

**Transforming the Landscape:  
Gawthorpe, Harewood and the creation of the modern  
landscape 1500-1750**

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## Abstract

This thesis focuses on landscape change at Harewood House, Yorkshire, during the period 1500 to 1750. The main themes explored throughout this research are: the establishment of the nature of landscape change during the stated period; the effects of these changes on the lives of the people living and working in the landscape; and finally understanding the developments at Harewood within the broader context of changing agrarian landscapes during a period which has been widely described as an 'age of transition'.

Landscape change is explored here using a combination of archival and archaeological material, viewed from a landscape archaeology perspective. This research begins by examining the influence of theoretical debates surrounding the use of different sources of data by Landscape Archaeology and Historical Archaeology to examine this post-medieval period. A key theoretical concern to this endeavour has been the scales of interpretation which are used to examine this period, and the creation of this localised example to add to our understanding of broader national trends. In doing so, this perspective has focused on people living and working within the landscape, rather than the individuals, such as the land owners, which have dominated previous interpretations.

One of the main findings of this research is that although significant landowners such as the Gascoigne family, Thomas Wentworth and the Lascelles family undoubtedly impacted upon the Harewood landscape, people living and working within the estate retained a degree of control over their own daily lives. Significant features such as Harewood Castle, All Saints Church and Gawthorpe Hall were displays of power and control over the landscape, which to some degree shaped movement through and interaction with the landscape, but archaeological data have here been shown to suggest that power relations in the day-to-day lives of the community were more nuanced than these large-scale interpretations might suggest. An additional element of this research is an exploration of the potential of public engagement with relatively under-studied and under-represented perspectives on country houses. This research has made some initial attempts to challenge current understanding of the public history of Harewood estate and examines the potential for future developments within this setting.

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## **Declaration**

I confirm that I am the sole author of the following work. This work, and the material contained within it, at the date of submission, has not been published in any other form. Except where stated, all of the work contained within this thesis represents the original contribution of the author, and does not to the best of my knowledge break any UK law or infringe any third party's copyright or other Intellectual Property Right

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. The Landscapes of Gawthorpe Hall and Harewood House

The remains of Gawthorpe Hall, the medieval predecessor to the eighteenth century mansion, Harewood House, have been buried in the park grounds since the mid eighteenth century. The dramatic parkscape of clustered plantations of trees, vast grasslands, the impressive lake and winding paths can be seen in glimpses from the road from Leeds to Harrogate. This landscape, despite looking entirely natural, was created in the eighteenth century to frame the newly constructed Harewood House. This research brings together documentary research, initial findings from current archaeological excavation, and a review of theoretical debate to explore the human aspect of these landscapes in context, to unearth the story of the transition from the landscapes of Gawthorpe Hall to those connected with the landscape of Harewood House. This research examines whether assumptions attributed to this period of transition are demonstrated within the material culture which remains.

This introduction will outline the location, key dates, figures, and other significant localities which relate to the history of the site. This will provide the reader with an overview of what is currently known about the site and will allow the following chapters to use current research to expand knowledge of the landscapes of Gawthorpe Hall, Harewood House and the transition between these. This introductory chapter will also provide the background to the premise for this research by discussing the main theoretical underpinnings which have shaped the direction of this endeavour.

## 1.2. Site location and background

### 1.2.1. The physical landscape

Harewood is situated in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The geographical location, as well as the geology, topography, and soils of this area have been significant factors in creating the landscapes in which, and by which, small scale human activity took place in this landscape (Tatlioglu 2010, 14). The modern village and estate of Harewood are located in an area just north of the spread of the suburbs of Leeds. Harrogate to the north, Otley to the west and Wetherby to the East are also within short distance of Harewood. This location places Harewood within what has been defined as the Pennine Dales Fringe within recent attempts to record landscape character. This area is described as being an intermediate landscape between the uplands of the Yorkshire Dales and the lowlands of the Vale of York. This provides a landscape which is both 'hilly and grassy', and which offers a varied topography which was largely created by the marginal nature of glacial deposits in this area at the last glaciation (Natural England Character Area 22). Harewood House itself sits within a rolling landscape on an escarpment of Millstone grit (Tatlioglu 2010, 14) high above the Wharfe valley to the north of the house.

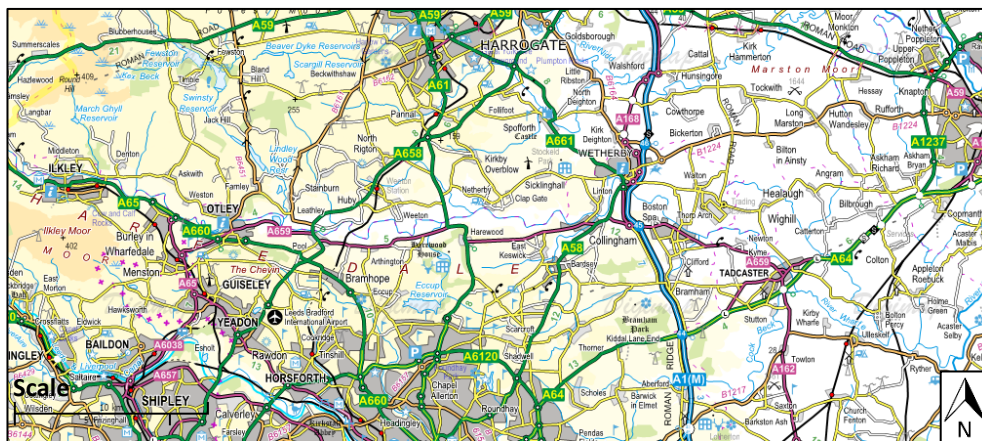


Figure 1: Location of Harewood Estate in a regional context (Source: © Edina Digimaps).



Figure 2: Detailed Ordnance Survey map of the landscape surrounding Harewood Estate (Source: © Edina Digimaps)

### 1.2.2. History and Archaeology of Gawthorpe and Harewood

The chronology of ownership of the Gawthorpe and Harewood estates is significant to this research, as the evolution of these two estates is key to understanding the transition of landscape. In order to outline what is currently understood about the development of the estates connected to Gawthorpe Hall, the process of the conglomeration of the two estates of Harewood and Gawthorpe is outlined here. This section will demonstrate how the two estates became joined at the end of the seventeenth century, and the people that were responsible for directing the building of Harewood House and the abandonment

of Gawthorpe Hall. It will therefore provide essential information which will inform discussion in later chapters. By providing this factual background information, future chapters will use current research to build an account focused on a wider spectrum of the people who lived and worked at Gawthorpe Hall from a landscape perspective, which can be linked to the social and cultural history of the physical features of the landscape which have been outlined within this chapter.

The diagram below (Figure 3.) is intended to show how the estates of Gawthorpe and Harewood were passed down between family members. This will provide the chronological context of the site and highlight the relationships between some of the individuals discussed throughout this research, in relation to the development of these estates and how the two estates became joined together. For this reason, spouses and siblings who did not produce the heir that inherited the family estates have not been included. The evidence has mainly been collated from the *Oxford Database of National Biography* and also from *Harewood: The Life and Times of an English Country House* (Kennedy 1982) and *The History and Antiquities of Harewood* (Jones 1859). This has created a useful resource which demonstrates the close ties between the two estates. It is important to note however, that this list of individuals is by no means exhaustive, and further research is needed to establish a firmer idea of the family trees of the Gascoigne, Redman and Ryther lines. Like many medieval families, the male heir often shares his father's first name, making it difficult to trace specific individuals with certainty. For example, the number of William Gascoignes of Gawthorpe Hall differs from source to source, as the male heir of this family regularly kept the same forename, and there seems to be some confusion as to how many generations kept this family name. For the purposes of this thesis, such an endeavour would not have added to an understanding of the transition of landscape between the two estates. What is significant to note from the figure below (Figure 3) is the decline of the families at Harewood, the connections through marriage made between the estates, and the resulting sale of the estate to the Gascoignes, who had already established firm links with both families through these marriages.



Harewood Castle and Estate	Gawthorpe Hall and Estate	Chronology	
John Lord Lisle de Rougemont (d. 1354) m. Matilda de Ferrers Lord of Harewood	Sir William Gascoigne (c.1350-1419)(Chief Justice) m. Elizabeth Mowbray	14 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	
Robert, Lord Lisle of Rougemont m. Margaret Peverell Lord of Harewood until conceded to his sister			
Elizabeth, Lady of Harewood (d.1377) m. Sir William de Aldburgh (d.1378) Paid £1000 for Castle and manor of Harewood to Robert in c.1365. Responsible for rebuilding Castle			
William Aldburgh (d. 1392) m. Margeria Sutton Lord of Harewood			
<b>Harewood passes to joint heiresses Sybil and Elizabeth</b>			
Sybil Aldburgh (d. 1440) m. Sir William Ryther (d. 1426)	Elizabeth Aldburgh m. Richard Redman (d. 1426)	15 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	
Sir William Ryther m. Constance Bygod			
Sir William Ryther m. Lucy Fitzwilliams			
Sir <b>Robert Ryther</b> m. <b>Isabel Gascoigne</b> Isabel is daughter of <b>Sir William Gascoigne</b> and <b>Joan Wyman</b>	Sir Matthew Redman (d.1419) m. Joan Tunstall		Sir <b>William Gascoigne</b> (d. 1422) m. <b>Jane/ Joan Wyman</b> Their daughter <b>Isabel</b> marries <b>Robert Ryther</b>
Sir Ralph Ryther m. Katherine Constable (brother of Sir Robert Ryther)			Sir William Gascoigne (d.1461-1466) m. Margaret Clarell (k. 1419) Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1461-1464) m. Joan Neville Sir William Gascoigne (d.1487) m. Margaret Percy
	Edward Redmayne (d. 1515) m. Elizabeth Huddleston (fathers name)/Leghe (first husbands name)		
<b>Robert Ryther</b> m. <b>Elizabeth Gascoigne</b> Elizabeth's first husband		Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1551-1552) m. Alice Fragnall/ Frognall Their daughter <b>Elizabeth</b> marries <b>Robert Ryther</b> , and then a Redman	
William Ryther m. Mary Hales (cousin of Robert Ryther)	Henry Redmayne m. Alice Pilkington Their daughter Johanna/Joan m. Marmaduke Gascoigne of Caley Hall		
James Ryther (b. 1534) m. Elizabeth Atherton	Richard Redmayne (d.1547) m. Dorothy Layton (brother of Henry Redmayne)		
	<b>Matthew Redman</b> m. <b>Briget Gascoigne</b> Harewood Esq. Dies without issue	Sir William Gascoigne m. Margaret Fitzwilliam Their daughter <b>Briget</b> marries <b>Matthew Redman</b>	
		Sir William Gascoigne m. Beatrice Tempest Margaret Gascoigne m. Thomas Wentworth 1582 Thomas Wentworth (d. 1587)	
Robert Ryther (d. 1637) m. Elanor Browne Sells Harewood to Sir <b>William Wentworth</b>		Sir <b>William Wentworth</b> (c. 1562-1614) m. Anne Atkinson (d. 1611) Buys the estate of Harewood in c.1601	
		16 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	
		17 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	

Figure 3. Relationships concerning the development of the estates of Gawthorpe and Harewood from 14th century to the 17th century

### 1.2.3. History of research

The landscape of Harewood and Gawthorpe has previously been described in aesthetic terms. In common with many historical accounts of country houses, descriptions of the landscape at Harewood have focused on the relationship of the House to the landscaped park and gardens. At Harewood the dominant aspect of narratives about the eighteenth century parkscape has been the role of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown in creating these, just as descriptions of the house

focus on the individuals that owned the House and that created the vast artistic collections, such as the Chippendale furniture (Kennedy 1982, Mauchline 1974). The material aspects of the landscape (as opposed to the conceptual (see Cosgrove 1993, 7)) are discussed in terms of how they provide the setting for Harewood House rather than as important frameworks in themselves which are capable of shaping and reflecting social behaviour. This thesis will take the landscape as the perspective from which narratives will be constructed. This will not exclude the buildings or individuals that previous attempts have focused on, but will instead focus on creating a more holistic approach which sees these in context, rather than interpretations based on unconnected, stand-alone accounts of individual aspects of the same landscape.

The archaeology of the medieval landscapes of Gawthorpe and Harewood are currently understood primarily through the interpretation of historic documentation. Drawing together a range of sources including the Domesday Book surveys, estate maps, particularly the 1698 estate map, and analysis of current place names, Michelmores (1981b) has outlined the relationship of the villas that made up the township of Harewood before c.1500. Falling within the Danelaw administrative boundary of Skyrack wapentake, the township of Harewood consisted of settlements at Harewood, Lofthouse, Newall, Stockton, Alwoodley, Dunkeswick, East Keswick, Kearby, Weeton, Wike and Weardley (Michelmores 1981b: 386-389). Although making a passing connection to the physical remains still visible in the landscape, Michelmores's account is strongly biased towards historical agendas and provides lists of people and places without wider context or analysis due to the nature of the survey to which these accounts belong. An example of this is the identification of the deserted villa of Lofthouse which falls within the land emparked by Harewood estate in 1480. This is interpreted through the mention of Lofthouse in the Domesday Book, and through records of various tenants in the villa in the 1300s and finally the license of emparkment granted in 1480 (Michelmores 1981b: 387-88), rather than an interpretation of what the settlement may have been like based on interpretations of the archaeology itself. This creates an account centred on the landowners mentioned in these sources and does not focus on the landscape, or the relation of these individuals to the place in question, or the people who lived and worked within these landscapes. This is arguably due to the nature of the

account as part of a larger Archaeological Survey of West Yorkshire and the limited space available to discuss these issues within this style of publication.

Descriptions of the development of Harewood itself have focused on the documentary evidence detailing the evolution of Harawudu mentioned in Domesday (Michelmore 1981a, 191). It is thought that the early medieval landscape of Harewood was likely to have been dominated by a monastery which was in use in the tenth century (Michelmore 1981a, 193). Through documents detailing the exchange of land, taxation, and the religious influence over these until the Reformation, Harewood is constructed in terms of parcels of unconnected land and significant individuals. Using an estate map from 1698, Tatlioglu (2010) has created an account which focuses on detailing the relationships of the twelve settlements which make up the borough of Harewood which was established in the early thirteenth century (Michelmore 1981a, 194). The Post-Conquest and Later Medieval landscape of Harewood have been constructed by bringing together a variety of disparate sources with a strong reliance on the 1698 map to construct a landscape before the eighteenth century parkscape (Tatlioglu 2010, 67-73).

This project aims to use a combination of archaeological and archival evidence to expand knowledge of changes in the landscapes of Harewood and Gawthorpe from 1500 to 1750, with specific emphasis on the transition from the seventeenth to eighteenth century landscapes. This extends the understanding of the landscapes at Harewood and Gawthorpe achieved by previous research (Tatlioglu 2010) further back into the history of the estates, and provides a more complete understanding of the landscape changes which have produced the landscape of Harewood as experienced today.

In methodological terms, the main difference between this and previous research on the Harewood estate (Tatlioglu 2010) is the use of archaeological data in addition to archival data. This allows a different perspective on the lives of the people working on the estate. Given the nature of both types of data, much of the information gathered previously (and a substantial proportion of that gathered in this research) necessarily focuses on the estate as a whole, and/or the main landowners. Although it remains challenging to use these data to consider the lives of ordinary people, the combination of the two types of data begins to allow

a shift in focus away from the estate as a whole and/or the landowners and on to the everyday lives of the people who worked on the estate.

Although the excavation is concerned with Gawthorpe Hall itself, the material culture associated with it may be used to examine the working lives of the ordinary people. Similarly, the personal archives of landowners and individuals connected to the running of the estate may provide an insight into the everyday activities and use of landscape by ordinary people. The way the hall was designed, controlled and used by the landlord had implications for its use by those connected and working within it. The methodologies which have been chosen to examine these relationships are outlined in more detail in chapter two.

### **1.3. Theoretical Background**

This section demonstrates the overarching theoretical direction of this study to show the significance of this research to continuing discussions within landscape archaeology of the post medieval period. Chapter two will discuss in more detail the theoretical background of specific areas of study which have informed the methodologies chosen to examine the landscapes of Gawthorpe Hall and Harewood House. Any methodological decisions about the choice of sources, and the implications of these, will be discussed in more detail in chapter two and throughout the thesis so that the reader may be informed as to where and how conclusions have been reached. This will allow any further use of this study in the future to be sufficiently informed to trace the sources informing interpretive conclusions (see Hodder 2003, and Mytum 2010 particularly p.238-240). This section is instead intended to focus on the theoretical frameworks which have informed the aims and objectives of this research.

#### **1.3.1. Landscape Archaeology and Historic Archaeology**

Landscape Archaeology provides the framework which will influence the methodologies, analysis, and interpretations of the data collected to explain the transition of landscape at Gawthorpe and Harewood. This section addresses why this approach has been chosen and the implications of using a Landscape Archaeology approach within the historic period.

At the heart of Landscape Archaeology is a desire to understand 'ordinary human beings as they lived and worked in the landscape' (Johnson 2007, 120). It aims to examine social processes through the practical engagement of individuals with a

material world. Instead of focusing on a specific site, or set of artefacts, Landscape Archaeology uses a combination of these to provide a holistic understanding of people in the past. This perspective allows the integration of people within their setting rather than as isolated agents (Tilley 1995). Landscape Archaeology is often credited as being able to work on a variety of different scales, but as Trifkovic (2006, 269) has noted, the desire to express an interest in 'culturally determined agents' within landscape archaeology and actually being able to analyse these relationships has not always been met by archaeologists. Fairclough (2006) has also noted that landscape studies must confront the use of scale to be explicitly and theoretically aware of the context of such research. Landscape Archaeology can successfully be employed to interpret landscapes at a national, regional and local scale, but methodologies must be continued to be challenged and documented as researchers switch from detailed point data to generalised descriptions of larger areas (Fairclough 2006, 211). The practical application of Landscape Archaeology to achieve detailed resolution of individuals within the landscape can be difficult to achieve, especially when the archaeological techniques of a project are often site specific in focus. The archaeological data which has been available to this project comes from the excavation of Gawthorpe Hall. Although the objectives of the wider Harewood Project aimed to address the evolution of landscape within the estate (Finch 2010, 2) the excavation itself was primarily concerned with understanding the spatial arrangements and material culture within the hall itself (Finch 2010, 2). Although Landscape Archaeology has the ability to show the inter-connectivity of people to their environments, and therefore has people of the past as the focus for this research to be set within a localised context, the data required to avoid generalised accounts must be provided by another source. It is for this reason that methodologies from a Historical Archaeology approach have also been used to construct the objectives of this project.

This thesis will provide discussion centred on the individuals who shaped the landscape of Harewood. Historic Archaeology brings together interdisciplinary sources, using a wealth of historic and archaeological knowledge to create an understandable and accessible narrative (Mytum 2010, 239). From a Historic Landscape perspective the multivocality of interpretations of the historic and archaeological data can be drawn together within a coherent and explicit

framework that clearly links people, place, objects, and other physical remains together (Tatlioglu 2010, 273-275). The dependency on historical records promoted by Historical Archaeology places emphasis on those individuals represented within the archives. This can provide an account which is detailed and from a personal perspective (White and Beaudry 2009), which can overcome some of the problems of overly generalised accounts which may occur from just using a Landscape Archaeology approach. However, caution must be noted as to the types of individuals which are given a voice by surviving records. Most of these are legal documents which were created by and for the social elite, and as a result provide a top down perspective of society. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter four, this research will look at the intentions of the landlord to influence and control his landscapes and workers, the moments of conflict between these and the recorded instances of these interactions. This concern is central to many studies of historical archaeology (Deetz 1996), and it is essential to this research that interpretations are moved away from the landowners and the historically important individuals already noted above (section 1.1.2.) to the everyday lives of ordinary people in the past. For this reason, it is important to justify why this research will initially focus on the role of the owners of Gawthorpe Hall. The development of the Harewood estate, and the relationship of this to the development of Gawthorpe, provides the core of this research into these landscapes. This will allow these larger themes to be contextualised spatially, temporally and personally to the individual people, places and things which have shaped interpretations of Gawthorpe and the transition of this landscape. Explicitly stating the relationship of these core issues from the initial stages of research clearly provides a framework centred on the importance of interpretation at every stage of the process of research and acknowledges that research cannot be conducted in an a theoretical vacuum (Cosgrove & Daniels 1988: 1-9).

Most of the information regarding the lives of ordinary people on the estate is derived from using Landscape Archaeology. Given the nature of the archival record, it is heavily biased towards the perspectives of the landowner and his most senior agents. Despite this, the understanding of the role of individual agency in the transition of the landscape is invaluable in understanding the context in which ordinary lives were played out. Thus, although an understanding

of the role of the landowner as an individual in the process of landscape transition can be derived without consideration of the landscape context (i.e. entirely from historical documents), understanding of the effects of this on ordinary lives requires a landscape-based approach.

### **1.3.2. Post medieval landscapes**

For the purposes of this study, the term post medieval archaeology is used to describe the study of material culture dating from the period from the end of the fifteenth century to the end of the long eighteenth century (1815). This clarification is necessary as much of the literature concerning this period of transition has been subject to debate concerning what should be included within the boundaries of its study (Gilchrist 2005). Initially, the lack of discussion surrounding post medieval archaeology related to the development of the discipline itself. Since its fragmented beginnings in the late 1960s (Schuyler 1999, 10), post medieval archaeology has struggled to find a voice compared to more established archaeological disciplines, and alongside disciplines such as history and cultural geography. Until recently post medieval archaeology had failed to find a place within traditional university departments (O'Sullivan 1999). As a result, post medieval archaeology has been primarily dominated by agendas set by economic and social historians concerned with large scale research questions such as addressing the change from feudal to capitalist society (see Schuyler 2005, 13 for an overview, or Johnson 1996 for a detailed account), colonialism and the impact of the industrial revolution (see Courtney 1999 and Gilchrist 2005).

### **1.3.3. Post-processual archaeology**

The issue of scale of interpretation has been of key importance to many strands of archaeological research. Grand narratives have used archaeological data primarily in aesthetic terms to illustrate examples of social or economic change (Little 1999, 208). The dependency of narratives to conform to the big questions constructed by social and economic historians has led to universal assumptions and general descriptions of the material culture associated with this period (O'Sullivan 1999, 38). These assumptions of cultural frameworks such as gender, privatisation of space, and the distinction between natural and cultural landscapes have recently become part of current research agendas (Johnson 1997, Cooper 1997). Interpretations of this period must continue to be challenged with the use of biographical and human focused accounts concentrating on the human agency

which should be present in any account of material culture (Johnson 1999, 18). This approach can contextualise larger historical narratives to locally significant examples of material cultures expressed through specific sites, landscapes, artefacts or individuals. Such contributions add significant value to interpretations of everyday aspects of the past and to contextualise the distinctions between, and across different regions and strands of society (Newman 2005, 207).

These concerns demonstrate the impact of wider theoretical advancements and the recent adoption of Post-processual agendas within post medieval archaeology. Most significantly, the Post-processual movement of the 1980s has forced a reassessment of archaeological approaches which questions the generalisations inherent in more traditionally scientific and totalizing approaches to archaeological material (Fleming 2006, 268). Moving away from the use of models of assumed human behaviour, the Post-processual movement has allowed focus to be shifted to the individuals affected by the large scale systems and processes studied by earlier generations of scholars. This shift in focus has called for in-depth analysis at a human scale, predominantly concerned with human interaction with objects, places and people of the past, often using a range of scales of interpretations to describe one site (Bender 2006). Defendants of Post-processualism challenge the unimaginative, repetitive nature of previous studies and ensure that interpretation (and the final output of research) is considered at the forefront of research agendas (Deetz 1998: 94-96). In doing so, such research agendas also acknowledge contemporary frameworks which influence and affect the methodologies used to collect and interpret archaeological data from the primary stages of data collection through to interpretations (Mytum 2010, 238). Fleming (2006) and Johnson (2007) have both highlighted how these agendas have been much more readily undertaken by prehistorians and it is only recently that Post-processual concerns have begun to be fully integrated into the study of Historic Landscapes (e.g. Finch 2008). Historical and post medieval archaeology within the last ten years or so has begun to acknowledge these influences and has begun to influence research agendas. For example Johnson has described the symbiotic relationship between post medieval and historical archaeology as the *New Postmedieval Archaeology* (1999). Johnson argues that this term can more eloquently describe the paradoxical nature of archaeological study in historical periods which aims to be both aware of global contexts while recognising the



importance of the small scale particularities of any one study. In doing so, Johnson recognises that such concerns reflect the approaches of postprocessualists, but rejects this label. He instead wishes to draw comparisons to the research agendas constructed by the New Archaeology movement of the 1960s, suggesting that this clearly acknowledges the need for change to create stronger methodologies focused on the stories of people within the archaeological record (Johnson 1999, 20).

Constructing such research agendas requires the data to be able to be manipulated to a variety of scales of interpretation. This allows interpretations of the material remains to address local, regional, national and global narratives which are of particular significance for this period. Such interpretations acknowledge not only the material exchange of material culture but also the communication of ideological and social aspects across wide geographical boundaries (Tarlow and West 1999, 267). Such accounts can provide personal accounts which can communicate the complexities of grand narratives at a level which is not only more understandable but which also arguably provides a much more interesting narrative for the reader. Such interpretations go beyond more simplistic models of 'grand historical narratives' to include complex and sometimes contradictory interpretations of the same archaeological data (Gilchrist 1999, 333). This approach contradicts the movements the discipline of archaeology has tried to make to become more scientific and dismisses the absolute nature of the role of the academic archaeologist. In doing this, the role of local community and local historian become increasingly integral to the research process and add to the multiplicity of interpretations of the post medieval period.

#### **1.3.4. Country Houses**

This research, developed as a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CBA) through Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funding was established to develop professional relationships between The University of York Department of Archaeology and Harewood House Trust. As a result, the context of this research being undertaken within a publicly accessible country house must not be overlooked. The background to country house research and the way such institutes have been presented in the past has influenced the direction of this

research and the public output that has been created alongside the academic research produced here.

Accounts of country houses have previously been criticised as being overly simplistic and limited to the extent of an individual's life, or the extent of a very specific collection of artefacts which are neatly explained in terms of chronological advancement in tastes and styles. Such interpretations fail to recognise the complexities that exist in the processes which create and continually change the way a country house is used and perceived (Arnold 1998, 1-2). A variety of themes can be explored by examining the actions of the owners of country house estates, as the creators, managers and instigators of change within the country house landscape. Identifying the physical use of the landscape, as well as the changing metaphorical function of this landscape will reflect and enforce the social, political, and cultural trends occurring on a larger scale throughout this period (Arnold 1998, 16-19). It will allow a dialogue focused on the people who were actually living and working within this landscape, to examine their role in the continuation and enforcement of these trends which have traditionally been considered to be enforced as a top down power. It is significant to note that the descriptions of the owners of the estates of Harewood and Gawthorpe noted within this introductory chapter are not intended to be extensive discussions of the lives of the chosen individuals, and readers should refer to the given references for more extensive accounts. These biographies are instead intended to provide the reader with an idea of the significant events within these individual's lives in relation to the landscapes which they owned and manipulated. These provide a basic description of character, wealth, and relationships which are intended to aid interpretations about the influences affecting the ownership of the estates and the framework this provides for examining the lives of a wider section of the societies which lived and worked at Harewood and Gawthorpe.

#### **1.3.4.1. Country House presentation in the past**

There is a long history of visitors being charged to visit the house and gardens of a country house, with country house tourism as it is understood today commencing around the 1770s (Tinniswood 1989, 88-95). At this point, visitors began to expect detailed accounts of the history and contents of the house they were visiting, and owners began to formalise visiting arrangements with the introduction of specific

opening times and tickets for admission (Tinniswood 1989, 94). The Arts and Crafts movement of the early twentieth century increased the appeal of country house visits by creating an idealised view of the past, and specifically of rural life, which regarded the landscapes of these great estates as peaceful and idyllic rural retreats away from the hustle and dirt of the rapidly expanding urban centres. Hewison suggests that the parkscapes which framed country houses were seen as an embodiment of 'the spiritually regenerative forces of nature' during this time, which enhanced their appeal to visitors wishing to escape the realities of their working lives (Hewison 1987, 58; Tinniswood 1989, 182). Wright adds that the apparently natural landscape of the country house park, with only relics of its previously functional use as a working agricultural landscape preserved in time as earthworks within the gently undulating landscape, created a place at once culturally removed from the visiting public, something which could inspire a sense of escape for visitors (Wright 2009, 54-55). Country houses were considered to be the epitome of what it meant to be English. They represented a national character which brought together the splendour of the empire to convey a national biography (Silberman 2007, 182). They embodied the history, culture and natural history of England (Lowenthal 1985, 105). This assumption about whose heritage country houses truly represent, and the depiction of them as a nationalising icon will be discussed in further detail throughout this chapter.

The image of the country house as a national icon to be treasured by all began to lose public opinion after 1870, up to the period between the end of the Second World War and the 1970s (Mandler 1997, 109). During this period social, economic, and political conflict turned public opinion against an aristocratic leadership, and the historic value underpinned by the wealth and privilege of the country house began to be undermined (Wright 2009, 46-51). The inequalities of class relations epitomised by the country house no longer represented a nation which had undergone dramatic social and political reforms which had resulted, for example, in the creation of the Welfare State (Hewison 1987, 35). After the First World War rapidly deteriorating country houses which were running out of money were abandoned, demolished and closed to the public. The reconstruction of destroyed urban areas and the building of new homes in the post war period focused on budgeting to construct affordable homes for the general population, rather than preserving the stately homes of a chosen few (Hewison 1987, 36). As

the commercial viability of country houses steadily declined, there was an increased interest in a more accessible national heritage of the English countryside focusing on villages and aspects of rural life (Mandler 1997, 4). This change in focus often portrayed rural life as simplistic, quaint and picturesque (Tinniswood 1989, 160), in stark contrast to the splendour and extravagance of the country house.

During the optimism of the post-war period, an increase in leisure time, greater mobility, and greater access to a disposable income of the general population led to a considerable increase in visitors to country houses in England (Smith 2006, 121, Tinniswood 1989, 152). Around this time, the National Trust dramatically increased its role in taking on country houses under threat. This was due in part to the rise in income tax and death duties levied on the owners of country houses during this period (Stone 1991, 250). At the same time a preservation lobby of extra-parliamentary pressure and amenity groups brought discussion of 'historic interest' and the preservation of areas of 'natural beauty' represented by country houses to a national level once more (Wright 2009, 50-51). Commentators on this development have pointed to the appeal of country houses as epitomising social order, beauty, nature, continuity and domesticity, and the use of these to strengthen and define a national identity (Lowenthal 1985, 105, Hewison 1987 53, Mandler 1997, 1).

#### **1.3.4.2. Recent developments**

Notable for their impassioned responses to the development of the country house as a tourist attraction in the twenty-first century, Strong, Binney, and Harris (1974), Hewison (1987), Mandler (1997) and most recently Smith (2006) have discussed the histories presented, legitimised, undertold and ignored by these establishments. This development reflects wider theoretical advances within archaeology and the influence of Post-processual agendas to focus on the untold stories of the past which have affected the way the past is communicated and told through those involved with heritage (Stone and Mackenzie 1990, Stone and Molyneaux 1994). For example, the recognition that country houses contain collections of fine examples of European art masks the fact that most of these collections were originally only possible due to the acquisition of cultural artefacts by British colonialists, most often as the result of considerable oppression of local communities to which these object originally belonged (Smith 2006, 118). Post-

processual archaeology has drawn attention to the objectivity and subjectivity of interpretation of past landscapes, and has led to a variety of creative responses to produce a sense of the multi-vocality of the past (Fleming 2006, 277).

Smith (2006), concerned with the expression of the past and the construction and representation of identity through the uses of heritage, focuses on what she describes as the Authorised Heritage Discourse in the creation of this. Through her discussion of the Authorised Heritage Discourse, Smith focuses on critically assessing the stories which are told about the past through heritage which focus on the 'aesthetically pleasing'. Within the framework of an Authorised Heritage Discourse, these objects, landscapes and sites are presumed to have inherent cultural and social value which must be cared for, preserved, and revered for the continuing education of society (Smith 2006, 29). She suggests they are chosen, protected, and upheld within an industry which is dominated by a top down approach with academic and professional individuals making the decisions, and authorising who creates, maintains, and has access to, the past (Smith 2006, 30). Smith's work highlights the increasing pressure encountered by the discourse since the 1980s, as the public presentation of country houses began to face much criticism from those within the heritage movement (Smith 2006, 115). The concept of an Authorised Heritage Discourse explains how narratives told about the past may carry certain agendas for those constructing public knowledge of the past (Smith 2006). In acknowledging these constructs, this in turn acknowledges that the construction of the past is taken away from certain groups of individuals whose histories are made insignificant or undervalued as a result.

This chapter aims to build on the observations made by Smith, and also by West (1999) who suggests an archaeological approach is well placed to bring together the traditional "high art" interest in the collections and architecture of a country house alongside a thorough recognition and assessment of the relations between different social groups, including those disenfranchised, as well as the elite owners who have traditionally been the focus of interpretations within country houses. Often referred to as the treasure houses of England, country houses have long been described as holding some of the finest, and most complete, collections of European art (Pearce 1989, 124), and are so highly regarded by some that they have been described as 'vessels of civilisation' (Jackson-Stops 1985, 11). Although

it is fair to acknowledge that 'large country estates [*or at least, those who owned them*] dominated the social and political life of the nation from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries' (Pearce 1989, 124), questions are now being asked of how country houses are presented to the public, and exactly whose stories their histories tell. Post-processual archaeology has drawn attention to the objectivity and subjectivity of interpretation of past landscapes, and has led to a variety of creative responses to produce a sense of the multi-vocality of the past (Fleming 2006, 277). The aim of this chapter is not to discuss to what extent individuals and institutions have come to influence the value of country houses, or to analyse how they have come to hold this place within the heritage sector. Instead this chapter will consider why these lasting impressions have shaped our interaction with, and the presentation of, country houses

#### **1.4. Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter has provided the significant influences which will shape the direction of this research. It has shown the author's desire to focus on the everyday lives of individuals living and working within the landscapes of Harewood and Gawthorpe, changing the focus of current understanding of country house landscapes from those who designed and managed the landscape to those who most explicitly felt the implications of these changes in their daily lives. Having outlined and defined the theoretical underpinnings which will direct this research, chapter two will discuss in further detail the methodological choices which have been taken to specifically tackle the data which is available to this study.

## Chapter 2: Methodology and background

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter will initially outline the data sets this research has used to construct interpretations about the landscape of Gawthorpe, and the creation of the modern landscape at Harewood. These data sets will be assessed individually, and examined to see how they have been approached in the past. This will demonstrate how the methodologies which will be used for this research have been informed and chosen. This chapter will then assess the background of research that exists for the key themes which will be explored in this thesis, exploring how the data might be used to answer the research questions outlined above. Any methodological decisions about the choice of data, and the implications of these, will be discussed, as to where and how conclusions have been reached, to allow transparency regarding the sources chosen by this research (see Hodder 2003 and Mytum 2010 particularly p.238-240).

### 2.2. Available Data

#### 2.2.1. Documentary evidence

The main source available to this study is the Strafford Papers. These papers belong to the collection of documents, which predominantly consist of personal letters and make up the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, held at the Sheffield Archives (WWM/ Str P). This set of letters comes mainly from the meticulous record keeping of Sir Thomas Wentworth, which has survived due to being preserved at Wentworth Woodhouse since his death in 1641. The political nature of Wentworth's death upon the scaffold has meant that the papers written by him, and relating to his family, have long been recognised as of value to historians; as a result they have largely been kept together. The extent of survival of this collection has been described by Merritt as 'one of the most fortunate accidents for historians of the seventeenth century' (Merritt 1996, 9). It is thought Wentworth's correspondence and personal papers were moved from his 'new Study' at Gawthorpe (Knowler 1739, 483), to Wentworth Woodhouse by his son and heir William, following Thomas' death (Merritt 1996, 9). The collection did not become fully accessible to the general public until they were moved to the Sheffield Archives after the end of the Second World War (Meritt 1996, 18).

As well as the microfilm copies at the Sheffield Archives, two notable copies of Wentworth's papers have been published: Knowler's, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches* (1739), and Cooper's, *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628* (1973). In both cases these publications are collections of letters and other documents mainly concerned with the political and historical importance of Thomas Wentworth. Knowler clearly states in the dedication to the Earl of Malton, the great-grandson of Sir Thomas, who gave permission for the documents to be published, that the letters had been 'selected from a vast treasure of curious manuscripts' by the Earl to 'vindicate' the memory of his ancestor (Knowler 1739, i-ii). It also states that the collection was put together under the 'directions and instructions' of the Earl (Knowler 1739, ii). It is therefore clear from the outset that Knowler's collection has been constructed for the political desires of the Earl of Malton, and does not represent all the letters that were preserved at Wentworth Woodhouse.

Similarly, the Cooper volume does not represent the entirety of the Wentworth papers. Letters considered to be 'trivial in content' (Cooper 1973, 1) were omitted. Of those letters omitted, this includes the majority of correspondence between Wentworth and Richard Marris, his steward, as well as details of the management of his household and estates (Cooper 1973, 1). In order to address the role of Thomas Wentworth as a key agent of change within the landscape of Gawthorpe and Harewood, it is essential that this research assesses correspondence that might otherwise appear insignificant or mundane in content. These documents will be examined in Chapter 4 to create a sense of the man, his motives, and his relationship to the local landscape and its inhabitants.

Descriptions of the personal relations, views expressed, and actions recorded in Wentworth's correspondence and personal accounts have been analysed from the Knowler and Cooper volumes, and cross-referenced with the micro-film copies of the originals. It was necessary to see the micro-film copies of the letters published in Knowler and Cooper, to ensure no parts of the original documents, had been excluded. A large number of the original letters have also been consulted, which were not included in the transcriptions by Knowler and Cooper. As well as being able to see the original documents written in Wentworth's hand, the microfilm of the Strafford Papers also contains some nineteenth century



copies of his letters. These are copies of letters sent to Wentworth, or copies of letters Wentworth sent and kept for his own record.

Most of the letters between Thomas Wentworth and Richard Marris are found catalogued within WWM/ StrP 20 and WWM/StrP 21. These were examined on microfilm for any mention of Harewood, Gawthorpe or the management of Wentworth's estates. Beyond this basic data mining, the documents were also used to build up a picture of how Wentworth was acquiring the wealth and position as an influential landlord, and as the head of a major elite household. This evidence will construct an example of how a member of the gentry was capable of manipulating and creating landscapes of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, which will be viewed alongside existing national trends.

Alongside the correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, the collection at Sheffield also contains an advice book written by William Wentworth to his son Thomas in 1604, regarding the management of his private affairs and estates (WWM/ StrP 40/1 (A)). It was common for members of the gentry to pass advice to their heirs through advice books throughout the seventeenth century (Bosworth et al. 2011), and many took the form of the best known example of such a book, *Advice to a Son*, written by Francis Osborne in 1656 (Ustick 1932, 410). Split into different sections, focusing on various aspects of household and personal management, these books clearly set out moral and practical guidance for sons who would likely take over the running of the household. These have previously been used by historians to assess familial relationships and the role of men and women within gentry society (Heal and Holmes 1994). In this study, the advice book will be used to shed light on the paternal role the head of a gentry family was expected to play, both within his own household and within the wider community. Drawing on specific examples from the advice book, this research will compare Thomas Wentworth's actions recorded in his letters, to provide evidence of how much he took the guidance of the advice book, and to what extent his ambition went beyond the caution aired by his father in the advice book. It will also be used to explore the differences between William Wentworth and Thomas Wentworth's approach to the management of their estates. This will shed light on the influences and motivations behind some of the decisions the Wentworth family took in the management of the landscapes of Gawthorpe Hall.

Household account papers from Wentworth Woodhouse (WWM/ StrP 27) give a broad overview of the cost of running a gentry household, and the types of food which would have been accessible to a family of high social standing. Each entry lists the date of the entry, what remains in the 'Store', and what has been 'Spent', listing the number and type of supply below. An initial overview of this resource found that many of the entries were very similar, and therefore a sample selection of entries, covering all four seasons to account for seasonal variability, were transcribed. The information contained within the household account book adds to knowledge obtained from the correspondence concerning the farming and hunting of birds, animals and fish, and the cultivation of various crops by the Wentworth family. Unfortunately, the account book is for Wentworth Woodhouse, the main seat of the Wentworth family, and no such book exists for Gawthorpe Hall during this period. However, when used alongside the archaeological evidence excavated at Gawthorpe Hall, this resource may provide an idea not only of the foods people ate during the seventeenth century, but the types of landscapes which would have to been managed to obtain these resources.

An inventory of Gawthorpe Hall dating to 1607 at the West Yorkshire Archives (WYL 250/ 33(78/5/14)) provides a list of all the rooms and the belongings which were in each room. This document gives an overview of the types of rooms within a country hall belonging to a Gentry family, but they do not detail how these spaces were used, or the size of the space available within. This is inferred through the types of objects in, and names of, the rooms. Inventories have been used by historians to provide a preliminary idea of household wealth and have been used comparatively to see how prices, and the markets, of household goods fluctuated during different periods (Hatcher 1996, 93). This research will use the inventory of Gawthorpe alongside the archaeology, and the household books, to examine how areas of the hall were constructed by the owners to create a place of power and authority over the rest of the household and community. This theme is discussed below in more detail, but it is significant to stress that this research will also explore the realities of how these spaces were used on a day-to-day basis, and how members of the household might have been able to influence the spaces they lived and worked in.

Documentary sources which have been of interest to this research also include an estate map dating to 1698, currently kept on display in Harewood House. Digital photographs of the map have been taken by the Harewood House Trust, and by PhD researcher Timur Tatlioglu. These images alongside photographs of estate maps dating from 1698, 1796, and 1813, and digitised modern OS maps have been manipulated within ArchGIS to provide a chronology of development of this landscape (Tatlioglu 2010, 11). This research will use the 1698 map alongside descriptions of the extent of the manor of Harewood dating to 1636 (WWM, StrP 29), and an archaeological understanding of the landscape to describe the transition of landscape from the medieval settings of Gawthorpe Hall to the eighteenth century parkscape of Harewood House. Used together these sources provide an indication of the landscape setting of Gawthorpe Hall. The map also provides two images of the hall, one depicted on the map itself, in plan form and another in the corner ledger of the map shows the northern elevation which will be considered alongside other documentary and archaeological evidence to gain an understanding of the structure of the hall itself in the context of its surrounding landscape.

Alongside the documentary sources mentioned above, this research also uses two prints by William Von Hagen. The first print is dated 1722, and shows Gawthorpe Hall looking from the north, the same perspective as shown on the earlier map (Fig.4. below). The second print shows Gawthorpe Hall looking from the south and was engraved in 1727 (Fig.5. below).

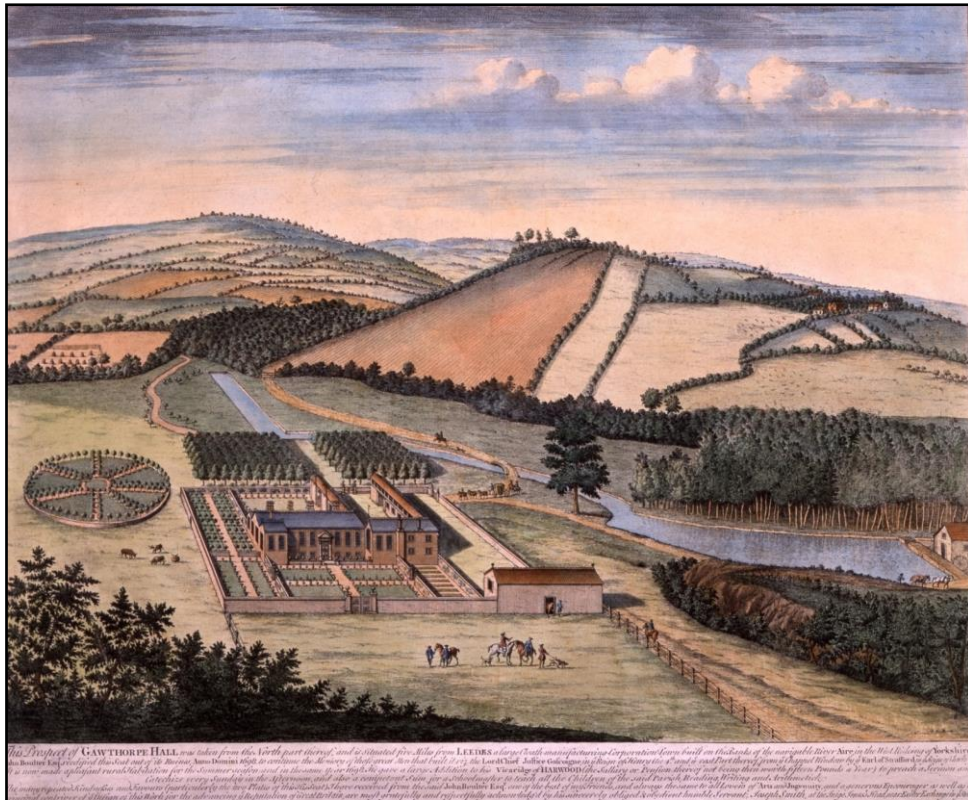


Figure 4. Gawthorpe from the North, 1722. Engraving by William Von Hagen, Printed by Joseph Smith, London. (Source: Harewood House Trust).



Figure 5. Gawthorpe Hall from the South, 1727. Engraving by William Von Hagen, Printed by Joseph Smith, London. (Source: Harewood House Trust)

These images of the hall represent it during its final years of use after the sale of the estate by Earl of Strafford's son, William Wentworth, to John Boulter, and were perhaps commissioned to aid the subsequent resale of the estate. These sources will be analysed in terms of how they relate to the physical remains excavated at Gawthorpe, as well as the way these images are used as a representation of the gentry's influence on the landscape. The two 1720s prints of Gawthorpe Hall also give some general representations of the landscape, which correlate with information gathered from the other datasets available. Both of these sources provides an idealised view of the landscape, at one particular moment in history, and must therefore be considered to be subjective representations of the landscape.

### 2.2.2. Archaeology

Alongside the documentary evidence, this thesis will provide an initial assessment of the archaeological material which has been excavated from Gawthorpe Hall, particularly focusing on the material from 2008-2011. The medieval landscapes of Gawthorpe and Harewood are currently understood primarily through the interpretation of Faull and Moorhouse's *Archaeological Survey of West Yorkshire* (1981) and publications within the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, and are strongly reliant upon historical documentation.

This research will use the archaeological material excavated from Gawthorpe Hall as part of The University of York, Department of Archaeology Field School led by Dr Jonathan Finch to provide an initial overview of the area under excavation. The area chosen for excavation was based upon geophysical survey, alongside interpretation of the Von Hagen prints and map evidence already mentioned above. The excavation of the hall has been focused on trying to establish the main areas of the building itself. Basic spatial analysis based of these interpretations will begin to provide an understanding of how the hall was designed, and changed in use and function over its occupation. Using a landscape archaeology approach, this research will use the archaeology of the house to understand the significance of Gawthorpe Hall within the landscape. Landscape archaeology, with its dependency on mapping the past, also allows a visual representation of the archaeology which can provide an arena for discussing the use of these spaces by people. This spatial anchoring provides an immediate reference which can be approached at a variety of scales, which is particularly important to the thematic discussion of data drawing on the narratives of historical archaeology (Finch 2008). This approach will also allow this research to examine social relations expressed by the manipulation of landscape by different social groups, discussing the idea of 'landscapes of power', (Hall 2000, 99) which will be discussed in more detail below. Landscape archaeology also provides a holistic approach which allows for a multivocality of histories to be interpreted within one location, focusing on interpretations of the aesthetic and expressive manipulation of landscape by people in the past (Cunzo and Moqtaderi 2010, 3).

The artefacts which have been excavated from Gawthorpe Hall will also provide an essential resource for this research and will bring interpretations of the hall closer to the people that lived and worked within it. The nature of the

archaeological deposits on site mean that artefact distribution does not always directly correspond with the spatial settings of the hall itself, as the majority of artefacts are found within the rubble used to cover the house after the site's clearance. However, the nature of the assemblage may still provide an insight into the social relations within a gentry household, such as Gawthorpe Hall. The difference in quality and type of artefact across the social spectrum, all found within one setting provides an interesting starting point for interpretation of this data (White and Beaudry 2009).

The data collected from the archaeology comes from preliminary reports, interim site reports and discussion with Site Director Jonathan Finch and experts able to view the collections, and therefore any interpretations made of this data should be seen within the developing framework of an ongoing archaeological project.

### **2.3. Historical background**

It is important at this stage to discuss the background literature which has directed this research and which have influenced the way in which methodologies for this research have been constructed.

#### **2.3.1. Agrarian Landscapes 1500-1750**

Agrarian landscapes, and post-medieval archaeology more generally, have been dominated by agendas set by economic and social historians, as well as human geographers (Gilchrist 2005). This causes problems of consistency of meaning and language and will form a notable consideration within this interpretation. For example, Renes, a geographer, focuses on interpretations of morphological differences noted on historic maps (Renes 2010, 26), whereas an historian or archaeologist might focus on the place names, boundaries, buildings and physicality of the map itself. The term 'agrarian' is often used instead of agriculture, but it is important to make the distinction between these terms clear before further discussion. Agrarian landscapes pertain to any cultivated land and to the cultural aspects of landed property. Agriculture on the other hand, describes the practice and science of farming itself (Oxford OED).

The significance of agrarian landscapes in relation to Gawthorpe provides an important theme at the heart of this study. Understanding the agrarian landscapes surrounding the hall will provide an important context for the manors of Gawthorpe and Harewood. Farming was central to society, with the majority of

the population engaged in agriculture. Therefore addressing agrarian landscapes will elucidate how the landscape was worked, and the people involved in those processes. At a basic level, these landscapes are central to understanding not only how the manor of Gawthorpe supported itself with the provision of food and a means of income through rent, but also the social relationships between those who worked and owned these landscape. (Newman 2005).

Joan Thirsk has outlined the challenges of trying to identify the nature and extent of agrarian change during the late medieval and early modern period (Thirsk 1984a, 1984b, 1987, 1997). The nature of how new farming systems were adopted throughout this period can seem unpredictable (Thirsk 1967, 533). For example, focusing on individual landowners and farmers can provide information about the innovations of change during this period. Those with the finances available were amongst the first to document experiments with new farming techniques and the introduction of new crops. It is more difficult to understand how individual farmers came to adopt new techniques, and to trace these developments across a region, to understand how areas of specific specialisation actually developed on the ground (Thirsk 1967, 533-571). This is especially significant considering the vast literature on the subject which draws together interpretations from various academic backgrounds which provide very different perspectives on the same sources of evidence (Thirsk 1987, 9-11). One of the most significant issues which has shaped research into agrarian landscapes has been the scale of the research area chosen. Studies produced at the beginning of the twentieth century provided accounts of agrarian change and agricultural regions on a national scale. Such research was looking at past agricultural trends and economies to consider how such practices might be employed to improve the strain of contemporary agricultural depression (Howkins 2003). These studies centred on the idea that an eighteenth century 'Agricultural Revolution' was the key moment when agricultural methods changed from primitive rural technologies to efficient industrialised methods, feeding the rapidly expanding urban areas; a movement which was thought to be pioneered by a small number of aristocratic landowners (Williamson 2002, 2-3). As many more studies are conducted (Thirsk 1984b, 3), our understanding has been greatly enriched, although they often have a geographically narrow scope, without relation to earlier larger scale studies. These local examples greatly informed the findings of



early attempts to construct agricultural regions and have added a great deal of depth, albeit in a rather piecemeal fashion, with some areas such as East Anglia and the Midlands being more intensively studied than areas where documentation is much more difficult to locate. As a result and informed by these advances, from the 1960s some of the earlier assumptions and generalisations about the extent and nature of agrarian change began to be challenged.

The works of Kerridge (1967, 1969) and Thirsk (1967 & 1984a), and in particular the maps they produced of agrarian regions across the country as a whole (Figures 6., 7., and 8.), provide an essential resource and starting point for any research into historic agricultural landscapes and large scale landscape change during the early modern period.

Kerridge argued that agrarian change occurred throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Understanding the changes over this period might then provide a clearer picture of the nature of agrarian change, rather than focusing on the 'Revolution' traditionally associated to the eighteenth century. Using the example of enclosure, Kerridge showed that although Parliamentary Enclosure significantly and dramatically changed the landscape in many parts of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, much of the medieval open fields and common lands had already begun to be enclosed before this period, in a piecemeal fashion. Kerridge also pointed to the sophisticated methods employed by farmers to improve farming landscapes by artificial irrigation (such as the introduction of water meadows from the seventeenth century (Kerridge 1967, 251. For more discussion also see Bettey 2002, 8-13)) and employing the rotation of mixed arable, pastoral and fodder crops throughout this earlier period (Kerridge 1967).

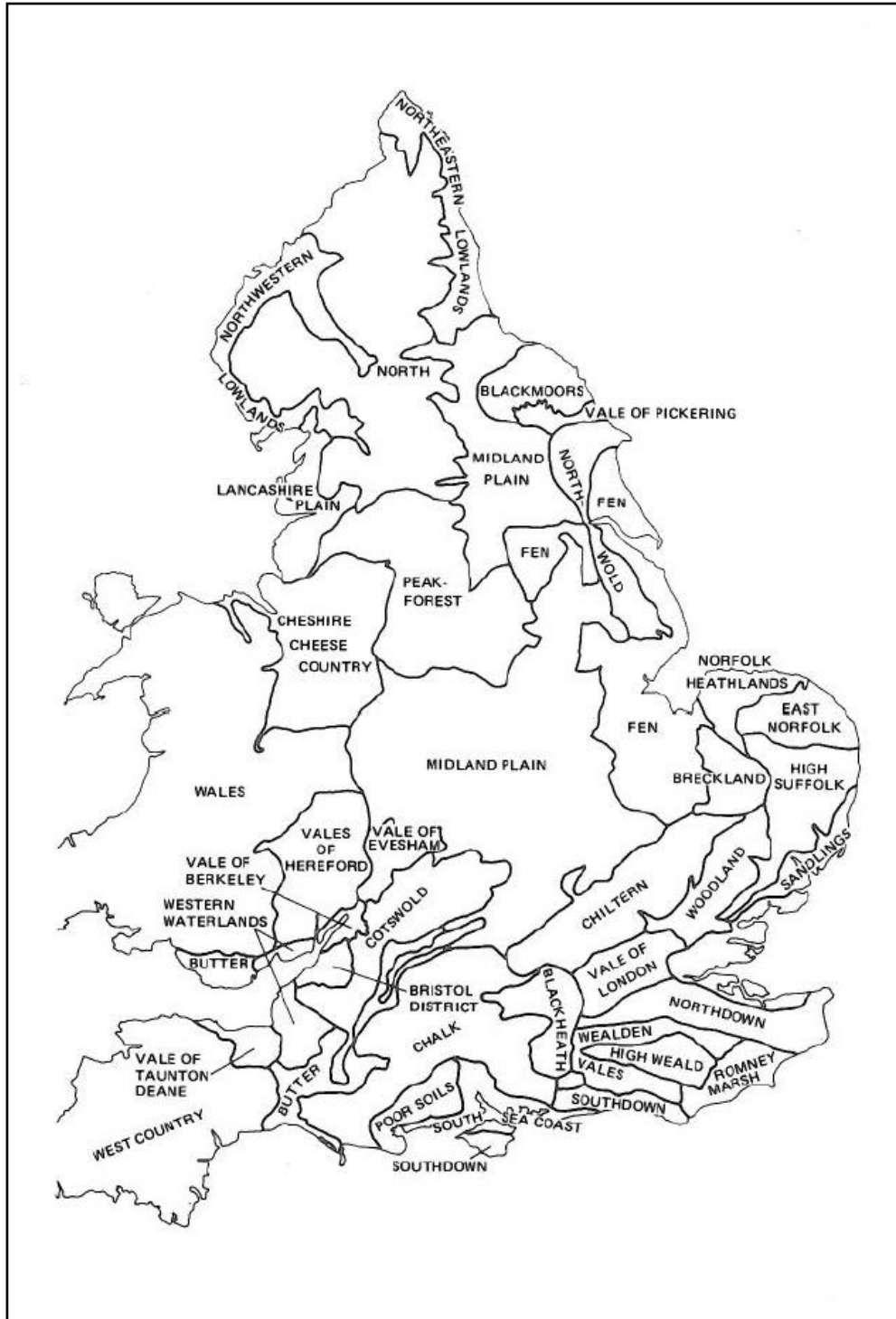


Figure 6. English Farming Countries. Reprinted from Kerridge, E. (1967), *The Agricultural Revolution*.

The map of 'English farming countries' produced in *The Agricultural Revolution* (Kerridge 1967, inside title page), outlines the variety of agrarian regions identified by Kerridge. This map divides England into broad areas defined by their farming practices identified, which as Thirsk has identified, come from predominantly early nineteenth century sources (Thirsk 1987, 26). These sources included, legal documents such as accessions, rentals and surveys, wills and court rolls, as well as relying on the works of late eighteenth century writers such as William Marshall (Kerridge 1967, 387-404, Thirsk 1987, 3). These sources demonstrate the techniques employed by farmers, and it is from these that Kerridge identifies agricultural regions, rather than the areas of one specific farming system (Overton 1996, 5-7). For example, in High Suffolk and the vales of Blackmore, Glastonbury, Ilminster, Wardour, Marshwood and Glamorgan (in the south west of England and the south of Wales respectively), dairying was part of the farming systems employed. However, the soils in High Suffolk meant that in this region farmers focused on techniques to improve the fertile gravel and clay loams for the cultivation of wheat and barley (Kerridge 1967, 84). The dairy herds in this region were feed firstly on rye straw then on the wheat, pea, oat and barley straws throughout the winter months. These by-products of the extensive arable farming in this area lead to the production of cream cheeses and large, hard cheese. The milk from these herds was produced when the animals were fed on grass and hay, particularly through the spring and early summer months. Whey-butter, one of the by-products of making cream cheese was used to fatten up pigs for the slaughter (Kerridge 1967, 85-87). The techniques employed in the Butter County of the vales were very different as this area was dominated by small dairy farmers whose interest in arable crops was limited to the provision of self sufficiency through limited crops of grain and straw. Dairy herds in this area were feed predominantly on grass, with additional hay in the winter, and were kept for their butter, though some whole-milk cheese was also produced (Kerridge 1967, 119-120). These regions are therefore identified as separate areas of agricultural development, due to the differences in techniques which were implemented. This example shows how although appearing to have similarities, the dominant farming technique in an area defined the techniques employed by farmers to get the most out of their land. Thirsk has suggested that although Kerridge's map is helpful and reflects her own findings in many areas, it also masks much of the

complexity of these regions and projects landscapes of the sixteenth century back from evidence more clearly representing England in 1800 (Thirsk 1987, 26). Understanding these nuances may be particularly useful in an area such as Harewood which lies on the cusp the North, Peak Forest, and Midland Plain areas identified by Kerridge (See Figure 6). As discussed in more detail in Chapter one, the situation of Gawthorpe Hall, places it in the *Pennine Dales Fringe* between the uplands of the Yorkshire Dales and the lowlands of the Vale of York (Natural England Character Area 22). The varied topography in this area will have an effect on farming techniques chosen by people in the past, which will have affected the development of landscape in this area. The social implications of the exploitation of these limitations and advantages of the local landscape will be more completely understood by taking these factors into consideration.

Kerridge used the discussion of agricultural regions to suggest that the established view that an 'Agricultural Revolution' began in the eighteenth century and was a precursor to the 'Industrial Revolution', could actually be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that the revolutionary phase of this development occurred between 1560-1767, and in most areas had been achieved before 1673 (Kerridge 1967, 15). This questioning of the orthodox understanding of agricultural development in this period was initially dismissed by historians. Kerridge had controversially dismissed the role of parliamentary enclosure, the Norfolk four course rotation, and selective breeding as aspects which dramatically changed agrarian practices and pointed to more subtle changes, the effects of which drastically changed society throughout this earlier period, and saw population double from 1550 to 1750 (Overton 1996, 5-6). Recent studies however, have reassessed Kerridge's work to suggest that the overall trends he documented create a useful model which is particularly helpful when other evidence is inaccessible (Williamson 2003, 198). Localised studies, such as Tom Williamson's and Susanna Wade-Martins' studies of East Anglia (Williamson 2003, 62-90, Wade Martins & Williamson 2008, Wade Martins 2004), have strengthened the argument that localised examples of farming improvements were being made before the eighteenth century (Wade Martins 2004, 18) and have contextualised the regions identified by Kerridge. It is suggested in Chapter Four, that the personal ambitions of Thomas Wentworth expressed in his letters, combined with his obsessive desire to personally manage his estates, could be argued to display

evidence of these early improvements in the first half of the seventeenth century. The methodology employed by this research therefore aims to assess any evidence of landscape management and change displayed in the documentary evidence and topographic evidence within the landscape to address this theme.

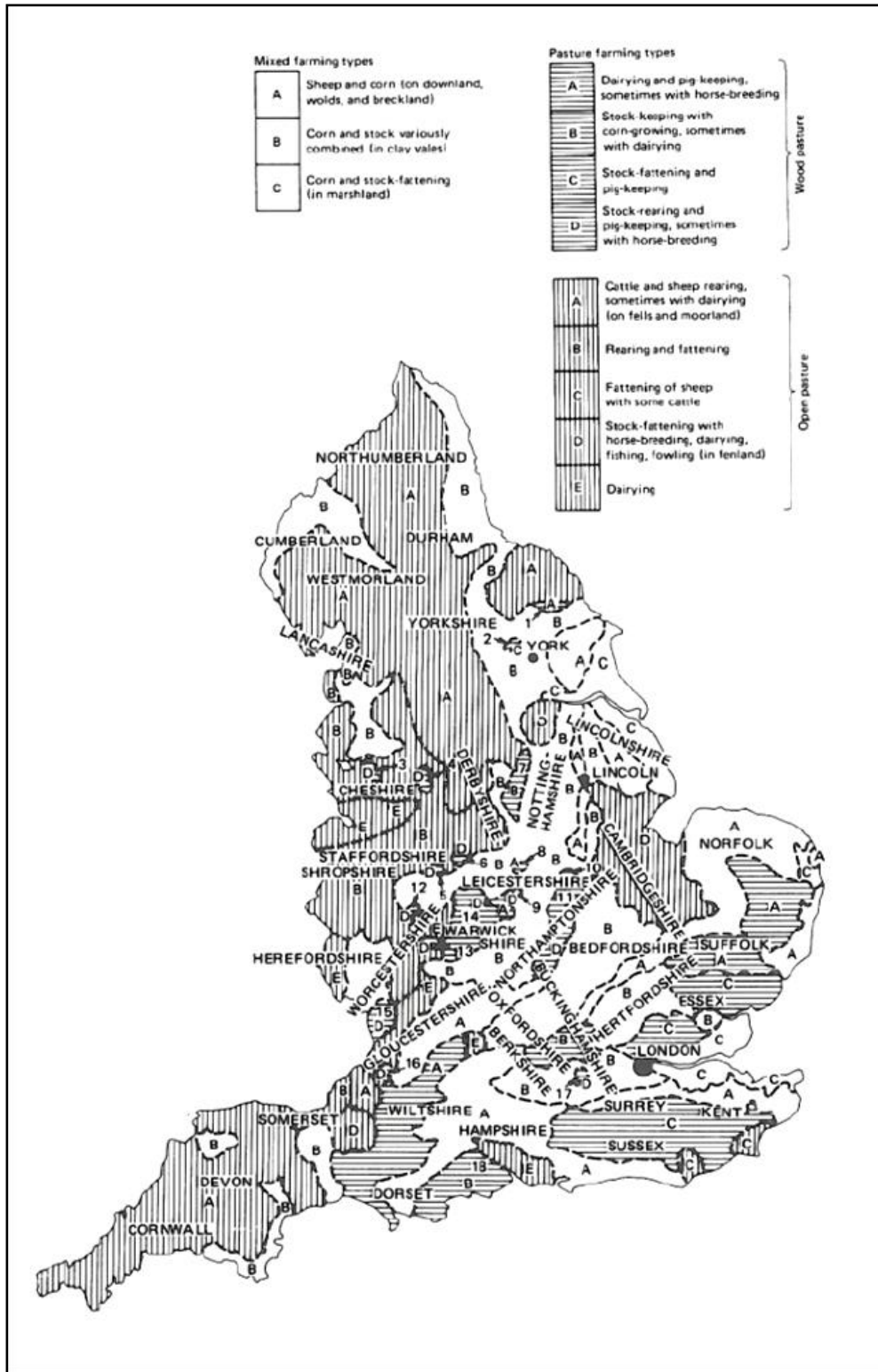


Figure 7. Farming region of England 1500-1640. Reprinted from Thirk, J. (1987). *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England 1500-1750*.

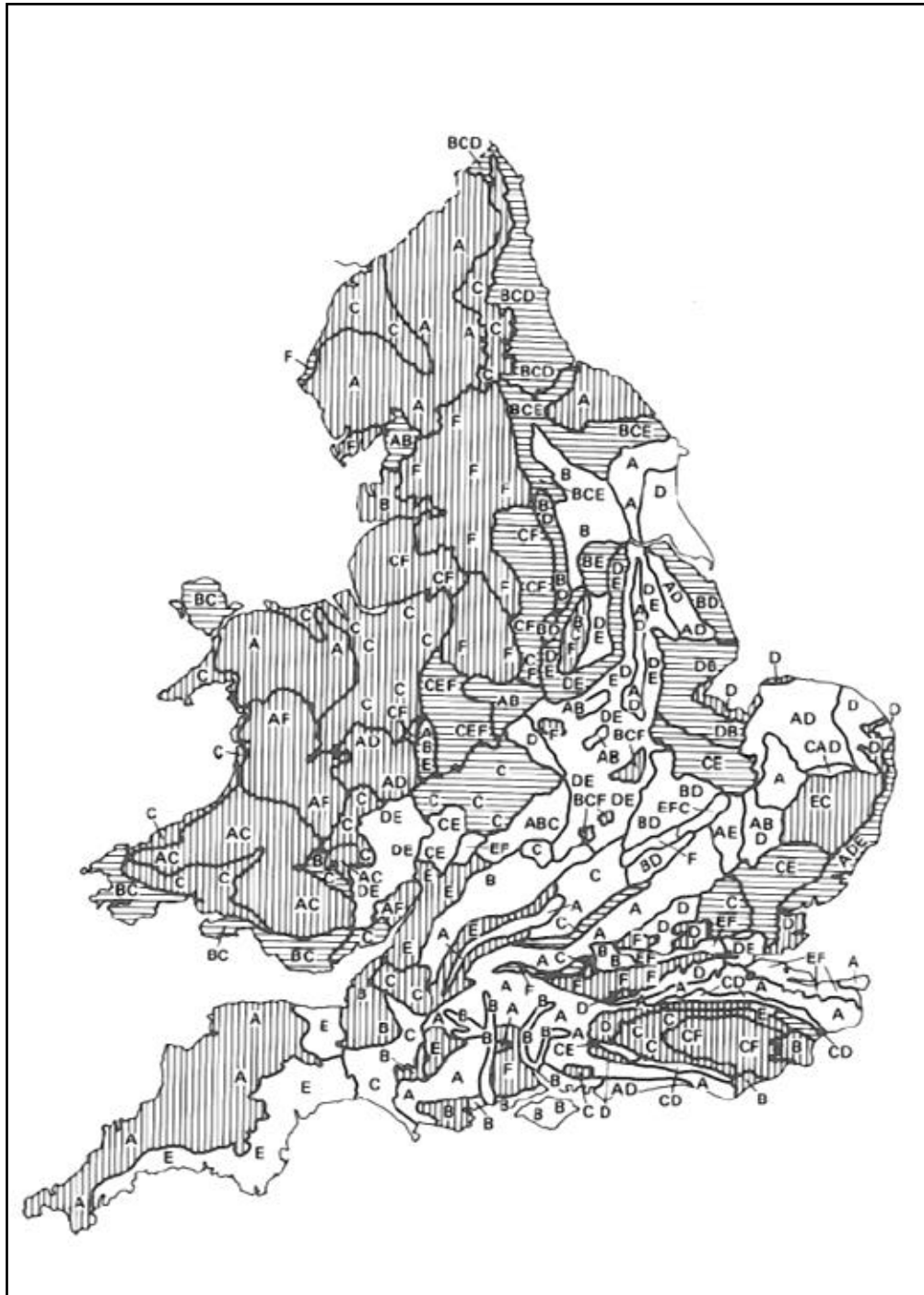


Figure 8. Farming regions of England and Wales, 1640-1750. Reprinted from Thirsk (1987). *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England 1500-1750*.

Thirsk's maps show regions of England in 1500-1640 and 1640-1750 and are intended to show the change in farming techniques employed in regions across England and Wales (1967, 1984a). In broad terms, there are many similarities between the maps produced by Thirsk and Kerridge, but it is clear that Thirsk has broken down some of the larger regions identified by Kerridge, such as the Midland Plain, into more detailed categories. For example, Thirsk identifies four categories of pasture farming within wood pasture areas, five categories of pasture farming on open pasture and three types of mixed farming regions (Thirsk 1967, 111; Thirsk 1987, 37). From Thirsk's maps there is a clear movement throughout this period from mixed farming being the predominant type of farming employed throughout England to areas of specialisation developing, particularly in the north west of England, from 1640-1750 (Thirsk 1987, 60-61). As Overton has noted, the mapping of agricultural regions becomes more detailed between Figure 7. and Figure 8. (above). The map of 1640-1750 has more regions identified than the map of 1500-1640, and Overton suggests that part of this increased complexity may be due to more detailed research carried out between the publication of the first and second map (Overton 1996, 48-49). Thirsk accepted that records are much more abundant from 1560, making direct 'like for like' comparisons between the two periods difficult (Thirsk 1967, 199). Although probate inventories and wills make up the bulk of the documentary evidence which Thirsk used to define agricultural regions, the physical environment also played a significant role in creating regional distinctions (Thirsk 1967, 2). Broadly, England can be divided into the uplands and moorlands of the north and west, and the gentle slopes and lowlands of the south and east. The north and west of England was more prone to a cool wet climate which promoted grass growing and therefore pastoral farming. Fattening, breeding and dairying of pigs, sheep, horses and cattle in varying degrees were practiced in these areas. For example, a large area encompassing parts of Northumberland, Durham, North Yorkshire and Westmorland was an area where cattle and sheep rearing dominated with dairying sometimes being practiced on the fells and moorlands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Cumberland, the Northumberland coast, parts of Lancashire and the Vale of York on the other-hand were areas where rearing and fattening stock was the primary practice (Thirsk 1967, 3-5). The south and east in comparison was prone to drier weather and had areas of much deeper, fertile soil



than the north and west. This area contained the traditional sheep-corn district, where farmers on the downlands, wolds and brecklands of East Anglia kept sheep to ensure fertility was maintained on the corn fields through manuring (Thirsk 1967, 3-5). Thirsk's maps highlight the scale of definition deemed necessary to provide a detailed overview without creating sweeping generalisations. Strongly influenced by the physical factors of soil and climate, these maps share many similarities with soil maps of England. For example the boulder clays and good sands of central and northern East Anglia (Williamson 2008, 4) provided the ideal soil for sheep corn farming (Thirsk 28, 1987), whereas the loamy soil of the broads were better suited to cattle and sheep rearing as these wetlands were a region of pasture farming, where farmers could also keep cattle for dairy farming (Thirsk 1967, 3). The topography, soil and other environmental factors will provide a basic starting point for this research to look further into how this area of West Yorkshire developed, and how these landscape changes had an effect on the population.

Thirsk separates the defining factors that led to agrarian change into physical, social, economic and political factors (1987). She argues that these factors influence each other throughout the analyses and acknowledges the complexities of large scale research. Using this framework to structure research highlights the nature of the evidence available for such a study. The implications of this will be discussed in more detail below. When this framework is applied to a localised landscape such as Gawthorpe, it becomes clear that all physical, social, economic and political factors are intrinsically linked and that changes in one factor will inevitably be reflected in changes in the others. Using these categories as a framework could, however, generalise and smooth over the complexities of such a localised landscape. Therefore, although these frameworks are important to keep in mind, it is suggested that a different scale of analysis is perhaps more suitable for looking at a local landscape such as Gawthorpe. These maps show the differences in the scale of interpretation chosen by different authors to focus on specific aspects of agrarian change.

One of the key variables from the medieval to the early modern period was the relationship between population fluctuations and changes in land use over time. Areas of marginal land, which might not have otherwise been farmed due to their

inferior quality, were farmed during times of population growth as provision for more people became essential. This expansion into marginal lands is also linked to periods in history in which agricultural diversification took place as the economic value of key crops, such as corn, fluctuated (Thirsk 1984b, Hodges 1988, Glennie 1988). For example, from 1437 to 1491, there was a surplus of corn. This surplus could be exploited by farmers who could export the surplus corn. This was also supported in 1463 by a Corn Law act was passed to restrict corn being imported from abroad, as farmers were actively encouraged to grow this crop, and to export the surplus (Tawney 1912, 111-113, Thirsk 1984, 172). However, famine triggered by poor harvests led to a rise in death rates and also a decrease in population. This can be seen on a national level during 1597-8 and again in 1623, particularly in the north of England where higher than average mortality rates show the effect of four bad harvests (Wrightson 1982, 144-145). During this period the export of corn was banned to keep control of the price of grain and ensure bread could be afforded by the population, and could continue to be offered as relief to the poor (Walter & Schofield 1991, 110-121). Although scholars have detailed the national and regional economic and social scale of these changes, this study will look at a localised landscape to understand the personal and individual effect such changes would have had on the population of the Harewood and Gawthorpe manors. This research will use household books to show the changing diet of the household at Gawthorpe, and use these alongside personal letters and topographic evidence to suggest how local landscapes were used to support the household.

This background to agrarian landscapes from 1500 to 1750 provides a national overview of current understanding of rural landscape developments triggered by evolving farming techniques and processes during this period. The methodologies discussed have highlighted how by using documentary, topographic and excavated material associated with Gawthorpe Hall, a specific case study may be created to demonstrate how far these trends are applicable to this local landscape. Alongside the management of farming lands and the landscape associated with Gawthorpe Hall, this research considers the significance of the hall itself as reflecting and shaping some of the decisions made about landscape use.

### 2.3.2. Houses of the Gentry

Gawthorpe provides an opportunity to examine both the historical documentation and the archaeology together. Comparatively few complete house-plans have been excavated for this period (Schofield 1995, 92), and few are preserved so completely. The internal space of a house can be helpful in interpreting how these were used and lived in by the household. The way buildings develop over time, is often directly influenced by how these spaces are being used by the people living within them (Schofield 1995, 92). At Gawthorpe, this may provide a narrative about the evolution of household, that the deposition of artefacts cannot.

The hall, within the main building range, would have been the central room from which all others radiated (Johnson 1992, 48). Until the sixteenth century the hall was commonly open two storeys in gentry households, and was the grandest room in the house (Cooper 1999, 276). The medieval hall would have publically displayed the wealth and status of their owners, evident to a visitor, and would have provided a central point for the immediate community (Cooper 1997, 116-118). Internally, although medieval open halls were accessible to the extended household they provided for, they had a sense of clearly defined and divided space dependant on hierarchy which the household would have clearly understood (Johnson 1997, 146, Cooper 1997, 265-268). Rituals which reinforced these social structures would be played out, for example during mealtimes, which would be held within this space (Dyer 2005, 52). As the role of the gentry changed over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so they redesigned the appearance and amenities of their homes (Cooper 1999, 3). Throughout this period, the 'great chamber' evolves into a space where the family could eat and entertain privately. It could be used to play games and take occasional meals in by the household or visiting guests, which often displayed the owner's wealth, heritage, and fashion (Cliffe 1999, 24). The great chamber could also be used as a reception room for special guests or as a room where visitors could sleep, depending on the arrangement within the house (Girouard 1980, 30-40). While the function of the great chamber was changing during the sixteenth century, the hall remained a reception room, though this commonly decreased in size to allow the expansion of the larger private rooms during the seventeenth century (Girouard 1980, 53; Cooper 1999, 277; Cliffe 1999, 24). The house, gardens and parkscape of a gentry

home were manipulated and constructed to allow certain interactions and tasks to be played out by different members of the household, creating a landscape of power (Hall 2000, 99). However, as will be discussed below, how these spaces were created and designed to be used might not always represent how the entire household actually used these spaces, and objects within them on a day to day basis.

### **2.3.3. Household Archaeology**

Identifying what a household is, how large they were, and how this differed across different levels of society for any specific time in history is a challenging task and has long been a concern for archaeologists and historians. Research into households began in earnest in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Pluckhahn 2010). Wilk and Rathje (1982) were amongst the first archaeologists to highlight the difficulties in differentiating a household from a dwelling unit. This distinction separates those individuals who may live within one structure together, in co-residence, to form a dwelling unit and a group of individuals linked together who cooperate economically and socially to create a household (Wilk and Rathje 1982, 620). This discussion brings into focus the theoretical implications surrounding the definition of households and the different terms various scholars have used to describe this social group.

More recently, Blanton has developed the definition further (1994, 5) through a comparative study of 'peasant' households from ethnographic and architectural sources across several case studies from different world locations (Blanton 1994, v). The most frequent household grouping Blanton identifies within his research is that of the nuclear family, which he terms a 'simple' household. A 'complex' household is defined as a nuclear family to which additional marriages, siblings and, or, servants or labourers might also be added to make up individuals within the household. This is less frequently seen within Blanton's research, as the focus of his research is upon peasant households, but this definition is significant to note for the purposes of this study. This complexity has been acknowledged since early examinations of the household (Hill 1978), but Blanton highlights more succinctly the need to question the perceived relations of power and agency within a household group.

Naomi Tadmor has taken a linguistic approach to assess the concept of 'family' and 'household' using popular novels, personal diary entries, and conduct books from the mid-eighteenth century (1996, 113-4). Using contemporary references in the context of the documents they have come from, 'family' can be understood to be a unit of people living cohesively together, ruled by a sense of authority and possession by the head of the household, who in most cases is male (Tadmor 1996, 120). This framework created what could be described as a "contractual" relationship as members joined the family and agreed to adhere to the family's rules and ethos. Blood relations do not necessarily fall into this category, and often had household-families of their own, separate from that of their kin (Tadmor 1996, 122-3). It is significant to remember that the internal relationships of a household would create a politicized unit which is linked to changes in the wider world. Households are not isolated from economic, political and social changes and demands, but it should also be noted that they do not passively react to these outside influences (Hendon 1996, 46-47).

Within historic archaeology, much of the focus of household archaeology has been concerned with the relationship of elite households to lower class communities and has been focused on plantation owners and enslaved communities within the south eastern United States (Pluckhahn 2010, 331). Within household studies more generally, the study of gentry households and the social relations within these, has been underexplored by archaeologists (Hindle 2011). However, this research aims to show that despite the considerable differences between American slave, and colonial contact sites, some useful comparisons might be seen in the methodological approaches to seeing a subaltern community within the archaeological record. This research does not intend to gloss over the serious ethical considerations and political concerns of such research, but aims to continue to expand developing methodologies used within this field of archaeology.

Hendon in her study of *The Organisation of Domestic Labor* (1996), discusses why it is important to understand internal relationships within a household, in the context of prehistoric sites in Mesoamerica. She highlights the need to understand how individuals, as members of a domestic group, act; what their assigned roles within the household are; and what, if any, meaning this carried to

other members of this group and to those outside the household unit (Hendon 1996, 46). This allows more holistic research to fully comprehend the dynamic of the household. However, Hendon's study focuses on a prehistoric community, and specifically on challenging traditional constructs of female domestic space and tasks. Her study uses a methodology which compares the distribution of artefacts associated with domestic activities and compares their nature, scale, and the technology of these activities both within and between household units, throughout the duration of the site (Hendon 1996, 48). However, the methodology which Hendon uses, common in the prehistoric study of households, is not appropriate for use at Gawthorpe. The nature of the deposits left during the destruction of the hall mean that the artefacts are compacted together within a destructive rubble layer, which might not relate the artefacts directly to their use during the occupation of the hall. Social relations within the household at Gawthorpe will not be demonstrated by the distribution of artefacts, as it seems this does not correlate with where they may have been used during the process of domestic tasks.

Focusing on the relationship of Sir Richard Newdigate, the owner of Arbury Hall in Warwickshire, to his household staff between c.1670 and 1710, Hindle (2011) uses historic documents, and particularly letters, to provide an account of late-seventeenth century household relationships. Although Hindle stresses caution on using the evidence from letters alone, as these often focused on 'crisis' points which were notable enough to warrant mention within the letters and accounts of the gentry (Hindle 2011, 79), they do provide a valuable insight into the gentry's ethos, and how they communicated with, and controlled the lives of, their households. Sir Richard Newdigate had an unusually close relationship with his household, having retired early from a brief parliamentary career, and therefore focusing his full attention to the running of his estates (Hindle 2011, 71). Despite this, his actions and opinions stated in his letters illustrate a typical 'master-servant relationships in a late seventeenth-century gentry household' (Hindle 2011, 73). The relationship of master as patriarchal enforcer to his subordinate servants is all too clearly communicated in the written sources from this period, but offer too simple an analogy of life within an elite household (Silliman 2012, 31). The construction of elite landscapes and buildings is designed to ensure clear acts of insubordination would not be tolerated by the gentry, and that certain

routines and everyday structures could be put in place (Thompson 1966, 507). However controlling the hand of the individual landlord, there were still more subtle ways the household could affect the household relationships, and the focus of our interest should be on how individuals actually used space and objects within a house, rather than how these were intended to be used (Silliman 2012, 30). Examining the archaeological record in terms of these spaces has focused on identifying specific areas and artefacts to different social groups and not on how these might have been co-used.

Recent developments within archaeological theory have led archaeologists to question household relationships and have highlighted, for example, the role of women as active agents (Gibb and King 1991). Hendon (1996) has clearly outlined the challenges household archaeology faces to question traditional assumptions of defined roles within a household group, specifically focusing on everyday domestic tasks within the household. Hendon's study demonstrates the need to understand domestic life in order to understand wider social, political and economic processes beyond the household unit itself, recognising that the internal relations of a household are politicized as they reflect these wider influences within the processes of everyday activity (Hendon 1996, 46). Understanding how domesticity is practiced by a household can reveal much about the ideology of this social unit, which can help to explain their actions within the wider world (Goldberg and Kowaleski 2008). Riddy explores the role of domesticity within the late-medieval household, and challenges the assumption that domesticity can only exist where the lives of the household are separated into working and residing, male and female, home and the world (2008, 17). This background will shape the analysis and interpretation of letters, household books and excavated remains, allowing the material to be assessed holistically across the spatial definitions and assemblages formed during the process of data gathering itself.

The difficulty archaeologists have in interpreting the archaeological records that the very nature of excavated remains means that the focus is on the dwellings and material remains found within these buildings. They do not intrinsically show the individuals or social groupings of a household, merely the remains of what people have left behind within this space. Initial research therefore saw the household as

a confined set of systems, of production and consumption, which would create a model of larger systems of cultural evolution (Smith 1987, 297). Examining households in this way meant that each household would provide a comparative social unit that could be examined across many different human societies, and has been used this way by both historic and prehistoric archaeologists (Blanton 1994). As Cobb (2000, 187) has noted, this processual approach sees households as the 'building blocks' which make up a community, but obscures variation between households and fails to recognise the agency of individuals living within these households. Hendon suggests that such attempts have tried to reconstruct kin groups, rather than household groups, and as a result have often over simplified the social relations within a household and do not reflect the politicized nature of the household (Hendon 1996, 48). Pluckhahn has noted how this seems particularly relevant in the definition of material culture thought to be attributed to specific genders, age groups and of ethnic groups of people (Pluckhahn 2010, 367). Using the household as a unit of analysis can provide a useful link between grand societal change, economic and environmental processes, providing a window of change between grand narratives and individual agency (Pluckhahn 2010).

Highlighting these major themes demonstrates the direction of this research, and demonstrates how the research questions outlined in chapter one will be answered throughout the following chapters. This chapter has provided a background of the influences which will direct this research and shape the way in which data is collected, allowing transparency and clarity of interpretations in the following chapter.



## **Chapter 3: Medieval Gawthorpe and Harewood**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter will focus on the medieval landscape of Harewood and Gawthorpe. This will provide a useful starting point from which later chapters may build, in order to demonstrate the nature of transition from the medieval to the early-modern landscape. This chapter will assess the aspects of the landscape which are most significant to this study and aim to define the significance of an archaeological perspective of cultural landscapes. A description of medieval landscapes, specifically focusing on rural landscapes in West Yorkshire, based on collating national data, will provide a model of what might be expected in the area of Gawthorpe and Harewood from AD.1086 to 1500. The final section of the chapter will use GIS to provide an interpretation of the medieval landscape of Gawthorpe and Harewood.

### **3.2. An introduction to Medieval Landscapes**

The patterns and forms of villages, and their frequency and distribution within the landscape has been of particular interest to scholars concerned with rural medieval landscapes (Mingay 1990, 1; Lewis et al. 2001, 3; Jones and Page 2006, 2; Roberts 2008, 4). A village is defined as a nucleation of holdings and buildings in a rural context (Roberts 2008, 3), and may also be defined by size as being 'more than a dozen farmsteads', distinguishing a village settlement from that of a hamlet or a town (Jones and Page 2006, 2). Although a manor and a village might often share the same territory, a village might not necessarily belong entirely to one manor (Astill 2010, 17). Similarly, although village and parish boundaries were often the same, the distinction is in the secular administration and religious aspect of these terms (Dyer 1994, 409). Here, it is the secular aspect that is of most interest.

In order to understand the local context of the landscapes of Gawthorpe and Harewood within a regional picture, it is essential to understand national trends which occur within rural medieval landscapes. Rural landscapes have formed a considerable study area within archaeology since the 1970s (Darvill 1997, 70), building on the work of earlier pioneers such as Hoskins (1955) and Beresford (1954; 1957). Within archaeology, much of the focus on medieval landscapes has been concerned with the development of rural settlement, particularly trying to

establish a model for how villages evolved throughout this period, mapping these on a national scale. The physical attributes of a landscape including the geography, geology, climate and soil conditions have also been assessed as these create the basic framework within which cultural interactions with the landscape occur. However, these factors should not be viewed as the only determining factors which affect human interaction with the landscape. As will be demonstrated, due to various pressures during the medieval period, landscapes which are considered to be marginal were put to use although the physical aspects they contained were not the most desirable for the use the land was put to.

Medieval villages are traditionally defined into two major groupings, of nucleated or dispersed settlements. Nucleated villages are usually presented as linear settlements built along a track or roadway, or as a gridded cluster of holdings and buildings (Lewis et al. 2001, 103-107). Dispersed villages are more difficult to define as they can be expressed in a variety of forms. These include single farmsteads which have some connection with one another, interrupted rows of buildings along routeways, or villages which expanded on the edges of established settlements into more marginal lands. Although dispersed settlements often lack a distinctive centre, there is often a focal point that links the individual holdings together such as a church or manor house (Lewis et al. 2001, 110).

The nature of how and why these settlements formed, how they developed over time, and when this process occurred has been the subject of much contemporary multidisciplinary debate. Early studies of the development of villages during the 1940s and 50s based on place name chronology and historical sources, suggested village formation occurred as a result of the influence of incoming Anglo-Saxon from the fifth century onwards (Gerrard and Aston 2007, 3). However in the late 1970s and 1980s, this theory developed further to provide a model which explained the development of common field systems and their associated settlements (Faull 1984). This model suggested that villages developed as planned sites replacing existing dispersed farmstead and hamlets to form an entirely new or planted settlement. Building on the work of Dyer, this has been developed further to suggest villages might also develop less formally from polyfocal settlements growing together to create larger, joined villages (Taylor 1977; Taylor

2010, 6). This model dates the chronology of village formation and development back to the period between the ninth, tenth century to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Gerrard and Aston 2007, 5). For example, in the late 1980s Brown and Taylor discussed the significance of twelfth-century development which saw many new settlements and large-scale landscape changes which they suggested can be related to demographic pressures (Brown and Taylor 1989, 80). This has been further developed by scholars such as Astill (2010) and is now thought to have originated as early as the eighth and ninth centuries. For example, in the south of Britain land grants to lesser nobles in the ninth and tenth centuries has been interpreted as a key factor which promoted changes to rural settlement. In Devon and Cambridgeshire the reorganisation of field systems occurred most notably in the eighth century, but continued throughout the Middle Ages. However, regional exceptions to this model have also been shown to exist, for example in the Midland area of the Britain, where village development can be traced back to tenurial change as a result of the Norman Conquest (Astill 2010, 14). The chronology of these developments continue to be a significant area of study within medieval archaeology and demonstrate how increasing examples of localised studies have added to recent understanding of regional patterns of settlement development.

A major factor in the development and changing nature of villages during the medieval period was the role of the landlord, and the contrast and relationship of this figurehead to the power of the peasant, in guiding the formation or reorganisation of the village landscape (Lewis et al. 2001, 145; Jones and Page 2006, 10). Dyer suggests that a village, in particular nucleated villages, would have had internal regulation for its inhabitants to ensure the smooth running of communal practices, such as farming practises, as well as owing money, labour, and information to their landlords above them, who might control areas larger than one specific village (Dyer 1994, 409). However, peasant communities would also be able to work with and imitate their neighbours, sharing ideas, labour and goods beyond the bounds of the village itself (Dyer 2007, 24-26). Thompkins (2011) has demonstrated the ability of the medieval peasant to act both for individual gain and for communal good through the examination of the lease of a manorial demesne at Great Horwood in Buckinghamshire. He demonstrates that after collectively taking a lease of the demesne in 1320, the tenants collectively

held this land throughout numerous generations, for over two hundred years (Thompkins 2011, 169). Between 1551 and 1611 legal cases were 'not entirely unsuccessful[ly]' upheld by the tenants against New College to keep ownership of the ancestral demesne lands (Thompkins 2011, 171). Although it is unclear how this land was shared out amongst the tenants and how this might have been adjusted over time (Thompkins 2011, 173), it is clear that the peasants of Horwood were able to work collectively for the benefit of individual enterprise as well as for communal strength and power within their community (Thompkins 2011, 167 and 176). In a similar vein, Birrell (2010) has examined how peasants demonstrated knowledge of manorial documents and an awareness of their rights as tenants through rentals and other documents from Alrewas in Staffordshire during the mid-fourteenth century. Documents at Alrewas openly record the discord between lord and peasants, and show how the tenants were able to negotiate with their lord to record the customary rights to protect their lands (Birrell 2010, 203). These examples show how recent debate, promoted by the work of Dyer, shows the peasant tenant as an active agent of change within their own communities, rather than the lord dictating and controlling all of the changes to village life that occurred during the Middle Ages.

Following this relationship of peasant and lord further, the development, or perhaps more accurately in some cases the redevelopment, of medieval villages and their associated field systems has been linked to the intensification of rural resources during this period and the increasing links between urban and rural areas (Dyer 1990, 305; Astill 2010, 12). A major discussion in understanding medieval society has been to understand the role of the peasant and the lord in the organisation and control of market economy. In Yorkshire, this link can be demonstrated by examining medieval coinage which suggests that regional trade became more important than long distance trading from as early as the eighth and ninth centuries (Astill 2010, 20), putting local economies at the heart of economic development at this time. It has been suggested that the increasing market power of the peasant during the medieval period demonstrated individual initiative and communal cohesion (Thompkins 2011, 162). Biddick uses itemised tax returns to demonstrate how location influenced the 'stratification and composition' of wealth of peasants involved in medieval markets (1985, 825). She suggests that as peasants worked communally to minimise the risk of agricultural

failure (1985, 830), and this prevented an increased involvement with the market (1985, 831). Byres points to the late-fifteenth, sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries as the period of transition from traditional feudal society to the increased influences of the market within a society based on agrarian capitalism (2006, 19, also Tawney 1912, 175). Byres suggests that during this period of transition, that tenant farmers came to dominate the market. Byres also points to the significance of identifying the period before this transition began to take place, and identifies the period 1350-1450 as significant (2006, 23). The extension of leases to peasant farmers and the growing use of hired labour during this period demonstrates that a group of well to do farmers was emerging within this bottom tier of society who aimed to improve their social, and financial standing (Dobb 1963, 58-60). It has been further suggested that with the growth of local trade and markets, these richer peasants were further encouraged to take advantage of opportunities to trade (Byres 2006, 25). Dyer has also pointed to this period, specifically the fifteenth century, when peasants within village communities had an increasing awareness of the political and economic world around them, and were demonstrating market power by exploiting profitable pieces of land, and having the legal knowledge to protect these investments (Dyer 2007, 25). These social and economic changes would have had a significant influence on land use and therefore on the landscapes of medieval England, as peasants sought to 'add field to field' to improve the financial profitability of the land they farmed (Dobb 1963, 58). Peasants were themselves creating socio-economic change to create the opportunities to buy leases of land (Byres 2006, 27).

Although it is widely accepted that the increasing significance of the market created regionalisation, particularly in farming practises, changes in population and climatic conditions might also be considered when discussing rural medieval England (Astill and Grant 1988, 229). For example, the expansion into and retreat from farming in marginal land in the later Middle Ages has been linked to the expansion and contraction of medieval rural settlements. However, as Dyer has suggested, each example should be viewed in terms of specific region and district, and the effects of demography and economy on an individual case study, and places the role of the peasant in being instrumental in promoting some of these changes (Dyer 1989).

These subtle human interactions affect the way in which people in the past have left an impression on the landscape. For the purpose of this study, and understanding the relationships between landowner and tenant or servant, this question is particularly pertinent. Medieval feudal society presents a seemingly simple relationship between the landlord at the top of the social hierarchy giving orders from above, to be carried out by the peasants below, but perhaps this is too simplistic a model. As has been widely discussed above, Byres suggests that Marxist interpretations of the relationships between peasants and lords as demonstrated by market involvement, suggests that a simple 'before and after' feudalism model does not take into account the differentiation of peasantry and the way groups within the peasantry evolved from as early as the fourteenth century (Byres 2006). He suggests that interpretations should go beyond the linking of feudalism and market dependency to capitalism and market involvement (Byres 2006, 54). Suzanne Spencer-Wood, notes that interpretations of landscapes of power should go beyond a limited Marxist framework of dominance and resistance between defined hierarchical social groups, above and below one another (2010, 520). Although it is clear that instances of these power struggles existed through riots and uprisings, court cases and punishments, it is suggested here that more nuanced power struggles existed between and within communities (Dyer 1988a, 24-25). The personal ambitions of those in positions of power were often in conflict with the needs and interests of those families and communities deemed to be under their care and owing them service. In order to maintain continued cooperation, such relationships were constantly changing (Baugher 2010, 494). For example, peasants might have the power to come together to subversively alter a landscape, giving it a cultural meaning beyond its intended use by the landowner. As has been demonstrated, peasants had the ability to understand manorial courts and could work collectively against the powers above them to maintain land holdings and uphold legal rights to land holdings.

This thesis is concerned with cultural landscapes, and particularly cultural landscapes which display relationships of power. Cultural landscapes are those which are constantly being changed by human activity. Powered cultural landscapes specifically focus on the expression of power relations which have been physically left on the landscape (Spencer-Wood & Baugher 2010, 464). The

term 'cultural landscapes' is useful as it takes into account broader terms of 'space' and 'place', which focus on built structures, and built outdoor spaces, as well as large scale landscapes, which have been the concern of traditional perspectives of rural landscapes (Spencer-Wood 2010, 499). This takes into account traditional and natural aspects of the landscape such as climate, topography, soils and geography but places the emphasis on human choices about, and interactions with, the landscape. Cultural landscapes, as discussed in more detail in chapter two, acknowledge the people living and working within the landscape and the social processes which affect the landscape (Johnson 2007, 120). This emphasis of human impact on the landscape, puts people of the past as the key agents of change within the landscape, and creates the focus of this study of landscape development in Harewood and Gawthorpe.

This framework of powered landscapes is central to this thesis, to add another dimension to the historical accounts that exist for the Harewood estate and the history of this landscape. This research will consider the complex relations of individuals who would have lived and worked within this landscape, including - but not simply limited to -, the owners of Gawthorpe Hall and Harewood Castle, as historical accounts have tended to focus. This overview demonstrates there is still need for local studies to improve our understanding of settlement development across the country (Jones and Page 2006, 6).

### **3.2.1. The physical landscape**

Climatic conditions in the past, as today, were not consistent. However some trends exist across England which can provide some detail to the physical conditions which partially dictated how people interacted with landscapes of the past. For example, due to mean average temperatures above six degrees, most areas in England can grow crops seven to eight months of the year. Exceptions to this general trend can be found in the far south west where crops can be grow from anything from nine to twelve months of the year, while in the highest areas of the Pennines only five or six months of the year are warm enough to accommodate crop growing (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 37). During the medieval period, generally speaking the north and west of England was dominated by pastoral agriculture while the south and east of England was concerned with arable farming. The Midland Plain, stretching from south west to north east across the country, has been identified as a significant area in the

development of farming techniques in England. During the medieval period, peasants cooperatively farmed large open fields, commons and wastes, which were manured and grazed by livestock when not in crop (Mingay 1990, 7). These developing techniques will be examined in more detail below.

A significant aspect of medieval landscapes in England was the woodlands, and the degree to which these areas were cleared to enable agriculture. Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 30) have identified six regions, that together create a swathe of land from south-south-west to north-north-west England, that had already been cleared of woodland by 1086. The sources used to compile this data include the presence of woodland recorded in the Domesday Book, and Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian place-names connected to wooded landscapes. The areas that were cleared included East Gloucestershire, south Worcestershire, and the Avon Valley on the heavy clay soils. On the limestone clay and silts of the Marlstone escarpments, south-eastern Warwickshire and north Oxfordshire also had landscape cleared of woodland before 1086. South-west and central Northamptonshire, most of Leicestershire, and south-east Nottinghamshire as well as north-west Kesteven can be noted as being cleared of woodland during this period. Most of Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, as well as most of Cambridgeshire (except the Fenlands), north-west Suffolk and part of west Norfolk were felled. Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset and large parts of Shropshire and southern Herefordshire also show evidence of being widely cleared of woodland. These areas show the extent to which huge areas of the country were already hugely modified by human intervention by 1086. When taken in context with other aspects of cultural landscape change and physical landscape features, these definitions can begin to explain aspects of human interaction with the landscape. For example, in these vastly contrasting areas, the reasons for tree felling might be very different, and although this survey provides a useful starting point, it does not provide detail to the human action behind these aspects of the landscape. This area of landscape is generally regarded as champion landscape, falling in a similar area to the Midland Plain, whereas other areas of England were dominated by enclosed landscapes and wooded hedges which would be considered to be woodland areas. This area also includes the far south east below the Chilterns, including Kent, Surrey,



Middlesex, and most of Hertfordshire, Sussex, Suffolk and Essex and the north and west of England, above the Pennines (Williamson 1988, 5).

### 3.2.2. Population and landscape

Changes in population are significant to an understanding of rural landscapes, as the pressures put upon the landscape to support people of the past will change over time. As Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 40-43) have identified, although there are problems with the level of accuracy of the documents used to estimate population levels, these still provide an idea of trends and the regional distribution of populations over time. For the medieval period, figures are largely based on the estimations of household sizes from the Domesday Book which lists the heads of households of 13, 278 places in England and multiplies this by the average household size of five people (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 43). This estimate suggests a population of about 1.59 million people in England 1086. This figure however, obscures unrecorded settlements which were omitted from the Domesday Book and it has been suggested that the population might have been as high as 2.25 million in 1086 (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 43). For the period after 1086 it is more difficult to assess how population changed over time, though estimations by Geoffrey King based on Hearth Tax documents provide some data on the number of taxed houses within a settlement, and the number of individuals within these households might then also be estimated to provide figures for the late seventeenth century (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 42). As Hollingsworth(1969) has demonstrated, the quality of such historic data can be limited due to inaccuracies caused by 'incompetence', 'level of literacy' of the record keeper, and how the data is collected and processed, as this may be open to manipulation by those who could gain from changing these records (299-300). The accuracy and bias of demographic evidence means a variety of documentary evidence should be drawn together to provide the best indication of population numbers for this period. Russell suggests using not only the Domesday and poll tax returns but also chantry certificate returns from the sixteenth century for instance (1948, 19). Mingay broadly puts population growth between 1086 and the middle of the fourteenth century from 1.75 to 2.25 to 4.5- 6 million, followed by a period of decline to give a population of 2.5-3 million in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Mingay 1990, 2). Wrigley and Schofield have focused on population levels in England from 1541 to 1871 (1989). They suggest that

population rose from 2.774 million in 1541 continuously until the late 1550s when the population dipped from a peak of 3.159 to 2.985 million. Population continued to rise to 5.281 million in 1656 followed by a short period of decline in the 1680s when population in England fell to 4.865 million. The recovery from this decline in population was slow and numbers returned to 5.350 million in 1721 (Wrigley and Schofield 1989, 210). These figures are based on census returns and parish registrations of births, marriages and deaths (Wrigley and Schofield 1989, 192-284). From these broad figures, regional and local areas can be assessed to provide examples of the effects such changes had on the landscape and settlements within these, and to what degree phenomena such as plague and famine effected localised areas.

During the period of population growth indicated above, the need for productive agricultural land greatly increased. Marginal lands where agriculture might not have been practised before, and where the altitude, and the soil and climatic conditions were less favourable, became utilised to support the growing demand for food. Arable crops were particularly favourable and large areas of England were put under the plough, including areas of moor and marsh lands. The increased strain on the landscape contributed to the decline and loss of soil fertility in some areas of England, which in turn had an effect on population stress and famine (Mingay 1990, 2).

Estates generally contained a mixture of different land types of varying quality, which could provide a variety of economic opportunities (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 16). Landlords would control the building and renting, particularly of inns or cottages, and discouraged and punished unruly behaviour of their tenants. Labour needed to work the fields of these settlements could be provided by the landlord's tenants, with additional labour being sought from neighbouring villages in times of plenty (Mingay 1990, 157). Open-field systems required cooperation and management by either a manorial court or a village assembly (Taylor 1975, 71). Discussing these links between society and landscape are key to understanding designed landscapes where 'contemporary systems of social organisation as well as tastes, fashions and ideologies' sit alongside the personal motives of the landlord (Creighton 2009, 8). Such concerns will be key to understanding the landscapes of Harewood and Gawthorpe.

Throughout the Middle Ages, improved infrastructure and the increasing size of urban centres allowed an increasing move to farmers becoming more involved in market trade, moving away from being solely self-sufficient. Improvements of this kind also saw the erosion of traditional feudal ties as the peasant gained some degree of power. Regions of specialised farming also began to develop and farming practices gradually improved as a result of this shift of power. Specialisation and the intensification of farming practises has been discussed in some detail in chapter 2, but it is worth noting in this initial overview of medieval landscapes, before turning to localised examples of medieval landscapes.

### **3.3. Landscapes of West Yorkshire**

#### **3.3.1. The physical landscape**

The physical landscape of West Yorkshire is generally derived from the underlying mixed geology and the upland nature of this region. In the south east the geology consists of Coal Measures (made up of alternate strata of sandstone and shale), surrounded by Lower Coal Measures to the west and north, with a band of magnesium limestone running along the eastern extant of the region. The central northern district around Ilkley and Chevin, down towards Headingley shows Glacial deposits above the Millstone geology below that stretches round to the south western extent of West Yorkshire (Yarwood 1981, 34-36). The base geology of this region is significant as it effects a number of other physical factors within the region including soils.

The soil is generally thin in the upland areas of West Yorkshire apart from examples where alluvium or glacial drift have caused a variety in the condition of the soil, such as the Yoredales to the north, the Great Scar Limestone in the south west of West Yorkshire, and the Millstone Grit which covers the east and south east including the landscapes of Harewood (Raistrick and Illingworth 1959, 51). Upland areas generally have a raw peat soil which varies in thickness depending on a range of other factors, including the steepness of slope and amounts of rainfall. Upland soils are easily leached of the nutrients that are necessary to support agricultural practices. The soil condition in lowland areas is much more varied. Some areas, particularly in the lower part of the Pennines and on the Coal Measures display an acidic brown soil in contrast to the wet, poorly drained, soil predominantly found on the geology of shale bands formed between layers of grit

and sandstone. Heavier gleyed (saturated) soils found within the glacial deposits in the north of this region, seem to have little influence on the choice of these areas as arable land during the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. In contrast the areas of limestone in the east of the region are very free draining, though are prone to be very thin in area, so do not always produce a considerably better landscape for farming. (Yarwood 1981, 38).

The climate in the north and west of the region are generally much cooler and wetter than in the south-east, and alongside factors such as soil and relief would have had a considerable influence on rural economies, particularly agriculture. Pastoral farming would have dominated these areas, while landscapes in the east of West Yorkshire would have been more likely to include arable farming or mixed agricultural practices (Thirsk 1967, 60). The distribution of annual rainfall is also significant for this region. In the drier eastern areas, rainfall peaks in July- August and October, is at a minimum in September, but is generally evenly distributed over the year. In the north and west the months of November-December and July-August produce the highest peaks of rainfall with minimum rainfall falling April-June and September, often causing drought in the spring and summer (Raistrick and Illingworth 1959, 57). It is also worth noting, as Yarwood suggests, that there is considerable discussion as to the possible deterioration of climate at the beginning of the fourteenth century and the affect this might have had on rural societies. Although it is generally agreed that there was a deterioration in the weather during this period based primarily on evidence from pollen, and tree ring, analysis it is difficult to ascertain to what extent this affected rural communities across the region (Yarwood 1981, 49).

### **3.3.2. Medieval farming in West Yorkshire**

Medieval West Yorkshire was divided into wapentakes, which were subdivided into townships, also sometimes described as 'vills' particularly in the early Middle Ages. These were then also divided into smaller areas defined as hamlets. Ecclesiastical divisions were focused on parishes which themselves could be made up of one or more townships. Townships were important for rural life in West Yorkshire as they provided a structure that allowed communal cooperation between individuals in these communities. Farmers would require the cooperation of their neighbours within their township to share resources for

ploughing, reaping and preparing the fields. Although the north and west uplands of West Yorkshire were more likely to rely on pastoral farming, it is still likely they would have shared some level of arable farming to provide basic subsistence crops (Michelmores 1981a, 235-237). These highland settlements would have been largely concerned with sheep breeding and grazing. In the mid and lower dales and the lower lying areas of the Pennines in West Yorkshire, mixed dairy farming was the dominant form of husbandry. Drained and reclaimed land on the Millstone Grit and Coal Measures in the east of the region were more likely to be exploited for arable farming (Raistrick 1970, 20-21), though a mixed economy was not uncommon throughout the whole region (Michelmores 1981a, 236). Due to the mixed nature of farming in West Yorkshire, it is likely that much of the landscape was already enclosed by the late medieval period, to ensure a separation of livestock and crops. It is also worth noting that the area around Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield and Wakefield was predominantly concerned with textile production, while in the far south of the region from Sheffield to Rotherham and Mexborough, steel and iron making formed a major local economy from as early as the fourteenth century (Raistrick 1970, 22).

### **3.4. Medieval Harewood**

#### **3.4.1. The physical landscape of Harewood**

As has already been noted, the soils of Harewood are partly conditioned by the underlying geology of Millstone Grit. Areas of West Yorkshire affected by the Millstone Grit vary from the alternate strata of coarse, pebbly soils and areas that are more sandy and pervious to water, although both have fairly low soil fertility. Millstone grit can also be comprised of compressed clays which results in a heavy clay soil, and this is evident in the south of the Harewood estate where acidic grasslands dominate (Rennie, Brown and Sherriff 1794, Appendix 1, 46). This mixture of soils over the Millstone Grit produces soil that is deficient in calcium and creates an environment which is wet and lacking oxygen. These conditions are aggravated by heavy rainfall on higher ground which can produce heavy, badly drained soil which is deficient in lime and rich in humus. At Harewood the mean annual rainfall of 31 inches is amongst the lowest in West Yorkshire (Raistrick and Illingworth 1959, 56-57). With the human intervention of draining, liming and the adding of phosphates, these areas can support pasture, meadow, and some arable crops (Raistrick and Illingworth 1959, 53), as found at Harewood. The eastern extent of the modern estate, towards East Keswick, sits on a belt of Magnesium Limestone which has soil more appropriate for arable farming and which is more fertile than the thin layer of glacial deposits found further to the north. The limestone from this area also provided a local deposit of lime which could be used on the less fertile soils across the rest of the Harewood estate (Batty 2000, 25-37).

The human aspects of the medieval landscapes of Gawthorpe and Harewood are currently understood primarily through the interpretation of historic documentation, and through the buildings still standing within the landscape. Of these, the most prominent within the modern landscape are the church of All Saints and Harewood Castle.

#### **3.4.2. The medieval landscape of Harewood**

Drawing together a range of sources including the Domesday Book, the 1698 estate map and later estate maps, and analysis of place names, Michelmore has outlined the relationship of the vills that made up the township of Harewood before c.1500. Falling within the administrative boundary of Skyrack wapentake,

the township of Harewood consisted of settlements at Harewood, Lofthouse, Newall, Stockton, Alwoodley, Dunkeswick, East Keswick, Kearby, Weeton, Wike and Weardley (Michelmore 1981b, 386-389). The image below (Figure 9.) shows the spatial relation of these settlements, and the situation of these within the modern landscape.

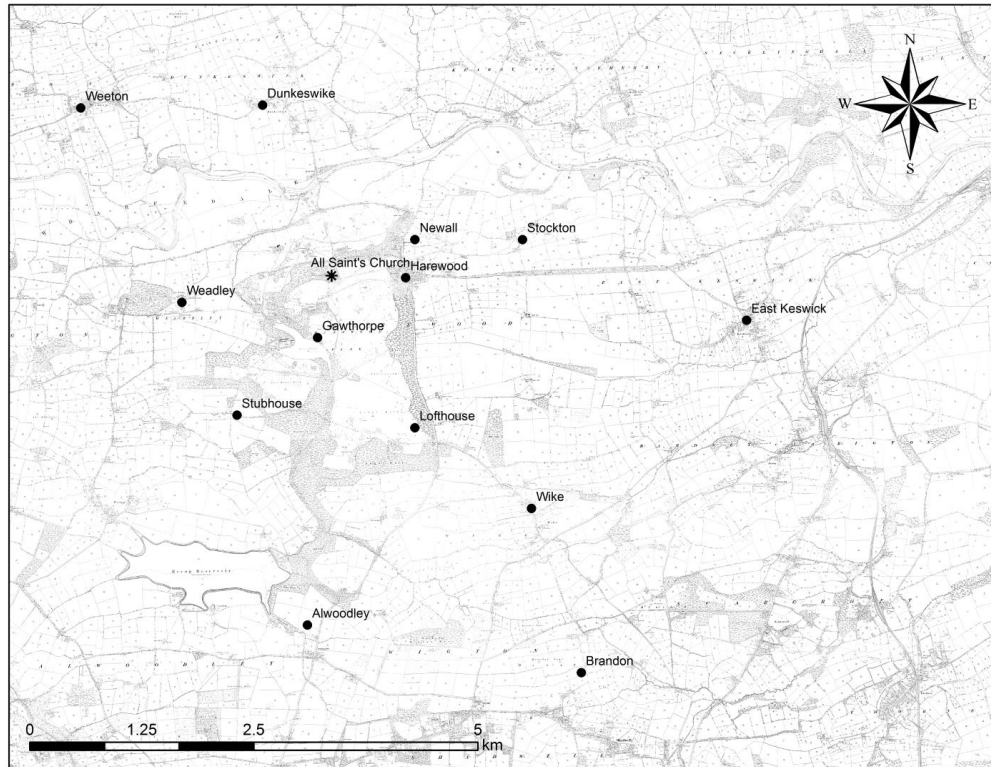


Figure 9.: Settlements of Harewood parish located on the first edition OS map, 1890 (Map source: Edina Digimap)

The location of each settlement is based on grid references given in *West Yorkshire an Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500 volume 2* (Faull and Moorhouse 1981). The locations given are based on evidence from current place names and areas where earthworks are still visible within the modern landscape (Michelmore 1981b, 386). The village of Harewood is the exception to this. Michelmore suggests the present village of Harewood is on the site of the medieval borough and that the medieval village of Harewood was just north east of All Saints Church within the boundary of the modern estate (Michelmore 1981b, 386-387). Michelmore suggests the medieval settlement of Harewood was centred north-east of All Saints Church at SE 31600 45300, where earthworks have been identified. He also indicates that the modern village of Harewood, built during improvements to the Lascelles estate in the mid-eighteenth century, appears to

be on the site of the medieval borough (Michelmores 1981b, 386-7). The modern village certainly seems to be placed on the medieval borough of Harewood, with the market cross marked on the 1698 estate map, and the cross roads creating a logical meeting place for travellers from Harrogate in the North, Leeds to the South and Tadcaster and York to the East (Figure 10.).

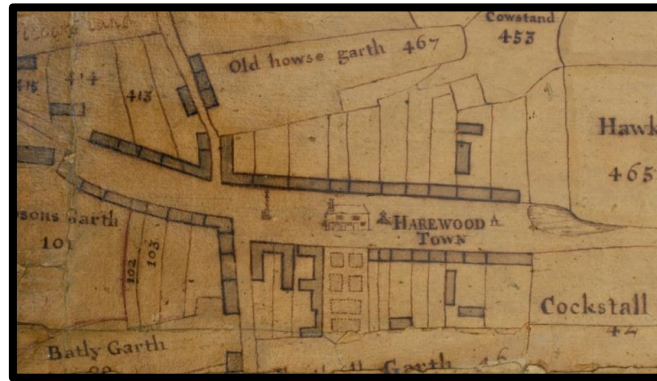


Figure 10.: Detail of 1698 Harewood estate map focused on the market cross and cross road of Harewood village (Source: Harewood House Trust)

However, the placing of the village of Harewood itself seems more problematic. Drawing again from the 1698 estate map, and comparing this to the first edition OS map, and aerial photographs of this area, Michelmores seems to place the village of Harewood arguably within an area which is defined on the 1698 map as the boundary between West End Wood and the Castle Parke. It is important to note that the estate map dates from the early modern period and does not necessarily reflect the landscape as it was in the medieval period, but as already noted, this source provides a good estimation of the early piecemeal enclosure boundaries in the Harewood landscape, and the place names, particularly in this instance, appear to refer to land use during the medieval period. The 1698 map has been slightly stretched and shown to have spatial inaccuracies when placed directly over modern maps within ArchGIS. Particularly problematic, is the central part of the map, which, due to the way it was folded in the past has a small strip missing in the centre of the map. It particularly shows damage to points around Harewood Castle, and parts of the village of Harewood, c.1698 (Figure 11. below).





Figure 11. Detail of 1698 Harewood estate map highlighting the damage on centre of map (Source: Harewood House Trust)

Key boundaries and landmarks such as Harewood Castle itself, streams, and the turnpike road (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 13) to the west of West End Wood can still be ascertained from the map used alongside modern aerial photographs and OS maps. West End Wood was probably the western extent of the Castle Park (being the 'end' point), though it is unclear whether this was within or outside the park itself (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 12). Using the coordinates provided by Michelmore, Figure 3 below shows the placement of the village according to Michelmore and the location of the modern village placed onto the first edition (1890) OS map, with ArchGIS. This map has been used to demonstrate this point, as it provides data that is accurately georeferenced into the National Grid Reference.

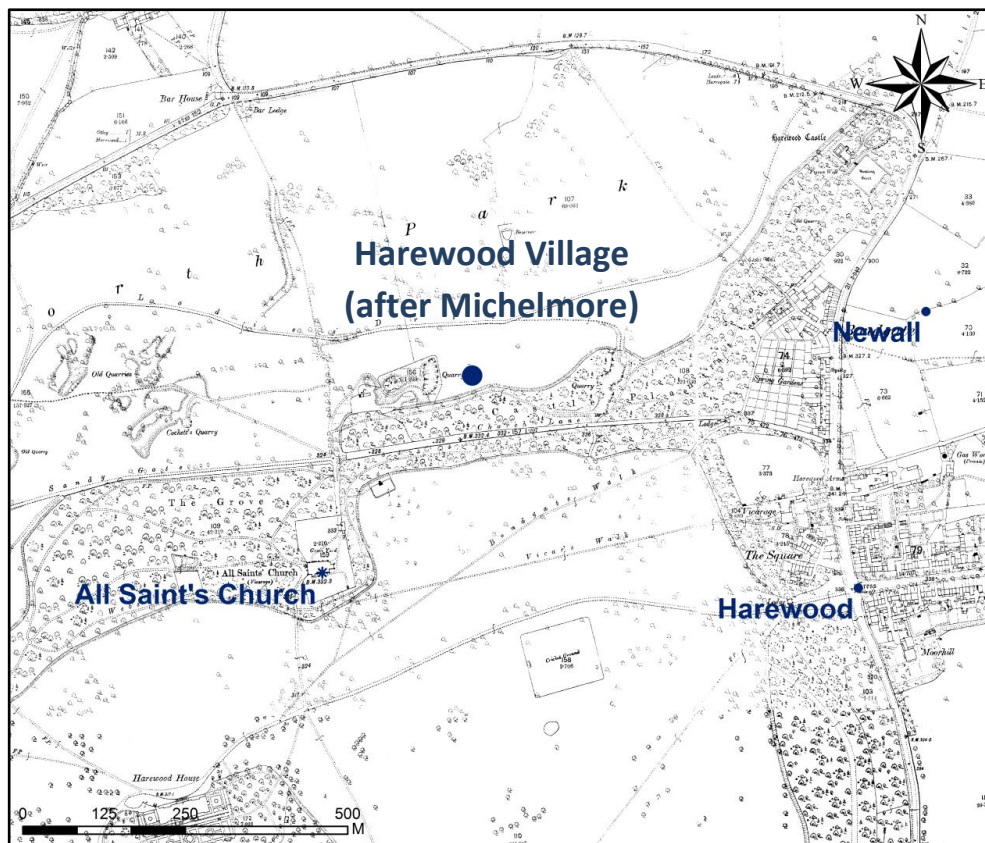


Figure 12. Location of earthworks indicated by Michelmores on first edition OS map, 1890. Note the indication of earthworks associated with quarrying in this area. (Source: Edina Digimap)

Earthworks marked on the first edition OS map close to the point Michelmores has located, are marked here as being part of a series of topographic features associated with quarrying, rather than house platforms or settlement (Figure 12). It is difficult to ascertain the original medieval features within this highly modified estate landscape, and it is unclear whether Michelmores is referring to those earthworks recorded on the first edition OS map, or further features which were not recorded on this map. Without access to unpublished topographic surveys undertaken by Moorhouse in 1985, it is unclear which features Michelmores is placing his interpretations upon. However, Dennison and Richardson (2008, 37) discuss the earthworks Moorhouse identified north of Harewood Castle in the 1980's, and suggest that without further excavation beyond the limited trial trenches it is difficult to attribute the twelfth and thirteenth century pottery which the interpretations of the village are based on, as they predate the castle. They suggest that these finds might have been associated with a late thirteenth century manorial complex known to belong to

Issabell de Fortebus within the township of Harewood, as this has yet to be located.

It would seem fair to suggest that the medieval village would not have sat within the Castle Park or woodland associated with it, even if it had been completely flattened, as this was likely to have been the private grounds of the Castle itself. It is perhaps more likely that the village of Harewood was further south and east of the area indicated by Michelmore, occupying what is now the modern estate village of Harewood, though perhaps spreading further westwards towards the church, as indicated by some of the small strip fields and associated buildings recorded on the 1698 map. This area would have been drastically remodelled in the mid-eighteenth century when the model estate village was built, removing trace of the earlier settlement. The stone buildings which still stand in the village today could have been built over the footprints of the medieval buildings, which would likely have been built of wood (Moorhouse 1981b, 803), leaving few archaeological, material remains.

Although making a connection to the physical remains still visible in the landscape, Michelmore's account within the *West Yorkshire Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500* is strongly based on historical concerns. This account lists named individuals and places deemed significant within the historical documents without connection to the wider context of the landscape, and interconnectivity of these individual aspects. An example of this is the identification of the deserted vill of Lofthouse which falls within the land emparked in 1480. This is interpreted through the mention of Lofthouse in the Domesday Book, through records of various tenants in the vill in the 1300s, and the license of emparkment granted in 1480 (Michelmore 1981b: 387-88). However, it does not include reference to interpretations of the existing earthworks, which are still visible within the modern park. These earthworks were recorded (NMR SC 323433) during fieldwalking in 1977 as part of the preparations for the Ouse extraction water pipeline. This revealed a series of large enclosures, most notably including interconnected rectilinear enclosures which it has been suggested might be rectangular fish ponds (Moorhouse 1989). During excavation for the water pipeline, 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century pottery was recovered and also included some late-medieval sherds and late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century pieces (Pastscape monument

number 53197, accessed January 2013). The nature of the account by Michelmore within this volume, as part of a larger *Archaeological Survey of West Yorkshire*, is focused on providing a description of Harewood within a framework which provides some detail about each settlement within West Yorkshire, and therefore is unable to holistically link the archaeological and historical evidence together to provide a detailed picture of settlements within the township of Harewood. Although Gawthorpe is noted within the description of Harewood in the *Archaeological Survey*, there is no detail of the archaeological context of this site, and the description focuses on locating the provenance of the place name itself.

The document describing the extent of the manor of 'Harwood' (WWM Str P29, 15) dating to 1636, after the estate of Harewood was added to the existing lands of Gawthorpe owned by Thomas Wentworth (Snr), is here examined to further understand the medieval landscape of this area. It notes key points of the landscape, some of which can still be traced within the landscape today, and reveals some of the key landmarks which would have shaped the landscape that made up Gawthorpe and Harewood in the seventeenth century. It is probable that many of these features dated back to medieval boundaries, using rivers, becks, rundells (flowing ditches), dykes, standing stones, mere stones, hedge lines, ring hedges and woodlands to mark the boundary edges within the landscape. For example the 'great grey stones on Rigton More' can still clearly be identified (SE 26815 49021), and are a prominent feature within the modern landscape, as they would have been during the Middle Ages.

Michelmore (1981a, 266) notes that within West Yorkshire hedges were usually concerned with permanent features which enclosed fields or assarts, whereas fences usually indicated a movable division, often on common land. Within an enclosed landscape, hedges were therefore often used as static boundaries. This contrasts to aspects of the landscape which are used as markers within more open areas, such as moorland for example, where stones or crosses might be used to pinpoint a boundary point. The description given of the boundaries of Harewood estate indicates a large area which takes in a variety of open moor, enclosed fields, and becks and rivers. For example describing the northern extent of the estate around Rigton, the landscape is described as open moorland: 'From thence to the great grey stones on Rigton More, And from the said Stones to

Birskow Crosse northwards from the same cross to the white crosse northwest and from thence to the Stone Rings' (WWM Str P29, Reel 15, 1636). This compares to the eastern extent of the estate which is a predominantly enclosed landscape: 'downe Gyllbecke to Bardsty Closes, from thence along the hedge to Bardsey Lane called woodcarrlane, & by the hedges so to the Becke that Runneth from Bardsty Milne from thence to gatebridg beneath Rigton, & downe the said Becke to Collingham feild hedge, & so following the hedge to Collingham kilns hedge' (WWM Str P29, Reel 15, 1636). This range of landscape shows both marginal lands which would have been used for rough grazing and as common lands, as well as areas which were enclosed and probably used for a range of farming practices at the time of the survey. It also indicates small patches of woodland which would have also have been exploited for firewood, timber and seasonal specialties such as acorns and fungi.

Taking a closer look at one area of the estate, focused on the landscape surrounding Weardley, Stubhouses and Gawthorpe (Figure 13.), this section will provide an example of how this different aspects of the landscape might have been used and experienced by the peasants living on the estate.

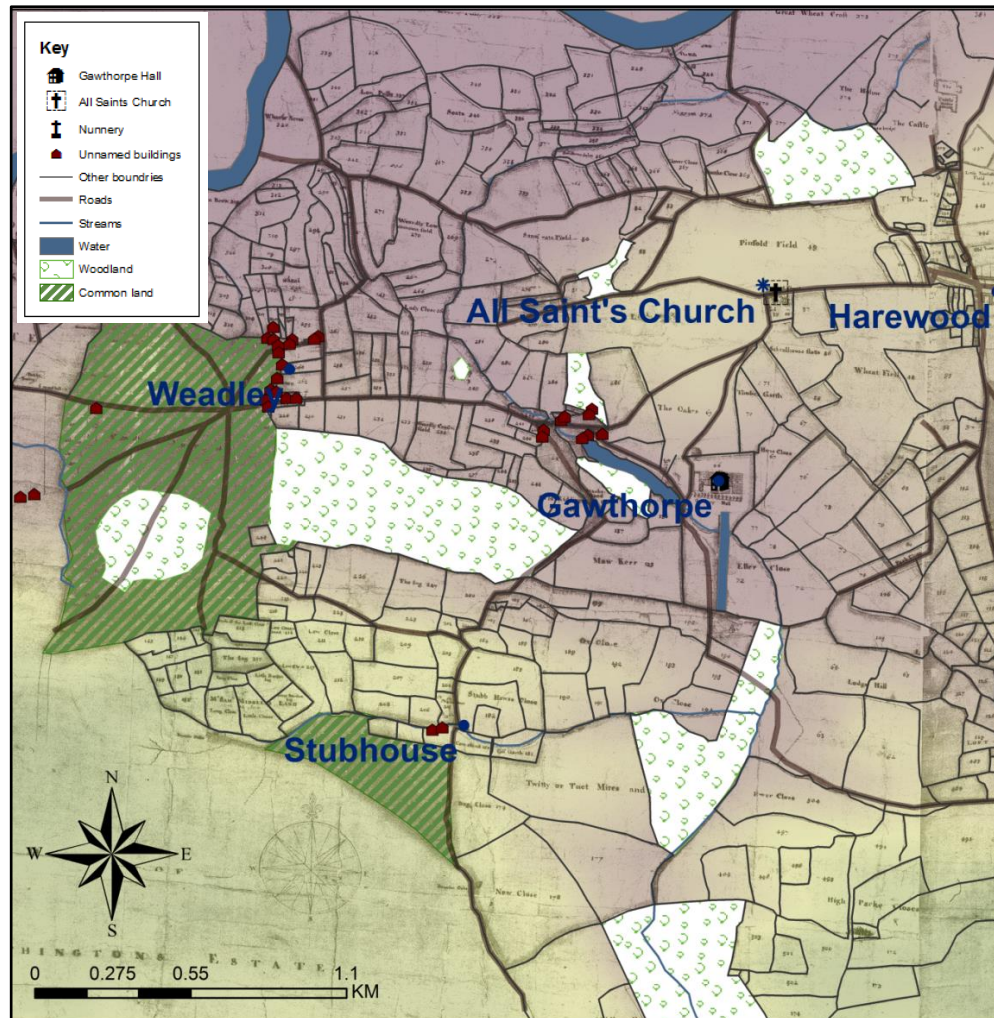


Figure 13. Digitised section of 1698 Harewood estate map, focused on settlements of Stubhouse, Weardley and Gawthorpe. Shading beneath digitised map indicates the terrain model for this area, paler areas indicating lower terrain and darker areas indicating high terrain. (Map source: Harewood House Trust)

The 'running becks', 'rundells' and 'dykes' would have had to be maintained by farmers to ensure they continued to flow, enabling overflow water to be directed back to the River Wharfe. These additional landscape maintenance jobs would have been seasonal and were essential to ensure surface water would not damage crops, or create unfavourable conditions for grazing stock. The example areas shown in Figure 13 shows Stanke Beck was the main watercourse that would have affected the movement of individuals from Weardley, Stubhouses and Gawthorpe, for example on their journey to All Saints Church. The road leading from the dwellings centred at the north western end of the mill pond, directly up to All Saints church would have taken individuals on a steeper path onto the higher ground of the Millstone grit escarpment.

The path peasants would have used to walk from these settlements up to the church also ensured that they were able to have a good view of Gawthorpe Hall, looking back down the slope for the final part of their journey across the open field above the hall as they walked up to the church. Although they would have been able to view the hall from afar, they would not be close enough to gain access, enforcing the separation between master and workers. This would have perhaps reminded individuals of the hierarchy which would be further enforced within the church itself, with different tiers of the community seated according to their rank within this small community. The relationship of peasants to their lord would have been mirrored by the structure of authority within the church, and the relationship of a holy Lord and his parishioners (Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 68). Presumably, this vantage point on the hill would have also allowed perceptive workers who were working in the fields, rather than in the hall itself, to note visitors to Gawthorpe Hall, with extra horses put out to paddock, or visitors strolling within the formal gardens.

Another important aspect of the landscape, particularly in shaping the movement of individuals through it, would be the extent and location of hedges created. As has already been noted, Gawthorpe by 1638 was a largely enclosed landscape, particularly between Weardley, Stubhouses and Gawthorpe Hall. The boundary document notes ringhedges and hedged lanes across the landscape, suggesting these were common throughout the estate. As with the drainage ditches already noted, maintenance of hedges would have been an important aspect of farming in this landscape. An estate of mixed agriculture, would have relied on strong, thick hedges to keep animals within defined grazing areas and away from developing crops. The hedged lanes would have provided droving routes to move animals between different areas of the estate in order to rotate fields which needed grazing down and manuring by the animals, in preparation for crops. Although hedge maintenance would have been a year round necessity, repairing areas which became large enough for animals to escape from, laying new hedges would be another late autumn and winter job after the harvests had been taken in. (Pollard et al 1974, 24, Shoard 1980, Baudry *et al.* 2000, 8, Barnes & Williamson 2006, 1).

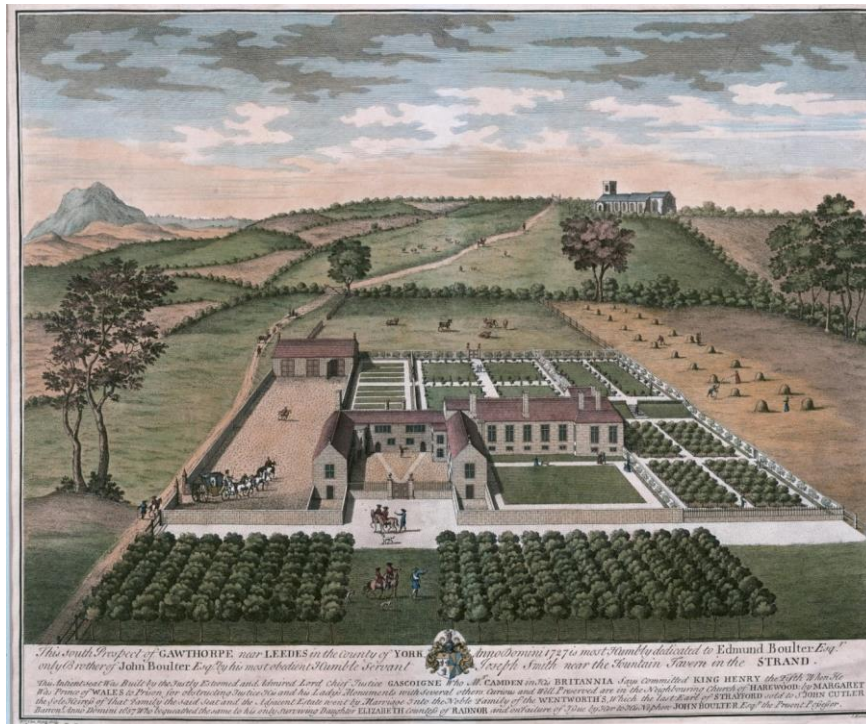


Figure 14. 1727 engraving of Gawthorpe Hall by William Von Hagen, Printed by Joseph Smith, London. (Source: Harewood House Trust)

The map in Figure 12. is here compared to the 1727 print (Figure 14.). They show similar views and can be used together to illustrate land use during the medieval period. The enclosures of Harewood created a landscape which had restricted access for its inhabitants. What is of interest to this research is how relationships, particularly those of power, are played out and interacted within the landscape. The boundaries defined by the landowners of Harewood and Gawthorpe throughout the Middle Ages, would certainly have had a dramatic effect in shaping this interaction. However, as has been discussed in some detail in this chapter, the role of the peasant in creating, and perhaps more significantly, maintaining and developing these landscapes should not be overlooked.

Although passing reference has been made to All Saints Church above, it is worth now turning to two major buildings within the landscape of Harewood and Gawthorpe that would have been significant focuses of power throughout the medieval period. The first of these is Harewood Castle, followed by an in-depth description of All Saints Church.



### 3.5. Harewood Castle

Harewood castle lies within the modern parkscape, though is not permanently accessible to the public, and is located in woodland, north east of Harewood House. It is stepped into the steep north-facing slope of the Wharfe valley (Dennison and Richardson 2007/8, 168-9) on the scarp of Millstone grit that provides a vantage point above the Wharfe below to the north. Emery provides a description of the castle including a plan (1996, 39-344) and an earthwork survey was undertaken by Moorhouse in 1986 of the area surrounding the castle (1989, 4-7). The castle was most recently subject to a programme of building surveys during 2004-5 by Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS), as part of the consolidation works to repair and stabilise the standing remains. The castle is constructed of a four storey entrance tower which leads to an adjoined, but lower, hall and service area (Dennison and Richardson 2007/8, 168-9). Emery describes the castle as 'a many-windowed fortified house' whose 'structure was basically an elongated tower-house with small angle towers at the upper end, a four-storeyed entrance tower, and a similar tower on the opposite side linked to a northern extension containing the service quarters' (Emery 1996, 339). Harewood Castle was not built primarily as a defensive structure, and is only partially fortified, but the castle does have a portcullis and narrow loop windows surrounding the singular entrance to the building. Most of the building's features suggest it was instead built as a display of wealth, and is elaborately designed (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 80-82). Mullioned and transomed windows (Emery 1996, 340) and the decorated lower hall with an impressive fireplace and buffet (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 2 and 81) are examples of this decorative preference over the practical needs of a building purely designed with fortification in mind. The lower hall was likely to have been the main reception chamber of the house, decorated to show the status of the castle's owners. In addition the upper hall was a controlled, private space intended for the use of the family (Emery 1996, 343).

Sir William Aldeburgh was the first owner of Harewood Castle and is thought to have built the fortified house around 1366, when he was granted a licence to crenellate (Emery 1996, 339). Coulson has suggested that such licenses are significant to our understanding of elite buildings as the very possession of a license had symbolic social significance (1994). Many licenses were granted as

part of further seigneurial privileges such as emparkment or licenses for markets, further demonstrating the status and power of its owner (Creighton 2002, 67). After the death of Aldeburgh's son in 1391, the estate was passed to his daughters who became joint heiresses. Sybil had married William Ryther in 1379, and Margaret married Richard Redman in 1394, and the two families jointly owned and are thought to have largely cohabited at the castle (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 14) for at least eight generations of Rythers and six generations of Redmans, until the sixteenth century.

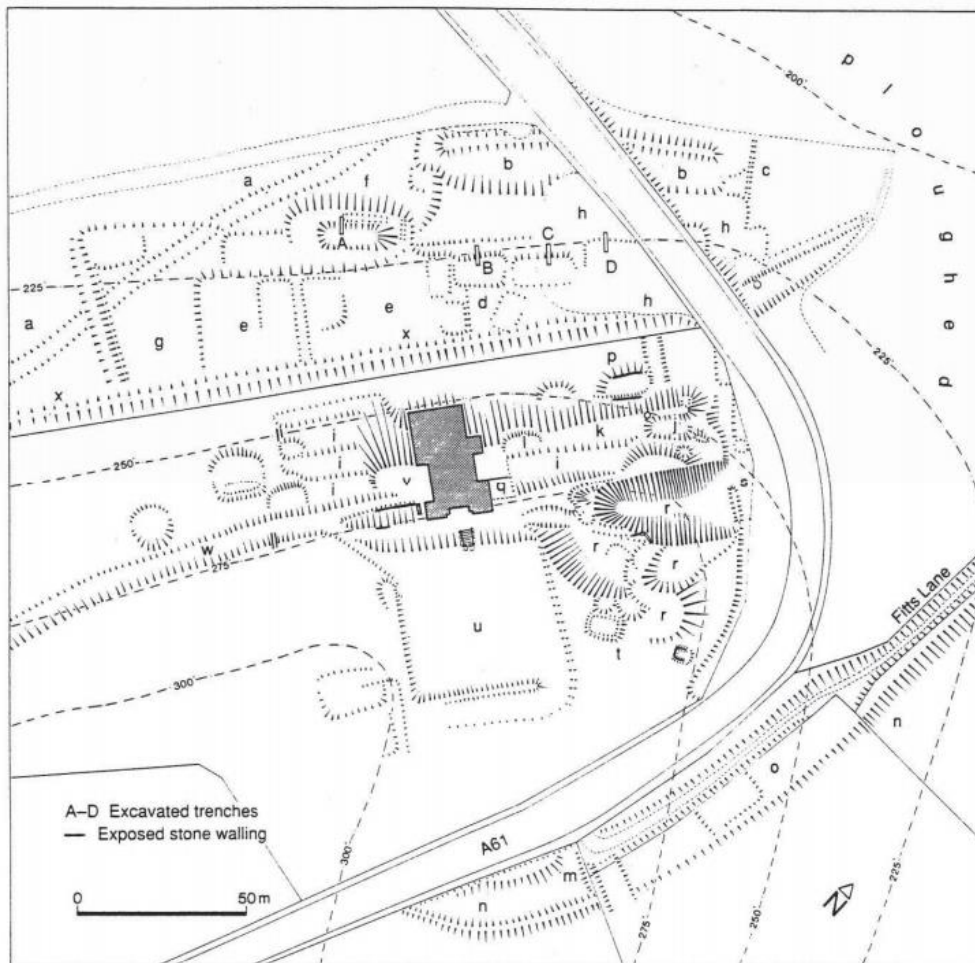


Figure 15. Harewood Castle Topographic Survey (Source: Moorhouse 1989, 5 from Dennison and Richardson plate 9)

Earthworks surrounding the castle (Figure 15. above) have been variously interpreted most notably by Jewell (1819, 57), Kitson (1913, 179), Moorhouse (1989) and Dennison and Ricardson (2008). The complex assortment of

earthworks and ditches is further obscured by damage from the modern tree plantation (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 37), making further interpretation without excavation difficult. This is however not unusual, as many castles would have been built on previously occupied sites, reducing the cost of labour and resources (Creighton 2002, 69). Earthworks directly associated with the Castle itself have been described as contemporary buildings such as a forebuilding (point J on Figure 9) by Moorhouse (1989) have been questioned by Dennison and Richardson (2008, 38) who suggest these features may be concerned with quarrying rather than a structure. Similarly, the terraced trackway interpreted by Moorhouse (point K on Figure 9) as the main approach to the castle, does not take into account the defensive building features on the northeast of the castle including the portcullis and tower with arrow-loop windows, and a possible further entrance on this north-eastern side of the structure (point A on Figure 15. above). Dennison and Richardson also highlight Kitson's interpretation of a bowling green built during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the east side of the castle (Kitson 1913, 176-9), which Moorhouse dismisses (1989, 6) and suggests was constructed during the nineteenth century as part of pleasure grounds on the estate (Dennison and Richardson 2008, 27). These ornamental aspects of the castle landscape would have been used as aesthetic and recreational areas, demonstrating the social status and fashion of its owners (Creighton 2002, 73).

As Moorhouse has noted in his discussion of medieval parks in Yorkshire (2007), elements of medieval parks can be traced by existing earthworks within the modern landscape and by place names on estate and tithe maps. Within the landscape of Harewood and Gawthorpe this can be seen on the 1698 estate map by a number of field names such as 'The Castle Parke' surrounding the south west of the castle grounds, and 'Park Closes' to the south east of Gawthorpe Hall. Moorhouse suggests caution at basing interpretations purely on such place names as for example within Yorkshire from the twelfth century the word park can derive from the Old English *pearroc* which referred to any enclosed plot of land, or alternatively from the Old French and Middle English word park specifically related to an area of land enclosed for 'beasts of the chase' (Moorhouse 2007, 101-102). The landscape of Gawthorpe was emparked during the construction of the hall in the mid-thirteenth century, when William Gascoigne was granted

permission to empark 100 acres including land around Gawthorpe, Weardley and Harewood. A second area of emparkment was granted to take in a further 1000 acres extending towards Towhouses, Lofthouses and Wike (Tatlioglu 2010, 73). The significance of emparkment at Harewood is demonstrated in a letter from John Redman to William Cecil in the sixteenth century, recalled by Jones in 1859 (Jones 1859, 175). This letter suggests that many villagers were made landless and poor by the emparkment, and were unable to find places to house their animals over winter when they could not leave them out on the common lands. These landscape changes therefore significantly altered the livelihood and wellbeing of tenants living within this landscape.

The emparked land would have been of significant value to the owners of Harewood Castle and its tenants. For the owners, the park would have provided somewhere for leisure to entertain guests and to seek exercise, and the hunting reserve provided one of the main functions of the medieval park (Almond 2003). In 1656 the Harewood estate survey records some detail of the medieval park: 'To this belongeth a parke in former tymes well stored with deere; a park like place it is with a brooke running through the middle of it...' (WYAS WYL 250/3 12a). Within the park, the hunting lodge was another significant building, which provided a base for 'the parker', who would be responsible for the administrative and economic management of the park. The lodge associated with the medieval park at Gawthorpe is likely to have been located in the south of the park on 'Lodge Hill', recorded on the 1698 estate map and on later estate maps by the existence of Lodge Hill Plantation.

This section has demonstrated the importance of understanding Harewood Castle within its landscape context. It is significant to understand the castle in relation to the park and designed landscape, without regarding one of these features in isolation (Moorhouse 2007, 125)

### **3.6. All Saints Church**

All Saints Church is of the early fifteenth century rebuilding. No visible evidence remains of the earliest church structure on this site, although excavations undertaken in 1981 suggest that ninth-century stonework within the church-yard wall, and an eleventh-century Anglo-Danish cross shaft are connected to earlier burials, and probable worship, which occurred on this site before the

Norman Conquest (Butler 1986, 87-90). Following this phase, some elements of the early medieval church remain: the 'tub-shaped' font and two pieces of attached wall shaft from a doorway or window, alongside three twelfth-century gravestones (Butler 1986, 87-90). Butler notes that the early-fifteenth century rebuilding of the church occurred in a single campaign of building. This period of building between c.1400-1430 probably coincided with the need to accommodate space for six chantry chaplains appointed to Harewood, and to provide a church that was worthy to be the place of burial for the heiresses of Harewood and their husbands. This phase of rebuilding created an 'aisled nave of four bays, a long chancel and shorter flanking chapels' (Fig. 1) (Butler 1986, 90). Like many manorial churches during the later Middle Ages, All Saints was rebuilt by the lords of Harewood in an attempt to display power and authority within the community (Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 65). Not only was the new building larger and more splendid than the church that had stood in Harewood before, it also firmly placed the long standing families of the elite within the community, at the heart of settlement. The tombs of the Gascoigne's, Ryther's and Redman's demonstrated the godly service of the men and women who had served, and been benefactors for, the church in the past. They had been responsible for creating the place of worship used by the population. The tombs of the lords and ladies in all their finery also served as a reminder to the congregation that these individuals had ruled the community, as their families would continue to do. Sir William Ryther (d.1426), Sir Richard Redman (d.1426), Edward Redman (d.1510), Sir William Gascoigne (d.1465) and Sir William Gascoigne (d.1487) are all depicted wearing armour, and display the military power, and protective role of the lord. Sir William Gascoigne (d.1419) unlike his descendants is depicted wearing his judicial robes in his role as Chief Justice, and displays the lords power of controlling law and order, authority and justice. The intrinsic link between the church, the manor and the castle were bound together in All Saints Church. The imagery of power displayed in the church highlighted the personal loyalty and obligation which ran throughout the community from lowly peasant to lord of the manor, to Almighty powers above all of these (Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 70).

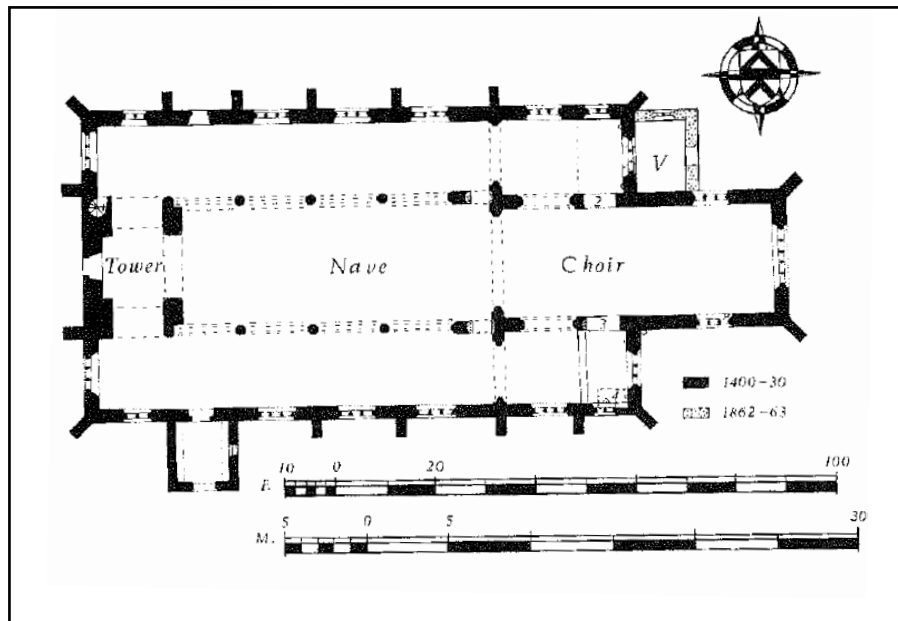


Figure 16. Floor plan of All Saints Church, Harewood (Source: Butler 1986, 90)

Forming the central building of village life (Beresford 1987, 61), All Saints Church served the townships of Harewood, Gawthorpe, Newall, Stockton, East Keswick, Alwoodley, Weardley, Wigton, the northern most part of Wike, Lofthouse, Stubhouse and Brandon (Butler 1986, 85) (Figure 17. below).

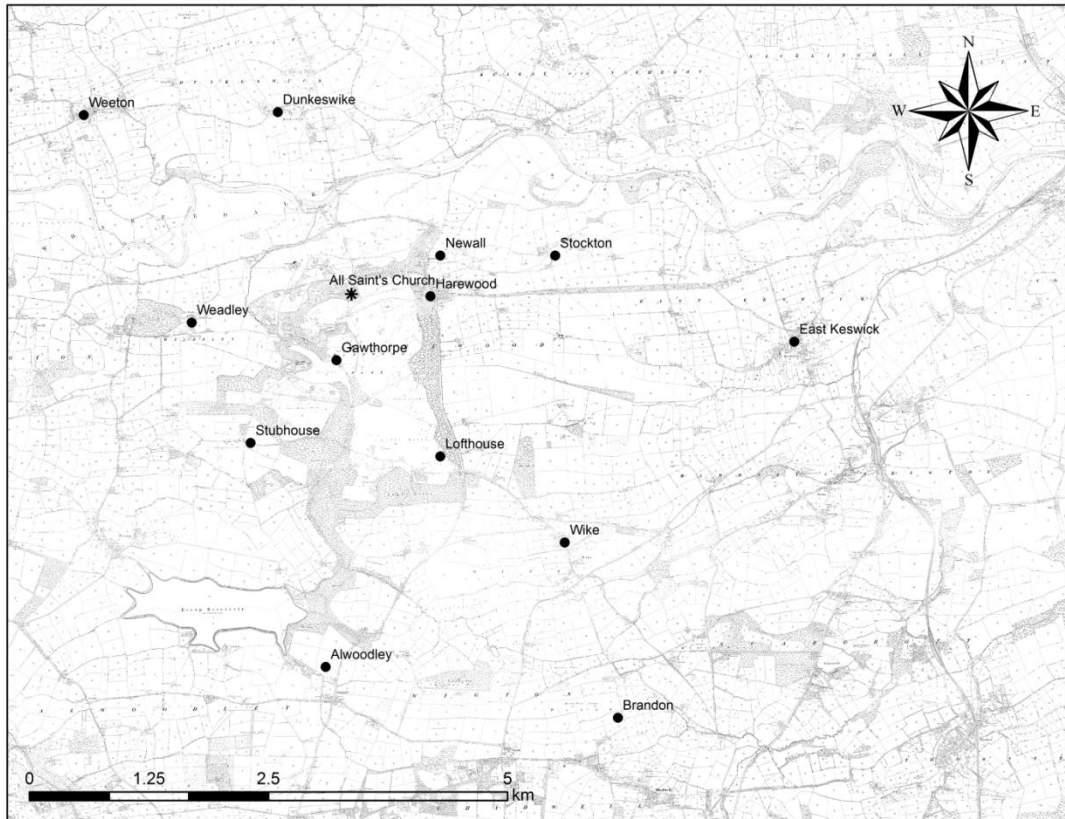


Figure 17. The parish of All Saints represented on the first edition OS map, 1890  
(Source: After Edina Digimap)

This would have drawn individuals from dispersed areas of the estate together, for religious practice and significantly, creating an opportunity for social interaction between families from different areas of the estate. Such meetings would have provided an opportunity to exchange gossip and ideas, arrange marriages, and rekindle friendships. They provided a key point in the landscape for individuals to come together, and allowed relationships to be formed which might have allowed the individual and communal cohesion displayed by peasants during this period to take shape.

### **3.7. Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated how contributing social, economic and natural factors shaped the lives of individuals within medieval Harewood and Gawthorpe. More significantly, it has demonstrated how peasants and lords alike had the capability to manipulate the landscape for individual gain and communal improvement, focused on the resources available within these landscapes. Improving infrastructure and the market power of the peasant during this period enabled wider influences of skills, resources and social expression to be shared between and within communities, giving peasants further bargaining power with the lords above them. This rising power of individuals, particularly of peasant farmers, led to an increasing regionalisation of skills and farming practices, which in turn has been shown to have had an effect on the settlement patterns of Medieval England. Although this chapter demonstrates that some aspects of the landscape, such as the Castle, Church, and hall and their respective landscapes, were still very much areas of controlled space used to enforce and display the hierarchy of the feudal system, peasants were arguably becoming increasingly aware of their rights as tenants and their ability to be part of these complex landscapes. The period demonstrates the changing nature of the relationship between lord and peasants, and the resulting effects this had on the landscape during the end of the medieval period, as landlords became increasingly absent from the day to day running of their country estates.



## Chapter 4: The role of the Gentry in the creation of the seventeenth century landscape

### 4.1. Thomas Wentworth and the creation of Gawthorpe and Harewood

Sir Thomas Wentworth, who later became First Earl Strafford, was the owner of Gawthorpe Hall from 1614 until his death in 1641. He is regarded by historians as one of the significant political characters in the years immediately preceding the English Civil War (Merritt 1996, 1). Wentworth's rise in political and social position to become the First Earl of Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, combined with his relationship to Parliament and King Charles I, and his eventual execution, have shaped Wentworth's place in British History.



Figure 16. Sir Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck (Source: National Portrait Gallery, London)

Wentworth is significant to this research as he demonstrates the increasing power and wealth of the gentry class during this period of transition. By examining a section of society which is itself in a state of dramatic change throughout this period, the nature of the changes which were made to the landscape by this group may be more clearly understood, and Gawthorpe provides a unique case study with which to do this.

Thomas Wentworth became heir to the Gawthorpe estate after the death of his father, Sir William Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, and the death of his older brother who died in infancy (Wedgwood 1964, 19). The Wentworth family, descended from the Gascoignes (Sir William Gascoigne being the father of Sir William Wentworth), had established roots in Yorkshire (Oxford DNB). Although born in London on April 13<sup>th</sup> 1593, Thomas was brought up in Yorkshire between the family's principal manor of Wentworth Woodhouse and Gawthorpe (Wedgwood 1964, 19). On the death of Sir William Wentworth in 1614, Thomas was left an estate with an annual income between £4000 and £6000 (Cooper 1958, 227, Wedgwood 1964, 27). This was a considerable income, greater than many of his peers (All Ireland Review 1901, 240, Cooper 1958, 227). Cooper, focusing on the economic fortune of Thomas Wentworth, notes that the Wentworth family 'undoubtedly rose in the later sixteenth century' (Cooper 1958, 227). In 1604, Sir William Wentworth considered the family to belong to a group of equals "whose estate is nott declyninge and in whom ether is a good conscyence and a well governed tongue" and who sort company from those "of good welth, humble and discrete in their deedes and words" (Cooper 1973, 12). The wealth of the Wentworth family and their established landholdings throughout Yorkshire place them firmly within the class of the gentry.

At the death of his father, Thomas was knighted and became responsible for the management of the estates. As landowners, the Wentworth family also had a significant perceived sense of duty to its household, estate and local community (Cooper 1999, 7). The historical sources, primarily letters, which survive from Sir William Wentworth to his son, Thomas, give a strong indication of the family ethos which supports this. The letters reveal a change in direction for the family after his father's death. For the rising gentry, the safest way to ensure wealth and prosperity through the generations was to invest in land. The risks of investing in

trade and business, were multiplied by the difficulty of ensuring any profits could be handed down through the family. The security land offered could be protected by legal safeguards to ensure inexperienced, dishonest or gambling inheritors would not jeopardise the large estates and they could be passed intact as through the generations (Stone and Stone 1984, 11- 12). Although William encouraged Thomas to buy land and extend his estate (Cooper 1973, 19), he encouraged this with great caution. William's priority was a life of support and duty to family members and service to God, above the need to accumulate more wealth. He seems particularly against becoming too heavily involved in politics, suggesting his son should show apt duty and service to his superiors, but not to get involved with politics which might have the potential to damage the family reputation or risk the continuation of the families comfortable position (Cooper 1973, 19-20).

When Thomas took over as head of the family he seemed no longer content to continue making enough money to be comfortable, and to preserve any existing wealth the family may have had, but instead focuses on advancing his family's position. It has been suggested by Cooper that financial risk to increase the wealth of the Wentworth family is undertaken once Thomas takes over the running of the family (Cooper 1958, 228-229). Like many of his class during this period, Thomas does this by acquiring more land and wealth through an advancing political career.

From an early age, Thomas had been educated to follow a political career. His youth was spent under the tutorage of Dr Higgins, the Dean of Ripon at Well, North Yorkshire, and then from the age of fourteen, under Richard Senhouse at Cambridge who prepared him for a life at Court (Wedgwood 1964, 23). At the age of eighteen, his father presented Thomas at Court. Wentworth continued his education and travelled across Europe on the Grand Tour, drawing on a range of political and historical influences that would help to shape the political role he would play on his return to England. This was common for members of the up and coming gentry and was a key experience which helped to shape the identity of this social group during the period (Cooper 1999, 7). One critical, but often overlooked aspect of these early grand tours, is that they would also have influenced the way in which these landowners viewed their own estates, with

many incorporating classical detail and iconography to their houses (Girouard 1980, 86).

Wentworth was initially concerned with local politics, but he soon began to play a role in national, and to a degree, international affairs. In 1615 Wentworth became a Justice of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire from Sir John Savile. Savile appears to have considered this as a temporary position for Wentworth while he was heavily involved at Court, as two years later he tried to take the post back asking Wentworth to step down (Gruenfelder 1977, 558). Wentworth saw this as an affront to his honour and refused. This refusal, and more generally the clash of personalities of the two men, created tension that would continue until Savile's death in 1630 and cause conflict for Wentworth's political advancement in Yorkshire. Despite this opposition, Wentworth was appointed as President of the Council of the North in 1628 and used this appointment to strengthen the representation of royal power in the North, as well as to cement his role in the county (Merritt 1996, 111).

From 1619, Wentworth spent much more time in London and became more thoroughly involved with life at Court and in parliament, moving his household from Yorkshire to accompany him (Cust 1996, 68-69). This is clearly apparent in Wentworth's letters and household accounts. Writing to his steward, Richard Marris from the early 1610s until the 1640s, most of his letters are sent from London to Wentworth Woodhouse or Gawthorpe, and often ask for food or supplies to be sent down to London (WWM/ StrP/ 21/46 for example). Expenses from household books for Wentworth Woodhouse show that Wentworth moved his entire household to London, for over six months during 1621 and 1622 (Cooper 1958, 229). However, by the summer of 1622, and intermittently for the following two years, serious inflictions of tertian fever (a malarial infection that occurs as a fever every third day) meant that Wentworth returned to Yorkshire, and on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1622, Wentworth's first wife Margaret died of the fever (Cust 1996, 70). It is suggested that the fever and the loss of his wife, who had died childless, had a profound effect on Wentworth, affecting both his physical and mental health, and preventing him from returning to parliament until 1624 (Oxford DNB). After the death of his wife, many of Wentworth's biographers have noted that he tried to marry again with some urgency, and particularly seems to

have wanted to marry an heiress (Wedgwood 1964, Cooper 1958, 230). This is significant to note as at this time Wentworth is still trying to secure his financial position, and marriage was one of the recognised routes to into wealth.

As with Wentworth's appointment to President of the Council of the North, Wentworth hoped to use his appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1631 to strengthen the role of the crown in Ireland and to bring these regions under more centralised control (Merritt 1996, 114). This appointment, in the later years of Wentworth's political career, allowed him to buy yet more land, this time in Ireland. This appointment also relied on the same qualities that Wentworth had been successfully employing in his role as President of the Council of the North, focusing on civil and financial administration (Wedgwood 1964, 114). Choosing Wentworth to become the Lord Deputy of Ireland appears to have been an unusual decision as Wentworth had no previous connections to Ireland. It has been suggested by historians that Wentworth's position in Ireland was a strategic political appointment by his enemies at Court, who felt he was becoming too powerful and was too close to the King. With Wentworth in Ireland, he could not exercise direct influence at court. Wentworth's rise to be counted amongst King Charles 1<sup>st</sup>'s most trusted advisors had been primarily through the death of the Duke of Buckingham who had substantial weight at court, but who's foreign policy was very different to Wentworth's. Wentworth, along with other members who made up the Privy Council in 1628 such as Sir Richard Weston, Howard Thomas the Earl of Arundel and Sir Francis Cottington, had all been politically damaged by Buckingham as he tried to frustrate those who opposed his stance promoting war with Spain (Kearney 1959, 16-31). With Buckingham's death, those closest to the King jostled for power at court and it appears that Cottington and Weston pushed for Wentworth to take the position of Lord Deputy of Ireland. Despite warnings from Laud and Stanhope, and acknowledging the potential political motivation for his appointment within his letters, Wentworth seems to have embraced what he saw as the challenge of governing Ireland. Wentworth could see the prestige and the financial benefit governing Ireland would bring to him and his family (Kearney 1959, 29-31; Cooper 1958, 240; Girouard 1980, 85). Wentworth arrived in Ireland with a salary of £2,000 per annum for the post as well as a number of additional civil titles which he quickly sold. His growing wealth allowed him to acquire land, particularly in Ireland, and by 1640 Wentworth had spent at least £35,000 on land

and as much as £22,000 on building (Cooper 1958, 242). In terms of the actual land that he acquired in Ireland in 1640, Wentworth had 34 000 acres of productive land, with another 23,500 acres described as waste land (Kearney 1959, 171-172). Wentworth was granted 14,000 acres of this land, plus 10,000 of waste land, by the Crown, the rest he acquired. As well as this land, Wentworth built a large house in Jiggistown near Naas in Co. Kildare, an area of Ireland with established English roots (the Old English) in Ireland (Kearney 1959, 171-173). As well as the land itself, Wentworth made personal profit from the revival of trade with Ireland during the period of his Deputyship, particularly through the importing of tobacco (Kearney 1959, 182). Throughout this period Wentworth took a number of steps to ensure his authority in Ireland was not undermined. The building of this grand Irish mansion, Jigginstown House, was both for his own residency, but was also designed to accommodate the King when he intended to visit Ireland (Loeber 1981, 46). The use of official ceremonies, such as the receiving of the sword of office, and the introduction of the codes of the English Privy Council, enforced a very public image of English power in Ireland and over the Irish council (Merritt 1996b, 115). Wentworth continued to appear to the Irish council in this authoritative position, and by 1640 Irish opposition to what was perceived to be Wentworth's arrogance was openly being expressed in parliament (Kearney 1959, 191). It was also during this year that King Charles made Wentworth the First Earl of Strafford on a visit back to Court, firmly showing the favour he still held for Wentworth.

However, after Strafford returned to Ireland having received this title, problems began for the Wentworth family. With increasing tension to English rule in Ireland from the Irish and the Irish-Scots in Northern Ireland, as well as pressure coming from the Scots in England culminating with the battle of Newburn Ford on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1640, the crown was struggling to keep political control of English rule. Strafford intended to raise an army for the King in Ireland to reassert this authority. However, Strafford's enemies in parliament, and those who wished to see more control given to parliament, saw this as an opportunity to put an end to Strafford's ambitions and to remove one of the King's most trusted aides. Rallying those from the Irish council who had grievances with Strafford during his rule there, and accusing Strafford of treason for raising an Irish army to move against England, rather than the Scots as had been his intention, Strafford was found

guilty and executed on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1641 (Wedgwood 1964, 286-309). With Strafford's execution the family fell into disgrace, and were forced to sell much of the land Strafford had spent so many years accumulating.

#### **4.2. Wentworth as a key agent of change at Gawthorpe**

Having briefly outlined Thomas Wentworth's career, this chapter will now turn to addressing what role he played as a key agent of change at Gawthorpe. To understand how Wentworth approached the landscapes at Gawthorpe, it is important to analyse the historic sources available to this study. These may be able to demonstrate the ideology which Wentworth used to shape any changes which he made to the landscapes of his estates.

One of the most significant documents is a set of papers written in 1604, in which there is a lengthy document written by Sir William which outlines advice for his son Thomas, "to deliuer yow my best opinion and counsell touching the well ording of your self and your private esate" (Cooper 1973, 9), enabling Thomas to be well equipped to become head of the family. The document is split into sections ranging from the duty of the head of household to 'God', the 'King', the local 'Maistrate' and to 'Noble Men', to more specific advice about the expectations of a landowner to his 'Parentes', 'Brethren', 'Kinsfolkes', 'Neighboures', 'Servantes' and 'Tenantes' (Cooper 1973, 9-24). These are accompanied by advice on the upkeep of the estate itself and the legal issues which would become his responsibility as head of the household. Such books are commonly found throughout the seventeenth century (Girouard 1980, 82; Bosworth et al. 2011) and provide a personal and detailed account of some aspects of social relations, particularly providing an overview of how the gentry could seek advancement. Analysing this document can provide some idea of the ideological issues which may have governed an estate like Gawthorpe.

#### ***'One of the happiest and most virtuous households in England'***

Throughout the document from William to Thomas, there are sections devoted to the responsibilities Thomas would have to uphold for members of his household. Although William speaks of the act of housekeeping and the challenges of managing aspects of his household, no specific section defines what William considers his household to be. Therefore in addressing this theme, it is important

to discuss the implications of how the term 'household' is applied, and how the household might be identified within the archaeological record.

Identifying what a household group is, how large they are, and how this differs across different parts of society for any specific time in history is a challenging task and has long been a concern for archaeologists. Research began in earnest by archaeologists into households in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Pluckhahn 2010). Wilk and Rathje (1982) were amongst the first to highlight the difficulties in defining a household from a dwelling unit. This distinction separates those individuals who may live within one structure together, in coresidence, to form a dwelling unit and a group of individuals linked together who cooperate economically and socially to create a household (Wilk and Rathje 1982, 620). It also highlights the problem of the development of theoretical debates surround households and the different terms various scholars have used to describe this social group. More recently, Blanton has developed this definition further (1994, 5) through a comparative study of 'peasant' households from ethnographic and architectural sources across several case studies from different world locations (Blanton 1994, v). The most frequent household grouping Blanton identifies within his research is that of the nuclear family, which he terms a 'simple' household. A 'complex' household in addition is defined as a nuclear family to which additional marriages, siblings and, or, servants or labourers might also be added to make up individuals within the household. This is less frequently seen within Blanton's research, as the focus of his research is upon peasant households, but this definition is significant to note for the purposes of this study. This complexity has been acknowledged since early examinations of the household (Hill 1978), but Blanton highlights more succinctly the need to question the perceived relations of power and agency within a household group. The internal relationships of a household create a politicized unit which is linked to changes in the wider world. Households are not isolated from economic, political and social changes and demands, but it should also be noted that they do not passively react to these outside influences (Hendon 1996, 46-47). This is particularly relevant to study at Gawthorpe, as a major aim of this study is to understand the internal relationships within the house, to see how these might have affected the development of the form and function of the house and wider landscape.



Within historic archaeology, much of the focus of household archaeology concerned with the relationship of elite households to lower class communities has been focused on plantation owners and enslaved communities within the south eastern United States (Pluckhahn 2010, 331). Within household studies more generally, the study of gentry households and the social relations within these, has been underexplored by archaeologists (Hindle 2011). Hendon in her study of *The Organisation of Domestic Labor* (1996), discusses why it is important to understand internal relationships within a household, in the context of prehistoric sites in Mesoamerica. She highlights the need to understand how individuals, as members of a domestic group, act; what their assigned roles within the household are; and what, if any, meaning this carried to other members of this group and to those outside the household unit (Hendon 1996, 46). This allows more holistic research to more fully comprehend the dynamic of the household. However, Hendon's study focuses on a prehistoric community, and specifically on challenging traditional constructs of female domestic space and tasks. Her study uses a methodology which compares the distribution of artefacts associated with domestic activities and compares their nature, scale, and the technology of these activities both within and between household units, throughout the duration of the site (Hendon 1996, 48). However, the methodology which Hendon uses, common in the prehistoric study of households, is not appropriate for use at Gawthorpe. The nature of the deposits left during the destruction of the hall mean that the artefacts are compacted together within a destructive rubble layer, which might not relate the artefacts directly to their use during the occupation of the hall. Social relations within the household at Gawthorpe will not be demonstrated by the distribution of artefacts, as it seems this does not correlate with where they may have been used during the process of domestic tasks. This issue will be discussed in greater detail within the chapter on Methodologies.

#### **4.3. Archival evidence**

Households within the historic period, have predominantly been studied through archival evidence. Schochet has outlined how seventeenth-century households, such as the Wentworth's, would have been dominated by patriarchal hierarchy, with a male head of the family responsible for his wife, children, relatives, servants and labourers (Schochet 1988, 63-68). This sense of perceived duty is certainly clear within the document from William to Thomas. He demonstrates a

strong paternal role to the wider members of the community that would be reliant upon him such as the poor at Gawthorpe, for whom he offers 'cotes' (coats) and extended relief once he arrives back at the estate, from his time at another of his estates (WWM/StrP/21/46). Thomas reaffirms his role as master of the household by 'incourage men to serve' him (Cooper 1958, 241). He asks Richard Marris, his steward, to pay tenant farmer Thomas Wiltons 'upon his good service' so as not to find his 'paines unrewarded' (WWM Str P, 21,46) and in 1634 strengthened his role as a faithful master by sharing the sale of his office of the Remembrancership of the Exchequer for £1500- £2000 with his household servants (Cooper 1958, 241). At Gawthorpe, letters from Thomas Wentworth to Richard Marris, offer only passing reference to the everyday life of members of the household. For example, there is little reference to the role his wife would have taken in the running of the household during his absence at court. She was able to 'give full dyrections' to Marris regarding the nursing of their child (WWM/StrP/21/68), and Thomas speaks often of her welcoming other members of the local gentry to dine or be entertained in his absence. The collection of letters, and the advice passed down from father to son, would suggest that Thomas was indeed solely responsible for the running of his household and estates, allowing the members of his household only minimal roles in the control of it's running. Thomas shows an active interest in the management of Gawthorpe, for example in 1626, when he instructs Marris to kill the great eels in the pond at Harwood Park, to ensure his fish stocks should not all be devoured (Cooper 1958, 46). Thomas also constantly reminds Marris to be prudent in his account keeping and not to waste money unnecessarily (WWM/ StrP/21/60). These references can offer an insight into how Thomas thought about his household and the relationships of reciprocal duty expected of the gentry at this time. There is evidence of personal interest in the governing of his estates and examples of direct intervention to the running of the household. Focusing on the relationship of Sir Richard Newdigate, the owner of Arbury Hall in Warwickshire, to his household staff between c.1670 and 1710, Hindle (2011) uses historic documents, and particularly letters, to provide an account of late-seventeenth century household relationships. Although Hindle stresses caution on using the evidence from letters alone, as these often focused on 'crisis' points which were notable enough to warrant mention within the letters and accounts of the gentry

(Hindle 2011, 79), they do provide a valuable insight into how the gentry's ethos, and how they communicated with, and controlled the lives of, their households.

Recent developments within archaeological theory have lead archaeologists to question household relationships and have highlighted, for example, the role of women as active agents within these (Gibb and King 1991). Hendon (1996) has clearly outlined the challenges household archaeology faces to question traditional assumptions of defined roles within a household group, specifically focusing on everyday domestic tasks within the household. Hendon's study demonstrates the need to understand domestic life in order to understand wider social, political and economic processes beyond the household unit itself, recognising that the internal relations of a household are politicized as they reflect these wider influences within the processes of everyday activity (Hendon 1996, 46). Understanding how domesticity is practiced by a household can reveal much about the ideology of this social unit, which can help to explain their actions within the wider world (Goldberg and Kowaleski 2008). Riddy explores the role of domesticity within the late-medieval household, and challenges the assumption that domesticity can only exist where the lives of the household are separated into working and residing, male and female, home and the world (2008, 17).

The difficulty archaeologists have in interpreting the archaeological record is that the very nature of excavated remains means that the focus is on the dwellings and material remains found within these buildings. They do not intrinsically show the individuals or social groupings of a household, merely the remains of what people have left behind within this space. Initial research therefore saw the household as a confined set of systems, of production and consumption, which would create a model of larger systems of cultural evolution (Smith 1987, 297). Examining households in this way meant that each household would provide a comparative social unit that could be examined across many different human societies, and has been used this way by both historic and prehistoric archaeologists (Blanton 1994). As Cobb (2000, 187) has noted, this processual approach sees households as the 'building blocks' which make up a community, but obscures variation between households and fails to recognise the agency of individuals living within these households. Hendon suggests that such attempts have tried to reconstruct kin groups, rather than household groups, and

as a result have often over simplified the social relations within a household and do not reflect the politicized nature of the household (Hendon 1996, 48). Pluckhahn has noted how this seems particularly relevant in the definition of material culture thought to be attributed to specific genders, age groups and of ethnic groups of people (Pluckhahn 2010, 367). Using the household as a unit of analysis can provide a useful link between grand societal change, economic and environmental processes, providing a window of change between grand narratives and individual agency (Pluckhahn 2010). The changes in wider society during this period, such as increasing mobility with households being split between court and country, begin to change the nature of household, settlements and the demography of the population (Hill 1978, 451-453). As a household expands or decreases over time, the needs of the household will change, therefore affecting the landscapes supporting them. This has led some archaeologists to examine how household transitions can be seen archaeologically as major landscape events (Groover 2004, 27). Understanding the cycles of households can begin to explain aspects of the decline, upkeep and continuation of aspects of the landscape. Groover (2004) suggests that household succession can be seen to have a dramatic effect on both landscape and architectural change.

Gawthorpe offers a unique opportunity, as potentially the entire plan of the building will be preserved archaeologically. Comparatively few complete house-plans exist for this period (Schofield 1995, 92), and few are preserved so completely. The internal space of a house can be helpful in interpreting how these were used and lived in by the household. The way buildings develop over time, is often directly influenced by how these spaces are being used by the people living within them (Schofield 1995, 92). At Gawthorpe, this may provide a narrative about the evolution of household, that the deposition of artefacts cannot. As well as the letters of Thomas Wentworth, and the records associated with his household already discussed, there are also a number of other documentary sources which can be used to understand the role of the gentry in the creation of the seventeenth century landscape at Gawthorpe. The prints, maps, inventory and estate surveys will now be addressed to add further understanding alongside the historical and archival evidence already addressed. This will further highlight how Gawthorpe was used by, and what role, Thomas Wentworth had in the

development of the house and landscapes of Gawthorpe throughout the seventeenth century.

There are two prints which exist of Gawthorpe Hall from the 1720s. The first print was commissioned in 1722 and is by William Von Hagen, showing Gawthorpe Hall looking from the north to the south (Print 1). The second print is also by Von Hagen and shows Gawthorpe Hall looking from the south to the north and was engraved in 1727 (Print 2).

A detailed inspection of these two prints shows that, although they were created by the same artist, they show conflicting pictures, particularly in terms of how the hall is constructed. The reasons for these inaccuracies may simply be down to artistic license. Alternatively, this may be due to changes to the house made over the 5 years between the two prints. From 1722-27 John Boulter owned the estate of Harewood having inherited this from John Culter, who had bought the estate from the declining Wentworth family. Although it seems likely that Boulter would have been concerned with the improvement of the estate (Tatlioglu 2010, 81), it has been suggested that it seems unlikely that the scale of change of the hall between these two images would have been entirely due to his influence and seems therefore to more likely be inaccuracies recorded by the artist (Heritage Technology Ltd. 2008). The following analysis of these prints will suggest that a combination of these reasons might have influenced these sources, and that it is only alongside other evidence, any changes in the development of the house recorded in these prints may be put into context. It is worth stating that any documentary evidence, especially visual evidence from this period, must be considered critically to ascertain for what purpose it was created, who for and by whom (Henderson 2005, 4). These prints should therefore be seen as representations of the hall created for the owner to create a positive image of the hall, promoting it for potential sale.

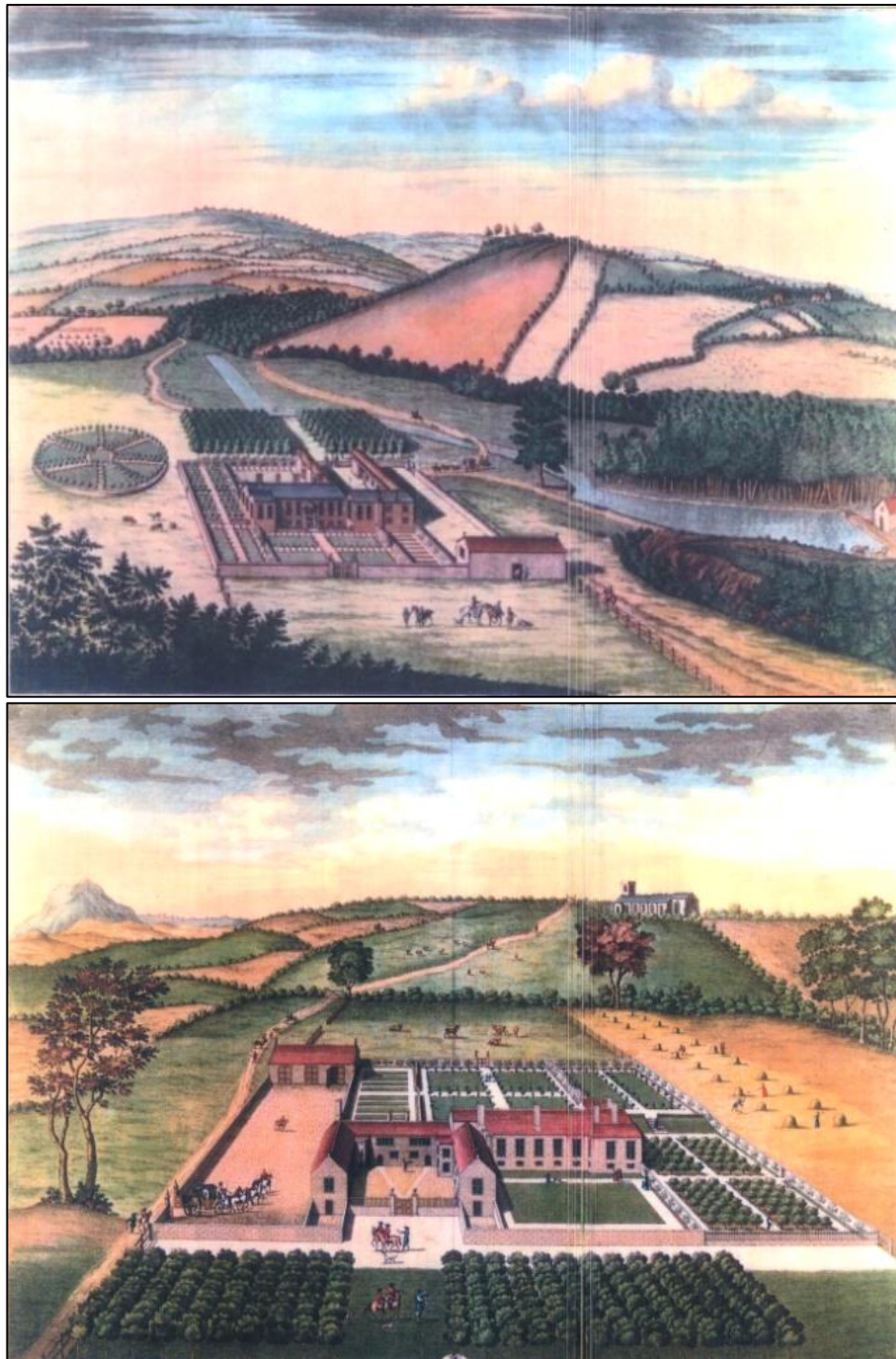


Figure 19. William von Hagen engravings juxtaposed focusing on the buildings of Gawthorpe Hall itself.

The house represented in both the first and second images shows a group of substantial stone buildings arranged in a 'U' shape, around a courtyard with an additional wing coming out on the east side, from the central buildings. This 'U' shape, with three buildings built around a central courtyard, is traditionally associated with medieval concerns of security. This suggests that this part of

Gawthorpe Hall was built in the medieval period and retained, as even by c.1500 security was failing to be an important consideration in the way new houses were built (Cooper 1997, 117; Girouard 1980, 115).

In the first image, these courtyard buildings, although all made of stone, are less uniform than the buildings displayed in the second image. The buildings on either side of the courtyard have a tiled roof, whereas the central building and additional wing are roofed with slate. The buildings either side of the courtyard are also quite different in appearance, with the eastern wing (on the left as you look at the image) made up of two storeys with two large chimneys servicing this side. On the other side of the courtyard, the westerly wing is also made up of two levels with a series of ten simple small rectangular windows on the upper storey looking down over the courtyard. Below this, a series of three larger arched windows look over the courtyard on the lower storey. Towards the end of this range is a large archway through which access into the courtyard could be gained, certainly large enough to accommodate the approaching horse drawn carriage. In the second image, these buildings are less detailed, due to the shadow the artist has added across the courtyard. However, it is clear that the buildings are two storeys high, with rectangular windows overlooking the courtyard, and at the end of each range. There is also at least one chimney on the same (easterly) range as those represented on the 1722 print. The courtyard was a central point during the medieval period, around which the household activities would have taken place. They often developed in a piecemeal fashion with the architecture of the façades of these buildings giving the viewer a clear indication of the function of the rooms within (Johnson 1992, 48). It could be that the differences in the building materials and form of the buildings around the courtyard in the 1722 print show this development. Although all the buildings would have been centred around the courtyard creating a communal space for the whole household, the differences in building materials and the form of windows, porches and other external features of the buildings around this would have demonstrated the inequalities of this community (Johnson 1992, 49). During the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, the façades of these buildings became less expressive of their inner function and status (Cooper 1999, 96). The second image shows buildings which are much more uniform in size and building materials and perhaps indicates this change in style.

The 1727 print represents a building which expresses this self-containment of the household and the increasing privatisation of the gentry. The hall, housed within the main building, would have been the central room from which all others radiated (Johnson 1992, 48). Until the sixteenth century the hall commonly extended over two storeys in gentry households, and was the grandest room in the house (Cooper 1999, 276). The medieval hall would have publically displayed the wealth and status of their owners, evident to an outside viewer, and would have provided a central point for the community (Cooper 1997, 116-118, Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 58-62). Internally, although medieval open halls were accessible to the community they provided for, they had a sense of clearly defined and divided space dependant on hierarchy which the household would have clearly understood (Johnson 1997, 146, Cooper 1997, 265-268). Rituals which reinforced these social structures would be played out, for example during mealtimes, which would be held within this space (Dyer 2005, 52). As the role of the gentry within the community changed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they redesigned the appearance and amenities of their homes (Cooper 1999, 3). Although an inventory of Gawthorpe Hall from 1657 shows that it retains a hall, it is likely that this becomes a reception room alongside rooms such as the 'Great Chamber' and 'Dyning Parlour', which would allow the family to retreat from public view and entertain guests of a suitable social status in private comfort . Throughout this period, the great chamber becomes somewhere where the family could eat and entertain privately. It would be used to provide space for visitors to sleep, or to receive visitors. It was a space which could be used to play games and take occasional meals in by the household or visiting guests, depending on the arrangement of other rooms within the house (Girouard 1980, 30-40). While the function of the great chamber was changing, the hall remained a reception room, though commonly decreased in size to allow the expansion of the great chamber during the seventeenth century (Girouard 1980, 53, Cooper 1999, 277). It can therefore be assumed that the middle building of the three 'U' shaped buildings was originally the medieval hall, with the two wings providing the service rooms, the chapel etc which would have served the hall. It seems likely that the additional wing attached to the east of the original buildings was built to provide a great chamber which could either be accessed through the formal gardens and grand porch on the north face of the building, or



through the medieval hall which would be considered a reception room, once this additional wing had been built.

The additional wing added to Gawthorpe Hall is presumed to have been added to the medieval hall before 1657, as an estate survey of this date records this as the 'new building' (WYAS WYL 250/3/12a). Throughout Wentworth's correspondences to his steward Richard Marris, there is no mention of a 'new building' being built at Gawthorpe. He does however instruct Marris to oversee ongoing work at Gawthorpe in two letters written between 1611 and 1628. The first asks Marris to have a plasterer sent to Gawthorpe, with his materials, but he asks that they wait until he arrives before the plasterer 'meddles with freeses or cornices' (WWM/StrP/21/40). This shows Wentworth is modernising the internal rooms at Gawthorpe and feels the need to be directly involved with the process to ensure it reflects the image he wishes to portray. In the second letter, Wentworth directs Marris to oversee 'the painting and mending [of] the roofs at the Mannor' as this work is necessary to be done. He also stresses that Marris should be careful to record all money spent on the matter and to ensure the roofs are ready in time for his use of the building (WWM/StrP/21/55). This shows Wentworth is less concerned about the nature in which more general upkeep of the building is carried out, and considers such work to be a necessary, and costly, inconvenience, compared to the delicate job of creating new friezes and cornices in the hall.

Both prints show that the new building has a series of tall windows symmetrically designed along the length of this wing, with half windows beneath these. This suggests, alongside the other pictorial evidence shown in the steps up to the porch on the north side (Print 1), that this wing of the house would have had cellars beneath rooms which would have had floor levels above the ground levels outside the house. The large windows either side of this wing would have provided these rooms with much light and extensive views over the valley. It is also not clear from the external façades of this wing, represented in both prints, how the internal rooms are laid out, adding to the suggestion that this is a later addition of the hall dating to the seventeenth century. The only other references which exist describing the internal layout and features of the hall are a description within the estate survey of 1656 and a letter of June 1631 from Wentworth

describing the layout of some of the rooms within one of his houses, which could possibly be Gawthorpe. The estate survey of Gawthorpe describes the 'fine large rooms in the new building' as being 'all waynscotted likewise (to the 'four rooms in the old building'), and coloured like [a] wall nut tree' (WYAS/WYL/250/3/12a). The letter asks Marris to ready the 'new drawing room' with 'mattes' and the 'chaires wee now send downe [which] may serve ther till wee get new ones'. The new drawing room sits 'next to' Wentworth's bedchamber, which is described as 'the roome where I intend to dresse myself', and is decorated with 'leaves of wainscott' which he asks Marris 'by any means' to replicate around the windows in the new drawing room. These descriptions provide some detail to the internal layout and features within the rooms of the seventeenth century house. The rooms would be decorated with 'waynscotting', which was a form of wooden panelling common in the houses of the gentry throughout this period (Jourdain 1950). These sources also demonstrate how private entertaining rooms would have been in the same part of the house, and connected to, the private bedchambers of the residing family. Not only were they physically connected but the decorative detail ran throughout these rooms, showing not only the status but also the personal taste of Thomas Wentworth. This letter, alongside countless others in the Strafford papers, also illustrates how Thomas could be prepared to make do with the old (in this case, chairs) until new replacements, more fitting to his rising social station could be afforded and sourced. Throughout his letters, it is not only clear that his personal wealth is accumulating in a piecemeal fashion as he purchases more land and titles as he rises in political power, but also that this is reflected in the material goods he begins to acquire to reflect his rising status.

Returning to the prints, it is also significant to consider the placement of the service buildings, as well as the prominent rooms within the house to fully understand how the household would have interacted and lived within the hall. Both prints show an outbuilding set away from the hall, to the north west, which appears to be a stable. The 1722 print shows a horse being led from the back of the building through a very simple singular door in the centre of this windowless back façade. In the 1727 print two men on horseback and a carriage drawn by four horses can be seen in the walled courtyard in front of this building, also indicating this building could be a stable. The building itself is again windowless, and shows three sets of double wooden doors, which are of a very simple style

consisting of three wooden panels on each door. Henderson describes how it was common for stables, considered to be one of the 'base' buildings, to remain near to the entrance of the house throughout this period, although others such as the bakehouses and brewhouses, and dairies and laundries were moved out of the courtyard, often to be placed up to a mile from the main house (Henderson 2005, 13-14). It was common for the stables to be visible from the front entrance of the house, partially for the convenience of visiting guests and partly to show that the owners could afford to keep horses, not only for agricultural use but also for travel and pleasure (Henderson 2005, 12). The prints seem to suggest that there were no other outer buildings connected to the house and it is therefore unclear where these rooms might have been housed. If the house conformed to contemporary developments for sanitary and aesthetic purposes the 'filthy and cluttered' activities of the household, would have been removed from the main courtyard (Henderson 2005 13). The 1698 estate map lends little additional information about where the service buildings would have been in the arrangement of rooms. The map (Figure 20. below) shows the hall as a set of eight rectangular blocks, presumably indicating different rooms or areas within the house, with a smaller rectangular building in the north west of the complex which correlates with the stables represented in the prints. As well as the map itself, there is also a drawing of the house inset into the top corner of the map. However, as can be seen in Figure 21., this has not survived well, and there is limited detail which can be picked out from the image, which might provide an insight into the details of the hall's construction. It is certainly not clear from either of these images that there was a separate complex of service buildings away from the house. It seems likely from the evidence available from the documentary sources available, that although Wentworth made alterations at Gawthorpe Hall, the hall still retained some of its medieval character.



Figure 20. Detail from 1698 estate map showing the layout of buildings making up the complex of Gawthorpe Hall and the immediate landscape surrounding the hall (Source: Harewood House Trust)

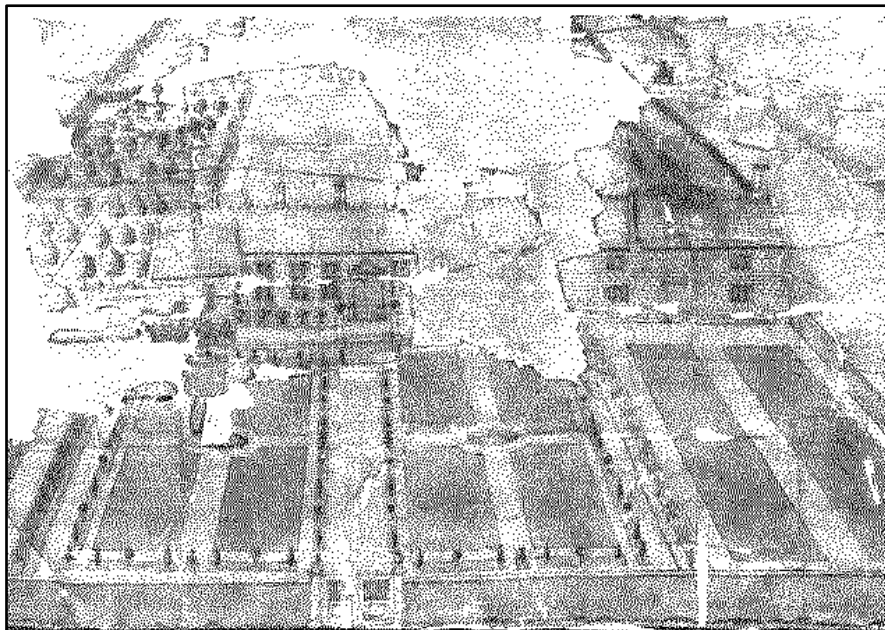


Figure 21. The image of Gawthorpe Hall inset in the corner of the 1698 estate map is severely damaged. However, certain details such as the ornamental gardens, orchards and some of the building itself can be made out. (Source: After Harewood House Trust)

From the documentary evidence, taken within the historical context, it seems likely that the medieval arrangement of functional service buildings around a central courtyard continued, while the additional wing allowed Wentworth an opportunity to communicate some of his new found wealth and status. The reasons for keeping the service buildings around the courtyard could be attributed to the cost in so drastically changing the hall, which was after all, only a

secondary home for Wentworth. The use of Gawthorpe Hall as a country retreat will be explored in more detail below, in terms of the landscape of the hall, but it is worth considering that this might have encouraged a reluctance for Wentworth to spend vast amounts of money on rebuilding Gawthorpe Hall, when Wentworth Woodhouse was his main seat in Yorkshire. As has already been noted, in his later life, once his wealth was more established, he was also putting vast amounts of money into creating Jigginstown in Ireland, in the form of a palace fit for the King, and up-keeping his residence in London for his time spent at court. It is perhaps understandable then, that Gawthorpe did not see the alterations that might be expected of a man of Wentworth's status. Keeping the service rooms within the courtyard might also reflect something of Wentworth's controlling paternal role for his household. In keeping all aspects of the household, within the view of the courtyard, servants and household staff could still be very closely monitored. As well as the behaviour of the staff, their access to anything within the hall could also be more directly controlled by keeping their activities within the one central courtyard (Hindle 2011).

These descriptions of the house, from interpretations of visual and written documentary evidence, can now be linked to the earlier discussions of how archaeology has been used to define what a household is, and how these might be identified archaeologically. I suggest that the 1722 image represents a lower status building than that of the 1727 print. The 1722 print shows an accumulation of irregular buildings, some of medieval date and some later additions or rebuilding's dating to the seventeenth century. The 1727 image presents a building which has been more wholly remodelled to present a modernised seventeenth century building, only hinting at it's medieval past from the arrangement of the buildings, and how they have developed in such a piecemeal fashion. Which of these two prints of 1722 and 1727, or the representations of the hall on the 1698 map, provide the most accurate snapshot of the hall at these dates is impossible to tell using these sources alone. The evidence from the letters and household books have added to our understanding of how some of the changes to the hall were perceived and implemented, but do not provide detailed architectural detail which might explain how the structures developed. By excavating Gawthorpe Hall, the phasing of the hall will become clearer, helping to explain when and how the structures changed, as well as putting the events

mentioned in the letters into the context of this development of the hall over the entire history of the site.

As well as the hall itself, an image of the landscape of seventeenth century Gawthorpe can be gained by examining the archival evidence. The previous section was dedicated to using the archival evidence specific to Gawthorpe to understand the development of the hall and the influence of its principal landowner during this time, Thomas Wentworth. This was compared to the wider historic context of the development of the buildings of the gentry within this period. This section will therefore examine the information present in the archival documents which might add to our understanding of how the landscape of Gawthorpe developed during the seventeenth century. This will then be examined in the context of current research, specifically focused on agrarian landscapes of the seventeenth century.

The two 1720s prints of Gawthorpe Hall both give some general representations of the landscape, which correlate with understandings of seventeenth century agricultural landscapes. It is significant to this study to understand what influence the gentry, and in particular reference to this chapter, what role Thomas Wentworth had, if any, in creating these landscapes. The prints offer a snapshot of Gawthorpe in the early eighteenth century before the landscape is drastically changed after the sale of the estate to the Lascelles in 1739, who undertake large scale remodelling of the landscape, to frame the new Harewood House.

The first notable aspect of the two prints is the agricultural land represented in the prints. They show the Hall sitting within a mixed agricultural landscape, of arable and pastoral land. Both prints show cows grazing in enclosed fields, and Print 2. also shows sheep grazing alongside the path running through an enclosed field alongside All Saints church. The grain crop being harvested in both prints has been planted in large enclosed fields, edged by thick hedges. These hedgerows are significant as it shows that much of the landscape in Gawthorpe had already been enclosed by the time the prints were drawn. Enclosing the arable land meant farmers could separate grazing animals from valuable crops. Throughout this period the fluctuation of grain prices shows how valuable crops such as wheat could be, but also how the unpredictability of its value could dramatically affect a small rural community like Gawthorpe. For example Bowden's price index shows

that in 1596 the average annual price of wheat was 811, compared to 407 just two years later in 1598 (Bowden 1967, 852; Harrison 1971, 137). The thick hedgerows established within the landscape of Gawthorpe, would have at least protected the grain crops from being eaten by grazing stock, and would have provided a valuable windbreak on this exposed hillside (Blomley 2007, 8). The 1698 estate map shows enclosed fields across the estate. Plots at Park Closes for example show the piecemeal nature of enclosure where individual strips (numbered 80, 81), sit alongside larger plots where strips have probably been accumulated by a series of agreement and communal agriculture, creating the piecemeal accumulation of fields which are then eventually enclosed (Barnes & Williamson 2006, 16-18). Other examples of enclosure on the Harewood estate focus on where enclosure has begun to eat into the common land, such as the land surround Hollins Hall (WYAS/WYL/3/33, plots 1-12). It is clear that enclosure was long established at Harewood, before the dramatic Act of Enclosure during the eighteenth century which gave landowners the right to enclose large areas of common and communal lands, without the consultation or consideration of those farming these landscapes (Wade Martins 2004, 96). A document outlining the extents of the manor of Harewood belonging to Thomas Wentworth written in 1636, shows that some areas of the estate mentioned in the document had already been enclosed. Ring hedges (large-scale boundary hedges) at Burden, Adlebecke and Brampton are all mentioned as significant landmarks used to define the extent of the land Wentworth owned.

Understanding the development of agricultural landscapes of the early modern period, has been a major concern for economic historians since the 1960s. The works of Kerridge (1967, 1969) and Thirsk (1967 & 1984a), and in particular the maps they produced of agrarian regions across the country as a whole, have provided an essential resource to understand large-scale landscape change of agricultural landscapes during the early modern period. It is significant to this research to understand the context of the Gawthorpe and Harewood landscapes within these wider national trends. This will enable this research to understand if the trends highlighted above were played out on the smaller scale of this localised landscape.

The map of 'English farming countries' produced in *The Agricultural Revolution* (Kerridge 1967, inside title page), outlines the variety of agrarian regions identified by Kerridge. Farming counties were identified by Kerridge where a unity of farming practices and farm management were apparent across a region. To the south and east of England, Kerridge divided these areas into much smaller regions than in central and northern England, which was, he argued, dominated by the Midland Plain region, suggesting the south and east provided a much more complex mosaic of agrarian landscapes. The area identified by Kerridge as the Midland Plain is categorised as having rolling landscapes with common field husbandry focused predominantly on corn growing, with an acknowledgement of some dairying and cattlefeeding, particularly in the north and west of this region. This map divides England into broad areas defined by their farming practices identified from predominantly early nineteenth century sources (Thirsk 1987, 26). These sources include, but are not limited to, legal documents such as accessions, rentals and surveys, wills and court rolls, as well as relying on the works of late eighteenth century writers such as William Marshall (Kerridge 1967, 387-404, Thirsk 1987, 3). These sources have been used as they demonstrate the techniques employed by farmers, and it is from these that Kerridge identifies agricultural regions, rather than the areas of one specific farming system (Overton 1996, 5-7). For example, in both High Suffolk and the vales of Blackmore, Glastonbury, Ilminster, Wardour, Marshwood and Glamorgan (in the south west of England and the south of Wales respectively), dairying was part of the farming systems employed. However, the soils in High Suffolk meant that in this region farmers focused on techniques to improve the fertile gravel and clay loams for the cultivation of wheat and barley (Kerridge 1967, 84). These regions are identified as separate areas of agricultural development, due to the differences in techniques which were implemented within these regions. Thirsk has suggested that although Kerridge's map is helpful and reflects her own findings in many areas, it also masks much of the complexity of these regions and projects landscapes of the sixteenth century back from evidence more clearly representing England in 1800 (Thirsk 1987, 26). This is significant for the understanding of the small scale of the Gawthorpe landscape. Broadly speaking, England can be divided into the uplands and moorlands of the north and west, and the gentle slopes and lowlands of the south and east. The north and west of England was more prone to



a cool wet climate which promoted grass growing and therefore pastoral farming. Fattening, breeding and dairying of pigs, sheep, horses and cattle in varying degrees were practiced in these areas. For example, a large area encompassing parts of Northumberland, Durham, North Yorkshire and Westmorland was an area where cattle and sheep rearing dominated with dairying sometimes being practiced on the fells and moorlands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Cumberland, the Northumberland coast, parts of Lancashire and the Vale of York on the other-hand were areas where rearing and fattening stock was the primary practice (Thirsk 1967, 3-5). The south and east in comparison was prone to drier weather and had areas of much deeper, fertile soil than the north and west. This area contained the traditional sheep-corn district, where farmers on the downlands, wolds and brecklands of East Anglia kept sheep to ensure fertility was maintained on the corn fields through manuring (Thirsk 1967, 3-5). In West Yorkshire, it is thought that up to 30 percent of farming land between 1500 and 1640 was arable, with this rising within lowland manors to between 60 and 80 percent, with a further 10 percent as farmed as meadow (Thirsk 1967, 30), but to what extent is this true of the Gawthorpe estate? By understanding how the landscape was structured during this period, this research may begin to provide a localised case study which reflects to what extent such national trends were played out on small scale estates.

Kerridge has used the discussion of agricultural regions, to suggest that the established view that an 'Agricultural Revolution' began in the eighteenth century, and was a precursor to the 'Industrial Revolution', could actually be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that the revolutionary phase of this development occurred between 1560-1767, and in most areas had been achieved before 1673 (Kerridge 1967, 15). This questioning of the orthodox understanding of agricultural development in this period was initially dismissed by historians. Kerridge had controversially dismissed the role of parliamentary enclosure, the Norfolk four course rotation of crops and animals, and selective breeding as aspects which dramatically changed agrarian practices and pointed to more subtle changes, the effects of which drastically changed society throughout this earlier period, and saw population double from 1550 to 1750 (Overton 1996, 5-6). Recent studies however, have reassessed Kerridge's work to suggest that the overall trends he documented create a useful model which is particularly useful

when other evidence is inaccessible (Williamson 2003, 198). Localised studies, such as Tom Williamson's and Susanna Wade-Martins' studies of East Anglia (Williamson 2003, 62-90, Wade Martins & Williamson 2008, Wade Martins 2004), have strengthened the argument that localised examples of farming improvements were being made before the eighteenth century (Wade Martins 2004, 18) and have contextualised the regions identified by Kerridge. The early piecemeal enclosure is one indication that this might also be true for landscapes at Gawthorpe.

Thirsk separates the defining factors that led to agrarian change into physical, social, economic and political factors (1987). Thirsk identifies that these factors influence each other throughout her analyses and acknowledges the complexities of large scale research. Using this framework to structure research highlights the nature of the evidence available for such a study. When this framework is applied to a localised landscape such as Gawthorpe, it becomes clear that all these factors are intrinsically linked and that changes in one factor will inevitably be reflected in changes in the others. Using these factors as a framework could, however, generalise and smooth over the complexities of such a localised landscape.

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

Williamson and Bellamy have suggested that the position of the medieval manor house within the local landscape would have been intended to display the wealth and status of the family at a local level, to their own community and neighbourhood (1987, 61). Although the exterior of the medieval hall would appear noticeably larger and of a better quality build, the interior of the medieval manor and specifically the hall would be used to demonstrate the wealth, style and fashion of the elite owners. This display of power and domination during the medieval period has been discussed in some detail in chapter three. This chapter, chapter four, has demonstrated how from the late medieval period to the seventeenth century the gentry began to further enhance these relationships with the local community, and also began to concern themselves with their position and how they were regarded within regional and national spheres.

## **Chapter 5: Landscape change: From Gawthorpe Hall to Harewood House**

### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter will address the development from the medieval landscape to the early modern landscape of Gawthorpe and Harewood, and the role of power relations in the formation of these. It will begin with addressing what evidence is available to explain how the landscape was changed by the gentry and will discuss what power relations were in place to enable any of these modifications to the landscape to occur. This chapter will then examine how these power relations and the resulting changes to the landscape had an effect on the peasantry by examining the use of space both in relation to the hall itself, but also to the connected wider landscape during this transitional phase of the landscape's history. It will address the themes of power, dominance, coercion and resistance within this landscape. The final section will address the driving ideological forces that accompanied the destruction of the medieval hall and the creation of the grand eighteenth century house. Discussion will focus on examining to what extent perceptions of landscape were changed during this period of transition, and will address the debate surrounding landscape change from a feudal landscape to a landscape dominated by capitalist agendas. In doing so, this chapter will examine to what extent impact was felt by local communities connected to the estate. To conclude, this chapter will outline to what extent the transition of landscape envisioned by Edwin Lascelles at Gawthorpe and Harewood was successfully implemented.

### **5.2. The Role of the gentry in the creation of the modern landscape**

#### **5.2.1. The hall complex and its household**

To place Gawthorpe hall within the context of the wider landscape it is worth briefly discussing the nature of the remaining evidence which relates to the post medieval buildings which made up this complex. Alongside the documentary evidence presented in chapters three and four, the preliminary archaeological evidence presented here draws on evidence taken from Gawthorpe Hall to examine how the internal use of space within the hall may reflect and inform the use of space in the wider landscape. It is suggested here that evidence from within the hall itself may demonstrate the daily lives of those living and working within this landscape, those who designed these spaces and those who used

them. It is suggested here, that the preliminary evidence from the excavated remains may demonstrate that the large areas of the hall which have so far been excavated were in use as service or utility areas in the post medieval period. It is worth clearly stating at the outset that these are only initial interpretations of preliminary results which ought to be thoroughly explored as more information is released about the site.

This chapter puts forward that evidence of the functional use of rooms within the hall complex can potentially be seen through two distinct areas of the open excavation. The use of these functional, or service areas, by members of the household it will be proposed here can further aid interpretations of the daily balance of power relations within a rural landscape during the post medieval period. The first of these areas are the rooms excavated in the eastern extent of the open trenches (Figure 22.), predominantly in the area defined onsite as trench six.

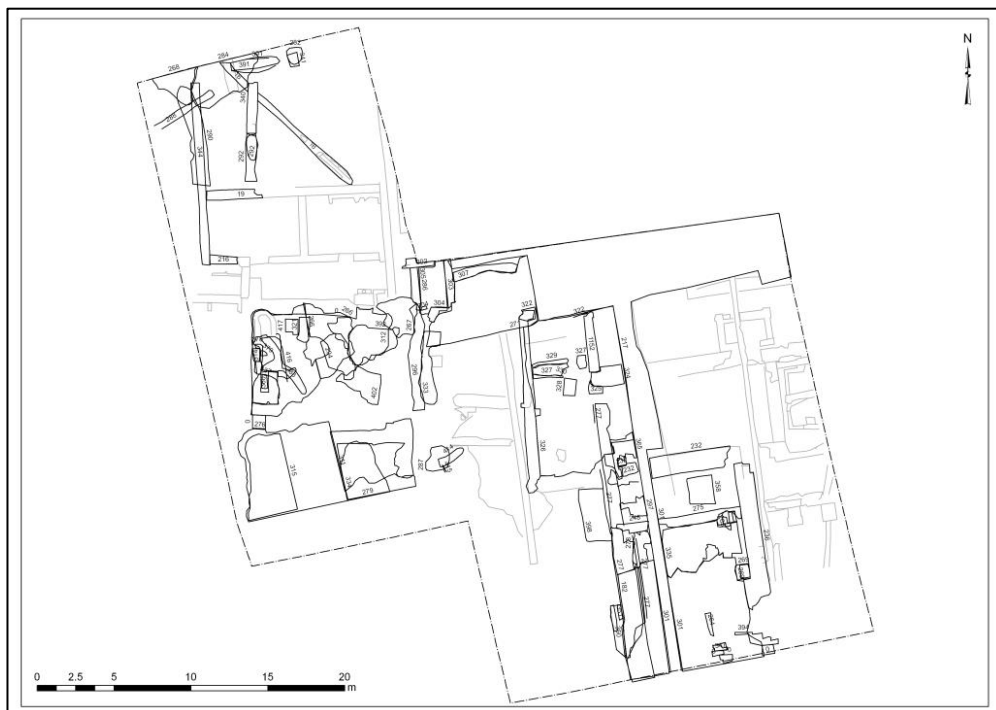


Figure 22. Open trenches, Gawthorpe Excavation 2012 (Finch forthcoming)

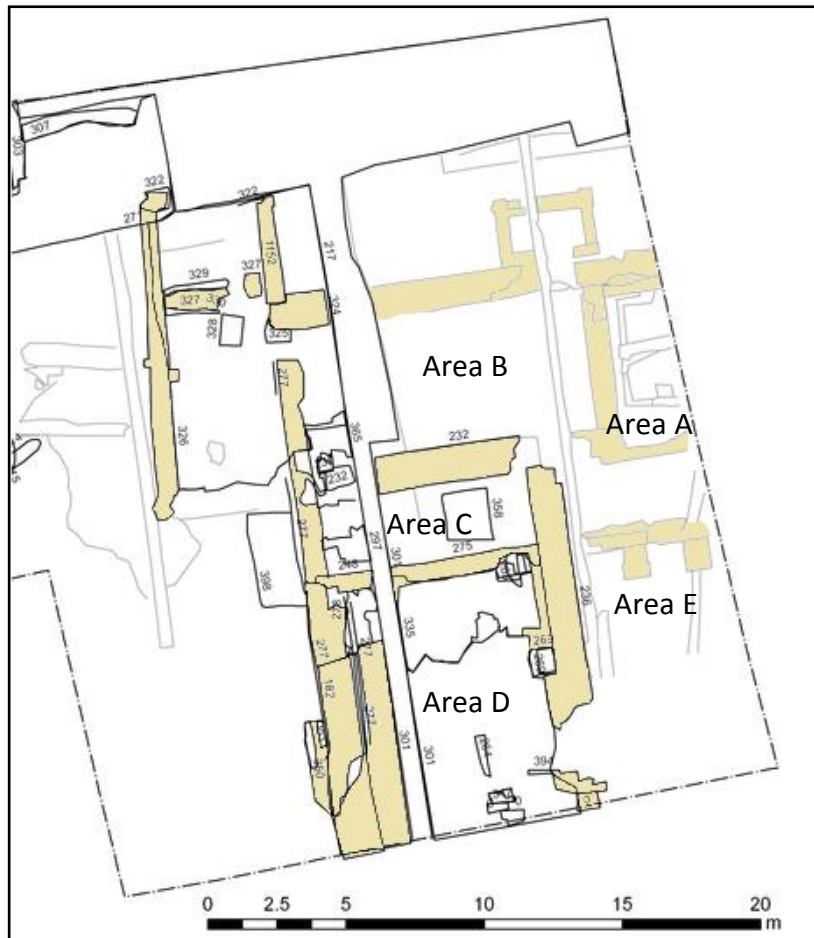


Figure 23. Excavated area trench 6, Gawthorpe Excavation 2012. Walls have been highlighted to distinguish potential rooms from one another. (After Finch forthcoming)

The surfaces uncovered in areas A, C, D and E (Figure 23.) show similarities to suggest they may have been working service rooms. This section will briefly outline the evidence used to conclude this interpretation, before going on to address more specific themes of power and control. Area A is a partially excavated room, with the eastern extent of the room still lying beneath the trench section. The main feature in this room is a capped drain which was covered by a layer of highly fragmented green glaze floor tiles which appear to have been used as a levelling layer for a later floor surface. The stratigraphy from this area has not been concisely recorded making it impossible to know for certain if the original floor layer which the green glaze tiles relate to has simply been missed during excavation as it is not present within the trench section, or if these tiles originally made up the floor of another area of the hall. There is also the unlikely possibility that these tiles could have come from another building and have simply been used as packing within the hall, so, with the present evidence they cannot

definitively be linked to a floor surface within the hall. However, it is worth considering that if these green glaze medieval tiles had been taken up from an insitu floor in the house to create packing for the new floor they were most likely taken at a time when they were no longer considered to be the most appropriate flooring material, whether in terms of functionally for the use of the new room, or in terms of aesthetic quality and changing fashions. The green glaze tiles are of a poor manufactured quality, with rough edges and kiln scars on the edges. Plain glazed floor tiles were often laid out in a chequer board fashion (Stopford 2005, 66-68), but at Gawthorpe these tiles seem to have been uniformly green in colour (McComish 2011, 4), or at least the considerable amount of tiles that remain (294 sherds) are of one colour. These factors combined with the fact that the glaze on the tiles displays heavy wear (McComish 2011, 3) suggest that the room where these tiles were originally in use might have been functional, and that the tiles were chosen as they could be easily cleaned and washed. McComish suggests that this might possibly be a room where food would have been prepared, though a stone flagged floor would have been equally appropriate for such a use, rather than an earthen or wooden floor which would become dirty much more easily (2011, 4). As well as these practical considerations, Stopford has suggested that tiled floors used in a domestic setting may demonstrate the owner's duty of care towards his household as they provided safer working conditions with level floors which would be more appropriate for the activities taking place within these rooms (Stopford 2005, 69). Furthermore Stopford suggests in creating an environment that was more convenient to work in, this helped to promote domestic order and the smooth running of the household which in-turn meant such regimes could be intensified by the owner (Stopford 2005, 69). As Dyer has added, employers would have gained from the good treatment of their workforce not only in attracting additional workers at times when extra worker would have been required, but also in increased efficiency on a day to day basis (Dyer 1988a, 22). However, Dyer is also keen to stress that some peasants, such as harvest workers for example, who were valued extra hands when the lords harvest had to be collected, could have a considerable influence in bargaining increased rewards for their work, which in turn might may have added increased bargaining power to the everyday workers on such estates where these relationships could be exploited (Dyer 1988a, 36). Although the original surface to which the green

glazed tile floor belonged is not clearly defined within the stratigraphy of the site, this flooring most likely originated within the hall, and at a post-medieval date was crushed and reused as rough packing for a later floor surface which appears to have been laid in sandy soil but of which no insitu surface remains, within the area which it is suggested here belongs to the working end of the hall.

Further evidence to suggest this area of the hall was used as a domestic service area can be seen in Area C. This is a small room, separated from Area B by a small internal wall, and in contrast to the capped drains and green glazed tiles found in Area A, is an earthen floored room with a central stone lined feature which appears to be a fire pit. In close proximity to these rooms is Area D which has an unusual floor surface created from large uneven stones including what appears to be an old mill stone, incorporated into the floor level.



Figure 24. Area D looking from South to North. Note the uneven nature of the floor in the room in the foreground, and the quern stone located to the left of this image. (Image courtesy of The University of York and Harewood House Trust)



Figure 25. Possible quern stone within floor surface in Area D. Image looking from west to east. (Image source: Author)

The rough floor and two fireplaces in this room, alongside the evidence from the other rooms in this area of the hall, suggest that at least at some point in the life of this building, these rooms were used as a service area, with rooms which needed to be functional rather than aesthetically pleasing. The pottery and glass finds from these areas initially suggest that the floor levels were in use up to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The inclusion of the quern stone within the floor surface is unusual, but not unique. Although there is no evidence at Gawthorpe to suggest anything other than a functional reason for its incorporation into the flooring, being a large piece of stone which could be reused in a rough floor, in the discussion of control within the landscape of Gawthorpe the example of the quern stones incorporated into the monastery floors at Cirencester must be mentioned. The monks of St. Albans confiscated the hand quernstones which were being used by the peasantry to avoid the heavy multure (fee for milling) which had to be paid at the manorial mill controlled by the



monastery (Holt 1988, 40-41). Bloch has suggested that the inclusion of the confiscated millstones into flooring at the monastery was a physical manifestation of the seigneurial dominance of the monks over the peasantry, and a reminder of the control they exercised over the peasants' access to a staple of their daily diet (Bloch 1967, 156-9). Although Bloch's interpretations of the extent to which mills were an effective point of control and dominance of the medieval lord over the peasantry have more recently been questioned by scholars (Ambler and Langdon 1994 for example), his interpretations of not only the act of confiscation, but also the display of these items trampled beneath the feet of the masters is a convincing display of power relations within the landscape.

A further piece of evidence to support the interpretation of this area as a service wing is the use of the outside yard in Area E as a dumping ground for kitchen waste. The rough stone yard appears to have been used as a midden dump for animal bones and antlers, many of which display evidence of butchery, suggesting they had come from the kitchens of the hall. Areas B to E were only fully excavated during 2012 and so dating material from these floor surfaces is yet to be identified and therefore it can not be conclusively determined at what point did this wing became used as a service area concerned with preparing and cooking food in quantities which would have been able to support the household.

It is suggested here that these rooms and the archaeological material within them when taken together provide evidence of a working manor house, and in particular the areas which would have been primarily used on an everyday basis by the servants and workers of the house. The mixture of floor surfaces, which have yet to be reliably dated, show a range of rooms, presumably with different functions. Dirt floors and uneven stone surfaces suggest an area of the hall which did not need to be aesthetically pleasing. The numerous firepits and fireplaces, as well as the drains suggest that when this area of the house was busy with daily activity it would have been a grimy, smoking and smelly place to have worked. The rooms were likely to have been much darker than the rooms above them, and in the gallery wing of the hall, as the floor surfaces described above were cut into the hillside, creating areas which were effectively sunken below ground level. Although during the late medieval to early modern period servants and workers were still physically connected to the main house, the degree of separation was

increasing as working areas and private family areas became separated. It is suggested that although the working rooms described above were not particularly pleasant environments to work in, the workers too would to some degree have had an aspect of private space in these areas, without direct interference from the family on a daily basis. However, stewards and other enforcers of the lords rule would have had access to these areas and therefore much of the privacy and personal use of space within these areas would still be strictly controlled, overseen and reported. Therefore the relationships, interactions and actions of individuals working in these areas might be considered to be that of a dominated group who could 'perform' the duties and behaviour expected of them, but who, like any work force, used the space differently when they were left alone at their daily chores (Miller 1989, 68-75, Scott 1990, 28-36).



Figure 26. Western extent of opened trenches showing the spatial relation of the cobbled yard surfaces to the furnace and rooms excavated in this area (Image source: Author)



Figure 27. Area of burning surrounded by a brick structure, with central flagged surface suggesting a possible working area. Flue running beneath to brick lined hearth mouth at the far right of image. (Image courtesy of The University of York and Harewood House Trust)



Figure 28. Cobbled yard surface, with culvert running north south through centre of image. (Image courtesy of The University of York and Harewood House Trust)

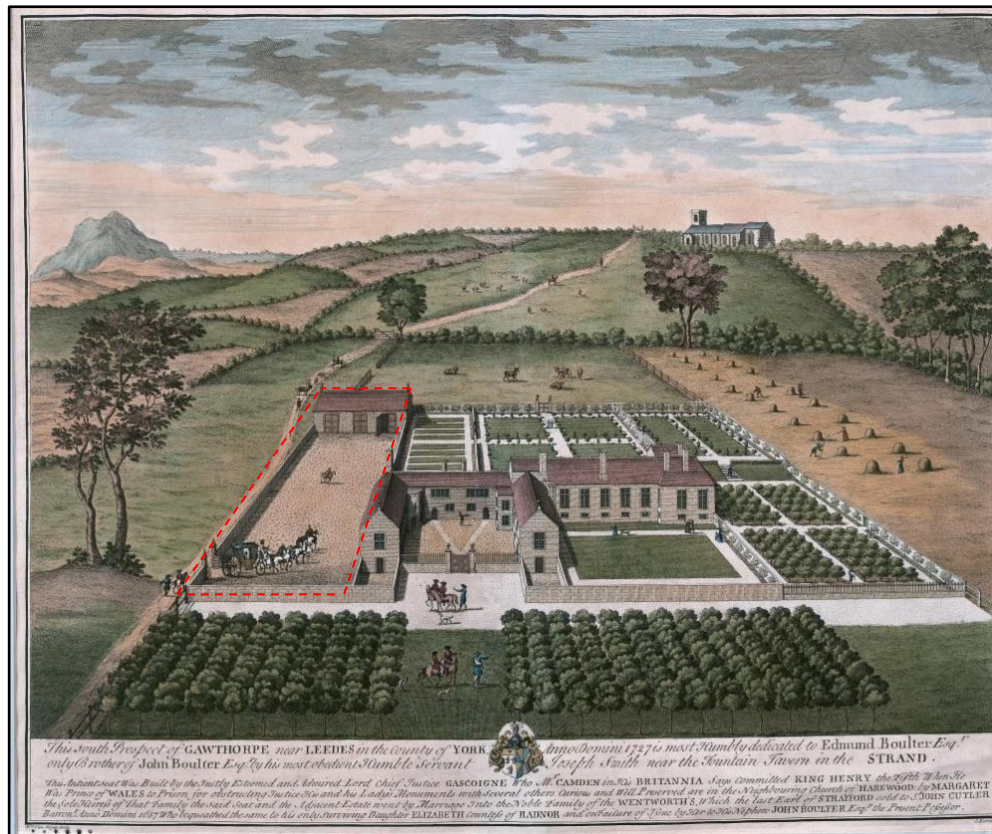


Figure 29. 1727 print of Gawthorpe Hall (Image courtesy Harewood House Trust) showing area within dotted lines as the cobbled yard running up the hill to the stables from the main area of the hall complex

Alongside the rooms already described, the area to the western extent of the trenches, including what was defined onsite as trench two, also suggests a utility area (Figure 25). This comprises of terraced cobbled yards (Figure 26.) with a furnace (Figure 27.) and a coal room, alongside a potential washroom and associated drains for this area. This range of the hall, in contrast to the rooms already examined, seems to have been predominantly used for tasks which required some outdoor space or access to these, and seem to have been comprised of less self contained units.

The cobbled yards (Figure 29., above) identified during excavation in this area are puzzling as they demonstrate some of the challenges of using historical documents alongside excavated material. The 1720s prints both suggest that a long cobbled yard ran besides the main area of the hall on the western extent. The prints illustrate that the cobbled area would have provided a stable yard which was attached to the western wall of the u shaped building in the centre of the complex. This could be accessed by horses and carts from the southern end

from where they could be ridden up to the stable building at the northern end of the yard. However, the cobbled yard surfaces which have been excavated are stepped into the hillside creating a terrace of three separate yards which would not have been accessible to horses pulling wheeled vehicles. Instead it seems these yards were outdoor work areas connected to the rooms in use in this area.

The furthest north of the three cobbled yards has a small iron drain covering in the south eastern corner and appears to have been an outdoor space for washing clothes. Excavators discovered a substantial amount of pewter, copper, and silver pins between the cobbles surrounding the drain covering, just outside the doorway of the flagged room attached to this yard. The functionality and cleanliness of the flagged room and its proximity to the drain, with the associated small finds which are likely to have been lost during the processing of clothing, seems to suggest that this area was used for washing clothes for the household. The range of pins, including the silver pins, may suggest that the clothing of the entire family may have been washed here, including some of the finest pieces owned by the family, by the servants working in the house.

On the middle of the three yards, below the yard already described is a brick lined furnace which consists of two parallel brick walls running north to south, with a domed apex at either end. The centre of the feature has what might be described as a work space. Here flagged stones provide access to the centre of the furnace with the flue running beneath, between the hearth mouth on the higher cobbled yard level above where the coal room would have supplied fuel for the furnace, and what would have probably been the chimney on the southern side of the workspace. This feature shares some similarities with the large brick oven discovered during excavations of King John's hunting lodge at Writtle in Essex. Along with the overall similarities in design, this oven combines a brick built structure, with areas where tile and brick have been used in combination during construction, and is built independently of other service buildings (Rahtz 1969, 47-50). At Writtle, this additional external oven seems to have been added to the structures which had serviced the house up to the mid fifteenth century during a phase of rebuilding to the service buildings. It has been suggested that the additional oven at Writtle was a cooking range or bread oven (Rahtz 1969, 49), and it seems likely due to the location of the oven at Gawthorpe, that it too was

used for household services such as heating water for the preparation of food, brewing or washing and cleaning, or indeed all of these tasks. Until this feature is convincingly dated, it is impossible to securely state if the furnace was built during the earliest use of the house during the Middle Ages, or if it too is an additional feature which was added during a period of re-building during the ownership of Thomas Wentworth in the early seventeenth century to support the expanding hall's needs, or perhaps it dates even later in the life of the house and was built as a work area during the transition from Gawthorpe Hall to Harewood House to provide a temporary workshop for making fixtures and fittings for the new house.

Throughout the excavated area a large network of drains, as well as what appears to be a water collection tank or cistern, were vital in providing the infrastructure which would have been designed for the smooth running and efficiency of the household. The positioning of the hall on the slopes above Stanke Beck meant that fresh water had to be channelled for use directly in the hall, as well as the need for terracing in the construction of the hall itself, as demonstrated by the cobbled yards, and the possible garden wall which was built behind the entrance to the hall on the northern side to prevent hill-washed soil entering the hall itself. The implementation of these considerable landscape features not only demonstrates the practical and functional planning that went into the construction of the hall, but also demonstrates the desire to construct a unit which was as self-contained and sufficient as possible, with all the facilities needed to run the household to hand.

### **5.2.2. The immediate landscape surrounding the hall**

It has been suggested above that the excavated material focuses on areas likely to be connected to working areas which would have been required to support the hall, and the relationship of these areas to the private areas of the house have been discussed in more detail in chapters three and four. In order to expand upon the conclusions drawn in these previous chapters it is important to discuss what is known of the elements of the landscape surrounding the late medieval hall and how these developed over the final phase of life in the hall. It is significant to include an overview of the limited documentary evidence which is available to provide a clearer picture of life during this transitory period of from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, and how this might expand our understanding of relationships between the owners of the hall and those that

worked and lived within the surrounding landscape during the post-medieval period.

Of the formal gardens at Gawthorpe during the transition from the medieval to the early modern period, there is little archaeological evidence as excavation have been predominantly focused on buildings and associated features connected to the hall itself. The preliminary evidence therefore must rely on two 1720s prints and letters sent between Thomas Wentworth and his peers.

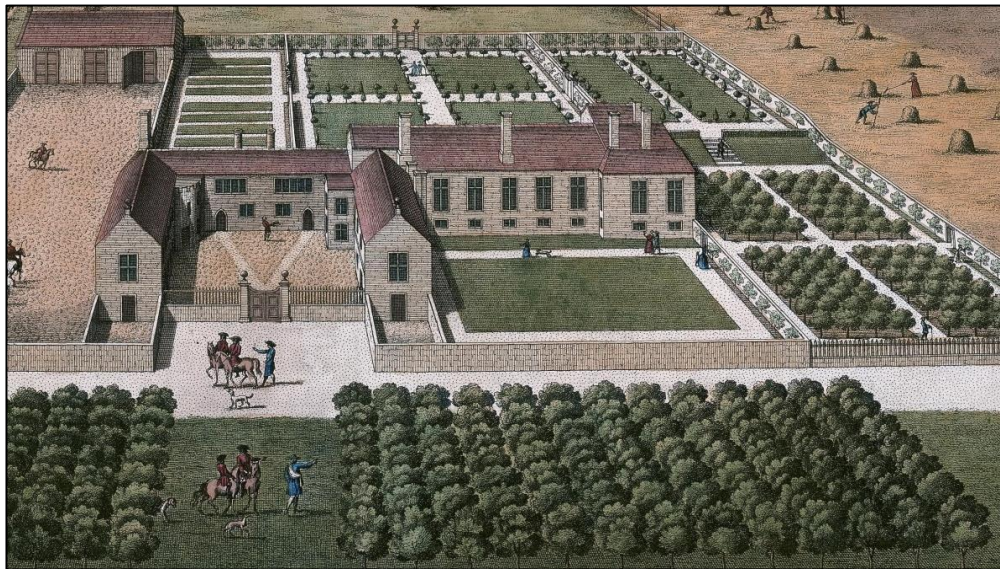


Figure 30. 1727 print focused on detail of the formal gardens surrounding Gawthorpe Hall. Note the well dressed figures, predominantly women, walking the paths of the gardens while the men are directed to the woodlands with their hounds.

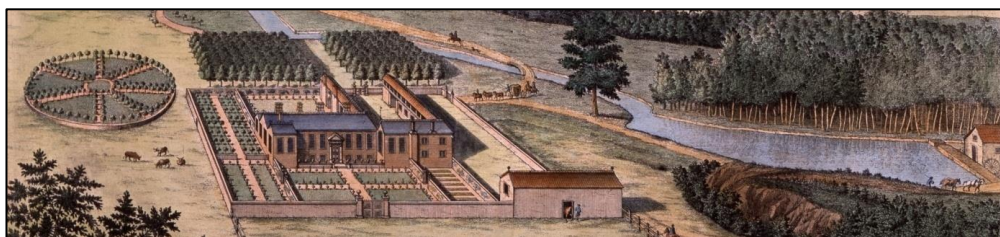


Figure 31. 1722 print focused on the formal garden of Gawthorpe Hall. Note the circular walled garden to the left of the picture (east of the hall) and the inclusion of the mill pond on the right hand side of the image (west of the hall).

Both of the prints (Figures 30. and 31.) show a series of formal gardens laid out around the hall, with the gallery wing looking out over both the northern and southern gardens. These appear to consist of walled enclosures made up of gardens and lawns divided by pathways. The enclosures are lined with trees, and



there is a walled orchard in the south eastern extent. The kitchen garden, along with the orchards which would have provided a variety of fresh fruits for the household, would have been an essential part of a manor house during this period (Amherst 1896, 96-103). Walled gardens and enclosures, as well as gates were used throughout this period at smaller manorial estates such as Gawthorpe, where the medieval hall had been updated and modified to include new building styles, and were used not only for the production of food for the hall but also to complement and emphasis elements of the design of the house itself. By using the highly structured and geometric patterns, Williamson has suggested that these outdoor spaces became like external rooms to the house (Williamson 1995, 31). The order created by these spaces formed a place for the 'natural' world to be observed in its most ideal and perfect form, and also acted as show gardens where plants could be collected and cultivated in the beneficial sheltered climate provided by the high walls surrounding them (Williamson 1995, 31).

The estate survey notes of 1656 that 'there is at Gawthorpe a garden of orchards around 3 acres...fenced around with high stone wall...well planted...with...fruit trees... of all kinds' (WYL250 3 Sur 12a). One of the walled gardens which appears to be separated from the others behind the main building of the hall, shows a series of small green strips divided by paths. Due to its proximity to the hall and the nature of the planting it is likely that this depiction represents the kitchen garden that would have helped to feed the hall with basic vegetables and herbs. It is more difficult to clearly identify the vegetables which would have made up part of the diet of the household, as these items are not often listed in household account books, as they would have gone straight from the kitchen garden to the kitchen (Dyer 1988a, 24). Within the kitchen herbs grown in the kitchen garden would have been used to flavour food, for the upper classes, aromatic herbs and spices were essential to make boiled meat tender and flavoursome (Strong 2002, 49). For the gentry, the utilitarian aspect of food produced on the estate, such as fruit and herbs, would not only show that the owner was actively involved in the husbandry of his estate but also that he had the wealth and position to eat a varied and fulfilling diet which would have been unavailable to the workers on his estate (Williamson 1995, 32). Importantly herbs were also used to help to extend the life of meat eaten within the hall. It has been suggested that as meat was often used over long periods of time and preservation of meat relied on salting

within the late medieval household, herbs would have been essential at masking the taste of tainted meat, along with the use of spices imported from abroad (Drummond and Wilbraham 1939, 37). During the post-medieval period, herbs were also beginning to be used to enhance the flavour and complexity of dishes, as a way of demonstrating the time and skill that could be spent preparing food for the rich (Strong 2002, 228). It is also worth noting that the variety of plants available in the gardens would have provided not only a culinary use of herbs within the hall, they would have also been used for cleaning and basic medical purposes.

The upkeep of the gardens at Gawthorpe, as well as the processing of the produce from them, would have provided employment for the low workers living within this landscape. After the death of the steward Richard Marris in 1635, Wentworth is concerned to be away from his estates and writes of his unease that the gardens at Gawthorpe 'will turn into a Wilderness' without the appointment of a gardener there (Radcliffe 1739, 482), perhaps suggesting that before this point there had not been one specific individual employed to ensure their upkeep. He also mentions that Thomas Brewer, the gardener at Wentworth Woodhouse was not only responsible for the upkeep of his gardens there, but also to oversee the maintenance of the ponds (Radcliffe 1739, 482). At Gawthorpe, the mill pond which was part of the Stanke Beck (Figure 31) would have provided opportunities for the owners of Gawthorpe to indulge in leisure activities on the estate such as fishing, and this part of the landscape would have been maintained by the peasantry in their absence. In 1626 Wentworth instructs Marris to ensure that a number of the great eels in the ponds of Harewood Park be killed or else 'they will devour all else' (WWM Str P21/46). Such measures were necessary to preserve the trout, roach and gudgeon that the estate survey notes were stocked in the 'stanke or Pond at Gawthorpe' (WYL250 3 Sur 12a).

Although much of the landscape immediately surrounding the hall was still being used for producing food for the hall, we can see that this part of the landscape provided a distinct contrast of those who owned and were entertained by the owners of the hall, and their servants and the workers below them. The gallery, which is thought to have been added by Wentworth during his rise to power in

the mid seventeenth century, ran between the walled garden to the north, and the walled lawn to the south of the building (figures 30 and 31). This wing created a division of private life of the family away from the service end of the hall to the west (see chapter 4 for a full discussion). That the gallery is surrounded by gardens on three sides (north, east and west) must have given it impressive vistas over a landscape designed for the use of the gentry. The walled gardens would have ensured that this small part of the landscape was demarcated as the lords property, a private space which could be monitored, and which was under surveillance from the rooms within the hall. It created another point in the landscape which reinforced and reproduced the relationship of lord and master, of servitude and confinement (Saunders 1990).

As well as the division between individuals of status, it is suggested here that the landscape immediately surrounding the hall and the wider landscape provided a division between men and women. Figure 30 particularly draws an emphasis on the use of the garden by gentlewomen. The women appear to be walking the gardens, picking fruit from the trees, or in conversation with the men upon their arms. In contrast, there are no gentlewomen beyond the bounds of the walls surrounding the gardens. Instead gentlemen are seen upon their horses, and with hounds amongst the woodlands presumably hinting at the good hunting which was available at Gawthorpe. In a letter from Francis Cottingham to Wentworth on August 5<sup>th</sup> 1629, Cottingham describes how his wife was responsible for designing and watching over progress of their garden at Hanworth: 'My Wife is the chief Contriver of all this Machine, who, with her Cloaths tucked up and a Staff in her Hand, marches from Place to Place like an Amazon commanding an Army' (Radcliffe 1739, 51). The position of women within a gentry household has been covered in some detail in chapter 4 but it is worth mentioning again here the role of women to organise and look over the household, providing a maternal figure which often held much of the immediate household together. The expectance of women to uphold the running of the household, the house and family connections allowed the men of the household who often had a number of estates, the ability to control and dominant over all the household (Hall 2000, 98).

#### *5.2.2.1. The immediate landscape of the hall in transition*

The post medieval landscape which surrounds the hall, as has been described above, also underwent significant changed from the late seventeenth and

eighteenth-century country houses. The fashion for geometric gardens continued into the eighteenth century, though as these became more common and available to members of the local gentry, the elite once more looked for ways to distinguish their homes above their neighbours (Williams 1995, 38). It is probable that the gardens represented in the prints of 1722 and 1727, during the ownership of Gawthorpe Hall by John Boulter, were ever seriously updated by the Lascelles who bought the estate in 1738 and began building works for the new house in 1759.

Estate landscapes were embedded with social meaning. Gardens of even smaller manorial houses could be used to communicate to other well educated and cultured visitors the sophistication and learning of the house's owners. Like many contemporaries, Wentworth and the lords within his social group would have had features within their house's grounds (Williamson 2010, 27). Returning to the letter from Cottingham to Wentworth sent in 1629, Cottingham describes a water feature, the building of which his wife is overseeing.

'There is a certain large low Room made under the new Building with a Fountain in it, and other rare Devices. And the open Gallery is all painted by the Hand of a second Titian. Dainty Walks are made abroad, insomuch that the old Porter with the long Beard is like to have a great Revenue by admitting Strangers that will come to see these Rarities. It will be good Entertainment to see the Amazement of the barbarous Northern Folk (who have scarce arrived to see a well cut Hedge) when the Fame of these Rarities shall draw them thither. Certainly they will wholly neglect the Sight of Hocus's Dog, and Hocus himself will confess that Calves with five Legs and Puppets themselves will be nothing in Comparison of this Sight.' (Radcliffe 1739, 51)

This description indicates some of the measures the gentry were going to in order to create landscapes of leisure within their gardens, and the importance of having an understanding of the classical references which would be presented by them (Williamson 2010, 28). Such impressive sights would provide a talking point for guests to the hall, and are notable enough to merit mention within the letters between gentrymen. The ability to explore these landscapes and to be able to discuss and enjoy them as they were intended to be enjoyed, was dependant not

only on money and class but also the ability to understand and converse with those in control of such landscapes.

### **5.3. Landscapes of production: The hall within the wider landscape**

Rural halls during this period would have relied on the landscapes in which they were placed for labour, and for produce to maintain life in the hall. As agriculture began to improve and increase, the size and number of estates also improved during this period (Bennett 1937, 92). Agricultural developments particularly focused on the production of corn and the development of the wool trade in Yorkshire created more employment for the peasantry (Bennett 1937, 92). As landscapes became more productive and exploited for this, social space within these landscapes reflected and reproduced the relationship of land ownerships who were making these changes (Saunders 1990, 190).

Focusing on the example of the brewhouse at Gawthorpe, this section will demonstrate how the service buildings which made up the hall were part of a larger landscape of production controlled and manipulated by the landlord during the post medieval period. This will expand and put into context the evidence discussed above, to demonstrate the interconnectivity of the hall and its landscape, and the influence of the lord over this relationship.

#### ***5.3.1. The brewery***

The brewhouse has been chosen as it was part of the essential service rooms of a country manor house which would have provided a vital, yet small scale, processing industry within the landscape. Beer was primarily produced for domestic consumption and was one of the buildings which allowed the estate to be as self-sufficient as possible (Sambrook 1996, 2, Brears 1993, 60). The brewery provides a useful case study for this section as it can be traced within some of the documents associated with the hall such as the inventory of 1607, personal letters and household account books. The inventory description includes details of the equipment used in the brewing process including '2 brewing leads, 1 cooler and frame, 3 brewing tubs and 1 wort trough' (WYL 250, Account 3992, 33, [78/4/14]). The brewery is also noted in a letter dating to February 1773 when Edwin Lascelles asks his steward why the 'Old Brewhouse' was one of the few buildings of the hall still remaining standing. Edwin saw 'no occasion.. [for it].. to be kept

up' (WYLA 1250/3) this late into the remodelling of the landscape for Harewood House. At this point in time (1773) he wished for the blight of the old building upon his newly designed landscape to be removed. Although it has yet to be confidently identified within the excavated building remains, the brewhouse may make up part of the service area which has been described above and should be explored more extensively as research continues on the excavated material.

The brewhouse often stood alongside, or in the same range as other service buildings which utilised heat and water such as the bakehouse, dairy and washhouse. Examples from existing halls of this period include Chillington in Staffordshire where the dairy and brewhouse were built alongside each other during a period of modernisation on the estate in 1724 (Belford and Page-Smith 2010, 46). The Chillington brewhouse was of a common style and simple layout where brewhouses were typically built as part of a service block, or were attached by one wall to the other buildings. The small building at Chillington had a single 'copper' which would be used for boiling hot water and the firebox which heated this would be accessed inside the brewhouse itself at ground level (Sambrook 1996, 47), making the brewhouse a self contained building unit. Having the firebox accessible within the brewhouse made communication between the brewer and fire stoker easier, especially at crucial moments in the brewing process when the temperature had to be carefully controlled such as when the wort was brought to the boil, as this had to be done without letting it overspill the copper by boiling too furiously (Sambrook 1996, 43). The design and daily management of the service buildings was carefully constructed to ensure productivity, and simple measures like making the process contained within one building made this possible. Although the lord may not have often ventured into such service rooms, in their conception he had considered their functionality and the way that his tenants and servants would use these spaces, therefore constructing a controlled landscape which would best optimise not only production but that the workers were kept in their places, in the service wings far from the comfort and fashion of the more private areas of the hall designed for the lord and his close household (Smith 2009).

Although Gawthorpe Hall is likely to have been provided with home brewed beer from the brewery onsite, produced from the barley grown in the fields

surrounding the hall, some other items were still imported. Recorded within the household books of Thomas Wentworth, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Strafford in 1620, are examples of imported food stuffs and alcohol to complement what could be produced at home. For example alongside the '24 hogsheades of beare', '2 hogsheades of strong beare' and '1 gallon of ale' recorded in the 'remainder' items on 18<sup>th</sup> March 1620, are items such as the '4 gallons of sacke' (WWM Str P 27), an imported wine from Spain and the Canaries (OED online). It is clear that Wentworth was able to trade with areas such as Spain, the Canaries and Portugal, and would have known the best prices and qualities of wine produced in these regions, from which to stock his cellars (Radcliffe 1739, 105). The hall is recorded in the inventory of 1607 as having a separate 'wine sellor' in the listings which also recalls the 'sellor,' 'old pantry' and 'new pantry' which were used for the storage of food and drink (WYL 250 Account 3992, 33, [78/4/14]). It was usual for elite household to have a separate wine cellar from the other food storage rooms as the contents would be considered more valuable these were often locked and only accessible by trusted members of the household. They were often also situated in a part of the house where both the master of the household and trusted servants could access the wine (Brears 2010, 22).

Beer was an essential commodity to the estate. Estimations made by Brears for the Hickleton estate in South Yorkshire suggest that 2 000 gallons of beer were brewed annually on ten separate occasions (Brears 1993). Up until the end of the nineteenth century, agricultural workers would be provided with two beer breaks, one in the morning and one in the afternoon (Brears 1993, 66-67). In a wealthy household it was common to have a minimum of three strengths of beer available. The weakest 'small' beer would be for everyday drinking throughout the day, instead of water which might otherwise be contaminated. The medium strength beer, often referred to as 'ale' would be drunk with meals, and the strongest beer would be reserved for special occasions (Sambrook 2010, 239). The controlled allowance of commodities such as beer also allowed lords to have some control over the effects of alcohol on workers within the estate. Like many of his seventeenth and eighteenth-century contemporaries (Brennan 1991, 72), Wentworth was keen to regulate the amount of beer, particularly strong beer, which was made available to worker and tenants on his estates. By controlling the brewery in the estate, Wentworth would immediately have had some degree of

control over how much beer was produced, and was able to lobby for measures to control its production. For example on 31<sup>st</sup> January 1633 Wentworth writes to the Lord Treasurer 'Assuredly the Revenue might be raised least £4000 a year upon Malt, what by setting 4 pence a Quarter upon the Brewer of Beer in the great Towns, and granting abroad in the Country licenses to brew Ale' (Radcliffe 1739, 192). Wentworth suggests that this might 'repress the infinite Excess of Drunkenness in this Kingdom' (Radcliffe 1739, 192), but as well as the supposed moral underpinnings of these measures, Wentworth could ensure that the peasantry would 'choose' to brew their beer through the estate brewhouse, rather than to take their malt to town where he was suggesting prices ought to be increased.

Even the residues from the brewing process would be put to use and contributed to the self sufficiency of the estates. The solids left over from brewing were highly sought after and would often be retained especially to fatten up the lords pigs (Drummond and Wilbraham 1939, 23). As has been demonstrated in chapter 4, Wentworth used his steward, Richard Marris to ensure the daily running of his estate at a micro scale, and would have relied on him to ensure such privileges were upheld. It has been suggested by Smith (2009, 402) that even small measures such as this would have enforced a constant reminder of the hierarchical nature of relationships on an estate, where the lord was provided with privileges whether he was constantly present, or as at Gawthorpe, an absentee landlord.

There is some evidence of the reuse of bottles at Gawthorpe. Although most of the bottles found at Gawthorpe dated to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, there were six identifiable sherds of globe or onion bottles found which dated to between 1680 and 1720 which were probably from isolated residual objects. During post-excavation, one bottle base was found to contain lead shot. This perhaps suggests that remaining residues left in such bottles might have been swilled out with lead shot in order to clean them, so they might be reused. The possible reuse of bottles, and the availability of beer brewed at Gawthorpe, perhaps suggests that the owners of the hall were keen to save money where they could, and did not see the necessity of importing in what might be considered finer, specialist



products when they could be produced onsite. This may suggest a desire for functionality over the use of such items as an indicator of status at Gawthorpe.

As has been discussed in chapter 4 in more detail, perhaps this disjunction between items chosen for utility and higher status items reflects the hall's use during this period as a secondary home, and as a country retreat for Strafford. Wealthy individuals able to keep their own wine cellars would have glass seals added to their bottles from at least the middle of the seventeenth century, making such bottles prestige items (Pearce 2007, 88). At Gawthorpe, only one example of a glass seal found on a fragment of bottle glass exists in the assemblages up to 2011. This single seal relates to life at the very end of the time when the hall was occupied as it displays the crest of the Lascelles. Kemp suggests that the family began to replace the older styles of wine bottles remaining in the hall with these more expensive, higher status, sealed bottles. However, the rate at which the bottles at Gawthorpe were replaced and the dates associated to this event are more difficult to obtain, without further analysis of the material excavated during 2012 (Kemp 2011, 9). This further data may be able to confidently demonstrate whether there was a wholesale clearance of bottles which predates the construction of Harewood House, in preparation to refill the cellars of the new house with the upgraded style of bottle (Kemp 2011, 9). Although visitors to the hall would be treated to the finery appropriate to demonstrate the status of the rising gentry during Wentworth's ownership of the hall, it has been noted that Strafford enjoyed the simple pleasures of life at Gawthorpe, and the healthy living he could enjoy in the country. Perhaps he would have seen no need for such finery when within the privacy of his own household. In a light-hearted letter to Sir George Calvert dated to 14<sup>th</sup> August 1624, Wentworth jokes 'Believe it, we may not admit you yet a Countryman throughout... lest you might come to spy out our Liberty rather than to keep our Counsel, and enjoy the Contentment and Freedom of our Life with Peace and Quietness' (Radcliffe 1739, 16). This seems to be in contrast to the image which Edwin Lascelles was beginning to create during the final days of occupation with Gawthorpe Hall, as Edwin began to bury the medieval hall and create a building which would house the finest fashion and belongings which would represent his wealth.

### *5.3.2. Connected estates and imported materials*

This chapter has demonstrated how post-medieval manor houses and their estates could be viewed as self sufficient units, with the lord of the manor having much control over how the landscape provided for the hall. This chapter will deal with the connections that country estates such as Gawthorpe had beyond the boundaries of the estate itself. As production and specialisation improved and increased during this period, these developments opened up the possibility for trade and the creation of national markets which became more readily accessible during this period (Drummond and Wilbraham 1939, 26). This appears to be the case at Harewood as in 1633 Wentworth petitioned the king for an extension to the market rights at Harewood, for which he was granted (Radcliffe 1739, 150-163). From Wentworth's letters it is clear that he understood the commercial worth of the produce from his estates. Whilst in Ireland during August 1633, he records '*A Remembrance of what Commodities serve for Spain and Portugal out of Ireland*' which lists all the products which he might wish to send out to various ports in Spain and Portugal, with a list of what he might wish to import back in return. For example, the entry for '*Avero in Portugal*' lists '*Corn not much, Frizes, Coverlids, Stockings; custom 10 per Cent. inward. From thence, Sugar, Salt, Oranges, Lemons, 10 per Cent.outwards*'.

The evidence for trade and communication with Gawthorpe mainly comes from the material remained excavated within the hall. For example, some of the pottery has been sourced to demonstrate trade both on a regional and international, global level. The earthenware pottery such as the mottled wares, slipwares, slip coated wares and coarse wares are most likely to have been locally made, but are difficult to source (Barker 2011, 14). Pottery kilns at Silkstone, Midhope and Bolsterstone (Dungworth et al. 2006, 186) were significant local producers of 'country pottery' during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, alongside the recently excavated kiln at Lazencroft near Leeds (Allday and Millard 2009). The majority of slipware and similar earthenware items from Gawthorpe are press moulded dishes, thrown dishes and hollowware items such as jugs and mugs. One example of 16 joining sherds of a press moulded slipware dish from context 104 displays the initials 'S M' which can be traced to Samuel Malkin, a significant maker of eighteenth century Staffordshire style slipwares who is likely to have been based

at the Lazencroft kiln (Millard and Steele 2009), linking consumption of pottery at Gawthorpe Hall to manufacturers in Leeds.

Other items such as creamware which might be considered a fineware are more difficult to place, as it could be argued that by the time of the demolition of the hall in the mid to late eighteenth century, such items were commonly found across all social groups and were often the cheapest type of fineware available (Boothroyd and Higgins 2005, 198). Such items within a manor house of this date, might therefore be considered to be similar to the more utilitarian wares, as the hall would have access to richer examples of fineware, depicting the status of its owners. Refined wares are less well represented in the Gawthorpe assemblage and there is little evidence of refined stoneware and earthenware which might be expected at a manor house of this date (Barker 2011, 15). This is not to suggest that such items are completely absent and there is for example an 'unusual quantity' of tea and table ware of imported Chinese Porcelain in the assemblage (Barker 2011, 15). Types of tea ware include pieces of teabowls, saucers, teapots, milk jugs and slop bowls, while tablewares include dinner plates, soup plates, tureens (serving dish containing liquids), sauce boats and serving dishes. Such items when viewed together, and within the context of the available historical and archaeological evidence, can provide an idea about the range of items which were available to the household, and can begin to suggest the social practices and identities to which they relate (Beaudry et al. 1983, White and Beaudry 2009). Such interpretations should go beyond the initial interpretations that poor quality goods with little or no decoration belong to lower status individuals, and should encompass a range of evidence to suggest how these items were actually used and in what context (Beaudry et al. 1983, 22). This is true at Gawthorpe as there appears to be evidence of curated material at Gawthorpe, both in terms of ceramic pieces and items of residual glass pieces. These items of pottery showed distinct evidence of repair, with metal staples used to hold the broken item together. These objects might suggest further heirloom or antique pieces of significance to the owners of these pieces, which have been kept in the family for some years before finally being discarded. Although these pieces could have been replaced with finer examples, which would have more succinctly reflected the fashion and sophistication of the owners of the hall, they were still kept and repaired. The eventual disposal of these items in the remains of the medieval hall,

might also demonstrate the wealth and aspirations of Edwin Lascelles, similar to the wholesale removal of glass wine bottles, amongst other objects. Although this item may have had some significance and history to the family, Edwin wished to look to the future by replacing items from the family's past with newly imported items of the highest fashion and quality, such as the Chinese porcelain in this instance. He could afford to replace such publicly displayed items in the new house, which would not only reflect the wealth and influence of his position, but also his ambition to be considered not only as a significant local, or national figure, but to cement his position as someone within the top ranks of society who could communicate with, trade with and influence global markets. Barker suggests that the difference in rate of discard between finer wares and utilitarian wares suggest discard at Gawthorpe was selective, with some material perhaps moved from Gawthorpe Hall to Harewood House, or another property, during the demolition process. For example the more expensive and fashionable Chinese porcelain was discarded at a much lesser frequency than the less expensive creamware at Harewood (Barker 2011, 14).

Similarly further analysis of the glass from Gawthorpe, including chemical analysis to determine the raw materials used to create the glass artefacts, may aid interpretation of the possible production sites which sourced glass objects to Gawthorpe Hall. Kemp suggests many items may have derived from local manufacturing sources (Kemp 2011, 12). Discussions of glass manufacture at Silkstone in Yorkshire by Dungworth et al. suggests that several sites across South Yorkshire were producing high quality, yet small-scale locally produced, glass in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Dungworth et al. 2006, 186). These sites included glass kilns at Gawber, Bolsterstone and the brief production of window-glass at Wentworth from 1632 until 1641 by the Earl of Strafford (Dungworth et al. 2006, 160). If glass was being made at Wentworth Woodhouse under the Earl of Strafford's ownership, it is possible that glass was transported from where it was being produced at Strafford's main seat in South Yorkshire to his country estate at Gawthorpe in West Yorkshire, during improvements Strafford made to the hall during this period. Analysing the production of the glass objects may be able to further demonstrate the interconnectivity of the principal seat and country estates of a landlord in the seventeenth century. Only one example of a glass seal found on a fragment of bottle glass exists in the

assemblages up to 2011. This single seal displays the crest of the Lascelles and suggests that the family began to replace the older styles of wine bottles remaining in the hall with these more expensive, higher status, sealed bottles. Wealthy individuals able to keep their own wine cellars would have glass seals added to their bottles from at least the middle of the seventeenth century, making such bottles prestige items (Pearce 2007, 88). However, the rate at which the bottles at Gawthorpe were replaced and the dates associated to this event are more difficult to obtain, without further analysis of the material excavated during 2012 (Kemp 2011, 9). This further data may be able to confidently demonstrate whether there was a wholesale clearance of bottles which predates the construction of Harewood House, in preparation to refill the cellars of the new house with the upgraded style of bottle (Kemp 2011, 9).

#### **5.4. Statements on the landscape, ideological change from country retreat to show house**

As has already been mentioned above, the disposal of so many items during the demolition of the hall may suggest whole scale clearance from the possession of the new owners of the estate. Taken alongside the initial results from the small finds and the nature of the destruction at Gawthorpe, this section will demonstrate that the dramatic clearance of items from Gawthorpe at the end of the life of the hall provides an insight into the social aspirations of Edwin Lascelles. Removing traces of the medieval predecessors to Harewood, from the buildings down to the tableware, Edwin wished to reinvent his place in society, moving away from the wealthy merchant his father had been, to a fully fledged member of the upper classes.

Most prominently, the deposition of artefacts suggests that Gawthorpe was subject to clearance events to remove objects from the Lascelles' possession before the hall was fully destroyed and demolished. These events were part of the dramatic transformation of the landscape which occurred as the Lascelles moved the centre of the estate by demolishing Gawthorpe Hall while Harewood House was being built. Across the excavated area there appears to be a number of levelling layers and demolition phases. The difficulty is trying to identify when these separate clearance events occurred archaeologically. Authors such as Hawley Ellis (1966, 810) and Høst-Madsen (2005, 312) have highlighted the difficulties of trying to distinguish horizontal deposits within refuse dumps where

material has accumulated as a series of individual deposition events across the site, rather than neatly on top of one another, such as the deposits have accumulated at Gawthorpe. The strata in such sites are also difficult to date, as the movement of material being dumped often means valuable dating material such as pottery sherds, may become displaced into associated layers, even if these deposits can be identified during excavation (Hawley Ellis 1966, 810). In clearing households, examples of heirloom, antique or secondhand items which were retained by members of the household for sometimes for years, were finally discarded as they no longer held their original or the familial importance they once had. In contrast to deposits created over a period of occupation, clearance events represent a collection of objects from one specific moment in time, creating a closed group of artefacts (Huisman et al. 2009, 415). In terms of the archaeological methodologies employed, closed deposits share many similarities with grave depositions, as artefacts are deposited at one moment in time, and are likely to include both contemporary and antique items. Unlike the items thrown away in clearance events because items are considered to no longer be of use, grave deposits are more likely to include items which are chosen for a specific use in the ritual of death. Both examples will also typically display items which might be considered heirloom pieces and provide a challenge for dating. However, it is possible to identify a *terminus ante quem* terminal date for these deposits, after which material cannot have been deposited (Hume 1970, 11).

More recent debate concerning the use of ceramics for precisely dating archaeological deposits has pointed to not only the significance of heirloom pieces but also to their potential lifespan as useful objects. The difficulty in determining how long an item was in use once deposited is fraught with variable factors such as the wealth of a household, the clumsiness of the household, the frugality of the owners and the life cycles of ownership, amongst others. Additional factors such as the strength of the item, what it was used for, whether the item could be repaired, the cost of the item and the mode in which it was heated, stored etc also affect the lifespan of ceramics (Pendery 1999). Gardiner looks in more detail at some of the problems of using pottery specifically for dating medieval vernacular buildings (2000). He suggests that it is difficult to establish a reliable date using ceramics alone, particularly where the deposition of a site is unclear, due to the nature of its destruction. Using this caution Gardiner suggests such

excavated remains can still expose much about the character of vernacular buildings (Gardiner 2000, 160-1). Although it is difficult to create a reliable and convincing model to calculate to what extent various factors affect the lifespan of ceramics, it is useful to consider these when trying to understand a large scale clearance event, as this may explain some of the anomalies which are much older than others. Triggs suggests that the focus on larger social, political and ideological questions, moving away from research centred on defining the stratigraphy of a site reflects the theoretical shift to understanding wider domestic landscapes (2011, 145). However, although challenging, sites where the deposition is composed of disturbed or secondary fills should not be dismissed but should be examined as material expressions of the social and economic system that created them (Rubberton 1989). In doing so, especially at sites such as Gawthorpe, where the demolition of the hall has dramatically altered the archaeological deposits excavated, we might more clearly understand the nature of transition, change and evolution of a site (Rubbertone 1989, 50).

The destruction of Gawthorpe Hall and the clearance of household goods into the levelling and demolition layers of the ruins show many similarities with refuse sites. It appears features which provided natural, contained, dumping areas were used for the deposition of a large number of household items. An example of this is context [285] (later distinguished into three further contexts, [356] [359] [372]) which is believed to have originally have been some kind of water tank or cistern used to store water for domestic tasks in the hall or associated service yard. This area created a predefined contained area to tip rubbish. During the 2012 excavation this area was extensively excavated and sieved, and was found to contain a huge range and quantity of household objects. These included black glass wine bottles, small apothecary bottles, metal objects such as nails and household fittings, and a range of pottery including Delftware, Chinese porcelain and saltglaze stoneware amongst many other artefacts. The reuse of areas of the hall during its destruction and clearance helps to explain aspects of how this landscape was redeveloped during the 1750s to 1770s. For example, across the excavated area are three large land drains running from north to south that appear to reuse parts of the foundation walls already exposed during the demolition of the hall. These appear to form one side of a the channels needed to create land drains to ensure the water running down from Harewood House

would end up in the newly created lake. There are even areas where it appears the walls which made up the land drains have been altered as they initially leaked, or created areas of pooling (southern extent of wall [236]). Here, large pieces of carved masonry have been added to strengthen the side of the land drain, and packed with smaller rocks and cobble stones, presumably left over from the demolition of the hall.

It is clear this landscape underwent a dramatic transition from the medieval landscape of Gawthorpe, to become the landscaped parkscape of 18<sup>th</sup> century Harewood. These processes did not occur instantly. The archaeology can therefore aid our interpretations of how this process occurred and how the landscape was gradually manipulated to become the setting Edwin Lascelles had envisioned for his new home at Harewood. It seems significant to establish whether any areas of the hall would have been selected to remain standing in the landscape while this demolition process took place throughout this period of transition. The estate was sold by Sir John Boulter's executors after his death, to Henry Lascelles in 1738, and Edwin seems to have started to make substantial changes to the estate from the 1750s. The stables that were built by John Carr for Edwin Lascelles were begun in 1755 and were completed by 1759. During the 1760s the estate survey records a workshop built in Stank in the 1760s which was in use between 1768 and 1780 (WYAS HAR SC5, WYAS WYL 350/3/19). The nature of the utility yards uncovered at Gawthorpe may be able to aid understanding to the areas of the estate which may have provided additional workspace during this period of transition. Workers could have used the furnaces and utility rooms to create fixtures and fittings to create parts of the new buildings at Harewood.

## **5.5. Conclusions**

This chapter has demonstrated how the landscape of Gawthorpe Hall was manipulated and exploited from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, by the communities that lived within it. Most significantly, this chapter has demonstrated how the various owners of Gawthorpe Hall throughout this period used these landscape to not only control the material goods which could be taken from them, but also their dominance over the poor living and working within the landscape. As the houses of the gentry became more compartmentalised, with



areas clearly designed for private use by the owner, the landscape begin to reflect the need for private spaces used for leisure and for establishing and confirming relationships with other members of the gentry, as well as the owners own identity. Within these landscapes the working poor would have had the potential to resist and undermine the dominance of their social betters by creating and using space in contradiction to how these spaces were intended to be used. The archaeological evidence has demonstrated some of the different areas of the hall which are beginning to become clear, and the small finds show the potential of being able to create life stories of the people who lived and worked in the landscape of Gawthorpe Hall through the post medieval period.

## **Chapter six: Future direction of research**

### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the challenges of the public presentation of country houses. As outlined in the introduction of chapter one of this research, most country house research to date has concentrated on providing descriptions of the aesthetic qualities of the house, landscape, and collections, as well as focusing on the owners of these buildings. This research has not ignored these features of the landscape, but has examined the connections and related context of these individual aspects together, alongside a wider understanding of a peopled landscape, during a transitional phase of the development of this landscape. The role of this chapter is to address how this academic research might most successfully be communicated with a wider audience. Developed as a Collaborative Doctoral award, this research forms part of a wider study into the past landscapes of Harewood House which was intended to provide part of the public engagement of the site. The wider project includes the archaeological excavation of Gawthorpe Hall. This project aimed to enhance the established relationship between The University of York and Harewood House Trust, as part of The Harewood Project, following on from a previous CDA-funded doctoral research project (Tatlioglu 2010). This chapter will address the implications of academic research presented to the public in general, and at Harewood House in more specific detail. This chapter will provide details of the public engagement which has been undertaken at Harewood House undertaken by the author. Finally, this chapter will conclude by discussing the potential, as well as the challenges, for the future of the public engagement and presentation of Gawthorpe Hall.

### **6.2. Public Presentation of Country Houses in Britain**

In order to discuss how this research has been disseminated and how the potential of this research might be expanded for public use in the future, it is important to first review how country houses in England have previously been presented to the public, and the critical analysis this discourse has previously received. The history of the preservation of country houses has been discussed in much greater detail than can be afforded here (see Hewison 1987, Mandler 1997 for a full discussion, and also Wright 2009 chapter 2 for the political background),

but it is worth briefly noting the general development of country house tourism to provide a framework for discussion within this chapter.

### **6.3. Academic and Private Sector Agendas**

This section will discuss how narratives about the past have been legitimised in specific relation to the role of academic and private sector agendas in the public presentation of country houses. In particular this section will be concerned with the concept of academics and professionals removed from interactions with public audiences as a result of an Authorised Heritage Discourse. This will also address what is meant by 'the public' and who exactly it is that the heritage industry are trying to communicate with, and the methods employed to do so. In doing so this section must also explore the difficulties in presenting traumatic, forgotten and contradictory stories, as well as and the influence of funding in shaping the relationships and interactions between academics, other institutions, and the public.

Throughout this discussion the public should be thought of as multi-ethnic and class-stratified groups with 'divergent and often competing interests and different stakes in how histories are represented' (Knauer and Walkowitz 2009, 3). This view takes into account the varied backgrounds, needs, and previous knowledge of individuals considered to be 'the public'. Traditionally museums and historic sites have often displayed a static, well understood presentation of the past, which does not aim to challenge these set assumptions (Stone and Molyneaux 1994, 15). The presentation of heritage has often been criticised for fulfilling the values of those responsible for designing these projects, rather than for the groups and communities they were intended to originally engage (Simpson and Williams 2008, 70). For example, Smith and Wobst have highlighted the role of archaeologists in controlling and creating the past of others without acknowledgement of non-western methodologies (2004, 5). Further to this, Smith (2006) has demonstrated that even within the same cultural and social groupings, conflict exists which creates imbalance as to how this heritage is created, dominated and represented.

The idea of power and control of a dominant social group has been explored in terms of how this might be expressed upon the landscape and through the material remains recovered through archaeological research (Turner 2007, 57 for

example). This project explores the ways in which people created and maintained identity through the actions of, and reactions to, these dominant social forces, and how this has been expressed and recorded through material remains. In considering the contemporary interpretation and presentation of archaeology, it must also be acknowledged that extant power relationships have a strong effect on current interpretative frameworks (Holtorf 2000). As Holtorf puts it, 'every past is a construct of the present' (Holtorf 2000, 215). Johnson uses his book *Ideas of Landscape* to discuss at length the role of the archaeologist in creating an understanding of historic landscapes and states that it is 'not simply a scholarly advance: it has a social cultural, and political imperative as well as an academic one' (Johnson 2007, 190). As Smith has considered in her examination of an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), archaeological interpretation and presentation has largely been controlled by a dominant social group. This creates an authorised discourse in the UK which has been created and upheld predominantly by professional, traditionally educated white males (Smith 2006). Since the earliest archaeologists and their antiquarian forefathers, the discipline as a whole has been dominated by those with the wealth and time to pursue archaeology and the driving forces behind research are still very much influenced by such agendas. Smith argues that as a result of this, interpretations, policy, and presentations of the past have been created by and for this dominant group, and although steps have been taken to counter this, the AHD continues to permeate heritage presentation today (Smith 2006, 299). For example, Lynch has argued that the language of museum engagement policies perpetuate the AHD by implying that the role of the museum is one of cultural improvement to an uneducated public (Lynch 2011, 447). Walkowitz and Knauer in their edited volume, *Contested Histories in Public Space*, point to the 1960s and 70s and the influence of the New Left amongst other contemporary social and political changes occurring at this time, as a key point when academic interest began to change the stories that have been told about the past. They note that developments at this time led to an academic interest in 'common folk' histories and attempts were made to bring these into the public domain (Walkowitz and Knauer 2009, 4). This new found perspective began to challenge the top-down accounts of history as presented by academics up to this point (Silberman 2007, 179). As has already been discussed in the development of approaches to the

presentation of country houses, within the discipline of archaeology, these developments have been reflected by the emergence of Post-processual archaeology. Although there have been considerable developments from early attempts, there continues to be a gulf between the intended desire for inclusion of alternative histories presented by archaeologists, and the realities of what information is shared by those with power with the wider public (Stone 1991).

#### **6.4. The effect of evaluation on the presentation of heritage**

Heritage has social and economic value. Evaluations of heritage identify and measure the impact of this value on individuals, communities and the wider economy. A difficulty for the heritage industry in recent decades seems to have been the recognition of both the commercial value and the presumed inherent value of the past, and the ethical implications of the relationship of these. The HLF External Research Review (Maer 2009) identifies four major economic impacts of heritage: the economic benefits of local historic restoration; the overall economic impact of heritage attractions including the creation of employment opportunities in a local area; the scale of impact of heritage tourism to their locality; how heritage can attract other businesses to an area.

Silberman has pointed out that any discussion of public archaeology must consider the contemporary socio-economic context of a changing market-focused industry (2007, 181). The economic considerations of a marketable heritage have meant that visitors have the right to expect their money's worth when visiting a heritage site. Like other forms of visitor attractions, people are coming to 'have a day out' and expect value for the money they pay, which can be a considerable cost. A family ticket in 2014 costs £40 at Harewood House, £65 at Chatsworth House (Treasure House of England), £57 at Blenheim Palace (Treasure House of England), £35.50 at Castle Howard (Treasure House of England), £31.05 at Blickling Hall (National Trust), £22.50 at Lyme Park (National Trust) and £24.50 at Audley End (English Heritage). As Tinniswood has pointed out, 'the country house is a leisure industry dependant on the consumer's whims and predilections; condescension and class discrimination have been replaced by detailed analysis of spending patterns and surveys of demographic characteristics' (1989, 189-190). Smith has shown through the use of a survey consisting of 13 open ended questions posed to 454 visitors at six different country houses, that although visitors acknowledged a sense of having 'a nice day out', the combination of being

in the specific location of a country house, being able to be a participant in the recognition of its aesthetic and social values, and the feeling of being able to take away a sense of having experienced something cultural was more significant (Smith 2006, 145). Although these factors are important for visitors once at a country house and are instrumental in the formation of visitor identity at such sites, it is arguable that there is still pressure on visitors to buy into this sense of experiencing heritage in the first instance. There is an increasing need for heritage sites to attract visitors, and provide an enjoyable experience against stiff competition from other visitor and leisure attractions (Silberman 2007, 183), which has become ever more apparent since the beginning of the economic depression which began in 2008 in the UK (Mermiri 2010).

These economic considerations have been measured more effectively than attempts to measure the social impact of heritage. Quantitative surveys have identified the impact of heritage on individuals (Maer 2009, 3), for example through health benefits (Department for Culture, Media and Sport report on *Capturing the Impact of Libraries* 2009) and psychological wellbeing (English Nature Research Report ENRR533 2003), but must continue to be developed to more fully explain the impact of heritage on communities (Maer 2009, 13). Conflicts between the economic value and the social value of heritage are perhaps most obviously demonstrated through the need to preserve a landscape, site or artefact because of its potential to provide information in the future. For example, according to McManamon, archaeology is not a commodity to be sold off by the public; this presumes that the inherent cultural value assumed by this author is the most important value attached to the past, or at least that it is more important than the immediate economic needs of the 'unscrupulous or misguided public' (McManamon 2000, 218). This assumption about the inherent value of the past is maintained by heritage professionals, but it does not necessarily reflect the values of such a varied and complex group as 'the public'; it is essential to recognise this in trying to present the past to the public.

Working within institutions and maintaining careers that are built on assumptions of the value of heritage, it is difficult to consider the financial implications of heritage beyond the perspective of the funding that is made available to promote and educate the public about the past. It is suggested here, in accordance with

the AHD, that the need to justify the value of heritage in the process of securing funding for engagement projects further removes the academic and professional from the realities of how the audiences they are trying to engage with actually interact with heritage. Although the impact of a project is often evaluated and considered at the outset of a project making up a crucial part of the funding requirements (EFTEC 2005, 2), this is often done from a top down perspective. For example EFTEC suggest that 'the wider population' should be considered in the decision making process of what heritage has value, but does not suggest how this might be achieved from the outset of a project (2005, 2). Throsby (2001) suggests this can only be achieved by combining the economic and social value of a heritage asset, and proposes this could be done by attributing a level of scoring to each. In order to be successful within a highly competitive environment, applications for funding promote academic language and professional links, and project dramatic impact due to the inherent cultural value of the subject matter. Projects regarding country houses are often evaluated by assessing visitor numbers, online traffic and participation, and by using surveys undertaken at events or attractions; these often fail to measure the extent and nature of participant engagement, and in some cases only record the actual number of participants. This creates a disconnect between the experiences of the public and the perceptions of the successes and failures of the project as perceived by its designers. In order for this process to more fully reflect the needs of all participants, and provide a more accurate measure of a project's true value (both economically and socially), more should be done to gauge public opinion about the intended outcomes of an engagement project from the outset. Instead of assessing those individuals who come to reaffirm their social identity through visiting a country house, more research and communication should be made with groups who feel the country house visit has nothing to do with their heritage. In understanding these attitudes, it may be possible to connect with these audiences in another way, which does not presume an inherent interest in the traditional values usually presented by and within the country house.

Lynch has highlighted the difficulties of creating truly open debate and reflective practice within a museum setting, and the frustration this can cause for those truly passionate about communicating the past (Lynch 2011). She suggests that the realities of short-term project funding within museums discourages reflection

and perpetuates 'an illusion that the work is more effective than it is' (Lynch 2011, 444). Silberman suggests that heritage projects, reliant on limited funding and strict budgets, must show they are economically viable. He suggests that this is underpinned by professional interest in promotion of heritage sites in order to maintain the possibility of additional research funding (Silberman 2007, 188). With the current fragile nature of projects funding in a competitive market, it is difficult to openly discuss how an engagement project could have done better, and instead the focus is on the successes of a project, which are often over exaggerated to ensure further funding is not jeopardised (Lynch 2011, 445).

In sharing knowledge of the past, academics and heritage professionals also face the problem of communicating complex research in an understandable way, which is also engaging and, as already highlighted, provides good value for money. The stagnation of imaginative engagement projects which are not able to be truly critical and reflexive is further hampered by the conflict between educating and entertaining audiences.

#### **6.4.1. The process of archaeology**

The process of archaeology itself provides a tool for communicating the past. Building on the discussions put forward by this chapter, it is essential that the process of creating archaeological interpretations should be transparent to break down some of the social barriers which exist in the creation and presentation of archaeology. This enables the visitor to draw their own conclusions from the evidence that has been presented to them. Presenting a past with missing pieces, and acknowledging that the professional interpretation(s) presented convey only one possible narrative, encourages involvement in creating new stories. What also seems to be a concern of recent attempts to communicate the past is to make heritage relevant to audiences now. The current attitude to dealing with this issue seems to be a preoccupation with using technology to communicate the past, to entice and impress visitors with flashy graphics and the use of interactive computer screens. However, it is suggested here, that it is more significant for those involved in the telling of heritage to commit to open dialogue in creating new ways of telling the past, and that the methodology used to do this need not be over-complicated but instead accessible to all. Building on three key motives in the presentation and communication of the past that Colomer identifies, this section will demonstrate how cognition, empathy and active participation are the



three essential aspects needed to communicate heritage to a wider audience (Colomer 2002, 90). It is also suggested here that the very process of archaeology can help to achieve better communication with wider audiences using these three principals.

#### ***6.4.1.1. Cognition: Knowledge through thought, experience and the senses***

It is important to make it clear that any data collected about the past will still be embedded with bias from what has been collected, and from the methodologies chosen to do so, but providing visitors with an example of the process of how interpretations are made will provide the chance for visitors to bring together the evidence that is collated by heritage professionals to make their own conclusions (Stones and Planel 1994, 207). Furthermore, in trying to convey how a place felt to live or work in for example, all types of sensory communication should be explored. In this way information about a site can be explored by a variety of visitors with different learning needs. Visual, auditory and kinaesthetic (tactile) tools should be employed to make the most of this sensory learning to enable visitors to bring together interpretations with personal and specific meaning. In this way professionals and academics can acknowledge that other peoples experiences can also inform the stories created about the past.

#### ***6.4.1.2. Empathy: The human aspect of the past and how people felt***

In communicating the history of a country house, the authorised discourse focuses on the elite owners of the past and their belongings. In acknowledging the wider spectrum of society involved in the house and its surrounding landscape, it is possible to relate to a wider audience. Relating to the past through human stories of struggle, toil and joy displayed through interactions on the landscape, their material belongings or the stories recorded in documents opens up the histories of a much wider proportion of the population, and one that most people can relate to. This seems particularly important in the communication of stories from a 'familiar past' in relatively recent history. Themes explored through the lives of our ancestors may help to inform our present and help to show the emotional connect that is possible through an understanding of the past.

#### ***6.4.1.3. Active Participation: Engaging in the activity of creating the past***

Wherever possible the experience of collecting data, from excavation to documentary research to oral histories and beyond, should be made accessible to visitors and the tools provided so that visitors can facilitate this learning for

themselves. In providing the framework for visitors to create narratives about the past, this promotes dialogue with a wider variety of individuals as well as critical internal reflection. This aspect of public presentation has also been shown to be a helpful tool beyond the limits of heritage with examples such as Operation Nightingale (<http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/OperationNightingale> accessed October 2013) and Homeless Archaeology (<http://homelessheritage.wordpress.com/about/> accessed October 2013) showing the therapeutic and social impact of actively being involved in the creation of the past.

### **6.5. Public Archaeology of Gawthorpe Hall**

From the outset the focus of this research has been the enduring status and power that country houses and manorial halls have held upon the landscape, and how this shaped the lives of the communities living within these landscapes. This research has focused on the untold stories of a period of landscape history, which has been an area of research which has not been sufficiently explored previously. In addressing the conflicts between different stakeholders, this section will demonstrate how these under-told narratives may be communicated with wider audiences. This will discuss the challenges and realities of attempting to communicate these stories within the context defined by a charitable trust such as HHT.

This section deals with the public archaeology which was undertaken during the course of this research into Gawthorpe Hall. It does not aim to discuss in any detail previous attempts by Harewood House Trust, The University of York, or The Harewood Project to publically present Gawthorpe Hall, nor does it address the overall presentation of the current house and grounds. Instead, this section will outline what steps have been taken by the author to expand understanding of current research into Gawthorpe Hall, and the transition of landscape from c.1500-1750 within this landscape. It will provide details of events and resources which were created and delivered during the 2011 and 2012 seasons of excavation, and will reflect on the impact of these within the frameworks already discussed above in this chapter. The funding from the AHRC for this Collaborative Doctoral Award has made it possible to enhance the public profile of research at Harewood, but has also had implications for the scale of engagement this project could realistically achieve in the format of a doctoral project. It is also important

to acknowledge that the public engagement of the Gawthorpe excavation during the 2012 season would not have been possible without the financial support from The University of York's Research Development Team which provided £3000 of funding under the Researcher Led Projects initiative.

The initial proposal put forward in 2011 by the author aimed to work alongside Harewood House Trust staff within the Learning department to provide a range of activities to promote the understanding of, and interest in, Gawthorpe Hall and the archaeology of Harewood House. The excavation was run by the University of York while the author worked within the on-going Harewood Project, of which this CDA PhD is part of. The public engagement was further enhanced by funds made available to the author through the University of York's Research Development Team. The mission statement of the Trust aims to promote the study and appreciation of 'Harewood as a place of historic and cultural interest and natural beauty' (Harewood House Trust, Education and Audience Forward Plan 2011). As has been already examined above, this statement reflects the traditional role of country houses within the heritage discourse, and the preservation agendas which have prevailed in their continued public use. In line with this statement, this research aimed to communicate the 'prehistory' of Harewood which had not previously been included in onsite interpretation, or education and outreach programmes.

As well as focusing on visitors to Harewood House, the project design aimed to incorporate research on Gawthorpe Hall into Harewood House's existing outreach programme, with the intention of continuing involvement beyond the end of the excavation seasons. As Harewood is a registered museum (No. 306) and educational charity (No. 507753), this project would draw on established links that the Learning team at Harewood House had already made with educational institutions and community groups. The targeted audiences included groups who might not necessarily normally have an interest in history or country houses, and those who may feel excluded from visiting institutions such as country houses. These audiences include diverse groups such as minority ethnic communities, isolated older people, further education groups and school groups, amongst others (HHT Impact Summary 2010). These groups all had very different individual needs, sensitivities and levels of investment in the presentation of various

histories at Harewood House. It was of great importance for this research to be able to reach out to communities who might not otherwise engage with the history of country houses and to show that alternative narratives of the past have the same legitimacy as the stories traditionally represented at county houses. In particular, it was essential for this research to try and reach those who might feel that country houses and the impact of the elite upon the landscape don't represent their history. Through the archaeological material, this project aimed to reach groups who might otherwise feel intimidated or disenfranchised by the traditional county house visit.

From these initial discussions, basic workshops were designed according to the specific needs of individual groups, under the guidance of Jennifer Auty (HHT Head of Learning) and Anna Wiseman (HHT Learning Coordinator). These were then delivered by the author for school groups, as well as guided tours which were delivered throughout the duration of this first year of University of York field school excavation. In 2012, critical self-assessment of the 2011 material led to a revision of resources, and the need to expand engagement further (Rayner, unpublished report). Under the Research Led Project funding, during the 2012 excavation the author was able to put forward a considered, critically aware project design to increase engagement with, and understanding of, ongoing research of Gawthorpe Hall.

In order to fulfil funding and research commitments, and the requirements of this project to complement the wider presentation of Harewood House, the interpretations generated by this PhD fall well within the established Authorised Heritage Discourse. This chapter will provide agendas which can be challenged and considered for the future presentation of the site in the hope of engaging a wider audience and having a longer lasting impact on participants. This is particularly important considering the setting of this research, and the politicised nature of histories traditionally undertold and untold by country houses.

#### **6.5.1. Medieval Harewood**

The excavation of and research into Gawthorpe Hall was presented within an ongoing project by Harewood House Trust to explore the medieval history of the estate begun in 2012. This largely focuses on the standing medieval features within the landscape of the Harewood estate, namely All Saints Church and

Harewood Castle, and the site of Gawthorpe Hall, and now includes an annual Medieval Faire held within the grounds. Imagery used to advertise these aspects of the estate focus on the medieval knights of the alabaster tombs in All Saints Church, the ruins of the Castle in the surrounding woodlands, and the excess of medieval feasting, banqueting and jousting. The promotional literature states that 'the Gawthorpe site is one of the key sites for Medieval Harewood' (<http://www.harewood.org/grounds/harewood-estate/gawthorpe> accessed October 2013) and is represented throughout the publicity with images of the hall from the eighteenth century prints.

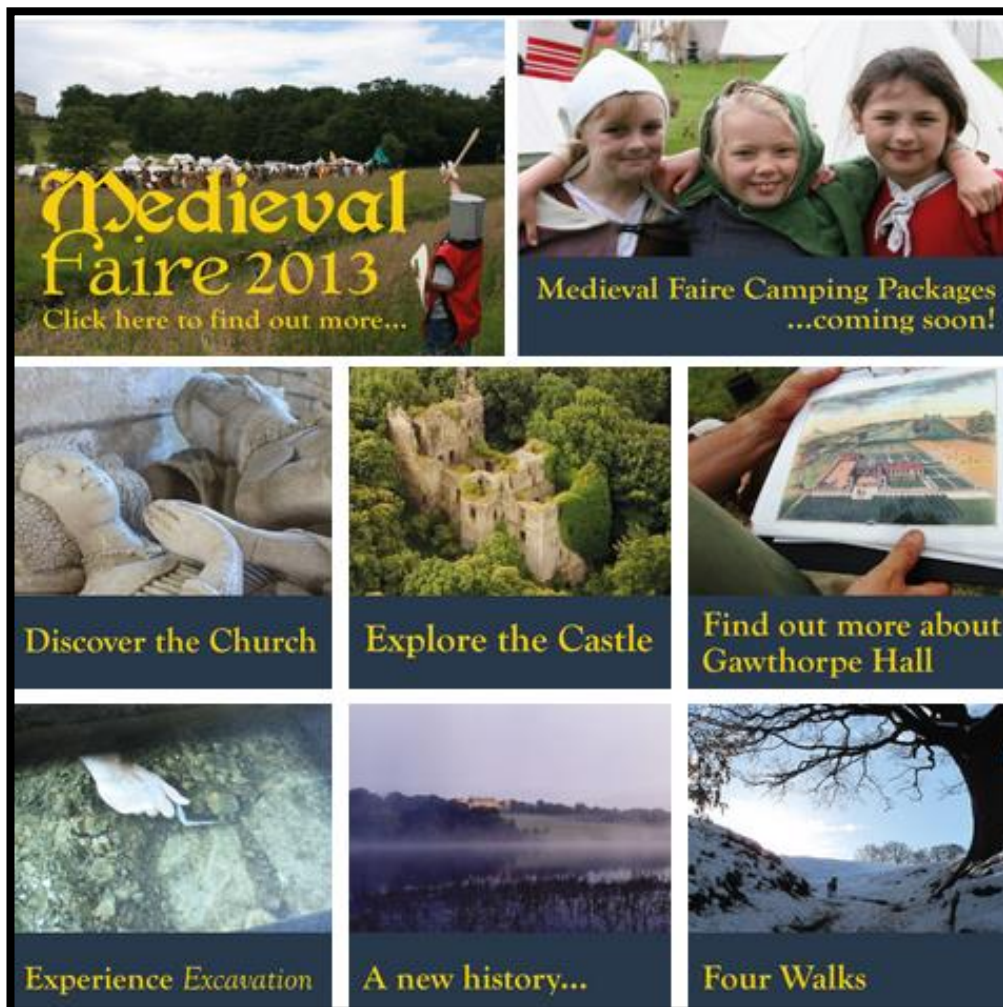


Figure 32. Screen shot of webpage  
<http://www.harewood.org/grounds/harewood-estate/gawthorpe>, accessed  
 October 2013

These images are the first contact with the medieval past of Harewood that a visitor will come into contact with. They create an image of a colourful, exciting and splendid past, focused on the rich and powerful, and the thrilling spectacular

of medieval warfare 'from the Norman Conquest of 1066 to the end of the Wars of the Roses in 1487' (<http://www.harewood.org/whats-on/events/1/919> accessed October 2013). The engagement with Gawthorpe Hall itself is as the manorial predecessor to Harewood House which 'was built in the 13th century by the Gascoigne family and was occupied by the same family for 13 generations' (<http://www.harewood.org/grounds/harewood-estate/gawthorpe> accessed October 2013), again stressing the elite and powerful individuals who owned the building. The prints of the hall from the 1720s reaffirm this image, and present a working landscape. Although the prints are hundreds of years out of date to truly represent the medieval hall, the use of them throughout the Medieval Harewood literature blurs the lines between the early history of the hall recorded in documents and the actual excavated remains which predominantly relate to the final phase of the life of the hall. Having access to artistic representations of the hall, it is not surprising these have been used to represent Gawthorpe Hall in the Medieval Harewood literature, rather than, for example, pictures of the excavated medieval walls of the hall, as these do not inspire the same reaction as the graphic landscape represented in the print. Indeed, these prints have been used throughout the interpretations of the hall to the public as a useful conceptual aid in explaining how decisions were reached regarding different areas of the hall. As this research has demonstrated, the relationship between the documentary records and the excavated material do not always provide a clear interpretation but add to the complexity of the story of Gawthorpe Hall.

Like similar events across the country, such as Tewksbury Medieval Festival, the medieval fair at Harewood has been a great success and is extremely popular with visitors. Bringing together 'over 500' re-enactors, the fair consists of living history camps and stalls which visitors can walk through over the weekend, as well as timed events focusing on military displays, all set within the grounds of Harewood House. There are also a number of talks on fashion, feasting and comedy, as well as children's activities. In many ways, this presentation of medieval history reflects the authorised discourse that is represented within the house itself. The medieval fair, set away from everyday life in the park which is sheltered from the outside world by the surrounding estate walls aims to provide the complete experience, as though you were stepping back in time (Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1998, 131). However, like the house itself, the presentations of the past do not truly

represent what it would have been like for the majority of the population living in medieval Harewood. However, would an event focused on the daily lives of the peasants working in the landscape make such a good day out and provide the drama that jousting knights, shining armour and clouds of shot arrows can convey? Harewood House is an educational and charitable trust and as such, must attract visitors to buy into this history. What is suggested here, is that perhaps more information could be provided about the context of medieval life, providing facts behind the interpretations which are on display and improving the authenticity of the overall experience (Tivers 2002, 198). In creating more of a focus on the local events and everyday life at Harewood, such as burials in All Saints Church, the maintenance of the landscape for hawking and fishing and the connections between diet and the local landscape. This would provide an empathetic link for visitors, many of whom are fairly local. As Colomer has suggested reconstructions of the past can advertise and promote archaeological heritage but in creating these resources archaeologists must ensure that the reconstruction itself doesn't become the visitor attraction. This can only be done through communicating a clear and understandable analysis of this interpretation of the past, through agreement between curators and archaeologists (Colomer 2002, 88-90).

During 2012, the author worked alongside members of Harewood House Trust to curate an exhibit in the Terrace Gallery for Medieval Harewood. The aim of this exhibit was to present initial results from the excavation of Gawthorpe Hall in a way that was aesthetically pleasing and informative, and which was complimented by artistic responses that went alongside the artefacts on display. It was not intended to be a museum display with detailed labels displaying the factual information about the artefacts and documents displayed, but instead the stories around their discovery and possible use in the hall. One board of approximately 200 words was also written by the author under the guidance of the House and Collections team to detail the background of Gawthorpe Hall through its documentary history and also to outline the partners involved in the excavation.

In the middle of the gallery room were four glass-topped cases set together in a square with artefacts sparingly placed within. The objects chosen included

seventeenth and eighteenth-century pottery, a range of undated animal bones, masonry and plaster work which was likely to range in date from the medieval to the sixteenth century, as well as a range of undated metal objects such as buttons, a ring, and metal pins which probably dated to the later use of the hall. These objects were flanked by medieval masonry on plinths with the 1698 estate map and an enlarged image of the 1727 print on opposing walls.



Figure 33. Carved stone masonry displayed standing on a plinth, without interpretation in the Terrace Gallery, during the Medieval Harewood exhibit 2012. (Source: Harewood House Trust)

Alongside these images, details of the prints and maps were displayed focusing on the hall, the church, the village of Harewood, and the castle. Complimenting these a number of quotes taken directly from the archives were displayed by the images, giving descriptions of different aspects of the landscape. In the back room of the gallery, artistic representations of the church and castle were displayed alongside information about the artists and the concepts behind the artwork.





Figure 34. Artistic responses to Medieval Harewood displayed in the Terrace Gallery, 2012 (Source: Harewood House Trust)

A digital flythrough was also available on a mounted screen which visitors could control. The collection of objects on display for Medieval Harewood focused on the aesthetically pleasing and artistic. The use of a computerised model to 'fly through' the landscape attempts to engage the visitor in the sensory experience of a journey through this landscape, which is now impossible most of the year, as much of the parkland is privately owned and off limits to visitors. Just as villagers during the medieval period would have had restricted access to the deer park and landscape surrounding the hall and castle, visitors' access today is confined to gentle strolls along designated footpaths around the park.



Figure 35. Screen shot of interactive digital flythrough of Medieval Harewood (Source: Heritage Technology Ltd and Harewood House Trust)

Although the objects on display may indeed engage the visitor and inspire them to find out more information about Medieval Harewood, no further literature was available for visitors, and workshops exploring various aspects of the medieval history of Harewood were spread out throughout the visiting season and usually at extra cost. Visitors were not encouraged to actively participate in creating narratives, although the purpose of placing objects without specific labels was intended to encourage the visitor to ask questions and imagine life in the hall. However the structure of the Terrace Gallery as an art exhibit seemed to encourage visitors to passively view rather than actively engage. Without any guidance around the exhibit from information panels, and the mixed messages displayed by the assortment of unlabelled objects chosen, there did not appear to be a constructed narrative about Medieval Harewood. In creating clear themes drawing on the empathetic human connection to the past, objects, descriptions and images might be better understood and accessible to visitors. The use of glass cases to house the objects also enforces the narratives of control within country house presentation. Archaeology, and archaeological artefacts in particular, provide a real opportunity to provide a tactile past which can be experienced by all. Although some of the smaller, delicate objects would not have been suitable for handling as this may have caused damage, and other objects might be considered too valuable, many of the artefacts could have been examined more

closely by visitors, providing a much more personal connection with the objects on display, such as the animal bones and ceramics.

### **6.5.2. Gawthorpe Hall Excavation: Researcher Led Project**

The funding made available through the Research Development Team, based at The University of York, allowed further public engagement to take place facilitated through the use of excavated material from Gawthorpe Hall, and the landscapes of Harewood House. The aims of the Researcher Led Project were designed to allow early career researchers and postgraduate students funding to communicate their research to wider audiences. The author used experiences from the 2010 and 2011 excavation seasons at Gawthorpe, alongside information gathered about audience development from Harewood House Trust, to create a project which aimed to communicate the ongoing research at Gawthorpe Hall to visitors to Harewood House. It was also intended that once resources had been developed, an outreach programme would be initiated which reflected the aims set out in the Audience Development agendas developed by Harewood House Trust, as well as the desire of the author demonstrated in the aims of the Researcher Led Project.

The four objectives of the project which were put forward and accepted for funding were as follows. Firstly funding was used to create a temporary public space for displays, events and educational sessions allowing visitors to have more access to the excavation site throughout the duration of the dig. From 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2012 to 21<sup>st</sup> May 2012 the marquee stood at the entrance to the excavation of Gawthorpe Hall, on the South Front of Harewood House.



Figure 36. Entrance to the site of Gawthorpe Excavation during 2012 season, showing the marquee and signs designed and provided by Harewood House Trust. (Source: Author)

During excavation the gate was opened from 10am to 4pm to allow public access to the marquee, and to gain a better view of the excavation itself, which could be more easily seen in the open parkland from this perspective. As this area of Harewood House is usually off limits to the public and is used by tenant farmers as land for grazing for their livestock, permissions were kindly negotiated by staff of Harewood House Trust. Due to these reasons and the fact that the excavation was a working site, access around the trenches still had to be limited due to health and safety concerns. Daily site tours were offered Monday to Friday, and twice daily on Saturdays and Sundays during this period. During the weekend of the 30<sup>th</sup> June to the 1<sup>st</sup> July 2012, the entire South Front was open to members of the public as part of the Medieval Faire weekend. As has already been discussed, this event was coordinated and designed by Harewood House Trust, with the author attending planning meetings and being part of the team to curate various aspects of this event, which was the culmination of a season of medieval themed events and displays at Harewood House. As will be discussed below, interest and educational groups could also visit the site at other agreed times, and when the marquee was in place this provided an additional space to facilitate workshops

and discussions. However, it is the author's opinion that the way in which access has been controlled to the site continues to enforce the authorised discourse. Visitors must be given permission to access the site by its owners and in most instances have to be led around the site by a regarded expert, or someone who has specialised knowledge about the site. The set-up during the Medieval Faire allowed visitors to explore the landscape and setting of the hall and take whichever path around the excavation they wanted, only being restricted by short string and pole fences around exposed areas which could not be walked on.

The second objective of the Researcher Led Project was that displays would be created by students and volunteers under the direction of the Researcher and supporting team; events would be facilitated by students, volunteers and the research team. This objective was more difficult to achieve as the displays had to fall into the remit.



Figure 37. Diagram showing the process of development from initial ideas from the student volunteers to the finished display panel. (Source: Author)

These panels developed from the brief the students were given, to their initial ideas, and then to the finished panels. Following feedback from adults attending previous open days at Gawthorpe, the students decided to also include a more detailed hand-out which visitors could take if they had a particular interest in the site. These have also provided additional information for future volunteers, based on the themes identified by the display panels. The overall design for the panels

was devised by the author, and was influenced by a need for the panels to reflect the house style of Harewood House Trust. As has also been demonstrated above, the author worked with staff and volunteers from HHT to design and deliver an exhibit in Terrace Gallery within Harewood House itself. This brought together much of this research, particularly from transcribed archival documents, as well as focusing on some of the artefacts from the excavation within the setting of the house itself.

The third objective intended that events would be facilitated by students, volunteers and the research team. During the excavations, at least three students, and in many cases five or six, were working in the marquee throughout the day. This involved welcoming visitors to read the display boards, and to handle the artefacts on display. The students also washed and displayed finds throughout the day which had been unearthed from the trenches earlier that morning, or on the previous day. This gave visitors another direct link to what was happening on site, and provided an opportunity for students and visitors to discuss the processes which archaeologists use to create their interpretations.

Date	Time	Event	No. of Adults	No. of Children	No. of additional people on Tours/ Workshop
18/04/2012	11am-1pm	Training session delivered for House Stewards	5	NA	NA
30/04/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	25	7	2
01/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	8	0	0
03/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	7	1	2
04/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	8	4	5
05/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	27	9	5
06/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	87	51	10
07/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	120	72	31
08/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	37	9	2
09/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	19	1	0
10/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	52	18	21
11/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	79	32	0
12/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	37	9	15
13/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	36	2	1
14/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	37	9	6
15/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	36	2	1
17/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	28	3	1
18/05/2012	10am-4pm	Dig	12	4	0
19/05/2012	5pm-8pm	Museums at Night: 2 tours of excavation and finds handling sessions	5	0	NA
27/06/2012	9am-5pm	Installation of Terrace	NA	NA	NA

		Gallery display			
30/06/2012-01/07/2012	9am-5pm	Medieval Harewood	298	52	NA
02/07/2012	10am-1pm	Training for House Stewards	9	NA	NA
26/07/2012	10am-2pm	Art school Yr 12 students	16	NA	NA
28/07/2012-29/07/2012	10am-4pm	Festival of Archaeology Excavations	6	0	NA
<b>Totals</b>	150 hours delivery time		994 Adults	285 Children	102 Visitors on tours/ workshops
Overall total visitors: 1381					

Figure 38. Table detailing the visitors to Gawthorpe Excavation during the 2012 excavation season, including special workshops. (Source: Author)

Lastly, the final objective of the researcher-led project was to ensure that educational sessions which were offered to school and community groups in 2011 would be advertised to tie in to the excavation and would focus on the practical application of archaeology. These would be delivered by the Researcher and supporting team. Harewood volunteers have been trained and now run tours of the site, which have been available daily to the public throughout the 2012 open season. The author presented a paper at the Yorkshire Archaeology Post-graduate Group 2012 conference at King's Manor entitled '*Transforming the Landscape: Gawthorpe, Harewood and the creation of the modern landscape 1500-1750*', on 16th March 2012 (details can be found here <http://storify.com/emilydrayner/yapg-2012>). This paper gave a brief overview of an aspect of the research at Harewood but also allowed the author to discuss the success and challenges of the 2011 public engagement of Gawthorpe critically with peers. This informed decisions made during the planning process of the 2012 season, such as the scale of involvement of the author and the key role of students and volunteers to the project. The workshops developed for House Stewards, staff, and volunteers at Harewood House have seen the author hand over responsibility for running group tours of the excavation, and these are now



delivered thanks to the confidence and the expertise facilitated by the training sessions. Students who have been involved in the public engagement of the Gawthorpe excavation have gone on to volunteer for other projects such as the Teffont Archaeology Project, Flixton Carrs Project, University Open Days and Life in the Mesolithic. Supervisorial reports and feedback have noted the confidence and enthusiasm of students who have been engaged in this project.

## **Chapter seven: Answering research questions and conclusions**

### **7.1. Conclusion**

The aims of this thesis were to use an approach that combined the strengths of Archaeological Landscape Studies and Historic Landscape Studies. Using this approach this research aimed to combine documentary evidence with the collection of archaeological material. This approach aimed to develop methodologies currently used within historic and landscape studies in archaeology using the local example of Harewood House. Using a Landscape Archaeology approach would allow this research to work at a variety of scales from the individuals living within the landscape to grand narratives which could be seen to be played out on this local landscape, as well as being considered in the regional, national and global settings. This conclusion will draw together these major themes to suggest how this research has contributed to understanding about a rural gentry landscape and its transition through time from 1500 to 1750.

#### **7.1.1. Theoretical Approach: Using Historical and Landscape Archaeology**

The methodologies used to approach this research were dictated by the theoretical decision to take an approach influenced by Historical and Landscape Archaeology. Chapter two addressed the methodological approaches which were needed to use documentary evidence alongside existing archaeological reports and the collection of archaeological data through the excavation of Gawthorpe Hall by the Harewood Project. The use of such methodologies has provided greater detail into the landscapes of Harewood from 1500 to 1750. Until now the landscapes of Harewood have been understood in terms of the eighteenth century landscape, or as individual disparate relics within this landscape. In particular this research has discovered and brought together archival evidence alongside preliminary archaeological reports to provide a local example of an agrarian landscape. This builds on the work of Kerridge and Thirsk, and more recently individuals such as Williamson and Wade-Martins, to build up a detailed picture of the development of agricultural areas of England and Wales from the medieval period, and how this has influenced and continued to influence modern landscapes today. This research provides an account of landscape development and transition in an location which has been previously unstudied to add to regional and national understanding of rural landscapes during this period.

Focusing on the development of the building of Gawthorpe Hall within the context of the wider estate landscape and including elements of the landscape such as Harewood Castle, All Saints Church, the settlements which made up the estate, as well as the physical aspects of the landscape, this research has created an account which reflects and has shaped the use of social space both within these buildings and the landscapes as a whole. As a result this research has provided interpretations which suggest how individuals used space, how these landscapes were co-habited and used by individuals rather than homogenous social groupings. Using archaeological evidence alongside the documentary evidence has allowed these interpretations to pull out detail relating to individuals particularly across social boundaries such as class and gender.

Using documentary evidence, archaeological investigation and a review of previous archaeological and historical assessments of Harewood, this research has brought together an understanding of the physical landscape, settlement development and the social interactions which occurred within this landscape. Chapter three identified that the underlying geology and physical landscape of Harewood has had an impact on the land use and physical change of the landscape within the estate. The underlying Millstone Grit has produced acidic grasslands, which in places have very heavy and badly drained soils, which have affected the choices made about the human use of the landscape. Resource management, for example the use of lime from the western side of the estate which sits on the magnesium limestone belt has enabled soils to be improved for agriculture. The draining, liming and adding of phosphates to the soil has supported land suitable for pasture, meadow and even some arable on the estate. This research has brought together initial archaeological reports from Michaelmoore, Moorhouse, and Dennison and Richardson, alongside the use of archival evidence from the Wentworth Papers and Harewood Archives to understand landscape use, settlement development and the transition of landscape across the estate. This research has identified that further research, including a proposed topographic and geophysical survey with the potential for excavation should be considered in defining the location of the medieval settlement of Harewood. Having used GIS to provide a basic map regression, building on the work of Timur Tatlioglu, alongside the transcription of documents within the Wentworth papers, this research suggests that the placing of

Harewood needs reconsideration. Without access to Moorhouse's unpublished topographic report from 1985 which identified a series of earthworks believed to be medieval and associated with settlement, it is difficult to build on Michelmore's interpretation of the location of Harewood, as it appears he places the location of the medieval settlement within the parkland associated with Harewood Castle. Dennison and Richardson (2008, 37) have also suggested that further investigations are needed to identify the origin of the earthworks in this part of the park, and suggest that the location identified by Michelmore may relate to a late thirteenth century manorial complex known to belong to Issabell de Fortebus within the township of Harewood, which has also yet to be located. It is only through a combination of documentary and archaeological methodologies that this debate has been able to continue and a suggestion of how this might be developed further continued.

This research has identified the scope of the archival evidence relating to medieval Harewood, and has demonstrated that the limited records which do survive between the Wentworth Papers and Harewood Archives consist of some items which can add to our understanding of the Harewood estate over time. For example the identification and transcription of the 1636 estate boundary document (WWM Str P25) has added to our understanding of the seventeenth century estate, as well as the maintenance of medieval boundaries and how these have changed or been maintained in the modern landscape. This has provided a detailed picture of one specific area of West Yorkshire. The boundaries of the Harewood estate indicate a variety of landscape including open moor, enclosed fields, and becks and rivers. This archival evidence adds depth to the understanding of the physical landscape of Harewood which in turn has influenced the understanding of the farming practices and rural life which would have occurred on the estate. The archival and archaeological data in this manner brings together aspects of the landscape to provide an interpretation focused on those who lived and worked within these landscapes.

From this research themes of power relationships within the landscape have been able to be addressed. The rebuilding of All Saints Church in the fifteenth century by the lords of Harewood is one of the examples highlighted in the examination of the medieval landscape of Harewood in chapter three. The rebuilding of the

church, which included the inclusion of alabaster tombs for the lords and ladies of Harewood within the church demonstrates the power, both in terms of military power and judicial power within the church, where social hierarchy was already strictly controlled and enforced, so that all members of the community at Harewood knew their place within this society. The changing dominance of the church, castle, and hall within the landscape particularly after the estates were joined at the end of the sixteenth century, are a display of power by the elite on the landscapes of Harewood. However, there were also more subtle relationships of power played out within this landscape between lord and peasant, within household groups and within different strands of community. Chapter three suggests that although these areas of controlled space were used by individuals with power at the top of society to enforce and display the hierarchy of the feudal system, during the Middle Ages peasants were arguably becoming increasingly aware of their rights as tenants and their ability to have controlling stakes within these landscapes. Both peasants and lords had the capability to manipulate the landscape for individual gain and communal improvement, focused on the resources identified through this research. Improving infrastructure and the market power of the peasant during this period enabled wider influences of skills, resources and social expression to be shared between and within communities, giving peasants further bargaining power with the lords above them. This rising power of individuals, particularly of peasant farmers, led to an increasing regionalisation of skills and farming practices, which in turn has been shown to have had an effect on the settlement patterns of Medieval England. The period demonstrates the changing nature of the relationship between lord and peasants, and the resulting effects this had on the landscape during the end of the medieval period, as landlords became increasingly absent from the day to day running of their country estates.

Chapter four builds on this to examine in more detail the role of one specific member of the gentry, Thomas Wentworth, upon the landscapes he owned at Harewood. Through use of the documentary evidence available in the Wentworth papers and initial findings about the material culture discovered during excavations of Gawthorpe Hall, a historical figure who has until now been considered in terms of his military achievements and political career has been discussed in terms of his intentions for the transition of landscape at Harewood

and his role in implementing these changes. This research suggests that although it could be suggested that Wentworth was a key agent of change at Harewood, with his attempts to manage the estate to the finest detail, it was arguably characters such as Richard Marris, his steward, who allowed these changes to take place. Similarly figures such as Wentworth's wife were key in maintaining local relationships and running the household, who in turn were responsible for the physical maintenance of the landscape of the estate. The confliction between archival evidence and the archaeological material recovered also suggests that the plans and demands made by those in power, particularly in the case of an absentee landlord such as Wentworth on a rural estate such as Harewood were not always followed by those considered to be under his control. Furthermore, the desire of Wentworth as demonstrated by his obsessive nature and personal desire to control his estates, alongside the role of tenant farmers to exploit the most out of their landscapes suggests that early forms of agricultural improvement may have been occurring on the Harewood estate in the late sixteenth century.

The combination of archaeological evidence and documentary evidence has allowed discussions of the use of social space within a building from the 1500s to the 1750s to be explored, and has helped to add to understanding of power relations not only within the hall itself but also reflected in the wider landscape as a whole. This research has suggested that although further research is needed to confirm the use of the areas excavated at Gawthorpe Hall, the material remains and layout of the hall when compared to other existing examples display what might be considered a service wing of the hall. Chapter five has explored how the use of this space by the workers of the house may have been intended to be controlled by their landowners who constructed the buildings in which they worked for optimum working efficiency and control to assert their power. However, the realities of working in the spaces may have allowed individuals more freedom than this might suggest and that further relationships of power existed between and within groups of workers within the house itself. The documentary evidence has been used where only ephemeral remains suggest the existence of the intermediate landscape of formal and kitchen gardens, and orchards. These suggest an extension of rooms within the house used to

communicate the control of landscape by the elite over resources and landscapes of leisure.

By approaching the major themes of this research from a historical and landscape perspective, this research has created a people-centred interpretation based on the lived-in experience of life on the estate. The use of documentary and excavated material has added to our understanding of the context of Gawthorpe Hall within a regional, national and international level. For example the use of household records from Wentworth Woodhouse have demonstrated the types of food which would have been available to the gentry in the seventeenth century to import, while initial analysis of the pottery suggests links with local kilns near Leeds such as Lazencroft during this period. In achieving a greater understanding of the position of Gawthorpe Hall in the seventeenth century in terms of the local, nation and international connections, it is possible to begin to understand some of the changes that led to the destruction of Gawthorpe Hall, the rural retreat of an ultimately doomed gentry family, to the refined country estate of an up-and-coming merchant family in the eighteenth century.

The use of documentary sources and archaeological evidence has not only provided new ways of interpreting the landscape, but has also allowed new ways of communicating the past to be considered in the public engagement of the site.

### **7.1.2. Scales of interpretation**

Using a landscape approach to the research questions posed at Harewood has allowed a series of scales of interpretation to be used in analysis of the data. The use of a variety of scales has provided a context for the archaeological and documentary evidence to examine the practical engagement of individuals with a material world at Harewood. It was explicitly stated in the introduction to this research (Chapter 1) that methodologies used by Landscape Archaeology in the past have not always truly provided detail of the landscape at a variety of scales despite the intention and desire to do so. In complementing a Landscape Archaeology approach with the use of methodologies more usually connected to Historical Archaeology, this research has provided analysis from artefacts and individuals, buildings and household groups, to the wider landscape of the estate and the archaeological site as a whole. This creates discussion taking into account the spatial, temporal and personal aspects of the landscape which can put

individual people, places and things into context to understand the implications of the transition of landscape at Harewood. Beyond this, this research has also considered the setting of Harewood within a local, regional and national scale and has begun to examine some of the international links between the estate and the goods produced to support life within it.

As a result of these methodological and theoretical choices, this research has kept the people of the past that lived within the Harewood estate at the forefront of interpretations. Historical records have not only provided a biographical account Thomas Wentworth, the estate landowner, they have aided interpretation of the everyday living and working of ordinary people on the estate. Until now, historical research into the history of the estate before the eighteenth century has focused on the wealthy and influential figures connected to the estate but this research has begun to put the lives of ordinary people at the forefront of discussions about the post medieval landscape of Harewood. Although there is still much that needs to be achieved to provide a clearer picture of life in the estate for these individuals, this research has shown the potential of research focused on this group of individuals. As identified in chapter 3, further archaeological investigations into the exact location of the village of Harewood, and well as further examinations of areas of the estate such as Lofthouses where the earthworks of potential house platforms can still be seen may provide a direct link to the material culture of these groups of people.

Larger scale landscape analysis has identified how the landscape has been designed and controlled over time between 1500 and 1750 to structure the lives of ordinary people living and working on the estate. At Harewood much of the landscape was enclosed by hedges, ditches and streams. These elements of the landscape would have been maintained by the peasantry on a seasonal basis to ensure the protection of crops and grazing lands from excess surface water and to ensure grazing animals were kept in controlled areas away from the crops. These features of the landscape would require additional resources and work from the peasantry to maintain and would also create a landscape which restricted movement across the estate. In examination of the possible use and experience of landscape by individuals living on the estate, this research has considered the major elements of the landscape as connected elements which shaped the



physical and ideological lives of the peasantry. Bringing together elements of the landscape such as Harewood Castle, All Saints Church and Gawthorpe Hall alongside features of the landscape such as the mill pond and Stanke Beck, the deer park and areas of common land, this research considers the landscape as a whole with the ability, through the use of different scales, to focus in on particular points of interest within the landscape. This overview can continue to be built on by further research to create improved resolution across areas of the estate which are currently understood primarily through map evidence.

By using a Post-Processual approach to interpretation, this research has looked at the implication of grand historical narratives on the local landscape of Harewood. In dealing with issues such as capitalism and power relations on a local level, cultural frameworks such as gender, privatisation of space can be examined to consider these on a personal level. Using a Post-Processual approach in this research has allowed interpretations to reflect the multivocality of societies in the past, acknowledging the critical viewpoint from which these assumptions are created. In acknowledging that the information collected by this research has been interpreted here in just one possible way, but from a variety of viewpoints, this will allow future research to build on these interpretations.

The collection and discussions of data used in this research have been clearly outlined throughout. In creating an overview of the physical landscape a spatial anchor has been created to allow the overarching themes of power relations and transition of landscape to be examined using various scales from this point.

In creating an account of the landscapes of Harewood from 1500 to 1750 this research has provided a local example, which can be added to other small scale studies in order to continue to develop theories about the national significance of agrarian changes, settlement patterns and the role of the gentry in the creation of the landscape, which have been addressed from national and regional scales in the past. This research has demonstrated that the changing use of rooms within the hall and the addition of wings to the hall, as well as the manipulation of the immediate landscape around the hall to expand the use of social space available within the building itself, reflect national trends identified in the development of houses of the gentry during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The scale used to examine these changes across the landscape at Harewood have also to be

considered in terms of how the hall was considered by the gentry locally, regionally and nationally compared to the other properties Thomas Wentworth owned throughout his time at Gawthorpe Hall.

Using a biographical account to examine the impact of Thomas Wentworth's role on the landscape of Harewood, chapter 4 used a different scale of analysis than has been previously considered to examine the life of this man. The grand historical themes which have dominated interpretations connected to the political and military life of Thomas Wentworth in the past have here been reconsidered through the use of archival documents, to provide a picture of Wentworth as a landowner, employer and family man. This scale of analysis has shown how the decisions of a landowner were constructed and the degree to which these were then implemented on the local landscape of Harewood.

The preliminary results from the excavation of Gawthorpe Hall have allowed this research to use material culture to examine social and economic themes connected to the landscapes of Harewood. Finds such as the small metal pins in the cobbled service yard have allowed interpretations to focus on the small scale activities which would have occurred in the hall, and has related these to wider activities on the estate through addressing themes such as the control of landscape and the construction and maintenance of power relations within the landscape. Other examples of excavated remains such as the network of drainage systems across the site have shown how landscapes have been managed over time on the estate, which has an affect both on small scale activities such as making water available in the service yards, but also on a larger scale demonstrating steps which were taken across the estate to manage the landscape which could be prone to flooding and waterlogged soils.

The decision to use different scales of analysis in the examination and interpretation of material from Gawthorpe Hall provides an insight into the daily lives of individuals living on the estate in the past. This provides a focal point for the public archaeology of Harewood which links directly to people in the present. In addressing large scale themes on a local level, people may be better placed to understand the effect and demonstration of these themes on their own daily lives. Not only does this improve understanding of societies in the past, but this research has demonstrated how the use of these themes might also provide

insight and connection with the impact of human interaction with the landscape in the present. This is of particular importance considering the current position of archaeology within a global market and the competition for funding, and the wider social role of archaeology and research going into the future.

### **7.1.3. Country House interpretation and presentation**

As has been discussed at some length by this research, the main interpretations concerning country houses have focused on figures of historical importance until relatively recently with the increasing interest in the 'Downstairs' areas of country houses. This research has suggested that by adopting archaeological methodologies to consider themes across chronological boundaries, interpretations might be expanded further to provide visitors to country houses a more in-depth experience of life on a rural estate. The objectivity and subjectivity of an archaeological approach provides an open dialogue with visitors to the estate. In particular this research has suggested that the presentation of country houses should consider these institutions within wider contexts and themes, opening them up beyond the limitations of the estate itself. In this way assumptions about the isolated and strictly adhered to hierarchy of communities on an estate might be challenged, to allow visitors to consider the wider implications of large landowners on a local, regional, national and international stage. By delving further back into the history of the estate, visitors to a country house may be presented with a landscape which has been managed, constructed and maintained over the centuries to fulfil various ideological imperatives. This form of interpretation would require a reconsideration of the narratives currently displayed by a country house.

As this research is taken forward, the ways in which access to this information are facilitated must also be considered. In order to create a coherent understanding of themes examined by this research at play in the creation of and the continuation of a country house, it is suggested that these research questions might be considered within the main interpretations within the house itself. However, the ways in which this research are used for Public Archaeology going forward must consider the use of contemporary exhibits, information booklets, information available at different points around the estate itself (e.g. through signage) and the use of special events to communicate this research. As the Harewood House Trust continue to develop the programme of Medieval-centred

visitor programmes over the coming years, the ways in which this research is communicated ought to be considered at the forefront of these discussions. As has been demonstrated, the use of archaeological techniques, such as object handling and the direct link between archaeological material and people of the past may create a link with the past that is very different from the experience of history currently on display in Harewood House. It has been suggested by this research that the connectivity of visitors with physical remains from the past begins to pass back some authority from the expert to the public, who can be encouraged to piece the available evidence together to create their own interpretations of the material. Such opportunities would provide a more open dialogue and may provide increased engagement by visitors with collections, which is currently not possible with the priceless and fragile collections on show in the house itself. Future developments should build on the handling collections and access to replica pieces created by the funding made available through the Researcher Development Team. Considerations need to be made about whether this research ought to be developed further before any permanent display might be considered.

The continued use of the site as grazing land for sheep, and the trenches remaining open to the elements also feed into these considerations for the public presentation of Gawthorpe Hall. Although the ethical implications about the conservation and preservation of the site are of great concern, this research is not in a position to be able to comment on how this ought to be reviewed in the future. However, relevant to this discussion is the influence of the site upon visitor interactions with this history. Decisions must be made about how much access will be allowed to this part of the estate landscape and whether this interaction is needed in order to improve understanding of Gawthorpe Hall. The continued control of the landscape continues to influence how the site is managed and the role of the country house as a charitable and educational trust. This reflects its role within wider society and the value of research into such estates for society as a whole.

The funding available to this project has explored engagement through the creation of events and resources in order to communicate research. Future developments stemming from this research should consider a more focused

approach to the effectiveness of outreach programmes connected to the excavation. The archaeology of Gawthorpe Hall has been shown to be well suited to breaking down cultural barriers and encouraging open dialogue that perhaps is less available to collections within the country house. It is suggested here that continued and renewed attempts should be made to reach socially isolated communities, particularly to those groups who may be able to take benefits from such methodologies. As chapter six has demonstrated, archaeology has the ability to encourage communication, improve mental health, increase personal wellbeing and a sense of achievement and so ought to be considered for groups who might otherwise feel disconnected, isolated or discontented. In this way the research developed here may be socially effective and continue to develop as a research project in its own right, as further areas of the estate are examined and research questions continue to develop and reflectively evaluate

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