

# SAMUEL GRIMM, DR RICHARD KAYE AND THE 5TH LORD BYRON AT NEWSTEAD

by

PETE SMITH, FSA

In our book, *Newstead Abbey, A Nottinghamshire Country House: Its Owners and Architectural History 1540–1931*, Dr Rosalys Coope and I utilised a number of the invaluable drawings of the Abbey and its landscape setting made in the 1770s by the Swiss topographical artist S H Grimm (1733–94).<sup>1</sup> These drawings and many others were commissioned by the antiquarian, the Reverend Sir Richard Kaye, 6th Baronet, LLD, FRS, FSA (1736–1809). All 2,662 of Grimm’s drawings in 12 volumes were bequeathed on Kaye’s death to the British Museum, Department of Manuscripts (now the British Library) and Kaye’s 22 volumes of notebooks were acquired by the museum in 1851.<sup>2</sup> This vast collection includes an unusually large number of drawings labelled Newstead, over 30, all probably produced between 1775 and 1779.<sup>3</sup> Of these, there are seven drawings which appear to relate to Newstead which were outside the remit of our study of the architectural history of the Abbey and these form the subject of this article. These drawings relate to both natural and man-made features in the landscape around Newstead, though not necessarily within the estate of the 5th Lord Byron (1722–98).

## S H Grimm

Samuel Hieronymus Grimm was born in Berne in 1733 and arrived in England in 1768 where he soon established himself as a prolific and well respected watercolour and topographical artist.<sup>4</sup> He exhibited regularly at the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy and was elected a member of the Society of Arts in 1773. He was employed by the Society of Antiquaries and many of its members to record all manner of antiquities.<sup>5</sup> He was described by the

antiquarian Francis Gorse, FSA, (1731–1791) in a letter of recommendation to Sir Richard Worsley, FRS, FSA (1751–1805) of Appledurcombe in 1777, as follows:

He is nearly the best draughtsman in London. His expenses will be very moderate....This Grimm is a very modest well behaved man and will do as he is bid and not give himself those impertinent airs frequently assumed by artists much his inferior in abilities.<sup>6</sup>

Whilst Grimm’s working method for such topographical works was described by Gilbert White, FRS (1720–1793) for whom he worked on illustrations for his *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* published in 1789.

He first of all sketches his [land]scapes with a lead-pencil; then he pens them all over, as he calls it, with Indian ink, rubbing out the superfluous pencil-strokes; then he gives a charming shading with a brush dipped in Indian ink, and last he throws a light tinge of water-colours over the whole.<sup>7</sup>

Grimm’s Newstead drawings for Kaye include examples of the first two stages of production described here, ink, and, ink and wash. There is only a single example of Grimm’s final water-colour format of Newstead, but this was not amongst the drawings Kaye donated to the British Museum. It may well have been produced for Kaye since it appears to be based on an ink drawing produced for him which is signed by Grimm and dated 1775.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that the watercolour was given to the 5th Lord Byron as thanks for allowing access to the Abbey.<sup>9</sup>

## The 5th Lord Byron

William, the 5th Lord Byron, is often referred to as the ‘Wicked Lord’ after his conviction for the manslaughter of Mr William Chaworth of Annesley in a duel in January 1765.<sup>10</sup> Byron had inherited his estates in 1743 and married an heiress, Elizabeth Shaw, in 1747. But by the 1760s, through his extravagant lifestyle, gambling, collecting and expenditure on the Abbey and its gardens, he found himself deeply in debt. His art collection was, for example, auctioned at Christies in March 1772 and a further sale of much of the contents of the Abbey took place in 1778.<sup>11</sup> Dr Kaye took advantage of the 5th Lord’s financial difficulties, for in a letter to the Duke of Portland written 12th December 1775 he records that ‘...I have bought Lord Byron’s strong beer for my Parish and his brass eagle for Southwell [Minster], at good bargains; he is dismantling the whole. I have also got his Orange and Lemon Trees...’. The medieval brass lectern and its candlesticks, which had been unearthed at Newstead by the 5th Lord, and which were recorded by Grimm, remain in Southwell Minster to this day.<sup>12</sup> Kaye then, somewhat surprisingly, concludes his letter, ‘the messages are very civil between seller and buyer though we have never met in our lives’, perhaps confirming the 5th Lord’s reputation as a recluse in his later years.<sup>13</sup>

## Dr Richard Kaye

Dr Richard Kaye [Fig. 1], as he was known before he inherited the baronetcy on the death of his elder brother in 1789, was born at Denby Grange the family’s seat near Wakefield in Yorkshire. He graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford in 1754 where he became friends with his future patron William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1738–1809), later 3rd Duke of Portland of nearby Welbeck Abbey.<sup>14</sup> Kaye was ordained in 1762 and travelled abroad in Italy and Germany in 1763–64. In 1765 he was appointed by Portland as rector of St Wilfrid’s Church, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, the most valuable living in the Deanery of Nottingham only five kilometres north-west of Newstead Abbey.<sup>15</sup> Kaye was a pluralist and he acquired many ecclesiastical benefices during his long career though the Rectory

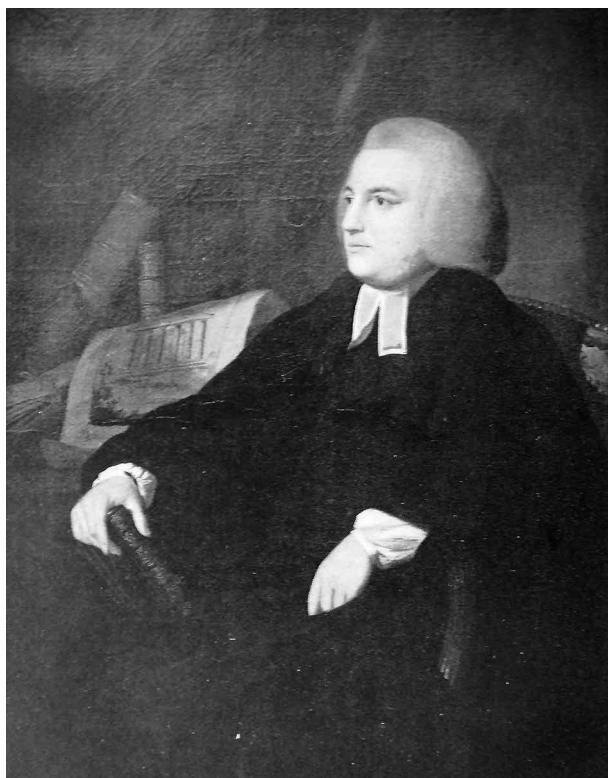


FIGURE 1: Anon. Portrait of Dr Richard Kaye c.1770.  
*R W Goulding.*

at Kirkby [Figs 2 and 3] remained his main residence until his appointment as Dean of Lincoln Cathedral in 1783.<sup>16</sup> He was also a botanist and collector, a Trustee of the British Museum and a friend of



FIGURE 2: S H Grimm. Ink on paper. ‘Kirkby in Ashfield Church. The Procession of the School Children’ 1783. Dr Kaye can be seen leading the procession (far left) and the Rectory can be seen (far right) with its now demolished chapel attached. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 11*

David Garrick, Joseph Banks and Captain Cook. Kaye employed Grimm to accompany him over a period of 21 years on some of his many travels and to record ‘every thing curious’ that they saw.<sup>17</sup> Kaye was Grimm’s most important patron and friend. He was one of the ‘three worthy friends and employers’ Grimm named in his will and Kaye conducted his funeral service held at St Pauls, Covent Garden on 18th April 1794.<sup>18</sup>

Some idea of the circumstances under which a number of these drawings were made can be glimpsed in a letter from John Charles Brooke, FSA (1748–1794), the *Somerset Herald*, to his fellow antiquarian Richard Gough, FSA, FRS (1735–1809) in which he describes a tour he had made to the north in the autumn of 1779.<sup>19</sup>

*Herald’s College* Dec 12, 1779

...[I] crossed Nottingham Forest to Dr Kaye’s at Kirkby, where I stayed a fortnight. The Dr had unfortunately lamed himself, and could not stir out; but Grimm, who was with him some months, the Doctor’s butler, who is very intelligent, and myself, made an expedition every morning to Survey the county, and either returned to a late dinner, or took provisions with us, and Grimm made drawings of every thing curious; in these rides we saw Newstead Abbey, Felley and Beauvale Priors, Hardwick House, Wingfield and Bolsover Castle in Derbyshire, another Hardwick<sup>20</sup> ancient seat of the Talbots Earls of Salop [Shrewsbury], where Wolsey was confined, in Nottinghamshire and all the neighbouring churches within a day’s ride...Major [Hayman] Rooke, who lives in Mansfield [Woodhouse], was much with us at Kirkby, and in some of our tours. The Doctor lives in an elegant style, and keeps a most hospitable house.<sup>21</sup>

This ‘hospitable house’, the Rectory at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, from which these intrepid antiquarians set out, had been rebuilt in 1717 for a previous rector, Dr Matthew Brailsford, as ‘the most commodious dwelling that any parson in this county hath.’<sup>22</sup> A glimpse of the ‘elegant style’ in which Kaye lived can be seen in a drawing by Grimm inscribed ‘The Harvest Children at Prayer’ [Fig. 4] which shows Dr Kaye (kneeling centre right) leading the prayers of the local children in the dining room of the rectory at Kirkby-in-Ashfield.<sup>23</sup> The room has a large bolection-mould chimneypiece with an up-to-date basket-grate. There are portraits on the walls and



FIGURE 3: The Old Rectory, Kirkby-in-Ashfield. Built 1717. The main residence of Dr Kaye between 1765 and 1783.

*Pete Smith*

four Chippendale-style dining chairs with unusual quatrefoil decoration in the Gothick style, though the room and the picture are both dominated by the Greendale Cabinet. This cabinet was made for Henrietta, Countess of Oxford (1694–1755), and its panels illustrate the famous Greendale Oak which once stood in the park at Welbeck Abbey.<sup>24</sup> The cabinet was designed in the Gothick style to match the new Gothick style interiors she introduced to Welbeck Abbey in around 1750.<sup>25</sup> By the 1770s the

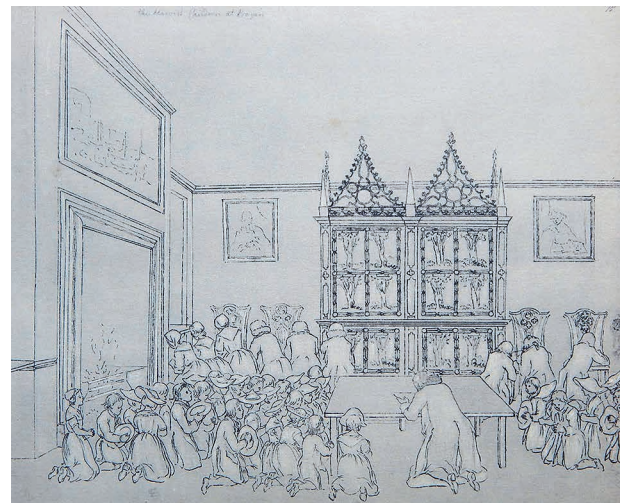


FIGURE 4: S H Grimm. Ink and wash. Inscribed “The Harvest Children at Prayer”. 1773. Dr Richard Kaye is shown (centre right) leading prayers in the dining room of the Rectory at Kirkby-in-Ashfield. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 15*

cabinet was owned by Lady Oxford's grandson and heir, the 3rd Duke of Portland, Kaye's friend and patron, and the cabinet was on extended loan to him at Kirkby.<sup>26</sup>

This group of knowledgeable antiquarians, Charles Brook, Major Hayman Rooke, a 'pioneer of archaeology in Nottinghamshire', and Dr Kaye, plus his 'intelligent' butler [probably Matthew Baldwin], were presumably responsible for choosing the subjects for Grimm's drawings and also for their identification and interpretation as recorded in Grimm's inscriptions and in the catalogue entries to the remaining drawings which were presumably written by Kaye himself after discussion with his colleagues.<sup>27</sup>

### The Hunting Stand

Three of the Newstead drawings discussed here illustrate the same feature, a rectangular earthwork surrounded by a ditch. The first ink on paper drawing is inscribed by Grimm 'Site of the hunting Tent, behind Newstead, Notts' the second, a more finished ink wash on paper drawing is catalogued as 'Lyn Hurst Hunting Station' and the third another ink on paper drawing is catalogued 'An outline in ink of an Iron Age earthwork in Newstead Forest near Newstead Abbey' These combined captions suggest that Kaye and his fellow antiquarians recognised that this earthwork was an ancient structure and that at a later date it had been re-used as the stand or station for the Lynhurst Hunt.

This earthwork survives on the southern boundary of the former parish of Lindhurst, now Blidworth. John Chapman's map, *Nottingham Shire Survey'd in 1774*, which was dedicated to Dr Kaye and 'undertaken by his direction', shows an area 4 kilometres to the north-east of Newstead Abbey which is entitled 'Lindhurst'. Lindhurst Plains was purchased with the manor of Mansfield from the crown in 1601 by the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616) and sold by his widow in 1618 to William Cavendish, later 1st Duke of Newcastle, (1593–1676) when it became part of the Welbeck Abbey estates.<sup>28</sup> It was not, and never had been, part of the Byron family's Newstead estates though it

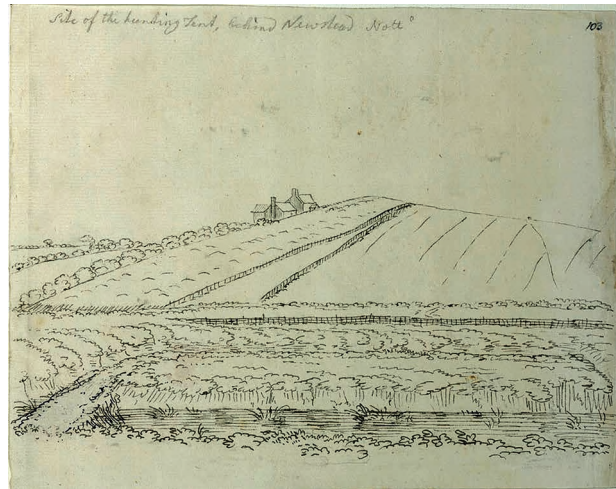


FIGURE 5: S H Grimm. Ink on paper. Inscribed "Site of the hunting Tent, behind Newstead, Notts", Forest Dale moat seen from the north-west with Copt Hill Farmhouse in the distance. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 103*



FIGURE 6: S H Grimm. Ink wash on paper. Catalogued "Newstead, Lyn Hurst Hunting Station", Forest Dale moat seen from the north-east. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f.105*



FIGURE 7: S H Grimm. Ink on paper. Catalogued “An outline in ink of an Iron Age earthwork in Newstead Forest near Newstead Abbey”, Forest Dale moat from the south-west with Copt Hill Farmhouse on the far right. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 104*

was situated right on the boundary between the two estates and this presumably explains why Grimm and Kaye captioned their drawings as Newstead.<sup>29</sup>

This earthwork is scheduled as an Ancient Monument, entitled ‘Fountain Dale moat’, List Entry No. 1008627. It is situated east of the present A60 at the south-east corner of Harlow Wood at Fountain Dale, Grid Ref. SK5667156881. It is sited north of a stream known as Rainworth Water. This allows us to identify the position from which the Grimm drawings were taken. The first is seen from the north-west with Copt Hill Farmhouse in the distance [Fig. 5], the second [Fig.6] and third [Fig. 7] drawings are both taken from the north-east. The third ink drawing was presumably done on site whilst the second, a far more finished ink and wash drawing, has been given a more powerful portrait format and a lower viewpoint which like the clouds exaggerates the dramatic impact of the image. The third drawing is therefore almost certainly the more

accurate rendition of this earthwork from the north-east.

This monument is described in the schedule, not as ‘an Iron Age earthwork’, but as:

a well-preserved example of a small residential moat with documented historical associations. It has suffered little disturbance since it was abandoned, and so the buried remains of medieval buildings and structures survive throughout.

There are certainly no signs of any former structures today [Fig. 8] and none appear on any of Grimm’s drawings.

The entry states that it comprises ‘a roughly rectangular island 48m x 35m surrounded by a 12m wide ditch...The north-east corner of the moat is crossed by a 14m wide causeway.’ A very narrow causeway is shown at this corner on Grimm’s



FIGURE 8: Fountain Dale moat from the south-west in 2017. *Pete Smith*

drawings. The scheduling site plan [Fig. 9] also shows narrow access channels cut through the outer bank at the south and east corners which allowed water to be fed into the moat from the large pond

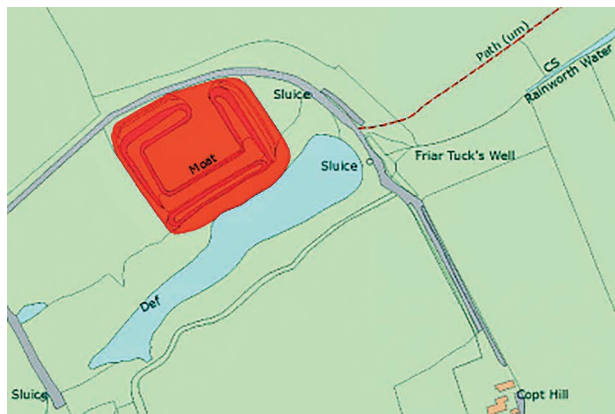


FIGURE 9: Scheduling site plan of Fountain Dale moat. *Historic England, Crown Copyright 2018 – OS Licencing No. 100063263*

behind the dam across Rainworth Water to the west. The scheduling entry continues:

In 1251, the moat was the site of a hunting lodge within Sherwood Forest from which the forester Raffe Clerc collected tolls. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was also a residence for the forest underlords when visiting Mansfield.

David Crook argues persuasively that Fountain Dale moat is not the site of this former hunting lodge, Rainworth Lodge, the residence of Ralph Clerc, keeper of Lindhurst in around 1250, as suggested in the scheduling description sited above.<sup>30</sup> This lodge was described in 1640 as having been at the west end of Lindhurst Wood and to the south of Rainworth Water, whilst Forest Dale moat is sited much further east and north of the stream.

Similarly it was suggested by Gover, Mawr and Stenton in their *Place Names of Nottinghamshire* that this moated site [Forest Dale moat] could be

identified as Langton Lodge a lost hunting lodge in Sherwood Forest, but Philip E Jones in his article on the history of Langton Arbor argues that this is not the case and that ‘the site of the [Langton] lodge is on a slight hill...in the parish of Ravenshead and about 8.5km south-east of Mansfield (at SK 578536).’<sup>31</sup> Though Forest Dale moat – the Hunting Station in Grimm’s drawings – cannot therefore be identified as the site of either of these lodges, it does seem to be medieval in origin and most likely the site of an as yet unidentified medieval hunting lodge.

Though this disproves Kaye’s suggestion that this feature was ‘an Iron Age earthwork’, this does not necessarily negate the possibility that his other suggestion that it was used as a Hunting Station or Stand at some later date was correct. This flat rectangular moated platform would have provided an ideal setting for tents or more elaborate timber and canvas structures to serve a hunt; a place not for viewing the hunt but a base for providing services and refreshments for those taking part.

### The Lynhurst Pillar

The fourth ink wash on paper drawing by Grimm is of Lynhurst Pillar, lying on the ground neglected and vandalised [Fig. 10] Kaye’s catalogue entry for this drawing reads ‘Lynhurst Pillar; formerly



FIGURE 10: S H Grimm. Ink wash on paper. Catalogued as “Lynhurst Pillar: formerly erected in memory of the Royal Hunt at Lynhurst, Notts.” *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 107*

erected in memory of the Royal Hunt at Lynhurst, Notts’. This was presumably the same ‘Lyn Hurst’ hunt referred to in the caption of one of Grimm’s drawings of Forest Dale moat (see Fig 6) though with the important added suggestion that it was a Royal hunt. Lynhurst Pillar is sited approximately one kilometre to the north-west of Forest Dale moat in a field to the east of Black Scotch Lane.<sup>32</sup> It is marked on present day Ordnance Survey maps as ‘forest stone’ on the parish boundary between Blidworth and Mansfield. It is listed as ‘Forest Stone, Lyndhurst’ at Grade II, List entry Number: 1370190. This square pillar made of the local sandstone stands approximately two metres high. It has chamfered sides with label stops.<sup>33</sup> It most likely dates from the seventeenth or early-eighteenth centuries and could possibly have been re-used. The present solid cobble stone base which once supported railings was constructed in the mid-twentieth century [Fig. 11].



FIGURE 11: Lindhurst Pillar in 2017. *Pete Smith*

The pillar has a mid-twentieth century metal plaque mounted upon it with a misleading inscription based on a ‘theory’ about the origins of the pillar promulgated by ‘two local antiquaries’. It was added when the pillar was restored by the 7th Duke of Portland.<sup>34</sup> This theory suggested that the pillar came from the old market house in Mansfield which was replaced by Lady Oxford in 1752 with the present Moot Hall. Unknown to these anonymous antiquaries the inscription on an original brass plate, the rivets for which can be clearly seen in Grimm’s drawing, had been recorded by B Wilcocks in 1741 and transcribed by the surveyor John Dowland in 1813. It stated:

Foresta de Sherwood in Com. Nott *Memorandum*. At the Attachment Court held for the said Forest in this Place called Lincoln dale in Mansfield walk the [blank] day of September in the first year of the Raigne of our [blank] Lady Queen Anne over England &c. Anno Dom 1702 – John Digby and John Neal Esqrs. Two of her Majesties Verderers of the said Forest, Then & there the Right Noble John [Holles] Duke of Newcastle Lord Warden of the said Forest, the Right Honble William, [4th] Lord Byron Bowbearer of the said Forest, The Rt. Honble Scroop Lord How chief Ranger of the said Forest And Keeper of the several walks call’d Birkland and Bilhaigh, George Savile Esqr. Keeper of the Offices of Mansfield woodhouse and No Manswood, Thos. How Esqr. Keeper of Mansfield and Lindhurst, Took the several Oathes appertaining to their respective Offices, Administered by Fracis Wyld Gent, Clark of the said Forest. Attending then these Deputy Keepers, Wm Gosling Snr., Wm Gosling Junr., James Moor, Wm. Clark, Gent: John Key, Thos Westtyngton & John Bagulie, Gent.<sup>35</sup>

This disproves the suggestion that the pillar was erected in 1752 by Lady Oxford.<sup>36</sup> But it does partly confirm the second part of the twentieth century inscription, that it marked the site of a Forest court, but only of a single ‘Attachment Court’ held in 1702, rather than the site of a regular court. Such regular Forest courts ‘were held in Nottingham. One of the four medieval Nottinghamshire attachment courts, held by local forest officials. For minor offences, courts were held at nearby Mansfield,’<sup>37</sup> In fact the inscription states that this was a special ceremonial meeting where the Forest officials ‘Took the several Oathes appertaining to their respective Offices’ as required on the accession of a new monarch, in this

case Queen Anne, rather than for the dispensing of justice.

One further reference to this pillar can be found in a pamphlet published by Major Hayman Rooke in 1799:

On the north side of Harlow Wood stands a large square pillar, on which was formerly a brass plate with an engraving. Tradition says that this Pillar was formerly the place where the Forest Officers of the Crown assembled annually on Holyrood-day, early in the morning, to receive the Charge of the Lord Chief Justice in Eyre, to view fences and take account of the Deer, in order to make the Presentiments at the Swanincote Court, which was held at Mansfield by the Steward appointed by the Lord Chief Justice in Eyre.<sup>38</sup>

Rooke who accompanied Grimm and Charles Brooke ‘in some of our tours’ may well have visited this pillar with them, though interestingly he makes no mention of the name ‘Lynhurst’ or a royal hunt. Instead he gives a somewhat confused version of the original inscription based presumably on local hearsay.

None of this explains why this important meeting was held here in the middle of what was by then a field. The gradual encroachment and enclosure of the former royal forest of Sherwood had increased in the seventeenth century and Lindhurst was cleared for pasture well before 1702 according to an anonymous historian writing in 1641:

I have myself seen in that lordly Lindhurst and other parts of this Forest numberless numbers of goodly oak.....where now there is nothing to be seen but Oves and Boves [sheep and cattle].<sup>39</sup>

The explanation could be that this stone already existed here in 1702 and that the stone itself was the reason why this special court met here. The original inscription makes no suggestion that this stone was erected to commemorate this event, it simply states that it took place here. If this were so, then the stone must have had some strong connection with the management of this royal forest. The simple explanation would be that it was a ‘forest stone’, one of a number of boundary markers which defined the extent of the forest, but it did not stand on the edge of



the forest and there is no mention of a Lynhurst Stone in the last Perambulation of the Forest in 1662.<sup>40</sup>

So, if this pillar doesn't mark the site of a regular forest court, what does it mark? Is it possible that there is some half-remembered truth in Kaye's catalogue entry 'Lynhurst Pillar; formerly erected in memory of the Royal Hunt at Lynhurst, Notts' – information presumably gleaned from locals at the time of their visit. If so, then maybe the pillar marks the site of a kill by a royal visitor or some other particular event during a royal hunt, and perhaps it was this royal association which gave it its special significance and made it a fitting site for the meeting of the Attachment Court of 1702.

The king who most regularly visited Sherwood Forest specifically for hunting was James I. He favoured the then new French style of hunting deer on horseback which suited the open landscape of Sherwood Forest. He regularly stayed at Newstead, Rufford and Welbeck Abbeys to enjoy the hunting on his Progresses to the north between 1612 and 1624. Fountain Dale moat and the Lindhurst Pillar stood on land owned by the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury (the owner of Rufford Abbey) up until 1618 when his widow sold the land to Sir William Cavendish (later 1st Duke of Newcastle) and it became part of the Welbeck Abbey estate. The title, the Royal Hunt at Lynhurst, could therefore refer to any one of the king's visits to Newstead Abbey, Rufford Abbey or Welbeck Abbey.

The only occasion when James I hunted at both Rufford and then Newstead occurred in August 1612. That year the king stayed at Rufford Abbey for three nights, 11th to 14th, where he was 'enjoying all the pleasures of a chase in perfection', and he then went on to spend a further three nights at Newstead Abbey, leaving on the 17th.<sup>41</sup> Together these visits comprised one of the most extensive hunting trips of James's many Progresses and the erection of a hunting stand to service the needs of the royal party and their servants, horses and hounds would have been useful. Fountain Dale moat stood on the boundary of these two estates, 7km south-west of Rufford Abbey but only 4km north-east of Newstead Abbey, and it could have provided an ideal service point for both hunts.<sup>42</sup> This would also

have allowed the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Byron to share at least some of the onerous cost of entertaining the royal party. It seems likely that it was the communal memory of one of these royal visits by King James which became known locally as the Lynhurst Hunt, though unfortunately no other evidence has come to light so far to pinpoint which of these visits it refers to specifically.

Some idea of what the tents or other temporary structures at a royal hunt might have looked like can be gleaned from an engraving based on a drawing coincidentally also by Grimm. This drawing is a copy of the Tudor murals which then survived at Cowdray House in Sussex depicting incidents in the life of Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII and Edward VI.<sup>43</sup> The drawing which records the siege of Bologne in 1544 illustrates some of the elaborate structures provided for the king's comfort by the Office of Tents and Revels.<sup>44</sup> Obviously far fewer tents would have been needed for a few days of hunting and they would not have needed to be as elaborate as the ones Henry VIII used to impress his allies and his enemies [Fig. 12].

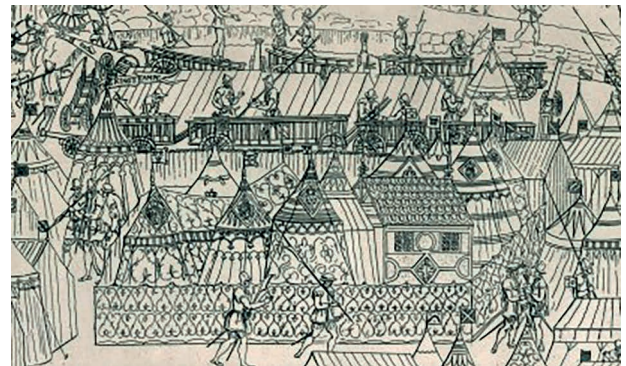


FIGURE 12. Detail of the Siege of Bologne by King Henry VIII, MDXLIV, engraving after S H Grimm, Painting at Cowdray (1778) © *The Society of Antiquaries of London*

### The Mile Oak

A fifth ink on paper drawing which forms part of this series is inscribed 'Newstead, Notts' and catalogued as 'Mile Oak in Kirkby Forest'.<sup>45</sup> Dr Kaye recorded the existence of a Mile Oak Field within Kirkby Forest, though no reference to the

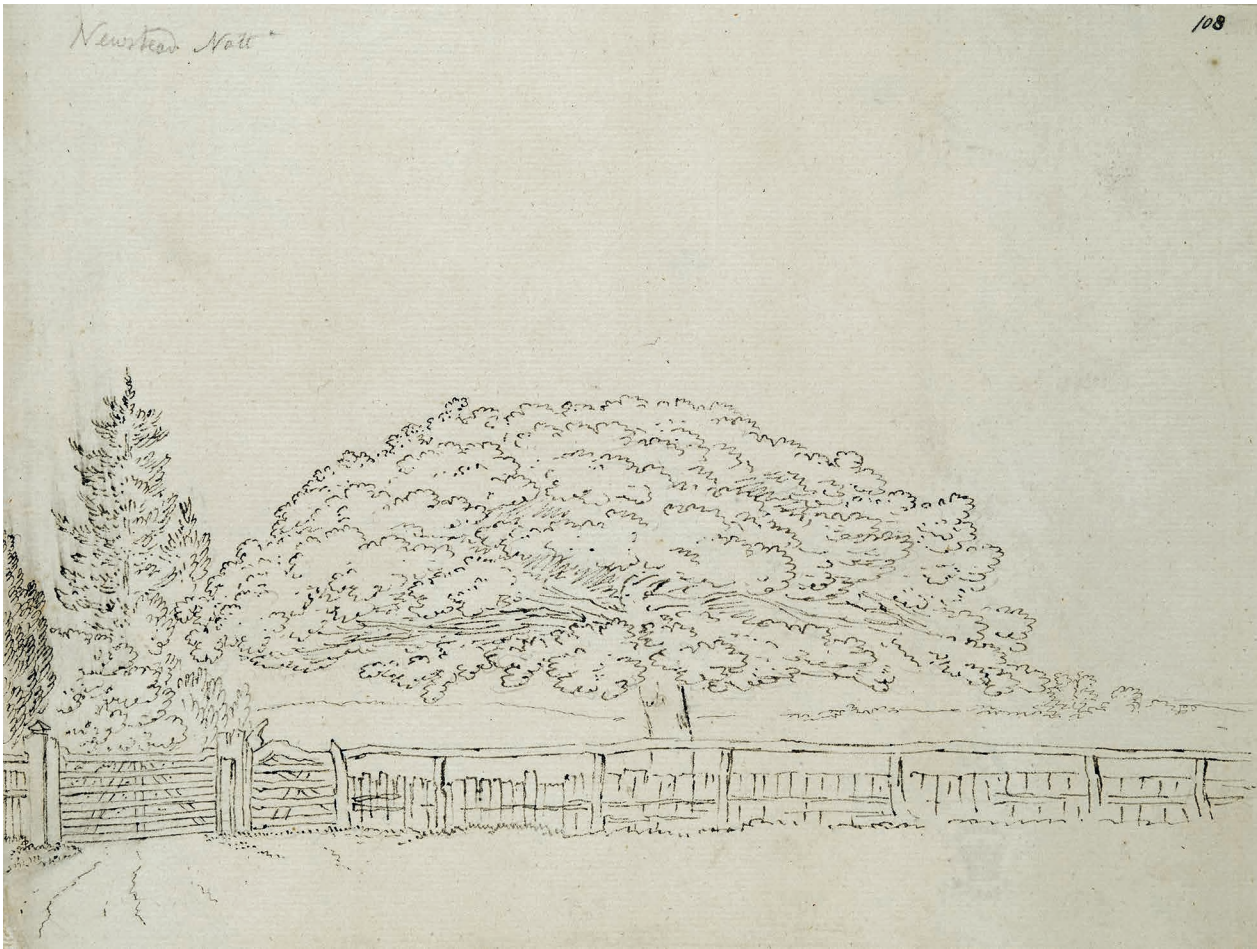


FIGURE 13: S H Grimm. Ink on paper. Catalogued “Mile Oak in Kirkby Forest”. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 108*

exact whereabouts of this oak tree is known.<sup>46</sup> This is one of a number of drawings by Grimm of oak trees in Sherwood Forest such as the Greendale Oak and the Parliament Oak. A similar interest in the recording of Sherwood’s ancient oaks can be found in Major Hayman Rooke’s publication in 1790, *Descriptions and Sketches of some remarkable Oaks*, which illustrated those found on the Welbeck Abbey estate.<sup>47</sup> Unlike most these ancient oak trees this example appears to be relatively young and was presumably thought worth recording more for its very unusual spreading habit rather than its enormous age. By the end of the eighteenth century oaks of almost any age had become symbols of the Sherwood Forest which was disappearing fast and becoming associated with the recently revived interest in a certain legendary outlaw.

### The Robin Hood Hills

The last two ink on paper drawings are catalogued as: ‘Part of the Robin Hood Hills, Notts’ [Fig. 14] and ‘Robin Hood’s Chair near Newstead’ [Fig. 15].

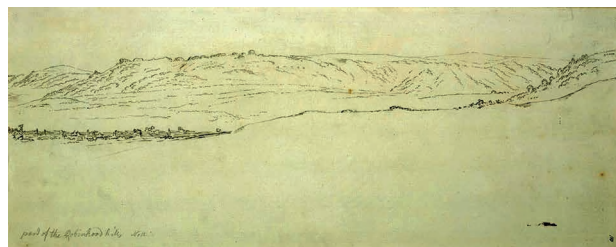


FIGURE 14: S H Grimm. Ink on paper. Inscribed “part of the Robin Hood Hills, Notts.” *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 110*

Both these features can be identified on a number of county maps, the earliest being John Chapman's map, *Nottingham Shire Survey'd in 1774* and most clearly on early Ordnance Survey maps [Fig. 16]. Robin Hood Hills is a range of low hills seen from the north in Grimm's drawing. Robin Hood's Chair was a rocky sandstone outcrop on a spur from these hills seen from the south-east.

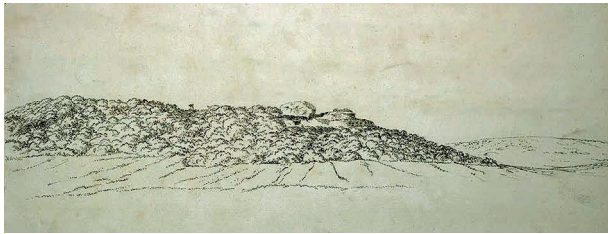


FIGURE 15: S H Grimm. Ink on paper. Catalogued as "Robin Hood's Chair near Newstead." *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 109*

Hayman Rooke in his *A sketch of...Nottingham* published in 1799 also refers to these hills:

At the north-west end of the Forest, between Newstead and Kirkby [in Ashfield], there is a remarkable assemblage of hills, which form a kind of amphitheatre at the end of the little valley; they are called Robin Hood Hills, and at a distance resemble Tumuli, but on nearer approach they evidently appear to be too large to be formed by art. On the top of the highest was a Seat, cut out of the solid rock, with a Canopy over it: it was destroyed about twenty years ago, to form some rock-work in the lake in Newstead Park.<sup>48</sup>

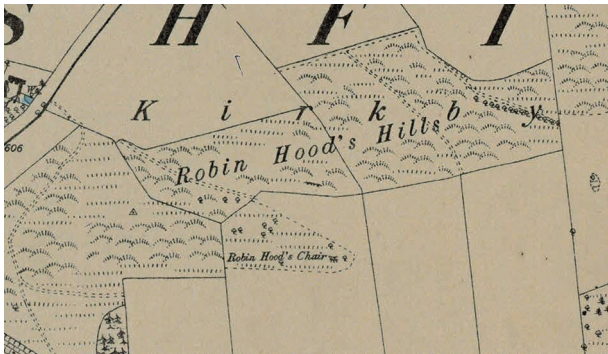


FIGURE 16: Robin Hood Hills and Robin Hood's Chair. Ordnance Survey Map: Nottinghamshire XXVII SE (1886, surveyed 1877–78) © Crown Copyright 1886

What remained of this outcrop, after it had been plundered by the 5th Lord Byron in order to create what became known as the Ragged Rock on an island in his new lake at Newstead, has since been largely eroded though what once survived was fortunately photographed in 1917 by S Clemens [Fig. 17].<sup>49</sup> There is a marked contrast between the wooded hill top, a fragment of medieval Kirkby Forest, seen rising above cultivated fields in the image of Robin Hood's Chair and the bleak hilltops in the more distant view of Robin Hood Hills.



FIGURE 17: A photograph of Robin Hood's Chair in 1917 by S Clemens. *Picturethepast*

Use of the name 'Robin Hood' by Grimm, Kaye, Rooke and Chapman at just this time is interesting. The legend of Robin Hood was reinvigorated by Thomas Percy with the publication of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765, and popularised further with the publication in 1795 of Joseph Ritson's eight fifteenth-century ballads in *Robin Hood. A Collection of Ancient Poems, Songs and Ballads*.<sup>50</sup> A measure of the increase in interest in Robin Hood in the eighteenth century can be gauged from Robert Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* published in 1670 which makes no mention of him, whilst Robert Thorsby's revision published in 1790–93 devotes at least six pages to his supposed adventures.<sup>51</sup> Were the designations of these features part of this new enthusiasm for the legend of Robin Hood or were they, like Robin Hood's Wells at Sneinton in Nottingham

and Skelbrooke in Yorkshire, of more ancient nomenclature.<sup>52</sup>

## Conclusion

This research has in some ways raised more questions than it has answered. Though most of these features found in Grimm's drawings have been identified, it has not been possible to establish with any certainty whether the 'Royal Hunt at Lynhurst' took place or if in fact it was anything more than a local legend. The example of the 'two local antiquarians' and their Lindhurst Pillar 'theory' inscribed on the present plaque is a salutary lesson which should be borne in mind when attempting any further theories about these features. An archaeological investigation of the Fountain Dale moat might verify whether this earthwork were ever used as a Hunting Stand, and though some of the history of the Lindhurst Pillar has been clarified its significance and meaning still remains something of a mystery. It has at least been an opportunity to illustrate and explore a few of the thousands of remarkable drawings which Kaye commissioned from that 'very modest behaved man', Samuel Hieronymus Grimm.

The importance of Grimm's drawings to the topographical, architectural and archaeological history of Nottinghamshire in the eighteenth century cannot be doubted. The architectural histories of Newstead Abbey and Welbeck Abbey are both indebted to Grimm and Kaye for the record they provide of both houses prior to their later alterations. In some cases these drawings provide the only known illustrations of such long lost country houses as Selston Hall [Fig. 18], whilst the

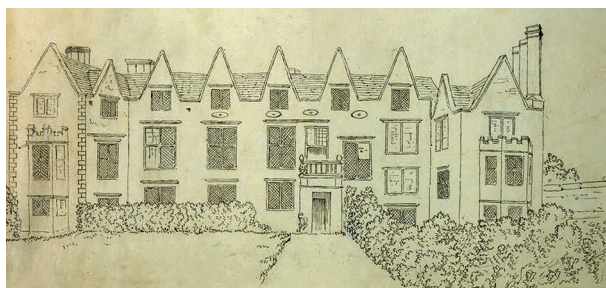


FIGURE 18: S H Grimm. Ink wash on paper. Catalogued "Selston Hall, Nottinghamshire." The house was probably built for Thomas Pusey, secretary to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury after 1609. *British Library Add MSS 15544 f. 147*

drawings of many of the county's churches provide a unique record of their appearance before the era of Victorian restoration.<sup>53</sup> But as these drawings discussed here illustrate, Dr Kaye and his associates were not only interested in architecture but in recording and collecting all manner of old, rare and unusual features in the landscape, the landscape itself and even the activities of Dr Kaye and the people of his parish [see Figs 2 and 4]. The breadth of the interests of Kaye and his fellow antiquaries meant that such diverse objects as the Fountain Dale moat and Robin Hood's Chair were recorded, though whether their record of the local legends associated with these places and structures was as accurate as Grimm's drawings remains an open question.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank David Crook, Philip E Jones, Emily Cole, Richard Hewlings and Alden Gregory for their assistance.

## REFERENCES

- 1 Rosalys Coope and Pete Smith, *Newstead Abbey A Nottinghamshire Country House: Its Owners and Architectural History 1540–1931*, T(horoton) S(ociety) R(ecord) S(eries), Vol 48, (2014), Figs 2, 3, 41, 47, 50, 62, 67 and 112, plus a watercolour by Grimm, not from Kaye's collection, Fig. 58, see note 8 below.
- 2 B(ritish) L(ibrary), Add MSS 15537 – 15548. Copies of some of these Newstead drawings are included in

the Gough Maps in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The notebooks were purchased in 1851 from the bookseller Rodd: BL, Add MSS 18551–18571. Rotha Mary Clay, *Samuel Hieronymus Grimm of Burgdorf in Switzerland*, (1941). 'To the Trustees of the British Museum all my drawings by Mr Grimm except such as I may otherwise dispose of': N(ational) A(rchive), PROB 11/1510/99.

- 3 There is, for example, only one drawing of nearby Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire: BL, Add MSS 15544. f. 145, illustrated in Pete Smith, 'Rufford Abbey: A Victorian and Edwardian Country House', *Transactions of the Thoresby Society* 119, (2015) Plate 3.
- 4 Clay, (1941).
- 5 Grimm produced 886 watercolours of Sussex for the antiquarian Sir William Burrell (1732–96) which he bequeathed in 7 volumes to the British Museum in 1796: BL, Add MSS 5670–5678, Sussex.
- 6 Isle of Wight Record Office; JER/WA/39/5/135.
- 7 R Holt-White, *The Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selbourne*, Vol. I, (1901), 326.
- 8 BL, Add MSS 15544/81.
- 9 Nottingham City Museums and Galleries, NA 2168. This watercolour is now in the collection at Newstead. It was purchased in 1961 from a London art dealer. It was exhibited at the Walker Galleries in 1939, though its earlier provenance is unknown: Clay, (1941), 91, n. 1. Illustrated in Coope and Smith, (2014), Plate 58.
- 10 For a detailed discussion of the Wicked Lord's supposed reputation and his almost constant financial difficulties see John Beckett, with Sheila Aley, *Byron and Newstead. The Aristocrat and the Abbey*, (2001), Chapters 2 and 3, 37–84.
- 11 Coope & Smith (2014) 81 and 82. In 1772 the 5th Lord sold the Norfolk estates inherited from his wife at Stretham and Tibbenham for £5,500 and in 1774 he sold 3,707 acres of his Nottinghamshire estates in Gringley, Hucknall and Bulwell to the Duke of Devonshire for £50,500: Beckett (2001), 68–69.
- 12 Tradition has it that this lectern and its candlesticks were dredged from the Eagle Pond, but the more likely story that it was 'found buried underground' was recorded by an anonymous visitor in c. 1768: Coope and Smith (2014) 81, 82, 201, Appendix 3E, Plate 67. Kaye also purchased a set of foreign horns from the 5th Lord Byron, which had been collected by his brother Admiral John Byron (1723–1786): J T Drinkall, *The Life and Interests of The Reverend Sir Richard Kaye, LL.D., F.R.S.F.S.A. An Eighteenth Century Pluralist*, Leicester University, PhD Thesis, 1965, 224 [http://www.ethos.bl.uk accessed 12 March 2020].
- 13 Drinkall, (1965), 165. Richard W Goulding, *Sir Richard Kaye, Bart., D.C.L., Dean of Lincoln*, 1925, 15 (Reprinted from the Eightieth and Eighty-first Reports of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of the County of Lincoln, 1923).
- 14 Richard Kaye married Ellen Fenton, daughter of William Fenton of Rothwell, and widow of Thomas Mainwaring, on 29 August 1791.
- 15 St Wilfrid's church was burnt in 1907 and rebuilt to the designs of Louis Ambler: Clare Hartwell, Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *The Buildings of England, Nottinghamshire*, (2020), 284.
- 16 Richard Kaye was appointed chaplain to 3rd Duke of Portland in 1762, chaplain in ordinary to George III in 1766, sub-almoner in 1768, canon of Durham in 1877, arch deacon of Nottingham in 1780, prebend to North Muskham in 1783, dean of Lincoln in 1783, rector of Wirksworth in 1787, rector of Marylebone in 1788 and rector of Clayworth in 1792: Drinkall, (1965).
- 17 Brett Dolman, "Every thing curious': Samuel Hieronymus Grimm and Sir Richard Kaye', [http://www.bl.uk/Electronic BL Journal, 2003, Article 2 accessed 10 March 2020].
- 18 NA, PROB 11/1247/250. The other two 'friends and employers' were Sir William Burrell (see footnote 5) and Cornelius Heathcote Rodes (1755–1825) of Barlborough Hall in Derbyshire: Clay (1941), 81–83. Pete Smith, 'Barlborough Hall, Derbyshire', *Architectural History*, 61, (2018), 1–36, Figs 15, 21 and 23.
- 19 Richard Gough was President of the Society of Antiquaries from 1771 to 1791.
- 20 This is Kirkby Hardwick Manor in Kirkby-in-Ashfield; a then largely ruined medieval manor house where Cardinal Wolsey had stayed in 1530. The remains of the house were finally demolished in 1966: Philip E Jones, *Lost Houses of Nottinghamshire*, (2006), 33.
- 21 John Nichols, *Literary History or Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. VI, (1831), 389–90.
- 22 Dr Brailsford was rector of Kirkby 1703–1733 and the new Rectory cost £600: Goulding (1925), 6. Kaye also made significant alterations to the Rectory between 1765 and 1775. He rebuilt the east wing and added a new barn and various farm buildings: Drinkall, (1965), 55–56 and 79–84.
- 23 BL, Add MSS, 15544. f. 9.
- 24 This famous ancient oak tree had its trunk hollowed out so that a carriage could pass through it. The cabinet doors are decorated with images of this oak tree, some showing carriages passing through it. This tree was recorded by Grimm in numbers of drawing: BL, Add MSS, 15545, ff. 79–84. It is also illustrated in the bottom right hand corner of Chapman's map of Nottinghamshire.

- 25 Peter Smith, 'Lady Oxford's Alterations at Welbeck Abbey 1741–55', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. XI, 2001, 133–168.
- 26 'the Greendale Oak Cabinet belongs to the Duke of Portland, I mentioned it for Southwell but I recollect his Grace mentioning the picture gallery at Oxford if removed.' This refers to the Oxford Wing at Welbeck Abbey: NA, PBOB, 11/1510/99.
- 27 Emily Sloan, *The Landscape Studies of Hayman Rooke (1723–1806). Antiquarianism, Archaeology and Natural History in the Eighteenth Century*, (2019), 40. Kaye left £50 in his will 'to my own Servant Mathew Baldwin for his unremitted care of me': NA, PBOB, 11/1510/99.
- 28 Stephanos Mastoris, 'The Welbeck Atlas' TSRS, Vol. 47, (2017), xv–xvi. David Crook, 'Lindhurst, No Man's Wood, and the Manor of Mansfield', TTS, LXXXV, (1981) 82–5.
- 29 The 4th Lord Byron mentions in a letter dated July 24 1728 to the 2nd Earl of Oxford that 'Harloe and Lindhurst....joins mine of Newstead': Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Report of the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland. K. G., preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Vol. VI, (1901), 23.
- 30 Crook, (1981) 85.
- 31 J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawr & F.M. Stenton, *Place Names of Nottinghamshire* (1940), 116. Philip E. Jones, 'Langton Arbor near Blidworth, Nottinghamshire: A Lost Hunting Lodge in Sherwood Forest', TTS, (107) 2003, 105.
- 32 John Chapman, cartog. *Nottingham Shire Survey'd in 1774*, (1776). George Sanderson, cartog, *Map of 20 Miles round Mansfield*, (1835) shows this same area to the north-east of Newstead which is marked 'Lindhurst, Extra Parochial'
- 33 This type of decoration is most commonly found on timber beams in vernacular houses of the seventeenth century, but rarely on decorative stonework.
- 34 The inscription reads, 'This stone from the ancient market house of Mansfield was placed here A. D. 1752 by Henrietta Cavendish-Harley Countess of Oxford & Lady of the Manor to mark the site of the great forest court and swainmote. \* On this place the justices in Eyre met the great officers of the forest every seven years for the administration of its affairs & here met the swains or freeholders in a moot three times a year for the purpose of renting the pasture.' Violet W Walker, *The House of Byron*, (1988), 121.
- 35 Walker (1988), 121.
- 36 Their theory that the pillar originally came from the former market hall in Mansfield is understandable as the pillar is similar to examples found at other surviving market halls, though the date 1702 on the original inscription does not agree with the known date of the rebuilding of the market hall in 1752. See Chipping Camden in Gloucestershire built for Sir Baptist Hicks in 1627. Nikolaus Pevsner, David Verey and Alan Brooks, *The Buildings of England, Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, (1999), 237, pl. 65.
- 37 Personal communication, David Crook to author, email, 30/01/2017.
- 38 Hayman Rooke, *A sketch of the ancient and present state of Sherwood Forest, in the county of Nottingham*, (1799), 12–13.
- 39 J D Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century*, (1966), 157.
- 40 There are four forest stones recorded in 1662, 'a stone lying near Ansley', 'Clumber Stone, which lyeth near the House', 'a Stone which lyeth on the East side of Illingres' and 'a stone called Abbots Stone' at Rufford: A Stapleton, 'The last perambulation of Sherwood Forest (AD 1662) with notices of other known examples', (1893). [<http://www.nottshistory.org.uk> accessed 18 July 2020].
- 41 A second visit to Newstead by James I occurred in August 1614 when he stayed for two nights and possibly a third in 1616: John Nichols, *The Progresses, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court*, Vol. II, (1828), 460.
- 42 Personal communication, Emily Cole to author, email 26/01/2017.
- 43 Cowdray House (or Court) was burnt out on 24 Sept 1794.
- 44 Alden Gregory, 'The Timber Lodgings of King Henry VIII: Ephemeral Architecture at War in the Early Sixteenth Century', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 100, 2020, 1–20, Fig. 4.
- 45 BL, Add MSS, 15544. f. 108.
- 46 Clay, (1941) 90.
- 47 Hayman Rooke, *Descriptions and Sketches of some remarkable Oaks, in the Park at Welbeck, in the county of Nottingham, a Seat of His Grace the Duke of Portland*, (1790).
- 48 Rooke, (1799), 27–28.
- 49 The Ragged Rock survived and was photographed in the early twentieth century: Coope and Smith, (2014), 76, pl. 64

- 50 Joseph Ritson, *Robin Hood. A Collection of Ancient Poems, Songs and Ballads, Now Extant Relative to That Celebrated Outlaw. To Which are prefixed a memoir of the author*, 2 vols, (1795). chaplain referred to the well head at Skelbrooke as ‘a Famous Spring, called, *Robin Hood’s Well*’ in a letter dated 28 April 1725: Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh, A Biography*, (1987), 486.
- 51 John Throsby (ed.), *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, Robert Thoroton, Vol. II, (1790), 164–69. 53 Selston Hall was much reduced c. 1830 and finally demolished in the twentieth century: Jones, (2006), 48. Sixteen of Grimm’s church drawings were used to illustrate Howard Fisher (ed.), *Church Life in Georgian Nottinghamshire, Archbishop Drummond’s Parish Visitations, 1764*, TSRS, Vol. 46, (2013), pls. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20 and 22.
- 52 The well in Sneinton is marked as ‘Robinhoodes Well’ on the map from the forest survey of 1609: S Mastoris and S Groves (eds) *Sherwood Forest in 1609*, TSRS, Vol. 40, (1997), Map 5. The 2nd Earl of Oxford’s

*Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire, Vol. 124, 2020*