Ewart Park and Estate, Northumberland

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THE story of the development of the landscape of the Ewart Estate in North Northumberland is one which, with variations, might
be told of so many estates throughout England
in the Eighteenth Century. In addition to the
many works created by such designers as William Kent, Lancelot Brown, Humphry Repton
and other lesser professional improvers
throughout the century, there were countless
estates whose landowners undertook their own
improvements without any direct help.

The property of Ewart had come into the St. Paul family in 1753 as a result of a legacy. It was not, however for a further period of over three decades before Horace St. Paul was to move north in 1787 to make Ewart his home. It had come to him by purchase from his younger brother in 1775, his own succession to the property having been prevented by his having to flee the country as a young man, in 1751, following a fatal duel forced upon him by his opponent. He redeemed himself, but not his title to the property, by service first for the Austrian empire, for which he was rewarded with a Colonelcy and later the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and then by four years as Secretary to the British Embassy in Paris where his friend Lord Stormont was Ambassador. At the same time that he took over Ewart, the adjoining estates Coupland and Yeavering were sold. These had been bought by his father over forty years earlier in 1733, and after his death had become mortgaged to the hilt.

Horace St. Paul had been born and brought up in London, and as a young man entered Grays Inn to take up a career in the law. There he might have remained but for the unfortunate circumstances of his duel. He returned from France in 1776, and lived in Surrey for about eleven years, moving to Northumberland in 1787, renting Tillmouth Park while he improved the property of Ewart.

It was, then, in 1788 that Count St. Paul first slept in his newly rebuilt house at Ewart Park. His diary (Butler Papers) for Monday 27th October of that year records the following entry "Set out alone for Ewart to sleep there". For someone brought up in London, who had spent many years of his life on the continent, Ewart Park was a long way north, in fact one of the most northerly estates in England, only a few miles from the Scottish Border and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, in the fertile Milfield Plain traversed by the River Till. which runs north to join the Tweed. The estate lies in a sheltered valley, whose microclimate gives it a very favourable situation for so northerly a latitude.

The estate of Ewart which Horace had purchased from his brother had been shown in a map surveyed for his father in 1757 by Jno. Robertson of Alnwick (ZBU MR12/W14). Its total area extended over 1469.1.30 acres and rods, of which almost half was subject to flooding by the rivers Glen and Till. The map indicated that the best ground comprised the eight fields around the existing farmhouse, of which a part was later to become the park.

Rebuilding of the House

Before Horace could come to the house to sleep in late October 1788, a good deal of work had to be undertaken, while the family still lived at Tillmouth Park. Following June 1788, when the available records begin, the emphasis at Ewart seems to have been on the house. It is clear that work on the estate must have been going forward for some time previously. On the 28th of May of that year Horace went over to Ewart from Tillmouth with William Todd, a

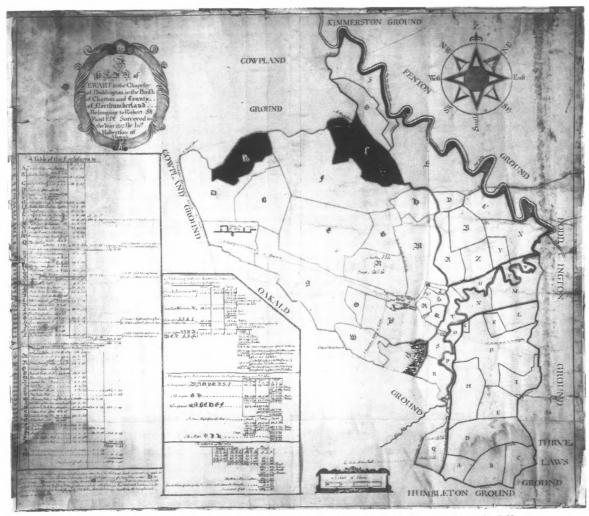


Fig. 1 Ino. Robertson's Estate Map. Drawn Alnwick 1757 Northumberland County Records Office, Reference No; Butler Papers (ZBU MR 12/W14).

local builder and mason, to ascertain the strength of the existing walls of the house. The latter confirmed that these were strong enough to bear the weight of being raised further to accommodate four garrets. On June 16th Thomas Todd, William's son brought "his drawing of the north view of the old castle at Twizell, and rec'd from me instructions to get hewn some stones for making a chimney for the drawing room at Ewart". (ZBU B 5/2)

The significance of this diary entry is the tradition repeated in the Northumberland County History (NCH 1935) that Horace incorporated a tower from Twizell Castle in the rebuilding of the house. It is the only direct reference in either account books, or the diary, to Twizell Castle. The Butler papers include a folder (ZBU 5/6) which contains three drawings of Twysell Castle (sic), described respectively as the Old Castle, and the New Castle.

There are two views of the latter, the north and south views, and these show a more ornate building than the former. They are attributed to one Thomas Younger and dated either 1786 or 1788. This attribution is interesting as St. Paul refers to his visitor of June 16th as Thomas Todd the younger, and referred to him bringing his drawing. Perhaps the attribution is a shorthand for the younger of the Todds. The traditional story (NCH 1935) is of how Horace and Sir Frances Blake went to watch the progress of the demolition of the old castle at Twizell. On Horace remarking what a waste it would be to lose the towers he was offered one by Sir Francis, which, it was said, he subsequently re-erected at Ewart. Some doubt was cast on this story because Sir Francis was known to be rebuilding Twizell Castle as a great edifice at a later date. Macaulay (1975) explains this by suggesting that the first castle, from which the tower came had been erected by Sir Francis Blake the elder, who until 1776, or thereabouts, lived at Tillmouth Park. In fact Raine (1852) gives the lie to the idea that the elder Sir Francis's building was really the first castle when in his North Durham he provides the evidence of a much earlier structure. Because the original medieval castle had, in fact, been ruined in the latter years of the 15th century it seems likely that Macaulay's explanation was in part right, and that the drawing of the "old castle", was of a building started by Sir Francis the elder, which was being demolished to make way for a new, grander, edifice to be constructed by his son, and for which the two views of the new castle were, as it were, blueprints.

A tower was incorporated into the north side of the building at Ewart which could conceivably have come from Twizell, though there are no records of any works required for the removal of the material, or of payments for such work.

Thomas Todd had visited Horace at Tillmouth. The following day, 17th June 1788, the latter's diary records "stopped at Ewart—the new cottage pretty forward". It is not entirely clear which cottage this could have been. On the 23rd of June he was evidently over at Ewart

again, as his diary records that he "Gave orders for the moulds for the bricks to be made deeper in order to make the bricks come out according to ye measure fixed by the act of Parliament 17 Geo 3 C 42". (ZBU B 5/2)

The next entry relating to Ewart was a rather terse note of Tuesday July 15th—"Untile the house", which was confirmed by the entry for July 17th "The roof of the house at Ewart completely taken off in the course of the day". Horace clearly was pressing ahead as rapidly as he could, for he goes on "ordered the brick layer and George Burn the joiner to get immediately more hands in order to get forward with the building and I sent George Menion to Wooler to try and have some men to take away the great heaps of straw and stack it elsewhere that everything be cleared away for making the garden and levelling the ground before the house". (ZBU B 5/2)

Work on the Garden

On the following Monday July 21st, he had to borrow a chestnut mare from Mr. Laidler, a neighbour, so that Jon Rogers the gardener could ride with him to Ewart to set out the "New Garden west of Ewart House the length 200 ft by 80 ft".

In August 1788 Horace began to turn his attention seriously to the question of planting. On the 26th, a Thursday, James Rogers was sent to speak to Lord Home's gardener at the Hirsel, "about some tall young trees for Ewart to replanting next October. They have some but as they have grown in the thick wood they will probably not succeed when transplanted into exposed situations like Milfield Plain" (ZBU B 5/2). Horace was clearly developing, if he didn't already have it, an understanding of the planter's art.

During September and October the house must have been coming along well and by October the 23rd it had got to the stage that he had a bed carried to Ewart "and other things there for my going to sleep there occasionally". The following day, presumably though sleeping at Tillmouth he appears to have been again at Ewart because he notes that;

"Donkin McDonald came to know what sort

of forest trees I would have put into the plantation with the first planted last year in ye spring. I decided upon Oak. Elms (Scotch) and Beaches. The labourers 5 or 6 were employed in digging ye pond when we meet with quick sands with some appearance of springs". (24th October 1788) (ZBU B 5/2).

The extent of the planting that was done the previous spring is not clear, but it does not appear that it can have been very extensive, given the other considerations that must have occupied Horace's energies during this period. It is reasonable, however, to assume that it would have involved the area immediately around the house and be concerned with screening for shelter, and to create a degree of privacy and separation from the village.

Horace had already met the Nurseryman Andrew Wilkie at Ewart by appointment about the "plantations to be made". The pond referred to in his note is identified more precisely in the following day's entry (Oct. 25th.) as the village pond east of Robert Middlemas' Cottage. That does not, though, place it clearly for us.

The same day that Horace met Wilkie, the latter and James McGrath were engaged in taking the levels to make the lawn in front of the house. The following day was a Sunday, spent at Tillmouth but on the Monday-October 27th—appears the entry with which this note started "Set out alone for Ewart to sleep there". The entry for the day goes on to detail some of the activities that were going on "Tom Gibsons cart went with ye posts and chains to put before the lawn at Ewart. When I arrived there I found Andrew Wilkie and the labourers levelling before the house. I took one of George Burns the joiners men (Jeffreys) and John Chambers a labourer to set up the posts and rails to palisade off the village from ye lawns before the house". The posts and chains, presumably set up at the edge between the lawn and the driveway leading up to the house was a feature that was not entirely in accord with Brownian ideals. Elsewhere in the estate papers is a small drawing showing the layout of the forecourt for Tillmouth House "with circle for coaches to steps". The Circle is shown 48 ft

in diameter but marked "better make ye circle 60 ft" (ZBU B5/5 38). One can imagine that such an arrangement could have been set out at Ewart, the lawn apparently being on the east side of the house between it and the road which nowadays skirts the park on the south and east, to judge from the reference to the fencing off the village (but see below for the entry on December 4th).

On the following Thursday (30th October) Horace noted lending to a Mr. Justinelli "a model given me by Captain William Finch to grub up hedges and for lifting great trees. It is somewhat on the principle of the Burn Machine". A tree transplanter was illustrated in J.C. Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Gardening published in 1822, and the machine used at Ewart may have been of the same or a similar design. The purpose for which it was actually used here is not evident.

A few days later, on November 5th the levelling work was still going ahead, but attempts to introduce mechanization gave rise to some frustration. "The gardeners and labourers have got the levelling of the lawn before the house at Ewart in great forwardness. I sent Jno Chambers to Fowberry for Sir Francis Blakes Suffix levelling machine which he wheeled hither early in the afternoon. We tryed to make use of it but the machine was either out of order or ye men did not know how to work it". (ZBU B 5/2)

The next day work continued, this time with the emphasis on the fencing of the estate. The first job was the posts and chains which had been brought down by cart on the 27th of October by Tom Gibson.

"I set the men to work in fixing the posts and chains at ye extremity of the lawn before the house and in placing the hurdles at the west end on each side of the entrance gate. They had almost finished them when I left them about 3 o'clock". It is difficult to make proper sense of this description because if the lawn's position was on the east of the house as previously surmised, the entrance gates being at the west end makes no sense. If on the other hand the lawn was south of the house and the entrance from the west lodge is inferred it is

possible that entrance gates might have been placed at the western edge of the lawn. It is usually assumed that the principal entrance was via the south lodge leading to the eastern end of the facade. The west Lodge entrance, which might alternatively qualify for the description of "the west end" is almost exactly a mile away through the plantation. The implication of the extract, however, is that the two jobs were going on together.

Eleven days later the levelling work was still going on, and it is only reported as being complete on the 28th of November, over a month after it was started. The diary for November 17th reads "The levelling appears a tedious work they say it will be finished in the course of this week but I doubt it". The entry for November 28th though, is altogether more cheerful;

"The levelling before the house was quite done and the men were at work filling up the ground towards the place where the coach gates are to be placed. I rode with the Steward to the Loning Close where I fixed upon the east corner to be taken off and planted. I ordered G. Menion to pay to James Rogers the Gardener to settle his account the 2nd of this month £5–1–0". The last note of payment to James Rogers in the account book was when, on December 4th 1787, he was paid £5–0–0 on account. But he was listed, and was the only servant named, in a stewards list prepared in 1788 (ZBU B5/8 18).

The next week Horace was again at Ewart and noted that the gardeners had completed the levelling and were "trenching the old garden adjoining John Clark's House, I had the grounds marked out for the clumps of trees to hide the offices—the circle before the door had been traced by George Burn before we got to Ewart" (Thursday 4th December).

The last item we can call upon for evidence of the progress of works at this time is for the following day, 5th December 1788, when Horace "called upon Mr. Laidler in the forenoon who calculated for me the contents of the area of an octagon for clumps at Ewart made with 16 hurdles". Another paper in the collection (ZBU B5/8) concerns the setting out of a

hurdle enclosure for a clump—octagonal in shape, 18 ft across each face, and with each face being made up of two 9ft hurdles, there is a note that the area is "the 27th part of an acre".

Horace was also concerned with drainage and described a method, in one of his papers (ZBU B 5/8 24), for laying drains which he had heard of probably from his friend General Harcourt who, it seems passed on the information from Lord Harcourt. The paper refers both to General Harcourt "of Gloucester Lodge" and Lord Harcourt of Newnham Park, and describes the method of laying drains using three spades to trench 2 feet deep and backfill with thorns of brushwood.

Over the winter 1788/9 Horace began his planting in earnest, recording in January an item of payment to the Coldstream Cooper for 400 sets of Willow for £4. On March 2nd 1789 he records paying Donkin (sic) McDonald nurseryman on account £7-7-0, while on the 11th he paid the costs of carriage of "ye trees from Howick 9/6d". These are presumably those supplied by McDonald, though we don't know where he had his nursery. Alternatively this could have been a spelling error and they could have come from the Dicksons of Hawick. This point is not clear, though the subsequent dealings with the Dicksons seem to indicate that their plants were sent carriage paid. Perhaps Horace obtained a favour of the trees from the Howick Estate, which seems not to have been an unusual arrangement between neighbouring gentlemen, in which case he would have arranged to pay the carriage. Can we assume that they, or some of them, were planted in the octagons formed with hurdles in the previously marked clumps set out to hide the offices?

Woodland Planting

On the second of September 1789 Horace received an estimate from Dickson for the planting of about 40 acres of land. This was in effect two estimates because it seems that there were two accepted distances for planting, the first with forest trees planted alternately

between fillers, such as in this case Scotch Firs at three feet centres. The second distance, which in the example quoted involved the use of a different pattern of planting with forest trees being planted one in three rather than alternately, had the trees set at three and a half feet centres. This of course reduced the costs of planting as the estimate, which follows, makes clear;

"Memm 2. Sept 1789.

Estimate for planting about 40 acres of land to Col St Paul on the Farms of Ewart.

To Planting with transplanted Larch, Oak, Beech, Mountain Ash, and Sycamore at 6 feet apart and filling up with Scots firs to bring the whole to 3 feet distance at per acre

£3-10-0

Mem;

The height of ye trees to be specified

To planting with the above mentioned Forr-

est trees at (Ten feed ap – crossed out) Ten and a half feet apairt and filling up the same with transplanted scots firs to three and a half feed distance at per acre

To upholding Ditto per acre
$$\begin{array}{c} £2-5-0\\ £-5-0\\ £2-10-0 \end{array}$$

It is proposed to plant a row in each side of the rideing walks throu the plantation at 4 or 5 feet apairt with the under mentioned trees which are to be from 2 1/2 feet to 5 feet high which is to be produced and planted at seven shillings the 120; and all the trees within these lines are to be planted by the acre.

N.B. the first Estimate at 3 feet distance takes 4033 plants to the acre, The Second Estimate at 3 1/2 feet 2963 plants to the acre, and in this calculation 1200 is allowed for each thousand.

Leatheads Mr. Dicksons Planter will be sent to carry on the work." (ZBU B)

There is no record in the account books that this work was paid for, but in view of the extent of the woodland in the Wilderness and in the woodland belts it seems extremely likely that it was carried out. The reference to the riding walks suggests the wilderness as the planting area, and we know that Leathead was working on the estate in the subsequent season from Dicksons letter of November 17th 1790. The supply of plants referred to in his earlier letter of 11th November may well have been the sequel to this estimate; no costs are mentioned and so it can be presumed that these had been previously agreed, perhaps on the basis of the numbers indicated in this letter, and estimate.

1790 appears to have been a year in which a great deal of planting was undertaken both in the garden and generally over the estate. Correspondence from Robert Dickson and his brother, nurserymen of Hassendenburn, near Hawick show something of the extent of the planting works in that year, though no record of these dealings appears in Horace's account books in the Record Office. Early in the year Horace contacted Dicksons to supply plants for the garden, these having been ordered in February 1790. There is an undated list in the Estate papers, in Horace's hand which may in a sense be seen as the master plan for planting and as such must have predated the ordered list. This list is to be found in the Northumberland Record Office under reference ZBU B 5/12. It comprises mainly herbaceous plants but includes lilacs, and roses.

Dicksons account of plants sent is itemized and priced. It also has a note in Horace's hand, giving the date of ordering. This reads "Mrs St Pauls selection of shrubs and flowers for Ewart—ordered from Mr Dixon of Hassendenburn 11th. February 1790". Dickson directed his account to Colonel H. St Paul, at Wooler Lodge, "with a matted bundle to be left at the public house west of Wooler".

The itemized list is as follows:

⁺ Birch, Plains, Poplars, Willows, Mountain Ash, Beech, Scots Elm, Larch, Oak, Hornbeam, Maple.

"No 1.	4 Moss Province Rose	4.0.
	4 Blush Province Rose	2.0.
2. 3.	4 Red do do	1.4.
4.	8 Common Cabbage do	2.8.
5.	6 King do in place of the cabbage	6.0.
6.	4 Blush Cluster do	2.0.
7.	4 Red monthly do	1.4.
8.	2 late red honeysuckle	4.
9.	2 late white do	4.
10.	2 erly white do	4.
11.	1 Coghillhall do	6.
12.	1 scarlet trumpet do	6.
13.	4 yellow bladder senna	1.0.
14.	6 spiria frutex white pensylvanian	1.6.
15.	6 large syringa	1.0.
16.	6 spanish broom	2.0.
17.	8 Snowball Gilder rose	2.0.
18.	8 Purple lilac	1.4.
19.	8 Red Mezerion	2.0.
20.	6 Virginian Rasp	1.0.
21.	3 Rose of Sharon	6.
22.	6 common Junipers	1.0.
23.	4 Swedish do	1.4.
24.	6 yellow jasamine	1.0.
25.	3 evergreen thorn	9.
26.	6 white jasamine	1.6.
27.	10 double daisies of sorts	10.
28.	6 double violets of sort	1.0.
29.	6 bloody wallflowers	6.
30.	8 hollyhoc of sorts	8.
31.	6 double peony	1.0.
	60 English Elm 5ft	10.00
	Matts	1.0
	Carriage 10 stone —"	

(ZBU B5/12)

This was accompanied by a letter begun on the same page at the bottom of the list, as follows;

"Sir, Agreeable to the order you gave my brother have sent you as above carefully packed into matted bundle which I hope will come safe and be to your likeing, the Common province & Cabbage rose being the same have therefore have sent the King rose in place of what you call the Cabbage I am for Father Bros and self.

Sir your most obedt humble servt.

Hassendenburn
15th Feby 1790 Archd Dickson

Junr" The grand total for all this material was the sum of £2-14-3d, for 220 plants and the matts which formed their packaging. By far the most expensive plants were the Moss Province and the King Cabbage Roses at one shilling each. On the other hand many garden plants were only one penny each, with the average cost for what was supplied being twopence farthing per piece.

There is another undated list (ZBU B 5/8) worth referring to in this connection. This is written in an altogether less precise hand, which may have been that of Mrs. St. Paul. This would place it at the beginning of the sequence

as an indication of what she would like to see in the flower garden. The note includes the instruction that the plants must be marked, indicating a lack of confidence in the identification of ornamental plants at the least. It also says that those which require shelter should be identified, a prudent precaution in the conditions of northern England. At the foot of the main list a number of plants to be obtained from other local sources are listed. All the plants are priced, though the prices given are not the same as those quoted by Dickson.

A column of figures alongside this lower list is apparently the prices of the 14 species—84 plants in all—adding up to 19/4d (nineteen shillings and four pence). This coincides exactly with the number and prices of the priced species in the list above.

Hedging

It seems that in thinking of planting the garden Horace must have decided, at an early stage, that some hedging was desirable. Robert Dickson replied to him advising him of the delivery of hedging plants, for which he had evidently asked by letter on the 12th of March. Dickson's letter reads as follows;

Hawick 19th March 1790

Sir,

In obedience to yours of the 12th instant have this day packed up for you in one matted parcel which will be forwarded to the Wooler carrier at Kelso, Five Scores of Hornbeam about four feet high which is all we had remaining of that size and ten score ditto two foot high in all two hundred and a half. —The marle wimble had entirely es—ped (word indecipherable—probably escaped) me. I have this day wrote to a person in possession of a wimble to send you his by the Kelso wagon as soon as he can have an opportunity of getting it to Kelso.

I am Sir your very humble servant Robert Dickson" (ZBU B 5/12) Apart from the fact that the numbers do not add up, fifteen score being 300, this shows that a comparatively small area was to be hedged. Such a quantity would only be likely to be used to enclose or form a boundary to a small garden area with a line of hedge not much more than about eighty yards in length. Not much more than a month later Horace's account book records that he paid 4s 2d for a pair of hedge clipping shears.

The reference to the marle (marl) wimble is also worthy of note. It is not quite clear when Horace had asked Dickson about this, but it seems that he knew or thought that there were beds of marl on the estate which could be dug out to provide a form of soil dressing, commonly used in the eighteenth century. This consisted of a naturally occurring mixture of clay and limestone, and since this area was the site of the prehistoric Milfield lake in which there must have been the remains of countless small molluscs and other shellfish mixed with the clay of the lake bottom there must have been a considerable extent of marl beds in the area. The excavation of the marl was preceded by trials, boring for samples with a wimble—or auger as we might now describe it-which would be employed to determine the extent and thickness of the beds. A later letter of Dicksons gives a clearer idea of the method of operation.

Horace continued to busy himself on the estate, and on August 19th sent a draft for two guineas drawn on the Berwick Bank to Thomas Davison, nurseryman at Grindon. This was for box hedging plants for the garden, and for the turnip field. Whether this was for plants that had already been used or was for supplies yet to be provided is not clear. The former is more likely as, if the old tradition of planting evergreen plants in the spring of the year, at the end of the traditional planting season, was followed, this material would perhaps have been planted in early May. Two days later, on 21st August Horace paid Andrew Wilkie, still described as nurseryman, the sum of £8-8-0 on account. Wilkie seems to have been employed on developing the garden and so perhaps this was equivalent to a wage for the time he spent there.

Woodland Planting

In the summer of 1790 Horace seems to have had some discussions with the nurseryman Dickson about the species that he might plant, and planting distances and his memorandum set out below records this;

Memms made with Mr Dickson Nurseryman of Hassendenburn 3rd Sept 1790 x . x . x . x The crosses to be forest trees and the dots to be x . x . x . x Scotch firs which shows that the latter are x . x . x . x as 4 firs to a forest. Forest trees at 6 feet) Firs at 3 feet distance) 3000 scots firs per acre at 1-2-6 1000 Forest trees of sort 1-5-0at 7/6/and more 16-03 - 3 - 6

Sorts of trees to be planted in ye wilderness

Firs transplanted

Oak

Beech

Larch
mem. a few birch in ye wettest
parts
a few scotch elms where
the soil will answer.
Here and there a large

leaf Swedish Maple I should think that Alder in ye wet places would do well (ZBU B /513)

Payments continue in the following planting season. On the 13th November, the accounts note "Pd William Dalzeel for planting the forest wood in the wilderness £2–3–0", on the 22nd "Paid James Ker, nurseryman at Belford in full for trees and quicks for Ewart £2–0–0". Presumably these were the supplier and planter of the same stock. At the same time the Dicksons people were also at work on the estate, as is clear from a letter of 9th November "from Mr R. Dickson to Col. St Paul of Ewart, nr Wooler with a cartload of trees"

"Sir.

In consequence of your letter received by Fridays post have herewith sent you 1200 beech 2 feet 1200 larch 2 feet and 800 oaks do. this I find will be nearly the number at 15 feet apart for 24 acres, there is also 1000 two year transplanted scots firs and 14000 one year transplanted do. The two year transplanted I send you as a specimen should you wish to prefer them for any part of the ground that may abound in grass when under training, at any rate you have a loss in some of your strip between the plantation and the house which these firs are very proper to supply, you will find the plants very good both forest trees and firs; but would you not incline to have some variety of ornamental trees planted here and there in view of the walks, to fill up 24 acres with firs at about 4 feet apart throu (sic) the whole as you propose will take 48 thousand firs/ exclusive of the forest trees/ but please say if there is that quantity of land or what quantity there is, I propose to send more firs next week but must have your answer to the foregoing question by the return of the bearer I am Sir

Your very humble

Servt

Robt Dickson

Hassendenburn

9th Nov 1790"(ZBU B 5/13)

This letter was, as usual annotated by Horace with the following:

"Rd 11 Nov 1790

1200 Beech

1200 larch

800 oaks

3200 Forest trees

Scots firs 14000 1 yr transplanted"

do 1000 2 yr transplanted

Dickson must have had a prompt answer because he sent off a further batch to Ewart with a letter on November 17th, as follows; "Sir,

In answer to yours by return of the carrier have herewith sent you 3000 two year transplanted scots firs for the rough ground, and 6000 one year transplanted do. for the lair (sic) ground, these with what was formerly sent

will be a sufficient number for 13 acres of ground, if anything more is wanted will be glad of your orders.

If you have not fully satisfied yourself with boring the marle moss, and that you have the wimble still by you, I presume Walter Leathead presently planting with you is not ignorant of the method of finding out the thickness of the beds of marl, if you please might cause him to spend a while of a day in boring and observe to take notes of the thickness of the cover and the seam of marle at each bore for that a sketch of the moss on a piece of paper is proper on it mark down also the distance between each bore, by this you can at any time trace out how your bed or seam of marle lyes. I intended to have been down in your country before this time, but can not yet get away, possible when I come I may be much hurried, but will call and give you any advice that occurs to me, and if a proper boring was made before, that could be soon done

I am

Sir your most humble Servt.
Robt Dickson
Howick 17th Nov 1790"(ZBU B 5/13)
This letter carries a note on its reverse apparently in Horace's hand;

"7/6 3000 2 yr transplanted 10/0 6000 1 yr transplanted"

When English elm grown to five feet could be sold, on an individual basis at two pence each, the price of forest stock at two shillings and sixpence per thousand for two year transplants, and one shilling and eight pence per thousand for one year transplants seems to be in proportion. These prices also put into perspective the other cost incurred for plants and planting which are not specified as to quantities. The use of the word lair in this context is interesting. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as a noun to describe clay, mire or bog, but also as verb as "to stick or sink in mire or bog". Dickson is clearly using it as a descriptive adjective if that is its meaning.

Planting an Orchard

It was not only the ornamental garden and the

forestry planting that was occupying Horace at this time, and for which he sought supplies from Mr. Dickson. On the first of December 1790 he apparently ordered a number of fruit trees to create an orchard. The list in the estate papers (ZBU 5/13) is presumably a copy of what Horace has ordered from the Dicksons. On one side it bears the words "Fruit Trees ordered for orchard 1st Decr 1790 from Mr Dickson" and also a note, which presumably represents an afterthought, of some other species which had been recommended to him, as follows:

memo; to order
The Summer Pearmain
Royal Russett
Wintergreen being
the 3 sorts recommended
Mr Greve his gardener."

The list is written out in full on the other side of the paper under a similar heading, and comprises twenty one varieties of eating apple, one of which was crossed out, twelve of pears, five cherries, and five plums with comments on their season, bearing quality, and use.

Horace was, thus, intending to establish a very comprehensively stocked orchard which would furnish every kind of orchard fruit that could be grown in this northern part of England. The predomination of apples might be expected, and showed a good spread of produce through the seasons. The addition of pears plums and cherries provided a very good range of desert and cooking fruit over a great proportion of the year, though these would need a deal of shelter.

What Dickson was able to deliver for that planting season is set out in a letter from him dated 14th December 1790, and sent to accompany the delivery of plants that it announced. The letter refers to the order having been placed when he had been last at Ewart, and as there are a number of discrepancies from Horace's list it seems likely that there must have been some agreement that Dickson would supply what he could, and get as near to the list as possible. Twenty species of apple had been left on the list whereas Dicksons invoice

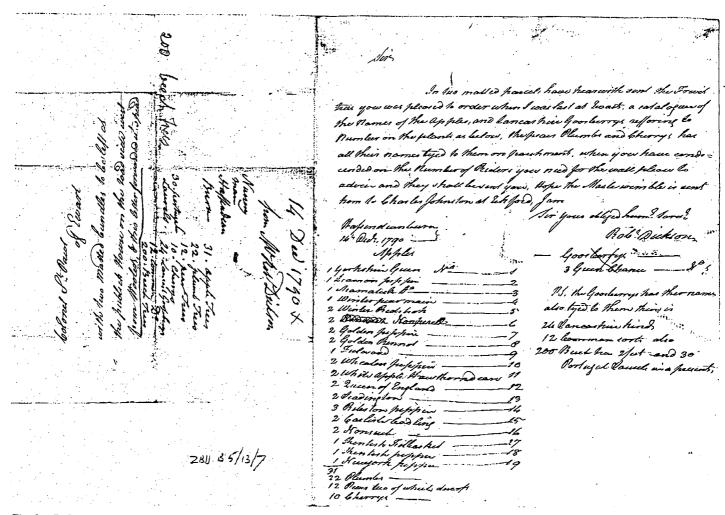


Fig. 2 Robert Dickson's list of Fruit Trees despatched on 14th December 1790, annotated by Horace (ZBU B 5 13/7).

included nineteen. Included was the Kentish Fillbasket which Horace appeared to dismiss as not very good, but not the Summer Pearmain which he had crossed out. The letter (fig. 2) (ZBU B 5/13/7) and the carefully itemized list of plants bears the address on the other side, and on that side has been added a note in Horace's hand, listing the numbers of the different species.

From January 1791 until the account book finished in September 1793 payments were recorded to a number of nurserymen and gardeners. In April on the 7th and 16th are two payments to "Arthur Bickerton well sinker" of £2–2–0 and £1–11–6 respectively, followed by a further 15–0s on October 8th. The ordnance survey plan of 1860 shows a well in the south Church Field south of the Newtown east of the Park

For the next two years the names of William Dalziel and Duncan McDonald, planter and nurseryman appear in the account book and are clearly involved in supplying and planting extensively. Dalziel's bill (fig. 3) covers the period from November 1792 to March 1794, and was annotated, apparently by Horace who noted that the total numbers of plants is wrong, lining up the tens column he points out "6 should be 0" and that the total is therefore 13400. The account covers fourteen species of woodland trees. In relation to the item for the 460 Larch he discovers another error and notes that the figure 3 should be a 6 in the pence column, and adds "+3" to the subtotal for the trees.

This all shows that extensive planting operations were being continued into 1792 and 1793, and apparently undertaken by the nurserymens' staff. Although conifers predominated, used, as it appears, often as a nurse crop to help bring on what are else where called the forest trees, there was a good number of the latter. In addition to the Holly trees, there were over 7000 forest trees, of which 3600 were beech. It will be noted, too, that the number of tree pits exceeds the numbers of plants supplied by Dalziel himself, so we must assume that nearly 19000 trees were supplied for planting by him from another source so far unidentified.

From 1789 to 1793 payments for planting totalling £125–10–0 were recorded as being made, principally to Andrew Wilkie (£33–7–0) William Dalzeel (sic) (£42–3–0) and Duncan McDonald (£43–17–0). This may not seem a huge amount but in 1792 when Scots Fir were 7s. a thousand, willow setts 11d. per hundred, and the box for the garden borders could be purchased for a total of £3–2–0, it represented a considerable amount of planting.

Dalziel's Scots Firs were 7 shillings a thousand, but two years earlier 2 year transplants from Robert Dickson had been 2 shillings and 6 pence a thousand. As it seems unlikely that any plants larger than 2 year transplants would have been used this suggests a large increase in the price of plants between 1790 and 1792.

It is perhaps dangerous, but nevertheless quite revealing to put down a theoretical set of figures to arrive at some idea of the costs involved in the development of the estate. The extent of "the wilderness" was given in the 1860 Ordnance Survey as 113.0 acres approximately. This included the planted belt around the north park, but to this area should be added approximately 20 acres of woodland forming the belt around the south park. This makes 135 acres, approximately, in all. Dickson estimated that 3200 forest trees were needed to plant 24 acres of land, that is say 134 per acre. Added to this number were quantities of softwoods, in the case of Ewart, Scots Fir. The Forest trees were to be planted at 15 foot centres whereas the softwoods would be at 4ft centres, requiring much larger quantities. These would, said Dickson, need 48000 for 24 acres, or 2000 per acre. For 133 acres, then, the costs, based on Dalziel's figures would be as follows:

 $135 \times 134 = 18090$ forest trees at 4/- £36. 3.6 $135 \times 2000 = 270000$ softwoods at 7/- £94.10.0 288090 tree pits making and planting 13/6d per 100 £194. 9.6

£325. 3.0

This gives a price per acre of £2-8s-6d. and highlights the vast change in the value of money from that time to the present, which has

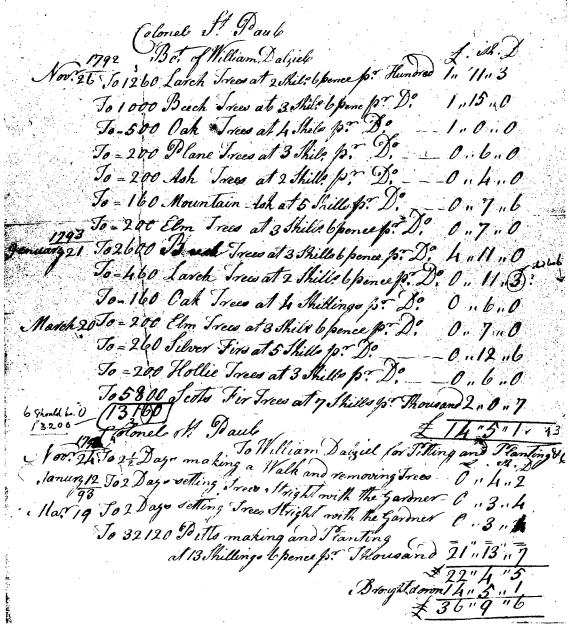


Fig. 3 William Dalziel's Account for Forest Trees, and for landscape work between 1792 and 1794.

already been made clear from the other prices quoted.

The total costs of planting recorded in the

account book clearly do not represent all that was going on. For example, we have seen that the bills for plants received from Dickson were not included here, and may have been accounted for separately, perhaps in farm accounts which do not survive. But the amount of plant material this would have purchased is well illustrated in the analysis of the account from Dickson which shows the prices of the more highly valued garden plants, commanding a price of as much as one shilling for a single plant for Moss Roses at one extreme. At the other extreme were forest trees at one shilling and eight pence a thousand. Most garden plants could be obtained for one penny each, with junipers and the larger shrubs fetching two pence. This was the price for plants delivered from Hawick, a distance of around thirty miles away.

The Park Design

It is reasonable to assume that any landowner developing his estate at this time would be conscious of the prevailing ideas of design. We may assume that Horace St. Paul, with his early family connection to the Walpoles, his friendship with the Earl of Aylesford, of Packington, Warwickshire, and Albury, Surrey, and his wife's close relationship with the Aislabies of Studley Royal would be particularly aware of the trends. Two references hint at his interest in the layout of his park. The first relates how on one of his continental travels he came upon "...a woodland scene of great beauty. He carefully noted the position and nature of the various trees dotted about on the open ground, using his pocket compass, counting his horses paces as distances and recording the survey in a notebook. When living at Ewart he had trees of the right kind planted in the same positions on the South Park as those which appeared in his chart. They still exist and add much beauty to the view from the south windows of the mansion." (NCH 1935) Despite the detail in which it is told there is no corroboration of this story in the documents, nor is there any indication in Horace's war diary (St. Paul 1914) of any spot which might have led to such enthusiasm. What does exist is a drawing, apparently by Horace himself, of the grounds of Slindon Hall in Sussex, which he visited as the guest of the Earl

of Newburgh. This is an unpretentious sketch, annotated "from my bedchamber" and "in order to make Ewart Park something in the same style" (ZBU B5/7/51). It shows a comparatively unremarkable landscape park scene with a clump of trees and a belt enclosing the view. It is drawn part in plan to show that the Hall looked at the parkland over a ha-ha.

The book of "Ewart Designs" (ZBU B 5/7 no 6) includes another, later, drawing to show what is described in the text as;

"a rough sketch for the small park at Ewart before Ewart House and always to go with it in addition to East Wood and all the plantations".

This is apparently in Horace St. Paul's hand and bears the date of 27th January 1797. It shows a serpentine pond rather in the shape of a strap, lying west to east across the parkland and measuring up to 20 chains in length and three in width. There is today a pond in the field in the position of the one shown on the drawing which is much smaller and could conceivably mark the commencement of an enterprise that Horace found that he could not carry through. If as it appears, it didn't work out well he may have stopped the digging and having partly excavated the intended lake just left this as a pond in the field. If the date is contemporary and not one penciled on by someone later on, it demonstrates quite clearly the way in which Horace's interest was sustained in the development of his property.

That Horace was serious about the enterprise is confirmed by a memorandum (illustrated) made by him later the same year as follows (ZBU B 5/12);

"13 Sept 1797 Mem; with Arthur Bickerton about making the pond. Levelled from the dam head to the plantation 3 ft 10 ins fall from plantation and the slab at the East End of the plantation is 7 inches above the surface of the water at the well, wch. leaves in all 3 ft 3 inches of fall from the surface of the well water to the Dam Heads."

At this point there is a sketch, which is followed by a further note;

"Memd. the Dam Head to be made wide enough for a cartway and a sluice made in the Leveled from the Dam Head to the plantation 3. 10 feb from y tolentation and the Itole at the last and of the plantation is 7 these above and the Itole at the last and of the well , as heaves in all the Surface of the wester at the level , as heaves in all the Surface of the week of fact from the Surface of the week & I want to the Dam Head.

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Letter as the Method

L

men the Dam Head to made wide arrough for a fartway be a Sluice made in the Center for emptying the Canal when it is necessary by fishing it or in order to clien it out at the Dam head and care must be taken not to despron it by taking away any more last - all that is wanted is to make it a smooth level Bottom of the Dam head much strong enough to resist the great weight of water.

Springs sails be found in Digging Upward Through the plantation to the Well of the Springs will probably bying in the plantation. The Well must be 2 feet 1/2 Dug Deeper that it is which leave quickes turn to the Damhead and 5 . 3. It

Fig. 4 Horace's "Memorandum with Arthur Bickerton, about making the pond" of 13th Sept 1797 (ZBU B 5/12).

centre for emptying the canal when it is necessary by fishing it or in order to clear it out and care must be taken not to deepen it at the dam head by taking away any more earth—all that is wanted is to make it a smooth level bottom and the dam head made strong enough, to resist the great weight of water.

N.B. There seems no doubt but that plenty of springs will be found in digging upwards through the plantation to the well & the springs will probably begin in the plantation. The well must be 2 feet 1/2 dug deeper than it is wch. will leave 9 inches run to the Dam Head wch. is 3 ft;3 in; from the well."

Other items in the estate papers bear witness to Horace's continuing interest in the detailed development of the park. These include a short list of trees which he evidently particularly liked and which he describes as good for grass plots;-

The Cedars of Lebanon Different sorts of acacia different sorts of Shumacks

- 1. The White American Spruce fir which feathers to the ground
 - 2. The Red Cedar and
- 3. The portugal Laurel are the 3 most beautiful trees for grass plot plants (ZBU B 5/13/260)

As well as this, there is an illustration of Ewart Bridge (ZBU 5/7 p19), apparently the bridge across the Glen on the way to Doddington. The West Lodge, on the Wooler Coldstream Road, is illustrated by a plan and west elevation (ZBU B 5/7 37). Another paper shows the layout of a serpentine wall design, which evidently interested Horace, but for which there is no evidence on site. The wall was 9 inches thick, with the lateral deviation of the wave being 2 feet 9 inches, encompassed in the length of wave from one peak to the next of 23 feet 7 inches. The drawing (ZBU B 5/6 10) carries the note that it has been copied from a letter from Sir Harry Parker to Lord (name indecipherable — probably Lord Harcourt from whom Horace had had details of drainage methods) on 28th March 1794.

Changes in the Estate Layout

Between the time of the John Robertson plan of 1757, prepared for Robert Paul, four years after the property had been left to him by his brother in law John Collins, and the completion of the ordnance survey map of 1860 a most remarkable change is seen to have taken place. From the incoherent field pattern of the earlier plan, a new rectilinear pattern of fields has been created.

A letter from Mrs. St. Paul written in 1792 to Mrs. Harcourt, the wife of General Harcourt, hints at her husband's energy, and what he has achieved. The letter was dated 12th August 1792, and addressed to Windsor, where the Harcourts lived. After commenting on having recently climbed the Cheviot, she went on to expatiate on the amenities of the estate, as follows:

"Our large farm gives us a large household here, and plenty of all provisions within ourselves, besides plenty of game, and a river of our own with excellent fish; a number of horses for all uses and beautiful; ones too, for Col. St. Paul breeds some, and exchanges and sells; all this makes our establishment so different from any we could have in the south, that I never think of going there but as an impossibility, tho' I own I often build castles in the air, of going abroad when our farms are let. What Col. St. Paul has done here exceeds anything I can give you an idea of" (ZBU B4/6)

Mrs. St. Paul does not comment specifically on the way in which parkland and the garden had developed, which might be thought surprising, because the latter at least was very much her domain. On reflection, though, it may be that, although pleasant enough, it would not be something to boast particularly about. Having, in her younger vears been familiar with such outstanding examples as Studley Royal, Albury, and Packington and known many others, she would have recognized Ewart as really a very ordinary estate in the context of the great places of England. While the changes to its agricultural landscape must have, indeed, been very striking, leading as they must have to dramatic improvements to the productivity of the estate, and agricultural opportunities; the creation of a gentleman's park in a style that was already at this time beginning to be vieux jeux was not so remarkable. In any case there is always a credibility gap, bridged more effectively by some than by others, when it comes to being able to picture the final results of park development before there is any maturity in the planting. A great deal of faith in the future, such as was apparently displayed by a remarkable number of people in the 18th Century, is required to visualize how a design, just planted, will mature. The authors of designs, and those who had close contact with their early planning, must have had that vision. To the casual viewer, certainly, there will have been little to see, and without some effort their imagination would have been scarcely moved.

The "Park"—that is to say the ornamental area in the vicinity of the house—was enclosed by woodland belts in the Brownian manner. These were called, in later correspondence, stripes. There were two principal spaces, the south park and the north park. The former was approximately 80 acres or so of grassland, lightly planted with specimen trees and clumps. The north park was a rather smaller area, triangular in shape. Woodland divides the south and north parks, and this continues around the north side of the north park. On the west it extends into the Wilderness, an area of woodland that runs down to the West Lodge on the Wooler to Coldstream Road, and comprises a total of almost 114 acres. East of the house was the lawn, with the village beyond. These spaces do not appear to have altered greatly from the time of their layout to the present day.

On the southern boundary of the estate is located what was the main entrance way to the House, at the South Lodge. From this the carriage drive, now a farm track, crosses the park from south to north. This route provides the connection with the main road from Wooler and the south. As it neared the house the drive swung a little eastward and came round in front of the east facade of the house, which is where, no doubt, the turning circle mentioned

in the diary, and the post and chain fencing would have been erected.

The house was closely framed in trees, as seen when crossing the park from the South Lodge, and apart from the southern facade was almost entirely enveloped in them. The other main entrance was from the road on the west. From the West Lodge a carriage drive led through the woodlands of the wilderness for a distance of almost three quarters of a mile, crossing the front of the house, and joining the drive from the south to follow round to the east front.

The woodland was dissected by a number of other driveways, and at the widest point in the woods a number of straight rides came to a virtual "Rondpoint". The intersection of four ways meant that there were eight ways one could go from this point. This treatment echoes the French manner with which Horace must have been very familiar. Other routes led in different directions through the woods, one following through the most southerly woodland belt from the western driveway to the south lodge. Another followed the circuit around the northern park boundary to the house.

To the north of the house were several small enclosures, and it is probably here that the orchard and gardens were sited. The later extension of the house westward and the layout of the Italian garden seem to have swept away the gardens as known in Horace's time.

Sometime between the 1757 Estate plan and the first Ordnance Survey Map of 1860, the road which connected the South Lodge with the main Wooler road was taken round the east side of the park to connect with the village, and "Newtown", and continue on to Thirlings and Woodbridge. Cottages on this road just east of the house, and separated from it by a small grass paddock of some 6 or 7 acres, are set on the west side of this road. They were probably built, or rebuilt, under Horace's direction with the products of his own Ewart Brick and Tile Works, as it appears was the Newtown group of houses. The paddock must be the area in front of the house where the labourers were levelling for the lawn in 1788, where the posts and chains were put up before the house, and the posts and rails erected to palisade off the village.

The old green road leading eastwards over the Ewart Bridge to Doddington meets this road at a point just to the south of the house and it seems highly possible that it may have been connected to the main house's front by a drive through the belt of trees between the small paddock and the south park. Since we know that the St. Pauls worshipped at Doddington Church, where they are buried, such a route seems highly likely. This roadway would, then have skirted around the lawn to the house and would in earlier times, perhaps, have been a much more important route than later on.

Comparison between John Robertson's Plan of 1757 (ZBU MR 12/W14) and the 1860 first Ordnance Survey also shows a remarkable change in the pattern of fields. The later layout conforms very well to the sort of agricultural pattern of development associated improvements resulting at the turn of the century with advances in drainage skills. This is the sort of pattern that later followed parliamentary enclosure in many instances, but is also seen in such places as extensive areas of Cumbria, which had not been brought into agricultural use prior to the 19th century. It consisted here, over the Ewart estate, of a regular pattern of rectangular fields predominantly between 12 to 15 acres in extent. Some were bigger, the largest, at the northernmost extremity of the estate, appearing to be in excess of 100 acres in area, which it must be assumed would have been used for rough grazing. This field is actually outside the area originally defined as part of Ewart in the earlier plan, where it is shown as part of the Coupland ground. At the north west of the estate, it adjoins the Cornhill Road. The 1860 Ordnance Survey shows a planting screen extending along the roadside boundary, and across the northern boundary of this space in such a way that there can be no doubt that it formed part of the estate. The boundary seems to have been marked by a track which ran generally eastward from the road to the river crossing where the Redscar Bridge now is. The line of

the track is, incidentally, still indicated on the 1977, 1:25000 O.S. Map. Further south there appears to have been another incursion, this time into what was described as Akeld ground, which may be associated with a realignment of the main road at this point. Robertson's map seems to indicate that in the 18th century the road followed a more westerly line than the present road in the vicinity and just south of the West Lodge of the estate.

On the east side of the estate, the area of land on the east bank of the River Glen shows the most remarkable change. On Robertson's map it consisted of 16 small and irregular fields, or 17 if the "night fold"—an area of 1 acre 1 rod and 8 perches—, set in a crook in the river is counted separately. This was contained within the largest enclosure, named "the Pows" measured at 66 acres and 1 rod. The smallest separate field was "Bridge Crook" (4 acres, 5 perches) as its name implies in a bend of the river, just north and east of the bridge over the Glen which carries the road, now a track, to Doddington. The 1860 Ordnance Survey shows that in the intervening period, not only had the eastern boundary of the estate been straightened out, by agreement with the adjoining landowner, but the field pattern had been rationalized. The straightening of the boundary seems to have been done as part of the flood protection work of the estate, much of which was remarked as liable to flooding. It also involved creating a new straight course for the Humbleton Burn, a minor tributary of the Glen, which it joins just before that stream itself joins the Till. The new reorganized field pattern resulted in 19 broadly rectangular fields and six small closes which adjoined the river Glen, occupying the land left over between the rectilinear layout of the new fields and the meandering line of the river. The boundary line between the fields and the closes was marked by a flood bank which protected the former from rising river levels.

This part of the estate was evidently the area most susceptible to reorganization due to the lack of existing features which might interfere with a rational pattern, though even here the presence of an existing drain at the southern end of the land was allowed to break the outline of the most southerly field. This feature still exists on current maps.

The majority of fields in this area were, in the 19th century, of relatively even size, being about 15 acres each. One, on the eastern boundary, appears to have been about double the size of the others, for no very clear reason. It may be noted, though, that in the 20th century hedge removal has taken away a number of intermediate boundaries so that most of the fields in that area are now of the order of 30 acres in extent. The division of the low lying land on either side of the river appears curious on the map, because the lateral boundaries are set as though the river were not there, and this has all the appearance of paper planning. It looks entirely logical in terms of pattern making, or the laying out of fields, if it were not for the intervention of this natural feature cutting through the spaces created, and, but for this, is coherent with the surrounding field pattern.

Changes in the 19th Century

As will be seen, the family continued making changes, improvements and developments well into the 19th century, though there is not much more evidence of Horace's activity. In May 1814 two years after his death building began on an extension to the original house. This was the idea of his eldest son, Horace David, (1775–1840) who had married into great wealth in 1803 by his alliance with Anna Maria, the daughter and heir of Viscount Dudley and Ward. He had been created a Baronet in 1813, and as the gazetting indicated that the remainder was to pass to his brothers it is plain that the honour was at the same time a posthumous recognition of his father.

The additions to the Hall comprised, apparently, a sitting room, and by the incorporation of an existing cottage, and the erection of a new staircase, a number of other rooms on two floors (NCH 1935 p 188). The house was subsequently to be extended westward again at a later date, given (NCH 1935 p 190) as 1867. At that time a single storey extension 50 yards long with six rooms on one side and a long top-

lit art gallery on the other was constructed by Horace the second Baronet (1812–1890), Count Horace's grandson, soon after his move to the property. Although he had succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1840, he didn't take up residence in the Hall until after the death of his bachelor Uncle Charles Maximillian, Horace's third son, and his maiden aunt Anna Maria, who lived there. They died in 1864 and 1866 respectively. Horace married in 1867, at the comparatively late age of 55 and commenced on the extension soon afterwards.

During the 19th century an "Italian Garden" was created just to the west of the house. The outline of this is shown on the 2nd edition ordnance survey map, based on a survey carried out in 1860. It is shown as being almost square, it is described (Hope Dodds 1935) as; "comprising an area of two acres, with eight radiating avenues, six of which are bordered by yew hedges 7 to 8 feet high, and two by rhododendrons 20 feet high, the eight triangular spaces between being in grass, with flowers". The pattern of the avenues is clearly marked on the ordnance map, and on the 1:1250 scale map the area measures 1.96 acres. The design of the garden is credited to Horace David, and it certainly dates, on the evidence of the map, to the period before Horace, the second baronet, took up residence. If this attribution is correct this places it, probably before 1837, when the first baronet's wife Anna Maria died, certainly before his own death in 1840, and probably in the late 1820s or early 1830s.

In October 1825 Horace David had travelled to the continent, spending some time in the cities of northern Italy, and remaining abroad until August 1826. It is possible that he was inspired by what he had seen on his travels to emulate the beauty of the Italian gardens he had seen by creating his own garden in the same style. This was the time when enthusiasm for the English style of landscape gardening so prevalent in the previous century; the style which had inspired the Count's development of his park, was waning. Formal elements were becoming popular and with these came an increase in the interest in floriculture, which was to dominate enthusiasms in the latter part

of the century almost to the complete denial of interest in design for its own sake.

The Italian garden was, then quite a restrained exercise in a period when formal features and floriculture, terraces and exotics were the fashion.

In the estate papers is a notice giving particulars of a sale which was due to take place in the year before Sir Horace's death. Lady St. Paul had died in 1837 and it appears that Sir Horace, who also had extensive properties in the Midlands, must have decided to sell the old family estate. He had been in the habit of spending much of his time in the midlands, and his son was also settled in the south of England. The notice was as follows;

Particulars of the Estate of Ewart in the County of Northumberland which is to be exposed to sale by Public auction within the White Swan Inn in the Town of Alnwick upon Friday the 27th day of September 1839;

Estate 1496.65 acres 1338.67 arable 99.81 plantation

first {Ewart Park and the home farm 220 acres most tastefully laid out (but without any sacrifice of utility to amenity) in a fine lawn in front of the mansion house......

second the Farm of Newton and south nearly 680 acres. third and fourth Thirlings and Galewood 595 acres. (ZBU B 5/6)

In the end, of course, the estate was not sold at this time, but what caused the change of mind can only be guessed at. Sir Horace's brother and sister, both unmarried needed somewhere to live. Since this sale was arranged late in the year 1839, and he himself was to die in October 1840 it is possible that in his last year of life he could have decided that the trauma of such an event would be something he could do without. The exact truth of this remains to be discovered.

Evidence of the estate woodland maintenance in the 19th century comes from a couple of letters written by a Thomas Burn, a familiar surname in the estate history, in 1878. This is the last record of activity on the estate. The property descended through the female line to the Butler family, scholarly, rather than business or farming in orientation. It was the husband of the last female descendant of Horace, the Count, George Grey Butler, who wrote his biography, and published his war diaries in the original french. In the early years of the century the estate was finally broken up, and the house itself has stood empty for many years.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the ready cooperation and assistance of Lady Younger who is the owner of the Butler papers deposited at the Northumberland Record Office. In particular, she made available the important diary of Count Horace St. Paul on which this paper is centred.

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