

# ◆ Stanmer House and Park, East Sussex

## THE EVOLUTION OF A SMALL DOWNLAND COUNTRY HOUSE AND ITS SETTING c.1710–1805

by Sue Berry

*The Pelhams of Stanmer redeveloped the site of an earlier house into a fashionable Georgian country villa and then developed a substantial park to surround it. By 1800, the ambitions of Thomas Pelham II and Ann (née Frankland) his wife had pushed the family into debt. The main part of the 1720s house, the 1770s stables and lodges of the 1770s survive, so does the outline of some of the planting by the Georgian Pelhams. This is a study of the development of the house and grounds by the Pelham family set into the broader context of their wider ambitions and their expenditure in order to meet them.*

### INTRODUCTION

The piecemeal way in which Stanmer House and Park evolved between c. 1722 and 1805 is typical of smaller Georgian country houses and their settings in Sussex and elsewhere. The scattered and fragmented 18th-century estate records make the production of a coherent and balanced interpretation of such a site during this period challenging.

In order to establish a family estate, Henry Pelham of Lewes bought a substantial house at Stanmer with its grounds and some of the surrounding farmland. During the 1720s, Henry, his eldest son, employed Nicolas Dubois to rebuild the main part of the house as a country villa and to refashion the immediate surrounds. Owing to an inheritance, from the late 1760s, Stanmer became the centre of a more substantial estate. Thomas Pelham II and Ann, his wife, extended the park around Stanmer House and modernised its interior. They lavished attention not only on the park but also on a town house in London. They lived beyond their means and left a legacy of debt.

In 2004 the main part of the rebuilt house and some of the park survive and both are owned by the City of Brighton and Hove.

### THE SUSSEX PELHAMS

The Pelham family had been established in Sussex for a long time. By 1710 there were three branches of the Pelham family in the county but descended from Sir Thomas Pelham, baronet, of Laughton (c. 1540–1624). From the 1710s until the 1760s,

the senior branch was headed by two famous Whig politicians: Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, (d. 1768) and Henry his brother (d. 1752). Their first cousins, the Pelhams of Stanmer, were both overshadowed by Thomas and Henry and were great beneficiaries of family patronage from them. Thomas did not have any children and when Henry died, he left only daughters. Thomas Pelham-Holles left the land and houses that he owned in Sussex to Thomas II of Stanmer. As a result of this legacy and his own interest in politics, Thomas II became the dominant member of the Pelham family (Table 1).<sup>1</sup>

### THE FOUNDING OF THE STANMER PELHAMS

In 1710, Henry Pelham of Lewes (hereafter Henry I) received money left by his father to buy a country estate. Although most of his own land was located in the eastern Weald and on the coastal marshlands of Pevensey near Eastbourne, Henry I lived in Lewes, the county town and political centre of eastern Sussex. In 1712 Henry I bought Stanmer House and some of the surrounding land from the family of Peter Gott for £7500 and the contents of the house for £1200. Located in a sheltered valley on the South Downs between Lewes and Brighton, the estate stood within an open chalk landscape dominated by flocks of sheep and fields of grain and famous for hunting (Fig.1). The house stood within pleasure grounds and the farmland had been largely enclosed. Henry I purchased the Manor of Wootton in Westmeston in 1715, so beginning the long process of expanding the Stanmer Estate.<sup>2</sup>

The Pelham network

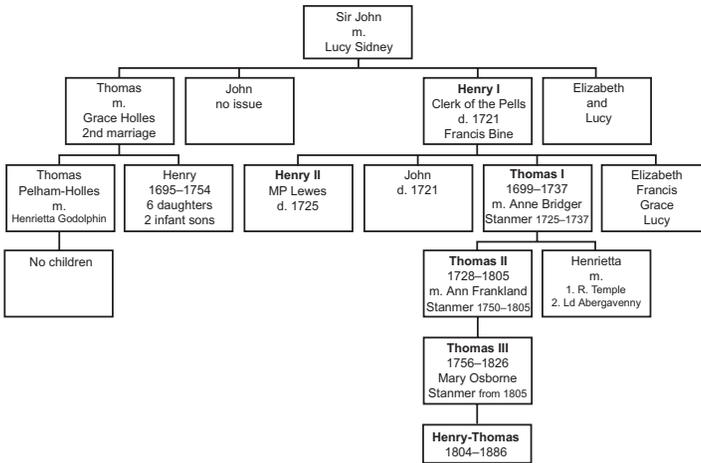


Table 1. The Pelhams of Stanmer.



Fig. 1. The location of Stanmer in 1724. (Source: Richard Budgen Sussex 1724. Stanmer is marked as Stammer just above the large E in the centre of the map.)

the gentry and the aristocracy, most of the smaller ones being used for hunting. The Charlton Hunt, run by the Lennox family of Goodwood, was famous nationally.<sup>3</sup>

Having purchased a country house, Henry I followed the fashion growing amongst owners of rural estates for acquiring a house in London, convenient for becoming more involved in Parliament and for lobbying members of the government for sinecures and favours. In 1720, he leased a town house in Leicester Fields, which in due course became 50 Leicester Square. It was near to Newcastle House in Lincolns Inn Fields, Thomas Pelham-Holles' London house.<sup>4</sup>

THE MODERNIZATION OF STANMER HOUSE AND GROUNDS, 1721-1734

When Henry I died of smallpox in 1721 he left most of his assets to his eldest son, also Henry Pelham, MP for Lewes (Table 1). Henry and his brother Thomas, (hereafter Henry II and Thomas I), were responsible for the first stage of the Georgian redevelopment of the house and grounds. It is not possible to identify clearly who did what. Thomas seems to have largely completed Henry's plans, possibly because they had been in close contact beforehand.

Henry I must have left his eldest son a considerable amount of capital, for when Henry II died of consumption (TB) in 1725, only four years after his father, he had an income of

When Henry I purchased Stanmer, it was one of many houses on the South Downs owned by

£1200 a year in rent and £10,000 remaining in bank stock inherited from his father. Yet Henry



Fig. 2. Larger Sussex Country houses on and just north of the South Downs in the 18th century. (Source: Based on Carey's map of Sussex 1787. Some were demolished in the later 1700s and early 1800s.)

II had already built the shell of the new part of Stanmer, refurbished much of the service wing and fulfilled his father's wishes by spending £4000 left for this purpose on buying land in the Weald north of Stanmer. Henry II also altered the house in Leicester Fields.<sup>5</sup>

#### INFLUENCES ON HENRY II'S REDEVELOPMENT OF STANMER

Henry II seems to have been caught in the wave of improvement to and enlargement of country houses that took place between 1710 and 1740. Most of the smaller country houses such as Stanmer were modernised as two-storey, H-shaped or courtyard houses with the old offices still attached to the rear. On the Downs, as the grounds were expanded and trees planted on a landscape from which they had been largely removed centuries before, the visual impact of this period of redevelopment must have been considerable. Money was lavished on other downland houses. The Earl of Wilmington employed Colen Campbell as the designer and Charles Stanley as the plasterer at Compton Place (Eastbourne). Henry II knew of this work and of the

extensive work to the houses and grounds owned by his cousins and patrons, Thomas Pelham-Holles and Henry Pelham, to the west of London at Claremont and Esher respectively.<sup>6</sup>

As his architect Henry II chose Nicolas Dubois, a French master mason in the Office of Works and a member of the Board of Works. Henry II probably met Dubois when the latter was working on Leicester House in London for Frederick, Prince of Wales (from 1718–21), close to Henry's own town house. Henry II employed Dubois at Leicester Fields before instructing him to work at Stanmer.<sup>7</sup>

Henry II had copied his uncles Thomas and Henry by choosing a fashionable architect, for Dubois was at the leading edge of the fashion for Palladian design. He translated Palladio's work for Leoni's edition of 1715–16 and was one of several architects in influential government and royal posts who were keen advocates of the Palladian style.<sup>8</sup>

Henry II was also quite innovatory in the style of house that he chose, for he redeveloped Stanmer House as a villa, the contemporary term for a small, rather square and compact home of a country gentleman. By the early 1720s, several villas such



Fig. 3. Stanmer House and the medieval church in the 1820s. (Source; Baxter and Cleghorn, 1826. Note that the church was rebuilt and possibly re-sited in 1838.)

as Mereworth in Kent, Stourhead (Wiltshire) and Marble Hill were already either standing or in the course of construction. In 1780, James Lewis succinctly described houses such as Stanmer as 'the smaller kinds of provincial edifices, considered either as hunting seats, or the habitations of country gentlemen of modest fortune'.<sup>9</sup>

#### THOMAS PELHAM I (1678–1737)

Whilst Henry II was taking decisions about who should redesign and refurbish Stanmer, his brother Thomas I, having been told by their father that he had to buy his own estate, was in Turkey making a living as a factor (trader). On completing his apprenticeship, Thomas I moved to Galata to set up his business sending tin and other goods back to England. Whilst in Turkey, Thomas I was also expected by his family to send the Duke of Newcastle gifts. His immediate family also asked for goods: in 1723 Thomas I sent Henry II some birds, a pair of marble tables and wine for Stanmer.<sup>10</sup>

Henry II's will stipulated that Thomas I could inherit Stanmer only if he returned to live in England; if he failed to do so, it would then pass to his son (Thomas II). Henry II appointed a friend of the family and political ally, Grey Longueville, and a cousin, Thomas Pelham of Catsfield, as trustees. While Thomas I sorted out his affairs in Turkey, he received a summary of his inheritance from Thomas Pelham of Catsfield.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from legacies to their sisters Elizabeth and Lucy, Henry II left his whole estate to Thomas

I. Cousin Thomas was able to reassure Thomas I that Stanmer House was habitable, although the great staircase needed finishing. He noted that Henry II had intended to dispose of the lease of his house in Leicester Fields, but had died two days before the papers were ready. Thomas I kept the lease but did not use the house much; from the 1750s, however, Thomas II, his son, occupied it.<sup>12</sup>

When Thomas I finally took over his brother's accounts in 1731 there was £27,484 in cash and accrued interest. Thomas II paid Grace Pelham her legacy

of £5000 in cash and paid off all debts. He retained the cash balance and Henry II's estate. No evidence of Thomas I's own fortune has been found, but Anne Bridger, whom he married in Constantinople, brought a fortune of £14,000 in investments as her marriage portion. The profits from his trading activities may have helped to fund Thomas II's significant enlargement of the park from the 1750s (and investment in land by his son's trustees between 1737 and 1750). Henry II certainly believed that his brother had prospered in Turkey.<sup>13</sup>

Once installed at Stanmer, through patronage by Thomas Pelham-Holles (Duke of Newcastle), Thomas I became an MP. He did not acquire a government post but kept business interests in Turkey, and when in London he followed the fashion for wearing Turkish clothes (Fig. 3).<sup>14</sup>

#### HENRY PELHAM II, THOMAS PELHAM I, NICOLAS DUBOIS AND STANMER, 1722–30

Dubois was instructed by Henry II to demolish the main part of Stanmer House, but to keep and refurbish the offices in the service wing and to modernize the grounds. The desire to rebuild and to refurbish as economically as possible was common amongst country landowners who had inherited estates. Between 1710 and 1740 about three-quarters of the houses that were built or remodelled included recycled materials and were erected on old sites.<sup>15</sup>

Both Henry II and Thomas I recycled building materials such as wood and stone from other demolished houses that they owned, including stone from Kenwards in Lindfield. Henry also sought to save costs by limiting the use of stone and he was pleased when Dubois calculated that the east and south fronts included only about 6000 feet of stone. The new house was attached to 'the offices' that had belonged to the older house but they were adapted and enlarged. A new kitchen was built, existing buildings were modernized and Dubois added a new granary and a coach house for four coaches. Lodging rooms were provided over the top of both and over the archway that linked them. In spite of Henry's concern about the rising costs and his efforts to contain them, the bills for the house and grounds authorised by Dubois, his clerk of the works Thomas Duboisson and measurer James Horne had reached £12,300 by 1727. The outflow of money on this phase of the redevelopment of the house and grounds continued until 1730.<sup>16</sup>

Henry II's letters to Thomas I in Turkey suggest that the work at Stanmer proceeded quite rapidly. In October 1723 Henry II wrote to 'Dear Turk' to tell him that the walls of the new part of the house had been erected and that it would be roofed within two to three weeks. He was busily planting the new landscaping. Though Henry II thought in March 1724 that he would not be back in the house until 1725, he had started to move in by the autumn of 1724. In September 1724, Henry II told his brother that he was furnishing part of Stanmer and had included both a summer and a winter 'smoking room' in the house. Knowing that he was dying of consumption, Henry II hoped that his brother would not turn the whole place into 'smoking rooms'.<sup>17</sup>

The detailed building accounts reveal the enormous amount of employment generated for local people by the building or redevelopment of a country house. Dubois and his small team ran the project and local builders such as Arthur Morris of Lewes did the work. Dubois and Morris had disputes about the rate and quality of work that Morris and his men carried out. However, Dubois worked with Morris when the former designed the new bridge for Lewes in 1727. Between 1722 and 1727 brickmakers in Chailey and Ringmer made thousands of bricks for Stanmer. Local landowners also benefited. Thomas Scutt of Hove was paid for

the extraction of brick earth on his land and for the use of land on which to make bricks.<sup>18</sup>

Carriers were employed to deliver bricks and tiles to the house and fuel for the lime-burners who worked on site. Timber and coal supplied by merchants at Brighton and Lewes and timber from Peter Courthope of London, lead pipes and pigs of lead sent from London were hauled to the site.<sup>19</sup>

In the 1960s, Brighton Council demolished the 'offices' and part of the work on the main part of the house by Dubois and so the detailed plan of the house and grounds in 1800 shows how much larger the completed house was than it is today (Fig. 4).<sup>20</sup>

### THE GROUNDS OF THE 1720S

Dubois also laid out the new gardens to the south and east of the new stone facades.<sup>21</sup> Charles Bridgeman, a fashionable landscape designer, carried out work at Compton Place and Goodwood in Sussex, both of which had their grounds substantially altered in the 1720s.<sup>22</sup> It has been suggested that Henry II may have consulted Bridgeman, who was then working at Claremont for the Duke of Newcastle (and with whom Dubois worked at Cassiobury) in 1726. However, by 1725 work on the grounds was well under way and the only surviving evidence that refers to Bridgeman in the context of Stanmer is a written apology for failing to get there.<sup>23</sup>

The 1720s building accounts describe the works 'before the front of the house' and whether or not that referred to both stone fronts cannot always be discerned. The terrace that looked eastwards towards the church was finished with Portland stone and three large pedestals stood along it. A pair of gates by Richard Booth of London, a blacksmith, was inserted in a stone wall at the entry to the terrace walk in front of the house where the builders had to provide a 'dwarf wall under the iron gate'. The small garden shown to the north of the house in 1800 may have been laid out as part of the scheme in the 1720s, for it seems to be terraced (Fig. 4). That garden and the entrance to the grounds from beside the church were probably removed when the present Stanmer Church was built in 1838, because they are not on the tithe map which shows the newly built church and the present drive.<sup>24</sup>

Below the south terrace the land was levelled



Fig. 4. Layout of the house and the immediate grounds in 1800 by William Figg (Source: ESRO ACC 3714/4. Published with the permission of The County Archivist, East Sussex Record Office. Copyright reserved.)

for a bowling green and a canal (a large rectangular pond) was constructed to the east of the house. One end of this canal was intended to be some 15 feet away from the wall that then stood around the graveyard. Dubois planned to insert a walk between the graveyard and the canal. The correspondence between Dubois and the Pelham brothers (in succession) gives the impression that the canal may not have been built because of an argument about taking some of the graveyard. The presence of bills for work on the canal in the building accounts is evidence that the canal was constructed, but they do not indicate if a walkway between the canal and the graveyard was laid out as Dubois suggested. At the same time a 'bason' or formal pond, possibly with a fountain, was constructed somewhere in the grounds. The pond shown on the map of the Stanmer Estate in 1800 may have been a remnant of this scheme (Fig. 4).<sup>25</sup>

To the south-west of the house a wilderness walk was laid out on the slopes above the rear of

the building. Some of the paths (shown in detail on Fig. 4) still survive. Although Henry II may have planted some trees as part of the plan, the steep slope may have had some trees on it, for some of the work on the Wilderness seems to have involved creating paths between trees that were already present.<sup>26</sup> The walls of the existing kitchen gardens (still tucked up the valley to the north-west of the house) were repaired, new walls were built and a pond and drainage were installed.

During this work, the pigeon-house and the village and house water supplies were refurbished.<sup>27</sup> The engine for one of the wells seemed to be unreliable and became the source of letters to Thomas I at Leicester Fields. There may have been a menagerie built in the grounds somewhere, for Princess Amelia sent a gazelle to Stanmer as a gift.<sup>28</sup>

The refashioned grounds at Stanmer were separated from the surrounding farmland by a boundary, but the accounts do not indicate how

high it was or of what material it was built. New iron gates were installed to the entrance beside the church (Fig. 4).<sup>29</sup>

#### THOMAS PELHAM I AND STANMER AFTER DUBOIS, 1730–34

In 1730 Thomas I paid off all who were employed on the refurbishment of the house and grounds. In 1730 he had plans to continue underplanting trees with coppice and other schemes, for the head gardener requested an agreement for payment of board and wages for the same-sized team of gardeners as he had employed during the previous year. After the gardener had complained that the pond was too small for the walled gardens, it was expanded and waterproofed in 1730 by a Mr Lever or Leaver.

Thomas planted unidentified plants imported from Turkey in the walled gardens to the rear of the house and in the more formal grounds to the east and south, his main suppliers being Savage and Shrowsbridge (Fig. 4). Any plans to expand the grounds beyond the area shown in Figure 4 may have been constrained by lack of space for Thomas I continued to buy land around Stanmer and in the parish of Plumpton, where in August 1736 he bought Wales Farm.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE MINORITY OF THOMAS PELHAM II, 1737–50

Thomas II inherited the Stanmer Estate in 1737 when he was nine years old. In his will Thomas I had appointed trustees to care for his son and for the estate and instructed them to continue to buy land. This expectation implies that Thomas I had left enough capital. Working closely with John Streete, the land agent, the trustees managed to pass on both an enlarged estate and cash. Although the unoccupied house was mothballed, an experienced gardener was retained. Streete also ensured that the general maintenance work on the entire estate was done. His work included the removal of mud from the moat surrounding Plumpton Place and the planting of fruit trees at Stanmer.<sup>31</sup>

Streete supervised the farms' tenants. In 1745 he argued that some farmers who were in arrears farming in the 'Wild' [Weald] should be kept, for whilst farmers on the Downs were

doing well, Wealden farmers were not, but he did not hesitate to recommend the removal of bad debtors. The trustees also dealt with general estate management such as requests to inherit tenancies and permission to denshire (plough up pasture), a practice that they discouraged.<sup>32</sup>

The trustees expanded the estate. In 1746, they bought Plumpton Farm, but rejected Balsdean Farm (Rottingdean), which lay well to the south of Stanmer, as being too far away. In 1747 the gross rent (before repairs and other charges) from the farms was between £2000 and £2500, but little was spent on the house and grounds.<sup>33</sup>

The trustees were responsible for the care of Thomas II whom they sent to Clare College in May 1745, and the following year James Pelham paid the bill of £221 13s and 6¼d. due for Thomas II's brief sojourn as a student. Sent on his Grand Tour in 1746, he then spent about two years (1746–1748) in Geneva, where he was taught fencing and Italian. That section of the Tour cost £4340, the equivalent of two years' annual gross income from the Stanmer Estate. Thomas II arrived at Florence in February 1748 and began his journey home in 1749.<sup>34</sup>

#### THOMAS PELHAM II AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSE AND PARK 1750–1769

In 1750 Stanmer House was prepared for the arrival of the new master, aged 22. The house had to be brought back to life after 13 years and Streete asked the trustees for directions. He wanted them to confirm whether the common parts of the house below stairs should be painted the same colour as the wainscot and required instructions about the colours of the outer doors. In September he enquired whether the hangings should be displayed and the piles of gravel on the paths spread out. He balanced the books in readiness and asked for permission to pay his respects to the new master of the estate.<sup>35</sup>

There is no evidence that Thomas II had brought back souvenirs from his Grand Tour or that his subsequent work on this house and park was influenced by it. The changes he made seem to have been far more affected by his own ideas and those of his friends and relatives. His uncles and patrons, Thomas Pelham-Holles and Henry Pelham, were developing striking houses and

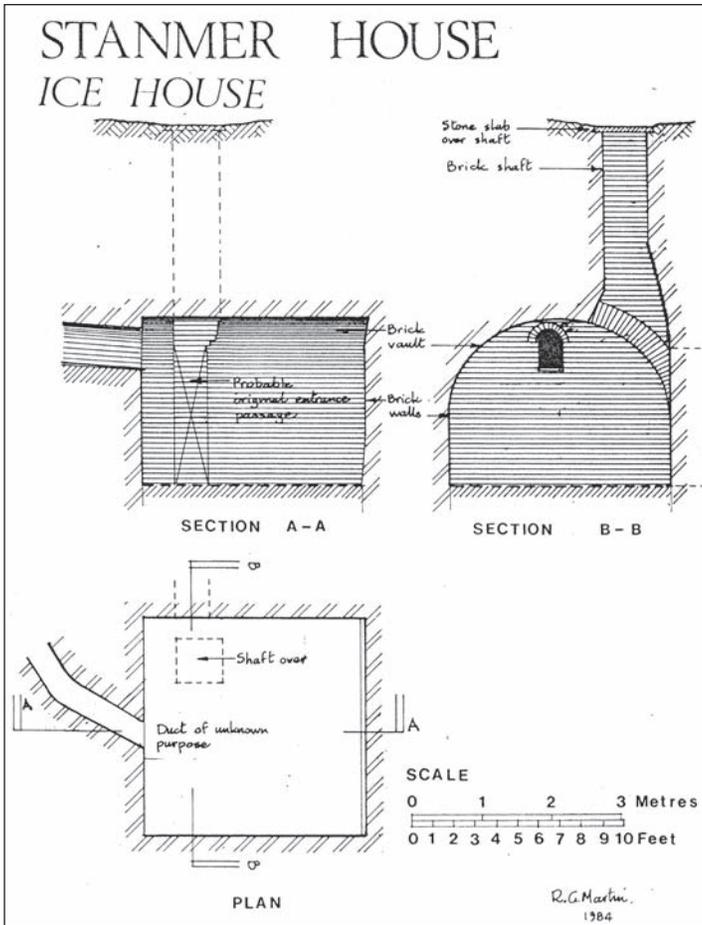


Fig. 5. Stanmer Ice House 1750s, one of the minor improvements by Thomas II. (Source: Mr R. G. Martin.)

grounds at Claremont and at Esher respectively.<sup>36</sup>

Thomas II began his minor alterations at Stanmer almost as soon as he arrived and between 1750 and the end of 1753 he had spent about £775 on the grounds and on the house. He extended the walled gardens to the north-west of the house and he had an ice house, a melon frame and hothouses constructed. He also planted some pine trees (Fig. 5). As part of his internal changes Attersole and Fairless installed marble chimneypieces in the house in 1753.<sup>37</sup>

In 1754, Thomas II may have had some plans for developing the grounds for he commissioned a map of the parish of Stanmer.<sup>38</sup> The estate then contained 1443 acres of which only about 144 acres are clearly the setting to the house. By 1754, the canal to the east of the house had gone; the area

was part of 'The Great Lawn'. The kitchen and other walled gardens covered 2½ acres and the old and new woods just over 17 acres (Fig. 4).

Thomas II was quickly involved in politics by his cousin the Duke of Newcastle and became one of his favourites.<sup>39</sup> In addition to the income from the estate and his cash deposits, Thomas II received a quarterly salary of £178 from his post in the Board of Trade, secured for him by the Duke. He also made losses gambling with the Duke and with other friends.<sup>40</sup>

In 1754, Thomas II married Ann, the daughter of Frederick Frankland of Yorkshire. Frederick first made his money from the East India Company and then secured government posts. Ann received a marriage settlement of £16,000 from her wealthy father.<sup>41</sup>

Between 1754 and the mid-1760s, there is no evidence of substantial work on the house and grounds, but Thomas II periodically paid workmen and gardeners lump sums of around £100, which suggests that he did a little work. In 1764 Ann

remarked that a few small alterations had made improvements. She was pleased that her visitors, the Herrings, liked the improved access by carriage to some of the grounds, which Thomas II had undertaken in 1762.<sup>42</sup>

By the mid-1760s the grounds at Stanmer may have been looking rather dated, for only piecemeal work had been done since the 1720s. Between 1730 and 1760, a more natural style of landscaping had developed, spearheaded by 'Capability' Brown, Sanderson Miller and others. It is likely that Thomas and Ann were aware of the new fashion, for locally Brown worked at Petworth Park from 1752–1765, at Ashburnham Place in 1767 and Thomas II saw his work at Sheffield Park in 1776. Thomas II may have known that Nathaniel Richmond, once an associate of Brown, had worked

at Compton Place.<sup>43</sup>

In spite of the limited space at Stanmer in the 1760s, Thomas II may have sought advice from Nathaniel Richmond, but no evidence has been found to prove this. Some similarities between the work done at Stanmer Park in the later 1760s and the 1770s and Richmond's work at Compton Place, Morden and Moor Park have been noted. However, just as Capability Brown influenced Richmond, who began life as one of his site managers, so Richmond may have influenced Henshaw, the man who did supervise a significant amount of unspecified work at Stanmer in the mid-1760s and who periodically worked for Richmond (for example at Saltram in 1769). The new features at Stanmer may have included 'Sabina's Tomb', which was first mentioned in 1765 when Ann Pelham took their distant relatives, the Robinson family, there to drink tea.<sup>44</sup>

In the mid-1760s, a considerable amount of interior work was also undertaken at Stanmer, for in 1766 Ann wondered whether the workmen (decorators and upholsterers) would ever leave. One room may have been totally refashioned, for Hayward was paid for a chimneypiece and 'Lambert', one of the James Lamberts of Lewes, was paid for paint.<sup>45</sup> Craftsmen from London such as Vandercombe, who specialised in upholstery, undertook some of the interior work.<sup>46</sup> While this work was being completed, Thomas paid 15 guineas for a 'Landskip' by one of the Smith family of artists of Chichester and bought earthenware from Wedgwood.<sup>47</sup>

#### STANMER AND THE DUKE'S LEGACY

After the death in 1768 of Thomas Pelham-Holles (Duke of Newcastle), his aged cousin and patron, Thomas II emerged as the leader of the Pelham family in Sussex. Both Thomas II and his son Thomas III held major national political posts and had strong local influence.<sup>48</sup>

Out of the shadow of the Duke, Thomas II's local and regional standing increased and he was now consulted about local developments such as the plan for a turnpike scheme for the road between Lewes and Brighton in 1769 and the improvement of the drainage of the River Ouse, which flowed past some of his land. Thomas II was also involved with the militia, which became a major interest of his son Thomas III. He agreed the dates of major

events such as the Lewes Races and was asked whether he would patronise activities which the Duke of Newcastle had supported. Thomas also became involved in charitable and other activities in Brighton and continued the family involvement in local elections in Lewes and Seaford.<sup>49</sup>

The inheritance of the power to influence appointments to livings and sinecures resulted in begging letters. In 1769, John Curtail of Burwash wrote to request a living whilst the incumbent was dying and in 1772, Thomas Hurdis of Bishopstone did the same. Ann commiserated with her husband when in 1778 he said that both had visited him at Stanmer asking for better livings.<sup>50</sup>

The duke's death also considerably enhanced Thomas II's status as a landowner; the estate he inherited included two country houses in Sussex, Halland and Bishopstone.<sup>51</sup> Halland was a vast late Tudor country house in the Weald some 15 miles north-east of Lewes and Bishopstone Place, an ancient downland hunting lodge, was just to the west of Seaford. Thomas II decided to review his new possessions before taking any further action. He commissioned plans of both houses and had their inventories checked.<sup>52</sup> The Duke of Newcastle had neglected both houses, having lavished his money on his home at Claremont. His steward Abraham Baley suggested that Halland was too big and too old to run and that Thomas should reduce the number of country houses that the estate supported. Reluctantly, having inspected the buildings, Thomas demolished Halland, but he ran some of the Park for hunting and paid for gamekeepers' liveries. From 1769 Bishopstone was periodically let furnished for sea bathing and for hunting.<sup>53</sup>

Thomas II also inherited more than 3000 acres of land in the Weald, on the Downs near to his own land, and properties in Hastings and Lewes. He asked Abraham Baley to increase the yield from the estate. Amongst the actions that were taken were the disparking of Halland Park and its conversion into farms; increasing the number of houses to let on the land in Lewes and raising rents. Lady Ann's father also died in 1768 and she inherited money from him, which may have also influenced their plans.<sup>54</sup>

Having decided to retain Stanmer as their residence, Thomas II and Ann decided to modernize the interior and rather than enlarge the house, to extend the grounds and the estate around it.

During the next 35 years Thomas II bought the land and supervised the landscaping of the enlarged park.<sup>55</sup> By 1776 both of his sons were concerned about the accumulation of mortgages on the estate. Henry III claimed that his father had spent £38,100 on land close to Stanmer (including Hodshrove and Falmer Farms) and that the interest charges amounted to £1570 a year. He suggested to his brother (Thomas III) that the entail on the estate be broken so that some peripheral land could be sold in order to reduce the debt. But Thomas II (with Ann's support) continued to buy land and then added to the debts by raising mortgages to pay for the marriage portions of Henry III and their daughters, Lucy and Harriet.<sup>56</sup>

#### A NEW HOUSE IN LONDON AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING, 1769– 1805

Whilst deciding which house to use as their home in Sussex, Thomas II and Ann sought a new house in London, in keeping with their elevated role. Ann, in particular, wanted to move from 50 Leicester Square, which they leased, and to find somewhere more fashionable. By the 1760s, Parliament sat annually for much of the winter and early spring and up to 500 landowners sought homes in London and used their time in the capital to extend their sphere of influence by entertaining in their houses.<sup>57</sup>

By the end of 1769 Thomas II and Ann had moved to a new house in Stratton Street near Green Park; in the next decade, they were to spend more money on this house than they had on Stanmer House. It is possible that more research will reveal that other middling and lesser landowners with aspirations to political posts (and the income and influence which they gave) also lavished money on their houses in London and kept the modernising of their country homes to the minimum. By 1773 work on the house in Stratton Street had cost about £8000. The Pelhams continued to alter the house throughout the decade: in 1778 Thomas II inserted a staircase of his own design and decorated two rooms in the basement for entertaining. The décor may have become dated, for Thomas and Ann spent more money in 1790, but they moved to Audley Street in 1802.<sup>58</sup>

Long before Thomas II had become the head of the Pelhams, he had sought political posts.

Possibly aided by the Duke of Newcastle, his early lobbying paid off: he became a Commissioner for Trade (1754), a Lord of the Admiralty (1761–1764), Comptroller of the Royal Household (1765–1774) and a Privy Councillor in 1765. Thomas II was an MP, and in return for his preferments was expected to vote in Parliament when needed and was summoned to London to do so.<sup>59</sup>

After the death of the Duke of Newcastle in 1768, Thomas II's lobbying for court and government sinecures seems to have been less successful, but he did become Surveyor of the Customs of London (1773–1805) and Chief Justice in Eyre 1774–75. Theresa Parker remarked to her brother, Lord Grantham, that on at least one occasion, Thomas and Ann caused many problems for themselves when canvassing for a new post at court. She also thought that they gained only an additional £500–£600 a year from their efforts. Thomas II finally became Earl of Chichester in 1801 as a result of his political activities. Chichester, in West Sussex, seems to have been a curious choice of title, for the estates and political influence of the new Earl lay mainly in eastern Sussex, east and south-east of Lewes.<sup>60</sup>

Thomas also continued to encourage the practice of lobbying for government sinecures for local supporters in order to ensure that elections went his way. He went with 'Mr Medley' (probably George Medley of Buxted who was an MP) to see the Duke of Grafton, who controlled patronage for Treasury posts, to ask whether Thomas Wood of Bishopstone could succeed his deceased brother as a Customs boatman.<sup>61</sup> Whilst he was a Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, Thomas II was lobbied by petitioners who thought that he could influence the granting of land in Carolina.<sup>62</sup>

#### STANMER HOUSE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARK, 1769–1775

The decision to find a new house in London and to embellish its interior was taken just as Thomas and Ann were weighing up which house to use in Sussex. Having opted for Stanmer, Thomas decided to make a new entrance to the park. He built lodges facing onto the old Lewes to Brighton road that ran along the parish boundary between Stanmer and Falmer, then the park boundary (Fig. 4). Built



Fig. 6. Stanmer Park in 1800 showing the later lodges at the end of the park and the parish boundary on which the first lodges stood. Old Lodge Clump marks the site. (Source: ESRO ACC 3714/4 Stanmer Estate 1800 by William Figg. Published with the permission of The County Archivist, East Sussex Record Office. Copyright reserved.)

by December 1769, these lodges were visible from the house, for they were closer to it than their replacements (which survive today). On sunny days, the lambs frolicking in the grounds between the house and the lodges added to the pleasure that Thomas took in the view from his dressing room.<sup>63</sup> Theresa Parker (née Robinson) of Saltram in Devon liked the lodges so much that she decided to build a copy. The Pelhams sent her a sketch, for they had been built without using plans.<sup>64</sup>

Between 1769 and 1771 the Pelhams also laid out some new paths in the grounds and may have added an orange grove and a greenhouse as they were not mentioned before 1769. A considerable amount of tree planting was also done, costing £242 to fence in 1770–1771 alone.<sup>65</sup>

Between 1769 and 1773 Thomas II and Ann modernized parts of the house at a cost of at least £1214 19s. 0d. — a modest sum compared with the outlay on Stratton Street. Progress on the improvements at Stanmer was slower than Thomas II expected, and the family spent some time at Bishopstone whilst the work was done. The family gained no sympathy from Theresa Parker. She thought that Thomas and Ann were underestimating the time, cost and the upheaval that work on a country house involved.<sup>66</sup>

Thomas and Ann commissioned an Adam-style décor for the dining room. No designers' names are known, but many landowners seem to have used their own designs or those of friends. It is possible that Thomas Robinson of Newby may have offered some advice to Thomas II. The new columns for the dining room (still there in 2004) and others with matching architraves and cornices that stood 'in the passages' (which have gone) were purchased from Charles Evans of London. In 1771–72 stone was brought from the old house at Kenwards in Lindfield and from a quarry at Scaynes Hill to make some external repairs to the east and south fronts. Finally Thomas became impatient and another painter was sent from London to speed up the completion of his bedroom. All of the interior work was finished by April 1773 when Thomas unpacked family pictures and added more furniture to one room, but he was still choosing carpets in June when a sample was sent from London.<sup>67</sup>

Whilst extending the park and modernising the house, Thomas II visited other country estates in order to view the work that his local contacts were doing. In 1773, he inspected the hothouses at nearby Buxted Park to see how they worked.<sup>68</sup> In 1776, he visited Sheffield Park and observed to his son that the work was far from finished.



Fig. 7. The second set of south-east lodges of 1777. (Source: Baxter's *Stranger in Brighton and Directory* (Brighton; the Proprietors, 1824), p. 71.)



Fig. 8. The Frankland Monument by Hayward 1775. (Source: author.)

He thought that Mr Holroyd would have an 'excellent house' and a very pretty place, but 'no small expense' from employing Wyatt and Brown. Thomas II also visited Goodwood and saw the transformation of the house and its setting by his friend the third Duke of Richmond, who employed Chambers to redesign the mansion and to build the

huge stables. Having seen what his friends were doing, he told Thomas III that he had decided to undertake most of his own planting and landscaping.<sup>69</sup>

Meanwhile, the enlargement of the park at Stanmer was progressing and Thomas II sought designs for small buildings and accepted gifts of plants. In 1773, George Wille sent Thomas II a design for a small curved back arbour with a garden seat in it that he said would cost £8 10s. 0d. to build. The frame, floor, sills and ties were of oak and the cladding of yellow deal.<sup>70</sup> The Duchess of

Newcastle sent Thomas a mixture of unspecified trees and shrubs followed by planting instructions for trees from her gardener.<sup>71</sup> Tree and shrub planting at Stanmer was periodically stopped by dry weather, the lack of rain being a major concern for five weeks in 1775.<sup>72</sup>

#### STANMER PARK — THE FINAL STAGES AND THE NEW LODGES, 1776–1805

Thomas II bought Lord Craven's land to the east and north-east of Stanmer in 1776. Having successfully diverted the road from Falmer to Brighton to its present line in 1777, he continued to extend the park southwards. In 1778, he demolished the lodges on the old boundary (beside the old road and marked by Old Lodge Clumps on Figg's map) and built new ones to the same plan at the new entrance (Fig. 6). These still stand (Fig. 7). Fritz Robinson felt that the design did not look as good on the new site as it had on the old one, but he conceded that when the new planting had matured they would look very beautiful (Fig. 7). Even Thomas II seems to have had some doubts about the new lodges for he thought about adding porticos or a corridor to each and Fritz thought that he would like a sketch from his brother. Thomas Robinson (later Lord Grantham) was an amateur architect who is sometimes confused with Sir Thomas Robinson of Rokeby. The Pelhams would have known that Thomas Robinson had designed a small castle folly

for the new landscaping at Saltram, for Thomas II was a regular visitor there.<sup>73</sup>

More features were added to the enlarged park. A memorial to Lady Ann Pelham's father by Richard Hayward was erected in 1775, the idea having first been discussed in 1773. In 1778 the monument was described as being in a recess on the Long Walk beside the Great Wood and visible from all over the park (Fig. 8). The memorial, an urn resting on three tortoises and made of Coade stone, was not specially commissioned for at least three others like it survive. One is at Mount Edgcombe, the source of a design for a garden seat for Stanmer in 1788. A garden seat was placed in front of a clump opposite the windows to the old library at the front of the house.<sup>74</sup>

In 1778, Fritz Robinson confided to his brother his misgivings about the continued expansion of the park and the changes to the interior of the house. Fritz thought that the house was very comfortable and handsome but that the changes had been expensive. The drawing room was hung with green paper and pictures. They included a fine Correggio, which might have been a copy, and a mixture of good and indifferent pictures. Fritz admired the stucco and large plate glass windows, which, in spite of their cost, he thought, might also suit Newby. The wainscoted eating room had columns at one end that screened a passage which linked the room to the service wing. The modernised best bedroom was fitted with expensive but old-fashioned furniture that the Duchess of Newcastle had owned. Thomas II had added to the ground floor of the house a dressing-room with full-length windows that opened onto a little garden. Within this room, which Fritz thought was damp, the presses that contained the Newcastle Papers were stored.<sup>75</sup>

Fritz hoped that the park would not be enlarged any further and observed that the fence that was being erected around it was costly, a view that is supported by the surviving fragments of the estate accounts which include some of the outlay. Fritz believed that the improvements to Stanmer between 1769 and 1778 had cost between £7000 and £10,000 and confided to his brother that much of it was unnecessary, expensive and imprudent. He observed that the supply of timber for some of the work from the woodlands at Halland was not regarded as a cost and that that was a piece of self-deception. Fritz was especially critical of the enclosure of the whole park

with a pale (as shown on the map in 1800) and concluded that the work had made the house and park too big for the estate. The two sons of Thomas II, Tom (Thomas III) and Henry III, agreed with this view and hoped that the whole scheme would not be pursued any further. The truth of Fritz's misgivings about Thomas II's lack of control over the cost of projects was illustrated by the cost of the new stables at Stanmer. Built in 1778 (and just about standing in 2005) they cost three times the builder's estimate. The overrun was largely because Thomas II had again failed to secure a contract for the construction of the building.<sup>76</sup>

By 1779, Thomas II and Ann had discovered that some of their legacies were less generous than they had hoped and that their own resources and income from government posts could not support both their lavish expenditure and the prospect of marriage portions and other financial support for their children. There were already so many charges on some of the land that Ann had inherited from Lady Lichfield that the income could not support them all. Thomas and Ann were also left an income from some other land for their joint lives only.<sup>77</sup> In May 1779, Ann decided to sell the jewellery, valued at between £7000 and £8000, that she had inherited from Lady Lichfield. She sought ways of selling it in Spain to obtain a higher price.<sup>78</sup> The Pelhams also had to pay the costs of a court case, which they initiated, to ensure that Ann received a legacy from another (unidentified) source.<sup>79</sup>

More park features were added after 1778, but the purchasing of land tailed off and after 1787 little land was added to the park. In 1787, after an exchange of land that gave him the access, Thomas built lodges on the Ditchling to Brighton Road on the north side of the park and ceased to use the entrance on 'Old Boat Corner' at the junction of Coldean Lane and the Ditchling Road.<sup>80</sup> In 1788 the Edgcombes sent the design of a bower that they had in their park for the spot where 'the orange trees flowered', which was somewhere in the vicinity of the greenhouses to the west of the house.<sup>81</sup> In the south-east corner of the park Thomas II built a menagerie in an acre of land and it became a pheasantry in the 19th century (Fig. 9).

Between 1779 and 1800 Thomas also continued the expensive process of planting trees and of fencing them on the land between his old and new lodges, now beside the turnpike road from Lewes to Brighton.<sup>82</sup> Outside the park, he also planted

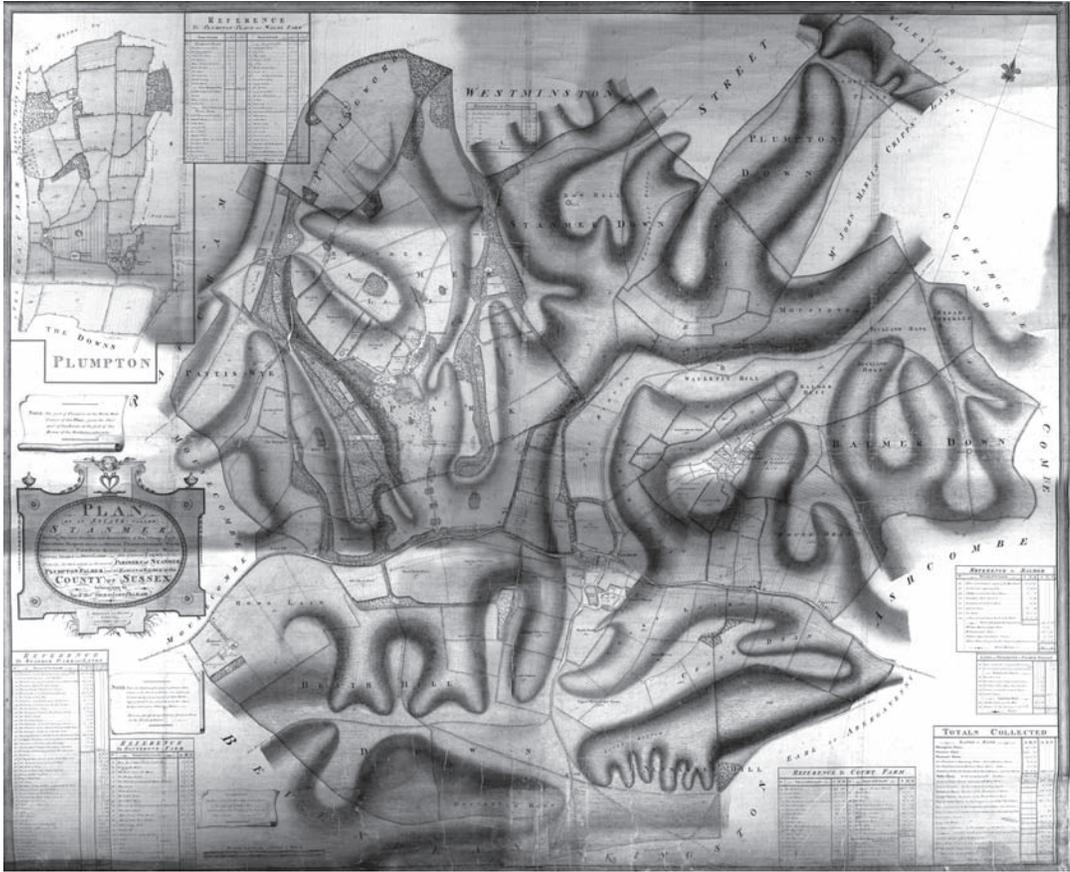


Fig. 9. The Stanmer Estate in 1800. (Source: ESRO ACC 3714/4 Stanmer Estate 1800 by William Figg. Published with the permission of The County Archivist, East Sussex Record Office. Copyright reserved.)

sweeps of trees such as the 23 acres of Westlain Belt, now mostly lost to the University of Brighton (Fig. 6). When Grimm recorded the gates, the house and the Great Wood in 1787 for Burrell, the antiquarian, he possibly made the many youthful trees seem grander than they were then.<sup>83</sup>

In 1799, Thomas II commissioned a survey of the Stanmer Estate. It then covered 5203 acres within which Stanmer Park was 1073 acres (Fig. 9). The house and gardens occupied just over 6 acres and the 'Lawn' in front of the house, 7 acres. Some of the park was ploughed and Thomas II retained the farm and the village for the workers. Though screened from the house, the village was strung along the route to the north-west lodges and visible from many of the rides and walks. Thomas may have used it as a *ferme ornée*: its decorative look was commented on by later guidebooks.<sup>84</sup>

#### LIFE AT STANMER

The lavish expenditure on the park and the improvements to the house was linked with its use for entertainment for meeting influential people. Brighton, a fashionable seaside resort where people known to the Pelhams stayed in increasing numbers, became the source of many guests.<sup>85</sup>

By 1778, regular visitors to Stanmer such as Fritz Robinson participated in a routine organized by Ann Pelham. In the morning, after breakfast in the greenhouse, lounging about the stables and the area closer to the house passed time before a walk in the woods and dressing for dinner. After dinner everyone walked to the lodges, then drank tea at Sabina's Tomb en route back to the house. On their return, they listened to prayers before supper and then went to bed. Visits to Brighton to bathe in the sea and to Lewes varied the routine.<sup>86</sup>

Left behind at Westminster School during the seaside season, Thomas III remarked to his father in July 1770 that the papers in London were full of the names of the people who had gone to Brighton. His impression was that the 'Downs are covered with company'. By 1778, Thomas II felt that some of the company at Brighton (mainly rich and often titled) should dine only at Stratton Street and that others were not the sort that the Pelhams wished to mingle with. That some visitors to Brighton dropped by uninvited whilst riding while others expected the Pelhams' steward to find accommodation for them may have been irritating.<sup>87</sup>

The Pelhams hosted lavish banquets at Stanmer during Brighton's summer and autumn season. Local contacts such as the Duke of Richmond (of Goodwood near Chichester) and the Websters (of Battle Abbey) mingled with visitors such as Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, the Duke of Cumberland, Princess Amelia and the Prince of Wales. Visitors to the resort such as Lord Trevor (of Glynde), whom Thomas II met on the beach at Brighton, also dined. The 'Bill of Fare Book' for their banquets records the menus, the layouts for the dishes and the lists of guests.. Thomas gave Stanmer a thorough cleaning in 1782, perhaps

aware of the image that a dirty house might give to guests whom he sought to impress.<sup>88</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Stanmer is now in a suburban fringe and neglected. Yet a considerable part of the legacy of Henry Pelham II and his brother and nephew Thomas I and Thomas II can still be seen. The fragmentary financial evidence in the British Library and in East Sussex Record Office consists of short runs of accounts and incomplete correspondence about estate matters. Nevertheless, linked together and combined with the Robinson letters from the Wrest Park archives, they show that the Pelham brothers were solvent and that when Thomas II came of age, he had a legacy of land and cash left to him. By running a London house and enlarging Stanmer Park and the surrounding estate without a substantial income from politics or another source to supplement the estate rental, Thomas II and Ann built up debts with which their successors had to cope.<sup>89</sup>

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO) Cowdray Ms 6, quitclaim at Battle, 24 Jul. 1430, recited in an *inspeximus* of 14 Nov. 1432; East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) SAS/P2, letters patent 15 Dec. 1445. WSRO, Wiston Mss 2108–24; A. Pelham & M. McLean, *Some Early Pelhams* (Hove, 1931) summarizes the early history of the family in Sussex. R. A. Kelch, *A Duke Without Money* (London, 1974).

<sup>2</sup> *Victoria History of the Counties of England: Sussex* 7 (1948) 239; C.E. Brent, 'Rural population and employment in Sussex between 1550 and 1640', *SAC* 114 (1976) 27–48 and *SAC* 116 (1977–78), 41–55; P. Brandon, *The South Downs* (Chichester; Phillimore, 1998) 58–78, 90–101; H. Warne, 'Stanmer a restructured settlement', *SAC* 127 (1989) 189–210; British Library (hereafter BL) Add. Ms. 3334. ESRO ACC 4600/1–14, CHR 14/2–4, 11 Dec. 1693, CHR/8/1/20–21.

<sup>3</sup> R. A. Kelch, (1974) 116; J. H. Farrant (ed.), *Sussex Depicted* (Lewes; Sussex Record Society, 2001) 2; M. W. Barley, 'Rural building in England', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1640–1750* 5 part 2 (Cambridge, 1985), 600; E. Cartwright, *Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber in the Western Division of the County of Sussex* 2 (1830), 31, 81, 89, 131 & 149;

C. Rowell & J. M. Robertson, *Uppark Restored* (London, 1996), 51–2; Lord Besborough & C. Aslet, *Enchanted Forest* (London, 1984), 37–9; S. Rees, *The Charlton Hunt* (Chichester, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> M. Port, 'Town and Country House; their interaction' in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House* (Stroud, 1988) 117–38; F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London: the Parish of St Anne's Soho* 35 (1966), 446–7, 513; BL Add Ms 33617; ESRO ACC 4600/103.

<sup>5</sup> BL Add Ms 33085 f.38, f. 42; ESRO CHR 14/2-4, SAS/A760 c1722.

<sup>6</sup> M. W. Barley (1985) 600, 605–7; G. Worsley, 'The 1740s; the lost decade' *The Georgian Group Journal* (1991), 21–5; P. Brandon, *The South Downs* (Chichester, 1998), 36–7; C. Hussey, 'Compton Place, East Sussex' *English Country Houses: Early Georgian* (London, 1955), 87–96; C. Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes 1700–1750* (London, 1967), 46–7.

<sup>7</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33617, 24 Oct 1723; H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (3rd edition, Yale University Press, 1995), 323–5; *Survey of London* 446–7, 512–13.

<sup>8</sup> H. M. Colvin, 'Lord Burlington and the Office of Works', *Essays in English Architectural History* (London, 1999), 264–5; R. Hewlings, 'James Leoni c. 1686–1746', in R. Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders* (London, 1985), 22.

- <sup>9</sup> James Lewis, *Original Designs for Villas, Mansions, Town Houses etc.* (1780) 4, cited in J. Summerson, 'The idea of the villa', *J. Royal Society of Arts* (July, 1939), 570.
- <sup>10</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 f.78.
- <sup>11</sup> ESRO CHR/14/5 will, 1725; BL Add Ms 33085 ff 8, 18, 39, 78, 115, 117, 195. J. A. Brent, *Pelham House* (Lewes, no date) 8.
- <sup>12</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 ff.125, 138; ESRO CHR 14/5; *Survey of London*, 513; Brent, *Pelham House*, 10.
- <sup>13</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 ff.62, 110, 125, 132, 138; ESRO CHR 14/5.
- <sup>14</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 f. 481.
- <sup>15</sup> C. Sweet *Stanmer Park Brighton, East Sussex, Historic Landscape Survey and Management Plan* (London, 2003) 41; R. Wilson & A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: the Building of the English Country House 1660–1880* (London, 2000) 200–201.
- <sup>16</sup> H. M. Colvin, 'Architect and client in Georgian England', *Essays in English Architectural History* (London, 1999), 268–75; Wilson & Mackley, *Creating Paradise* 284–5; ESRO ACC 6077/22/11, and ACC 4600/7; BL Add. Ms. 33617 19 Aug., 12 Nov 1722; BL Add. Ms. 33085 f. 59; ESRO ACC 6077/22/11.
- <sup>17</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085, 31 Mar 1724, ff.78, 92, 98.
- <sup>18</sup> Wilson & Mackley *Creating Paradise* 284–5, BL Add. Ms. 33617 19 Aug., 1724, Add. Ms. 33085 f. 59; H. M. Colvin *Biographical Dictionary* 325, ESRO ACC 4600/7.
- <sup>19</sup> ESRO ACC 4600/7, pp. 7–8, 14.
- <sup>20</sup> See section 15.
- <sup>21</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/11.
- <sup>22</sup> C. Hussey, 'Compton Place' 87–96; T. J. McCann, "'Much troubled with very rude company'" — the 2nd Duke of Richmond's menagerie at Goodwood', *SAC* **132** (1994), 143–9.
- <sup>23</sup> P. Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (Newcastle, 2002), 63–4, incorrect reading of BL Add. Ms. 33085 f.235; ESRO ACC 6077/22/11 and BL Add. Ms. 33085 f. 467 accounts, no reference to Bridgman.
- <sup>24</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 f. 78; ESRO ACC 6077/22/11, TD80 Stanmer Tithe Map 1840.
- <sup>25</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 f. 285; ESRO ACC 6077/22/11 pp. 30–31; C. Sweet, *Stanmer Park Brighton* (2003), 35.
- <sup>26</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/11.
- <sup>27</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/11.
- <sup>28</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 f.430, f. 243; the menagerie marked by Figg on the map of 1800 is later.
- <sup>29</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/11 pp. 30, 67.
- <sup>30</sup> A. Oswald, 'Stanmer, Sussex', *Country Life* (2 Jan 1932), 14–20; BL Add. Ms. 33085 f f.153, 283, 471, 473–4, 477, 481, 515; Add. Ms. 33086 f.116, Add. Ms. 33617, 1722–1724; ESRO ACC 7560/78.
- <sup>31</sup> ESRO CHR 14/7, 17 April 1734; BL Add. Ms. 33086 ff.1, 3, 6, 97, 109, 113, 129, 142, Add. Ms. 33086 ff.103, 119, 126, 129.
- <sup>32</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33086 f. 6.
- <sup>33</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33085 ff. 496, 503, Add. Ms. 33086 ff.6, 33, 80, 97, 103, 112, 135.
- <sup>34</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33086 f. 29, Add. Ms. 33341 accounts.
- <sup>35</sup> ESRO CHR 14/7; BL Add. Ms. 33085, ff.150, 156, 160.
- <sup>36</sup> T. Mowl & B. Earnshaw, *An Insular Rococo* (London, 1999), 93–5.
- <sup>37</sup> ESRO ACC 3412/1/57; ESRO ACC 6077/22/24; ESRO ACC 6077/22/11 building work accounts 1750–1753: this ice house is Fig. 5; A. Oswald, 'Stanmer, Sussex', *Country Life* (2 Jan 1932), 14–20; A. Oswald, 'Eighteenth-century furniture at Stanmer', *Country Life* (16 Jan 1932), 66–8.
- <sup>38</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/14.
- <sup>39</sup> R. A. Kelch (1974), 205.
- <sup>40</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33623 ff. 1–2, 3–4.
- <sup>41</sup> William Frankland (1720–1804) of Muntham House in Findon was a relative; BL Add. Ms. 33623 ff. 1, 4, 8; ESRO ACC 3714/12, CHR 13/29–32 15 Feb 1755, CHR 13/14–15; CHR 14/10, SAS/A488 1754.
- <sup>42</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33623 ff.5, 15, 16, 34, Add. Ms. 33089 f. 27, Add. Ms. 33091 f.53.
- <sup>43</sup> J. M. Meir, 'The development of a natural style in landscape gardens; the English Midlands and the work of Sanderson Miller & Capability Brown' *Garden History* **30** (2002), 24–48; E. Hingston, 'Ashburnham Place, East Sussex', *Garden History* **29** (2001), 91–101; A. McCann, 'The history of Petworth Park', in K. Leslie & B. Short, *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999), 100–101; D. Brown, 'Lancelot Brown and his associates', *Garden History* **29** (2001), 7–8.
- <sup>44</sup> ESRO ACC 3412/1/177, 1767; BL Add. Ms. 3309 f.125, Sabina was an early Christian martyr; BL Add. Ms. 33089 f. 39, Theresa Robinson became Theresa Parker at Saltram, her oldest brother Thomas (1738–1786) Lord Grantham, Fritz (Frederick) their brother, of Newby Hall, later called Brocklesby; related to Pelhams via Frankland family, into which both the Robinsons and the Pelhams had married Bedford and Luton Record Office (hereafter BLRO) L30/14/33/19; ESRO ACC 6077/22/3; BL Add Ms 33089 f. 39, Add. Ms. 33624 f. 3, 14 Feb 1767, 18 Nov. 1767; D. Brown, 'Nathaniel Richmond (1724–1784) — Gentleman Improver', *University of East Anglia PhD* (2000), 90–92, Appendix 1, *Gazeteer* 195–9.
- <sup>45</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33091 f.134 (14 Feb. 1767); BL Add Ms. 33624 f. 3 (18 Nov. 1767).
- <sup>46</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33091 f. 134.
- <sup>47</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33624 f. 20.
- <sup>48</sup> BLRO L30/14/33/204.
- <sup>49</sup> WSRO Goodwood 1408; ESRO/SAS/A739/1 1785, 20 Sept 1787, 17 Mar. 1801, SAS/A750, ACC 4600/102, SAS/A739/1, ACC 6077/22/3, 14 Nov. 1769, 6 Mar. and 28 Aug. 1779, SHR/3067, 3068.
- <sup>50</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33089 ff. 95, 265, Add. Mss. 33092 f. 46.
- <sup>51</sup> ESRO ACC 7755/2/1 May 1716 and Jan. 1742; ESRO ACC 7755/6/12, ACC 7755/7/2, Nov 1715–May 1763, ACC 7755/9/6.
- <sup>52</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/25 fragments of plans of Bishopstone house [the catalogue doesn't mention Stanmer] and Halland House 1769, ACC 4600/103 pp. 43–61.
- <sup>53</sup> Anon *Claremont* (London: National Trust, latest edition) is the best overview; BL Add. Ms. 33340, 12 Oct 1775, 1 Jan. 1776, f. 187 July 1785, Add. Ms. 33090 f. 213; ESRO ACC 4600/139 31 Dec. 1790.
- <sup>54</sup> ESRO CHR 14/8, ACC 4600/103.
- <sup>55</sup> ESRO SAS/A744, 1769.
- <sup>56</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33127 f. 128; ESRO ACC 4600/100, 103, ACC 5179/37, CHR 5355, CHR 2/5/1.
- <sup>57</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33623 f. 19, Add. Ms. 33091 f. 59; L. Stone & J. C. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford: University Press, 1986), 158–63.

- <sup>58</sup> BL Add. Ms. 3309 f. 213; BL Add. Ms. 33127 ff. 45, 147, Add. Mss. 33126 f. 10; BLRO L30/14/333/154, L30/14/333/92, L30/14/333/140, ESRO AMS 5440/386, 1802.
- <sup>59</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33090 f. 21.
- <sup>60</sup> BL Add. Ms. 48218 f. 145.
- <sup>61</sup> ESRO SAS/A739 21 June 1785; BL Add. Ms. 33089 ff. 21, 25, 315.
- <sup>62</sup> PRO SP36/43 f. 80.
- <sup>63</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33092 f. 8; ESRO ACC 6077/100 p. 64; BL Add. Ms. 33091 f. 222; BL Add. Ms. 33092 ff. 24, 31; BL Add. Ms. 33091 f. 221.
- <sup>64</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33092 f. 8; ESRO ACC 6077/100 p. 64; BL Add. Ms. 33091 ff. 221, 222, Add. Ms. 33092 ff. 24, 31, Add. Ms. 33090 f. 44, Add. Ms. 48218 ff. 172, 174; Theresa saw the Stanmer Lodges in 1766 or 1768, BLRO L30/14/333/29, BLRO L30/14/333/49, Richmond at Saltram; C. Johnson, *Saltram* (London; National Trust, 2001), 60, 64.
- <sup>65</sup> BL Add. Ms. 333091 ff. 221, 253, 252, 279; ESRO ACC 4600/96.
- <sup>66</sup> BL Add. Ms. 48218 f. 183.
- <sup>67</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/11; C. Musgrave, 'Stanmer' *The Times* (8 June 1963); BL Add. Ms. 33092 f.1, 6 Apr. 1773, 23 June 1773, f. 15; Add. Ms. 33089 f. 4, Add. Ms. 48218 f. 183.
- <sup>68</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33090 f. 31.
- <sup>69</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33127 f. 105.
- <sup>70</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33090 ff. 19–20.
- <sup>71</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33090 f. 84.
- <sup>72</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33092 f. 31, Add. Ms. 33093 28 Oct 1788, ff. 42, 278.
- <sup>73</sup> BLRO L30/17/2/139, L30/14/333/108, L30/14/333/111; BL Add. Ms. 33089 ff. 33, 34, Add. Ms. 33127 ff. 331, 340, Add. Ms. 5672 f. 13, 1787; ESRO CHR 2/6/1 1776, CHR2/6, ACC 6077/22/11; S. Farrant, 'The formation of estates on the Sussex Downs in the eighteenth century', *Sussex Archaeological Society Newsletter* **24** (1978), 149–50; J. Cornforth 'The making of the Saltram Landscape', *Country Life* (19 Sept 1967), 596.
- <sup>74</sup> BL Add. Ms. 48218 ff. 113, 130; BLRO L30/14/333/108, L30/14/333/48; B. Jones, *Follies and Grottoes* (Constable: London, 1974), 321; Richard Hayward 1728–1800, based in London.
- <sup>75</sup> BLRO L30/14/333/109, L30/14/333/116.
- <sup>76</sup> BLRO L30/14/333/15, L30/14/333/93, L30/14/333/111, L30/14/333/116; ESRO ACC 4600/100.
- <sup>77</sup> BLRO L30/14/333/169.
- <sup>78</sup> BLRO L30/14/333/212.
- <sup>79</sup> BLRO L30/14/333/212.
- <sup>80</sup> ESRO ACC 4600/96.
- <sup>81</sup> BLRO L30/15/50/156.
- <sup>82</sup> ESRO ACC 3714/4 ESRO ACC 3714/5, ACC 4600/102 p. 162.
- <sup>83</sup> BL Add. Ms. 5672, f. 12.
- <sup>84</sup> ESRO ACC 6077/22/31, 1799–1803. *Baxter's Stranger in Brighton and Directory* (Brighton; the Proprietors, 1824), 71.
- <sup>85</sup> ESRO SPK Box A 28 July 1771.
- <sup>86</sup> BLRO L30/14/333/108.
- <sup>87</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33089 f. 14, Add. Ms. 33090 ff. 33–4, 15, 27, 97; BLRO L30/14/333/108, L30/14/333/111.
- <sup>88</sup> BL Add. Ms. 33443, bill of fare book; Add. Ms. 33090 f. 102, Add. Ms. 33092 f. 86; Add. Ms. 33089 ff. 303–4, Add. Ms. 33132 f. 19, Add. Ms. 33133; ESRO ACC 6077 accounts, ACC 6077/22/11, ACC 6077/22/3, SAS/ACC 1158/108; T. Melville, *Brighton, its History, Follies and Fashions* (London: Hall & Chapman, 1909), 36; T. Horsfield, *The History and Antiquities of Lewes and its Vicinity* (Lewes: Baxter, 1828), 216.
- <sup>89</sup> *Return of Owners of Land* (HMSO, 1875), Sussex section; D. Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy* (London; Penguin, 1994), 37–54; C. Musgrave, Stanmer, *The Times* 8 June 1963.

