

# Landscape Parks and the Memorialisation of Empire: The Pierrepoints' 'Naval Seascape' in Thoresby Park, Nottinghamshire during the French Wars, 1793–1815

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**Abstract** This paper engages with debates over estate and empire during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars through a focus on park landscaping. Drawing on Colley's (1992) idea of a 'cult of the elite hero' and work on life geographies (Daniels and Nash, 2004), it examines landscape and monument design commemorating naval service. Unlike most other studies of this period, the paper examines naval monuments in the private setting of a landscape park and considers the ways in which this disrupts a neat division between public and private spheres. At Thoresby Park in Nottinghamshire, Charles Pierrepoint, a naval veteran active in landscape improvement, created a 'naval seascape' which promoted a sense of a 'service elite' (Colley, 1992). The paper examines the contested meanings of this seascape and the ways in which they help revision the nature of landscape parks during the French Wars and their public and private roles.

## Introduction

Recent work has identified landscape as a key discourse through which colonialism and imperialism are practised (Hooper, 2005; Mitchell, 1994). Such work examines the circulation of ideas of landscape between imperial nations (Tachibana, et al, 2004) as well as the transposition of imperial landscape ideologies into the colonies (Smith, 1985; Seymour, et al, 1995). Seymour, Daniels and Watkins (1998) highlight the role of landed estates in this process, reflecting on the interconnections between the landscape of a Herefordshire estate and a Caribbean plantation. This paper considers estate and empire in a different way by focusing on the creation of a 'naval seascape' in an English landscape park during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and its imperial and personal associations. It draws on a well-established body of work which engages reflexively with the symbolism and materiality of landscape and landscape parks (eg Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Daniels and Seymour, 1990; Williamson, 1995; Seymour, 2000) and studies of the iconography of monuments (eg Cooke, 2000; Johnson, 1995; Withers,

1996), including those to naval and other military heroes of the period (Yarrington, 1988; Hooek, 2003; Craske, 2005). While much of the recent interest in memorials relates to public monuments and their changing and contested meanings, those considered in this paper are privately erected, and set within a 'naval seascape' created in a privately owned country estate. Joshua Reynolds's comparison of the private qualities of landscape art with the public nature of history painting can be seen to reinforce the association of landscape parks with private concerns (Barrell, 1992). Yet there is evidence that public issues impacted on parkland design in ways which disrupt a neat division between private and public spheres, particularly when monumental art was erected within them.

Earlier work highlighting the political nature of landscape and monument design in relation to naval power and empire has tended to concentrate on famous landscape gardens of the mid-eighteenth century, such as Stowe and Rousham (see Eyres, 1993a and 1993b; Craske, 2005). This paper focuses on a lesser-known landscape park, Thoresby in north Nottinghamshire, and its owner Charles Pierrepont. Pierrepont and other male members of his family served as officers in the Royal Navy, and the park landscape created was encoded with personal and family histories and geographies of naval service, interlaced with national and imperial themes (see Daniels and Nash, 2004). The entwining of these personal biographies with national imperial imperatives projects a plotline of elite service in keeping with Linda Colley's (1992) arguments in *Britons*. Colley proposes that the British elite of this period represented itself as a 'service elite' and promoted a 'cult of the elite hero' to enhance conservative loyalism and help secure its property and position. Pierrepont was a lifelong friend of the painter Benjamin West, a key figure in the cult of the elite hero. Colley (1992) highlights West's painting of *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) as a pivotal work and while President of the Royal Academy he oversaw the erection of military memorials in St Paul's Cathedral (von Erffa and Staley, 1986). Hooek (2003) has identified the St Paul's memorials as a state-sponsored British pantheon. In a similar vein the series of eight commemorative monuments Pierrepont erected at Thoresby between 1799 and 1813 can be seen as a personal pantheon celebrating family, national and imperial concerns. The reworking of park landscapes to embody ideas and practices of 'elite service' questions a narrow categorisation of landscape parks as private spaces and reveals their importance as local, national and imperial sites.

The examination of landscaping at Thoresby through the creation of a 'naval seascape' is appropriate to the context both of parkland design during this period and of a family and nation engaged in naval warfare. Naturalised lakes were key features of later eighteenth century landscape park design which was dominated by informal arrangements of trees, water and lawns, enhanced by the judicious use of small buildings as 'eye-catchers' in wider parkland vistas. As a naval family, the Pierreponts had a special interest in the lake setting and actively landscaped the area to promote its naval aspects. The use of the term 'seascape' also engages with theoretical reflections on landscape. We draw on the fluidity suggested in 'seascape' to help address criticisms that researchers have projected too static and stable a sense of landscape in their work (Seymour, 2000). The dynamism as well as uncertainty and contestation associated with naval seascapes helps reposition landscape as a contingent practice rather than a fixed artefact (Mitchell, 1994).

**Landscape parks, military monuments and imperial patriotism**

The French Wars generated a spate of memorials to national and imperial heroes, together with loyalist celebratory processions, mock battles, poetry, plays, ceramics and paintings in their turn opposed by critical plays, poetry, cartoons and press (Yarrington, 1988; Hoock, 2003). The most prominent of these focused on elite naval heroes and their victories (Jordan and Rogers, 1989). By 1789 Britain was 'the world's greatest colonial, commercial and trading nation' (Kennedy, 1991: 143) and naval power was central to this position. In 1793 the Royal Navy comprised 115 ships of the line, charged with the tasks of patrolling sea routes, escorting convoys, assisting colonial expeditions, supporting troop operations and watching and engaging the enemy fleets (Kennedy, 1991: 147). Nonetheless, sailors and the navy were far from uncontentious, and became a focal point for disputes over visions of the nation (Pratt, 2000). The negative associations with press-gangs and the slave trade, disputes over repairs and costs contributing to the unpopular introduction of income and property tax in 1799 (Kennedy, 1991: 166) and the mutinies of 1797 at Nore and Spithead (Wells, 1983) fuelled the controversy. Focusing on artistic representations of the ordinary sailor Quilley (c.2005: 1) argues that these negotiated a 'fundamental paradox' at the heart of the sailor's identity, 'veering between potential extremes of patriotism and treachery, obedience and subversiveness'.

The public face of the cult of the elite hero was epitomised by Parliament's decision in 1794–5 to use state finance to erect statues of naval and other military heroes in St Paul's Cathedral in London. This was symptomatic of the 'entry of the funerary monument into the public sphere', drawing public interest even beyond the growing bounds of polite society (Bindman and Baker, 1995: 23). This envisioning of St Paul's as a 'national shrine' was selective (Pratt, 2000: 3). Despite their inclusion in the Naval Thanksgiving procession of 1797, there were no monuments to ordinary sailors in St Paul's (Hoock, 2003). A further competition was opened in August 1799, by a committee chaired by the Duke of Clarence, a serving naval officer, for a column celebrating recent naval successes to be erected in London and funded by public subscription. One of the schemes generated was Flaxman's design for a 230-foot high statue of 'Britannia Triumphant' to be placed on the hill above the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. None of the proposals came to fruition (Pratt, 2000; Yarrington, 2004).

While the cult of the elite hero downplayed the role of the ordinary soldier and sailor, it is clear that elite figures did both fight and die in the service of imperial Britain, and forty per cent of officers in the Royal Navy in 1806 were from landed backgrounds (Colley, 1992: 183). Military service abroad was mirrored by service at home with a shift in patrician style towards projections of endeavour, professionalism, seriousness, private virtue and 'ostentatious patriotism' which addressed both the French threat and domestic concerns (Colley, 1992: 192). Such qualities characterised elite landscape 'improvement' from the 1790s.

During the French Wars, British landscape parks were important sites of polite 'improvement', not only for aesthetic effect but also for productive, class and loyalist patriotic ends (Daniels, 1999; Seymour, 1993). As parks were naturalised in style they were increasingly secured as private property, through changes in land tenure, diversion of rights of way and fencing and patrolling of boundaries (Williamson, 1995; Cowell,

1997). Increased elite control over parkland included selective public access, not only for polite visitors, but also for a wider range of rural society (Cowell, 1997). Parks were popular venues for loyalist patriotic commemorations and celebrations, including mock battles (Aston, 1991). The combination of theatricality and militarism embodied in these activities strengthened their appeal as spectacle but could also pose challenges to loyalist elite authority. In London, the Jubilee Fete, commemorating the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, was held in the royal parks of Hyde, Green and St James, but entry was restricted by ticketing. Hyde Park, in particular, was a traditional site of military reviews. One such event in October 1803 attracted 200,000 but ironically reduced the park to a battle site (Russell, 1995: 88–93). In Nottingham, a ‘sham fight’ was held by the Nottingham Infantry in the Castle Park of the Duke of Newcastle in September 1799 (Henstock, 1980: 80). Likewise in north Nottinghamshire, Worksop Park was the venue for a ‘sham battle’ reportedly watched by over 20,000 in 1798 (Cowell, 1997). Mock naval battles were also common and the Jubilee Fete included an engagement between two miniature fleets on the Serpentine (Russell, 1995: 90). In Nottinghamshire such events were encouraged by rivalry between the Fifth Lord Byron at Newstead Abbey and the Second Duke of Kingston at Thoresby Park. Both were military veterans who remodelled their parks to create substantial lakes, augmented by fortifications and sailed by private navies (Aston, 1991).

The development of military memorials, drawing on the cult of the elite hero, was part of the scheme of parkland improvement. Such memorials embodied georgic values<sup>1</sup> by combining profit and patriotism as in the case of park woodlands named after naval officers or, with respect to monuments, by celebrating the military or colonial service of the British elite. The public and the private could be complexly interwoven by celebration of family figures in military and colonial service. Early examples are the monuments erected by landowners in commemoration of battles and family members who died in active service during the mid eighteenth-century wars (Eyres, 1993a and b), regarded by Yarrington (1988) as forerunners of monuments to British heroes of the French Wars. These drew on the symbolism of classical learning and focused on imperial battles and triumphalist imagery (Craske, 2005). By contrast later park landscapes addressed public issues through appeals to the widening constituency of polite society and even beyond it through celebration of popular figures, such as Nelson.

### **The Pierreponts and Thoresby Park**

Charles Pierrepont (1737–1816) inherited Thoresby Park in Nottinghamshire in 1788 from his maternal uncle, the Second Duke of Kingston. Thoresby was a substantial 1800 acre park, lying within the aristocratic locale of ‘The Dukeries’, in Sherwood Forest (Seymour, 1993). Politically Pierrepont became a follower of his neighbour at Welbeck Abbey, the Whig grandee the Third Duke of Portland, and received a series of titles under his patronage, becoming Baron Pierrepont and Viscount Newark in 1796 and finally in 1806 Earl Manvers. Although not nationally important, Pierrepont was active locally, as Member of Parliament for Nottinghamshire from 1778 to 1796 and as a Justice of the Peace (Symonds, 1986: 800).

Pierrepont grew up in a relatively modest family with a tradition of diplomatic and naval service. He entered the naval training academy at Portsmouth just before his tenth

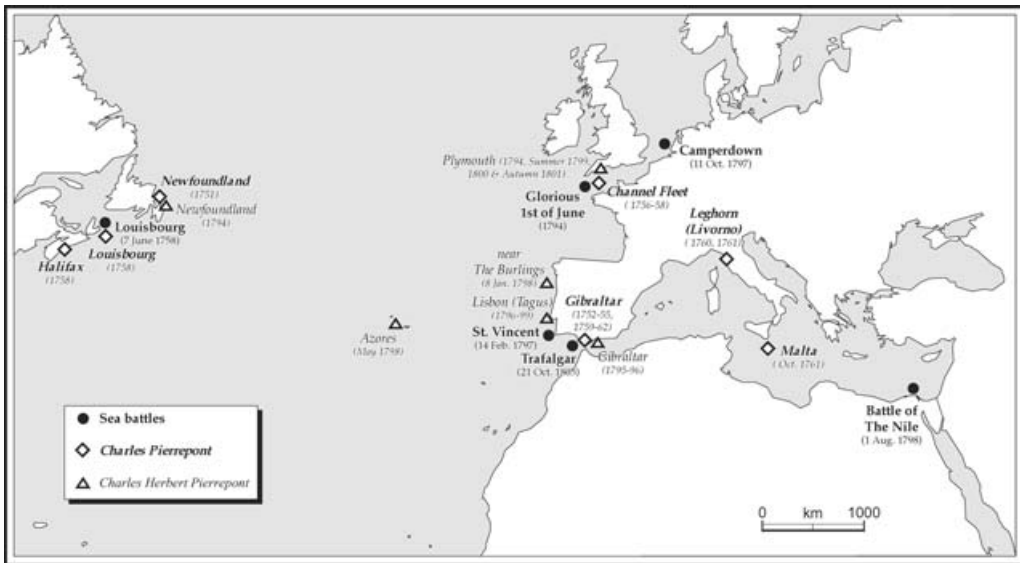


Figure 1. The Pierreponts' Naval Careers and Major Sea Battles commemorated in Thoresby Park  
 Sources: TNA ADM 107/4; ADM 51/891; ADM 51/480; ADM 9/2; ADM 51/1225; ADM 51/1275; ADM 51/1417.

birthday and his naval career lasted over twenty years, during which time he served under Keppel and Boscawen in European and North American waters (Priestland, 2004; see figure 1).<sup>2</sup> His fortunes blossomed during the Seven Years War (1756–63) and he quickly rose to the rank of post-captain in 1757 when only nineteen, taking command of the thirty-six-gun frigate, *Shannon*. Pierrepont served with distinction during the Louisbourg campaign of 1758 (Hardy, 1784: 66) and in spring 1761 was promoted into the fifty-gun vessel, *Isis* (Clowes, 1996, vol.3: 306).<sup>3</sup> He finished the war with a number of small captured ships and their prize money to his name and resigned his naval commission in May 1769 when made heir to his uncles' estates (Syrett and DiNardo, 1994: 308; Seymour, 1988: 184).

He is pictured by Benjamin West (see figure 2), wearing the undress uniform of a naval post-captain of more than three years' seniority (Jarrett, 1960). The two men met during the Seven Years War when West, en route in 1760 from his home in Pennsylvania to Italy, arrived at Gibraltar on board the merchant ship, the *Betty Sally*. His ship joined a convoy to Leghorn (Livorno), protected by two English warships, one of which was the *Shannon* captained by Pierrepont. During the three-week voyage a lifelong friendship was forged. The portrait is thought to have been painted in Leghorn in the summer of 1761 when West returned to recover from a bout of illness suffered in Rome and Pierrepont arrived with another convoy (von Erffa and Staley, 1986).<sup>4</sup> This encounter and the ensuing friendship between Pierrepont and West, highlight the private and public faces of the cult of the elite hero. While the painter, West, went on to become a pivotal public figure in its development, Pierrepont, the landowner, in less celebrated fashion commemorated naval heroes in his park and pursued a style of landscape management which promoted the ideal of a service elite.

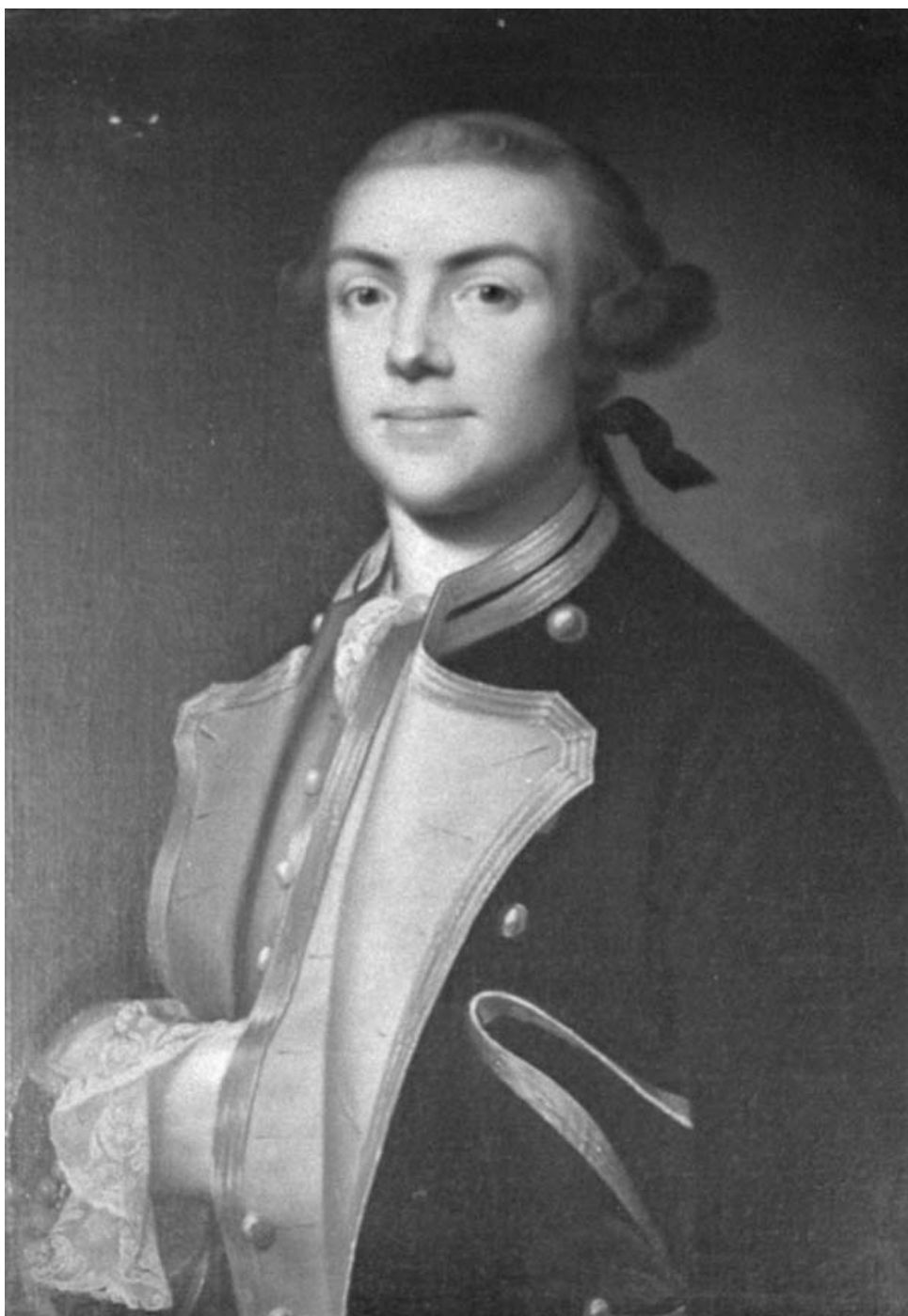


Figure 2. *Captain Meadows* (1761) by Benjamin West (oil on canvas, 84 × 69 cm)  
*Source/copyright:* Manuscripts and Special Collections, The University of Nottingham.



Pierrepoint's second son and eventual heir, Charles Herbert Pierrepoint (1778–1860) was a naval veteran of the French Revolutionary Wars, serving with several notable figures including Jervis, Thomas Foley and Charles Tyler. He entered the Navy as a midshipman in 1794, and his career took him to the North Sea, Newfoundland, Mediterranean and Lisbon stations (see figure 1). Early in 1797 he was made a lieutenant but was quickly promoted to commander, taking charge of *Kingfisher*, an eighteen-gun brig with a crew of 120 men.<sup>5</sup> His most notable victory, a 'well contested and mutually creditable action' (James, c.2002, Vol.2: 200), was his defeat of *La Betsey*, a sixteen-gun French privateer with a crew of 118 men, near the Burlings, a reef off Portugal on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1798 (Eddison, 1854: 174). This was celebrated at Thoresby in February 1798 when money was given out to 'the different workmen and labourers about the House and Park on account of Mr Charles Pierrepoints Victory'.<sup>6</sup> Charles Herbert was made post-captain at twenty in late 1798 (Syrett and DiNardo, 1994: 359) and promoted into *Spartiate*, a seventy-four-gun ship captured by Nelson during the Battle of the Nile (Clowes, 1996 Vol.4: 357, 373n and 556). However, as *Spartiate* was badly damaged his captaincy was short-lived and his subsequent appointment to *Dedaigneuse*, a thirty-six-gun frigate in September 1801, was cut short by the sudden death of his elder brother, Evelyn, in October 1801 (James, c.2002, Vol. 2: 175, 184; Vol.3: 136; Eddison, 1854: 174).<sup>7</sup> Charles Herbert then became heir to his father's estates and took up the position of Member of Parliament for Nottinghamshire. Although he retired from the Navy on half pay in 1803, he continued to show an interest in naval issues (Symonds, 1986: 800–1). In his election Address to the County in 1801 he attested 'That I was bred to an Honourable but Laborious Profession, that I only quitted the duties of it to attend to another very dear to my heart. That I am ready to return to it, if my Country now happily at Peace shall call for my services'.<sup>8</sup> Later in 1820 he pledged his naval half-pay, then totalling £1865 9s 6d, to the Naval Charitable Society (Eddison, 1854: 175).

Charles Pierrepoint was actively involved in an aristocratic style of 'improvement' based on georgic ideals.<sup>9</sup> His interests ranged from agriculture, woodlands, roads and landscape aesthetics, to the social 'improvement' of villagers and issues of law and order amongst the wider population. Nationally, he became a Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture in 1803, while locally he helped establish the Retford Agricultural Society in 1799 and was active in road and river development. He also undertook extensive reform of his own estates, particularly through enclosure and tree planting (Seymour, 1988), and he and his sons were associated with over fifty Nottinghamshire enclosure bills in parliament (Priestland, 2004).

Pierrepoint's concerns over social order and improvement, were particularly prominent during the Revolutionary War years. Like many other landowners he was fearful of French invasion and popular uprising. Nottingham's reputation as a particularly riotous town, where strong radical and conservative loyalist interests clashed fiercely, only heightened such concerns (Beckett, 1997a). Even naval heroes such as Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren received a mixed welcome (Beckett, 1997b). As a county Justice of the Peace, the most important position in local government (Beckett, 1986), Pierrepoint was instrumental in raising local voluntary defence corps in March 1794 and personally led the Nottinghamshire provisional cavalry (Beckett, 1997b). These voluntary, self-regulating organisations were usually led by local propertied gentlemen and those inland

focused on ‘civilian policing’ (Gee, 2003: 5). In Nottingham Pierrepont opposed the Whig Corporation’s attempts to obstruct legislation against popular radicals. On the other hand, he supported loyalist societies amongst the poor, both in Nottingham and at Ollerton, close to Thoresby (Wells, 1984; Seymour, 1988). In 1798 he paid for ‘60 Loyal Badges’, presumably for distribution among his tenants.<sup>10</sup>

Such concerns were inscribed in the landscape of Thoresby Park which Pierrepont ‘improved’, assisted by Humphry Repton, in line with modern, naturalistic design aesthetics and a concern with utility and loyalist patriotism (Seymour, 1988; Daniels, 1999). Pierrepont developed a farm within the Park with a flock of improved sheep, undertook substantial plantations, built commemorative monuments and privatised and policed his property (Seymour, 1993). Access was controlled and stratified. Polite visitors were quite common but there was tighter control of unwanted visits from the poor, especially as poaching and theft became more prevalent in the 1790s when rural poverty and hunger were intense in the county (Cowell, 1997).

### **Landscapes of naval and imperial power**

A notable aspect of the landscaping at Thoresby was Pierrepont’s integration of plantations, monuments and activities commemorating naval and imperial victories. Pierrepont was an active and renowned tree planter. In 1794 there were 981 acres of plantations in Thoresby Park and its environs, with a further 306 acres in preparation for planting (Lowe, 1798). The woodlands and planting associated with landscape parks were great engines for empire through the provision of timber for both the Royal and merchant navies (Seymour, 1998). Demand was buoyant in the later Georgian period, fuelled by war and increasing trade. Pierrepont publicised his planting of oaks, the tree most associated with patrician and naval power (Daniels, 1988), and in 1803 he applied for and won a Gold Medal from the Society of Arts for his oak plantations (*Transactions, Society of Arts*, 1803: 106). The praise this drew from the then Chair of the Society, the Duke of Norfolk, made a connection between his earlier naval service and his current planting activities. Norfolk proclaimed that Pierrepont ‘had not only maintained the ancient bulwarks of the empire, but had furnished materials for posterity to form new ones’ (cited in Eddison, 1854: 174). His plantations were laid out and managed to combine beauty, use (especially materials for estate developments) and patriotic display (Seymour, 1998).

Prominent amongst Pierrepont’s plantings were areas named after naval heroes of the Seven Years War and the French Revolutionary Wars which were publicised by the retired army officer and antiquarian, Major Hayman Rooke (1799). While Pierrepont was not alone in Sherwood Forest in making such plantations, for him they took on a personal as well as patriotic significance through his own and his son’s naval careers (see figure 1). One substantial plantation located in the wider reaches of Thoresby Park was St. Vincent’s Grove, on the south-west edge, established by 1799.<sup>11</sup> This fifteen-acre oak plantation was named after Admiral Jervis’s victory off the south west coast of Portugal at Cape St. Vincent in February 1797 for which he received the title of Earl St. Vincent (Crimmin, 2004). Charles Herbert Pierrepont served as midshipman with Jervis aboard the *Victory* in 1796 but by 1797 had moved ships and did not take part in the battle



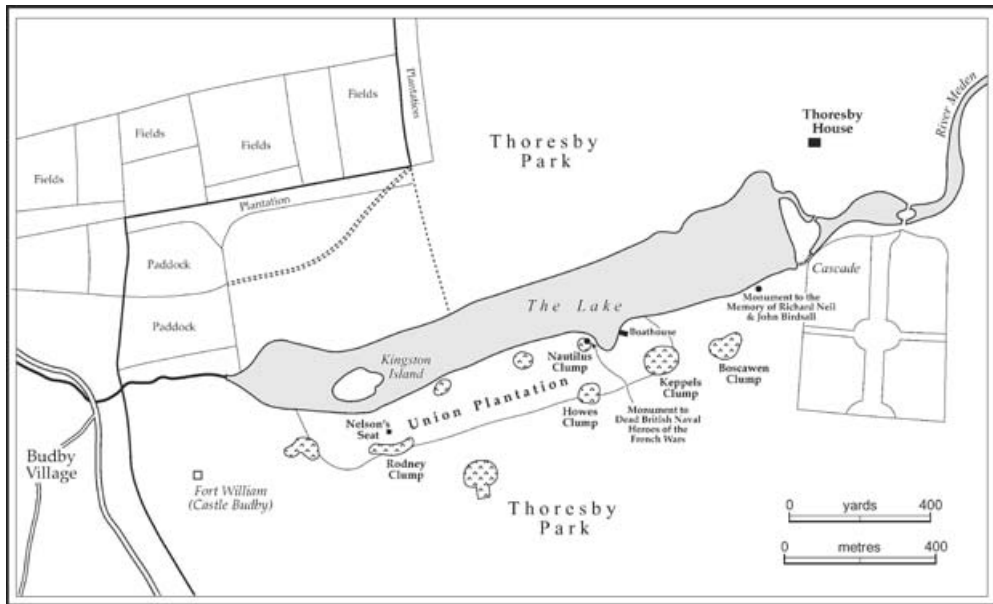


Figure 3. The Thoresby Naval Seascape 1802  
 Sources: MSCUN Acc 396; Ma 2P 122/2.

himself.<sup>12</sup> Jervis's victory over a superior Spanish force secured England from invasion and established Nelson's reputation (Kennedy, 1991; Rooke, 1799; Coleman, 2001).

Thoresby lake was a key site for the celebration of naval power and empire. Here Pierrepoint developed a panoramic 'naval seascape', adorned with patriotically-named plantations, commemorative monuments, a mock castle and scaled-down versions of Royal Navy ships and other boats (see figure 3). Repton's 1791 Red Book proposals informed the landscaping and included reframing the view of the lake from the house, naturalising the river and creating a rocky, sublime cascade (Seymour, 1988: 190). The foundations for the seascape had, however, been laid by Pierrepoint's uncle, the Second Duke of Kingston, who had extended the lake, constructed Kingston Island, planted some of the clumps and built a private navy, manned by retired sailors (Aston, 1991; Seymour, 1988). The navy was re-established and developed by Pierrepoint and in 1796 Repton, visiting in connection with his proposed improvements, commented that he had 'never seen any artificial water so cheerfully and so richly covered with Vessels of various kinds and uses'.<sup>13</sup> By 1793 the castellated tower, Fort William (later called Castle Budby or Castle William), recommended by Repton as an eye-catcher, had been erected to the south east of the lake and housed the sailors (Aston, 1991). Both Fort William and the lake were fortified by cannons, some of which had been brought from Portsmouth and were reputedly from Spanish warships (Eddison, 1854: 167).<sup>14</sup> The gently undulating qualities of this extensive heathland area enhanced its panoramic qualities and associations with representations of war. Painted panoramas frequently represented scenes of war and the Panorama building in Leicester Place in London often displayed military or naval battles

(Hyde, 1985: 27). As Bonehill and Quilley (2005: 3) highlight, there were conflicting visions of war, 'as variously barbaric, sublime or sanctified, and eliciting fright, pleasure, or sympathy'. These multiple qualities were drawn upon in the Thoresby seascape.

A scatter of clumps, most named after famous naval officers and ships of the Seven Years War and French Revolutionary Wars, was established on the southern shores of the lake (see figure 3). The majority of these plantings existed by the early 1790s when they appeared unnamed on a c.1792 map of the park.<sup>15</sup> A later map of 1802 shows the names of the earlier plantations together with additional plantings. In a majority of cases Pierrepont or his son had personal connections with the officers or ships celebrated. Rodney Clump, a small, elongated planting, adjacent to Kingston Island, was established between 1792 and 1802.<sup>16</sup> It was named after Baron Rodney (c.1718–92), under whom Pierrepont served in 1751 on his first ship, *Rainbow*, as a volunteer and ordinary seaman.<sup>17</sup> The plantation was possibly made to commemorate the death on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1792 of this famous admiral whose actions had protected and extended British interests in the Caribbean during both the Seven Years War and the American Wars of Independence (Breen, 2004). Closer to the house, was a series of three clumps probably planted by the Second Duke of Kingston and renamed by Pierrepont (Seymour, 1988). The centre one of these, Keppel's Clump, a substantial round plantation, was named after Admiral Keppel (1725–1786), first lord of the Admiralty, with whom Pierrepont sailed twice during his career, firstly in 1752 as an able seaman aboard the *Centurion*, then in 1756–7 during the Seven Years War, as a lieutenant on the third rate seventy-four-gun battleship, *Torbay*, reputedly Keppel's favourite ship (Mackay, 2004).<sup>18</sup> The adjacent planting, Boscawen's Clump, commemorates the much respected naval commander, Admiral Boscawen, who died prematurely of a fever aged forty-nine in 1761 (Wilkinson, 2004). During the Seven Years War his Western Squadron served the crucial dual function of protecting the Channel from invasion threat and suppressing French colonial trade and reinforcements whilst protecting those of Britain (Kennedy, 1991). Pierrepont contributed to this process by capturing the French ship, *The Solide*, in the Western Approaches off Cape Finisterre in 1756 (Roper, 2001). In early 1758 Pierrepont, promoted to post-captain and commanding the *Shannon*, moved with Boscawen to North American waters where he took part in the successful battle against the French at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Clowes, 1996, Vol 3: 182–4).<sup>19</sup> Securing this major French base was critical to British strategic and commercial operations as it opened the way for the capture of Quebec and Montreal, which gained control of Canada's 'fish, fur and naval supplies' (Kennedy, 1991; Plumb, 1983: 112).<sup>20</sup> On the other side of Keppel's Clump lay Howe's Clump, a slightly smaller planting, named after Admiral Earl Howe (1726–1799). Howe was first lord of the Admiralty in the 1780s but his most famous victory was against the French fleet at 'The Glorious First of June' 1794 off the coast of Brittany, the first major sea battle of the Revolutionary Wars. Despite substantial casualties and the escape of the French grain convoy bound for stricken Paris, the battle was seen as 'a considerable tactical and psychological victory' for the British and loyalist public celebrations abounded (Knight, 2004; Kennedy, 1991: 146; Jordan and Rogers, 1989). Howe may have been personally known to Pierrepont as both served in Boscawen's fleet in 1755 (Wilkinson, 2004) and Howe was also a Nottinghamshire man whose portrait hung in the Dining Room at Thoresby in 1812 (Hodgson, 1812: 369).

However, there were some tensions over the lake landscaping and the clumps in particular. In 1791 Repton found problems with the low-lying situation of the house at Thoresby and to combat this he recommended planting which would give only a partial view of the lake from the house. Later in 1796 he criticised the clumps around the lake for their regular layout on hill summits and ‘masses of dark firs’ which gave ‘a formal artificial appearance to the scene’ and left ‘the shores of the Lake naked and unaccompanied’. His solution, which appears to have been adopted (see figure 3), was to make the clumps more irregular and to replace them eventually ‘with better wood than firs’. He also recommended joining two of the clumps and extending the planting down to the water’s edge so that ‘the branches of the trees may overhang and enrich the margin of the Lake’. Union Plantation, established by 1802 and probably named in celebration of the 1801 Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland, achieved this.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to these plantations, Thoresby Park was also used as a venue for patriotic military displays. A regimental review held in the park in 1796 (Throsby, 1797, Vol.3: 346) was, as Colley (1992) has pointed out, a common patriotic gesture amongst the landholding class during the French Wars. By 1797 Pierrepont commanded a small regiment of volunteer cavalry, housed at his expense at Thoresby.<sup>22</sup> A painting of 1803 by the leading miniaturist Richard Cosway, captures Pierrepont dressed in an elaborate military uniform, scarlet in colour with detailed embroidery and gold epaulets denoting Pierrepont’s rank of Captain, which was probably that of the Thoresby Volunteers (see Priestland, 2004; Barnes, 1960: 128; Lloyd, 2004–5; Jarrett, 1960).

### **Naval monuments**

Six monuments with naval and imperial connections, were also erected in Thoresby Park, mainly sited in the vicinity of the lake and pleasure grounds (Calvocoressi, 2003).<sup>23</sup> Three of these monuments, forming part of the seascape, are considered below in an examination of the interlinkages between the Pierreponts’ personal involvement in the Royal Navy and the imperial and domestic politics of the nation.

#### *‘Nelson’s Seat’*

The first of the naval monuments erected at Thoresby was the most dramatic. Named ‘Nelson’s Seat’, it commemorated Nelson’s victory at the Battle of the Nile on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1798 through an impressive pyramid design (figure 4). The monument, by an unknown architect, takes the form of a four-sided Pyramid with a portico supported by two etruscan columns leading into a domed room. Figure 3 shows it placed strategically between the lake edge and Rodney Clump. The substantial building, with a twenty-eight foot square base and roofed with Westmorland slates (DoE, 1986: 29), would have made a significant impact on the landscape, both from land and water, as Union Plantation had only recently been planted.

Pierrepont was quick to erect the monument as the December 1799 accounts record that William Bullard was paid £8.10s.1d. ‘for stone for Nelson’s Seat’ and Lockwood and Lenford, plasterers, ‘for work at the chapel, house and Nelson’s Seat’.<sup>24</sup> This makes



Figure 4. 'Nelson's Seat' (1799) in the grounds of Thoresby Park, Nottinghamshire  
*Source:* Photograph by R. Calvocoressi (2003)

it possibly the first English monument to commemorate the Battle of the Nile and Nelson himself (Fraser, 1995: 130–1). While the idea was perhaps stimulated by the Duke of Clarence's August 1799 competition for a column to celebrate British naval victories (Yarrington, 2004: 107), there were also more personal motivations. Although Pierrepont's son, Charles Herbert Pierrepont, did not fight at the Nile, being stationed in Portugal at the time, he had earlier served under Thomas Foley who, in the seventy-four-gun ship *Goliath*, led the decisive manoeuvre which allowed the British to attack the French from both sides and so secure victory (Coleman, 2001). Charles Herbert also benefited directly from the battle, when he was subsequently promoted from the eighteen-gun *Kingfisher* into one of the Nile prizes, *Spartiate*, a ship of the line of seventy-four guns. As he was without a commission from September 1799 to summer 1801, he may well have been involved in the construction of this monument at Thoresby.<sup>25</sup>

This personal interest was accompanied by a wider appreciation of the Nile's significance. The Battle of the Nile epitomised British imperial ambition and endeavour. By thwarting Napoleon's attack on Egypt, the Nile victory helped secure control of the overland route to the East Indies thereby protecting India. When news of the battle eventually arrived in London in early October there was great official and popular rejoicing, with calls for a peerage for Nelson and a lavish personal gift of £10,000 from the East India Company, relieved that its operations had been secured (Coleman, 2001: 217–18). The battle also had a wider cultural significance as the new imperial force of Britain sought to adopt the symbols of the older Egyptian civilisation. Thus the placement of a pyramid within an English country estate can be seen as symbolising this process of colonisation and imperial succession. This aspect is further celebrated in an inscription on the left-hand side of the porch interior of Nelson's Seat. Placed here are the first few lines of the opening stanza of *Song of the Battle of the Nile*, a commemorative poem issued in 1799 by William Lisle Bowles, one of a number of such verses written in the wake of the Nile victory.<sup>26</sup> Bowles was a respected figure, a clergyman, poet and antiquarian (Marston, 2004), and his poem is strongly informed by religious and classical learning. The lines quoted draw on the Old Testament account of the victory of the Israelites over the Egyptians:

SHOUT! for the Lord hath triumph'd gloriously!  
 Upon the shores of that renowned land,  
 Where erst his "mighty arm and outstretch'd hand"  
     He lifted high,  
 And dash'd, "in pieces dash'd the enemy;" -  
 Upon that ancient coast,  
 Where "PHARAOH's chariot and his host"  
 He cast into the deep,

The victory of the British navy over the French is alluded to in the first two lines in biblical language, with the victory cast as that of a chosen people, supported by God, over atheist France. Although direct reference to the Battle is avoided, the hard edge of Old Testament allusion suggests the overt triumphalism that Craske (2005) ascribes to public military memorials of the period. In the remainder of the quotation, a comparison is drawn with the earlier intervention of God defending the fleeing Children of Israel



from 'Pharaoh's . . . host', as told in Exodus. As the Bible story goes, God parted the Red Sea to allow the Israelites to cross and escape slavery in Egypt, then released the waters as their pursuers were traversing the sea bed. The Egyptians, like the French, were 'dash'd "in pieces"', in a watery grave.

As well as being a symbol of Egypt, the pyramid is also a powerful symbol of death and perpetual memory in classical architecture (Grant, 1988; Poulot, 2004) and it is likely that Nelson's Seat is also intended to commemorate those who died at the Nile. According to Lewis (2000) a total of 218 British sailors were killed and 622 were wounded, while 1400 of the French died, 600 were wounded and 3225 taken prisoner. Reflecting their function in ancient Egypt, pyramid forms were used for mausoleums in other landscape parks of the period, including Lord Darnley's at Cobham Hall, Kent and the Buckinghamshire mausoleum at Blickling, Norfolk. This commemorative intention is further revealed by a second set of inscriptions in the porch interior of Nelson's Seat. Recorded on the right-hand side are the names of the warships and captains and the number of guns and sailors who took part in the Battle of the Nile. However, as the dead are not explicitly listed, the monument differs in style from a conventional war memorial (Penny, 1987). Instead Nelson's Seat commemorates those who fought in the battle whether they died or survived. The broad scope of commemoration is also notable in two other ways. In contrast with other British commemorative monuments of the period (Hooch, 2003; Penny, 1987) ordinary sailors are recorded, although only by number, not by name. With the Spithead and Nore mutinies of 1797 a recent memory, this may be surprising. Yet there was a precedent in another commemorative form associated with the Battle of the Nile. In autumn 1799, what Penny (1987: 795) refers to as 'the first modern campaign-medal' was issued privately by the Nile prize agent, Alexander Davison, for presentation to all who took part in the battle (although the medal ranged from gold for admirals and captains to copper bronzed for the ordinary sailors). It was not until the Waterloo Medal was issued that the British government undertook a similarly wide-ranging commemoration of all combatants. However, ordinary sailors are included in Nelson's Seat in a way which emphasises their loyalty and plays down any potential disquiet which their inclusion might engender amongst polite society. Such treatment complements Penny's (1987: 795) analysis of the Nore and Spithead mutinies as generating a fearful 'new respect' amongst elite society for the ordinary sailor, Quilley's (c.2005) interpretation of maritime art revealing more heroic representations of sailors following the mutinies and John Barrell's (1980) arguments about the inclusion of cheerful labourers in landscape painting at the end of the eighteenth century. The villager and the sailor can now no longer be ignored but are recast in loyalist, working poses. In Nelson's Seat, ordinary sailors are listed as numbers working in each ship's crew, within the context of naval rank and authority and in respect to a celebrated national victory. They are not identified or commemorated as individuals as are the ship captains. As surprising is the inclusion in the lists of ships and men of the French forces. It is possible that their listing serves to illustrate the evenness of the opposing forces in terms of ships and fire power, thereby suggesting that the victory was gained by superior British skill. An alternative interpretation is that the inscriptions pay tribute to all sailors in the Battle, British and French alike, with the victorious side acknowledging the valour of the defeated opposition.



The wide-ranging commemoration is further developed through the association of this park monument with the figure of Nelson. Nelson's Seat was the only monument at Thoresby in which Nelson was explicitly invoked. Partly through his own self-publicity, partly through a shift in the political context, the Nile established Nelson as a national hero in both popular and elite circles (Jordan and Rogers, 1989). Undoubtedly it was a resounding victory in which only two of the thirteen French ships of the line escaped (Kennedy, 1991). Nelson himself showed vision in anticipating Napoleon's aim to attack Egypt, deploying daring tactics (Coleman, 2001) and cementing his reputation for taking personal risks through the head wound he received (Jordan and Rogers, 1989). The battle was reflected in his title, Baron Nelson of the Nile and of Burnham Thorpe in the county of Norfolk (Coleman, 2001). Nelson also had conferred upon him the motto, 'Palmam Qui Meruit Ferat'. This Latin phrase translates literally as, 'Let him who has deserved it bear the palm' or more loosely as 'honour to those who deserve it'. Used on commemorative rings made after his death, this motto is also inscribed above the entrance to Nelson's Seat. Although never a political radical or democrat, the way Nelson ran his ships and distributed prize money gained him the respect of ordinary seamen (Jordan and Rogers, 1989) and suggests his support for the reward of merit. Indeed, he himself had risen from humble beginnings as the son of a Norfolk parson (albeit one with significant connections as his maternal uncle was comptroller of the Navy Board) to a peer of the realm (Coleman, 2001). The use of Nelson's motto and the association with Nelson himself implies that the Pierrepoints were similarly supportive of the reward of merit within a paternalist framework. Both men would have been well aware of the skill and bravery of the different ranks in their own and opposing fleets and the treacheries and dangers of life at sea. The wide scope of commemoration embodied in the monument bears testimony to this.

As the name suggests, Nelson's Seat, played another role in the Thoresby landscape. Situated alongside a path, the domed room inside probably served as a resting place or even a tea-room for polite visitors and friends who had walked out from the house. Such a seat added to the comfort of those wishing to admire the seascape, with its naval vessels and leisure craft, the reassuring fortifications of Fort William and the different naval monuments and to reflect on the heroic status of Nelson. Yet even in 1799 Nelson was a figure of some controversy within the British establishment due to his unconventional military and social style (Jordan and Rogers, 1989; Coleman, 2001). After his relationship with Emma Hamilton became known and satirised in late 1800 and in the wake of his 1802 tour of the Midlands and West Country, this controversy embraced both his personal morality and unease at the immense popular loyalty he inspired. Jordan and Rogers (1989: 220) argue that the former led to him being 'ostracized by much of high society' and this may explain why later Thoresby monuments place less explicit emphasis on Nelson.

#### *Untitled monument to dead British naval heroes of the French wars*

The second of Pierrepoint's monuments with a naval theme is an inscribed pedestal celebrating the dead British heroes of sea battles during the French Wars. As with Nelson's Seat, it is situated on the south bank of Thoresby lake, this time in Nautilus Clump (see figure 3). Unlike Nelson's Seat it has no known contemporary name or definite date and

there is no account entry or estate map of the war period which identifies it.<sup>27</sup> An urn may once have adorned the pedestal as there is evidence from the plinth that some additional feature previously existed and a similar style monument to Neil and Birdsall (see below) was topped with an urn.

The verse engraved onto the monument has partially weathered and it has been impossible to trace its origin. However, the tone is one of celebration of those who have died securing great sea victories. There is mention of defeat firstly of the Spanish, then the 'Gaul and haughty Dane'. Such references bring to mind the victories of St Vincent (1797) against the Spanish, the Nile (1798) against the French, and Copenhagen (1801) against the Danish. There is no explicit reference to Trafalgar, suggesting the monument dates from some time between 1801 and 1805. The battles invoked were ones in which Nelson was in command (Nile and Copenhagen) or which were central to his fame (St Vincent) yet there is no explicit reference to Nelson himself. The poem then adopts more elegiac tones, commemorating the unnamed dead, of 'Valour' and of 'Worth', undifferentiated by rank, united by death:

Around their tomb shade Laurels shall grow  
Their kindred shades shall meet below.

The verse ends with an allusion to the monument's location on a leisure route around the Thoresby seascape and to the naval veterans, both resident and visiting, who may observe it:

And other heroes passing by  
Shall drop a tear or heave a sigh.

#### *Monument to the memory of Richard Neil and John Birdsall*

The final monument discussed here, also reflects on the loss of life afloat but focuses upon death within Pierrepoint's own estate (see figure 5). It is located south of the lake, a few hundred metres from the cascade, at the water's edge (see figure 3). The form is a pedestal topped by an urn, the classical symbol of death and mourning. Unusually it is a monument which commemorates the ordinary sailor. It was built in memory of two inhabitants of the nearby village of Edwinstowe, Richard Neil, a sailor employed at Thoresby from 1790 to manage the lake vessels, and John Birdsall.<sup>28</sup> The two men reportedly 'drowned whilst crossing the lake on a stormy evening on 29<sup>th</sup> January, 1800, in a canoe' (Eddison, 1854: 168). The monument was erected in 1801 at the same time and in a similar style to that commemorating Governor Henry Hamilton.<sup>29</sup>

Unfortunately the inscription which might have thrown light on the relationship between the two men and Pierrepoint is now unreadable. Another memorial, however, suggests that the mariner, Richard Neil, may well have been an associate of Pierrepoint's from earlier naval days. The headstone to the joint grave of Neil and Birdsall in Edwinstowe churchyard includes the following extract:

Richard Neil / who after having brav'd / The boisterous Billows of the Biscan Shore / The  
gaping Terrors of the rude Atlantic / And the fulminating Wrath of haughty France / In Fights



Figure 5. Monument to the memory of Richard Neil and John Birdsall (1801)  
*Source:* Photograph by R. Calvocoressi (2003)

victorious / at 59 in Vital Plenitude / And the meridian of well earned Friendships / By some disastrous unforeseen Event / Yielded his Social Life / To the Minutia of his Element / in Thoresby Lake.

This commemorative verse suggests Neil was a veteran of battles against the French, serving in the Atlantic and Bay of Biscay and that his bravery in such victories had won him friends of note. The battles may well have been those of the Seven Years War and one of the notable friends, Charles Pierrepont.

This monument appears to be the only one erected by Pierrepont to be described in any guidebook or history of the area, albeit in the 1850s (Eddison, 1854) (although the patriotic plantations were more widely publicised at the time - see Rooke, 1799). An estate map from 1865 also shows the monument surrounded by a path, taking the visitor specifically to the site and back into the pleasure grounds.<sup>30</sup>

### Conclusions

Charles Pierrepont remodelled and used the Thoresby Park landscape during the French Wars in ways which promoted a sense of elite service and conservative loyalism. A key site was the patriotic 'naval seascape' created in the vicinity of the lake, an ambitious undertaking in a landlocked county such as Nottinghamshire. Here Pierrepont drew strongly on his own and his family's personal connections with the Royal Navy and the panoramic topography of the Thoresby landscape, to create a seascape which celebrated and commemorated Britain's naval strength and imperial power. This was achieved through a series of plantations and monuments, complemented by ships, sailors, fortifications and water. The landscape at Thoresby drew together Pierrepont's concerns with estate management and social order at home and his involvement with wider national and imperial naval campaigns. His celebration of the admirals and battles of the French Wars in the design of his landscape park, notably through the naming of plantations and the erection of monuments, allowed the projection of loyalist and imperial principles. But there were also family relationships and friendships at stake. Pierrepont had been in active naval service during the Seven Years War, and his son Charles Herbert saw service during the Revolutionary Wars. His brother, Sir William Medows, was a long-serving soldier and colonial governor (Massie, 2004). Another relation, Charles Alphonso Pierrepont was killed in action during Wellington's Peninsula campaign (Grimshaw, et al, 2003). His friends and mentors included admirals and colonial governors. Pierrepont's investment in the defence of empire and national sovereignty was therefore personal, tied in by bloodlines and lived experience. His celebration of naval power is thus complemented by more commemorative, elegiac aspects, drawing on his experience as a fellow sailor and veteran of war, acknowledging the valour of the opposition and the role of the ordinary sailor. In his seascape he mapped naval lifepaths with the care and attention of a participant.

This resiting of these diverse naval geographies within a patrician landscape park may be seen as an attempt to produce a stabilised, loyalist vision of the navy in the wake of the naval mutinies of 1797. While monuments such as Nelson's Seat and that to Neil and Birdsall commemorate the ordinary sailor and suggest that reward should be based on merit, they do so within a patrician framework, within the ranks of the navy and the order of the landed estate. However, there are aspects both of the specific monuments and the

wider naval seascape which suggest they were 'sites of contestation' (Cooke, 2000: 450). Nelson, an important figure in the seascape, was an unconventional and controversial hero, celebrated in popular and polite circles and his commemoration, together with that of the ordinary sailor, opened up the seascape to different readings of loyalism and reward. Likewise there were tensions within the wider seascape design, particularly in relation to panoramic views, mock battles and tree clumps. Russell (1995: 77) argues that the 360 degree structure of the panorama 'detheatricalized the representation of war' by placing the viewer within the scene. Conversely, mock battles enhanced ornamental and theatrical qualities, suggesting a more leisured, even playful aspect to the seascape, a quality augmented by the implementation of Repton's designs in the lake area, particularly the creation of the sublime cascade. Repton also highlights tensions between the form of the patriotically-named clumps and a fashionable prospect. In contrast to mid-century landscape gardens, the symbolism of the monuments and the wider seascape at Thoresby was open to interpretation by polite society as a whole rather than solely by those with classical training, thus broadening the scope for different readings. The exact extent of public access to Thoresby Park during this period is unclear but the convention was for regular and frequent access. During the 1760s the Second Duke of Kingston allowed the public into the park every Sunday to admire his boats and their manoeuvres (Aston, 1991) while the public was 'free to wander' three days a week in the Dukeries parks in the 1850s (Mandler, 1997: 85). Contestation could, however, take a more direct form, such as the break-in reported at the Thoresby boat house in 1800 (Cowell, 1997: 139).

The balance between the public and the private had to be carefully negotiated in eighteenth-century landscape design. However, the Thoresby seascape with its commemoration of themes common to history art in a landscape context appears to challenge Reynold's distinction of private and public spheres. If volunteer celebrations, such as parades, fetes and mock fights, were 'an attempt to appropriate public space in the name of king and country' (Russell, 1995: 14), when held in landscape parks they also helped to ascribe these private places with loyalist public values. Private ambitions could also be served by such actions. The naval seascape at Thoresby was constructed whilst Pierrepoint was seeking to gain a further hereditary title (Symonds, 1986: 800). Making concrete his achievements in the Seven Years War and his family involvement within the current struggles with France may have served to suggest to his friends and patrons that he deserved further reward. Pierrepoint's personal pantheon could thus be seen to have had a strategic private use. The Thoresby Park landscape and the naval seascape thus represent a complex merging of the personal and family histories of the Pierrepoints and national and imperial events, of private self-interest and public duty. These sites provide material geographies of an elite version of national history and memory in which a particular landed family, the Pierrepoints, is positioned as a service elite, deserving of public respect and personal reward.

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## Notes

1. In our use of the term georgic we draw on Barrell's (1980: 12) interpretation of English Georgic as 'well able to reflect that double image of the aristocracy, as the leisured

consumers of Britain's wealth, and the interested patrons of her agricultural and mercantile expansion'.

2. During his naval career Charles used his father's family name of Medows; he changed his name to Pierrepont when he inherited the Kingston estates in 1788 (Symonds, 1986: 800). The National Archives (TNA) ADM 6/427 p.441, List of those attending the Royal Academy includes 'Charles Meddows 13<sup>th</sup> June 1747'; TNA ADM 107/4 p.317, Lieutenants' Certificates.
3. TNA ADM 51/891, Captain's Log *Shannon*, 18<sup>th</sup> August 1759–17<sup>th</sup> August 1760; TNA ADM 51/480, Captain's Log *Isis*, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1761–16<sup>th</sup> September 1762.
4. TNA ADM 51/891, Captain's Log *Shannon*, 18<sup>th</sup> August 1759–17<sup>th</sup> August 1760; TNA ADM 51/480, Captain's Log *Isis*, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1761–16<sup>th</sup> September 1762.
5. TNA ADM 9/2 Memorandum of Captains Services p.93; TNA ADM 51/1225 Captain's Log *Kingfisher*, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1797–14<sup>th</sup> November 1798.
6. Manuscripts and Special Collections, the University of Nottingham (MSCUN) Ma6A 1/10, Thoresby Disbursements 1798; TNA ADM 51/1225 Captain's Log *Kingfisher*, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1797–14<sup>th</sup> November 1798.
7. TNA ADM 51/1275, Captain's Log *Spartiate*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1798–31<sup>st</sup> August 1799; Steels Navy List, July 1802; TNA ADM 51/1417, Captain's Log *Dedaigneuse*, 11<sup>th</sup> September–24<sup>th</sup> October 1801.
8. MSCUN DeH42/9/8/2.
9. Pierrepont held estates in north and south Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Somerset, Devon, Wiltshire and London (Priestland, 2004).
10. MSCUN Ma6A1/10, Thoresby Disbursements, July 1798.
11. In June 1799 and April 1800 young oaks were being hoed and weeded there, MSCUN Ma6A1/11 and 12, Thoresby Disbursements.
12. TNA ADM 107/4 p.317 Lieutenants' Certificates.
13. MSCUN Ma4P21, Letter by Humphry Repton 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1796, bound in with his 1791 *Thoresby Park Red Book*.
14. MSCUN Ma6A1/5,12 Thoresby Disbursements, December 1793; May 1793 and April 1800.
15. MSCUN Ma4P22, Map of Thoresby Park, c.1792.
16. Rodney Clump does not appear on the c.1792 map of the park but is marked on the 1802 map. MSCUN Ma4P22, Map of Thoresby Park, c.1792; MSCUN Acc 396, William Calvert's Survey of Thoresby, 1802.
17. TNA ADM 107/4, p.317, Lieutenants' Certificates.
18. TNA ADM 107/4, p.317, Lieutenants' Certificates.
19. TNA ADM 51/891 Captain's Log *Shannon*, 26<sup>th</sup> August 1757–17<sup>th</sup> August 1758.
20. This victory was further celebrated at Thoresby in an 1801 monument to Governor Henry Hamilton, a land-based veteran of the Louisbourg and Quebec campaigns, and later a colonial governor, the inscription indicating a personal friendship between him and Pierrepont (Arthur, 2000; Calvo-coressi, 2003: 78–83; MSCUN Ma 6A 1/13, Thoresby Disbursements December 1801).
21. MSCUN Ma4P21, Humphry Repton 1791 *Thoresby Park Red Book* and Letter 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1796.
22. MSCUN Ma6A1/9, Thoresby Disbursements, July and December 1797.
23. These were part of a series of eight commemorative monuments built there between 1799 and 1813: Nelson's Seat (1799); A cross to commemorate the Battle of the Nile (c.1799); Monument to the Memory of Governor Henry Hamilton (1801); Monument to the Memory of Richard Neil and John Birdsall (1801); Monument to the Memory of the Second Duke of Kingston (1804); Untitled Monument to Dead British Naval Heroes of the French Wars (c.1801–5); Sarcophagus to the Memory of Spencer Perceval (1813); and Monument to the Memory of Major Pierrepont (1813).
24. MSCUN Ma 6A 1/11, Thoresby Disbursements, December 1799.

25. TNA ADM 9/2 Memorandum of Captain's Services p.93. Fraser (1995: 131) claims Charles Herbert Pierrepoint instigated and commissioned Nelson's Seat but as she cites him as Earl Manvers, she may be confusing him with his father.
26. The verses were reinscribed in the twentieth century and no indication of their source is given. The poem was identified through searching contemporary works in the British Library and found in Bowles (1803).
27. The 1899 Ordnance Survey map later refers to it as a 'Stone to Commemorate the Battle of Trafalgar' and the DoE (1986: 30) describes it as a 'Monument to Nelson's Navy'.
28. Neil was paid £20 a year, MSCUN Ma 6A 1/2, Thoresby Servants Wages.
29. MSCUN Ma 6A 1/13, Thoresby Disbursements, December 1801.
30. Map of Thoresby 1865, MSCUN Ma 2P 122/2.