garden and they may also have been used as consumption dykes to absorb the stones and boulders from the field clearance operations. A number of these broad Cornish hedges extend beyond the limits of the garden and the paddock.

There are at least three blocked passageways in the garden boundary hedges. One located in the south, adjacent to the east pond, is clearly aligned to the north-south path which divided the western compartments of the garden before it was overlaid by the pond. Schofield (*pers comm*) suspects this gap may house a stairway access to the raised walk on the top of the boundary hedge. The second gap in the east, paddock, hedge aligns with the lower east-west path in the garden. The third blocked gap was identified by Schofield near the north-west end of the northern boundary hedge. The southern boundary hedge may have extended westwards beyond the Cow Yard where a broad earthen hedge extends its general line. This feature is alleged to be first shown in 1839 (Lewis and Phibbs 1994), but it is in fact depicted on the 1786 map. If this proves to be part of the garden enclosure hedge and the former Godolphin House stood in the area south of the present building, then the house would have been situated totally within the garden enclosure rather than on the eastern fringe.

The two large rectangular ponds, now dry, have recently been cleaned out and partially restored; they measure 22.0m by 11.0m and 31.0m by 14.0m respectively. Described as stew ponds in 1887 (Whitley 1889) the presence of a fountain in the west pond indicates that at one time it served an ornamental rather than functional purpose. The fountain set in a cairn of quartz stones was presumably fed by gravity. The western pond is retained by a substantial 2.1m high drystone wall

whilst the eastern pond extends on a terrace some 12.0m beyond the line of this retaining wall. This extension of the terrace to the north is clearly additional made-up ground because the floor of the pond perceptibly drops along the projection of this line of the retaining wall to the west. The RCHME survey indicates that the terrace terminates on top of the division of the south compartment; its alignment is clearly visible in the adjacent paddock.

No other water features are evident in the garden and the 1786 map which depicts both ponds tantalisingly does not indicate the water supply system. In 1876 (OS 1st edition) a stream ran down the hillslope adjacent to a broad way, via a culvert under the southern garden boundary wall to terminate in the south-west corner of the eastern pond. Whitley (1889,471) notes that the ponds were full of fish until they were killed by the mine water. It is possible that this stream may have been supplied with tainted water from one of the adits. A leat is also shown on this map extending from Carsluick Farm to the south-east of Godolphin towards the garden but it terminates short of the garden boundary. However on the 2nd edition OS map this leat provides the water for the eastern pond via a small irregular pond located on the outside of the garden boundary hedge where it still survives. The water was probably regulated by a sluice gate and traces of a low constructed walls are visible at the foot of the outside of the hedge whence it was conveyed by a conduit to the south-west corner of the pond. The stream is not depicted. Water has at sometime flowed into the west pond via a conduit in the south-west corner which is now visible as a collapsed stone-lined channel and was depicted in 1887 (Whitley 1889). Both ponds are linked by a conduit. An outflow from the west pond is depicted in 1887 (Whitley 1889) as being piped underground to the kitchen of the house. This feature is not traceable however Schofield reports finding an underground culvert in the plot at the rear of the house.

Discussion

Lewis and Phibbs (1994) conclude that the history of the garden is complex but they suggest that it was created in circa 1530 or before, although the present layout could date to a much later period. Schofield postulates that on stylistic grounds the garden is a rare survival of the late Elizabethan period, originating in the 1530s and laid out in about 1600. Strong (1994,40) interpreted 'several

acres of Stuart terracing'. Why was the garden built in its present position? The hillslope faces a north-easterly direction and the majority of the field hedges on the hillside, which have the appearance on plan of linear angularity of a post-medieval style, generally adopt a north-east - south-west orientation. However the house and garden occupy a slight depression in the hillslope so that the Side Garden was in fact built on a slope which faces due north even though it has a north-easterly aspect. This suggests that the garden was deliberately designed to cut across the line of slope because the extensive cut and fill work could have been avoided if the layout had been located north-east of the house (similar to the position of the ditched enclosure in the orchard). Clearly this garden was placed in this position for a purpose such that the terracing was incorporated as a very necessary part of the design. Strong (1979,51) states that terracing to view the garden was not taken up as a general principle until the Jacobean period. He suggests that the central figure of all gardens of pleasure in the 16th century was a knot. This was replaced by a *parterre de broderie* in the Jacobean period although the central knot remained in use in country gardens until the close of the Stuart rule. The Side Garden does not appear to have had a focus in the form of a central knot.

Lewis and Phibbs (1994) observe that this garden was not the first on the site because there is a substantial bank in the orchard. Schofield (*pers comm*) suggests that a marked change in the alignment of the north side implies that this garden was not the original one because 'the garden of 1600 extended one of the 1530s when existing house first built'. As previously noted there apparently was a house at Godolphin before the early 16th century and if it was located near the present house it may have had a formal garden. Interestingly the description of a garden interpreted as of medieval origin at Nettleham, Lincolnshire (Everson 1991,9) although small, remarkably mirrors the location and situation occupied by part of the Side Garden: 'It is a small medieval garden, 65m square, set on ground dropping slightly to the north that it utilizes low terraces and is enclosed in the north and west by high limestone walls. On its east side stood the principal residential buildings with which it appears closely integrated'. Everson

observes that Nettleham was very much a privy garden, in effect an urban garden in a rural context.

The RCHME plan clearly shows that the house is not axially related to the Side Garden such that they appear to be essentially separate units rather than parts of a whole. Such disunity would not be a usual feature of Renaissance Garden design (Strong 1979, 10) although of course there is no reason why the house and garden should be related. It does however seem very odd that the house is so separate from, yet contiguous with, the pleasure garden with the result that few rooms (including the demolished East Wing) overlook only the smallest portion of the layout. As we have seen a convenient explanation for this is that the principle focus and the orientation of the house has at some time moved away from a position at the rear of the present house where there is what can only be regarded as a curious emptiness -devoid of an organised layout of a garden or buildings. The small structure shown here in 1786 may simply be a gazebo or similar building which overlooked the garden.

Another possible solution to the enigma of a garden layout curiously at odds with the house is the notion that the Side Garden overlies the site of an earlier garden which may have dictated, at least in part, its present orientation. The presence of a substantial earthwork bank, part of a large enclosure, which runs parallel with the north-east garden boundary hedge seems to confirm this view. A south-westerly spur from this bank runs under this garden hedge to reappear as a broad low bank which lies along part of the line of the N-S path to be apparently overlaid by the terrace of the east pond. However given the amount of effort put in to create the terraces it could be argued that it is unlikely that a pre-existing garden plan would dictate the position of a new concept garden. The fact that the majority of the surrounding field hedges respect the garden enclosure could mean that they post-date it.

Lewis and Phibbs (1994) suggest that the ponds could be of a 17th century or earlier date. The west pond is probably the earlier of the two; the east pond has clearly been extended northwards beyond the original line of the terrace perhaps when the west pond was shortened and the terrace redesigned. This terrace is now delimited by a farm building on the east side of the Cow Yard but as this structure did not exist before 1786 it is uncertain how this raised area fitted into the general design of the western side of the garden.

The two ponds sit uneasily in the context of the garden, they are set high above the rest of the compartments and they consequently do not seem to be in harmony with it. They do not blend into the geometry of the garden layout as revealed on the 1786 map and they have a separate identity appearing to overlay and crush, rather than complement, the design. They have clearly been imposed onto an existing design as hanging ponds. They are set in a terrace the construction of which entailed a major earth-moving exercise on the naturally sloping ground; why they were not set lower into the slope is not clear.

Whether the water supply to the pond(s) depicted by the stream and later the leat is the original source of water is questionable mainly because the system does not appear to match the sophistication of the gardens. The 19th century water supply is possibly a late introduction perhaps replacing a supply which was disrupted or destroyed by the mining operations.

Schofield suggests that the level area at the foot of the pond terrace retaining wall could be a bowling green. It is similar in character to one depicted in an engraving dated 1635 (Strong 1994, 208) but whether it is simply a stance formed when the 2.1m high wall was constructed rather than a formal lawn is not known. It is certainly not depicted as such in 1786.

The Garden Paddock.

The Garden Paddock created in the second part of the 19th century was devoid of internal detail in 1876 (OS 1st edition). The process of abandonment, clearance of shrubs trees and other features coupled with frequent ploughing in the past has resulted in a sloping, gently undulating field of permanent pasture which is now regularly mown.

The RCHME 1:500 scale survey has revealed the outline of the garden in the turf of the paddock as a series of linear rounded earthen scarps and slopes nowhere more than 0.6m high. This ploughed down outline reveals the plan of the compartments more or less as they are depicted on the 1786 map. The line of the paths and terraces are clearly traceable, albeit in a spread and exaggerated form, and this represents the final stages of the ground plan before it was disfigured as a consequence of the redistribution of the soil by the action of the plough. Soil has built up against the lower, northern boundary hedge which is about

0.6m higher on the inside than the outside. Here there is a broad ditch which enhances the size of the hedge on this side. As previously suggested a raised walk similar to that extant on the north side of the Side Garden probably ran along the inside of the boundary hedge. A wide strip of ground depicted on the 1786 map against the eastern boundary hedge survives as broad linear depression. This evidence would seem to indicate that there possibly once existed a sunken pathway here or alternatively a ditch to enhance a raised walk located on the boundary wall itself.

Archaeological excavation within the paddock would almost certainly expose the accurate layout of the garden before it was cleared and ploughed. The resulting plan would probably be a more faithful representation of the original plan than its neighbour which has to some extent been refashioned and remodelled. A 1.3m high mortared stone wall now divides the Side Garden from the Paddock. There is a blocked gateway in this wall on line with the lower of the two north-west-south-east cross walks and also two gated gaps in the wall of fairly recent construction.

The enclosure to the north of the Side Garden

A substantial enclosure survives to the north of the Side Garden. It encloses about 0.75 hectare of the gently sloping north-east-facing slope. The earthen enclosure bank is up to 13.0m wide and 1.3m high. The southern part was surveyed in 1995 and this revealed that it was a fairly significant feature in the landscape; the northern part is currently obscured by dense tree and vegetation cover. The eastern side resembles a park pale and would have presented a major barrier to deer.

Its function is not known, it may have been a garden or an animal enclosure which was designed to exclude (or alternatively enclose) deer. Further work is required to identify the origin and function of this feature when the vegetation is cleared.

The water features situated to the north-west of the house

In 1661 (Valuation Roll 1661) the sloping fields to the north-west of the house were known as Two Water Meadows. One of these fields, now the eastern part of Rookery Wood, was bisected by a narrow linear lake or pond lying south-east-north-west in 1786 (1786 map). Later map evidence shows an increasingly complex arrangement of small ponds and feeder channels. The RCHME

plan depicts a series of dry and silted ponds linked by channels with, near the centre of the area, a broad and shallow channel of uncertain function. The whole displays a picture of change and decay.

The 1758 engraving (Borlase 1758) depicts a formal setting of trees in the area of the ponds and also a rather vague rectangular building.

The 17th century water meadows may have functioned as a simple catchwater system. The linear pond or lake, although narrow may have had an ornamental function given its proximity to the front of the house and it may also have served to convey water away from the property. Sidney Schofield noted that 'there existed an elaborate system of water supply and drainage with waste water being taken away in large stone-lined drains some of which pass under the house' (Schofield 1973 130, 264). The present arrangement of ponds which is of post-1786 origin may, as suggested (Lewis and Phibbs 1994), be a small water garden; alternatively they may have been a system of fishponds perhaps inheriting the function of the two ponds in the Side Garden, possibly when the water supply became unreliable.

Road layout.

The reason for the curious zig-zag line adopted by the metalled road on the north side of the estate has exercised much thought. It has the appearance of a broad, raised Carriage Drive and its somewhat angular sinuous layout suggests that it doubtfully an early route. It is depicted on in 1748 (Martyn 1748). The road detail on Gascoynes map of 1699 is obscured at this point.

The presence of the abrupt changes of alignment in this road can be explained in part by the need to negotiate scattered tin working sites and also by the presence of the broad bank and ditch earthworks of an enclosure (part of this enclosure is depicted on the RCHME 1995 survey to the north of the Side Garden) which clearly dictates its north-west line. The earthworks of the enclosure can be traced along the west side of the road for some way and they presented a 'barrier' to the line of the road and dictated its route. Another major change in the direction of this road may have occurred because it linked into the existing route to the Blowing House and Stamps to the east. The 1786 map indicates the track into this important tin-working site.

The present formal drive which ascends the slope directly to the front of the house does not allow for a distant view of the fine facade. However

once the pronounced dog-leg has been negotiated the front of the house becomes visible although it is today part obscured by the mature trees which were planted on the instructions of the Duke of Leeds. The entrance at the head of the drive is late 19th century in date but incorporates reused material including 17th century copings (DoE scheduling list). Its relatively insignificant facade would not have accommodated a large carriage. Gascoyne shows the house and Godolphin Park on his small scale map dated 1699. The present system of roads and the drive to the estate is shown on Martyn's map of 1748 with a Park which encompasses a large area centred on Godolphin Hill. He depicts the drive as running off the west angle in the road namely further west than it is now but this may be a cartographic error.

It is tempting to suggest that the original approach to the estate was from the east - utilizing the route now occupied by Vane's Lane and a public footpath - but there is no documentary evidence for such a route. The 1758 Borlase engraving of the front of the house depicts a tree fringed lawn beyond the gated wall. The drive, turning circle and secondary drive to the east are not shown in the engraving however the 1786 map clearly shows these details.

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The site archive has been deposited in the National Monuments Record, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2GZ.

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NOTES

1. For the date, see the report on the house.
2. See the provisions in Sir Francis Godolphin's 1605 will for preachers to 'mainteine and contynue the holy Exercise of preaching in

Heston Church' either weekly or fortnightly: PRO Prob 11/111 f. 370v (46 Windebank).

3. The Godolphins first represented Cornwall in parliament in 1539. Sir Francis was knight of the shire in 1589 and represented Lostwithiel in 1593; his brother, William Godolphin of Treveneague, sat for Helston in 1586.

4. PRO Prob 11/111 f. 370v (46 Windebank), will of Sir Francis Godolphin knight, 4 October 1605 (proved May 1608). cf. PRO C142 305/121 for his Inquisition Post Mortem, and Ward 7 42/18.

5. Starr Castle was built between June 1593 and December 1594.

6. The detached wooden chimneypiece in the King's room, which evidently once belonged to another high-quality room includes representations of the arms of Godolphin and of Sidney. It must therefore date from 1604 or later and may indicate that Sir William was responsible for part of the second phase of building. The chimneypiece has been identified as that of the Great Hall of Haslam 'Godolphin House'. It certainly does not fit any of the surviving fireplaces in the house.

7. PRO Prob 11/122 f.429 (119 Capell), will of Sir William Godolphin of Godolphin, 2 and 4 September 1613. cf. PRO C142 346/172 for Godolphin's Inquisition Post Mortem.

8. Clarendon makes it clear that Sidney Godolphin also gained financially from the death of his younger brother, as well as from 'the provision left by his father'. cf. PRO Prob 11/199 f.42v (6 Fines), will of Sidney Godolphin of Wighton and Cornwall, 22 June 1642, in which he refers to his interest in the Isles of Scilly which he had from the gift of his brother William Godolphin. Sidney was wealthy enough to be able to leave £1,000 to his cousin Jane Berkeley and £200 to "my Worthie freind Mr Thomas Hobbs". The dedication of Leviathan to Sir Francis Godolphin, the executor of Sidney's will, indicates that the £200 was actually paid to Hobbes.

9. PRO Prob 11/122 f.429.

10. For comparisons with Lanhydrock see

Pevsner, p.73. Local labour appears to have been used at Lanhydrock, and certainly the men who are known to have been working on Lanhydrock in 1642 all have common Cornish names: see The Cornwall Protestation Returns 1641, where the names of seven men 'working at my Lord Roberts house and other places in our parish' are listed. They include the name of William Eedy, who may have been connected with the mason Thomas Edge of Bodmin, for whom see Cornwall Record Office DD R101.

11. PRO Prob 11/183 f.113 (68 Coventry), will of Sir Francis Godolphin of Godolphin, knight, 15 October 1637.

12. The William Godolphin who commanded a regiment of foot for the King was not their brother but their first cousin, William Godolphin of Spargor, son of John Godolphin: see Henning p.407 cf. CRO DD B/35/72.

13. For the wartime allegiance of Cornish MPs, see Mary Coate and cf CRO DD RP 1/13.

14. For Sidney Godolphin and Great Tew.

15. This may in fact be Francis the son of Sir William Godolphin of Spargor.

16. The Godolphins' Norfolk lands were also still under sequestration in April 1648. Calender of the Committee for Compounding p115,117.

17. For Francis Godolphin of Treveneague.

18. PRO Prob 11/122 f.429.

19. PRO Prob 11/183 f.113; Prob 11/199 f.42v.

20. Extracted from two draft letters of c.1663, in BL Add MS 28,052 ff. 5,7. Godolphin also added that 'I know noe young man in England has more neer kindred and freinds at Court'. William was created baronet in 1661. A pass to travel abroad was issued to a William Godolphin in September 1657: CSPD 1657-8, p.550.

21. PRO Prob4/16461, inventory of Sir Francis Godolphin of Godolphin, Knight of the Bath, 15 September 1668. The sum total came to over £21,000. Godolphin was made KB on 23 April 1661.

22. PRO Prob 11/345 f.128 (1667 132). The

original will was destroyed with his other papers - see below. The annuities of Francis and Sidney were to be for life; payments would be made to Henry, Edward and Charles only until they were able to receive properties specified in the will. Henry later accepted an annuity for life from his brother Sir William in exchange for the property he inherited at Trevarthen: BL Add MS 28,071 f.10.

23. PRO [not CRO] SP29/196/123. The letter was dated 7 April 1667. Sir Francis was said to have died on 22 March. The extent of the damage is not known. There are other references to a study at Godolphin in the later 1660s or 1670s: see the letter of Francis to Sir William Godolphin, 26 April [no year] in BL Add MS 28,052 f.15.

24. BL Add MS 28,052 f.4, Dorothy Godolphin 'To my La Fitz HI, 12 [April] 1667. She adds, 'I beg yr leave to consider ye condition of our mortallitie & how suddenly this most dear person was taken off from ye world without having oportunitie of speaking one word concerning wife, children freinds or estate wch will be an unspeable [sic] grieffe to me as long as I live'.

25. BL Add. MS 28,071 f.3, will of Dame Dorothy Godolphin of Godolphin, 17 November 1668. See also PRO Wills, 1669 71.

26. BL Add MS 28,052 f.5

27. BL Add MS 28,052 f.149, John Rogers of Breage to the earl of Godolphin. Four neighbours signed the letter as witnesses to Rogers's state of mind at the survey.

28. Quoted in Debois report; communication with John Schofield. cf. CRO DD GO 286, for bids for lots in the Penryn sale, 1804.

29. Communication with John Schofield. Wallis may of course have been unfamiliar with Westminster Hall rather than with Godolphin.

30. CRO GO 3/1, John Rowe's account for the Duke of Leeds 18023; GO 31/4 & 5, accounts of John Rowe 1802- 3; GO 31/6, Rowels accounts 1803-July 1804. In April 1803 Richard

Tyacke paid £150 for one year's rent to Michaelmas 1802.

31. CRO GO 3/27, bill of Richard Tyacke, 1803. cf. GO 3/1; GO 31/4.

32. CRO GO 31/6, Rowe's account for 1803-4. The only possible indication that the house may have been reduced in size at around this time is the apparent reduction in Richard Tyackels rent from £ 214 per annum to £150 per annum in 1801-2. The Duke appears to have queried this reduction when the annual accounts were checked in July 1803: G 03/1. Such fluctuations in rent were, however, more likely to have been connected with the acreage of the rental rather than with the size of house itself.

33. Duke of Leeds Estate Map. It should be noted that the stables at Godolphin are neither shown in outline nor shaded in on the map.

34. For this work, see the report on the house. The estate map suggests that chambers to the south of the King I s Room in the west block survived in 1786. A new stair or new landing may have provided continued access between these chambers and the King's Room following the demolition of the hall.

35. PRO Prob 31/1235/1030, inventory of Richard Tyacke of Godolphin, gent, 18 2 6. (This inventory was looked at only briefly in June 1994, but is at present unobtainable, having been mislaid by the PRO).

36. PRO Prob 31/1327/231, further inventory of Richard Tyacke, late of Godolphin, gent, 1834.

37. CRO RH 1862, twenty-one year lease of Godolphin to John Rosewarne.

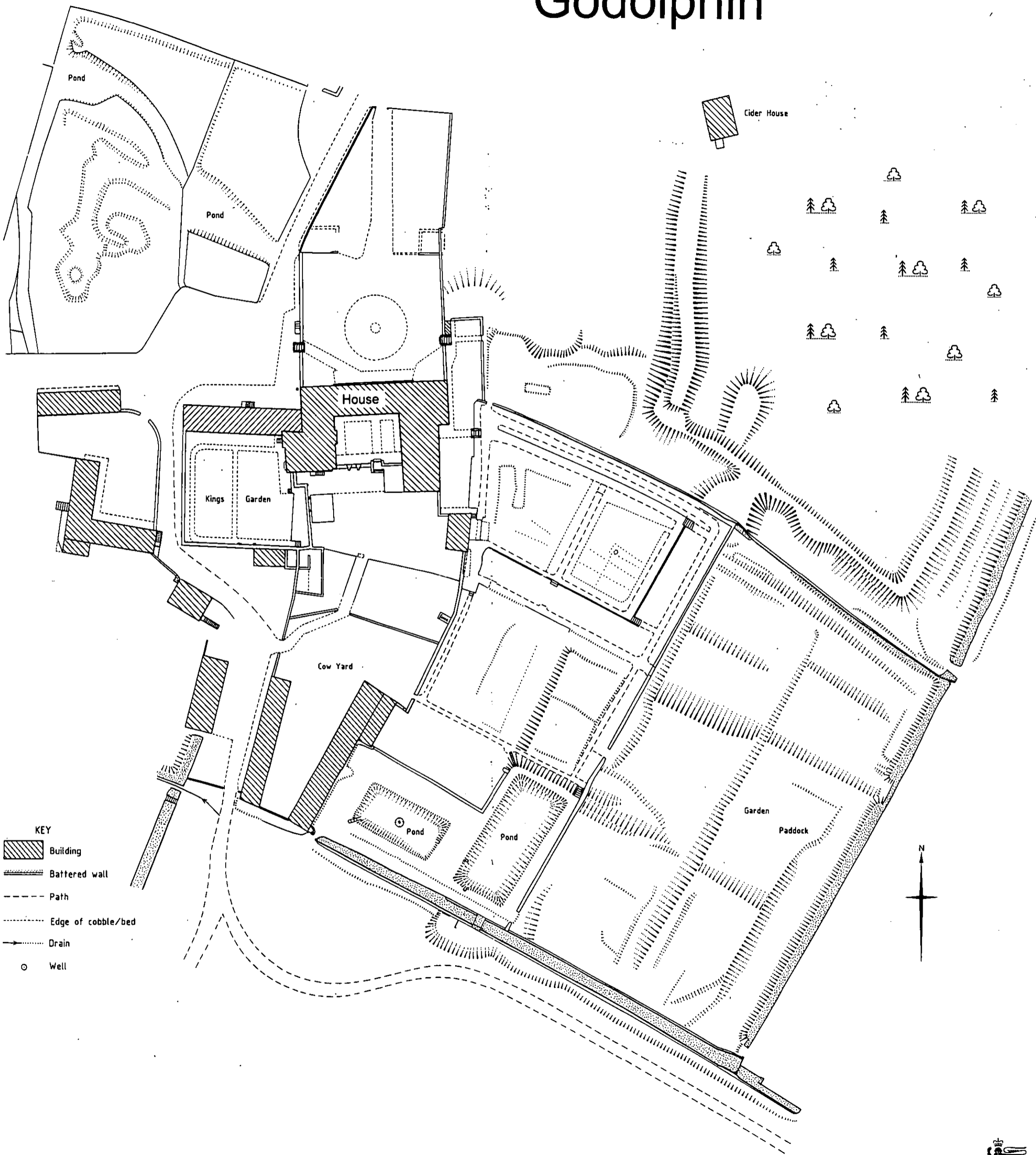
38. Major alterations, including the rebuilding of the hall range, were proposed in 1896, and are shown on plans by Oliver Caldwell at Godolphin.

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Godolphin



- KEY**
- Building
 - Battered wall
 - Path
 - Edge of cobble/bed
 - Drain
 - Well

10 0 100 METRES