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The Isle of Wight, c.1750-1840: Aspects of Viewing, Recording and Consumption.

by

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ABSTRACT

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The main areas of Picturesque Travel during the second half of the long eighteenth century were the Lake District, Wales, Scotland and the Isle of Wight; of these locations the Isle of Wight has been the least reviewed. This study examines Island-centred historical and topographical material published 1750-1840 in conjunction with journals and diaries kept by contemporary visitors. The available archive is examined within a framework of the developing aesthetic theories of the period that surrounded the picturesque and rise of antiquarian interests, supported by more recently proposed systems of analysis.

The systems and practices of viewing the Island are considered. Foremost here are the kinds of hierarchies used by the topographers in their descriptions; were they based on man made constructions, landscape qualities or status of the individual? Further to this, the study examines the ways in which contemporary diary and travel notes inform us of the Island and conclusions that can be drawn of the attractions and alterities that the Island presented to such a wide and varied group of people.

Viewing, Recording and Consumption are common threads that run throughout this discourse. The Island is identified as a location of alterity; which provided alternative social conditions for visitors and residents from the mainland. The rural cottages, villas and mansions, built as retreats during this period are considered within this context. This study, which is not exhaustive, will begin to correct the recent neglect of academic interest and show that the Island could have a higher profile within eighteenth century cultural studies.

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Abbreviations

Bath	Bath Central Library, Local Studies Collection
BL	British Library, King's Maps
Cope	University of Southampton, Hartley Library Special Collections, The Cope Collection
HRO	Hampshire Record Office, Winchester
IOWRO	Isle of Wight Record Office, Newport, Isle of Wight
IOWLS	Isle of Wight Local Studies Collection, Central Library, Newport, Isle of Wight
Portsmouth	Local Studies Collection, Portsmouth City Library, Portsmouth

Chapter 1

Introduction.

This study centres on the Isle of Wight, henceforth the Island, and examines how it was viewed, recorded and consumed by topographers and visitors from the mainland, readers of topographic works and purchasers of prints.[1] From the middle of the eighteenth-century the Island was the subject of a significant number of published topographies, travel books, guides, reviews and reports that support the view that the Island was, at that time, a significant centre for Picturesque Travel and Retreat. Lindsay Boynton's essay on the Georgian "Marine Villa" published in 1996 provided the starting point for my research.[2] In this short work, originally a conference paper, his focus was on the interpretation of the cottages and villas of the Island as 'Marine Villas', through contemporary text and print. In addition he opens up the way for a new assessment of the Picturesque and Sublime possibilities of the Island, leading to the dynamic aesthetic relationship between the land and the sea, this being crucial to his study of the nature and location of the marine villas that he identified. Boynton reflects on the nature of the marine villa and its links with the sea and proposes that it grew out of "the passion for the Picturesque crossed with the newly discovered attractions of the sea, both as seascape and as therapy."[3] This study builds upon Boynton's work and extends the interrogation of the Island by looking at the increasing popularity of, and ability to, travel within the British Isles rather than the continent, and specifically travel to the Island, where the alterities combined with the health-giving properties of the Chalybeate spring waters combined with the mild climate of the Undercliff located on the south coast of the Island were significant attractions.

The dates of this study are convenient but in some ways arbitrary, as no single event relating to this study occurs in 1750, it is a date from which there is a slow but perceptible increase of interest in the Island; 1840 is a point when the published topographies appear to become travel guides with a greater number

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[1] The term 'consumption' covers visiting, purchase of memorabilia and souvenirs as well as residence and building.
[2] Arnold, D. (Ed.) (1996) *The Georgian Villa,* Alan Sutton, Stroud. p 118-129
[3] Ibid. p 120

of illustrations and a less literary text. The growth of travel guides could reflect the changing nature of the interests and style of visitors to the Island; the development of a more populist stream of tourism and retreat.

'Viewing, Recording and Consuming' are constant themes that are intertwined within this study of the Island and reflect the period's interests and obsessions. The Topographies and Guides present text and image that will be interpreted in their cultural and historical context with reference to theoretical writings. Burckhardt and Gombrich provide ways in which history can be seen and provide the first points of analysis of the cultural dimension of the study.[4] Specifically Gombrich's *In Search of Cultural History*, provides a critique of historiography written before 1967 and proposes a way forward for the study of many of the aspects of cultural history identified in this study.[5] More recently works by Roland Barthes are helpful in understanding why archaic forms were chosen by incomers for many new Island Residences; 'mock' castles and 'peasant' cottages in particular.[6] Michel Foucault's ideas have helped to form a background to the framework in which to place the 'authority' of the writers and compilers of topographical writings in their contemporary historical setting. The topographers proposed a system for viewing by selecting routes and sights for the tourist who would in turn report and record their impressions. On what 'authority' did both groups write and make comments on the landscape and the forms and style of the dwellings?[7] More recently Chloe Chard has analysed travel writings specifically of the Grand Tour; the alterities of the Island make her work relevant to this study; both involve travel south to a balmy climate after a sea crossing that could hold dangers as well as pleasures.[8] Travel to the Island can be seen as an alternative to the Grand Tour. Andrew Barry has developed the ideas of Foucault, Giddens and Chard on viewing, selecting and recording in relation to the topographies as well as helping to critically explain

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[4] Burckhardt, J. (1943) *Reflections on History,* George Allen & Unwin, London. ; Burckhardt, J. (1963) *History of Greek Culture,* Constable, London. ; Gombrich, E. H. (1971) *Meditations on a Hobby Horse,* Phaidon, London.

[5] Gombrich, E. H. (1967) *In Search of Cultural History,* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

[6] Barthes, R. (1977) *Elements of Semiology,* Hill and Wang, New York. ; Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London.

[7] Foucault, M. (1989) *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* Routledge, London. ; Foucault, M. (1994) *The Order of Things,* Routledge, London. ; Rabinow, P. (Ed.) (1991) *The Foucault Reader,* Penguin, London.

[8] Chard, C. and Langdon, H. (Eds.) (1996) *Transports. Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Chard, C. (1999) *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour,* Manchester University Press, Manchester.

and evaluate the developing culture of consumption of the Island, which was encouraged by the dissemination of cultural commodities in the form of published topographies and other souvenirs.[9] Ann Bermingham's approach to detailed discussion of William Gilpin examines the relationship of the amateur painter in bourgeois art.[10] Her basically Marxist view of Gilpin as an amateur has been tempered by later writers but is helpful in understanding the place of topographical prints and sketches to this study.

There is a need to view the recorded topographical evidence of this study within the sense and location of geographical studies as well as the noted sociological and philosophical analyses and literature; this study will examine material and analytical methods from what are still seen as distinct subject divisions. Raymond Williams' *Country and City* (1973) provides an interesting perspective in understanding; he notes "A working country is hardly ever a landscape."[11] The Island was a working landscape which had not been disturbed by enclosures and in the period of this study was a gross exporter of foodstuffs. Williams' work is usually viewed as part of the geography canon as is the work of Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, but they are used here to add a wider dimension to the discourse.[12] Their work is part of the wide sources and commentary required for this study, taken from what are seen historically as being part of geography. Williams discusses the historical feelings associated with town and country. "The country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue", he continues that the countryside has developed as "a place of backwardness, ignorance [and] limitation."[13] These elements were all components of the alterities of the Island; the search for the past that had been identified and subsequently enticed the eighteenth-century visitors. This search for the past we now identify as nostalgia. Williams states the obvious, that "country life has many meanings."[14] The issue in this

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[9] Barry, A. (1995) In *Visual Culture* (Ed, Jenks, C.) Routledge, London.
[10] Bermingham, A. (2000) *Learning to Draw,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. Chapter 3 p 77-126
[11] Williams, R. (1973) *The Country and the City,* Chatto & Windus, London. In chapter 12 *Pleasing Prospects.*
[12] Daniels, S. and Cosgrove, D. (1988) *The Iconography of Landscape,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
[13] Williams, R. (1973) *The Country and the City,* Chatto & Windus, London. p 1
[14] Ibid. p 3

study is how to interpret these meanings presented by the eighteenth-century writers. Williams records what he considers to be the enduring features of this;

> It is a critical fact that in these transforming experiences [Industrial and agrarian revolutions] English attitudes to the country, and to ideas of rural life, persisted with extraordinary power, so that even after the society was predominantly urban its literature, for a generation, was still predominantly rural; and even in the twentieth century, in an urban and industrial land, forms of the older ideas and experiences still remarkably persist.[15]

Cosgrove and Daniels' series of essays deal with ideas from Williams and are written from the point of view of historical geographers. They view landscape as a cultural image with symbols; landscape as symbolic imagery. These essays allow for the 'post-modern' way of decoding proposed by Barthes with its inherent instability of symbols and signs.[16] Phillips, in *Society and Sentiment,* further develops these themes.[17] He notes some of the pleasures of memory, the "fusion of historical association and place ... concerned with travel, topography and literary history." He further sees this as "the intensification of national sentiment brought on by the struggles with revolutionary France expressed itself in the desire to explore – and exploit – the possibility of historical commemoration."[18]

This desire to return to times-past, or rather selected elements of them is developed by Susan Stewart in her work on nostalgia.[19] Her writings are particularly relevant to understanding the power of the sublime, which had been identified and quantified by Burke, to the eighteenth-century mind; "the grandeur of scenery results in a sudden expansion of the soul and the emotions."[20] She proposes ways of viewing the distinction between the harmony, 'arcadia' of the Island, and the 'coarse and grotesque' of the industrial landscape and the metropolis. Topographies are by inference souvenirs and memorabilia. "The souvenir both offers a measurement for the normal and authenticates the experience of the viewer."[21] The souvenir provides material for exterior

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[15] Ibid. p 2
[16] Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (1988) *The Iconography of Landscape,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
[17] Phillips, M. S. (2000) *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
[18] Ibid. p 311
[19] Stewart, S. (1993) *On Longing,* Duke University Press, London.
[20] Ibid. p 74
[21] Ibid. p 134

experiences to be internalised and stored as memory. The topographies contain text and image; the images, in reality prints, were to lead an independent existence to the text as collectable items. The works of Chris Jenks and Andrew Barry on Visual Culture build on Foucault's work and are valuable in gaining an understanding behind the production of the topographies and the place of the author as reporter.[22] More recently Rosemary Sweet's work on the place of antiquaries in the discovery of the past during the eighteenth-century helps in our understanding of the place of the gentleman enthusiasts for the past.[23]

This study comprises three further chapters, all centred on the Island. Chapter two deals with the claims that the Island was a *Picturesque* location and the attractions and alterities it had to offer the traveller as visitor. It includes those in pursuit of the *Picturesque* and *Sublime,* alterity and the health-giving properties of the southern climate and availability of medicinal spring water. The main areas of Picturesque Travel in late eighteenth-century Britain were the Lake District, Wales, Scotland and the Island. Of these locations the Island has been the least reviewed by academic writers. This study will attempt to correct the neglect and show that the Island deserves a more central position in these writings.

To return to Boynton's essay and his statement that the Island was "a crucial area for the study of the Picturesque – and especially on the unique section of its southern coast known as the Undercliff."[24] Here the sea, or more properly, seascape, as an aesthetic component of landscape, is of high order importance; its influence is also felt in all areas of the Island and it can be viewed from many inland locations, particularly on the central east west chalk spine. Developing picturesque theory, and specifically Burke's Philosophical Enquiry of 1759 stimulated the development of aesthetic language and extended the possibilities of emotional reactions to landscape and situations experienced by travellers.[25] One specific element of interest to Burke was the response of *Astonishment*

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[22] Barry, A. (1995) In *Visual Culture* (Ed, Jenks, C.) Routledge, London.
[23] Sweet, R. (2004) *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain,* Hambledon & London, London & New York.
[24] Arnold, D. (Ed.) (1996) *The Georgian Villa,* Alan Sutton, Stroud. p118
[25] Boulton, J. T. (Ed.) (1958) *Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

when linked with the contemplation of infinity. Locations with distant views and high places could provide this stimulus. The Island had the great advantage of the surrounding open sea, where infinity could be viewed, often from many points including high cliffs; these sensations could be combined with *Fear*, associated with the storms and rough seas regularly experienced on the south coast of the Island. This link between the sea and infinity, with the seemingly endless possibilities for stimulation of the imagination was understood by the eighteenth-century topographers and visitors but has not been analysed in relation to the Island since then. The Island-specific source texts centre on the topographies, travel journals and diaries, both published and manuscript, these being supported by newspapers and family manuscript records where available.

Potential visitors to the Island gained knowledge from contact with residents who were active in the metropolis, Sir Richard Worsley, a courtier and diplomat, being the most important of these Island grandees. Potential visitors could read articles and reports which were published, for instance, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for which John Wilkes, an Island visitor and later resident, frequently wrote articles. Early visitors included George Morland who stayed on the Island primarily to escape his debts in London and John Keats who stayed for his health. William Gilpin, ackowledged as the originator of the concept of Picturesque travel, spent his last years living in the New Forest and daily viewed the north-west aspect of the Island from his home. Significantly he was the only developer of Picturesque theory to visit the Island; his observations of visits to the Island were widely disseminated in manuscript before publication. He identified the pursuit and recording of beauty in landscape as the main reason to travel; later commentators identified the responses to Grand or extreme scenery as the best scenes to view. Gilpin's advice to travellers was to search "after effects".[26] His view of travel was serious, with no room for frivolity; just what would be expected from a Church of England priest and schoolmaster.

> As many travel without any end at all, amusing themselves without being able to give a reason why they are amused, we offer an end, which may possibly engage some vacant minds; and may indeed afford some rational amusement to such as travel for more important purposes.[27]

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[26] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London. p 41

[27] Ibid. p 41

The Island presents a great variety of landscape in a contained and compact area, the grand and sublime, the high cliff with views of the ocean and infinity, with all that was implied by this, as well as the gentle wooded slopes in the vicinity of Yarmouth that were identified by Gilpin as being truly Picturesque. Gilpin however had problems with defining the Sublime.

> That we may examine picturesque objects with more ease, it may be useful to class them into the *sublime*, and the *beautiful*; tho, in fact, this distinction is rather inaccurate. *Sublimity* alone cannot make an object *picturesque*.[28]

Gilpin did not accept Burke's extension of Sublimity to include extreme emotions apart from Beauty nor did he approve of evidence of the influence of man and his activities within the landscape.

From being a tourist on the Island to becoming a resident was a possibility for those that had the financial resources or alternatively, a good reason to escape from the consequences of scandal in the metropolis. As well as aesthetic interests the Island provided a society and landscape that was isolated and had not developed as rapidly as that of the mainland. There had been only one land Enclosure, namely part of Parkhurst Forest; the Island landscape was open and could be walked by anyone with a very few areas excepted. Here was a surviving pre-industrial landscape that had largely vanished from England. This alterity offered by the Island, the juxtaposition of a surviving 'antique' rural landscape with areas of untouched wildness in close proximity to the sea where the possibilities of *Picturesque* and *Sublime* experiences were possible were a potent mix to which was added the ability to experience more extreme Burkean emotions, for example *Astonishment*. These experiences answer "a basic human need: it familiarizes the unknown and introduces a sense of order in a disorientating situation."[29] The landscape, and access to it, presented an openness that was immediately pleasurable at a time when this was not the norm on the mainland.

How does Gilpin's work assist in understanding the development of ways of viewing and describing landscape that was a core concern of the topographers?

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[28] Ibid. p 42

[29] Andrews, M. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London. p 8

The eighteenth-century debate on The Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime and the ensuing development of Aesthetics need to be explained in relation to the visitors to the Island, their object for travel and their experiential expectations. Reference has been made to works by Burke (1759), Gerard (1759), Voltaire (1759), Gilpin (from 1776), Knight (1794) and Price (1810) together with Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) which provide primary sources on the development of aesthetic theories contemporary with the work of the topographers mentioned in this study. Burke had extended the possibilities of the Picturesque by the introduction of Sublimity and its components of Astonishment, Immensity and Fear; these being found on the Undercliff, an area prone to landslips that was visited and settled by visitors during this period. Gilpin's advice to travellers has already been mentioned but needs to be seen in relation to his other essays on sketching landscape and on Picturesque Beauty. His view, when examined today, seems very narrow and has often been interpreted as politically motivated; this may be the case but it is more likely to reflect his position as an Anglican upholding the National Church.

Early twentieth-century writers who have added to the background of this aesthetic development have been consulted.[30] Manwaring, writing in 1925, was approaching the understanding of English landscape by reference to Italian painting and appears to have reopened the eighteenth-century aesthetic debate. She makes no mention of the Island, rather concentrating on the more extreme nature of the Lake District landscape. Hussey, first published in 1927, delves deeper into the general eighteenth-century debate and comments specifically on the development of a specialist *picturesque traveller.*

> The picturesque traveller is the traveller who has a conception of an ideal form of nature, derived from landscape painting, and whose purpose it is to discover ideal scenes in existence.[31]

He goes on to confirm the notion that the mid-eighteenth-century travellers' "approach to a spot was as important as its exploration and analysis."[32] By the 1950s Hipple appears to have brought this first phase of twentieth-century

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[30] Manwaring, E. W. (1925) *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England,* Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London. ; Hussey, C. (1967) *The Picturesque. Studies in a point of View,* Frank Cass, London. ; Hipple, W. J. (1957) *The Beautiful, The Sublime, and The Picturesque In Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory,* The Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.
[31] Hussey, C. (1967) *The Picturesque. Studies in a point of View,* Frank Cass, London. p 83
[32] Ibid. p 104

interest to a half close and speculated that by 1810 "picturesque attitudes had become generally adopted and ... practical applications of the picturesque were being most fully developed."[33]

Most significant to this study is the work of Malcolm Andrews on Tourism, Guide Books and the links with the Picturesque, which provide a more recent base line from which to work.[34] He developed the notion of Guide books providing templates for visitors to Scotland, the Lakes and Wales; this will be applied to the Island.[35] His work on templates seems most relevant to this aspect of the study. He considers

> Picturesque tourism [as] a controlled aesthetic experiment. The tourist is launched into a new environment far from home, exposed to strange and often intimidating huge landscape forms, made to feel insignificant by the scale of this landscape and alien in a relative primitive culture. The Picturesque is a way of coming to terms with these new experiences, largely by imaginatively domesticating the wild, by reorganizing a shapeless, infinitely expansive landscape into a sequence of frameable views. [36]

It is significant that he identifies landscape in "frameable views" echoing Gilpin's insistence on the picture as a base of how we should view landscape and leaves the emotional responses to landscape out of the argument. He sees Picturesque tourism as having a mediating role.

> This mediating role seems to me one of the most interesting thrusts behind the whole vogue for the Picturesque, because, for all its folly and extravagant artificiality – the target of the satirists – it answers a basic human need: it familiarizes the unknown and introduces a sense of order in a disorientating situation.[37]

Andrews considers that even in 1790 the authoritative writers on the Picturesque "differed in their interpretation of it. The best that can be said of it, perhaps, is that though it has no fixed denotative status, it still has extraordinary connotative power."[38] This is true for the Island when seen from topographical

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[33] Hipple, W. J. (1957) *The Beautiful, The Sublime, and The Picturesque In Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory,* The Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale. p 188

[34] Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Scholar Press, Aldershot. ; Andrews, M. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London.

[35] It is unclear why the Island was not included in his study as it was a favoured location for tourists and has a significant body of published Topographies and Guides.

[36] Andrews, M. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London. p 7-8

[37] Ibid. p 7-8

[38] Ibid. p 5

writings and diaries, indeed the view seems to be bi-polar; on one side an intellectual response that is complex and open to development opposed to a populist view that is based more directly on Gilpin and directed towards non-specialist travellers. It is possible that the 'intellectual' response visitors were more likely to become residents and the populist reponsees who gained their knowledge from the work of the topographers would remain as occasional visitors. Bicknell's catalogue to the 1981 Cambridge exhibition on *Beauty, Horror and Immensity*, shows that interest at the time in the Island as a centre of Picturesque travel was still dormant.[39]

On a parallel with aesthetic interests eighteenth-century publications concerning health, climate and the Chalybeate Springs support the view of the Island as a significant location for improving health.[40] The mild climate of the Island and specifically the Undercliff was recorded by early visitors and made the Island an 'object of consumption' when the benefits of sea bathing and the consumption of mineral water (from Chalybeate Springs) were discovered and publicised. Russell's *Dissertation on the Use of Sea-Water in the Diseases of the Glands* was published in an English translation in 1752.[41] So far the earliest published record of Mineral Springs on the Island appeared in *The Topographer* of 1789.[42] It was not until Fetham's 1815 guide and an anonymous 1824 guide, both published in London, that a significant section was to be found confirming the health-giving merits of the Waters of the Island.[43] The 1824 Guide also includes a limited topographical report of the Island centred on the location of the residences of significant people from the mainland. Scudamore's 'Medical Report' of 1820, gave a detailed account of the location and beneficial effects of the mineral waters to be found in England and included a section on the Island with an account of the waters of the Undercliff.[44] Although the Sandrock Spring was identified and exploited, it was not developed on the grand scale of the

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[39] Bicknell, P. (Ed.) (1981) *Beauty, Horror and Immensity. Picturesque Landscape in Britain, 1750-1850,* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

[40] The Island had long provided spring water that was noted for its 'long keeping properties' when sent on ships.

[41] Russell, R. (1752) *A Dissertation on the use of Sea-Water in the diseases of the Glands*, London.

[42] (1789) *The Topographer,* Robson and Clarke, London. p 355

[43] Fetham, J. (1815) *Watering and Sea-Bathing places*, London. ; anon (1824) *A Guide to all the Watering and Seabathing Places,* Longman Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, London.

[44] Scudamore, C. (1820) *A chemical and medical Report on the properties of the mineral waters of Buxton, Matlock, Tunbridge Wells, Harrogate, Bath, Cheltenham, Leamington, Malvern and the Isle of Wight.*, London.

mainland spas. The spring was in an isolated spot on the difficult to reach Undercliff, but basic cottage facilities were provided for taking the waters and observing the view over the sea. A Cottage Inn was nearby and equipped for visitors; facilities were not of the sophistication of Spas on the mainland. Two works, by Sir James Clarke and published in the Metropolis raised the profile of the beneficial effects on health of a mild climate to be found in Europe; *The Sanative Influence of Climate* included a detailed description of climatic conditions and seasons on the Undercliff which were praised and likened to conditions found on Madeira.[45]

Chapter three examines and evaluates the work of the Topographers and Diarists. Some of the themes introduced in the first chapter are developed; the most important being how the topographers adapted and developed picturesque theory for their own purposes. This contrasted with the ways the diarists saw and recorded the Island. The topographers constructed the division of the Island and the control of visitor-space, which in turn contolled its consumption. The Undercliff, a place of alterity and isolation was defined as such by the topographers; a definition still relevant today. Topographies form the bulk of published material for this study and can be divided into two groups, national, and Island-specific; both are relevant to this study. *The Book of Topography* of J.P. Anderson, published in 1881 is a first resource; it is essentially a compilation of all the topographical works held in the British Library in 1881.[46] To this list has been added topographical works held in the Cope Collection at Southampton University, the Hampshire Record Office and the Local Studies Libraries at Winchester, Southampton, Portsmouth and Newport on the Island. The national topographical works give a context in which to view the Island as part of the variety of the British Isles. The Island, where mentioned in the these texts, has a higher status than twentieth century writers pre-Boynton give credit. Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides provided a base line for a 'literary' standard of tour reporting.[47] *The Topographer*, published in London

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[45] Clark, J. (1820) *Medical Notes on Climate, Disease, Hospitals, and Medical Schools in France, Italy, Switzerland, comprising an inquiry into the Effects of a Residence in the South of Europe in cases of Pulmonary Consumption, and illustrating the present state of medicine in those countries.*, London.; and Clark, S. J. (1841) *The Sanative Influence of Climate,* John Murray, London.

[46] Anderson, J. P. (1881) *The Book of Topography,* Satchell & Co., London.

[47] Pottle, F. A. and Bennett, C. H. (Eds.) (1936) *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, New York.

between 1789 and 1791 provided original contributions and reviews of published works.[48] Significant to my discourse is the acknowledgement that "many different writers travel over the same ground, at the same time, and each publish his accounts of his travels to the world."[49] Specific reference to the quality of Pennant's work is made; "Mr Pennant indeed possessing greater abilities has embraced in his enquiries both history, antiquities, and natural history, so that all his tours are both useful and entertaining in a degree."[50] The standard appears now to be set for 'quality topographies' by reference to Pennant's style and assumed scholarship. Clarke made a tour of the south of England Wales and part of Ireland in 1791; published in 1793, it clearly promoted travel in Britain. The frontispiece quotation is from Cowper: "ENGLAND! With all thy faults I love thee still."[51] Clarke's tour of the Island is recorded over six pages, a short section giving a very personal view, recording meals and incidentals as well as links with national history and natural sights.[52] This is a travelogue rather than a topographical work.

By contrast, Brayley and Britton's 1805 *Beauties of England and Wales* included a section on the Island but was not as comprehensive as the Island-centred topographies. They focused on history, specifically on the role of the Island in National historical events, notably the Civil War.[53] Cooke in his *Topographical and Statistical Description of the British Isles* includes as a prefix *A Travelling Guide to the Isle of Wight* which points to an increased interest in island visits as well as nationally raising the profile of the Island.[54] The *Gazetteer and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* compiled by White were a useful cross reference as they give detailed topographical material and, although without attribution, make use of selected published material.[55] Cobbett when he was collecting his observations for *Rural Rides*, did not visit the Island

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[48] (1789) *The Topographer,* Robson and Clarke, London.
[49] Ibid. p 229
[50] Ibid. p 229
[51] Clarke, E. D. (1793) *A Tour through the South of England, Wales, and part of Ireland, made during the Summer of 1791,* R. Edwards, London. frontis.
[52] Ibid. p 16-21
[53] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London.
[54] Cooke, G. (1807) *Topographical and statistical description of the British Isles: viz. Isle of Wight, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, Scilly, Man, the Orkneys, Hebrides, Shetland &c.: Containing an account of their situation, antiquities, natural history. To which is prefixed A Travelling Guide to the Isle of Wight.,* C. Cooke, London.
[55] White, W. (1859) *Gazetteer and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Sheffield. ; White, W. (1878) *Gazetter and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, London.

but made his observations from Portsdown Hill on the mainland and from what he had read and been told.[56] This is curious as the pre-industrial nature of the Island had already been publicised and was exactly what Cobbett was recording. Daniell recorded the Island during his voyage around Great Britain.[57] However Daniell was the first 'national' topographer to view the British Isles from the sea, a proposal put forward by Gilpin. He does not confine himself with descriptions from the sea but also takes a land excursion. This is a complex work, an anthology with prints to support the written descriptions fitting the notion of a Picturesque Journey as understood by Gilpin. At the end of the nineteenth century James compiled a selection of material concerning the Island, many of the original sources quoted now appear to be lost; this is a valuable resource for cross and back reference as well as a distinct view of the history of the Island from the 1890s when it was compiled.[58] Vaughan's (1974) study of guide books to Britain 1780-1870, gives an outline of their development and mentions some of the works connected with the Island but gives more prominence to those books published for Wales, the Lake District and Scotland than to the Island.[59] This is not a critical source but a survey that shows the importance of the Lakes, Scotland and Wales as tourist attractions and neglects the Island.

In chapter three the Island-specific Topographies are surveyed in chronological order. The earliest record of a topographical journey to the Island located to date is that of Taylor in 1684.[60] In June 1740 the *Gentleman's Magazine* published a "Poetical Essay on Vectis" which promoted the Island for its climate and way of life.[61] The next significant work which contains a description of the physical features, climate and agriculture of the Island was published in *England Illustrated (1764).*[62] Jones' poem "Vectis" praising qualities of the Island was published in London in 1766.[63] Following in date was "A Tour

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[56] Cobbett, W. (1893) *Rural Rides,* Reeves and Turner, London. 1821, p 192-3
[57] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London.
[58] James, E. B. (1896) *The Isle of Wight: Letters Archaeological and Historical,* Henry Frowde, London.
[59] Vaughan, J. (1974) *The English Guide Book c.1780-1870,* David & Charles, Newton Abbot.
[60] Taylor, J. (1684) *Tailors travels from London to the Isle of Wight: with his returne and occasion of his journey.*
[61] Anon In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 309. p 309
[62] Anon (1764) In *England Illustrated*, Vol. I, pp. 285-289. p 285-289
[63] Jones, H. (1766) *Vectis: the Isle of Wight,* W. Flexney, London.

through Hampshire" published in the *Royal Magazine* in 1767.[64] In 1778 Sturch published his walking tours of the Island in the format of letters.[65] His format is very practical with advice on where to stay and the location of houses that were always open to visitors, all tourists needed was to bring their provisions and hope that the building was not occupied.[66] The 1780 edition aimed even in its title to be comprehensive in its content. The format of being written in letters may seem unusual to us now but at the time of publication letters were seen a semi-public documents recording personal views and thoughts and read aloud in family groups. Sharp produced a 'rumble' from Newport to Cowes that was published in 1782[67]. However the first truly comprehensive publication devoted to the Island was Hassell's *Tour of the Isle of Wight* published in 1790[68] which was to feature in reviews and be quoted in Mavor's pocket-sized topographical guide to Britain, Mavor recommended it to his readers for its reliability and accuracy.[69] This tour created a great deal of interest and was reviewed nationally in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1791.[70] Hassell and Mavor did not think that prints were needed in topographical works as the imagination of the tourist should be stimulated primarily by the text. As time went by the topographies became illustrated with an increasing number of prints and were often marketed for the prints rather than the text. These early topographies centred on walking tours and were as much about the journey as about arrival; it was not the intention to reach a location and reside for a time but rather to keep moving. This progress from location to location was an essential part of tourism in this period and echoed the Grand Tour. When visiting the Undercliff

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[64] Anon (1767) In *The Royal Magazine*.
[65] Sturch, J. (1778) *A View of the Isle of Wight, in four letters to a friend,* W. Goldsmith, London. ; Sturch, J. (1780) *A View of the Isle of Wight, in four letters to a friend: Containing, not only a description of its form and principal productions, but the most authentic and material articles of its natural, political and commercial history.,* John Sturch, Newport I.W. ; Sturch, J. (1787) *A View of the Isle of Wight: in four letters to a friend,* John Sturch, Newport IOW. ; Sturch, J. (1791) *A View of the Isle of Wight in Four Letters to a Friend.,* John Sturch, Newport, IOW. ; Sturch, J. (1803) *A View of the Isle of Wight, in four letters to a friend.,* C Stower, London and Newport IOW.
[66] Sturch, J. (1791) *A View of the Isle of Wight in Four Letters to a Friend.,* John Sturch, Newport, IOW. p 10
[67] Sharp, W. (1782) *A rumble from Newport to Cowes,* J. Mallett, Isle of Wight.
[68] Hassell, J. (1790a) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. ; Hassell, J. (1790b) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London.
[69] Mavor, W. (1798a) *The British Tourists or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland,* E. Newberry, London. also of use are Mavor, W. (1798b) *The British Tourists or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.,* E. Newberry, London. ; Mavor, W. (1800) *The British Tourists or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland,* E. Newberry, London.
[70] Anon (1791) In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LZI, pp. p 49.

most of the topographers advised a stop at the Steephill Inn to sample the seafood and view to sea; a contemplation of *Infinity* that combined aspects of the *Beautiful* and the *Sublime*.

A short book published by the Island map maker and topographer, John Albin, describes the views "taken from Sailing from Newport in the Isle of Wight to Lymington" and was dedicated to George Macauley, "native of the Island but now Alderman and Merchant in the City of London."[71] Between 1792 and 1823 Albin was to produce many more Island topographies and a map; these were published both on the Island and in London.[72] Wyndham visited the Island with his patron the Countess of Clanricarde in 1793 to gather material for his topography. He was careful in promoting his work to note that he wrote only what he had observed in person; a reference to the practice common to some writers of copying material rather than writing from personal observation.[73] Pennant had recorded and published his visits to the Island in 1795 and again in 1801.[74]

Tomkins' visit in 1793 had, he tells us, been long desired in order to view the "picturesque beauties of the Isle of Wight."[75] His focus is, for the first time for any topographer on the Island, to observe and record the picturesque aspects of the Island. He made his own illustrations which were printed in aquatint. Some of these were used for ceramic decoration for tableware.[76] In 1795 Gilpin spent three days on an Island tour in order to "examine its picturesque

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[71] Anon (1792) *Sketches of Descriptions taken from Sailing from Newport in the Isle of Wight to Lymington,* John Albin, Newport, IOW. ; Pennant, T. (1801) *A Journey from London to the Isle of Wight,* Harding, London.

[72] Albin, J. (1795a) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* Scatcherd & Whitaker, Booksellers, London. ; Albin, J. (1795b) *A new, correct, and much-improved history of the Isle of Wight, from the earliest times of authentic information, to the present period.,* Albin, Newport. ; Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. ; Albin, J. (1802) *Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport IOW. ; Albin, J. (1805) London. ; Albin, J. (1808) *Vectiana, or A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* J. Albin, Newport. ; Albin, J. (1818) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Longman Hurst Reese & Orme, London. ; Albin, J. (1823) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* John Albin, Newport IOW. ; Albin, J. (1823) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* John Albin, Newport IOW.

[73] Wyndham, H. P. (1794) *A Picture of the Isle of Wight delineated upon the spot in the year 1793,* C. Roworth, London.

[74] Pennant, T. (1795) *A Journey to the Isle of Wight,* Wilson & Co., London. ; Pennant, T. (1801) *A Journey from London to the Isle of Wight,* Harding, London.

[75] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 1

[76] See Plate 7 in Appendix.

beauties."[77] He had visited the Island the previous year but his account of this was published posthumously; his works were circulated in manuscript to interested parties, the Prince Regent being one.[78] Gilpin's Three Essays of 1794 were a synthesis of his observations and thoughts to that date on viewing and recording picturesque scenery as well as advice to travellers.[79]

The *Hampshire Repository* was originally intended to be issued yearly. It was produced in Winchester to combat what was seen as mis-informations about Hampshire and the Island that were being published in London by non-local observers and from re-using published material. Only two issues were produced. Any published criticism of Hampshire and the Island was contested in the *Repository*; it put forward the local view with no attempt at presentation of a critical stance in our present day view, it was a very local and partisan reaction to works of what were identified as 'mis-information' from the metropolis.[80] Amongst the articles is an evaluation of Gilpin's visit to the Island as well as an anonymous Island tour in three letters including the places and sights deemed important by local connoisseurs. These two volumes defended and promoted the Island against criticism that they viewed as unjustified; in addition they recorded what they deemed to be important information needed to appreciate the Island.

John Bullar's works note his indebtedness to Wyndham[81] as well as extending the description of the 'beauties' of the Island. There are numerous editions of his work between 1801 and 1840; the ones consulted all have variations of detail and were printed either in Southampton or London, from the number of editions and availability these must have been widely known. From 1799 Baker produced some guides with a map, their content concentrated on picturesque scenery. Only a few examples of Baker's work have been traced and he adds little to our knowledge. Another topographer from the metropolis, Cooke,

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[77] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 301.
[78] Gilpin, W. (1804) *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the summer of 1794,* Private Posthumous Publication, London.
[79] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London.
[80] Robbins (1799) *The Hampshire Repository,* I, Robbins, Winchester. ; Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* II, Robbins, Winchester.
[81] Bullar, J. (1801) *Companion in a Tour round Southampton and a Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 267

followed Tomkins by providing his own illustrations and unlike Tomkins partially integrates them into the text. As with Buller there were several printings and editions of his work from both London and Southampton.[82]

Clarke produced his *Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical, and Topographical description of the Isle of Wight* in 1812; it was very convenient for tourists as it fitted into a coat pocket.[83] It was available in Lymington, Southampton, Gosport and Portsmouth as well as on the Island and was almost certainly aimed at the passing tourist who had already decided to visit the Island. Clarke put in his introduction why his work was of interest to visitors to the Island; namely "that he has compressed into one focus what was before scattered into different works, - and he has amplified descriptions of scenery with which he has been for many years familiar."[84] He further states that "he has also endeavoured to avoid as much stiffness and formality in the arrangement and composition, considering himself throughout as the descriptive attendant of those for whom he has written."[85] This guide aimed to be accessible and easy to use; the beginnings of the development of guide books out of topographies. Later editions traced are recorded, one of them was published by Yelf, a family of Island Hoteliers.[86]

Sir Henry Charles Englefield's work was not published until 1816 but resulted from tours made to the Island in 1799, 1800 and 1801.[87] Englefield, a Dorset man, was a member of the Society of Dilettanti and scientist. He had presented some of his findings in two papers given at the *Linnean Society* in London and published in volume six of their *Transactions* in 1800. His book was not aimed

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[82] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. ; Cooke, W. (1812) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight,* Baker, London. ; Cooke, W. (1813) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates.,* T. Baker, Southampton. ; Cooke, W. and Cooke, G. (1826) *Picturesque Views on the Southern Coast of England,* John & Arthur Arch, London. ; Cooke, W. B. (1849) *Bonchurch, Shanklin and the Undercliff and their Vicinities,* W. B. Cooke, London.

[83] Clarke, J. (1812) *The Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical, and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* E. Tayler, Newport, IOW.

[84] Ibid. p iii

[85] Ibid. p iv

[86] Clarke, J. (1819) *The Delineator, or, a Picturesque, Historical and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* E. Tayler, Newport IOW. ; Clarke, J. (1826) *The Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* Yelf, Newport IOW.

[87] Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London.

at a casual reader but at the informed amateur and scientist; the book format was for a library. His interests are centred on natural science; the geology and scenery of the Island. Dugdale's 1819 text is a general history and description based on previous published material that does not add to already available knowledge.[88]

The topographical publications by the Brannon family are numerous and reflected the changes in interest of the public as well as their family aspirations to control commercial Island information. A brief biography and bibliography of the Brannon family is provided by Armitage (1974)[89]. George Brannon came to the Island from London in about 1813. Together with two of his sons he published numerous topographical guides, all lavishly illustrated with their own engravings. Each printing was updated; the way the scenes were viewed was modified to reflect perceived changes in the market, which was the Metropolis as well as the Island. These were the work of an Island business engaged on Island publicity. The family continued to publish new books and reissue reprints until the end of the nineteenth century. They are notable for being the most lavishly illustrated of any works published during the period of this study.

By contrast contemporary and later topographical works concentrated on interests other than those of the Brannons. Horsey produced guides to the Island watering places as well as describing its beauties.[90] Cowes town features prominently in 'Philo Vectis' *Isle of Wight Tourist* of 1830.[91] Sheridan's topographical guide of 1832 is geared towards the visitor with antiquarian interests and appears to have been popular as it reached a third edition in 1834.[92] Barber's *Picturesque Illustrations* would from its title appear to be in direct competition with Brannon, however it was in small pocket format with its illustrations centred on buildings and sites of interest and reflected the democratisation of interest in picturesque tours and scenery. It was published in London and available from 1834; balancing text with illustrations and latterly

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[88] Dugdale, J. (1819) *A General Description and history of the Isle of Wight*, London.
[89] Armitage, P. T. (1974) *A Bibliography of George Brannon's Vectis Scenery,* Isle of Wight County Press, Newport, IOW.
[90] Horsey, S. S. (1827) *The Beauties of the Isle of Wight,* Longmans, London. ; Horsey, S. S. (183-) *The Isle of Wight Visitor's book: containing an account of its watering places,* S. Horsey, Portsey.
[91] Vectis, P. (1830) *The Isle of Wight Tourist,* R. Moir, Cowes.
[92] Sheridan, W. C. F. G. (1832) *A historical and topographical guide to the Isle of Wight, containing every information interesting to the antiquary.*, London. ; Sheridan, W. C. F. G. (1834) *A Topographical and Historical Guide to the Isle of Wight,* Leigh & Son, London.

providing a geological map for the informed tourist. The 1846 edition was dedicated to the Queen.[93] At the end of the period of this study Brettell publicised his 1840 topography claiming "authentic accounts of its antiquities, natural productions and romantic scenery."[94] Roscoe's *Summer tour to the Isle of Wight*, published in 1843, notes in the introduction that the completion of the railway to Southampton and a branch line to Gosport means that the Island was much more accessible than before particularly when account is taken of the steam boats used on the crossing.[95] This publication is included as Roscoe considers that the 'middle classes' are by this date well established as visitors to the Island. Roscoe's book is not a topography but rather a well illustrated tourist guide book with limited historical and topographical content. This approach to the content of the guides is confirmed with the publication of Dabell's Handbook in 1844 which is clearly a guide book rather than a topography.[96]

Miscellaneous other writings under review here were published both during and after the period. The state of the roads, or rather tracks, were always mentioned as an issue by tourists; these seem to have been improved after 1813.[97] Andrews' Guide was aimed at the walker and gave directions and main locations to visit but without reference to picturesque scenery.[98] In 1836 the

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[93] Barber, T. (1834) *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight: comprising views of every object of interest in the Island, engraved from original drawings, accompanied by historical and topographical descriptions,* Simpkin & Marshall, London. ; Barber, T. (1835) *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight: Comprising Views of Every Object of Interest in the Island, Engraved from Original Drawings, Accompanied by Historical and Topographical Descriptions,* Simpkin & Marshall, London. ; Barber, T. (1845) *Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight,* Simpkins and Marshall, London. ; Barber, T. (1846) *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight: Dedicated to her most gracious majesty the Queen, Engraved from Original Drawings, Accompanied by Historical and Topographical Descriptions,* Bohn, London. ; Barber, T. (1850) *Barber's Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight: illustrated by forty five views and maps engraved on steel. Including a geological map of the island by Dr Mantell,* Bohn, London.

[94] Brettell, T. (1840) *A topographical and historical guide to the Isle of Wight: comprising authentic accounts of its antiquities, natural productions and romantic scenery,* Leigh & Co, London. ; Brettell, T. (1841) *A Topographical and Historical Guide to the Isle of Wight: Comprising Authentic Accounts of Its Antiquities, Natural Productions and Romantic Scenery,* G. Biggs, London.

[95] Roscoe, T. (1843) *The Tourist or Summer Tour to the Isle of Wight,* J. & F. Harwood, London.

[96] Dabell, A. (1844) *Dabell's Handbook to the Isle of Wight,* A. Dabell, Newport, IOW.

[97] (1813), Vol. 1813 (53 Geo III c.92) G. White, London.

[98] Andrews, C. (1831) *A Guide to Southampton, Netley Abbey, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Gosport, Winchester and Basingstoke,* G.F. Scotland, Southampton. and a reprint of text with a new title Andrews, C. (1832) *The Visitant's Guide to Southampton, Netley Abbey, Portsmouth, Gosport, Winchester, Basingstoke, and Companion to the Isle of Wight,* G. F. Scotland, Southampton. p 57-106 and a later reprint Andrews, C. (1837) *The visitant's guide to*

Penny Magazine published a two-part tour that was aimed at the wider audience than the specific readership of topographical publications; was this a democratisation of the tour?[99] Calvert's *Isle of Wight Illustrated* of 1846 contains some fine quality prints reflecting the change of interest in how the Island was viewed and recorded but adds little to our knowledge of the pre-1840 period.[100] By 1864 when Adams published his *History and Topography of the Isle of Wight* there was nothing new to say; this was a guide book with supporting local history and some topographical detail.[101] Whitehead, director of the Sanatorium on the Undercliff at the end of the nineteenth century compiled and published a detailed book on the area.[102] This has not been quoted but has been used as a cross reference to check that available earlier sources have not been missed. Whitehead's work does not add to our knowledge of the earlier period; it is a work designed for the interest of the reader in the early twentieth century.

Brading has made a digest of resources at the Isle of Wight Record Office that has proved very useful in tracing documents.[103] From the 1790s the Island had many visitors with specific non-Picturesque interests who built or rented villas and cottages and were connected with the formation and development of the Royal Yacht Squadron; Guest and Bolton's history of the early years of the RYS record all of these.[104] John Betjeman, a frequent visitor to the Island with an interest in Georgian as well as Victorian architecture has identified some of the early houses, notably *The Mount* on the eastern fringes of Yarmouth.[105]

Chapter four deals with the cottages and mansions of the Island and how they were represented by the topographers and visitors who kept diaries. It looks at

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Southampton and Netley Abbey: also, a companion to the Isle of Wight, T.H. Skelton, Southampton.

[99] In *The Penny Magazine*, (1836) .

[100] Calvert, F. (1846) *The Isle of Wight Illustrated,* G.H. Davidson, London.

[101] Adams, W. H. D. (1864) *The History and Topography of the Isle of Wight,* James Briddon, Ventnor.

[102] Whitehead, J. L. (1911) *The Undercliff of the Isle of Wight,* Simkins and Marshall & Co., London.

[103] Brading, R. (1990) *East Cowes and Whippingham, 1303-1914,* J. Arthur Dixon, Newport, IOW. ; Brading, R. (1994) *West Cowes and Northwood, 1750-1914,* J. Arthur Dixon, Newport, IOW.

[104] Guest, M. and Boulton, W. B. (1902) *Memorials of the Royal Yacht Squadron*, London.

[105] Betjeman, J. (1952) *First and last Loves,* John Murray, London.

the locations and residences favoured, sometimes built and sometimes adapted. These residences were mainly cottages and villas with a small number of mansions being built; they were mostly without attached estates and representing small-scale retreats for people from the metropolis and newly industrialised areas of the mainland. Writing in 1959 Sir John Summerson saw the concept of the villa as

> the essential innovation of the [eighteenth-century], and that the development of the country house can be most readily elucidated as a struggle between the greater house and the villa in which the villa first achieves the disintegration of the greater house and then supersedes it."[106]

Summerson qualifies this statement "It is not a struggle simply between the large house and the small house but between one idea of a country house and another."[107] On the Island this struggle will be seen to include the cottage which is often indistinguishable from a villa in its morphology.

A number of well documented architects from the metropolis worked on the Island. Dale's book on the architect James Wyatt records his work on the Island at *Norris* and *Carisbrooke Castle.*[108] Robinson's book on Wyatt has provided additional information.[109] Two books by Davis on John Nash have provided details on Nash's Island work.[110] Sherfield's more recent illustrated book on Nash's works on the Island has provided illustrations but relies largely on previously published materials. However it provides new details of his Island retreat from east Cowes Castle at Hamstead on the north west coast of the Island.[111] The most valuable source of information on East Cowes Castle is from Summerson's *The Life and Works of John Nash.*[112] Sir James Pennethorne, heir to Nash, may have worked at Northwood: this is recorded by Tyack.[113] Colvin's Biographical Dictionary is a source of background material

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[106] Summerson, J. (1959) *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,* Vol 107, 539-587. p 552
[107] Ibid. p 552
[108] Dale, A. (1956) *James Wyatt,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
[109] Robinson, J. M. (1979) *The Wyatts,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[110] Davis, T. (1960) *The Architecture of John Nash,* Studio Books, London. ; Davis, T. (1966) *John Nash, The Prince Regent's Architect,* David and Charles, Newton Abbot.
[111] Sherfield, I. (1994) *East Cowes Castle, the Seat of John Nash, Esq.,* Cannon Press, Camberley.
[112] Summerson, J. (1980) *The Life and Works of John Nash, Architect,* George Allen & Unwin, London.
[113] Tyack, G. (1992) *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

on James Sanderson, the architect of *St Clare* and *Steephill Castle*.[114] George Repton's *Pavilion Notebook* provided some details of plans he drew up for Island residences.[115] Histories of two of the castles have been published and provide details not available elsewhere.[116]

Many of the buildings on the Island have no known architect but have possible design origins in the numerous Cottage Design Books published during the period; a selection of these was made after reference to Archer's compilation.[117] These buildings form a group where the responses to location represent an individual reaction to building with possible reference to all types of aesthetic writings by the owner; they represent a popular interpretation of transmitted style. The books with reference specifically to the Island and those that inform us about choice of site and building materials and style have been quoted.[118] James Ackerman's more recent work on villas and their settings supplements the earlier historical texts.[119] Bentmann and Muller's book, whilst dealing with European villas, is of help in understanding and interpreting the nature of the Island villas in their wider cultural context.[120] Further reference to architecture in its national cultural setting was provided by Abramson.[121] In the 1980s buildings without known or recognised architects were not always considered worthy of consideration and were sometimes labelled 'vernacular'. Reference to how buildings of the period of study were viewed in the 1980s has come from Crook.[122] Ramsey and Harvey's book on Georgian houses has proved to be a

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[114] Colvin, H. (Ed.) (1995) *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840,* Yale University Press, London.
[115] Temple, N. (1993) *George Repton's Pavilion Notebook,* Scolar Press, Aldershot.
[116] Mason, G. B. (1949) *Norris Castle,* Ed. Burrow, Cheltenham. ; Marsh, J. (1907) *Steephill Castle,* Dangerfield Printing Co., London.
[117] Archer, J. (1985) *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842,* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
[118] Malton, J. (1798) *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture*, London. ; Plaw, J. (1803) *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas and Rural Retreats*, London. ; Lugar, R. (1805) *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London. ; Pocock, W. F. (1807) *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings and Villas etc.*, London. ; Loudon, J. C. (1833) *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, London. ; Brown, R. (1841) *Domestic Architecture*, London.
[119] Ackerman, J. (1990) *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses,* Thames and Hudson, London.
[120] Bentmann, R. and Muller, M. (1992) *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture,* Humanities Press, London.
[121] Abramson, D. (1999) In *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture 1776-1832*(Ed, McCalam, I.) Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[122] Crook, J. M. (1989) *The Dilemma of Style,* John Murray, London.

useful reference for the interpretation of architectural details.[123] Morley's encyclopaedic *Regency Design* has proved to be similarly of interest and provided a rare reference to one of the Island villa/mansions, *Fernhill,* which has no assigned architect.[124] Cust and Colvin's *History of the Society of Dilettanti* gives a period flavour to an understanding of *Northwood* and *Appuldurcombe*, both of which contained sculpture and other objects collected by members of the Society.[125] Appludurcombe was modified by Sir Richard Worlsey to house his 'grand tour' collections. The *Landmark Trust Handbook* provided information on *Luttrell's Folly*, a building on the mainland overlooking the Island with similarities in design, function and date to *Fernhill.*[126] Arnold's *The Georgian Country House, The Picturesque in Late Georgian England* and *Reading Architectural History* has given pointers with critical analysis.[127]

Recent general works with inclusions on the Island show the continued fringe critical interest in the study of the area. Christie in his *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* makes reference to some of the larger house/mansions on the Island but adds nothing to our knowledge of fact or interpretation.[128] Of recent publications by local writers McInnes *Picturesque Tour of the Isle of Wight* provides a valuable composite list of prints and painting of the Island.[129] McInnes, a civil engineer and local historian, organised an exhibition of Landscape paintings of the Island at Ventnor Winter Gardens in 1992. This book appears to be a result of this exhibition, the appendix being a list of artists and their works 1770-1920 taken from "principal London exhibitions".[130] The text is descriptive and makes no attempt to analyse the selection of paintings and prints but is useful as a bibliographic source. Jones has produced a "story of the Isle of Wight houses" but this is a new compilation

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[123] Ramsey, S. and Harvey, J. D. M. (1919) *Small Georgian Houses and Their Details*, London.
[124] Morley, J. (1993) *Regency Design: 1790-1840,* A. Zwemmer, London. p 167
[125] Cust, L. and Colvin, S. (1898) *History of the Society of Dilettanti,* McMillan, London.
[126] Smith, J. and Haslam, C. (1992) *The Landmark Handbook,* The Landmark Trust, Maidenhead, Berkshire.
[127] Arnold, D. (1998) *The Georgian Country House,* Alan Sutton, Stroud. ; Arnold, D. (Ed.) (1995) *The Picturesque in late Georgian England,* The Georgian Group, London. ; Arnold, D. (2002) *Reading Architectural History,* Routledge, London & New York.
[128] Christie, C. (2000) *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century,* Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York.
[129] McInnes, R. (1993) *A Picturesque Tour of the Isle of Wight,* Cross Publications to subscription, Newport, IOW.
[130] Ibid. p 111

of published material and based on visual representations and follows the tradition of topographies and guide books.[131]

There are extensive general Island-specific texts pertinent to this study. The most important and earliest large scale history of the Island was published in 1781 by Sir Richard Worsley.[132] He produced this when he was Governor of the Island and there is a proprietorial pride in his work, hardly surprising as his family were the main landowners on the Island. This was a base reference text that later writers consulted and freely quoted but did not always acknowledge, a feature that will be developed in the study. It is well illustrated but the prints were not integrated into the text, merely illustrations of what he considered were significant sites with pictorial or possibly Picturesque merit.[133] The two-volume catalogue of Worsley's collection of objects at *Appuldurcombe* also provides a history of his travels in Europe; Michaelis' 1882 work on statuary complements this.[134] The Victoria County History for Hampshire has been a general source of background detail but reflects the early twentieth-century view.[135] Details of the Governors of the Island came from Sheridon,[136] Girouard,[137] and Watkin[138] provide background to the period. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) provided biographical studies of a very small number of the national figures who went to the Island.[139]

Diaries and letters have provided individual responses to the Island; Celia Fiennes observations of the Island provide background material before the period of this study.[140] Laurence Sterne, a one-time resident of the Island,

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[131] Jones, J. (2000) *Castles to Cottages: the story of Isle of Wight houses,* Dovecote Press, Wimborne.
[132] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London.
[133] At this stage it is possibly too early to discuss the prints as specimens of picturesque landscape.
[134] Worsley, R. (1824a) *Museum Worsleyanum,* Septimus Prowett, London. ; Worsley, R. (1824b) *Museum Worsleyanum,* Septimus Prowett, London. Vol II; Michaelis, A. (1882) *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge.
[135] Doubleday, H. A. and Page, W. (Eds.) (1912) *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight,* University of London Press, London.
[136] Sheridon, R. K. (1974) *Lords, Captains and Governors of the Isle of Wight*, London.
[137] Girouard, M. (1981) *The Return to Camelot,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London.
[138] Watkin, D. (1968) *Thomas Hope1769 -1831 and the Neo-Classical Idea,* John Murray, London. ; Watkin, D. (1982) *The English Vision*, London.
[139] Steplers, L. (1886) *Dictionary of National Biography,* Smith Elder & Co., London.
[140] Fiennes, C. (1948) *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes,* The Cresset Press, London.

gives background of life on the Island in the eighteenth-century.[141] Joseph Farington, artist and diarist, recorded his frequent visits to his uncle who lived at *Woodvale* to the west of Cowes and his visits to the mansions as well as recording other visitors to the Island. He is a source of information about the social life in the houses of residents from the metropolis: a thorough search was made of his published diaries (the volumes noted in the footnote), but only a small amount of his material was pertinent to this study, the vast majority of his references being listings of places visited and people he met together with their gossip.[142] Mrs Lybbe Powys' visits add to gossip and social comment on the people at the places she visited as well as descriptions of her journeys with landscape descriptions.[143] There are some of John Wilkes' letters that relate to the Island and his time there which can be supplemented with material from Peter Thomas' 1996 biography.[144] Marguerite, Countess of Blessington published an account of her tour of the Island during the autumn of 1820.[145] Mrs Ann Radcliffe, the gothic novelist, recorded visits to the Island in her Journal; edited sections of this were published posthumously and inform us with not only the locations she visited but the way she viewed and recorded them.[146] Further details of her visits have been published recently by Norton.[147] Hussey has identified the influential role of Alpine travel descriptions in the development

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[141] Jack, I. (Ed.) (1991) *Laurence Sterne. A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr Yorick with The Journal to Eliza and A Political Romance,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[142] Cave, K. (Ed.) (1982a) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Cave, K. (Ed.) (1982b) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Cave, K. (Ed.) (1983) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Cave, K. (Ed.) (1984a) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Cave, K. (Ed.) (1984b) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Cave, K. (Ed.) (1984c) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Cave, K. (Ed.) (1984d) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Garlick, K. and Macintyre, A. (Eds.) (1978) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Garlick, K. and Macintyre, A. (Eds.) (1979a) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Garlick, K. and Macintyre, A. (Eds.) (1979b) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. ; Newby, E. (1998) *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Index.,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London.
[143] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. Mrs Powys spent her last years as a resident of the Island.
[144] Almon, J. (Ed.) (1805a) *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his friends,* Richard Phillips, London. ; Almon, J. (Ed.) (1805b) *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his friends,* Richard Phillips, London. ; Thomas, P. D. G. (1996) *John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[145] Gardiner, M., Countess of Blessington (1882) *A tour in the Isle of Wight, in the autumn of 1820,* Spottiswoode, London.
[146] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London.
[147] Norton, R. (1999) *Mistress of Udolfo,* Leicester University Press/Cassell, London.

of British travel writings; Mrs Radcliffe's descriptions are in line with his observation.[148] A complete contrast to these is the unpublished diary of Moy Thomas, a young man from the metropolis who visited the Island for a walking tour in 1810.[149] His view is without the interest and sophistication of aesthetic issues and reflects a populist view; he records a sense of wonderment at what he finds in his own country on what must have been a great adventure. Several less detailed diaries, some unattributed, add to our knowledge of tours undertaken. Although Prince von Puckler-Muskau never visited the Island his diary provides a point of reference to what was being sought by tourists and how it was recorded.[150] A recent general work, Tinniswood's *Polite Tourist,* only makes passing reference to visits to the Island.[151]

A few unpublished manuscripts relevant to this study have been located. The Cope Collection at Southampton University contains an 1826 scrapbook containing descriptive sketches made during tours of the Island; the writer is unknown but is used as an authoritative source due to its inclusion in the Cope Collection.[152] Masie Ward's family history gives us background to *Northwood* and the reasons for its sale.[153] A short manuscript history of *Fernhill* is held in the Isle of Wight Record Office; this informs us of the acute regret felt by the author and other local historians after the fire that destroyed the building in the 1930s.[154] They understood *Fernhill* to be important and significant but were not able define how and why this was. Wilton-Ely's article about *Fonthill* (Wiltshire) may help in explaining the origins of *Fernhill* style and part ecclesiastical form.[155]

For general background history of the period Plumb and Holmes have been consulted.[156] Pevsner's *Buildings of England* provided a starting source of

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[148] Hussey, C. (1967) *The Picturesque. Studies in a point of View,* Frank Cass, London. p 86
[149] Thomas, M. (1810) In *Bath Central Library, Somerset* Bath.
[150] von Puckler-Muskau, H. L. H. v. (1832) *Tour in Ireland, France and England,* Effingham Wilson, London.
[151] Tinniswood, A. (1998) *The Polite Tourist,* National Trust, London.
[152] (1826) In *Hampshire and Isle of Wight Manuscripts.*
[153] Ward, M. (1934) *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition*, London.
[154] Wilson, M. D. G. In *Isle of Wight Record Office,* Newport IOW.
[155] Wilton-Ely, J. (1970) In *The Country Seat* (Eds, Colvin, H. and Harris, J.) London.
[156] Holmes, G. (1993) *The Age of Oligarchy. Pre-industrial Britain, 1722-1783,* Longmans, London. ; Plumb, J. H. (1979) *England in the Eighteenth Century*, London.

information on houses on the Island but proved to be of limited use.[157] Hussey's now rather dated critique of country houses shows how these country houses were viewed in the 1950s and perhaps give clues to the neglect of the larger Island properties.[158] Wilson and Mackley's *Creating Paradise* (2000) deals with the creation of the country house and was useful to see if parallels could be made for the Island.[159] Looking for the origins of the revival of interest in the mediaeval, Yates article proved a source of further references:[160] Horace Walpole's correspondence further informs this.[161] The work of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe is helpful in understanding the development of descriptive language for landscape and the genesis of the romantic novel in which

> her deeper purpose is to capture the effects on the sensibility of Gothic architecture or of picturesque scenery. The centre of interest lies neither in character nor in plot, but in 'the southern landscape, whose fullest effect is to be elicited by the happy musing lovers or by their terror stricken flight; it is the castle or convent for complete expression of which we require both the victim and the tyrant.'[162]

This 'southern landscape' had a parallel in the Undercliff on the Island. Comments from the *Monthly Review* add to the development of understanding of the sublime "By the aid of an inventive genius, much may still be done, even in this philosophical age, to fill the fancy with marvellous images, and to 'quell the soul with grateful terrors'".[163] Keen explores what constituted literature in the late eighteenth-century.[164] How do we read the topographers? Where does their authority come from? What was their audience?

> The January 1795 edition of the highly conservative journal the *British Critic* listed 'the several articles of literature' that it covered, in order of importance, as 'Divinity, Morality, History, Biography, Antiquities, Geography, Topography, Politics, Poetry, British Poets, Republished, Translations of Classics, Natural Philosophy and History, Medicine, Transactions of Learned Societies, Law, general Literature.'[165]

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[157] Pevsner, N. and Lloyd, D. (1967) *The Buildings of England. Hampshire and the Isle of Wight,* Penguin, London.
[158] Hussey, C. (1958) *English Country Houses. Late Georgian 1800-1840,* Newnes Books, London.
[159] Wilson, R. and Mackley, A. (2000) *Creating Paradise. The Building of the English Country House 1600-1880,* Hambeldon and London, London.
[160] Yates, N. (1990) In *Victorian Values* (Ed, Marsden, G.) Longmans, London.
[161] Lewis, W. S. (Ed.) (1937) *Horace Walpole, Correspondence,* OUP, Oxford.
[162] Roper, D. (1978) *Reviewing before the Edinburgh 1788-1802,* Methuen, London. p 132. Roper is quoting J.M.S. Tompkins.
[163] Ibid. p 134 no date is given but is part of a review of *The Romance of the Forest (1791)*
[164] Keen, P. (1999) *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s. Print Culture and the Public Sphere,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
[165] Ibid. p3

The key position given to topography in this list may seem strange to us when it is generally seen as guide book material today rather than a cultural element of literature. "Reviews were hailed as a possible means of halting this sense of cultural decline."[166] Picturesque travel in Britain was seen as consumption and a substitute for the Grand Tour. "The late eighteenth-century was, of course, an age when those who could afford to were overwhelmingly dedicated to reproducing this identity by purchasing and adopting whatever possessions and behaviour were identified with the aristocracy."[167] Southey's Letters were used to provide a perspective of an idealised view of England seen during tours.[168] For most of the period of this study the Island was a centre for the active defence against the threat from France, the expectation was for maps to be scarce and not freely available; this was not the case. Maps published in the topographies are supplemented by those of Taylor (1759) and Albin (1805).[169]

To return to Gombrich who raised issues concerning travel and travel writers: "The questions we may wish to ask are ... in no way random; they are related to a whole body of beliefs we wish to reinforce or to challenge."[170] This study uses Gombrich's advice and questions the sources in their historic, geographic and cultural context; it identifies the Island as a vibrant location of travel, discovery and retreat and settlement long before the arrival of the Victorians who are generally credited with having discovered the delights of the Island following the arrival of Queen Victoria. The 'Viewing, Recording and Consuming' of the title are intertwined and constant themes within this study. It looks at where visitors went and how this was controlled by the topographies and guides; how they travelled, the location and and style of their accommodation as well as what informed and amused them. How was the development of aesthetic theory used by the topographers and visitors? Why did so many visitors choose to become residents? Why has the Island been neglected in serious studies until

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[166] Ibid. p 7
[167] Ibid. p 79
[168] Simmons, J. (Ed.) (1951) *Letters from England by Robert Southey,* The Cresset Press, London.
[169] Taylor, I. (1759) London. ; Albin, J. (1805) London. There are many maps available but these are outside the scope of this study. The war with France made map availability an issue due to the nature of the Island as a line of first defence: this is also outside the scope of this study.
[170] Gombrich, E. H. (1967) *In Search of Cultural History,* Clarendon Press, Oxford. p 42-3

this time? It raises many questions which are not always able to be answered within the scope of this study.

Chapter 2

The Island: A Picturesque Location? Attractions and Alterity

> *I assert, that our eyes are mere glass windows; and that we see with our imagination. William Gilpin, (1769).*[1]

> *The picturesque as a practice or way of viewing nature was popularized largely by the guidebooks of Gilpin. ... Picturesque tours to the lakes of Cumberland, the Devonshire coast, or the Isle of Wight were undertaken by hundreds of tourists armed with sketchbooks, diaries and Claude glasses. Such popularity clashed with the exclusiveness written into the picturesque by Price and Knight. Ann Bermingham, (1987)*[2]

> *What distinguishes the sublime from the beautiful is that the former is individual and painful, while the second is social and pleasant, resting upon love and its attendant emotions. Susan Stewart, (1993)*[3]

> *How can a report of an observation be relied upon if that observation has been made at another place? Andrew Barry, (1995)*[4]

This chapter identifies how the Island came to be seen as a Picturesque location and identifies the attractions and alterity of the Island through texts including diaries both published and manuscript. The quotations at the opening of this Chapter have acted as guidance to the following discourse. Gilpin stressed his idea that we see through our imaginations and infers that we see what we wish or expect to see, which will be personal and depend on many factors including education, training, interests social conditioning. The eighteenth-century search for the Picturesque was seen by Gilpin as a hunting pursuit and has been widely commented on, but the dynamic between this popular search for the Picturesque and the intellectual debate and exclusivity of the work of, for example, Payne Knight and Price has been less fully developed in the case of the Island. The dynamic between the 'mystery' of the 'knowledge' of the developing intellectual theory and the popular understanding of the Picturesque are explained through a brief account of the development of aesthetic theory during the eighteenth-century. Bermingham has identified the

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[1] Letter from William Gilpin to William Mason, dated 1769, quoted in Crook, J. M. (1989) *The Dilemma of Style,* John Murray, London. p 21

[2] Bermingham, A. (1987) *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860,* Thames and Hudson, London. p 83

[3] Stewart, S. (1993) *On Longing,* Duke University Press, London. p 75

clash between the popular and intellectual Picturesque, which is evident when the topographies of the Island are examined. Barry reminds us of the issues of distance in time and culture, when interpreting observations whilst Stewart aids an understanding of terms used by the writers. Issues in interpreting these writings form the basis of the first strand of this chapter. The second strand deals with how the Island attractions and alterities were represented by eighteenth-century writers.

Mark Salber Phillips (2000) notes that "the picturesque landscape involves the viewer with a rich trove of associations and provides the theorist with a ready laboratory of aesthetic emotions."[5] This presents us with a concise summary of the ongoing debate on The Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime and its understanding through 'associations'. A deepening understanding of human reactions to experiences and stimuli was developing through the 'Pleasures of the Imagination' first identified by Addison and developed as a core concept of eighteenth-century culture. Published works by Gerard (1759), Voltaire (1759), and Hogarth (1753) on the nature and description of Beauty and its associate, Taste were helping to satisfy the intellectual interest in aesthetics that were seen as a component of these 'Pleasures of the Imagination'. Burke (1756), Knight (1794), Gilpin (from 1776), and Price (1810) were forming theories and suitable language to describe more complex emotional responses to the Picturesque, the Sublime and the Beautiful associated with the natural world. This response of aesthetic classification of the consumed natural world would form a template for Picturesque tours that would be available for members of the middling classes as well as the aristocracy.

Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* (1756) stimulated the development of language to explain a wide range of aesthetic emotions and extended the possibilities of emotional responses to landscape and situations experienced by travellers.[6] One specific element of interest to Burke was the response of *Astonishment* when linked with the contemplation of distant prospects and ultimately infinity. At our remove from the eighteenth-century some of the meaning understood by

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[4] Barry, A. (1995) In *Visual Culture* (Ed, Jenks, C.) Routledge, London. p 46
[5] Phillips, M. S. (2000) *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. p 331

Burke has been lost. A twenty-first-century understanding of *Astonishment* will concern concepts far beyond the reach of Burke; the metaphors he used have to be reinterpreted for our times. Susan Stewart offers an interpretation of Burke's feeling of *Astonishment* as being "elaborated into a profound emotion of terror, an admiration of the destructive forces of nature."[7] She further interprets Burke's distinction between the Sublime and the Beautiful; "What distinguishes the sublime from the beautiful is the former is individual and painful, while the second is social and pleasant, resting on love and its attendant emotions."[8] This interface can be seen to provide the dynamic for extreme sensations experienced by tourists to the Island in search of new experiences.

Malcolm Andrews has made pertinent points to distinguish Sublimity from Beauty in the emotions that were sought from landscape.[9] He focuses on the painterly influences; the landscapes of Claude are associated with the less rugged and inactive Picturesque and the more active and menacing Sublime is linked with the paintings of Salvator Rosa and de Loutherbourg.[10]

> Our experience of the Sublime is far greater in intensity than our experiences of Beauty. Beauty attracts and reassures: the Sublime intimidates. ... The characteristics of the Sublime ... include terrifying power, obscurity, and sharp contrasts. ... The thrill of the Sublime, this 'agreeable horror', depends on one's being able to enjoy danger at a safe distance.[11]

Andrews also notes that the Sublime can promote an "uninhibited indulgence of 'pleasing melancholy' [as] one of the most compelling motives for the Picturesque tourist to visit ruined abbeys and castles."[12] Tourists were searching for situations that that prompted emotional responses; "'Agreeable horror' and 'pleasing melancholy' are nourished by images of decay, by monstrous, broken and irregular forms, in both natural scenery and the works of man."[13] Andrews refers to this as a taste for 'Chaos'.[14]

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[6] Boulton, J. T. (Ed.) (1958) *Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
[7] Stewart, S. (1993) *On Longing,* Duke University Press, London. p 75
[8] Ibid. p 75
[9] Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Scholar Press, Aldershot. p 41-50
[10] Ibid. p 42
[11] Ibid. p 42
[12] Ibid. p 42
[13] Ibid. p 45

The Island had few significant uninhabited ruins but spectacular scenery on the Undercliff that showed the signs of 'Chaos'.[15] Several landscapes by Salvator Rossa are recorded on the Island; Sir Richard Worsley's example at Appuldurcombe was described by a visitor.

> The rude grandeur and romantic wildness of nature, is apparent in this, as well as in most of the works by this extraordinary painter. The breadth and colouring which he throws over his objects, the abruptness and wildness of his forms, together with the management of his lights, form the striking peculiarities of this Master; ... it consists of original conceptions of Nature, rather more according to the painter's Ideas, than the general and ordinary appearance of Nature herself.[16]

This unattributed manuscript in the Cope Collection at Southampton University gives clues to the common language at the time used to describe both language and paintings, allowing for exaggeration on the painter's part to make effects of wildness; the very things of which Gilpin did not approve. By his writings the author shows that he was aware of the then current intellectual aesthetic debate and was able to react in an informed way. It must be noted that not all observers would be able to respond at this level, many visitors would have less complex responses.

Locations on high points where distant views could be taken provided extreme stimulus; these were often identified as Prospect points. Andrews states "The prospect from a high place was well established as an image of political foresight and inquiry."[17] The metaphor could equally apply to the thoughts engendered by the individual when viewing from a Prospect. The Island had the great advantage of many Prospect points where infinity could be 'viewed' beyond the surrounding open sea; as these points were on the edge of high cliffs these sensations could be combined with Fear associated with the storms and rough seas regularly experienced on the south coast of the Island. This link between the sea and infinity, with the seemingly endless possibilities for stimulation of the imagination was understood by the eighteenth-century

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[14] Ibid. p 45

[15] Carisbrooke Castle was considered a ruin to be visited due to its associations with royalty however part of the complex was inhabited by the Governor. The only significant ruins were Quarr Abbey.

[16] In Notitia topographica, (1826) In *Hampshire and Isle of Wight Manuscripts*, SUL MS6/7 p 9

[17] Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Scholar Press, Aldershot. p 63

topographers and visitors and was to be a focus for travel to the area of the Island known as the Undercliff.

By 1800 knowledge and consumption of the Picturesque both in its form of a set of mysterious intellectual arguments and as one aspect of popular culture was relevant to the growth of interest in, and number of visitors to, the Island. This bi-polar nature of viewing Picturesque theory was being stimulated by Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight who were adding to the intellectual debate, and by the nature of their writings were keeping the knowledge as a mystery from the majority of the population. However Gilpin was, in the opinion of Copley, helping indirectly to popularise and democratise the Picturesque

> Even where tour and guide writers of the period acknowledge the source of their vocabulary in Gilpin himself, their discussions of the attractions of landscape are often incorporated into encyclopaedic designs in terms which themselves undermine the exclusivity of Gilpin's concern with the aesthetic.[18]

Perhaps the reason for this is the relative uncomplicated and narrow directness of thought and reaction in Gilpin's language that was solely concerned with beauty, compared to the published works of Price and Payne Knight that were extending the available range of possible emotion from observation of landscape.

The development of tours on the Island centred on a curiosity for the Picturesque in natural rather than improved landscape.[19] Recent commentators, for example Cosgrove and Daniel, quoting W. J. T. Mitchell see this as a complex process.

> The Picturesque is formed by the transformation of nature into art and thus the manipulation of flux into form, infinity into frame. Poetry, painting, gardening, architecture, and 'the art of travel' make up an art of landscape, an art of mediation and arrangement, rather than an art of astonishing and overwhelming.[20]

In this Mitchell allows for the more extreme emotions to be subsumed into a more easily consumed product. The experiences are being prepared for the

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[18] Copley, S. (1997) In *Prospects for the nation: Recent Essays in British landscape, 1750-1880* (Eds, Rosenthal, M., Payne, C. and Wilcox, S.) Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 134

[19] Improved landscape will be understood as areas that had been subject of Enclosure.

populace rather than the intellectuals; a hunting ground for the middling classes in search of a cultural experience.

The eighteenth-century idea of delight in landscape descriptions being recorded in text was not an innovation of Gilpin; an anonymous writer in 1740 wrote of the Island in poetic form, "Along her shores the eye delighted roves, ... Fair rural views ascending from the sea."[21] What Gilpin did was to provide a prose language framework suitable and specific to his limited descriptive purpose. By implication this put the potential tourist in an active rather than passive role. The tourist could become a visitor who recorded and criticised the landscape both in words and drawings according to the framework proposed by Gilpin. Gilpin informed the tourist that they could modify what they saw by using their imagination, passive acceptance was a mode of the past. The tourist became a critic and needed to be given an informed view as a model. Gilpin told us in a practical way how to use visual perception; we would no longer look at a scene and be thrilled by it, we would engage in a comparison with idealised art by painters such as Salvator Rosa and be creative in our improvements of reality. Blandness would become transformed into beauty and hence give charm. In addition the Claude glass could be used as an aid in creating sketches of the artificial landscape that Gilpin had created in the mind. This process was enhanced by the Gilpin tint, effected by use of coloured glass filters, which became a fashion. The search for the Picturesque became one of the main aims of all tourist excursions but because of its idealised nature, it was rarely found. In the pursuit of his or her goal, the tourist was advised to sketch the located Picturesque landscape in the way described by Gilpin; the sketching holiday for the middling classes had been created.

From 1776 onwards Gilpin was crucial to the specific development of Picturesque landscape theory by way of Observations he recorded on his travels in the British Isles. He made his first visit to the Scottish Highlands three years after Samuel Johnson and James Boswell. The result was very different; Gilpin spent most of his time and efforts there observing and recording the

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[20] Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (1988) *The Iconography of Landscape,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. p 7; quoting W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconography: Image, Text Ideology,* Chicago, 1986, p 2

[21] Anon In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 309.

landscape, rather than describing the local inhabitants and society favoured by Johnson and Boswell.[22] Gilpin's 'Observations of Picturesque Beauty' made during his tours were widely circulated in manuscript and were published towards the end of the century.[23] Although Bermingham and others refer to Gilpin's 'Observations' as 'guide books' this is to raise them in status, he only offered advice to potential travellers on how to look for beauty in landscape. This would have significance for visitors to the Island.[24] Gilpin in his *Three Essays* (1794) was supporting domestic travel and providing it with a lucid purpose.[25] His advice to the traveller was clear, "Let us then ... amuse ourselves with searching after effects. This is the general intention of picturesque travel."[26] Gilpin, as a Church of England priest, held nature to be the work of God, "Nature is but a name for an effect, whose cause is God."[27] His advice continued,

> If however an admirer of nature can turn his amusements to a higher purpose; if its great scenes can inspire him with religious awe; or its tranquil scenes with that complacency of mind, which is so nearly applied to benevolence, it is certainly the better.[28]

This very direct and moral background to Gilpin's writings helps us to understand why he disliked the intrusion of man in the landscape.

> But altho [sic] the picturesque traveller is seldom disappointed with *pure nature*, however rude, yet we cannot deny, but he is often offended with the productions of art. He is disgusted with the formal separation of property – with houses, and towns, with the haunts of men, which have much oftener a bad effect on landscape, than a good one.[29]

In his introduction to the published *Three Essays,* he attempts to soften and balance these views for,

> Even artificial objects we admire, whether in a grand, or in a humble stile, [sic] tho unconnected with picturesque beauty – the palace, and the cottage – the improved garden scene, and the neat homestall. Works of tillage also afford us equal delight – the plough, the mower, the reaper, the hay-field, and the harvest-wane. In a word, we reverence, and

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[22] Gilpin, W. (1789a) *Observations Relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; Particularly the High-Lands of Scotland*, London.
[23] Gilpin's *Tour* was not widely available until its publication in1789.
[24] It is significant that many later commentators on Gilpin refer to his 'Guide Books', this is not strictly true as he only proposed his 'Observations'.
[25] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London.
[26] Ibid. p 41, Essay on Picturesque Travel.
[27] Ibid. p 47
[28] Ibid. p 47
[29] Ibid. p 57

> admire the works of God; and look with benevolence, and pleasure, on the works of men.[30]

It was Gilpin's balanced, perhaps even pragmatic view, that would be reflected in the works of later topographers. These later topographies included an increasing scientific input to the explanation of the role of nature in the creation of the landscape. This contributed to the transformation of picturesque theory into a populist mode from the elitist nature of its origins.

The importance and influence of Gilpin's published works needs to be examined specifically in the context of viewing the Island. From 1777 Gilpin had observed the Island daily when he retired from the Headship of Cheam School and took up the living of Boldre in the New Forest.[31] Writing in 1997 Copley observed what he saw as a problem with Gilpin's landscape descriptions

> By the time of the popular dissemination of Gilpin's tours in the 1780s and 1790s, they inevitably describe historical landscapes – a fact which, together with Gilpin's declared lack of interest in providing empirically accurate accounts of those landscapes, cause considerable problems for late-eighteenth-century readers intent on taking his tours as guides to the region they intend to visit.[32]

Was this true for the Island? The Island landscape was devoted to agriculture, with only a few significant areas of parkland associated with large houses, Appuldurcombe belonging to the Worsley family being the prime example. The Island had largely escaped land enclosures; the only small areas of land enclosed by Acts of Parliament were in the Parkhurst Forest. The landscape of the Island offered a less changing view than the mainland but was largely under cultivation, and does not fit the generalised trends noted by many writers. However Gilpin had problems with the landscape as it showed the influence of man everywhere, that is by its intensive (for the period) farming activity. He noted that "... the Island is so fertile ... it is supposed to produce seven or eight times more grain than its inhabitants consume."[33]

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[30] Ibid. p ii

[31] He became Vicar of Boldre and Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral.

[32] Copley, S. (1997) In *Prospects for the nation: Recent Essays in British landscape, 1750-1880* (Eds, Rosenthal, M., Payne, C. and Wilcox, S.) Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 135

[33] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 303

He had recorded many of his walking and sketching excursions in Britain since his 1768 tour of Kent.[34] His 'Observations' relating to 'Picturesque Beauty' in landscape resulting from these tours were circulated in manuscript and remained in the knowledge of an elite until his first book of 'Observations' was published in 1782.[35] It is two of his later published accounts that included sections devoted to the Isle of Wight that will now be considered. The first of these appeared in 1798.[36] The title here is significant as it concerns the West of England and adds 'a few remarks on the Isle of Wight', almost an afterthought. Unusual for Gilpin, its content is as much concerned with houses and their owners on the Island as with Gilpin's 'picturesque observations' of the landscape. This work appears to have acted as a model for later visitors to the Island undertaking and recording 'topographical' tours. We do not know when he gathered material for this first tour, published in 1798, but it was prior to 1794 when the second tour was undertaken. The record of the second Island tour was published posthumously in 1804.[37] The content of the second tour is specific to 'coastal scenery' and the 'picturesque beauty' of the Island. When both tours are considered together they show that Gilpin was moving towards the possibility of extreme 'Grandeur' in landscape becoming 'Awful and Sublime.' He seems to be able to ignore the intrusion, as he saw it, of man using the landscape for agricultural production.

In addition to the topographers writing about the Island a Winchester publication is of significance to the narrative. The first volume of the *Hampshire Repository*, published in 1799 by Robbins of Winchester, was intended to promote accurate and favourable information about the county in contrast to the writings of metropolitan based authors. Although the Island had a Governor it was included as an integral part of Hampshire in the *Repository* and was understood by local people as a natural part of the County of Hampshire.[38] Portsmouth was the centre of naval defence for this section of the coast, and

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[34] Barbier, C. P. (1963) *William Gilpin: His Drawings, Teaching and Theory of the Picturesque,* Oxford University Press, Oxford. page 44

[35] Barbier records that the manuscripts 'Tour' of the Lakes was seen by the King and Prince of Wales. Ibid. page 59

[36] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London.

[37] Gilpin, W. (1804) *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the summer of 1794,* Private Posthumous Publication, London.

[38] The relational conflict of identity continues to exist.

the security of the Island was a crucial part of this during the years of war with France. The encouragement of tourism to what was, in effect, a first line defence position is curious. Robbins' intention was to publish, at regular intervals, collections of information and essays supporting the delights and reinforcing details of the County; however only two editions were ever published, the second appearing in 1801. Most of the contributors to the *Repository* remained anonymous, but were informed from a national viewpoint rather than being purely provincial in outlook. The *Repository* presented the Island as a picturesque location and did not like the way Gilpin had failed to find any beauty in the Island landscape in his 1798 *Observations.* A reply to Gilpin's less than favourable remarks of 1798 on the Island appeared as an Appendix to the first *Repository.*

Gilpin was not the first writer in the eighteenth-century to comment on the 'beauties' of the Island; a poem appeared in the early years of the *Gentleman's Magazine* praising the pre-picturesque charms of the Island scenery and inhabitants.[39] John Wilkes, a regular contributor to the *Magazine*, from mid-century spent his summer months on the Island as a retreat from London. Later, when he retired from public life he became a resident in a rented cottage. However, Gilpin was the first and only significant picturesque theorist to visit the Island and record his observations in print of the 'picturesque beauties' of the Island scenery. Gilpin, from his home at Vicar's Hill, near Lymington on the mainland, had daily glimpses of the Island and as a result, was familiar with the north-west coastline as viewed, an area he observed as having picturesque qualities; "...the coasts of this island, perhaps especially its northern parts, are equal to any other in that species of grandeur which is most suited to picturesque use."[40] His travels in the New Forest observing the trees as components of landscape, would have given him further views of this part of the Island, including the standing chalk stacks called the Needles.[41]

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[39] Anon, *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Vol. X, pp. 309.
[40] Gilpin, W. (1804) *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the summer of 1794,* Private Posthumous Publication, London. p 5
[41] Gilpin, W. (1808) *Remarks on Forest Scenery and other Woodland Views, chiefly related to Picturesque Beauty, Illustrated by The Scenes of New Forest in Hampshire,* Cadell & Davies, London.

In his 1798 Observations he describes the shape of the Island as a lozenge, and identifies the E-W central high ground ridge as "rather mountainous, but of the smooth downy kind, fit for the pasturage of sheep"[42] and notes that the coast of Hampshire in the north, and the English Channel and open sea in the south can be seen from this central point. He identified the Needles Point as an area "broken and precipitous"[43] without commenting on its quality as a component of landscape, and described the "*back of the Island* [sic] as an area washed by the tides of the ocean [and] worn bare to the naked rock, ... in most places bounded against the sea by steep cliffs."[44] Tumbled down fragments of rocks, hidden at high water made this area of coastline "more dangerous to vessels ungoverned, and driving in the storm."[45] He makes no specific comment on the picturesque qualities of this area but advises us that "the rocky shores ... can be seen no where properly, but from the sea."[46] He does not tell us if he made this journey and observed the coast, but later writers and visitors would praise the quality of the coast of the Island when viewed from the sea.[47]

He visited the nearby Shanklin Chine and described it as, "a vast chasm winding between two high promontories" for more than a mile, and opening to the sea "upon a bed of pebbles".[48] The fishermen's huts half way up and the upturned boats made it

> in general a picturesque scene; but it has not the beauty of the dells of mountain country, where the wood is commonly finer and the rocks more adorned and more majestic; and where a stream pouring over ledges of rock, or falling down a cascade adds the melody of sound to the beauty of the scene.[49]

In the *Repository* response Gilpin is accused of undue 'severity' in his comments.[50] Whilst agreeing with his eloquent and well-ordered argument, the anonymous contributor to the *Repository* noted that

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[42] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 302
[43] Ibid. p 302
[44] Ibid. p 302
[45] Ibid. p 303
[46] Ibid. p 305
[47] Later writers would develop and refine aspects of sublimity of the action of the sea and coastline features.
[48] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 306
[49] Ibid. p 306
[50] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London.

> He [Gilpin] seems to have expected what are rarely found, compleat [sic] natural pictures. Nature in general gives only the materials, which it is the appropriate province of art to combine. Under the restrictions deducible from this remark, we think the Isle of Wight picturesque.'

This may sound like local prejudice (although the writer claims this not to be the case), and he casts doubt on Gilpin's method of assessing 'picturesque' qualities. Gilpin's method compares and contrasts scenes from different locations rather than looking for examples of picturesque beauty in their own right. It was not common knowledge at the time that the Island has varieties of rock strata all of which are relatively soft: Englefield's papers to the *Linnaean Society* were not published in their *Transactions* until 1800.[51] Comparison between hard rock scenery found in Wales and the North of England and the soft rock scenery of the Island was part of Gilpin's process, but he did not understand the less angular and more rounded smaller scale structures of soft rock scenery. To Gilpin, size and scale of landscape seem to have been as important as variety. The small scale of the Island rather than the variety of landscape types was the real issue here. The fact that the Island contains an extremely varied landscape in a small area was not acknowledged by Gilpin but understood by the local observer and relished by visitors. The *Hampshire Repository* reply shows that the writer was aware of Richard Payne Knight's *Landscape* (1794), and other developments in landscape description but none is directly quoted. The *Repository* was aiming for a wider readership amongst the middling classes in the county, representing the populist rather than the intellectual application of Picturesque theory.

A report of the Landslip of 1799 on the *Undercliff* in Volume II of the *Repository* (1801) supports the pursuit of the claims of Sublimity for this area of the Island.[52] Here was a natural cataclysmic occurrence, the results of which could be observed and noted in words and sketches. The account in the *Repository* was a letter by Revd. Barwis, Vicar of Niton, the parish in which the landslip occurred. Barwis did not understand the mechanics of the earth and rock movement but accurately described the sounds and results and noted that the

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[51] They were published more fully in Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London.

[52] This is reproduced in Appendix 3

event occurred after a time of intense frosts in February. The fact that rocks had fallen towards the sea, streams had been diverted and cottages had disappeared from view into chasms in the ground was sensational. These details were used as supportive evidence for the claim of Sublimity, Astonishment and Fear for the landscape of the *Undercliff*.

Contemporary visitors such as Mrs Ann Radcliffe described the area in 'Gothick' terms and helped further to develop the populist ideas of the 'sublimity' of the landscape in this part of the Island.[53] She describes the Undercliff as "a tract of shore formed by fallen cliffs, and closely barricaded by a wall of vast height."[54] On entering it about a mile from Kniton (sic) they "found [themselves] in such a scene of ruin as we never saw before."[55] They had to lead their horses along the track for the whole journey of 5 miles from Kniton to the Inn at Steephill; the scene was described as "a Druid scene of wildness and ruin."[56] Radcliffe did not describe the physical scenery but instead described the atmosphere and emotional effect of the scenery on her imagination; a pleasure of the imagination.

> The road is, for the most part, close to the wall of rock, which seems to lie in loose horizontal strata, with frequent perpendicular fissures, which threaten the traveller with destruction as he passes sometimes beneath enormous masses, that lean forward. This is the boundary on one side of the road; on the other side, is an extremely irregular and rugged descent of half a mile towards the sea: on this side, there are, sometimes what may be called amphitheatres of rock, where all the area is filled with ruin, which are, however, frequently covered with verdure and underwood, that stretches up the sides, with the wildest pomp.[57]

Here she is expressing fear for safety as she passes beneath rocks that threaten to tumble down; "the passion caused by the great and sublime in nature, ... that state of soul, in which all its motions [are] suspended with some degree of horror."[58] Sublime emotions are triggered at a lower threshold by Radcliffe than by the formulators of the Theory. Reference to her work as a novelist point to her response to the sublime being triggered for popular literary

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[53] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London.
[54] Ibid. p51
[55] Ibid. p51
[56] Ibid. p51
[57] Ibid. p51
[58] Boulton, J. T. (Ed.) (1958) *Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. p 57

effect.[59] To Gilpin, who used sublime on occasions there appears to have been no agreement with Burke, or perhaps a lack of understanding of his ideas, possibly the value of this type of responses was beyond Gilpin's scope as a priest of the Church of England. However 'sublime' was soon recognised in populist terms as a descriptor of the landscape of the *Undercliff.* The work of Gilpin and the *Hampshire Repository* had publicised the landscape possibilities of the Island to good effect coupled with the use of picturesque and sublime in the popular novels of Radcliffe. The manner in which Gilpin went about looking at the Island did not go uncriticized. His technique was normally to view the Island's topography from a centrally located vantage point on high ground. This caused the correspondent to remark that Gilpin's method of observation was "in almost all cases fatal to the picturesque ... it converts landscape into a map."[60] This open challenge to Gilpin was accompanied by an offer

> Were we ever happy enough to reconnoitre this ground in company with Mr Gilpin we should not despair of pointing out much of Poussin's magnificence. And one or two rud [sic] thickets, though unaccompanied by rock, distantly shadow out the shaggy luxuriance of Salvator's more woodland scenery.[61]

That said the correspondent also pointed out perceived inaccuracies in distances, directions and locations given by Gilpin despite his emphasis on the importance of the picturesque system of viewing.

Gilpin's second Island Observations, resulted from a tour undertaken in 1794 but published posthumously in 1804 and were not available when the *Repository* was being published. This expands and develops the importance of the sea to the picturesque beauty of the landscape.

> The value of water in landscape arises both from its own beauty and its use in composition. Its respeldency [sic] – its lights and shadows – its reflections – and the variety of its surface, when calm, ruffled, or agitated are all circumstances of innate beauty. It accommodates to many states of flux – rough smooth etc.[62]

The small size of the Island meant that few places had no view of the sea and as the centre of the Island was high ground there were sites where the sea

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[59] Radcliffe, A. (1794) *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Oxford 1998 reprint, Chapter 1 p 1-43
[60] Robbins (1799) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 141
[61] Ibid. p 141
[62] Gilpin, W. (1804) *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the summer of 1794,* Private Posthumous Publication, London. p 1

could be viewed on all sides.[63] Gilpin notes this in the grounds of Appuldurcombe, "Views of the sea, and various parts of the island are judiciously opened from all the higher grounds above the house."[64] He describes the coast of Hampshire, including the Island and acknowledges the works of man as part of the scene.

> In coast scenery ... the ideas of grandeur rise very high. Winding bays – views of the ocean – promontories – rocks of every kind and from estuaries – mouths of rivers – islands – shooting peninsulas – extensive sandbanks; all these adorned occasionally with cattle – lighthouses - distant towns –towers - harbours and all the furniture of navigation ... which belong to the sea-coasts, form a rich collection of grandest picturesque material.'[65]

In his description of the sea he finds language that has none of the dryness of his description of the land of earlier tours.

> When it comes to the sea it sometimes covers half a hemisphere with molten glass; or it rolls about in awful swells: and when it approaches the shore it breaks gently into curling waves, or dashes itself into foam against opposing promontories.[66]

Gilpin acknowledges that the coast of the *Undercliff*, on the south east of the Island, displayed these features in abundance and acknowledged that it was notorious for its danger to shipping; Wrecking was noted as a well established local activity.[67]

Gilpin's view of the possibilities of water as a component of landscape were developed by later topographers and artists who incorporated Burke's ideas of *Sublimity;* Gilpin simply states that 'Water is one of the grand accompaniments of Landscape.'[68] *Sublimity* was possibly seen by Gilpin as just another form of grandeur; the ocean could have grandeur in stillness as well as in

> ... immense masses of water, rising in some parts to awful an height, and sinking in others into dark abysses; rolling vast volumes clashing

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[63] St Catherine's Oratory or Tower, a significant viewpoint is considered in chapter 3.
[64] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 312
[65] Gilpin, W. (1804) *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the summer of 1794,* Private Posthumous Publication, London. p 3
[66] Ibid. p 2
[67] In his first account he had noted 'No part of the British Coast is more dangerous to vessels ungoverned and driving in the storm.' Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 303
[68] Gilpin, W. (1804) *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the summer of 1794,* Private Posthumous Publication, London. p 2

> with each other; then breaking and flashing light in every direction. All this is among the grandest that water presents.[69]

He did not find this south coast of the Island to have more significantly beautiful qualities than any other coastal part of Britain but concludes

> On the whole, therefore, the coasts of this Island perhaps, especially its northern parts, are equal to any other in that species of grandeur which is most suited to picturesque use.[70]

One significant advance in his recommendations for tourists was made after this tour, he advocated viewing the entire coast of the Island from the sea. This became a recommendation of later topographers and tours round the coast of the Island were recorded by diarists. This was an advance on his first tour where he had viewed the landscape from higher ground only and suggested viewing a small part of coastline, the *Undercliff* from the sea; a criticism picked up by the *Hampshire Repository* before his second tour was published. The *Repository* challenged Gilpin to be specific in his criticisms that the Island failed to display much *picturesque beauty,* the correspondent believed the opposite to be true.

> While his charge against the island as unpicturesque is enforced with great energy and supported by an interesting detail of reason ... he appeared to have viewed the Island in a summary way.[71]

Gilpin's *Observations* were based on a three-day visit.[72] This visit was seen as being too short to accurately assess the landscape qualities; the hope was that he would return for a longer tour.[73]

It is clear that the *Repository* was aiming to show the Island in as favourable light as possible as a place of *picturesque beauty.* It is curious that the reply to Gilpin's *Observations* made no mention of his harsh views on Island Cottages and their place in the landscape. Many paintings seen as showing popular picturesque rural scenes had cottage life as subjects, notably those of George

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[69] Ibid. p 4-5
[70] Ibid. p 5
[71] Robbins (1799) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 141
[72] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 301
[73] The writer was clearly unaware that Gilpin had made a second visit and noted the value of the sea in relation to landscape beauty; these *Observations,* already mentioned, would not be published until 1804.

Morland.[74] Gilpin was not impressed with the cottages as an accompaniment to the natural landscape. He wrote,

> ... we could not say much for what is called the *cottage* (sic). It is covered indeed with thatch; but that makes it no more a cottage, than ruffles would make a clown a gentleman. ... We everywhere see the appendages of junket and good living. Who would expect to find a fountain bubbling up under the window of a *cottage* into an elegant carved shell to cool wine?[75]

He saw these Island cottages as disturbing to the senses which should observe either grandeur or simplicity in country living, not a mixture of both. 'Pleasing ideas, no doubt, may be executed under the form of a cottage; but to make them pleasing they should be harmonious,'by which he implies 'nature'.[76] He observed 'artificial cottages', cottages inhabited by people from the metropolis as retreats, not the peasant hovels he expected to find in such isolated areas. This level of sophistication in cottage life was alien to him but an increasing feature of consumption of the Island and a welcome source of revenue to indigenous Island communities. The new residents making the move from the mainland were looking for the simple rustic way of life portrayed in paintings. They were encouraged to see the Islanders as no different from themselves; "The inhabitants of the the Island are without any peculiarities to distinguish them from their neighbours on the coast of Hampshire."[77] Another commentator recorded this view

> To the feeling of the benevolent mind, the situation of the third division of the inhabitants present a delightful picture. The cottages have neat, comfortable, cleanly dwellings, to each of which a little garden is attached; and while the general appearance of content and decency does away the impression of Poverty and misery, it must be confessed that the manners of lower ranks are civil and inoffensive, and more free from vice than most persons in the same sphere of life in other districts.[78]

The picture created of a benevolent rural society where the lower orders were not challenging would appeal to persons from the metropolis who were living in an urban society that was constantly changing and coming to terms with extremes of wealth and poverty. The Island offered a place of assumed social

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[74] Morland was a resident of the Island at this time.
[75] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 308-9
[76] Ibid. p 309
[77] Bullar, J. (1818) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* Baker, Southampton. p 15
[78] anon (1824) *A Guide to all the Watering and Seabathing Places,* Longman Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, London. p 136

stability, a rural alterity in contrast to the metropolis. The fact that many other commentators record the lack of rural poverty on the Island supports this as a true picture of rural life; however there was provision and need for poor relief in the towns of the Island.

These reports of a rural Utopia, are supported by a Parochial Report of Niton that was published in Volume II of *The Hampshire Repository*.[79] Why this particular village was chosen is unclear but it was considered remote from the rest of the Island, being on the Undercliff. The social structure of the 52 families in Niton is noted in detail but only the 'labouring cottagers' will be discussed here. This group either rented their cottages from farmers for "the labour of the harvest month or were paid 8 or 9 shillings per week."[80] Almost constant employment was reported with "very few instances of extreme pinching poverty to be met with."[81] The following reads like a description of a Morland painting. Each cottage has a garden, some an orchard

> The apples of which are made into cider for home consumption. Potatoes and other vegetables, which they cultivate, enable every cottager to keep a pig. The pork of this pig and bread, and sometimes the latter only, constitute their food. Milk or beer, except at the farm or ale house, they never taste. The usual beverage, in which men, women and children indulge, is coarse low-priced tea, often without sugar and always without milk.[82]

This diet would have been unusual in a town and would have appeared laudable to an early nineteenth century reader. The seclusion and almost self sufficiency of the village led to a "very peculiar character" of the inhabitants;

> their rough unpolished manners, and language, in some degree (they still retain several corrupted French words) long preserved a striking resemblance of their Norman progenitors. Yet this want of polish seems to have been compensated by an honest simplicity. Often offensively rude and unaccommodating to strangers, to each other they were kind and hospitable in a highly meritorious degree.[83]

There was no road to Newport, the main town of the Island, shops were unknown and "the only arbiter of dress and ornament was the travelling pedlar."[84] The report ends with this observation

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[79] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. pp 225-236
[80] Ibid. p 230
[81] Ibid. p 232
[82] Ibid. p 232
[83] Ibid. p 232
[84] Ibid. p 234

> Such were the Crab-Nitoners (so called probably from the quality of sea crabs taken on their coast, or perhaps from the uncivilized manners towards all who were not of their own village,) of times more antient.[85]

Niton was a popular destination for visitors possibly to view the inhabitants as much as the sublime landscape. Andrews' comments support this, "The Picturesque eye is habitually drawn to the humble, uncultivated parts of nature and human society; and that becomes the tourist's goal."[86] It was not just the mental picture of the rural landscape but the recognition of a reflected image of a past and perceived better society that drew people to the Island in general and isolated locations such as Niton in particular. Andrews' comments on the writings of Price and his followers in the 1790s are apt here; they

> want to turn the clock back, to rediscover landscapes where there are not only no traces of contemporary industrialization, land enclosure and estate improvement, but where the georgic idyll in all its forms is lost and where the terrifying 'levelling' influences from across the Channel can never come.[87]

Here alterity could be appreciated; there being just enough difference to home to be significant but still at home in a political sense.

If Gilpin understood the process of 'gentrification' of the landscape, he did not admit it. Landscape beauty for him, had to be with few or preferably no human components. He wrote, 'it may be easier to introduce the elegance of art, than to catch the pure simplicity of nature.'[88] The problem as he saw it here was the influence of man, which had not been kept in its place in the order of things. He summed up his views on the Island at the end of his 1798 account

> *Picturesque Beauty* [sic] is a phrase but little understood. We precisely mean by it that kind of beauty which would look well in a picture. Neither grounds laid out by art, nor improved by agriculture, are of this kind. Yet these *manufactured* [sic] scenes are commonly thought to be picturesque.

The classical picturesque of Rosa and Poussin was being supplanted by the popular picturesque scenes of Morland, who included everyday objects, rustic cottages with their inhabitants, both human and animal, in his canvasses. The

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[85] Ibid. p 234
[86] Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Scholar Press, Aldershot. p 64
[87] Ibid. p 66
[88] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 311

systems of viewing the Island were changing. Gilpin, who represented the past, sums up his attitude to this popular art,

> When the painter thus prefers the carthorse, the cow, or the ass to objects *more beautiful in themselves*, he does not certainly recommend his art to those, whose love of beauty makes them anxiously seek, by what means its fleeting forms may be fixed.[89]

But times were changing. Gilpin needs to be put in his rightful place in the development of aesthetics and viewing practices

> Any such reassessment must involve consideration of the relation between Gilpin's definition of the picturesque and other established usages of the term in the late eighteenth-century. Gilpin's aesthetic pronouncements are derived from one particular activity, domestic tourism, with its associated amateur pursuits of viewing scenery, sketching, and keeping journals; and the picturesque program which he develops in his *Observations* on various parts of Britain and formalizes in his essays is firmly rooted in the patterns of tourism and in the viewing practices of the period in which his tours were undertaken, in the 1770s.[90]

However one aspect of the more accessible picturesque was available on the Island, the rural rustic was not disappearing.

> The picturesque landscape, as popularised in guidebooks, and the practice of painting and sketching out of doors represented a 'democratic' landscape. ... The picturesque, by restricting itself to the humble English rural scenery, represented a landscape both familiar and accessible. It could be widely *consumed,* and with more enthusiasm in that the landscape it celebrated was beginning to vanish.[91]

Bermingham has proposed a binary view of the systems of viewing, a divergence of interest into high and popular Picturesque. An intellectual elite group of visitors would be searching for a refined and detailed response to landscape influenced by the writings of Payne Knight and Price, these would be from upper class metropolitan society; others, mainly from the 'middling classes', would be in search of a less intellectual experience, the identification of a type of popular picturesque rustic life. Island hotels frequently started life as rustic cottages with lodgings that were very basic. Some of the upper classes lived in retreats that were poorly converted rustic cottages. The Island

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[89] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London. p 15

[90] Copley, S. (1997) In *Prospects for the nation: Recent Essays in British landscape, 1750-1880* (Eds, Rosenthal, M., Payne, C. and Wilcox, S.) Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 133

did not exhibit a class distinction in the accommodation used by visitors and seasonal residents.

How was domestic Picturesque travel promoted and how did the Island become a popular focus for such travel by the middling classes? At the turn of the eighteenth-century Robert Southey summed up the phenomenon

> Within the last thirty years a taste for the picturesque has sprung up; - and a course of summer travelling is now looked upon to be ... essential. ... One of the flocks of fashion migrates to the sea-coast, ... to study the picturesque, a new science for which a new language has been formed.[92]

The notion of hunting or pursuing the Picturesque has been noted by many commentators, and many visitors to the Island fit this classification. The Island offered scope for additional activities, notably sailing. The Georgian upper class continued their tradition; moving between town and country, resort and spa, according to season.[93] With the establishment of the Royal Yacht Squadron and its Royal patronage members of this class frequented the Island as part of this tradition. These movements were not holidays, although elements of Picturesque travel were sometimes present. By 1800 the styles of travel for pleasure by the middling classes had become established, firstly the tour centred on the country houses often set in natural and sometimes 'landscaped' grounds, with their collections of paintings and curios resulting from Grand Tours. The second style was the Picturesque tour, often linked with the seaside and bathing; the Island was a location where both styles could be enjoyed. The country house and park visits replaced the Grand Tour by offering a selection of proxy Grand Tour experiences without the discomfort and danger involved with foreign travel. Arnold notes, "Tourists of whatever era are sightseers in search of experience. But they remain outsiders and their experience of foreign cultures is both transitory and superficial."[94] Collections in country houses provided a pre-formed selection of stimuli without the danger and thrill of discovery of foreign travel. The Island offered an experience one stage beyond home due to the need to cross a stretch of water. Details of the crossing will be

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[91] Bermingham, A. (1987) *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860,* Thames and Hudson, London. p 85
[92] Robert Southey quoted by Andrews in Andrews, M. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London. p 3
[93] Arnold, D. (1998) *The Georgian Country House,* Alan Sutton, Stroud. p 101
[94] Ibid. p 105

discussed later: it was however a real and potentially dangerous activity that would raise Burkean emotions. The new 'middling' class consumers of travel were making wealth from trade and had aspirations for cultural experiences previously seen as an exclusive right of the upper class.[95] They had money and time at their disposal, but not necessarily enough to undertake a foreign tour; their aspirations could be satisfied by travel within the British Isles and the sight of evidence of the *Grand Tour* from collections of paintings and curios that were held in country houses; Sir Richard Worsley's Appuldurcombe with his collection of Grand Tour art works was open to visitors who could produce a 'card'. The rise of pictures and prints of 'rustic landscapes', often described as 'picturesque', by artists such as George Morland, were helping to encourage travel to view places he recorded. There was also a growing sense of patriotism associated with domestic travel; In 1765 Oliver Goldsmith praised domestic travel;

> Nor less the patriot's boast, where'er we roam.
> His first best country ever is at home.[96]

Three years later, Laurence Sterne cast doubts on the value of foreign travel[97]

> I am of the opinion, That a man would act as wisely, if he could prevail upon himself to live contented without foreign knowledge or foreign improvements, especially if he lives in a country that has no absolute want of either.[98]

British travel was further supported by the work of satirists. By 1809 Picturesque travel was frequent and popular enough to be satirized in print and text by Thomas Rowlandson and William Coombe.[99] Their creation, Dr Syntax, a pedantic cleric, based on Gilpin, was a great public success. Syntax, on his imagined travels in pursuit of the picturesque, did not follow the many visitors to the Island. However Rowlandson visited the Island; Sir William Cope's Scrap Book contains two illustrations by Rowlandson, Plates 1 & 2, showing the scenes at Lymington and Cowes Harbour for the crossing and part of a

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[95] Some people travelled both at home and abroad.
[96] Goldsmith, O. (1970) *The Traveller (1765) and The Deserted Village (1770) with A Prospect of Society (1764),* The Scholar Press, Menston, Yorks. p 2
[97] Sterne knew the Island well having spent his childhood there.
[98] Jack, I. (Ed.) (1991) *Laurence Sterne. A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr Yorick with The Journal to Eliza and A Political Romance,* Oxford University Press, Oxford. page 12
[99] The first prints and verse were published by Ackerman in 1809 and continued until Rowlandson's death in 1827. Numerous reprints have followed.

description of his travels.[100] How had people heard about the specific attributes of the Island in the early period? Word of mouth and social contact in the metropolis was very important. Potential visitors to the Island gained knowledge from contact with Islanders resident in the metropolis, Sir Richard Worsley of Appuldurcombe being the most important of these. They could read articles and reports which were published, for example, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for which John Wilkes, an Island visitor and later resident, wrote articles. A article in *England Illustrated* (1764) gives a description of the landscape delights and plentiful produce of the Island: "The air of this Island is pleasant and healthy, and the inhabitants in general are stout and vigorous, and live to a great age."[101] Later Bullar praised the merits of the Island

> The face of the country is beautifully diversified and the soil highly productive. The water is in general very good, and where it issues from under the chalky hills, is so pure that it has been carried to the West Indies, and brought back to England again perfectly sweet.[102]

The antique nature of the landscape is further reinforced by the lack of predators on the Island. "Game is plentiful ... for neither fox, badger, nor polecat, was ever known to be in the district."[103] Potential visitors could read Gilpin's advice to travellers and visit the Island to search "after effects."[104] His view of travel was serious;

> As many travel without any end at all, amusing themselves without being able to give a reason why they are amused, we offer an end, which may possibly engage some vacant minds; and may indeed afford some rational amusement to such as travel for more important purposes.[105]

The Island presented a great variety of landscape in a small area, the grand and Sublime, the high cliff with views of the ocean and infinity, with all that was implied in those descriptors, as well as the gentle wooded slopes in the vicinity of Yarmouth that were identified by Gilpin as being truly Picturesque.

From being a visitor to the Island to becoming a resident was a possibility for those that had the financial resources or possibly a good reason to escape from

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[100] In *Cope, Rare Books Folio. 06.5,* Southampton University.
[101] (1764) *England Illustrated,* R & J Dodsley, London. p 285
[102] Bullar, J. (1818) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* Baker, Southampton. p 8
[103] Ibid. p 14
[104] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London. p 41
[105] Ibid. p 41

life in the metropolis. As has already been noted the Island contained a society that was isolated and had not developed as rapidly as that of the mainland. There had been only one land Enclosure, namely part of Parkhurst Forest; the Island landscape was open and could be walked by anyone except a very few areas. Here was a surviving pre-industrial landscape, celebrated by Goldsmith in the 1770s, that had largely vanished from England. He was being nostalgic when he wrote

> Sweet Auburn, Loveliest village of the plain.
> Where health and plenty cheared the labouring swain,
> Where smiling spring its earliest visit paid,
> And parting Summer's lingering blooms delayed.
>
> Where humble happiness endeared each scene;
> How often have I paused on every charm,
> The sheltered cot, the cultivated farm,
> The never failing brook, the busy mill,
> The decent church that topt the neighbouring hill[106]

Elements of Goldsmith's remembrance of a village could be found on the Island and reflected a widespread desire for a return to past social remembrances. The alterity offered by the Island, the juxtaposition of a surviving 'antique' rural landscape and social order with areas of untouched wildness in close proximity to the sea where the possibilities of Picturesque and Sublime emotions could be aroused was a potent mix to which was added the ability to experience more extreme Burkean emotions, for example Astonishment and Fear together with Nostalgia for the society of the inhabitants. These experiences answer "a basic human need: it familiarizes the unknown and introduces a sense of order in a disorientating situation."[107] The Island then was unusual in as much as the landscape was open and accessible at a time when this was not the norm on the mainland.

How did the visitor understand what he/she observed, what points of reference were there to provide a base knowledge? There can be no single answer to this. Was the environmental 'system' of the mainland different from that of the Island? The visitor to the Island would arrive with their individual framework for viewing the two basic elements of the Island, the landscape and social

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[106] Goldsmith, O. (1970) *The Traveller (1765) and The Deserted Village (1770) with A Prospect of Society (1764),* The Scholar Press, Menston, Yorks. The Deserted Village, pp 1-2

environments. The latter will be seen to involve nostalgia or remembered past. The differing hierarchies of viewing the landscape were the individual reflection of the visitors according to their acquired memories and education. The Popular Picturesque as recorded by the topographers grew from, and was fuelled by, an understanding of the requirements of these visitors who flocked to the Island as cultural consumers. Bermingham has proposed that "The popular picturesque provided a context in which the experience of uniqueness and individuality co-existed with an experience of conventionality and conformity."[108] Visitors had an experience on the Island that was different from the metropolis. This alterity (otherness) was not so marked as to have little in common with life at home, but rather had a common language base, with some social and cultural differences that were seen to be outdated or outmoded: the culture was English and essentially the same, but the context or situation of living was different. Although the Island inhabitants had a strong dialect, the language was English and presented no problems to understanding. The experience of the visitor was of leaving home (England), and by crossing the sea, of going abroad. However the paradox was that they were to all intents and purposes at home with just a small cultural jump to the past; that is to an Island rural alterity. Andrews notes "Public taste increasingly draws away from a sophisticated metropolitan, classical culture towards an interest in the humbler, more remote, native ways of life."[109] There are present "familiar themes of eighteenth-century literature – the vanity of human wishes, the Horatian retreat from court and city, the simplicities of pastoral."[110] He adds that at this late stage of development the Picturesque developed an "almost exclusive emphasis on visual appreciation entailed a suppression of the spectator's moral response to those very subjects which it could least hope to divest of moral significance – the ruin, the hovel and rural poverty."[111] Goldsmith celebrates this rusticity of man within a live Picturesque setting; a painting by Claude perhaps?

> As in those domes, where Caesars once bore sway,
> Defac'd by time and tottering in decay,
> Amidst the ruin, heedless of the dead,

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[107] Andrews, M. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London. p 8
[108] Bermingham, A. (1987) *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860,* Thames and Hudson, London. p 84
[109] Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Scholar Press, Aldershot. p 59
[110] Ibid. p 60
[111] Ibid. p 59

> The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed,
> And, wond'ring man could want the larger pile,
> Exults, and owns his cottage with a smile.[112]

Goldsmith's first title for this poem was *A prospect of Society.* The pictorial metaphors were used in support of a return to a 'simple' agricultural society rather than praising the intellectual 'Picturesque' movement, which was an aesthetic preoccupation of Price who was concerned with the "conversion of beautiful form into Picturesque form."[113] The populist application of this intellectual movement was to promote the experience of rural life, in the case of this study, life on the Island.

We can view the Island as an object of antiquity that was a surviving relic from our agricultural past, a pre-industrial location where 'rusticity' was the mode of existence. Klein identifies 'rusticity' as a term that can be juxtaposed with 'politeness' and says that 'rusticity can be used to facilitate "cultural discriminations on the metropolitan-provincial axis."[114] This is certainly a fair comment when applied to the Island in this instance where significant members of metropolitan society came to be residents. However residents came from other areas of the country for other reasons, improved health being a prime reason. The attraction besides the landscape and climate was to be found in a society that was untouched by the extent of industrialisation of the mainland; the Island was a perceived capsule of the past.

This suppression of time and by implication progress when applied to the Island made it a realisation of a past agricultural society that was surviving and prospering. Here we are not dealing with an antique object that has been removed from its location, but rather an antique location with a different rate of progress and development from the mainland. The most striking difference between the Island and an object of antiquity is that the Island allows interaction. The visit to the Island can be short, a matter of hours or longer, seasonal or permanent. The Island becomes a living museum in itself, a living

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[112] Goldsmith, O. (1970) *The Traveller (1765) and The Deserted Village (1770) with A Prospect of Society (1764),* The Scholar Press, Menston, Yorks. p 9
[113] Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800,* Scholar Press, Aldershot. p 60
[114] Klein, L. E. (1997) In *The Comsumption of Culture 1600 - 1800. Image, Object, Text* (Eds, Bermingham, A. and Brewer, J.) Routledge, London & New York. p 365

museum of a pre-industrial society lost on the mainland. Gilpin was looking for a pure picturesque landscape without the impact and presence of man, the distant past; later visitors were looking for a less pure past, a simpler society than found on the increasingly industrialised mainland. The Island was a past still existing, a capsule of pre-industrialised and essentially pre-enclosed Britain which the visitor could absorb and take away as remembered experience. Some of the pleasures could be relived later through souvenirs in the form of drawings and writings, both original and purchased.

Fred Davis, in his *Sociology of Nostalgia*, views the nature and development of Nostalgia from its historic definition as a disease to late twentieth century usage.[115] "The material of nostalgic experience is the past", a yearning for a lost rural society in the case of the Island.[116] "It is a past imbued with special qualities, which, moreover, acquires its significance from the particular way we juxtapose it to certain features of ... present life."[117] For dwellers in the metropolis where living conditions and society was changing rapidly, the Island represented a relief, either temporary or permanent, by allowing a removal to the past, or a least a constructed past. People with means and aspirations were able to make these choices, town or country. Country, as we can view the Island, offered fresh air, an equable climate, health-giving springs. It also involved a move south which has always been an identified urge for travellers.

Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw in *Dimensions of Nostalgia* point to a requirement of nostalgia being recorded as a deficiency in the present.[118] This deficiency can be perceived as a 'decline' in the way of life in the eighteenth-century metropolis. It is part of the paradox of any use of nostalgia as its opposite is progress and development. The Island was not developing in the same ways as the mainland and was admired by visitors for this reason. Chase and Shaw list three conditions for the development of a sense of popular nostalgia "a secular and linear sense of time, and apprehension of the failings of the present and the availability of evidences of the past."[119] The last of these

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[115] Davis, F. (1979) *Yearning for Yesterday,* The Free Press, New York.
[116] Ibid. p 8
[117] Ibid. p 13
[118] Shaw, C. and Chase, M. (Eds.) (1989) *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia,* Manchester University Press, Manchester. p 3
[119] Ibid. p 4

would be provided by verbal reports as well as published histories, topographies and guides. As the delights of the Island were rooted in nostalgia the Island was viewed as a retreat to the past which would be nourished by these reports and publications.

How did visitors to the Island record their experiences? Celia Fiennes visited the Island in the late seventeenth century and was concerned with recording the defensive position, history and society of the Island, a straight record of facts and detail.[120] William Cobbett, when gathering material for his *Rural Rides,* essentially a record of the agricultural landscape before what he perceived as spoilation by industrial use, got no further than Portsdown Hill to observe the Island but writes about what he had been told rather than seen. The sea crossing was a barrier that needed to be negotiated to experience the Island and aided the view of *otherness* or *alterity* to be found on the Island. Earlier Radcliffe had visited the same view point on Portsdown Hill and records her impressions of landscape and atmosphere. "Having reached the summit of Portsdown hill, the channel, the blue, high, sweeping ridge of the Isle of Wight ... spread before our eyes. This view, though very grand, was not as striking as I had expected."[121] Perhaps this why Cobbett and others did not make the journey to the Island. "We are not allowed to look down abruptly on the sea and the Isle of Wight but view the first four miles at a distance, after the eye has gradually passed over the flat lands below."[122] When she reached Portsmouth she viewed the Island from the harbour where she recorded "the shipping at Spithead in front, and the Isle of Wight, with the whole channel are enchanting."[123] It is clear that Radcliffe is not just looking for Beauty in Gilpin's sense but recoding what she sees from her position as a novelist.[124] This variety of reactions to, and styles of, descriptive language used to represent landscape in views highlights the difficulties of communicating Picturesque experience. It is not just a matter of language; it is one of recording a personal experience of a scene/situation which could, at a later date, be published. There was a need to express individuality by the author, to personalise an

[120] Fiennes, C. (1948) *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes,* The Cresset Press, London. pp 51-53
[121] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 25 entry for 22 September 1798
[122] Ibid. p 25 entry for 22 September 1798
[123] Ibid. p 26 entry for 22 September 1798

experience and also to share the experience with others at a later time and in another context.[125] These were conflicts that would be difficult to resolve if the texts were not to become repetitive and stereotyped and will be explored in the chapter on the work of the topographers.

The process of identifying the Picturesque could only happen when an image from the viewers social and educational memory was triggered by the views presented by writings and prints. Moy Thomas, a Londoner, was 22-years old when, with a friend, he undertook his tour of the Island in the summer of 1810.[126] His unpublished manuscript in the form of a series of letters, was intended for the use of the Thomas family; he intended to please them by "conveying an idea of my feelings and the Impressions made on my mind at the time by various scenes and objects which then engaged our attention."[127] From their room in Portsmouth he records that they "had a charming view of the sea and the Isle of Wight."[128] We have none of Radcliffe's word pictures here but instead have a valuable item on his accommodation at the Kings Arms in Portsmouth. "We have had wretched accommodation and been charged extravagantly considering what we have had."[129] Joseph Farington, artist, member of the Society of Dilettanti and Royal Academy was a frequent visitor to his relatives who lived on the Island. His edited diary has been published and informs us of social happenings on the Island; he is not concerned with written accounts of atmosphere. Each of these has written for their own use and presented their views of the Island according to their interests and background. Information from their works will be presented, where appropriate, in later chapters.

The alterity, or otherness, of the Island has been outlined but the sea crossing from the mainland has now to be considered. The challenges posed by this 'adventure' in the eighteenth-century cannot be understood in modern terms; it was an unknown experience for most people who undertook it.

This little world
This precious stone, set in the silver sea

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[124] She was considered to be one of the foremost gothic novelists of her time.
[125] Radcliffe used her skills as a novelist to record atmosphere and situations in her novels as well as published travel memoirs which included many journeys on the continent.
[126] Thomas, M. (1810) In *Bath Central Library, Somerset*
[127] Ibid. Preface London dated 18 July 1811
[128] Ibid. p 10
[129] Ibid. p 9

Which serves it in the office of a wall (Baker 1799)[130]

Baker was identifying this alterity in the recognition of distance and remove from the familiar that seems to have been one of the aims of travel for education and pleasure. He is significantly using a Shakespearen quotation.[131] He alludes to the sea crossing being a wall or barrier that sets the Island apart from the mainland. Amongst the upper and literate members of the middling classes the references from Shakespeare would have been understood and their importance as guides to understanding and explaining the world as it was observed. "This happy breed of men", the words before Baker's quotation and two lines earlier "this other Eden, demi-paradise" would have helped to place the Island as a place apart. John of Gaunt's speech was concerned with defining the nation; one of the preoccupations of the eighteenth-century was the same; Gaunt's reference to England as an island was being transferred by Baker to the Island to reinforce the ideas of difference and otherness that were attainable after a sea crossing.

The understanding of the significance of the journey to the eighteenth-century traveller differs from today; then the whole experience was educational and fraught with real dangers. Crossing the Solent would have immediately added difference to everyday life and provided a location of alterity. The crossing had to be part of an Island topographical tour. Because of the small scale and area of the Island, which was surrounded by its natural boundary, the sea, the result would be a visit to a land that was arguably not part of England, but part of the British Isles.

The representation and promotion of aspects of alterity, in this instance the imagined past in lifestyle and landscape, is seen as an important factor in the development of tourism on the Island - linked with the increasing production and implied consumption of Island topography, both as text and image. Baker's imagery presents us with the Island as a jewel, viewed as isolated and precious and protected by the sea which is seen as a solid defence: the Island was a world apart from the mainland. Anthony Cohen, writing in 1985, identified the

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[130] Baker, T. (1799) *A companion in a tour round Southampton and a tour of the Isle of Wight,* Baker, Southampton. p 249

[131] Part of John of Gaunt's speech in Richard II, Act 2 scene 1.

difficulty of defining boundaries which are equally appropriate to this study of earlier times.

> The mainstream forces of economic, political and administrative life attack the structural basis of local diversity and replace them with a veneer of homogeneity. Distance and physical barriers are breached by infrastructures of transport and communication; linguistic and dialect differences are battered by standard English.[132]

At a time when London was culturally dominant and regional culture and society seen as backward or undeveloped, the regional topographies and histories were viewed as records of antiquarian interest. These have suggested a binary opposition in the topographical writings of the eighteenth-century; consideration in these works was either of *home* or *elsewhere*.[133] As the majority of writers were from the metropolis, that was *home; elsewhere* was everywhere except the metropolis and could be a foreign country as much as a distant part of Britain. Overseas could be the Continent, or in this study, the Island; in fact wherever *home* was, the Island was *elsewhere* and different. The crucial and significant boundary was the sea that had to be traversed.

Chloe Chard has raised issues connected with the crossing of boundaries during travel. Water represents a boundary with important significance; it separates one area of land from another and requires a mode of transport that is less predictable in outcome and with different dangers from land. There was a sense of crossing a 'sublime' boundary and leaving safety when crossing the Solent to the Island; the journey was by no means easy and without danger in the eighteenth-century. Indeed the passage to the Island, which can be seen from the mainland, could take as long as a crossing to France.[134] The physical barrier of the sea crossing was in some instances, more significant to travellers than the journey from London. Curiously William Cobbett observed the Island from the mainland and recorded his observations from what was reported to him.[135] There was an element of unpredictability with all crossings during the period of this study. Some recorded crossings were short and pleasant, others

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[132] Cohen, A. P. (Ed.) (1986) *Symbolising Boundaries, Identity and diversity in British cultures,* Manchester University Press, Manchester. p 1
[133] Speake, J. (Ed.) (2003) *Literature of Travel and Exploration; An Encylopedia,* Fitzroy & Dearborn, New York. p 397
[134] Chard, C. and Langdon, H. (Eds.) (1996) *Transports. Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London.
[135] Cobbett, W. (1893) *Rural Rides,* Reeves and Turner, London.

long and fraught with danger and would remain so until steam-driven boats came into regular service in the 1820s.

Rowlandson's journey, mentioned earlier in the chapter did not record details of the crossing but other travellers have recorded such experiences. Radcliffe made the most of a crossing in 1798, writing in her journal

> walked down to the busy, dirty place, called the Point, where we got into a wherry, and so went over the harbour to the decked passage-boat, that was to carry us to the Isle of Wight. Adverse wind, but not much of it, sat on the deck a fine view of the town, the hospital, the forts and harbour, as we sailed out the sea not rough. Hear the *he-hoes* of the sailors, afar in the channel, and the boatswain's shrill whistle. Passed through a part of the fleet; saw Sir Sidney Smith's fine ship, of immense size, with many other large ones round it. A cloudy sunset, but a gleam came out that fell upon the distant town and harbour, lighted up the sea, and touched the dark polished sides of all the ships; glanced athwart the western hills of the island, of which we were now gaining a view. Sailed down the channel for Cowes. The breeze gradually sunk, and we were becalmed. A full September moon rose, and shed its radiance on the waters. Glided along the woody steeps of the island, and saw many a sweeping bay and obscure valley beyond. Reached Cowes about nine; the approach to it, in a beautiful bay, striking, with its summer lights illuminating many windows, and its houses seeming to rise steeply from the shore; many vessels at anchor in the bay; its slopes of scattered wood, and pasture traced darkly round the bright clear water, and opening to an obscure valley. Landed at West Cowes, and went to the Vine Inn.[136]

Radcliffe recorded her crossing in detail, with the observation and the accomplished use of language to be expected of a novelist. She makes minute observation of the scene that supports Mavor's view that pictures detract from experiencing the pleasures of a scene.[137]

A pleasurable crossing from Southampton to West Cowes was reported by John Fetham in his 1815 guide to sea bathing places, "Nothing can be more delightful in fine weather, and with a favourable breeze, than this little voyage, which is often performed in an hour and a half."[138] Contrast this with John Hassell's report of a stormy crossing in 1790 which was widely repeated by topographies from Mavor onwards in published guides. It may have enforced

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[136] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 27-28
[137] Mavor, W. (1798) *The British Tourists or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.,* E. Newberry, London.
[138] Fetham, J. (1815) *Watering and Sea-Bathing places*, London. p 219

the notion of a sublime experience on water but would also have made the crossing more fearsome for the faint hearted.

> We had scarcely passed the fort [Portsmouth] before the heavens frowned and a violent storm threatened us; but instead of being apprehensive of the consequences, we awaited the expected combustion of the elements with pleasing impatience, that we might observe the grand effect it must produce. – A hailstorm was the forerunner. – The sea, though near to the shore, rolled in with a heavy swell; - and the waves, casting their light foam on the surface of the ebbing tide, were caught by the rays of the setting sun, which darted through a cloud; while several transits of light from the same source tinged the slowing sails of the numerous barks, that under different tacks, skimmed along the surrounding ocean. The wind, at length abating, the swell also in some degree subsided; and we were again able to keep the deck. The remaining part of the evening proved clear and agreeable; but at the time the evening gun was fired at Portsmouth, we were still four miles distant from the harbour of Cowes. At this distance the shores appeared to be covered with every luxuriance the richest soil can boast. – The storm had been succeeded by a calm; at length however a favourable breeze spring up, we reached Cowes Road about ten o'clock, after a tedious passage of seven hours.[139]

A couple of years later Mrs Lybbe Powys records

> having been recommended Captain Wassell to convey us to Cowes, we set off in a thirty-ton vessel, a most commodious one. The wheels were taken off our carriages and, with the horses, put on board another vessel. We expected to be affected by the sea, but were most happily disappointed, and after a sail of two hours in a beautiful morning, we landed at West Cowes.[140]

She was expecting a rough or adventurous crossing and seems much relieved that this was not so. By contrast, the 22 year old Moy Thomas in his diary enjoyed the adventure of a rough crossing, he describes a

> delightful sail across the Channel but it was very rough and one side of the vessel was continually under water. We were wet through with the spray which came over us in showers. My companion was rather sea sick. When we entered the mouth of the Southampton Water, the wind and tide were so much against us, that it was thought better to land at a village called Hamble.[141]

Thomas conveys an unsophisticated sense of excitement and understatement about the perils of the crossing which must have been far from comfortable for him and his companion.

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[139] Hassell, J. (1790a) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 120

[140] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. p 257

By 1813 when Daniel travelled to the Island a steamboat was in operation. He left Southampton at 3 in the afternoon and arrived at West Cowes at 4.30, an uneventful crossing that took a mere one and a half hours. [142] By 1834 Portsmouth to Ryde was the most popular route for visitors by "steam-boat passage of three quarters of an hour at the utmost".[143] Neither the terrors nor the delights of the journey are stressed, "The passage itself is generally a very agreeable little trip."[144] The number of tourists wishing to visit the Island had made a larger scale commercial transfer business possible. "Steam packets between Ryde and Portsmouth were first established in the spring of 1825, the necessary capital being subscribed in shares of £25 each."[145] On the Island much had been done

> towards *systematizing* travelling: conyeance by these vessels being as regular as that by stage-coaches. ... Persons using their own carriages may even enter them in the metropolis, and first step from them in the town of Ryde; for the packets convey both horses and carriages across by means of tow-boats, and the embarkation and landing of such travelling accompaniments is equally easy.[146]

This nineteenth century roll on roll off system in place in 1825 is a far cry from 1798 when Mrs Lybbe Powys' carriage was hoisted on board after being partly dismantled.

Once on the Island the change of climate and way of life were recorded and stressed. The health promoting nature of the climate was recorded by the early visitors and promoted by later writers. Albin's desription would encourage anyone with the means to come to live on the Island.

> Instances of longevity among the inhabitants are frequent, and the general appearance of health and vigour among the lower ranks sufficiently marks the importance of the island to valetudinary visitors. Perhaps there is no part of the Kingdom more frequently of more successfully resorted to by thoses who wish either to retain or recover that inestimable blessing, without which all other possessions are only splendid mockeries.[147]

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[141] Thomas, M. (1810) In *Bath Central Library, Somerset*Bath. p 44-5
[142] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London. p 67
[143] Barber, T. (1834) *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight: comprising views of every object of interest in the Island, engraved from original drawings, accompanied by historical and topographical descriptions,* Simpkin & Marshall, London. p 8
[144] Ibid. p 8
[145] Ibid. p 8
[146] Ibid. p 8
[147] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 3

The climate was noted as

> pure, mild and salubrious ... Its softness and warmth, as compared with that of England in general, are proved by the luxuriant growth, in the open air, of Myrtle, geranium, and other trees and shrubs, which commonly flourish, so exposed, only in southern latitudes. Evergreens of great size and beauty, over which the winters pass without appearing to affect their foliage or vigour, also constitute a prominent feature of the island.[148]

This equable climate and the presence of Chalybeate Springs with their health giving properties, combined with the Picturesque location were major attractions to visitors and new residents. Although no great distance from the metropolis, the Undercliff, on the south of the Island provided a climate that was described by Sir James Clark as the English Maderia.[149]

Several Chalybeate springs were located in the Undercliff.[150] John Bullar records the origin of the Sandrock Spring.[151] "This spring was discovered about 7 years ago [1799] by Mr Waterworth, a surgeon at Newport."[152] The source was in a sandrock "at a considerable height above sea level".[153] He obtained a lease on the land surrounding the spring and after testing found the water to be a tonic. "This spring is situated a little to the east of Blackgang Chine about 150ft. above the sea, on the side of a steep descent, and about one and a half miles from Niton."[154] This very difficult location was not easy to exploit, only the fit and active stood any chance of reaching the site. A detailed analysis of the water is given by Bullar with several recommendations by other physicians.[155] It was reckoned to be "the most powerful aluminous Chaylebeate that has ever been discovered".[156] Waterworth "established a dispensary at a cottage near the hotel, [Sandrock] where the water fresh from the spring may be had

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[148] Barber, T. (1834) *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight: comprising views of every object of interest in the Island, engraved from original drawings, accompanied by historical and topographical descriptions,* Simpkin & Marshall, London. p 3
[149] Clark, S. J. (1841) *The Sanative Influence of Climate,* John Murray, London.
[150] (1789) *The Topographer,* Robson and Clarke, London. p 355 Chaylebeate springs are recorded at Blackgang, Chale Cliff, Pitland and Shanklin.
[151] Bullar, J. (1818) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* Baker, Southampton. p 111
[152] Ibid. p 111
[153] Ibid. p 111
[154] Ibid. p 112
[155] Ibid. pp114-7
[156] Ibid. p 114

everyday, and where he attends to give advice."[157] John Fetham, writing in 1815 of the nature of the Aluminous Chalybeate water says that it contained

> Sulphate of Iron and Sulphate of Alumen, substances which, though rarely met with in combination with water, yet exist in this in such large proportions as to give it a very distinguished character, and render the other ingredients which enter into its composition, wholly imperceptible to the palate.[158]

Dr. Waterworth administered the cure after he had purged his patients with rhubarb, magnesia and Epsom salts. The water was then taken three times a day; if it upset the stomach brandy was added to the water.[159] The water was also claimed as an effective lotion on 'scrophulous sores', foul ulcers, scrophulous opthalmia and in all herpetic diseases of the skin.[160] The distribution of these waters remained a cottage industry available only to the adventurous and fit travellers; the less active could enjoy opportunities the Island offered for health-giving sea bathing. Hassell notes that Ryde was well set up as such a location. "A great deal of company resort to it during the bathing season, the accommodation being nearly equal to those at Cowes."[161] He notes that there were better roads than most on the Island, which made it an easy place to visit and favoured for bathing. The bathing houses were to the west of the town.[162]

Feltham, writing of the area west of West Cowes harbour in 1815

> It is in this quarter of the town that lodgings are most sought for, and that villas are continually rising, some of which are most delightfully situated. A moving scene of ships, a pure marine air, and a pleasant beach to walk on, are among some of the local advantages which this place presents to visitors."[163] "The bathing machines are placed near this spot, in the vicinity of the castle; and from the manner in which they are constructed, and the position they occupy, a person may safely commit himself to the bosom of Neptune at almost any state of the tide. Here is also a hot salt-water bath, which is frequently requisitioned."[164]

The provision of bathing huts was not sufficient to needs "as many gentlemen walk along the sequestered beach towards what is called Egypt, and commit

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[157] Ibid. p 117
[158] Fetham, J. (1815) *Watering and Sea-Bathing places*, London. p 241
[159] Ibid. p 242
[160] Ibid. p 243
[161] Hassell, J. (1790b) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 38
[162] Ibid. p 39
[163] Fetham, J. (1815) *Watering and Sea-Bathing places*, London. p 221
[164] Ibid. p 221

themselves to the waves, without any ceremony."[165] Unlike the remote spa waters locations on the Island the towns associated with sea bathing became relatively sophisticated; Fetham notes that in 1815 West Cowes possessed a Public Assembly Room, two Inns and Library.[166] Ryde was developing at the same time and was a "populous and fashionable village [with] two good Inns, many neat lodging houses, which are generally well filled with bathers during the proper season."[167]

Hospitality was a feature of the Island as noted by Worsley in his 1781 history

> Hospitality is said to be more practiced in islands than on the mainland; the Isle of Wight does not contradict that observation: indeed no part of Great Britain can boast a more universal exercise of the social virtues.[168]

Worsley's comments were true for the upper class visitors but for the middling classes accommodation was also available away from the towns. John Sturch tells of his time in the Undercliff in the vicinity of Steephill, of "a little cottage, which is kept open as a house of accommodation for such company as either curiosity or dissipation may happen to collect."[169] It was "esteemed one of the curiosities of the Island, and much frequented by strangers and others."[170] For people who planned to stay in the cottage arrangements were simple.

> such parties...carry with them their own provisions, and get it there made ready for their use, or to take chance of what the house or vicinage [vicinity] will afford them: of the latter sort crabs and lobsters in their season, and in the highest excellence are seldom or never wanting."[171]

Clarke records a similar small cottage on the Undercliff which offered accommodation and food.

> hanging in a manner peculiarly romantic from the side of the cliff. ... A neat respectable looking woman, brought us in a collation of eggs, cold fowl, and brown bread – at the same time making a curtsey, she told us we need not be ashamed of her little cottage, for that the Duke of Wirtemberg (sic) had, a few days before, dined in the very room we were in, and that if we would please look round, we should find the names of many very great personages who had honoured her with a visit.[172]

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[165] Ibid. p 221
[166] Ibid. p 222
[167] Ibid. p 252
[168] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 12
[169] Sturch, J. (1791) *A View of the Isle of Wight in Four Letters to a Friend.,* John Sturch, Newport, IOW. p 10
[170] Ibid. p 10
[171] Ibid. p 10
[172] Clarke, E. D. (1793) *A Tour through the South of England, Wales, and part of Ireland, made during the Summer of 1791,* R. Edwards, London. p 18

Clarke records the climate found at this cottage location and his amazement at the vegetation. "This little spot is so much sheltered from the wind and the tempests that myrtles grow spontaneously. We observed a fig tree at this early season of the year, absolutely bending beneath the weight of its fruit."[173]

In 1790 Hassell stayed at a similar 'cottage' Inn and noted that four travellers at most could be accommodated overnight.[174] This house of entertainment is the earliest reference to what would become the New Inn, catering for visitors to this part of the Island that was still remote and difficult to reach. The New Inn was very near to the Earl of Dysart's cottage, and was frequently visited by travellers who stayed in the 'cottage' environment accommodation that it provided. Albin praised the Inn, Plate 18, "Where [visitors] may find very comfortable accomodations."[175] However, there was certainly a lack of rooms for use during the day and secluded places of repose in the extensive garden were available when the weather permitted. Albin noted a favourite "situation under a luxuriant fig tree, also several pleasant arbours entwined with woodbines in the garden, which, when the weather permits, it is preferable to be."[176] He noted the high quality of the food, crabs and lobsters were available in quantity and a curious dish, the sunfish, was on the menu. The sun fish made good eating but was curious "from its evicular form, the head only being a little pointed."[177] The cliff area was also noted as good for "the diversion of hawking."[178]

The area in the vicinity of the Chalybeate Spring on the Undercliff was a favoured place to stay as well as to take the waters. In 1806 there were also "several lodging houses near the spring, and more are about to be built."[179]
The Sandrock Hotel had started life as Rock Cottage, Plate 18, John Bullar, writing in 1806, noted the origins of the hotel.[180]

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[173] Ibid. p 19
[174] Hassell, J. (1790a) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 133
[175] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 51
[176] Ibid. p 51
[177] Ibid. p 51
[178] Ibid. p 51
[179] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 117
[180] Baker, T. (1829) *Picturesque Scenery of the Isle of Wight, comprising Thirty Views with a Map of the Island.,* Simpkin and Marshall, London. p 43

> This handsome and tasteful cottage was lately purchased by Mr Cull of Newport, and fitted up as a hotel; for the purposes of which it is now rendered highly suitable. Here the traveller may depend on finding truly comfortable accommodation; the rooms are good, and the proprietor can provide a considerable number of beds.[181]

The situation was Picturesque as were the views. "It would perhaps be difficult to point out a single place in the vicinity, which affords a finer variety of prospect than is presented to the eye from the veranda of the hotel."[182] The situation of the hotel and surrounding cottages was mentioned with the favourable climate.

> Over the tops or through the foliage of the trees, appear cottages that seem placed in situations adapted in no common degree to mark the triumph of human industry over the wildness and even the wrecks of nature. Situated as this cottage is, of the most southern part of the Island, it has the advantage of the purest sea breezes.[183]

By 1801 this area of the Undercliff was an established residence for

> people of taste [who] have made it their summer's residence, and erected little villas in such places as are remarkable for their prospects; hence the parish became ornamented with elegant structures, and its original wilderness reduced to some order and regularity. There is only one public house in the parish, and, I believe this is going to be removed, the proprietors of those beautiful villas are unwilling to expose their gardens and pleasure grounds to the inspection of those inquisitive strangers who make the public house their residence till their curiosity is satiated.[184]

Gilpin had a point when he noted that true picturesque landscape was only found where there was no evidence of man. Change in the landscape was taking place because of the building by seasonal residents who did not like the open nature of the rural landscape.

Another strand of interest to visitors was the increase in amateur travels for scientific purposes, notably geological; the Island would become a rich source for fossil hunters from the early nineteenth century. Sir Henry Charles Englefield spent the summer months of 1799, 1800 and 1801 on the Island researching the geological links between the Island and the mainland. He linked the rock strata of Dorset with the western half of the Island. Knowledge of his work however was not widely available, only being published as a book in

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[181] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 112
[182] Ibid. p 113
[183] Ibid. p 113
[184] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. pp 23-4

1816. Some details of his studies were published in the transactions of the Linnaean Society in 1800.[185] The large library format and limited edition of this book put it outside popular readership. Its title and content, linking antiquities, picturesque beauties and geology of the Island added to the complex nature of its content. Its engravings by G. Cooke are of more geological features than houses. In 1801 the *Hampshire Repository* published a description of the Undercliff which was less analytical than Englefield but gave a lead to visitors in describing the landscape using terms other than Picturesque.[186]

This chapter has displayed the substantial archive of supportive material for the view that the Island was a significant location for the study of the Picturesque and the Sublime during the long eighteenth-century. Issues arising from the sea crossing being seen as a barrier to visiting have been shown to help to nourish a view of the Island as an alterity, a sense of being a different place than the mainland. However, with the arrival of steam-packets in the 1820s followed by frequent, ever faster and more reliable ferries the crossing failed to be the adventure it had been in the 1750s. The small size and scale of the Island, another simply that the Island makes it distinct from other sites of Picturesque tourism. Stewart has recently investigated metaphorical notions of the Gigantic and the Miniature; perhaps the Island needs to be viewed as a Miniature with only its small scale making it different from other Picturesque and Sublime locations that have been more frequently revisited by academics. If we accept that the issues are of size and scale; Stewart shows us that sublime experiences in the eighteenth-century could be experienced from small objects. She paraphrases Kant "sublimity resides in our experience of the object, and not in the object itself. Small things can be sublime as readily as the grand."[187] If we are able to accept this notion of 'small scale' as a common understanding accepted by eighteenth-century visitors, the Island would offer everything that any other designated Picturesque and Sublime area would offer. That the miniature was an admired and practised art form supports this view; "the mind

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[185] Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London. He presented two papers to the Linnaean Society which were printed in the sixth volume of *Transactions* in 1800.

[186] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 235

[187] Rugoff, R. and Stewart, S. (1997) *At the Threshold of the Visible,* Independent Curators Incorporated, New York. p 75

needs only a point, an aspect, from which to explore indefinitely and to infinity."[188] Gilpin's comment, stated at the head of this chapter, appears to support this view, "I assert, that our eyes are mere glass windows; and that we see with our imagination."[189] The imagination would have been stimulated with the variety of visual experiences available on the small area of the Island. Walking the routes proposed by the topographers and observing the defined views they proposed could all be accomplished more easily that taking a trip to the Lakes, Scotland or engaging on a Grand Tour on the continent.

That large numbers of eighteenth-century travellers in search of picturesque experiences visited the Island with their topographies and guide books is beyond dispute. How the writers of topographies and guide book controlled the space of the Island and directed the tourist and visitor will be explored in chapter three.

[188] Ibid. p 75
[189] Letter from William Gilpin to William Mason, dated 1769, quoted in Crook, J. M. (1989) *The Dilemma of Style,* John Murray, London. p 21

Chapter 3

Topographers and Diarists:
Paper Representations of the Island Landscape & Society.

> *The Isle of Wight is the largest and most valuable of appendant British islands. It is situated opposite the coast of Hampshire, from which it is separated by a channel, varying in breadth from two to seven miles; it is considered part of the county of Southampton, and is within the diocese of Winchester.*[1] *(Worsley 1781)*

> *It was long a reflection on the National taste and judgement, that our people of fashion knew something of ... the general appearance of every country in Europe except their own.*[2] *(Mavor 1798)*

This chapter explores the ways in which the Island was presented in text and image during the period of this study (1750 – 1840).[3] Sir Richard Worsley, diplomat, Grand Tourist, collector, member of the Society of Dilletanti, and Governor of the Island, published his *History* in 1781.[4] He used the family collection of historical data collected by Sir Robert Worsley, as well as his current observations and research to produce a work that would become a source of topographical detail; much of this was used, without attribution, by later writers. He catalogued what to him were the strange and the familiar, legend and fact; although designated 'history' it had all the elements that would be found in later topographies of the Island. It was a local study set in a national context, published in London.

William Mavor published the first significant eighteenth-century national topography, his *Traveller's Pocket Companion*, from 1798 in an attempt to encourage people with the time and means to explore the British Isles rather than follow the Grand Tour. His work defined the national topography. It was

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[1] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 1
[2] Mavor, W. (1798) *The British Tourists or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.,* E. Newberry, London. p v
[3] Many of the tourists, both amateur and professional, produced water-colours and pencil sketches during their visits. With the exception of pencil sketches found in unpublished travel journals and diaries these have not been considered. The vast number and variety of watercolours are worthy of an individual study. This present study concentrates on published materials supported by unpublished travel diaries and journals.
[4] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London.

general, encouragingly nationalistic and political, important factors during the time of war in Europe. Both Worsley and Mavor were interested in recording and defining regional differences and similarities which defined regional identities. He was encouraging the public to follow his lead and discover their own country. Tourists were prompted to observe traditions and details of life found during travel whose origins and sources had been lost from conscious memory; these created a dynamic between the strange or new and the familiar of home. His concepts give a framework to a reassessment of observations and perceptions made and recorded in these works, both published and manuscript, public and private. Readers of the topographies sometimes visited the Island and have left diaries containing their observations to add to our understanding of how the Island was presented, viewed and interpreted.

The oral histories, with all their unrelaibilty, have been largely lost; all we have are the paper records of text and image.[5] The sources are, primarily, published topographies which can contain images with their text; secondly, diaries, both published and manuscript supported by short published articles and reports.[6] Island topographies can be seen as fixed perceptions that were public and potentially widely available for consumption, and diaries as personal responses. However diaries, sometimes in the form of letters, had a semi-public function as they were shared and read by friends and relatives and sometimes published. These diaries add a personal dimension to our understanding of the Island represented by the topographers. James Boswell's attitude to his diary may help us understand the function of travel diaries; he wrote "I shall regularly record the business or rather the pleasure of everyday."[7] If these *pleasures* mirrored the general cultural attitudes then the interests and preoccupations of the diarists will be clear. John Sturch, who appears to have resided in Southampton for some time, first published his tour-diary of the Island in the form of four letters to a friend in London, 1778.[8] Although the size of the initial print run is unknown the book appears to have been commercially successful as

[5] For this study paintings have not been considered unless they are reproduced with text, due to painterly influences in their composition. This is not to say that prints do not show painterly influences; they do, but the aim of topography was a more realistic image.
[6] Worsley's 1781 *History* is taken as a topographical source.
[7] Pottle, F. A. (Ed.) (1950) *Boswell's London Journal,* William Heinemann, London. p 40
[8] Sturch, J. (1778) *A View of the Isle of Wight, in four letters to a friend,* W. Goldsmith, London.

it had reached its fourth edition by 1811 and was published on the Island as well as in London. His first letter describes the Island coast, letter two the interior, letter three the history and letter four a description of the Island as found by him. The last letter established the notion of a walking tour with locations to visit, view and consume.

One of the limitations of the use of diaries in this study is the personal nature and limited number that have been located. They do have an advantage in that they are representative of a wider range of populist interests and observations than those of the topographers. Some diaries have been published after being edited. The small in quantity but wide-ranging nature of material (both published and unpublished) used in this study represents records from youthful amateurs through to professional writers; all would have been of the middling classes or above. Some of the material was published in the authors' lifetime and some has remained in manuscript. The various types of source material used in this discourse are considered side by side under wider topic headings. The nature and limited number of available diaries and wide content range depend on the interests, background and education of each author and hence give a more unevenly balanced view than the topographies, but all add to our understanding and knowledge of the consumption of the Island.

The Paper Island: A Man-made Construct of Text and Image

The notion of a 'Paper Island' is useful when considering the construct of the Island Environment by eighteenth-century topographers and diarists.[9] The topographies were commercial publications intended for consumption, whilst some of the diaries have been published as topographical material and others remain in manuscript. This available body of material allows us to construct and re-visualise, albeit imperfectly, the eighteenth-century Island Environment

[9] Hart and Hicks used the term 'paper' in discussing architectural treatise, (Hart, V. and Hicks, P. (1998) *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise,* Yale, New Haven & London. and Cooper used it to describe urban topographical prints, (Cooper, T. and Hawker, D. (2003) *Paper Cities,* UCL Art Collections, London.

through the combination of their texts and images. These texts and images represent the narratives and histories of the Island; they fix the recorded image of the eighteenth-century Island as it was observed and recorded according to the contemporary cultural preoccupations of the period. The Island topographies can be seen as examples of these histories and narratives which had a wide appeal over a range of readers and, in the case of the prints, the viewers. They can also be seen to represent the Island as a 'stage set' viewed and consumed by visitors from the metropolis, where the theatre was a source of historical and cultural information as well as entertainment. These same people could view the Island as a stage set, presenting them with a juxtaposition of nostalgia and memory, with alterity and drama. Some observers even used quotations from Shakespeare as 'benchmarks' to support their writen observations.

Timothy Clayton, amongst many commentators, has helped to define how eighteenth-century prints are viewed and interpreted but concentrates his study on prints with a life independent of substantial text.[10] This study considers prints as part of published topography rather than prints made from paintings or prints of individual scenes of the Island published without supportive text, often as souvenirs. Clayton does however acknowledges the significance of prints of "Romantic scenery" which "was made to contribute to a sense of nationhood"[11] and their "important role in the marketing of culture as a commodity".[12] The Island topographies and prints contributed to this activity. Clayton expands this notion of national pride in our landscape; "It was about finding qualities in English landscape (actual or painted) to rival those of the great foreign painters."[13]

Dana Arnold discusses how visual histories were created during the eighteenth-century using the temples at Paestrum as examples.[14] The points she makes

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[10] Clayton, T. (1997) *The English Print,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London.
[11] Ibid. p xiii
[12] Ibid. p xii
[13] Clayton, T. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London. p 14
[14] Arnold, D. (2002) *Art History,* Vol 25, 450-468.

are relevant to viewing and understanding Island prints recorded during the period of this study.

> One of the problems is the way in which we are conditioned to 'read' an image. Are we then bound up in the conventions and restrictions of the metaphors of our own language? Does an image need to perform linguistically as the practice of 'reading' would imply it has to? After all, images are, in the first instance, non-discursive formations or articulations of a set of specific circumstances. This facilitates the transference of the physical into the conceptual and can represent what cannot be said, because the construction of the images is not dependent upon the use of grammar and syntax, which require dependent clauses, serial sentences and such like. A system of non-verbal signs with a distinct set of cultural meanings has been identified by a broad church of cultural theorists.[15]

Whilst this view holds true to its context which is within the Grand Tour, the prints contained within the published topographies of the Island appear to have provided a comparable and equally complex link in the distribution of Island information. These provide image and text that presented "a distinct set of cultural meanings".[16] The production of Island topographies, which from the late eighteenth-century generally consisted of text and image, was part of the developing process of classifying and recording the environment, both natural and constructed. In the topographies there is always a supporting text that includes what cannot be conveyed by the print or reinforces the messages that the viewer should take from the print; this does not however mean that the prints are not capable of an independent existence. They were the product of an age of curiosity and part of the greater process of classifying and understanding the world both as the past and also as present experience.

This dimension and function of recording the past in close conjunction with the present is significant, as the present adds another layer of possible meanings to the past; relative to both text and image. The passing of time since these works were constructed poses many issues in their interpretation and evaluation; language has developed and our cultural preoccupations and systems of recording have changed. Foucault sees each item recorded as a *sign*, a signifier that was worthy of record at the time due to the ideas that it would

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[15] Ibid. p 451
[16] Ibid. p 451

invoke. "The sign encloses two ideas, one of the thing representing, the other of the thing represented; and its nature consists in exciting the first by means of the second."[17] This usefully fixes the inclusion of detail in both text and image as specific to its historical context and so presents us with a snapshot of associations, interests and preoccupations of the time of construction, which may or may not be understood in the same way today. The same process applies to diaries but with a personal slant or bias according to the interests and education of the writer.[18] Only a small sample of sketches and drawings have been found in diaries, not enough on which to base any valid conclusions.

Andrew Kennedy has commented on the national importance of the work of the antiquarian and engraver William Stukeley early in the eighteenth-century.[19] Kennedy notes the concentrated level of information that could be included in a print and quotes Stukeley in his Preface to *Centuria I*

> The prints, besides their use in illustrating the discourses, are ranged in such a manner as to become an index of inquiries for those that travel, for a British Antiquary ... It is evident how proper engravings are to preserve the memory of things, and how much better an idea they convey to the mind than written descriptions, which often not at all, often not sufficiently, explain them.[20]

This 'preservation of the memory of things' in conjunction with a record of the present appears to have been a key to the work of Richard Worsley in his *History*, and to later topographers in their presentation of the Island in paper format. Sir Richard Worsley's *History* (1781) published in London, was the first major paper representation of the Island in the eighteenth-century and was pre-empting the observations made by Mavor.[21] Worsley dedicated his work to the King; a copy was deposited in the King's Topographical Collection. [22] It is encyclopaedic in its scope, including a new map of the Island, drawn and engraved from Worsley's commissioned surveys by John Hayward; its text and images can be seen to encompass all areas of interest considered important to

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[17] Foucault, M. (1994) *The Order of Things,* Routledge, London. p 70
[18] Not all diaries were written with publication in mind and some remain in manuscript.
[19] Kennedy, A. (2002) *Art History,* Vol 25, 488-499.
[20] Ibid. p 489
[21] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London.
[22] Boynton, L. O. J. (1967) *Appuldurcombe House,* HMSO, London. p 9, notes that Sir Richard used antiquarian material collected by previous generations for his *History*.

the eighteenth-century reader; history, both family and natural, that would be included in all later eighteenth-century topographies of the Island.[23] It would become a reference point from which later writers would draw. Whilst not providing routes for tourists, as found in topographies, it recorded land and seascapes including the seats of significant residents in text and print image and represented his personal view, as the Governor and primary landowner of the Island.[24]

From 1750 there were two styles of topographies being produced, general ones that covered the British Isles, and those which were regional or area specific; the Island featured in both. The general topographies often had detailed entries and sub-sections for the Island and use is made of them in this study, an example being the six-volume pocket topographies of William Mavor, *The British Tourist.* These were published between 1798 and 1800, were aimed at the national market to encourage domestic (British Isles) travel and aid and inform tourists on their choice of journey and locations to visit.[25] Mavor, quoted at the start of the chapter, encourages domestic travel as a sign of patriotism by stating that travellers were

> inspired by more patriotic notions than formerly, of the pleasure and utility of home travels, we have of late years seen some of our most enlightened countrymen, as eager to explore the remotest parts of Britain, as they formerly were to pass the Alps.[26]

The aim of the topographies, not stated but implied by their content and layout, was to select and present a set view or template of the Island that tourists would follow. Proposed locations to be viewed were mostly picturesque, as were the routes to be taken. History was linked with location where appropriate and these 'sites of memory to be' were either created or supported as required by the text and image. Houses of the 'famous' were to be celebrated, that is, admired and visited to view their contents and hence to admire the taste and education of the owner. On the mainland the designation of *Seat* implied a

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[23] The contents of the chapters are recorded in Appendix 1 and the list of plates in Appendix 2.
[24] The residences are considered in chapter 4.
[25] The quotation from Mavor at the start of this chapter was prompting "people of fashion" to explore Britain during the time of war.
[26] Mavor, W. (1798) *The British Tourists or Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.,* E. Newberry, London. p vi

substantial country house in substantial grounds; a celebration of property and wealth. Because of the size of the Island the designation seems to have had more to do with the status of the resident than the size of the house and estate. John Wilkes at his *seat* Sandham Cottage was celebrated by the topographers as a 'notorious' resident, a visit to his residence was part of most of the tours whilst he was alive as well as after death; Sandham Cottage became a *site of memory* along with more conventional sites such as Carisbrooke Castle.

Mavor stated that his choice of presentation, predominant text over image in his books, was because text stimulated the pleasures of the imagination more effectively than image.[27] In this he was following a convention of the period, set earlier by Pope, that constructed image was closely linked with poetry and classical thought rather than being a representation of landscape as observed in nature.[28] The break from interest in the recreated 'Classical landscape' to recording the changing vernacular landscape is a feature of the developing topography and is supported by John Thomas Smith's remark of 1797 that "the fast ruinating cottage [yields] far greater allurement to the painter's eye."[29] John Dixon Hunt asserts that this late eighteenth-century development of the Picturesque is strongly marked by "its lack of moral emphasis – neglected cottages in the older picturesque would have signalled some message about human action, or its lack."[30] This may be true for topographical writings and images where recording the past, or more correctly recording fragments of society and landscape that have remained unchanged, in most cases showing clearly identifiable differences, or alterities, is one of the priorities of the topographers and reasons for people to visit remote areas.[31] This could also be the "source that once struck man as strange and caused him to think again."[32] Again we have a latent creative dynamic between the past and present in the mindset of the observer.

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[27] Ibid.
[28] This has been explored by many writers but specific reference here from Hunt, J. D. (1985) *Word & Image,* Vol I, 87-107.
[29] John Thomas Smith, *Remarks on Rural Scenery; with Twenty etchings of Cottages, from Nature; and some observations and precepts relative to the Picturesque*, 1797, p 9; quoted in Ibid. p 107
[30] Ibid. p 107
[31] Remote areas are here taken to be more than a day's travel by horse from the metropolis.
[32] Heidegger, M. (1978) *Basic Writings,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. p 155

The Island-centred topographical writings would develop a symbiosis between text and image during the period of this study, with image increasing in importance over text as time passed and some published topographical work being primarily collections of prints with limited captions detailing location and giving brief textual description.[33] The Island topographies were readily available for purchase in the metropolis as well as on the Island and at the ports of embarkation. An increasing number of the middling classes had the wealth and leisure to travel and were more likely to travel to the Island than the upper class.

The Island described: topographies and diaries.

Society

The difference between life and society in London and the Island during the time span of this study does not appear to have been the subject of major academic study, although much has been published about regional cultural identities under the broad subject heading of 'anthropology.' Anthony Cohen, discussing regional symbols and boundaries, proposes that the anthropological question is to "describe ways in which people mark out their immediate and intimate social identities, those boundaries of their social lives which demarcate most powerfully and meaningfully their sense of similarity to and difference from other people."[34] This study looks at the works of the metropolitan (national) topographers, and the Island born or based topographers who would use perceived difference to promote visitors. Alterities were a central part of works of both groups. Pittock remarks that during the eighteenth-century "there was little of the slightly patronizing idealism" towards rural England.[35]

Sir Richard Worsley recorded that the Island

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[33] The works of the Island-based Brannon family do not fit this generalisation, starting as collections of prints of picturesque scenes they developed into structured topographical guides giving suggested routes and selected places of importance to view during the tour.

[34] Cohen, A. P. (Ed.) (1986) *Symbolising Boundaries, Identity and Diversity in British cultures,* Manchester University Press, Manchester. p 1

[35] Pittock, M. G. H. (1997) *Inventing and Resisting Britain. Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789,* Macmillan, Basingstoke. p 119

> inhabitants cannot be supposed to differ from those of the adjacent country; the distance is too small to cause any physical variation, and the constant intercourse with persons from all parts of the kingdom, the metropolis in particular, has erased any insular peculiarities that might have existed formerly.[36]

This is significant as he infers that the Islanders were considered physically different from mainlanders and feels the need to stress that they are no different, distance across the water being too small to make the Island isolated. It was isolated in the imagination; the reality was that there were frequent meetings "with persons from all parts of the kingdom, the metropolis in particular."[37] Worsley's description of the situation of the farmers of the Island is instructive as it informs us of an example of these Island/mainland alterities, that is, the Island's pre-industrialised society and associated system of land use.

> The farmers are a substantial class of men; their fields demonstrate their industry and knowledge in husbandry; their teams generally consist of large and handsome horses, each vying with his neighbour for superiority in point of cattle. Most of the farm-houses are built with stone, and even the cottages appear neat and comfortable, having each its little garden; nor is the eye offended with those miserable human objects so frequently disgracing the commons and highways in many other parts of England. Here are no turnpikes; but no great inconvenience arises from this deficiency; the common statute labour being sufficient to keep the roads at all times in tolerable condition.[38]

Revd. Richard Warner noted that, "intrepidity appears to have been always a leading feature in the character of these people."[39] Life on the Island could not have been as idyllic as these quotations suggest. In 1770 a "general meeting of the gentlemen of the island" was called to tackle the question of poverty at which it

> was proposed that an act of parliament should be obtained to consolidate the rates made for the relief of the poor of the several parishes of the island, and to erect one or more house or houses of industry for the maintenance and employment of the poor.[40]

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[36] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 11-12
[37] Ibid. p 11-12
[38] Ibid. p 12
[39] Warner, R. (1789) *A Companion in a tour round Lymington: comprehending a brief account of that place & its environs, the Forest, isle of Wight, and the towns of Southampton, Christchurch, &c,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 134
[40] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 20

This action would have provided a sharp contrast with conditions of the poor in the metropolis. The "gentlemen of the island" were behaving in a paternalistic way that would have seemed outmoded to many metropolitan visitors and have reinforced the notion of the Island being *elsewhere*. This attention to the plight of the poor and pre-industrial society and landscape of the Island would have promoted the notion that it was a site of alterity to both picturesque and pleasure visitors as well as the writers of topography and culturally-aware diarists.

The Physical Island

The starting point for descriptions of the physical characteristics of the Island is the 1764 example found in *England Illustrated* under the heading *Air, Soil, and Natural Productions.*

> The air of this island is pleasant and healthy, and the inhabitants in general are stout and vigorous, and live to a great age. ... The soil is very fruitful, the north part of the island being excellent pasturage and meadow ground, and the south part a fine corn country. Through the middle of the island, from east to west, there runs a ridge of mountains, which yield plenty of pasture for sheep, and the wool of these sheep fed in these mountains.[41]

Here the preoccupations of the writer appear to be those of an urbanite concerned with the essentials of an eighteenth-century good life away from the metropolis. Good air coupled with the prospects of a long and healthy life come first. The produce of the Island, both arable and pastoral are secondary to him. In the same year (June 1767) an anonymous description of a tour of the Island appeared in *The Royal Magazine* but centred on the commercial and historical importance as well as current defensive position of the Island.[42] These present a different aspect of interest, the national importance of the Island in economic terms. Revd. Richard Warner, a New Forest resident, notes an important difference with the mainland; the Island "has the distinguished appellation of the

[41] Anon (1764) In *England Illustrated*, Vol. I, p 285
[42] anon (1767) In *The Royal Magazine*. p 281-2

English Paradise."[43] There is a resonance between the local and London description that is reinforced by John Albin, an Island resident, who published his *Companion to the Isle of Wight* in 1799. His text was written in a way that would have enticed visitors from the metropolis and echoes the description of 1764 quoted earlier,

> The air of this Island, particularly in the southern parts is extremely wholesome: Instances of longevity among the inhabitants are frequent, and the general appearance of health and vigour among the lower ranks sufficiently marks the importance of the Island to valetudinary [sic] visitors. Perhaps there is no part of the kingdom more frequently or more successfully resorted to by those who wish either to retain or recover that inestimable blessing, without which all other possessions are only mockeries.[44]

The 'Undercliff', an area on the south east coast of the Island has a literal meaning to us today but had a greater range of meanings in the eighteenth-century which were exploited by topographical writers and print makers. Miller describes this "figurative transfer" of meaning as "subtle and far reaching."[45] The Undercliff had a range of meanings and associations, including gothic with its implied instability, it was in fact an area produced by landslips and physically unstable.

> The place names seem to be intrinsic to the places they name. The names are motivated. By a species of Cratylism they tell what the places are like. The place is carried into the name and becomes available to us there. You can get to the place by way of its name. Place names make a site already the product of a virtual writing, a topography.[46]

Radcliffe in her journal, uses associative language to heighten aesthetic pleasure in landscape, describing the Undercliff as "a tract of shore formed by fallen cliffs, and closely baricadoed [sic] by a wall of rock of vast height. [we] entered upon it about a mile from Kniton [Niton] and found ourselves in such a scene of ruin, as we never saw before."[47] This goes beyond factual pictorial description with the 'scene of ruin' invoking a response of imagination from the

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[43] Warner, R. (1789) *A Companion in a tour round Lymington: comprehending a brief account of that place & its environs, the Forest, isle of Wight, and the towns of Southampton, Christchurch, &c,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 102
[44] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 3-4
[45] Ibid. p 4
[46] Ibid. p 4
[47] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 51

reader. She continues her description of the menacing wall of rock on one side of the road and

> on the other side is an extremely irregular and rugged descent of half a mile towards the sea: on this side, there are sometimes what may be called amphitheatres of rock, where all the area is filled with ruins, which are, however, frequently covered with verdure and underwood, that stretch up the sides, with the wildest pomp, and shelter here a cottage, here a villa among the rocky hillocks.[48]

The reference to *amphitheatre* (a classical architectural feature) describing a natural land form and use of the descriptor *ruins* link her knowledge and interests in picturesque paintings which were the product of imagination. Hunt, amongst many commentators, identifies a "fascination with ruins" as an eighteenth-century obsession.[49] Gilpin, writing at the time, stressed that "among all the objects of art, the picturesque eye is perhaps most inquisitive after the elegant relics of ancient architecture; the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles and abbeys."[50] "Every distant horizon promises something new" to the traveller.[51]

Writing of the Undercliff Radcliffe expands the association of fallen buildings with a broken landscape of falling cliffs as natural ruins; she moves the focus from the degradation of man-made buildings to the natural of landscape which was a developing intellectual interest. This can be compared with the factual description by Revd. Barwis, vicar of Niton, of the Undercliff landslip that occured between 7th and 8th of February 1799.[52] Wonder was expressed at the demise of a building

> Formerly a small farm house, but recently fancifully fitted up by George Arnold, Esq. the proprietor of the land, for an occasional tea drinking cottage, situated in the centre of the convulsion, sunk downwards, and was entirely thrown down with the exception of the stack of chimnies

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[48] Ibid. p 51
[49] Hunt, J. D. (1994) *Gardens and the Picturesque,* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. p 174
[50] Gilpin, W. (1794) *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting,* R. Balmire, London. p 46
[51] Ibid. p 48
[52] Robbins (1799) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 236-240. The transcript is Appendix 3.

> [sic], the foundations of which made a considerable settlement into the ground, but is still standing.[53]

Another cottage was partly destroyed in the earth movement and

> was left in its original state to undergo a memorable and singular fate, and to acquire a celebrity, not by its *rise* but by its *fall.* The surviving wreck exhibits a melancholy and forlorn aspect, greatly augmented by the gloomy scenery by which it is surrounded. [54]

Barwis ends his description noting the difficulties of recording the scene in either text or image; "A mangled surface, black and dreary, exhibits nature in her rudest dress, and seems to challenge the pen of the poet, or the pencil of the artist, to do her justice in description."[55]

Radcliffe has no such problems; some of her descriptions of the Undercliff were said by the editor of her Journal to be "too long to be extracted" but point to the importance she placed in her written descriptions of this landscape.[56] She sums up the Undercliff as having

> Very extensive views; and for that extensiveness, may be called grand; but there are no mountain lines, no shapes, that overwhelm us with admiration. The want of wood forbids them magnificence. The undercliff is wild and romantic, rather than grand; but the sea horizon from it, is very often grand.[57]

Radcliffe's recorded observations of Island weather were as acute and sensitive as her observation of landform: she "saw the skirts of the fog clearing up the steeps ... like a curtain, and the sea below brightening from misty grey into it's [sic] soft blue, and the whole horizon gradually clearing, till all was cheerful warmth and sunshine."[58] Her language skills, expected of a novelist, were more acute than other diarists who recorded visits to the Island. She used literary associations to support and elaborate the impression she wished to make. Allusions to Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and music were combined in her description of sounds on the "rocky shore" of the Undercliff

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[53] Ibid. p 236
[54] Ibid. p 240
[55] Ibid. p 240
[56] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 52
[57] Ibid. p 53
[58] Ibid. p 77

> This resounding of the distant surge on a rocky shore might have given Shakespeare his idea when he makes Ferdinand, in the Tempest, hear, amidst the storm, bells ringing his father's dirge; a music which Ariel also commemorates, together with the sea-wave :—
>
> 'Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell,
>
> Ding, dong, bell!'
>
> This chiming of the surge is when the tide is among the rocks, and the wind, blowing from the sea, bears and softens all the different notes of the, waves to a distance, in one harmonious cadence; as in a concert, your distance from the orchestra blends the different instruments into a richer and softer harmony.[59]

The Tempest was frequently staged in London and in "artists' renderings underlined a neoclassical emphasis on human rationality and morality."[60] Eighteenth-century productions were usually spectacular in stage effects and London stagings would have included prominent musical contributions. Her linking of the Island with Prospero's Island is significant as it implies a place far away and enchanted; a location of the imagined, a location of alterities. Talking of *The Tempest* in 1999 Vaughan and Vaughan comment on the nature of Shakespeare's island

> Isolated geographically or psychologically from the first world, and usually distanced as well by climate and way of life (holiday rather than toil), the island setting provides artists and writers with an opportunity to comment on human relations without reality's constraints."[61]

It is possible that Radcliffe, at an earlier period, saw the Island in a similar way.

Only a small number of visitors to the Island would have the skills or literary background of Radcliffe but the range of allusions she draws on support the assumption that she needed no prints to aid her memory of places and emotions and she represented the reader that Mavor was aiming to attract. This would appear to support James Boswell who reflected on the nature of memory stimulated by written record; "Very often we have more pleasure in

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[59] Ibid. p 79
[60] Vaughan, V. and Vaughan, A. (Eds.) (1999) *The Tempest,* The Arden Shakespeare, London., Introductory Essay, p 83
[61] Ibid. Introductory Essay p 74

reflecting on agreeable scenes that we have been in than we have in the scenes themselves."[62]

Even an evening walk taken by Radcliffe, on the front at Cowes in 1798, receives detailed attention and shows another aspect of her writing, her 'painterly skills' with words. This reinforces the link between text and image; the ability to paint a scene with words that provided the imagination with material to interpret as an imagined visual scene.

> The views opening between trees and hedges to the dark lines of the New Forest; the Southampton water just opposite; eastward Portsmouth faintly seen and the shipping at Spithead; the masts of the ships at Cowes caught among the trees below; the scene changing at every step with the winding road; sometimes quite shut out, then smiling in the softest colours. All was in gradual shades of blue; the calm sea below, the shore and distant hills stretching along a cloudless blue sky. Innumerable vessels and little sails, whose whiteness was just softened with the azure tint. It is impossible to express the beauty of those soft melting tints, that painted the distant perspective, towards Spithead, where sea and sky united, and where the dark masts and shapes of shipping, drawing themselves on the horizon, gave this softness its utmost effect.[63]

The place of God in landscape and Creation and Mortality was an issue with her as for most people of her class,

> How impressive the silence, and then how according the solemn strain, that died upon the waves from unseen and distant bugles, like a song of peace to the departing day! Another of those measured portions that make up our span of life was gone; every one who gazed upon this scene, proud or humble, was a step nearer to the grave - yet none seemed conscious of it. The scene itself, great, benevolent, sublime—powerful, yet silent in its power—progressive and certain in its end, steadfast and full of a sublime repose: the scene itself spoke of its CREATOR.[64]

This extract from Radcliffe's Journal was published posthumously in 1833, it was her work as a 'gothic' novelist that informed the way in which scenes on the

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[62] Pottle, F. A. (Ed.) (1950) *Boswell's London Journal,* William Heinemann, London. p 40
[63] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 28
[64] Ibid. p 81

Undercliff and visits to Carisbrooke Castle were described.[65] However, her use of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in her writings provides support for the idea that the Island was viewed as a world apart from the mainland and possibly as a stage-set.

Other writers, both diarists and topographers, recorded their impressions in less complex language. Water had been identified by Gilpin as an important component of systems of viewing and a 1792 publication recorded 'text' sketches made whilst sailing, which were designed to appeal to "amateur sense of the beauties of Nature, ... scenes to enchant, if not friendships to endear."[66] This short pocket book was widely available on the mainland as well as the Island; being sold by the Misses Wise, Mr Sturch and Mr Thomas Albin, Booksellers at Newport, Mr Baker at Southampton and Mr Jones at Lymington. The availability of guide books at ports of embarkation and at Newport was to become common practice. There was a link with the metropolis with this book which was dedicated to George McKenzie Macauley, a native of the Island but at the time an Alderman and Merchant in the City of London. Landscape description in the work of the topographers took the forms of both image and text. The topographical publications established a historical and cultural setting for the visitor to base his/her Island experiences. How far do the topographies represent the Island as a reality and how far do they provide a representation of the Island that was moulded to fit metropolitan expectations, that is, metropolitan preconceptions and prejudices?

The natural resources of the Island were stressed in a description published in 1764

> Here is found the milk-white tobacco pipe clay, called creta, by the writers of natural history, of which great quantities are exported from hence, together with fine sand, of which fine drinking glasses are made. Here is abundance of sea fish of all kinds, great plenty of hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, lapwings and other wild fowl. In this island are two parks, well stocked with deer, but there being only one forest, wood

[65] No record survives of a visit by Radcliffe to Carisbrooke Castle although Norton thinks a visit likely to have taken place. Norton, R. (1999) *Mistress of Udolfo,* Leicester University Press/Cassell, London. p 180.
[66] Anon (1792) *Sketches of Descriptions taken from Sailing from Newport in the Isle of Wight to Lymington,* John Albin, Newport, IOW. p 2

> is so scarce, that it is imported hither in great quantities from the continent. It has been observed of this island, that it yields more corn in one year, than the inhabitants consume in seven; and therefore great quantities of corn are annually exported from this place." [67]

The Island was considered safe and the security was stressed

> The military government of this island, which is a post of the highest trust and honour, is always vested in a general of the army, admiral of the fleet, or some other person of the first military rank, and under him are the respective governors of the forts and castles of the island, where ther [sic] is always a whole regiment in garrison, and sometimes more.[68]

This sense of a return to perceived stable past social conditions, also identified as home. This coupled with feelings of nostalgia or longing for this past that was supported by topographical writings who promoted the Island a location of this surviving past social order. Oliver Goldsmith linked both in his works, which were widely read and influential at the time.[69] He glorifies a return to a simple life after a life of work

> O blest retirement, friend to life's decline,
> Retreats from care that never must be mine,
> How blest is he who crowns in shades like these.
> A youth of labour with an age of ease;
> Who quites a world where strong temptations fly.[70]

The Island's governance defined its difference to the regions of England. Barber's work, published at the end of the period of this study, gives a brief but detailed history quoted here based on Worsley's *History* of the Island (1781).[71] William Fitz-Osborne was given the task of subjugating the Island after the Norman Conquest and was created Lord of the Island. Later it was frequently raided by the French and was identified as needing strong defence against invasion. The Crown continued to appoint Lords, later Captains of the Island until the time of the Civil War when the title was changed to Governor. Governor is more usually associated with a colony but in the case of the Island

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[67] (1764) *England Illustrated,* R & J Dodsley, London. p 285 -286
[68] Ibid. p 286
[69] Goldsmith, O. (1970) *The Traveller (1765) and The Deserted Village (1770) with A Prospect of Society (1764),* The Scholar Press, Menston, Yorks.
[70] Ibid. *The Deserted Village,* p 6
[71] Barber, T. (1834) *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight: comprising views of every object of interest in the Island, engraved from original drawings, accompanied by historical and topographical descriptions,* Simpkin & Marshall, London. p 4-6

would appear to be used to highlight the security and defence aspects. During the period of this study the Island was a base for troops, including the Dutch as well as an important place of visitation by tourists and those seeking retreat from the mainland. Barber notes that "no event of importance has distinguished the history of the isle from that of England at large: the most remarkable facts in its annals being the succession of its governors, whose appointments by the crown has continued to this day."[72] During the period of this study the Governor not only oversaw the administration of the Island with the support of the Gentlemen of the Island but also the Island defence as a section of the front line of the realm during the war with France.

Island society appears to have been more balanced and liberal-minded than mainland society, or at least it has been recorded as such. For example there is evidence of religious tolerance; in 1799 Robert Trotman Coates "heard mass at the Roman Catholic Chappel [sic] lately erected [in Cowes] by a lady whose zeal has led her to bestow the same favour upon Newport".[73] The more private utterances of the diarists such as Coates, offer a simplicity of observation. Their view was uncomplicated and based on identification and recording of details with meaning or significance to them whenever possible within the range of the writer. An example is to be found in an unattributed and unpublished travel journal in the Cope Collection at Southampton University where the writer notes the issues he had of finding appropriate language to describe a scene

> In attempting any description of this part of the Island [Newport to Appuldurcombe, via Godshill] ... I feel myself to be undertaking a hopeless and unsatisfactory task; and of the impressions made upon the senses of the rare assemblage of so much of the sublime and beautiful of wild nature' [sic] works, I despair of giving but feeble outlines. Nothing but the palpable evidence of sight, can enable the mind to receive that full measure of delight and astonishment, such a country is capable of affording.[74]

By way of contrast the young student J.B. Scott records his 1813 visit to the Island for a very specific reason, revision for his exams at Cambridge. "I had engaged John Altz, of Jesus College, for my private tutor for this long vacation. ... He [Altz] engaged a house, lately occupied by the Marquise of Wellesley, at

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[72] Ibid. p 6
[73] Coates, R. T. (1799) In *Diaries and Journals* Isle of Wight Record Office. p 18
[74] (1826) In *Hampshire and Isle of Wight Manuscripts*. p 1

Cowes."[75] Besides the intensive reading he records visits with the other students of Altz to the New Forest, on the mainland, as well as parts of the Island,

> On the whole, our three months residence had been very agreeable and profitable. We had varied study by pleasant excursions, boating, bathing, and occasional balls at Cowes and Ryde, at one of which the beautiful Countess of Craven greatly pleased us.[76]

He was not engaged with his own plan of activity and travel but directed by his tutor with the needs of pleasurable relief from studies foremost.[77]

Another young person to record his Island impressions was Moy Thomas who was 22 when he embarked on his trip in July 1810, he writes "our plan was fixed before we left London."[78] Although he makes no reference to use of topographies the places visited and features described are all noted in such published works available at the time. He does however record very domestic details, with his travelling companion they took pot luck with accommodation and had the good fortune to obtain a Bed at a sort of Fisherman's Hut. "We got a rasher of Bacon and some good poached eggs for Supper, some ale and a glass of Grog and a comfortable Bed."[79] Again by contrast the experiences of Robert Trotman Coates from Winchester, were not good. He found lodgings in Cowes were "small, indifferent and dear."[80] He found little to say in praise of the Island. He was a provincial and would probably have had different expectations from a visitor from the metropolis.

Published reports had a different focus, the *Hampshire Repository* of 1801 includes a detailed description of the village of Niton on the Undercliff.[81] Although not described as a topography these two volumes published in Winchester are a collection of topographical and anthropological writings that

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[75] Scott, J. B. (1930) *An Englishman at Home and Abroard 1792-1828,* Heath Cranton, London. p 63-64
[76] Ibid. p 64
[77] Scott's visit to the Island came after the Regatta week and points to the commercial nature of house letting after the Regatta and before the winter season.
[78] Thomas, M. (1810) In *Bath Central Library, Somerset* Bath.
[79] Ibid. p 15
[80] IOWRO Coates, R. T. (1799) In *Diaries and Journals* Isle of Wight Record Office. p 10
[81] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 225-236

were intended to add balance to the 'unbalanced' topographies written by outsiders and published in the metropolis. Why Niton was chosen is unclear but its alterities are clear to us today and were probably so at the time of writing. This 1801 description is of a rural paradise such as featured in George Morland's paintings of the Island executed during the pervious decade, combined with resonances of Goldsmith's writings.

> The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed,
> And, wond'ring man could want the larger pile,
> Exults, and owns his cottage with a smile.[82]

Not all visitors were focused on high ideals, for example when the Countess Blessington recorded her 1820 tour for publication she made unflattering comments on her middling class travelling companions on the crossing and compares facilities found on the Island unfavourably with those found in the metropolis.[83] She observed the picturesque sights and visited the late Sir Richard Worsley's Appuldurcombe and its collections accompanied and guided by friends from the metropolis, even taking to the water at Cowes in the hope of seeing the George IV on his yacht. Her party departed Cowes "with little regret" and headed for the Undercliff where she followed the topographers' routes and described the scenery using similar language as found in the topographies.[84] During her visit to Niton, the village recorded in the *Hampshire Repository*, she bought an apple from a villager to see if it tasted as good as it looked; to her surprise she found it did.[85] The Blessington party had lunch of bacon and eggs in a cottage belonging to the Crab Inn at Niton but run by "a good old lady"; she notes that lunch was "excellent." The old lady proprietor of the cottage boasted of all the notable guests from London who had visited her cottage to either stay or eat a meal in the last few years.[86]

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[82] Goldsmith, O. (1970) *The Traveller (1765) and The Deserted Village (1770) with A Prospect of Society (1764),* The Scholar Press, Menston, Yorks. *The Traveller, or a Prospect of Society,* p 9

[83] Blessington, C. of. (1822) *A Tour in the Isle of Wight in the Autumn of 1820,* A & R Spottiswood, London. attribution from Halkett, S. and Laing, J. (1932) *Dictionary of Anonymous and Psedonymous English Literature,* Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. who cite the *Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books*, John Martin, London, 1854

[84] Ibid p 39-40

[85] Ibid p 64

[86] Ibid. p43

The attitude of the locals to tourists and their help in acting as guides and purveyors of information is noted by an unattributed Journal of 1799. The party hired a chaise and driver at Yarmouth to take them to Newport, they "had a very intelligent driver named Guy, remarkably civil, who pointed out objects on our way."[87] Incivility was only noted once by this source: "Hired horses, left Newport at 3 and rode to Ryde, where we encountered the only incivility on the Island and the first we have met since leaving town [the metropolis], charged ninepence [sic] for bottle of infamous Porter which we left."[88] This concentration by the diarists on identifiable local persons was outside the scope of the topographers whose comments were generalised; it is the difference between private or personal observations and public utterances. If *The Hampshire Repository* is detailed in its description of the people of Niton and their way of life it also understands that the features most sought after by tourists to the area were landscape: "this parish is certainly distinguished more by its picturesque scenery than its monuments of antiquity."[89]

The Cottage Inn at Steephill provided a notable location for meals that were taken in the open air, a sort of picnic situation but with all the convenience of a fixed location. Robert Coates' party of 14 enjoyed dinner "set upon a table in an arbour in the garden [where they] spent a few jolly hours."[90] The unattributed 1799 Journal records the Inn "situated in a delightful eminence and breakfasted at 11 o'clock in an arbour in the garden commanding a most extensive prospect of the sea."[91] This party was disappointed in finding no refreshments on a route of their own devising, "came along a long road to Knighton [sic], expecting to find an inn for dinner; much disappointed, ... got to the village of Shorewell at 5 o'clock, very fatigued, not having seen a public house for refreshment from Niton 8 miles."[92] It appears that the routes set out in the guides and topographies were all provided with suitable points where refreshments could be taken but the independent travellers would have to take pot luck. This is an

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[87] Ibid.Isle of Wight Record Office, Newport. p 11, entry for 1 August 1799
[88] Ibid. p 12, entry for 1 August 1799
[89] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 235
[90] Coates, R. T. (1799) In *Diaries and Journals* Isle of Wight Record Office. entry for 2 Sept
[91] Ibid.Isle of Wight Record Office, Newport. p 14, entry for 2 August 1799
[92] Ibid. p 14, entry for 2 August 1799

instance of the control of the consumption of the Island by the location of amenities.

An unattributed manuscript tour of the Island presents problems with dating, the earliest section being from 1826 with many entries and amendments from the mid-1850s.[93] It does not appear to have been intended for publication but rather an aid to memory by the writer, a very personal souvenir. The writer notes that he does not follow guides but takes alternative routes; there is a sense of adventure in his writing.

A visitor to Shanklin did not find the service in his hotel met his expectations

> No sooner, however, had I set foot in the House, that I was nearly knocked down by women rushing past me with plates & dishes, Waiters by-ing my Leave, without waiting for any Leave at all; together with such a turmoil of Chaises, Horses, and general bustle, That I was sorely afraid of meeting Starvation in this land of Plenty.[94]

Shanklin was busy in the summer months and he was treated with due deference when the bustle had died down, "The Inn [was] situated in very retired & sheltered spot. The road passes close by the little garden which fronts the part of the Inn fitted up as a Lodging house for Visitors & which is ornamented in the style of a rustic Cottage."[95]

Not all visitors used lodgings, Mrs Lybbe Powys, and later the Countess of Blessington, hired houses as well as avoiding the vulgarity of undertaking tours following published guides. Sir Hyde Parker, an Island resident, had hired a house for Mrs Lybbe Powys and her household on their 1792 visit.[96] Indeed Parker had arranged her passage to the Island.[97] The house he had engaged for her was in Ryde,

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[93] Cope*(1826) Notitia topographica or descriptive sketches of the scenery of the Isle of Wight,* In *Hampshire and Isle of Wight Manuscripts,* Soton MS6/7.
[94] Ibid. p 21
[95] Ibid. p 30
[96] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. p 258
[97] Ibid. p 257

> the place indeed may be said to consist merely of cottages, but all taken with company, and more wishing to come; indeed, 'tis so charming a country, and from the sea appears in its highest beauty, ... we had our little domain for two guineas a week, with eight bedrooms for ourselves and servants, tho' not very spacious, very neat and comfortable.[98]

To take a 'tourist' route they hired open carriages called 'whiskies' but found the roads "indifferent. The inhabitants brag of their not having one turnpike, but if they had many, one would not mind paying for so great a convenience."[99] Metropolitan values are evident here; Powys did not consider difference a merit where roads were concerned!

The Powys party desired to view the Needles but did not travel cross country but instead took a separate sea voyage from Lymington to Yarmouth, this time leaving their carriage on the mainland. They found that on arrival all the vehicles had been engaged and their party had "no alternative but to walk part of the way, first taking a boat, which row'd us to the church, where we landed and had then about two miles to walk to the cliff, and when we arrived the view fully answer'd our fatigue."[100] They were forced to walk back to Yarmouth and "got there about eight in the evening, and were not sorry to find our dinner ready at a very small neat inn 'The Angel'."[101]

Mrs Lybbe Powys is an example of a visitor who did not follow published topographical routes but many tourists without Island friends did follow the published routes. Charles Andrews' 1832 pocket guide, printed in Southampton, aimed to "furnish the visitant [with] a pocket companion pointing out ... many of the inumerable beauties for which Southampton and its vicinities is so justly admired."[102] He gives three routes centred on Newport, to the Needles and back, 35 miles; to St Helens and back, 28 miles; to Steephill and back, 28.5 miles.[103] These were routes for walking and provide directions and

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[98] Ibid. p 259
[99] Ibid. p 263
[100] Ibid. p 272
[101] Ibid. p 272
[102] Andrews, C. (1832) *The Visitant's Guide to Southampton, Netley Abbey, Portsmouth, Gosport, Winchester, Basingstoke, and Companion to the Isle of Wight,* G. F. Scotland, Southampton. p 5
[103] Ibid. p 63

main places; there was no mention of picturesque views or the status of people who lived on the routes and was a move away from the earlier guides. Brannon's suggested routes are given in Appendix 6 and centre on his concept of a picturesque tour.

One diarist who in part followed published topographical routes and acknowledged he was "amused by reading Isle of Wight Guides" writes in extended length about his journey.[104] His comments add to the descriptions found in the topographies and show his amazement at what he observes. For example

> Walked to Freshwater Gate, saw the cave but could not get into it on account of the tide. Walked a very long distance over the downs to needle point [sic] and saw those tremendous rocks called the Needles, which with the roaring of the sea and the noise of a multitude of birds that built their nests in them, struck us with fearful admiration. The shades of evening approaching determined us to make all possible haste to our Inn.[105]

The Prints as carriers of messages.

It is important to consider the relationship between text and image with regard to the role of prints prints in topographies, prints represent a different view of the scenes and locations from text and are supplementary to the text. Mavor considered print images detracted from the use of the imagination in the interpretation of topographical descriptions but was only considering the group of consumers who were literate and had the ability to travel and make their own observations. What he didn't acknowledge was the ability of a print to transfer different messages to text; the combination of both was capable of transmitting a more complex experience. When in combination they could become a souvenir or proxy experience of the Island.

The inclusion of prints in topographical publications became an increasingly important channel for the communication of detailed topographical information.

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[104] unattributed (1799) In *Diaries and Journals* Isle of Wight Record Office, Newport. p 4
[105] Ibid. p 11 entry for 31 July 1799

The choice of subject matter was determined by the writer of text who also selected the prints for inclusion. Possible limitations were the availability of suitable prints for inclusion and the costs involved with commissioning new work. A caution must be made here; prints cannot be taken to represent actualities of situation and many drew on the representational principles of the Picturesque.

The vast majority of the topographical prints of the Island are peopled, Miller, writing on topographies in 1995 makes the general point that there is always a figure in such landscape views.[106] These people appear in the prints either as observers or protagonists; for example they may be engaged in pastoral activities, or used as images to give scale and emphasise the vastness of the view. They all show man within nature, a different view from that taken by Gilpin who was interested in nature expressed as landscape without the influence or inclusion of man. In images where the sea is present there is often one man gazing seaward observing the horizon and infinity, a constant source of pleasure for eighteenth-century travellers. From Worsley's *History* onwards these peopled prints have been an essential part of the Island specific topographies. The prints contained within the topographies became more focused and complex in their messages and layers of information and were able to lead separate existences as souvenirs away from their origin as illustrations supporting text. With the passage of time we no longer view prints in the same way and for the same reasons. The eighteenth-century use was to disperse knowledge of the then present as well as past; our reason for viewing these prints is to reconstruct and understand the past. To the eighteenth-century observer scenes and locations presented were aspirational; they could stimulate a desire to visit the Island and experience the scenes and locations at first hand. As time went by Island prints became more complex and contained layers of meanings according to their viewers' ability to identify these meanings.

The more complex print is of specific interest in this study where a recognised site of remembered history became subsumed within the image produced. The

[106] Miller, J. H. (1995) *Topographies,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. p 4

most significant Island example was Carisbrooke Castle. Worsley's *History* gives us a detailed account of the history of the Castle and connections with Charles Ist and his family which later writers appear to have used as source material.[107] The fort at Sandown and Sharpnore as well as castles of Cowes and Yarmouth are also mentioned and recorded but do not have the same power and interest.[108] It was Carisbrooke that was to receive most attention by later topographers and diarists. For readers of Worsley the clue to the site of memory and myth creation was the following.

> Carisbrooke [sic} castle has been rendered remarkable by the confinement of Charles the First. ... On the King's death, it was converted into a prison for his children, wherein died Lady Elizabeth, whom the levelling rulers of that time are said to have intended to apprentice to a button maker. She was buried at Newport.[109]

Earlier in 1760 a description appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* describing the history without the human interest, merely noting that "the castle falls to ruins very fast."[110] The application by Worsley of the Royal connection and human tragedy of Princess Elizabeth add to Carisbrooke's assumed history. Two contrasting prints of Carisbrooke are reproduced. Plate 3 published in 1799 engraved by Fittler from a painting by Paul Sandby presents a very different image from Plate 4 drawn and engraved by William Cooke for his 1808 topography. It was Sandby's method to tour the countryside making picturesque drawings and paintings of scenes, some of which would later be engraved and issued as prints or utilised as illustrations in topographical works. Cooke, on the other hand, was producing his prints to illustrate his text. With Sandby there is no sense of a wide landscape-based location as the view concentrates on the dark and dramatic Castle entrance.. Cooke presents us with a more open view of the castle, his second print shows the location of the Castle in the wider Island landscape, Plate 5. The obvious differences of detail are clear, with Cooke producing sketches in which detail is given to the buildings and people above the landscape; Sandby has produced a more detailed antiquarian image to stand on its own rather than being produced with

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[107] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 41-6
[108] Ibid. p 46-7
[109] Ibid. p 45
[110] Milne, F. A. (Ed.) (1894) *English Topography,* Elliott Stock, London. p 154 original entry 1760 p 552-3

text to support its message. How far was Sandby being influenced by William Hogarth's views on composition? Hogarth was clear on what constituted good composition. Was nature adjusted by topographic print makers to fit with an idealised composition or was a viewpoint chosen for good print composition? Hogarth advised

> When you would compose an object of a great number of parts, let several of those parts be distinguish'd by themselves, by their remarkable difference from the next adjoining, so as to make each of them, as it were, one well-shap'd quantity or part ... by which means, not only the whole, but even every part, will be better understood by the eye: for confusion will hereby be avoided when the object is seen near, and the shape will seem well varied, tho' fewer in number, at a distance.[111]

It could be that Sandby was being influenced by Hogarth's ideas. Sandby chose his viewpoint with the Castle entrance central and dominating the scene. The sheep grazing to the right give a pastoral feel and the tow men on horseback are being given directions. This is a more complex print open to a wider range of interpretations than Cooke's prints of the same location which records the scene from a greater distance and without the focus of Sandby. Cooke's prints seem to supplement or support his text in a 'directed' manner.

The remains of Quarr Abbey, a Cistercian foundation dissolved by Henry VIII, were illustrated by Worsley. Plate 6 shows the coastal location with shipping and a visiting family group in the foreground. Brannon recorded the "Abbey's rude remains attract thy view" and notes the few remains of the buildings "are now converted into barns and other farm-buildings, they afford no pleasure but to an inquisitive antiquarian."[112] It was this antiquarian nature that would be of interest to a small number of visitors. Amongst the general topographies published in the metropolis Brayley and Britton mention the site of Quarr with its gothic ruins, but few of the diarists record visiting with interest.[113] Mrs Lybbe Powys noted "Captain Williams went with us a long walk, to show us Binstead

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[111] Paulson, R. (Ed.) (1997) *William Hogarth. The Analysis of Beauty,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 44

[112] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 28

[113] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 389

Parsonage and the ruins of Quarr Abbey."[114] It was not until 1822/3 that Mrs Fleming, lady of the Manor of Quarr had "built an elegant marine cottage" on the site.[115] Carisbrooke, with its royal connection and tragedy of Princess Elizabeth, stirred up more interest than the long-departed monks of Quarr Abbey.

When viewing eighteenth-century prints Barthes tells us that "we no longer look at these illustrations with mere information in mind."[116] He proposes three levels of meaning that can be used in interpretation of prints. The first and most straightforward "which gathers together everything I can learn from the setting."[117] The second level is symbolic significance which depends on cultural awareness of the viewer.[118] His third level of meaning is elusive and depends on a question, have we learnt everything that the print has to tell us?

> No I am still held by the image. I read, I receive (and probably even first and foremost) a third meaning – evident, erratic, obstinate. I do not know what its signified is, at least I am unable to give it a name, but I can see clearly its traits.[119]

This third meaning can be part of the process that removes a print from its function as an illustration and moves it to have significance as an independent art form and cultural signifier. This process was starting when prints were removed from their published topographical source, and became works of art and souvenirs and items of consumption in a variety of settings. Many of these prints became decorative items to be displayed pasted to walls in dedicated 'Print Rooms' or on screens, some have been re-used and issued in other formats such as the plate designs by Tomkins, Plate 7. This section aims to reveal some of the ways that the prints were viewed and reasons for the inclusion of objects in their composition, they cannot be viewed as an exact record of a scene, but always an interpretation of a scene by the artist and engraver to present their image from their viewpoint, sometimes commercial

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[114] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. p 265
[115] Albin, J. (1823) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* John Albin, Newport IOW. p 61
[116] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London. p 218
[117] Ibid. p 317
[118] Ibid. p 317
[119] Ibid. p 318

and sometimes painterly. Barthes describes prints of eighteenth-century rural scenes as having "an almost naïve simplicity, a kind of Golden Legend of artisanry, for there is no trace of social distress: [they identify] the simple, the elementary, the essential and the casual."[120] They identify the myth of idyllic rural life. On the Island the lack of industrialisation and pressure and influence of the metropolis give us a different view of rural life and society to the mainland.

Unlike paintings and watercolours, topographical prints never become completely independent of their text as captions and description remain; geographical location fixes the image in space as date of engraving fixes the time of production. Neither guarantees truth or fidelity to reality. How realistic or true is this fixed image, this representation of the past? Why was the print created? At its simplest it is an interpretation of the scene by the artist, which has then been interpreted by the engraver. The realism, in twentieth-century terms, of the scene represented must be in doubt after these transformations.

Clayton considers that topographical "prints taught tourists what to appreciate in gardens or in the natural landscape."[121] He expands this idea saying that there was an "increasingly confident devotion to 'simple nature' after 1770 [that] closed the gap between imagined landscape and topography."[122] This appears to imply that topography became the imagined landscape for those viewers who used the images for proxy experiences. The notion that prints retain capsules of historic reality exists to this day and is applied in particular to the Island based works of the Brannon family. Print are, in reality, capsules of imagined or interpreted past, they represent an ideal. The authorial function of the artist and print maker comes between us and the reality of the eighteenh century, which is now lost. The views that were being promoted in the prints have a base in what existed, what was deemed worthy of recording and what the print maker wished to see, today we can only approximate the balance between these factors.

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[120] Ibid. p 221
[121] Clayton, T. (1995) In *The Picturesque in late Georgian England* (Ed, Arnold, D.) The Georgian Group, London. p 16
[122] Ibid. p 18

Of the topographers of the Island only Hassell (1790), Tomkins (1796), Cooke (from 1808) and Brannon (from 1821), appear to have written their text and prepared their own illustrations. The source of prints used by other topographers is not always clear but possibly suitable prints were chosen from existing stock as many topographical prints of the Island were prepared and issued independent of text. Consideration of prints issued without substantial contemporary detailed text is outside the scope of this study. Some of the topographies were published on subscription and the selection of *Seats* for inclusion depended on this, Tomkins' topography of 1796, being the earliest example. It went beyond recording ownership of property and land and included picturesque landscape, historical churches and sites of memory.[123] The multiple function of the topographies and the interrelationship of the functions presents a challenge due to the passage of time and changes in thought and systems of recording. The Island topographers were primarily concerned with two aspects, firstly landscape and the curiosity of landform and secondly the built environment, both ruined and inhabited. The interest in both instances was not merely in

> the discovery of a new object of curiosity [but in a] series of complex operations that introduce the possibility of a constant order into a totality of representations.[124]

In the eighteenth-century understanding of objects was accepted as coming from classification and order. The Island, as represented by the topographers, can be seen as a result of these processes of classification and order. The topographies contained detailed printed tourist routes; one example of many available is given in Appendix 6. By the means of using selected routes the Island could be examined and consumed by taking three tours over three days. The Island was seen according to defined routes which passed through different types of scenery and observed the residences of significant people. The very act of guiding the tourist controlled their experiences. An order was presented and at the same time Island information was controlled.

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[123] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London.
[124] Ibid. p 172

In general terms the purpose of the prints was to inform and to supplement information in text or present sites with association that were easier to imply through image rather than text. A later possible function was as a souvenir and simple decorative item. The frontispiece to Worsley's *History*, Plate 8, has an image of St Catherine's Tower. Why did he choose this as the first image to represent the Island? Its origins and function are unclear; sometimes considered as a lighthouse, sometimes a folly, it was an image that could have represented to Worsley the historic significance of the Island. It may be significant that this was situated on one of the highest points on the Island and was part of the vast Worsley family landholding on the Island. A commentator of 1757 in *The Gentleman's Magazine* recorded that the tower was in a position "commanding the most extensive view, both by sea and land, of any place in Britain."[125] A further comment reflects the interests in classifying architecture at the time, "It seems to be a Gothic imitation of the temple of the Eight Winds at Athens."[126] Plate 9 shows the tower today, it would appear to have been serving the same function to tourists since the eighteenth-century and physically looks remarkably like the print issued in Worsley's *History.* It was a site to visit to view the Island with the surrounding sea, a significant experience then as now. The prints in Worsley's *History*, noted in Appendix 2, feature items to illustrate each chapter of the work. They do not seek to explain the text but are visual descriptions of scenes. It is not known if they were commissioned for the text as not many are dated. However Plate 10 showing the Needles is dated 1762 and could have been commissioned by an earlier Worsley as material for the text was collected over three generations.[127]

The variety of images found in Worsley is not easy to categorise today but may be viewed as representing the interests and preoccupations of Worsley and his view of the Island. They are essentially land and seascapes, Plates 11-15. Plate 11, "View from Ventnor Cove, towards Steephill, & Niton" shows the angular and irregular landscape of the Undercliff with people in boats. One person standing in a dinghy is pointing to the cliffs, directing our vision. Barthes

[125] Milne, F. A. (Ed.) (1894) *English Topography,* Elliott Stock, London. p 155, original entry 1757, p 176
[126] Ibid. p 156, original entry 1757, p 176
[127] Boynton, L. O. J. (1967) *Appuldurcombe House,* HMSO, London. p 9

notes "you can imagine the most naturally solitary, 'savage' object; be sure man will nonetheless appear in a corner of the image; he will be considering the object, or measuring it, or surveying it, using it at least as a spectacle."[128] If we take Barthes' general analysis of eighteenth-century print construction, the viewer is being directed to look at the landscape of the Undercliff, a formation for which no agreed process was responsible.[129] The first-hand description of the 1798 landslip, Appendix 3, demonstrates the desire to make sense of the processes of nature at work in the area. The violence of the 1799 landslip on the Undercliff needed to be understood and explained; Revd. Barwis, the Oxford educated Vicar of Niton did this.[130] No prints of this incident have been traced but Barwis' text has been reproduced frequently in the topographies.

Another area that was a focus of interest by topographers, including print makers, visitors and diarists was the coastal area of Freshwater Gate. Worsley's interest in this area can be seen in Plates 12, "View from Freshwater Gate" and 13, "The Cave under Freshwater Cliff". This part of the coast is exposed to the south west and experiences rough sea conditions originating in the Caribbean; it is the most exposed coast of the Island. A report in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1787 records the scene

> Freshwater gate [is] a rocky wild bay, on the west coast of the Isle; it is remarkable for what the inhabitants call a ground tide, which is a violent agitation of the water, at a time when the other parts of the shore are becalmed. This phenomenon is supposed to be occasioned by a bottom interspersed with broken rocks. The ground tide roars so loudly as to be heard at four or five miles distance.[131]

The same writer visted the Freshwater Cave

> In the month of January 1767, the writer of this account viewed this cavern in a condition frightfully picturesque. Its floor was strewed with the remains of a French vessel, which, with its whole crew, had perished on that inhospitable coast.[132]

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[128] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London. p 223
[129] Radcliffe was attempting to find the language to describe the area but looking to the work of the Creator to explain the natural forces at work.
[130] See Appendix 3
[131] Milne, F. A. (Ed.) (1894) *English Topography,* Elliott Stock, London. p 155 original entry 1787, pt 1, p 377
[132] Ibid. p 155, original entry 1787, pt 1, p 377

In this plate, nature is supreme and no workers are visible. Plate 13 shows the view towards the sea from the cave under Freshwater Cliff. This cave would become a site of tourism being associated with wrecks and washed-up bodies. Richard Warner, writing in 1789, understood the cave to have been "formed in a long course of ages by the agitation and influx of the waves."[133] His description of the cave is quoted at length as it shows the way the scene was viewed and the awe in which it was held.

> The mighty fragments of rocks which lie scattered on its irregular floor, and the ponderous masses depending from its roof, and threatening the beholder with instant annihilation, give it an appearance of terrifying majesty; while the grand and boundless view of the ocean, seen through the large aperture combines to form a scene at once sublime and beautiful.[134]

He adds words of warning to potential visitors

> It may be necessary however to remark, that the traveller should chuse (sic) a proper time for the contemplation of this place, either when the tide is retiring or quite at ebb; as the author once, inattentive to this circumstance, found himself, by visiting the cave when the tide was coming up with great rapidity, which it constantly does on this shore.[135]

Warner lived in Sway, near Lymington; although no link has been found with Gilpin, he would probably have known him in local society and certainly, with their common interest in landscape, have known of his work. Warner's work was published in Southampton and available in London, so potentially had wide availability.

When we read the quotations of 1789 and look at the image in Worsley published in 1781, we experience a convergence of ideas. Although they were not produced for each other they are complementary and produce a cumulative effect. However we are viewing these with twenty-first-century eyes and understanding; they would have had a more intense impact to an eighteenth-century reader who would have a different set of reactions to Warner's

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[133] Warner, R. (1789) *A Companion in a tour round Lymington: comprehending a brief account of that place & its environs, the Forest, isle of Wight, and the towns of Southampton, Christchurch, &c,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 186
[134] Ibid. p 187
[135] Ibid. p 187

elemental writing. Most of the located diarists of the Island visited this site and recorded their own reactions to this raw view of the forces of nature.

When Ann Butler visited the Island with her Uncle, Revd. William Norris in 1799 she recorded the scene at Freshwater in her diary.[136]

> When we arrived at Freshwater Gate we found to our great mortification the surge too rough to enable us to sail round the Cliffs, or view the Cavern which had been represented as grand and interesting curiosity; and to complete our distress a violent shower of Rain came pouring down upon us and threatened, by its appearance, to delay our journey to the Needles. But we possessed too great a Curiosity and too much perseverance to have our intentions frustrated, we therefore travelled along the Cliff during the most pitiless Storm I ever remembered, we had been so long accustomed to Sublime views as to lessen the dread of the Precipice; but our minds were too lively to view such objects, so infinitely superior to the most proud and lofty fabricks with indifference.[137]

The most curious print in Worsley's *History* is Plate 14, "The Needles, Hurst Castle & Mouth of Lymington River." This is a view from the mainland towards the Island, a composition that links the Island and Mainland. It is observed from the vicinity of Worsley's mainland property of *Pilewell*, but is perhaps stressing a comment made in his text that the Island was not so different from the mainland.[138] Again man is absent from the scene although cottages and the defensive Hurst Castle are included.

Plate 15, "The Cottage at Steephill, belonging to The Rt. Hon. Hans Stanley Governor of the Isle of Wight", illustrates an aspect of print production that was to become the dominant feature of topographical illustrations, namely that of a picturesque view with a residence of a distinguished person.[139] The cottage at Steephill was to be a favoured location for tourists and a cottage hotel and lodging house set up just after Worsley was published. Nearby was the Chalybeate Spring and its cottage where the waters could be taken. There is

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[136] Butler, A. (1799) In *Local Studies Library* Portsmouth.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Pilewell was close to Vicar's Hill, the home of Gilpin.
[139] Later these were to be called 'Seats', mainland use denoted residences of prominent persons enclosed in substantial grounds. In Island terms the grounds were often no more than large gardens or pleasure grounds. The term 'Seat' was used to denote the prominence of the resident according to Mainland land holding and prominence.

nothing of these later connotations in this print, the cottage is shown as having a favoured position with panoramic sea and land views, horses and cattle inhabit the foreground, it is a pastoral scene untouched by an industrialised world and as such would have appealed to the observer.

The range of Worsley's prints, Appendix 2, represent his view of his Island, landscape, seascape, churches, ruins and castles representing sites of memory, as well as family coats of arms. Elements from each of his chapters would be included in topographical guides published subsequently, often taking their detail from his text. However none of Worsley's prints were re-used by writers; most preferred new commissioned material that was more focused on subject detail that fitted the text of the publication.

The works of the Brannon Family.

The topographical works of George Brannon and his family represent the most prolific output of such works centred on the Island.[140] Brannon probably came to the Island from Ireland in 1809 and eventually settled in a cottage at Wootton Common "where he engraved, printed and published his various works – the perfect example of a cottage industry."[141] By naming his works *Vectis*, the Roman name for the Island, he was promoting the authority of historical authenticity in his work. Raymond Turley was at one time a librarian at Southampton University and has collated the prints of the Brannon family. Turley's catalogue to the 1976 exhibition *Vectis Scenery,* which consisted of prints by the Brannon family, is quoted here as the authoritative guide to these prints.[142] The publication summary of *Vectis Scenery*, Appendix 4, shows how his work developed from a collection of prints into formal topography consisting of text, including routes and historical commentary, supporting a large number

[140] Philip Brannon later produced much topographical work on the Southampton area.
[141] Turley, R. (1976) *Vectis Scenery. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in Ryde Library, January 1976,* Crossprint, Newport. p 2
[142] Ibid. Turley, (one time Librarian at Southampton University) notes the difficulty of being certain that all the prints are recorded. This study deals only with the Brannon prints identified by Turley up to 1976.

of prints which were most frequently in quarto format.[143] These were too large for the traveller to use and would appear to have been designed for souveniirs and library use.

The *Vectis Scenery* was published in London (1821-4), locally in Southampton (1824-6), as well as at Wootton Common (1827 onwards). Brannon expounded his philosophy of production and distribution of *Vectis Scenery* in the preface to the 1830 edition.

> The price of the Work must be deemed quite moderate, when it is known, that THE SALE OF IT IS CONFINED TO THE ISLAND, and the three principal towns on the opposite shore. – The mention of this fact was thought particularly necessary, at a time when so many *cheap* pictorial publications are starting; and are said to pay exceedingly well, from their astonishingly wide circulation. But it should be remembered at the same time, that *the interest*, and consequently *value*, of such works, is greatly diminished by their being so very common; for who would care to shew [sic] a friend, and much less to make a present of, an article that probably he already possesses, or at least has seen over and over again, from being exposed on every counter of every bookseller in the United Kingdom, and repeatedly thrust into his hands by obtrusive hawkers?[144]

Allowing for exaggeration of the value of his work and his clear commercial interest, Brannon desired to produce an exclusive product limited in number and of high quality for a discerning public; a souvenir rather than a pocket guide.

> It was the consideration that all productions, especially the elegant and amusing, become cheapened in proportion to their commonness, which determined the Artist to confine the sale of "THE VECTIS SCENERY" to the Island, and just a few of the most respectable booksellers on the opposite coast.[145]

These were in Lymington, Portsmouth and Southampton where the Island crossings were located and appear to have been occasionally available from London booksellers. To emphasise his exclusivity and currency of his work he makes a point of his Island residence

> The Artist being on the spot, he prepares every season a new Edition, in which engravings undergo any alterations suitable to the changes that

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[143] A pocket-sized book was published by the Brannon family in 1850 a guide to amateur drawing; this is too late for consideration in this study.
[144] Quoted in Turley, R. (1976) *Vectis Scenery. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in Ryde Library, January 1976,* Crossprint, Newport. p 5
[145] Quoted in Ibid. p 5

> are constantly making in the Island by local improvements or other causes. Consequently, the work is never two years exactly the same, from being thus annually rendered a faithful picture at the time of its Publication.[146]

Brannon made two statements on his position as artist and his aesthetics. In his 1824 preface he stated his "chief aim was to give each design as much as possible the *true Local Character;* and to effect this leading object, he was frequently induced to prefer awkward stations; for instance some lofty rock, rugged eminence, or even the arms of a tree."[147] He continues that a person viewing a scene *in situ* must take a number of positions to receive the full visual impact but the painter could choose only one position. "But in fact it can be of no consequence to the public what point of view is chosen by an artist, provided it offers *the most natural* and *comprehensive* display of his subject."[148]

In his 1826 preface he stresses that "*Fidelity of Representation* was throughout the principal aim of the Engraver."[149] However he qualifies this

> The only liberty which the Artist considered himself justified in taking, (beyond what the rules of drawing absolutely require, and what's always allowed,) was to bring within the view any contiguous objects that seemed essential to the making out the true local character of the scene.[150]

1826 was a significant year for Brannon for John Nash commissioned him to engrave a private series of East Cowes Castle to be distributed only by Nash. Brannon then proudly announced that his engraving style "has fortunately recommended him to the patronage of the first Architect of the Kingdom."[151]

A list of the engravings produced by Brannon, Appendix 5, records nearly 200 examples, some of them updated and reissued regularly. What does this archive represent? Is it Brannon's idiosyncratic view of the Island? Do they represent the choice of prints by Brannon that he hoped would be attractive for purchase? Probably a mixture of both as they are the most comprehensive

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[146] Quoted in Ibid. p 5
[147] Quoted in Ibid. p 5
[148] Quoted in Ibid. p 5
[149] Quoted in Ibid. p 5
[150] Quoted in Ibid. p 5
[151] Quoted in Ibid. p 5

collection of images of the Island of any of the topographical works issued during the period. For many they represent the *reality* of the late Georgian Island and have been viewed as accurate representation. More correctly they represent the view of the Island that Brannon wished to promote.

Topographies as Souvenirs and Proxy visits

The purchase of topographies allowed for two cultural activities, both aspects of consumption, collecting books and prints and taking imagined journeys, both of which were widespread in the long eighteenth-century. Barthes identifies the eighteenth-century activity of collecting prints as "appropriating and owning" reinforcing the souvenir aspects of topographical print collections as a bourgeois activity.[152] Russell Belk develops this concept by locating the growth of collections in the eighteenth-century amongst the "aristocratic, professional, and merchant classes".[153] These collections were based on items of cultural significance from Grand Tours and, later in the century, from collections dispersed in the wake of the French Revolution. Books of British topography and prints are on a more modest scale but were part of such collections. In the 1750s topographies were still rare, of limited printings and with a limited interest and consequently expensive. As the second half of the long eighteenth-century progressed they became more readily available and print runs went to several editions. In the case of Island topographies produced by the Brannon family during these years the role of commodity marketing as souvenirs was the primary element of the work. The various topographies were collected by visitors to the Island as well as readers who gained their knowledge and experience of the Island through text and image, the recipients of the proxy visit. This was a dual function of souvenir as information and experience and is located at the start of the 'development of collecting and consumer culture'.[154] This collecting does not need to be elaborate or costly; print fragments were often collected and displayed in scrap books, Plate 16 is one example.

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[152] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London. p 222
[153] Belk, R. W. (1995) *Collecting in a Consumer Society,* Routledge, London & New York. p 42
[154] Ibid. p 64

Other souvenirs were possible from the Island, Robert Upperton, when near the Needles and Alum Bay "bought a bottle of sand for the first curiosity" and notes that some tourists nearby were "drowned last September in a excursion by water."[155] Rowlandson noted the sands on his visit to the Island and recorded it in the caption to Plate 2. The coloured sands of Alum Bay are still collected and we still make associations from memory and experience but with the passage of time make it very difficult to understand the intense curiosity recorded by the eighteenth-century writers. Plate 7 shows designs by Tomkins for table plates that were produced by Wedgewood. Island-based collectibles was part of a nationwide activity of collecting.

As has been shown the nature of topography altered over the years of this study and met the perceived need of the users. By the 1840s further changes were taking place; Abraham Elder from London published a new type of travel book of the Island concerning a different quest, namely the 'Tales and Legends' of the Island and his travels in search of them.[156] In his introduction he notes the Island's "hills, its chines, and its undercliffs ... and all its other 'ineffable beauties'" but notes that "yet there still remains a path as yet untrodden. No one has hitherto attempted to collect into a volume the ancient tales traditions of the Island."[157] The search for new sensations would take an anthropological turn and tours would centre on a new style pursuit of sensation and pleasure.

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[155] Upperton, R. (1826) In *Diaries and Journals* Isle of Wight Record Office, Newport. entry for 2 May and 9 May 1826

[156] Elder, A. (1843) *Tales and Legends of the Isle of Wight,* Simpkin, Marshall & Co, London.

[157] Ibid. p 2

Chapter 4

Paper Representation of the Cottages and Mansions of the Island

> *[The] Ornamental cottage, is a building that owes its origin to the taste of the present day and though humble in its appearance affords the necessary conveniences for persons of refined manners and habits, and is, perhaps, more calculated than any other description of building for the enjoyment of the true pleasure of domestic life unincumbered [sic] with the forms of state and troublesome appendages. William Pocock, 1808*[1]

Earlier chapters have traced the development of the Island as a focus of fashionable tourism, both for health and picturesque pursuits and the resulting publication of a large number of Island centred topographical works. Pocock, amongst other writers of cottage design books with national distribution and circulation, had identified the values of 'cottage life' as a suitable location for 'persons of refined manners and habits.'[2] The Island possessed large numbers of cottages that were used as accommodation for visitors; some found the Island so congenial that they became seasonal and occasionally permanent residents in existing cottages or more frequently adapted or built new cottage homes or occasionally small mansions, in favoured locations. This chapter examines how these buildings were represented by topographers and visitors, that is how their histories were created and what we can learn of them from these paper constructs of text and image. Few truly original comments were recorded by visitors who tended to repeat the published topographers observations or just record the names of the owners of the residences observed on the routes followed.

New residents came either from the metropolis or the newly industrialised regions and were following a well documented trend to move residence away from their sources of wealth creation; the creation of a *Retreat* on the Island became a fashion, providing a lifestyle that was not hampered by social changes that had occurred on the mainland. A significant number of the nobility

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[1] Pocock, W. F. (1807) *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings and Villas etc.*, London. p 8

[2] Ibid, p 8

took town villas for the summer, but as these were in urban locations and neither newly built nor substantially renovated residences consideration of these is outside the scope of this study.

There were two types of fashionable residence: the cottage, defined at the start of the chapter by Pocock, and the larger more complex villa or mansion. These will be dealt with in two sections of this chapter. The villas, castles and mansions provide a contrast; on the Island they are found in more substantial grounds, sometimes landscaped and can be seen as a feature enhancing the landscape.[3] This did not imply that they were easily accessible for close inspection but they could all be seen and admired from a respectful distance.

The Cottages and the influence of national design criteria and Design Books

This section will examine the sort of building that was considered a 'cottage' and narratives by which they were recorded as well as the way of life associated with the cottage. There are limitations in these topographical writings, journals and diaries due to the varied interests and viewpoints of the writers and in the instances of published diaries, the editors.

Firstly the Cottages; in construction and size their nature was very different from the villa/mansions. However both were retreats and they shared this rationale for their existence. The movement of people to settle on the Island occurred at the same time as a revival of interest in architectural design in styles and forms other than classical. Cottage design books were being published and the notion of the 'fashionable' middling and upper classes living in *Cottages* became a possibility. On the Island socially significant people could reside in *Seats* that were of a nature different than on the mainland; estates were of smaller size due to the overall small scale of the Island. *Seats* could often be fairly modest scaled cottages or larger dwellings but they had to be inhabited by either socially significant or nationally important personages; the designation *seat* went with the resident rather than the residence. For example, John Albin's

[3] Size of estates was smaller than on the mainland due to the relatively small area of the Island.

map of the Island, Map 1, published in London 1805, notes residences and the occupiers, which are given in Appendix 7, each of the residents was significant, either as an Islander or as an Overner.[4]

The terms used for the style of dwellings during the long eighteenth-century differ from our understanding of the terms today. Style of building is ephemeral and determined by fashion and taste; these aspects will be explored. For some people a *Retreat* on the Island was a simple cottage style dwelling in a rural spot away from a population centre. This did not imply the dwelling needed to be surrounded by a substantial estate but could be in grounds that provided everyday needs in fruit and vegetables, particularly when the cottage location was isolated.[5] The cottage retreats provided at best seclusion and isolation.

They share a commonality based on myth which "has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us."[6] Barthes was referring to ideas and forms taken from the past and modified for current use. The cottage, traditionally a dwelling for the lower orders, implied a simple life, or at least the myth surrounding the word and its use implied this function. It implied a lower level of sophistication in lifestyle, a simple and more natural life than found in a city. Goldsmith amongst others developed this idea in his *Deserted Village*[7]. This cultural trend and desire to look to the past and selectively re-interpret ideas and forms may help to explain where the fashionable idea for building and dwelling in cottages emanated. By the late 1790s Cottage Design books were being published in significant numbers and were readily available "to those Noblemen and Gentlemen of taste, who build retreats for themselves, with desire to have them appear as cottages."[8] James Malton's designs of 1798 were unashamedly appealing to fashionables who could become more fashionable still by living in a cottage. Similarly "John Plaw, an author of several such books, openly solicited business."[9] This increase in the production of cottages as retreats was a

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[4] Albin, J. (1805) London. The term Overner was used to describe people from the mainland.
[5] Examples are to be found on the Undercliff.
[6] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London. p 102
[7] Goldsmith, O. (1970) *The Traveller (1765) and The Deserted Village (1770) with A Prospect of Society (1764),* The Scholar Press, Menston, Yorks.
[8] Malton, J. (1798) *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture*, London. p 2
[9] Archer, J. (1985) *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842,* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. p 21

nationwide trend and followed the publication and distribution of an increasing number of Cottage Design Books. The Island, as the rest of the country, was as influenced by these publications. There was an existing strong local tradition of cottage and small villa design on the Island, particularly on the Undercliff. It is probable that few designs were used as published in the books, that is without modification, an exception being Lugar's *Puckaster* for George Ward on the Undercliff.

Malton, in the introduction to his book describes his vision

> I figure in my imagination a small house in the country; of odd, irregular form, with various, harmonious colouring; the effect of weather, time and accident; the whole environed with smiling verdure, having a contented cheerful [sic], inviting aspect, and door on the latch, ready to receive the gossip neighbour, or weary exhausted traveller.[10]

He gives us this definition of a cottage. It is significant that he sees the 'small house' in his 'imagination', as a memory that was capable of being regenerated as a base for a way of life; a mythical style of dwelling in a mythical environment both natural and social. There is a strong hint of nostalgia here with a sense of trust of neighbours and of natural law that was in contrast to conditions in the metropolis and other newly industialised urban locations. Sir Richard Worsley, in his *History* recorded the state of cottages of the peasantry on the Island: "even the cottages appear neat and comfortable, having each its little garden."[11] This was reinforced by a comment made later in 1824.

> To the feeling and benevolent mind, the situation of the third division of the inhabitants must present a delightful picture. The cottagers have neat, comfortable, cleanly dwellings to each of which a little garden is attached; and while the general appearance of content and decency does away the impression of poverty and misery, it must be confessed that the manners of the lower ranks are civil and inoffensive, and more free from vice than most persons in the same sphere of life in other districts.[12]

Worsley's *History* may have been the source of this information as the wording and feel is very close. These comments point us to a secure and stable Island society that would provide a refuge from conditions in the metropolis in particular. We will see that security was not a big issue; theft was reported as

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[10] Malton, J. (1798) *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture*, London. p 5
[11] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 12
[12] Anon (1824) *A Guide to all the Watering and Seabathing Places,* Longman Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, London. p 141

largely unknown on the Island. How do we interpret the signs that encouraged people to *retire* to the Island? Foucault tells us of 'signs' and connecting ideas that "should find [their] area of being within knowledge."[13] This is remembered knowledge, the past or rather idealised past, the small scale living in an agrarian based location that was still pre-industrialised. This was the situation on the Island: the cottage retreat can be seen as a re-creation of a past way of life, a myth associated with a style of building that promised a way and quality of life no longer available on the mainland. The *Hampshire Repository* contains a description of the inhabitants of Niton village that shows not only the social isolation but the qualities of the past that fed the desire for the simple life; another instance of identified similarity and differences...[14] Surprise is often shown by topographers from the metropolis in matters of cultural development, for example Hassell, writing in 1790 of the Inn at *Steephill* notes that "even in this recluse and humble situation a ray of taste is visible."[15]

What did the Cottage Design Books provide in design guidance?[16] John Plaw, writing in 1803, appears to reject historicism in visuals and was specific in his view of current cottage design, "What man of genius would think of building a new House, having the patchwork and bungling appearance of an old one?"[17] He advocated "simple forms and finishes" using either Greek or Gothic styles, "the general appearance snug, low, compact, and dressed in artless and unaffected attire: such is my idea [that approaches] nearest to the true cottage or comfortable retreat."[18] We will see that this view of the visuals of a cottage does not fit well with examples on the Island where site and picturesque qualities appear to have been the determinants required by the new residents in their design and use of space.

Robert Lugar's 1805 book of designs was dedicated to George Ward, one of the prominent landowners and Island residents. Ward, an entrepreneur from London, had bought much land on the Island and was in the process of

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[13] Foucault, M. (1994) *The Order of Things,* Routledge, London. p 65
[14] Quoted in Chapter 2, pp 47-8
[15] Hassell, J. (1790a) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 218
[16] The selection of Cottage Design Books is not comprehensive but limited to those that show contrasts and present different views.
[17] Plaw, J. (1803) *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas and Rural Retreats*, London. p 3
[18] Ibid. p 3

developing *Bellevue* into a classical mansion later to be called *Northwood.*[19] Lugar's ideas will be considered at some length as at least one cottage, already noted, was built on the Island to his design.[20] In the Preface he explained that

> The Cottages are calculated for those persons whose liberal minds may lead them to accommodate their peasantry and dependants with dwellings, and embellish their domains with a variety of picturesque buildings, which shall be both ornamental and useful.[21]

He makes no initial mention of Cottages as residences for members of the middling and upper classes but does show an interest in *Picturesque* possibilities of cottages and their location which is absent from Plaw's ideas of utility, but which is central to cottage development on the Island. Lugar was specific in his rationale for visual design regardless of its use by gentleman or peasant

> The broken line must be considered peculiar in character for a picturesque cottage, whether for a gentleman or a peasant. It is thus flatness or uniformity are avoided and the pleasant effect of light and shadow are made to produce those pleasing varieties which constitute the picturesque in buildings.[22]

He wished to make his cottages more than objects of utility; rather to embellish the landscape, a good response to the developing application of *Picturesque Theory.* discussed in chapter 2. However artificiality of effect was to be strenuously avoided in design: "the varied or broken line should arise from apparent wants, from the necessity of the case, and not for the sake of merely destroying a continued line."[23] He lists the most acceptable way to alter lines in a picturesque way, "a lean-to closet, a bow window, a pent-house, chimneys carried high and in masses, or gable-ends."[24] He considered these to be picturesque objects in their own right and would "generally produce wished for effects."[25] Lugar advocated a wide range of external visual possibilities; Egyptian, Turkish, Chinese and Indian were added to British historical styles.

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[19] Lugar, R. (1805) *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London.
[20] Puckaster Cottage on the Undercliff was built to a design in Lugar's book and it is possible that others were built on Ward's property but none exists in a recognisable form today. However there are many cottages that show the influence of Lugar's designs and have become the accepted vernacular style of the Island.
[21] Lugar, R. (1805) *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London. Preface
[22] Ibid. p 5
[23] Ibid. p 5
[24] Ibid. p 5
[25] Ibid. p 5

Indeed anything was possible and an eclectic mix was shown in some of his designs. Of the examples given in his book Plate XXXVI bears similarities to *Fernhill* but has the additions of a dome and minaret in the Turkish style, a very exotic and eclectic touch. One of his examples of Gothic, Plate XVIII, bears similarity with *Hippisley House* in West Cowes, the design of which is usually credited to Nash.

Advice was given on the construction materials of cottages for Gentlemen. Plaw, in 1803, suggested that the walls should be "of rough stucco, or rough cast."[26] He advised the use of a variety of materials to cover the roof, such as slates, copper, painted wood or wood coated to resist the weather, "but for cottages thatch is certainly most characteristic and may be of straw, reeds, rushes, etc."[27] Windows were to be casements "of broad lead or in the patent composition."[28] "Such I am sure, with a regular elevation, if properly adapted to the surrounding scenery, will have as great a share of picturesque effect as good taste can desire, and as is consistent with civilized life."[29] Lugar preferred the roof of cottages to be thatched rather than tiled, and the whole scene was to completed with a small and open garden at the front, with trees in the locality to give a rustic charm.[30] The ideal location and function for such a cottage was as a lodge for the gates of an estate.[31] There were examples of this notably at St. John's, where Repton had laid out the grounds.

Lugar was clear about the distinction between a cottage for a rustic and that for a gentleman. A Gentleman's cottage was a Cottage Orneé, and should be neat and without uniformity, preferably covered in stucco and without covering of creepers or honeysuckle which should be only found on a peasant's cottage. A gentleman's cottage could be in Gothic, a style not allowed by him for peasants.[32] This distinction was not seen in practice on the Island.

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[26] Plaw, J. (1803) *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas and Rural Retreats*, London. p 4
[27] Ibid. p 4
[28] Ibid. p 4
[29] Ibid. p 4
[30] Lugar, R. (1805) *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London. p 7
[31] Ibid. p 9
[32] Ibid. p 10

Pocock, writing in 1807, uses yet another term, a 'Cabane Orneé' to describe the

> Ornamental cottage, [which] is a building that owes its origin to the taste of the present day and though humble in its appearance affords the necessary conveniences for persons of refined manners and habits, and is, perhaps, more calculated than any other description of building for the enjoyment of the true pleasure of domestic life unincumbered [sic] with the forms of state and troublesome appendages.[33]

A range of possibilities was available to cover the looks of cottages, but no tangible clues as to their appeal to gentlemen other than historical connections.

William Gilpin was clear, even if subjective, on what a cottage should be; "Pleasing ideas, no doubt, may be executed as a cottage; but to make them pleasing, they should be harmonious."[34] He saw with the idealising eye of an aesthete; that is how a cottage fitted into the visuals of the landscape to look as if it had always been there. He did not admire the peasant and his cottage; "there is no occasion to plant cabbages in the front. The garden may be removed out of sight; but the lawn that comes up to the door, should be grazed, rather than mown."[35] The reality of human activity had to be concealed from view, his views on cottage design and the place of cottages in the landscape as he saw them were uncomplicated, that "it may be easier to introduce the elegance of art, than to catch the pure simplicity of nature."[36] This would be of interest to many of the builders of cottages who would chase after effect. Gilpin's system of viewing could have been seen as reinforcing the established social order, an idea not necessarily valid by developments which would appear to have democratised the concept of a cottage. Uvedale Price, a more pragmatic observer than Gilpin, added *Variety* as a source of pleasure in the landscape, "the power of which is independent of beauty, but without which beauty itself soon ceases to please."[37] Cottages could be identified as a component of variety within the visual pleasures of landscape.

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[33] Pocock, W. F. (1807) *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings and Villas etc.*, London. p 8
[34] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 309
[35] Ibid. p 310
[36] Ibid. p 311
[37] Price, U. (1810) *Essays on the Picturesque,* Mawman, London. Vol. II p 21

In practice the distinction between a cottage and a villa was unclear even though Lugar recommended that the "style of a villa should at once determine it to be the residence of a gentleman."[38] The ornamentation should be simple and the whole have a lightness of touch. "Colonnades and Porticoes [sic] could be present but they take away the lightness of a villa. The exterior finish should be stone or roughcast. Never use thatch! There could be a terrace and more elaborate garden, i.e. a pleasure ground."[39] This distinction is not often observed on the Island where an individual course was taken; labelling was a problem for the observers and recorders not the builders who even in 1805 used names and not designations to identify their houses.[40]

Importance was put on the *Picturesque* setting of the cottage, a veranda with vines and a passion flower could be added for effect without displaying a lack of 'taste'; "but this interposition of art must not be carried to too great a length, or be at all suffered to appear in such a manner as to prevent the effect from being simple and natural."[41] However as the designs for Gentlemen's cottages became more in demand, an essential feature became the garden or Pleasure Ground that surrounded the residence

> Water, an essential feature in the beauty of a landscape, is equally necessary to the completion of a Pleasure Ground, and, if a running stream, it has inasmuch as it may be conducted into situations required, and will be always clear and free from the impurities that attend a stagnant pool.[42]

Health and climate were seen as important aspects of location for all types of residence: as already noted the Island was recognised as having a equable climate. "One of the most essential qualities of good situations is that which is always the most conducive to health."[43]

> A neighbourhood should also be selected where the inhabitants are healthful and remarkable for longevity, for these are regarded as signs of a healthful place, possessing salubrious air.[44]

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[38] Lugar, R. (1805) *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London. p 15
[39] Ibid. p 15
[40] See Appendix IV 1
[41] Pocock, W. F. (1807) *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings and Villas etc.*, London. p 9
[42] Ibid. p 10
[43] Brown, R. (1841) *Domestic Architecture*, London. p 91
[44] Ibid. p 91

With many areas of the Island having what was recognised as sublime or picturesque landscape, the builders of cottages attempted to be novel in their designs. Perhaps Burckhardt's comment on architecture as being "the instinct for ideal creation [which] finds its purest expression, free from any other consideration" is of relevance here.[45] The Island cottages were individual creations with their individual sites, which were often re-used from previous buildings, with the visual aspects of exterior design appearing whimsical and beyond definition.

The Island Cottages will be considered in three sections, firstly the **Undercliff**, a physically distinct coastal area located in the south of the Eastern Medina, secondly the rest of the **Eastern Medina** and thirdly the **Western Medina**. The Medinas were the administrative districts of the Island.

The Undercliff is the area in the south-east of the Island that has been subjected to significant land-slips and recorded by the topographers as being isolated and spectacular. Access by visitors in the late eighteenth-century was on foot via steep narrow tracks and seen by writers as a sublime experience in itself. Worsley describes the area as "extremely romantic, the greater part consisting of a slip of land extending about a mile and a half along the sea shore, and secluded from the adjacent country which lies high above it."[46]

Radcliffe records her journey to Steephill on the Undercliff; "We were two and a half hours in going from Kniton (*Knighton*) to the Inn at Steephill, five miles W. leading the horse almost the whole way: a Druid scene of wildness and ruin."[47] E.D. Clarke's tour of 1791 records the descent to *Steephill* that conjures *sublime* emotions.

> We were suddenly struck with such a stupendous prospect of the sea, the cliffs, &c. as to excite a momentary degree of apprehension for our own safety, at such an amazing height. The hill here becomes so steep,

[45] Burckhardt, J. (1943) *Reflections on History,* George Allen & Unwin, London. p 59
[46] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 208
[47] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 51

> that it is almost impossible for any vehicle whatever, to proceed, either up or down.[48]

Burke wrote of this kind of reaction: "The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature ... is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul in which all its motion is suspended with some degree of horror."[49] To a person from the metropolis or a non-mountainous area of Britain this would have produced a reaction such as described by Burke. The contrast between the enormity of the landscape and the smallness and frailty of the cottage dwellings put nature in a perspective. Here people lived within nature but on her terms. Gilpin noted the extreme nature of the landscape of the Undercliff where the "depredation of the waves ... is evident from the fragments of rock which have tumbled from the undermined cliffs and lie scattered along the shore."[50] He recognised this coastline to be dangerous; "no part of the British coast is more dangerous to vessels ungoverned, and driving in the storm."[51] Uvedale Price identified "infinity [as] one of the most efficient causes of the sublime; the boundless ocean, for that reason, inspires awful sensations."[52]

Many of the topographies devote more pages of their narratives to the Undercliff than the rest of the Island. Understandably most of the narratives describe walking tours on tracks starting from Bonchurch in the east and progressing westwards.[53] Worsley records the St Boniface cottage, Plate 17, and its owner; Colonel Hill, who "has made considerable additions there, and the garden is laid out with taste. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the situation of this cottage and the small village adjoining."[54] In 1799 John Albin recorded "The cottage of St. Boniface, a seat of Henry Hoare, Esq., Banker of London, ... situated so as to command some prospects of a different nature from Steephill."[55] During her 1801 tour Mrs Ann Radcliffe visited "the little woody village of St. Boniface, with

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[48] Clarke, E. D. (1793) *A Tour through the South of England, Wales, and part of Ireland, made during the Summer of 1791,* R. Edwards, London. p 17-18
[49] Boulton, J. T. (Ed.) (1958) *Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. p 57
[50] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 303
[51] Ibid. p 303
[52] Price, U. (1810) *Essays on the Picturesque,* Mawman, London. Vol. II p 84
[53] The narratives are as much concerned with landscape as with cottages but this chapter is concerned primarily with the cottages and their settings.
[54] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 203
[55] Albin, 1799, p 51

its beautiful cottages and villas."[56] The site of the village was seen as spectacular, "at the foot of St. Boniface Downs, whose steep sides rise to a tremendous height behind."[57] It is usual for Mrs Radcliffe to write of the atmosphere and natural features rather than describe the visuals of the dwellings and their owners.[58] The cottage was considered of importance by Brayley and Britton for inclusion in their national topography; they mention the cottage as "property of the late Col. Hill, who obtained it by marriage with an heiress of a branch of the Popham family."[59] In 1808 Thomas Bowdler was in residence[60] and by 1829 it was occupied by Colonel Hewett and had "all the simplicity of the cottage style with every comfort as a dwelling. It has some good apartments."[61] George Brannon notes that it was thatch covered and

> most agreeably seated at the foot of a steep mountainous down, from which its name is derived. Its design is elegant and appropriate, built with free-stone and thatched; the situation possesses every beautiful feature of this romantic country, and unites in an uncommon degree the comfort of sheltered retirement, with the advantages of a sea-prospect.[62]

On what authority does Brannon's opinion of "elegant and appropriate" rest? Perhaps it was as a resident cottage dweller who promoted the Island and who considered the individual nature of the cottages in their locations. Perhaps these descriptions of the cottage resonate with Burckhardt's "instinct for ideal creation" and reflect an imagination in its design and setting that extends beyond the influence of published cottage design books.[63] Here it is the site that is of prime interest, the secondary interest being in the residents; it was a sea or marine cottage in a secluded picturesque location. This raises an important question, could the cottage be considered significant without a significant resident?

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[56] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 52
[57] Ibid. p 52
[58] Her perspective, as a 'gothic' novelist, has been presented to us in an edited version of her travel journal. To date the original has not been traced and must be considered lost. Ibid.
[59] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 380
[60] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 109
[61] Baker, T. (1829) *Picturesque Scenery of the Isle of Wight, comprising Thirty Views with a Map of the Island.,* Simpkin and Marshall, London. p 32
[62] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty-six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and ngeneral aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 36
[63] Burckhardt, J. (1943) *Reflections on History,* George Allen & Unwin, London. p 59

Steephill, the most recorded cottage on the entire Island, was visible from St Boniface.[64] Why was the *Steephill* site so favoured? Worsley illustrated it, Plate 15, and refers to the "singularity of site."[65] Hans Stanley, Governor of the Island built the first recorded cottage of importance here. Sir Richard Worsley recorded "Mr Stanley, soon after he became Governor of the Isle of Wight, [built] a cottage there, which is admirably contrived, and most elegantly laid out."[66] This was Stanley's retreat from business at Carisbrooke Castle, his official residence as Governor. John Sturch visited the site and interior of the cottage in 1791. "This building is in the genteel taste...adorned with a variety of rich and curious paintings within, and without a pleasure garden and shrubbery."[67] The practice of visiting the interiors of the cottages, whenever possible, and commenting on the fixtures and fittings, became an important element of a walking tour at this time.

Tomkins was the first London based topographer to record a visit to *Steephill* in 1796

> where Mr Tolmache possess the most complete sea-cottage on the south shore of this Island; for although it has all the advantages of a sea view, yet the glare which is commonly produced by the reflection of light from the water, is entirely taken off, by the shade of a beautiful grove of trees surrounding the house. The gardens are laid out with taste...The house is perfectly in unison with the grounds, and does great credit to the taste of its owner.[68]

Tomkins appears to be the first to use the term 'sea-cottage' as a descriptor to an Island cottage. He shows an understanding of the quality of light and atmosphere here that was not captured by other commentators. We also get a reference to sea-bathing and a beach hut; Mr Tolmache had a bathing hut built on the beach and a carriage road made to it from Steephill, so that he could "partake of sea-bathing."[69] Mr Tolmache's cottage would later be known as Lord Dysart's Cottage and Steephill Cottage.

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[64] This site was to be reused to build a castle in the early nineteenth-century.
[65] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London. p 221
[66] Ibid. p 221
[67] Sturch, J. (1791) *A View of the Isle of Wight in Four Letters to a Friend.,* John Sturch, Newport, IOW. p 11
[68] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 119
[69] Ibid. p 120

Gilpin, who rarely commented on buildings, visited the location in 1798 and was not impressed, indeed the cottage in its man-enhanced surroundings did not display what he considered seemly taste

> ... though the situation of *Undercliff* or *Steephill* is pleasing, we could not say much for what is called the *cottage*. It is covered indeed with thatch; but that makes it no more a cottage, than ruffles would make a clown a gentleman, or a mealy hat would turn a laced beau into a miller. We everywhere see the appendages of junket and good living. Who would expect to find a fountain bubbling up under the window of a *cottage*, into an elegant carved shell to cool the wine? The thing is beautiful but out of place.[70]

Gilpin in his analysis shows that he did not like the intervention of man in nature: "The imagination does not like to be jolted in its sensations from one idea to another; but to go on quietly in the same track, either of *grandeur* or *simplicity*. Easy contrasts it approves, but violent interruptions it dislikes."[71] These were the very reactions that Burke was proposing as an extension to Picturesque ideas; the Sublime and the Beautiful. Topographers and writers were finding these landscape features here and including them in their narratives, linking them with the unpredictable action of Nature. Discerning people sought these locations in which to build cottages and retire from the mainland, bringing with them aspects of 'taste' that were not based in Nature...

The year after Gilpin's visit John Albin described the northern edge of the Undercliff: "The majestic perpendicular which has kept its station, and forms the northern barrier of this truly romantic spot, presents the appearance of the walls of an old castle of many hundred feet in height."[72] Albin looked at the landscape in a very different way to Gilpin, he was not interested in the purity sought by Gilpin but rather the interaction of the built environement within the natural landscape. He locates the Dysart's cottage in relation to the village of Steephill

> Of the fine situation of the village of Steephill, and particularly of the beautiful cottage of the Earl of Dysart, almost everything which language can express or pen describe has been said...It is erected upon the

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[70] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 309. The *italics* are Gilpin's.
[71] Ibid. p 309. The *italics* are Gilpin's.
[72] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 48

> summit of one of the dismembered rocks and commands a long display of the Undercliff even to the church of St. Lawrence.[73]

In 1811 Radcliffe described the scene and made what was for her, a rare observation of a building.

> Passed Lord Dysart's beautiful cottage. It stands at some distance from the shore, and has several distinct roofs, well thatched: a large conservatory stands on a winding lawn, with a fine beech grove and a long and richly covered copse, bending along down, and afterwards along the feet of cliffs below. The crimson tints of the hawthorn give exquisite tints to this coppice, among the brown and various shades of the autumnal woods, and appeared in abundance every where among the trees and wild shrubs of the whole Undercliffe. [sic][74]

This is a cottage far removed from its humble origins; a conservatory puts it in a class of wealth and refinement, one of the aspects of mans action in the landscape that was not admired by Gilpin. However Radcliffe relishes the atmosphere of the setting and autumn colours.

The rather constrained views of Gilpin were not adopted by later commentators, indeed Brayley and Britton in their *Beauties of Britain* noted the interior of the cottage which contained "some beautiful sea pieces by Vandervelde," this has more to do with individual taste than the Picturesque. This development of criteria for decribing and assessing landscape seems to be of minor importance, they noted the site as being "nearly half way between the base of the precipice and the sea."[75] This move to descriptions of man's influence on the landscape is further reinforced by William Daniell on his *Voyage Round Great Britain,* who visited the area and wrote "In one of the most picturesque parts of this seaside wilderness is the beautiful residence called *Steephill*, belonging to the earl [sic] of Dysart."[76] By 1829 it was in the hands of Charles Popham Hill, Esq., and was then identified as being in "true cottage style."[77]

> Its neat white walls covered with modest thatch, contain some comfortable apartments, well furnished, and adorned with several good pictures. The principal room has a bow window covered with thatch that

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[73] Ibid. p 51 It would be a site here that would be used to build *Steephill Castle* in the next century.
[74] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 80
[75] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 379
[76] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London. p 76
[77] Baker, T. (1829) *Picturesque Scenery of the Isle of Wight, comprising Thirty Views with a Map of the Island.,* Simpkin and Marshall, London. p 34

> projects upon a lawn that stretches towards St. Lawrence...At the door of the saloon, a bubbling crystal spring replenishes a capacious hollowed stone, carved as a scollop [sic] shell, giving a delicious coolness to the apartment and the surrounding lawn.[78]

This is far removed from Gilpin's ideas but can be used to show how Picturesque theory can be adapted and diluted for popular consumption. The quality of the *Steephill* location was not exclusive to Stanley's cottage, Sturch noted that nearby was "a house of entertainment to which strangers are invited by scenes which are romantic beyond description."[79] This 'house of entertainment' is the earliest reference to what would develop into the Inn at Steephill which catered for the growing number of visitors to the Undercliff and further developing the popular picturesque, its identification and consumption by tourists.

The pursuit of good health was also an interest for tourists. The Island had its own mineral source, the Sandrock Spring, which was in the vicinity of the Steephill Inn, "situated about a mile to the southward of Niton."[80] The adjacent *Rock Cottage*, Plate 19, had been converted into a hotel for visitors, which would later become known as the *Sandrock Hotel*. This had a supply of Chalybeate water that was "singularly efficacious in the cure of many very important and dangerous disorders."[81] The site of the hotel was a point of attraction for visitors: "It would perhaps be difficult to point out a single place in the vicinity, which affords a finer variety of prospect than is presented to the eye from the veranda of the hotel."[82]

> Over the tops or through the foliage of the trees, appear cottages that seem placed in situations adapted in no common degree to mark the triumph of human industry over the wildness and even the wrecks of nature. Situated as this cottage is, of the most southern part of the Island, it has the advantage of the purest sea breezes.[83]

The similar boundless views of the ocean found at *Steephill*, were here; the tourist could contemplate infinity, which was a recognised sublime experience

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[78] Ibid. p 34
[79] Ibid. p 11
[80] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 38
[81] Ibid. p 38
[82] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 113
[83] Ibid. p 113

and eat good quality local produce, including seafood. The area became very popular with tourists; Bullar noted that "There are several lodging houses near the spring, and more are about to be built."[84] The cottage hotel continued to grow: after John Wilkes' death the facilities at the hotel were extended with "the large canvas dining room [from Sandown Cottage]."[85] The development of this area of the Undercliff shows that the short stay visitors could experience both the health giving properties of the Island and the picturesque aspects of the location, ideals far removed from the close focus of Gilpin's observations based on his theoretical aesthetic.

In the 1790s *Sea Cottage,* Plates 20 and 21, later called *St Lawrence Cottage,* was built as a retreat by Sir Richard Worsley of *Appuldurcombe* after his costly and scandalous divorce led to his withdrawal from London and Society. Unusually for an Island cottage the builder, William Lambert, a local craftsman, has been identified..[86] This unusual reference to a specific builder seems to be because of the Island importance of Worsley, the owner, rather than of Lambert, the builder. The cottage was first noted by Wyndham, who is quoted here at length. Because of the seclusion of this retreat and difficulty of access, later writers relied heavily on his information.

> Near the church of St. Lawrence, Sir Richard Worsley has just completed a neat and elegant building, which though the roof be slated and the windows sashed, the fashion of the Isle of Wight requires to be called a cottage. It stands a little distance below the road, from whence a serpentine shady lane leads to it. Many natural groups of respectable elms are here dispersed among the wide interstices of the divided rocks and many grassy lawns wind their irregular passages amid these impenetrable barriers. One side of the cottage commands some partial views of the ocean, while the other opens to a circular polished, grass-plat, which is closely environed with thick coppices, that have, from time immemorial, taken full possession of the sides and summits of these ancient fragments. A shallow pellucid stream, just bursted [sic] from its chrystal [sic] spring, and trilling through this little verdant mead, works its channel towards the sea cliff, from whence it falls in a considerable cascade on the shore. Surely, nature never combined such a heterogeneous assemblage of her various features in so small a compass before.[87]

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[84] Ibid. p 117
[85] Ibid. p 102
[86] White, W. (1859) *Gazetteer and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Sheffield. p 122
[87] Wyndham, H. P. (1794) *A Picture of the Isle of Wight delineated upon the spot in the year 1793,* C. Roworth, London. p 70-71

An unusual feature for the Island giving the cottage a significance out of keeping with its title, and more in keeping with a villa in the classical sense, was the vineyard which had

> lately been planted on an acre of this little demesne, under the inspection of a French Vigneron, and if a scorching climate alone were sufficient to ensure its success, there can be no doubt of it; but whether the spray of the neighbouring sea may not blast the foliage of vines, or whether the land may not be too moist and spungy [sic] for a plant, that naturally affects the driest of soil, a few years experience will ultimately determine. The novelty of a vineyard has, probably, attracted more company to St. Lawrence, than the picturesque and romantic scenery around it, and, perhaps, more than is quite agreeable to the proprietor, for I was surprised to see a painted board at the entrance with the following words
>
> 'The Sea Cottage is not shew'd.'
>
> from which I understand that it is not to be seen.[88]

Worsley's *Sea Cottage* retreat removed him from his more accessible and public *Appuldurcombe,* his Island Seat. His choice of an ideal site was no problem as he owned most of the Undercliff. Tomkins noted "The situation is very retired, and the principal view from it lies to the south east, looking from the channel."[89] All Worsley's aesthetic knowledge and Grand Tour experience were used to create an "elegant marine villa."[90] The cottage was set within a significant garden set with ornamental buildings which are not specifically mentioned by Albin; however he notes the attempt that had "been made to produce a vineyard here, of which the success cannot yet be ascertained."[91]

The use of the descriptors villa and cottage perhaps highlight the difficulty of describing the property. With its extended and elaborate grounds including a vineyard, it was nearer to a classical villa than a cottage, the latter with its associations of peasant accommodation. However during the period cottages as residences for gentlemen were becoming fashionable, and *Sea Cottage* could have been seen as a hybrid residence. When William Cooke visited it for his 1812 guide it he described it as "The Marine Villa (Sea Cottage) of Hon. C.A. Pelham," which either highlighted his inability to decide or showed an

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[88] Ibid. p 72
[89] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 119
[90] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 127
[91] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 51

understanding of its position as a new style of residence.[92] Cooke was from London and represented a metropolitan viewpoint. He noted that the vines, once a significant feature of the garden, were no longer cultivated: he records the garden buildings, "The model of the Temple of Neptune at Corinth, contains an orangery and conservatory: and the pavilion below the lawn is fitted up in a captivating style of the purest modern taste, as a banqueting room, or saloon."[93] The garden would have been following the long established mainland fashion for the inclusion of buildings with political and historical resonances combined with private or family issues and preoccupations; Worsley had been, after all, a courtier and diplomat. However the large scale park-garden in which such buildings would be situated in a mainland setting was not replicated, due to the lack of land on the terraces of the Undercliff. Here the garden was in miniature backed by the imposing cliff of the Undercliff to landward and the sea cliffs on the opposite. Cooke records two painted inscriptions on the walls in the pavilion that give some notion of how the cottage and grounds were viewed as a retreat by the owner[94]

> And this our life exempt from public haunt,
> Finds tongues in trees; books in the running brook;
> Sermons in stone – and good in everything[95]

And

> Forsake the tawdry tinsel of the great;
> The peaceful cottage beckons a retreat,
> Where true content each solid comfort brings –
> To Kings unknown, and favourite of Kings![96]

Whilst this quotation shows classical and picturesque issues were in Worsley's mind in its design it also show a political aspect in the second part of the quotation. This was unusual for the Island, a fashionable cottage residence that had the function of a mansion and was set in a sophisticated albeit miniature-scale park in line with contemporary mainland fashion. Here the nature of the owner determined its function and styling as a cottage. Perhaps with the vineyard this is nearer to a villa in its historical Roman sense than a cottage; Worsley had travelled on an extended Grand Tour and been a government

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[92] Cooke, W. (1812) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight,* Baker, London. p 96
[93] Ibid. p 96
[94] Ibid. p 97. The quotations are noted below.
[95] From Shakespeare, *As You Like It.*
[96] Hor. Epod. *Fuge magna.*

representative in Venice at the end of the eighteenth-century. The prints by Cooke, Plate 20, and Brannon, Plate 21, clearly show the manipulation of the setting. The features of Temple and Pavilion are shown as well as the stream but the location of the images has been adjusted. Two versions of the Brannon plate exist, one corresponding to the building arrangement shown in Cooke's print. These prints demonstrate the unreliability of prints as indicators of exact representation.

A short distance to the west of *Sea Cottage* was *Mirables,* Plate 22, a cottage, was built in a similarly secluded location which Cooke noted

> The general appearance of many parts of the Undercliff land has been well compared to the "clumps in pleasure grounds." Nature having thus invited her admirers, and prepared The abode of taste, we need not be surprised at the beauties now exhibited, but must be rather astonished that they are not enjoyed by greater numbers of residents, in a situation where so little of embellishment remains to be effected by labour and expence, [sic] and so little is required of art.[97]

He continues

> ... it was selected, not many years since, by the late George Arnold, Esq. of Ashby Lodge, Northamptonshire, and gradually brought to its present perfection—a delicious retreat, embellished with every indication of real taste that, in preference to a stately mansion, continues the favoured residence of the widow and sons of the late possessor.[98]

Tomkins, who visited in 1796 noted it as being "situated close to the sea shore."[99] He described the house as being

> built of stone and thatched, is fitted up in the cottage style, and surrounded by an orchard and garden. On the beach under the pleasure ground, Mr Arnold has erected a house for a pilot, who is constantly on the look out, and is furnished with boats and everything requisite to assist the crew of any vessel which may happen to run upon the ridge of rocks [just off the coast].[100]

Albin had problems describing *Mirables* which he saw as "a cottage fancifully fitted up."[101] His problem was with the disparity between the exterior looks and the interior fitments and function. This is reflected in the 1826 edition of Cooke and elaborated, with emphasis on the interior reflecting the change in the

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[97] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 102
[98] Ibid. p 103
[99] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London.p 115
[100] Ibid. p 115
[101] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 49

complex usage of a cottage by wealthy inhabitants as well as in interest of the readers and visitors to the Island.

> The house itself, [is] an irregular cottage, enlarged at various times, derives from this very irregularity an appropriate charm. One handsome saloon is adorned with a choice collection of good pictures. The whole displays a monument of the good taste of its late Proprietor ... and his widow, Mrs Arnold, to whom it now belongs.[102]

Mrs Arnold and family continued to live there after the death of her husband; from seasonal visitors they became permanent residents; many other families would follow their lead. By 1826 the gardens surrounding the property were described as *pleasure grounds* which

> Although small, are so admirably contrived as to appear of considerable extent, and are cooled by a perennial flow of limpid water. A neat dairy is attached, and over its tiled floor glides the pellucid stream, imparting a delicious sensation during the summer season.[103]

The area of the Undercliff in the vicinity of *Mirables* was unstable and was noted in the landslip of 1799, reproduced as Appendix 3.[104] The location of both *Sea Cottage* and *Mirables* provided sublime possibilities; running water nearby, steep cliffs behind and a constant risk of landslips. The cottages survived natural disasters nearby and by doing so appear to have been raised in importance by topographers and tourists. Residence in this location was seen as living on the edge; a truly sublime experience.

Puckaster, Plate 23, the third most frequently recorded cottage was also in the vicinity. William Daniell paid

> A visit to Mr Vine at Puckester [sic], who has heightened the charms of a retreat naturally romantic, by building, planting, and other tasteful improvements, and has abundantly stored his mansion with works of art, and all the embellishments that can be required to grace the interior of a most comfortable seaside mansion.[105]

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[102] Cooke, W. and Cooke, G. (1826) *Picturesque Views on the Southern Coast of England,* John & Arthur Arch, London. p 32

[103] Ibid. p 119

[104] The landslip is described as "The curious phoenomenon [sic]of a floating surface of 100 acres of different kinds of land, constituting the whole of a farm called Pitlands, on the confines of the parishes of Niton and Chale,...which continued in motion for two days, the 7th and 8th February last, may be justly reckoned among the extraordinary occurrences of the year 1799." Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 236

[105] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London. p 77

Here Daniell touches on a point of definition by calling *Puckaster* a 'seaside mansion'. The design of *Puckaster* was published by Lugar in 1805 in his cottage design book, dedicated to George Ward.[106] Lugar described it as a

> Design for an ornamental cottage suitable for a small family or a single gentleman; would make an excellent shooting box. It contains two living rooms of good dimensions, a kitchen, pantry and closet. A lean-to might easily be added to the kitchen should more offices be required: above stairs are four bedrooms. The style of this design requires it to be rough-cast coloured, and thatched with reeds.[107]

Mr Vine was from London, this coupled with the spectacular situation may have prompted the elevation of the description. Brannon however was more interested in the site of the cottage, which was "seated close under a rocky ledge and two immense fragments of fallen cliff."[108]

> Except that it is rather more exposed, the situation participates in general of the same romantic features as the neighbouring villas. The sea-front is an elegant semi-circle with an over-hanging thatched roof, supported by trunks of trees entwined with flowering plants – which also climb sufficiently about the walls to add a richness and variety of effect, without concealing too much of the ornamental minutiae, which are particularly neat."[109]

With the overhang of the thatched roof being supported on tree trunks and covered with flowering plants, this was a cottage ornee as described in the design books. Daniell was a London topographer and Brannon an Islander with more interest in scenery and promoting Island tourism through his publications.

Other cottages on the Undercliff were recorded mainly for their sites. George Brannon's prints show the cottages with significant quantity of 'scenery' thus giving more emphasis to this aspect. *The Orchard*, Plate 24, belonging to Sir Willoughby Gordon is an example.[110] Brannon describes it "...is a lovely villa adjoining *Mirables*. ... The house is picturesquely irregular in its form, elegantly built with yellow-brick and the stone procured on the spot (which is between a

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[106] Lugar, R. (1805) *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London.
[107] Ibid. p 20
[108] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 37
[109] Ibid. p 38
[110] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 126

cream and a light-greyish colour), and is covered with the best blue slating."[111] "The grounds close in front consist of narrow, steep, walled terraces, clothed with a profusion of the choicest fruit-trees, which flourish with great luxuriance, and the coping is embellished with a number of handsome flower-vases and other appropriate decorations."[112] *Beauchamp* was also noted, "a very pretty thatched cottage...nearly excluded from view by close plantations: it is the property of Mrs. Bennett, of *Northcourt*."[113] There is a possibility that Mrs Bennett used this cottage as a retreat from the larger house.

The village of Niton on the tourist routes was identified by the topographers as a village with *picturesque* qualities of cottages and landscape. A print of the main street was included in the collection of the *King's Maps* in the British Library.[114] The village consisted "of two irregular streets, principally of thatched cottages, but built of stone and very neat."[115] It possessed a "comfortable inn and a few good lodging-houses."[116] Bullar praised the fine sea views from here.[117]

The East Medina did not provide such spectacular scenery as the Undercliff but contained some fine ancient cottages, many with views of the mainland. *Binstead Cottage,* Plate 25, was the residence of the local vicar, "an elegant and captivating thatched cottage. The modest cottage thatch seems here to shelter every comfort and elegance."[118] Mrs Lybbe Powys was taken to view the cottage during her 1792 tour:

> The Reverend's residence is literally a cottage, but in the most romantic style possible, standing in a sweet garden commanding a view of the ocean, the thatched cottage surrounded by tall firs and other trees. Over the door and each window is the bust of some poet or great man, and

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[111] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 37
[112] Ibid. p 37
[113] Ibid. p 37
[114] BL KTOP.XV. 32.2
[115] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 48
[116] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 38
[117] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton.
[118] Baker, T. (1829) *Picturesque Scenery of the Isle of Wight, comprising Thirty Views with a Map of the Island.,* Simpkin and Marshall, London. p 1

> under that which stands over the entrance is written in capitals, "Contentment is wealth." Myrtles under every window growing wild.[119]

She was very critical and always based her comments on her metropolitan experiences and background; the cultural implications of the busts of famous men and sentimental motto over the door must have appealed to her sense of correctness. Brannon, writing in 1824 found the cottage to be in

> *the most captivating sylvan spot* in the whole of the Isle of Wight; and the house is a beautiful specimen of the genuine *cottage style*, - in its form simple, but exceedingly picturesque, adorned with roses, myrtles, and the sweetest climbing plants; while the interior is elegant and neat and compact, enriched with a choice collection of cabinet pictures.[120]

It was by then the (secular) residence of "Jas. Edwards, esq. who seldom refuses a party's seeing it on sending in their cards."[121]

Cooke records a cottage nearby at East Cowes, Plate 26

> The pretty cottage of Mr. Walls on the hill above East Cowes, is here selected as a charming specimen of the kind of taste so prevalent and suitable to the pastoral situations of the island. Its whole construction presents the extreme of rural simplicity. The thatched roof gently falling around the upper windows, supported by a series of rustic pillars, formed by natural trunks of trees, affords a covered walk of delightful shelter around the cottage casements, which are modestly entwined with the jessamine and woodbine.[122]

He notes its situation

> is agreeable, on the fine elevation at the confluence of the roads from Whipingham and Norris, above the descent to East Cowes. It stands at the extremity of a lawn, contiguous to Mr. Nash's villa, with which it harmonizes agreeably, and affords a delicious summer retreat; while, from situation, it is neither damp nor dreary even in the midst of winter.[123]

This cottage together with the cottages at St John's present types in keeping with the notion of picturesque rusticity in their use of timber and climbing plants. Rugged scenery is absent but they are seen by the topographers as ornaments to the neighbouring houses of *East Cowes Castle* and *St John's*. At *St John's*

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[119] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. p 265

[120] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 29

[121] Ibid. p 29

[122] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 139

[123] Ibid. p 139

were "two elegant cottage-like lodges, which are as beautiful as they are uncommon."[124] These were at the gates to Sir Edward Simeon's *St John's* Estate whose grounds were laid out by Repton.[125] Ian Sherfield speculates on the cottages, Plate 27, that "it is most likely that Nash designed the cottages and that Repton re-drew them as a training exercise after joining the Nash practice in 1802."[126] The cottages are described in detail by Cooke

> Within an [sic] handsome railing and gateway the avenue commences, between two charming cottages of stone, whose thatch is disposed in a pleasing manner, and in front thrown forward over a rustic porch, formed by natural trunks of trees. The jessamine and rose entwine around the windows, intermixed with the clematis, or virgin's bower, a species' of creeper, that rises round the rustic pillars of the porch, and is disposed beautifully above. Its deep and glossy leaves, and fine white and purple flowers, make a striking contrast with the thatch, over the rising part of which it appears carelessly thrown, and hangs over it with a grace that gives a charming effect.
>
> The trees within form a fine back ground, where the road is seen to proceed amidst the richest foliage; it soon winds round behind the cottages, and in a serpentine course ascends the hill towards the house, bordered by a flourishing plantation, and affording a succession of agreeable and varying prospects.
>
> The interior of these cottages is not unworthy of remark. They are so disposed as to contain, in the small space of about 18 feet square, a sitting-room and bed-room, with a pantry: the one affording a comfortable residence for the cottager who attends the gate; the other an occasional retreat for company, where a few books, some neat suitable furniture, and the pleasing novelty of the situation, must give a charm that a fastidious taste can hardly fail to allow. The porch contains rustic seats, and may be said to afford an additional and agreeable apartment.
>
> The whole scene is sequestered, though from a few paces, distant is a view of the upper part of Ryde, on the neighbouring hill. [127]

This lengthy quotation is important as it shows how the ideal Island cottage, as seen by a metropolitan topographer, should be laid out. The setting was all important but there was not the imposing rugged landscape that was found on the Undercliff. However the garden location and design attributed to Repton reinforced quality and significance to the metropolitan topographer. This ideal

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[124] Clarke, J. (1812) *The Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical, and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* E. Tayler, Newport, IOW. p 87
[125] Ibid. p 87
[126] Sherfield, I. (1994) *East Cowes Castle, the Seat of John Nash, Esq.,* Cannon Press, Camberley. p 65
[127] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 91-2

of modified landscape would not be repeated elsewhere on the Island and indeed had its practical problems due to the small scale of the available land.[128]

An anonymous contributor to the second volume of the *Hampshire Repository* gives a contrasting and local view unencumbered by metropolitan aesthetic ideals.[129]

> At the entrance to the avenue are two lodges in the *cottage stile* [sic] supported by *Gothic arches* of the oak tree. There is too much ornament and finery in these cottages to render them *pleasing* or *harmonious*; tho' they are *artificial* cottages they should still bear a close affinity to a *natural* one, and if such consistency had been observed they would have a more pleasing effect.[130]

The motives for such ornamented cottages on the public highway were questioned particularly as one of the cottages was set up as a tea cottage: a more conventional location would have been a more sequestered spot. "Perhaps he wished to imitate a cottage by the ways side, but he should remember a cottage has no Chinese railings or gravel walks about it."[131]

A further issue was raised in an interview with the

> old woman who inhabited the cottage [who] said she preferred her own simple dwelling to such a *splendid house*. She was her own mistress, could invite her friends, and go out a leasing, but now she was controuled [sic] by the will of another.[132]

Some other cottages were recorded in this area. Nearby, in the vicinity of *Sea-View* is a wood where *Fairy-hill* [sic] is "embosomed."[133] This was described as "the delightful abode of Rev. Henry Oglander."[134] Albin mentions "a prospect house belonging to Mr James Kirkpatrick" in the locality.[135] Also in the vicinity was *Fairlee,* Plate 47 a small mansion, only designated as such by its style of construction, and *Fairlee Cottage* which was the home of the Island based

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[128] Brown is said to have modified Appuldurcombe Park earlier.
[129] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 15 onwards, A Pedestrian Tour in the Isle of Wight during the Summer of 1799
[130] Ibid. p 20. The *italics* are in the printed text to give emphasis to the writer's points.
[131] Ibid. p 20
[132] Ibid. p 20
[133] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 27
[134] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 99
[135] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 44

topographer John Albin.[136] *Yaverland Parsonage* was thought one of "the most beautiful subjects in the Island" by Brannon, and described as being in "modern-gothic; but certainly nothing can be at once more elegantly-chaste and modern appropriate for a clerical residence."[137]

The most frequently recorded cottage in the Eastern Medina was *Sandown Cottage,* Plates 28 and 29. Significantly most interest was shown in its resident and the function and organisation of the rooms. It was an established cottage that had little of architectural interest, but was the retreat of a national political figure of widely publicised fame and notoriety, John Wilkes. Wilkes recorded frequent visits to the Island in his letters prior to becoming a resident at Sandown during the last years of his life.[138] John Almon, who edited Wilkes' letters for publication in 1805, gives the background to his time on the Island.[139]

> THE situation of chamberlain affording to Mr. Wilkes a comfortable subsistence, he wished for a country residence during the relaxation of the summer months. The change of atmosphere he conceived would contribute to his health. The part of England to which he was most attached was the Isle of Wight; and though he had several times visited that island [sic] in the hope of finding some agreeable place, it was not till the month of May 1788 that he fortuitously met with one. He at that time saw an advertisement in one of the newspapers, of a cottage to let in Sandown-bay, at the south-east end of the Isle of Wight, in the parish of Brading; which, by the description, he thought would suit him: and he immediately made the proper application, — to colonel James Barker (now general Barker), of Stickworth, -in the Isle of Wight, who was the proprietor.
>
> The cottage had been in the possession of the earl of Winchilsea during the last six years, but was now empty. Mr. Wilkes and colonel Barker were soon agreed in the terms; and a lease was granted him for fourteen years (expiring on the 5th of April, 1802), in which was only this covenant : "whatever alterations Mr. Wilkes wishes to make, leave is granted—so that the whole premises are not lessened in value.[140]

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[136] Albin, J. (1823) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* John Albin, Newport IOW. p 103

[137] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 32

[138] Almon, J. (Ed.) (1805b) *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his friends,* Richard Phillips, London. p 103. An example letter from Newport dated June 9, 1772 to his daughter. "The next two days we mean to employ in the tour of the island."

[139] This will be considered as reliable due to its proximity to Wilkes' life and letters. It appears, not surprisingly, to have been drawn on by later writers.

[140] Almon, J. (Ed.) (1805a) *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his friends,* Richard Phillips, London. p 77-78

Alterations were made to the cottage to give it a comparable air of sophistication with Worsley's *Sea Cottage* which Wilkes had visited on several occasions. Wilkes

> fitted up this cottage agreeably to his own taste. He improved and embellished the rooms. ... In the shrubbery was a Doric column, with an inscription in which he thus characterizes his friend Churchill. ... In this cottage (or *villakin,* as he usually termed it) he passed the pleasantest hours which he had enjoyed since the period of his adversities. He was here, he said, perfectly happy, with a few intelligent friends, and a well-chosen library.[141]

As with Worsley's *Sea Cottage* Wilkes constructed a personal and political garden but on a small scale. As with the garden at *Sea Cottage* this reflected mainland taste. Wilkes brought unashamedly metropolitan style to the Island; his was not a private retreat but rather a public statement of himself, his interests and way of life that were certainly at odds with the conventions of the Island.

In 1794 Henry Penruddocke Wyndham toured the Island with his patron, The Marchioness of Clanricarde. His description, published in 1794, gives us a first hand view of Wilkes' Cottage.[142] Of particular interest to him were the temporary rooms built in the grounds, which appear to have been quite extensive: "The villa was [set] in about 4 acres of grounds."[143]

> Mr Wilkes has lately erected ... some rooms, detached from the house and from each other, [made of material from] the floor-cloth manufactory of Knightsbridge. Two of these rooms are large, well proportioned, and fitted up in an expensive and elegant style; the other building contains two bedchambers. The intermediate space between them, is, in one place, a little polished orchard; and in another, a close grove of short stunted trees, that resemble, both in their size and number, a pastoral scene on the stage of a play-house.
>
> The aspect of one of the great rooms opens to the ocean, and takes in the whole of Sandown Bay, a grand and noble object! The other building fronts to the north and opens to the shade of dwarf apple-trees of the orchard.
>
> The house, in which the family resides, is small, and at a distance from these whimsical, though not unpleasant erections, which are in reality

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[141] Ibid. p 79
[142] Wyndham, H. P. (1794) *A Picture of the Isle of Wight delineated upon the spot in the year 1793,* C. Roworth, London.
[143] Adams, W. H. D. (1864) *The History and Topography of the Isle of Wight,* James Briddon, Ventnor. p 203

> summer-houses of the garden. I ought to notice a grand covered bench, formed within the bank, which opens from the bottom of the slope, upon a level with the bay and the ocean.[144]

Wyndham makes comparison of part of the grounds with "a pastoral scene on the stage of a play-house" further reinforcing comparisons made already of the Island being viewed as a location of living theatre by visitors from the metropolis.

Tomkins however was not so impressed and merely states that "The house is small but fitted up with great taste, the gardens are well laid out, but owing to the exposed situation, nothing larger than shrubs will grow in them."[145] The difference of view between Tomkins and Wyndham is one of perspective. Tomkins is not interested in the association of the politician Wilkes with the cottage whereas Wyndham shows his interest and sympathy with Wilkes the political man and his residence at a location that is

> perhaps more visited than any other spot in the Island, and some ladies have, most provokingly, preferred it to the romantic cottages of the Undercliff and the luxuriant richness of the neighbourhood of Ryde.[146]

Were the ladies more interested in Wilkes and his 'remembrance' than the variety of picturesque experiences available at Ryde and on the Undercliff? Wilkes' assumed reputation as a radical and womaniser may have had some impact on this.

Later William Daniell writing of Sandown Bay during his 1813 Voyage, elevates the cottage to a mansion even after the death of Wilkes and recognises the site as one of historical memory, encouraging tourists to visit for this association.

> On [the shores of Sandown Bay] are some elegant little residences, pleasantly situated, and within reach of all recreations that could be reasonably be wished for in passing a summer at the seaside. The most noted among those mansions is Sandown or Sandham Cottage, once the seat of the celebrated John Wilkes, who here sought occasional relaxation in the evening of a life ardently and actively occupied whither in affairs of gallantry, or in political contention; and who displayed, in the circle of friends, that easy playfulness of wit, and that buoyant hilarity of

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[144] Wyndham, H. P. (1794) *A Picture of the Isle of Wight delineated upon the spot in the year 1793,* C. Roworth, London. p 56
[145] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 83
[146] Wyndham, H. P. (1794) *A Picture of the Isle of Wight delineated upon the spot in the year 1793,* C. Roworth, London. p 54-56

> spirit, which distinguished him from most of the patriots of his own and of later times.[147]

This record is perhaps due to Wilkes' celebrity and metropolitan background rather than qualities of construction and dimension of the cottage. Mrs Lybbe Powys, ever curious of people and their social associations and standing visited Villakins when Wilkes was not at home, and recorded it in her fashionably critical way

> Sandown Cottage, a summer residence of the famous Mr Wilkes, commands an uncommon view of the sea and surrounding cliffs, very fine garden, in which is a menagerie. Strangers have leave to see the place by setting down their names in a book kept on purpose. The cottage itself has only a very few rooms; but as Mr Wilkes often entertains many families, he has erected in the gardens many of the fashionable canvas ones, fitted up in different manners and of large dimensions. One called the "Pavilion," another the "Etruscan," a third a dressing room for Miss Wilkes, others as bedrooms, all very elegantly furnish'd, and very clever for summer (and the Isle of Wight, where it seems a robbery was never known), but to us who reside so much nearer to the vicinity of the metropolis, the idea of being abroad in such open apartments strikes one with some rather small apprehensions. Some of the rooms contain very capital prints and very fine china, indeed altogether well worth seeing, tho' the country round it is not near so pleasing as near Ryde, tho' the sea more noble.[148]

The relaxed and trusting way of life on the Island is captured and questioned by the visitor from the metropolis, a difference and similarity easily understood by visitors at the time.

Hassell (1790) did not admire the windswept location of the cottage and its lack of shrubbery. "The greatest deficiency observable here is the want of wood; that would give it a preference to most other parts of the island. But the trees around Mr. Wilkes mansion do not thrive to his wishes."[149] Confusion of terms is again present as he describes the residence as a mansion but "The inside of the house is plain, but elegantly fitted up, and abounding with every convenience that can lend to the accommodation of a family."[150]

In 1806 John Bullar wrote of Sandown Cottage

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[147] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London. p 74
[148] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. p 266
[149] Hassell, J. (1790b) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 21
[150] Ibid. p 21

> A few years ago an object of attraction and of curiosity, but now exhibiting an emblem of the quickly faded popularity of its late owner, the celebrated Mr Wilkes. It is now in a ruinous state; all its former decorations are fled.[151]

In a guide book of 1824 *Villakins* and its accompaniments were described as

> More tawdry than elegant, the celebrity of its owner, rather than any thing worthy of notice in itself, brought numbers to visit it, to whom Wilkes always a kind and affable reception.[152]

Travellers to the Island continued to visit long after Wilkes' death and the site of his villa residence became a site of memory, or rather a site of remembrance of his metropoliltan and national celebrity; person being more important than place.

The West Medina with its more windswept southern coast and gently rising northern coast much admired by Gilpin, had more Gilpin-defined picturesque beauty and less sublime natural features. It was, in consequence, of less overall landscape interest to the topographers outside the Needles and Alum Bay areas. It was not as favoured for residence as the East Medina and Undercliff. A few seats were recorded; *Froghill,* Plate 30, was

> the seat of Fitzwilliam Barrington, Esq., is situated to the north of Calbourne Church. It is a small house rather than a mansion, with a fine stream of water on the North East side. The ground is laid out with great taste and the house elegantly fitted up.[153]

This was mentioned and viewed in passing on the tour that included Freshwater Bay and Gate where was "a public House for the reception of travellers; and on the shore Mr Rushworth has lately built four rooms, for affording the prospect and accommodation to those who visit this spot."[154] This was similar in style to the Undercliff cottage Inns already noted. *Farringford Hill*, Plate 31, a small scale structure similar in size to *Froghill*, was the "elegant seat of Edward Rushworth Esq., appears on the declivity on the left [of the road to Yarmouth].

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[151] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 102
[152] anon (1824) *A Guide to all the Watering and Seabathing Places,* Longman Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, London. p 160
[153] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 56
[154] Ibid. p 69

The house, which is built in the Gothic Style, has a rich and an extensive view."[155]

The port-town of Yarmouth, on the north-west coast of the Island was a point of entry to the Island and although praised by Gilpin for its picturesque qualities, seems to have had little interest to the topographers and visitors.

> Yarmouth is much diminished from its ancient consequence. Its many narrow streets destitute of buildings at present, and laid out methodically in right angles, clearly point out its formerly more enlarged site.[156]

Hassell saw "The opposite shores of Norton, which from the entrance of the river, are broken grounds and groups of trees; and likewise with interposing cottage roofs that break the too regular clumps."[157] Tomkins wrote of and illustrated the same area, Plate 32.

> Situated on the western banks of the Yar is *Norton Cottage*, lately purchased of Sir Andrew Snape Hammond by Mr Mitchell. The view of the cottage is taken from the grounds on the west side of the house, having a prospect along the Solent Sea, to the shore of Hampshire and Spithead.[158]

A pleasure house was attached here "which is often enlivened by the powers of music, and the toasts of friendship."[159] William Cooke's 1812 tour noted Norton Lodge and recaptures and develops some of the picturesque qualities of the area identified at an earlier period by Gilpin.

> This retreat embellishes the shore on the western side of the river Yar, and directly faces Lymington. Its sandy beach, where a boat can approach within a few yards of the garden makes it peculiarly convenient to a lover of aquatic excursions. The house is in light Gothic style; its walls covered with a white composition, contrasted in a singular manner by black pebbles, arranged in lines over the windows and down the sides. These, with its roof of dark slate, and a large Gothic window at the western end, give an extraordinary appearance to this lodge.[160]

The contrasts shown in the way that the cottages of the Island were recorded is often varied. Each topographer has his own way of viewing and recording and

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[155] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 80
[156] Ibid. p 80
[157] Hassell, J. (1790a) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 127
[158] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 66
[159] anon (1792) *Sketches of Descriptions taken from Sailing from Newport in the Isle of Wight to Lymington,* John Albin, Newport, IOW. p 32
[160] Cooke, W. (1812) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight,* Baker, London. p 59

responds accordingly. The writers from the metropolis are more analytical in their descriptions of the scenery, showing their base knowledge from aesthetic publications that reflected the continued growth and development of the aesthetic debate. The local topographers are more interested in representing the Island as a location for tourism and perhaps exaggerating the qualities of landscape and cottages that could be found. The authors of the topographies can be identified by name and as such they are assumed to have some authority, particularly as their narratives were published. Most of the base information in the published works appears to be the same, how did the author come by the information? Both Tomkins and Wyndham dedicated their work to patrons and would by implication reflect the interests of the patron. How many of the topographers visited the Island and conducted their tours? We can be almost certain of some but others would have based their works on already existing publication; a variety of commercial salvage. Some acknowledged their sources; Mavor being the most significant example.

In these works the Cottages are located as part of the landscape that is identified as both picturesque and sublime. The vast majority have sea views; indeed it is difficult to be anywhere on the Island with a view that does not include the sea. As has been shown the Island has distinct areas of different landscape qualities in a very small area but the cottages all share the distinction of being of a free ornate style. Classical style does not exist in cottage construction except in urban Cowes. The function of gentlemen's cottage retreats was constant, but outward visuals reflect the interests of the builders and owners, and their aesthetic interests and sympathy with the landscape. Wilkes' *Villakins* is an exception to this norm being treated as a site of remembrance of the radical politician of the metropolis whose only link with the Island was his residence during the final years of his life.

The Mansions

Existing Mansions

Whilst not ignoring the new large houses or mansions, the topographers concentrated their interest on the existing, mostly pre-1750, properties which they regarded as 'antique' and showing some of the mythical or constructed histories of these properties which had been identified in the cottages. Their sites were noted on maps of the period and labelled with the name of the resident. These properties, or in Island terms *seats*, noted on Albin's map of 1805 are reproduced in Appendix 7. Inclusion seems to be based on status and wealth of the resident; where a property has no named resident the previous resident gave the building status and the expectation appears to be that another person of distinction would aquire the dwelling. Albin made no distinction between cottages and mansions; that designation was made by the metropolitan topographers. The building style of these large properties was either based on an Island Vernacular or an 'informed or modified classical' style with associated historical resonances. The only house universally considered a mansion was *Appuldurcombe,* seat of Sir Richard Worsley.[161] He has been noted earlier in this chapter as the builder and proprietor of *Sea Cottage* on the Undercliff. Both significant Worsley family houses, *Appuldurcombe* and *Gatcombe* were the product of early eighteenth-century building; the façade of the former had been published in *Vitruvius Britannicus.*[162] Sir Richard Worsley's *History* of the Island needs to be borne in mind as it was a source of material information for all topographical writings from its publication in 1781.[163] Worsley's choice of houses and their proprietors recorded in his *History* were repeated by later topographical writers. Worsley, Governor of the Island, was an example of the land owner who wished to record and present his domain. He was cataloguing and publishing the Island just as he would later catalogue and publish his collection of art and ancient statuary made during his Grand Tour.[164]

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[161] *Appuldurcombe* featured in all topographical narratives which is not surprising as Worsley was well known in the metropolis and had a reputation as an international collector of antiquities following an extended Grand Tour and was a founder member of the Society of Dilettanti.
[162] Boynton, L. O. J. (1967) *Appuldurcombe House,* HMSO, London. p 18-19
[163] Worsley, R. (1781) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* A. Hamilton, London.
[164] Worsley, R. (1824a) *Museum Worsleyanum,* Septimus Prowett, London. & Worsley, R. (1824b) *Museum Worsleyanum,* Septimus Prowett, London.

Appledurcombe or Appuldurcombe[165] had been the Island residence of the Worsley family since the Dissolution of the Monasteries The eighteenth-century history of the house is described it as having been

> built near the demolished ruins of a Norman Priory by Sir Robert Worsley in 1710. ... it remained in an unfinished state till it came into the possession of Sir R Worsley, who made considerable additions, and in several instances departed from the original design.[166]

All the writers note the magnificent site for the mansion.

> The situation of the house is extremely fine, in the midst of an amphitheatre of hills, commanding various extensive and grand prospects: the slope which forms the back-ground, is ornamented with beeches of great size, interspersed with large and venerable oaks. The mansion itself is built with freestone, and, from its magnitude and situation, assumes an air of considerable grandeur; though the singularity of its construction detracts from its magnificence. It has four fronts, of the Corinthian order; with projecting buildings advancing from each front, and finished with pilasters and pediments of Portland stone: the principal entrance is on the east side."[167]

Plate 33 shows the design of the façade as presented in Vitruvius Britannicus, Worsley's 1781 view of his mansion in its park setting, Plate 34, gives his idealised vision. As with many mainland mansions, the traveller who desired to visit could gain access to the house and its collection.

> Sir Richard politely permitted his Steward, Mr William Clarke of Newport, to give tickets for permission to any gentleman or lady sending their name for that purpose, and a written catalogue is there produced to strangers describing the particulars of these valuable curiosities.[168]

Sir Richard housed his extensive collection of objects of curiosity in the house; publicity was given to them in an extended description published in *The Beauties of England and Wales,* which had a wide and national circulation.[169]

> The interior of this mansion is most superbly decorated with sculptures, paintings, and drawings; most of which were collected by the present owner, in a tour through Italy, Spain, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Tartary during the years 1785, 1786, and 1787. The collection was made at a vast expense; Sir Richard having freighted a ship for himself and suite, and engaged some excellent Artists to accompany him.[170]

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[165] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 373
[166] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 373
[167] Ibid. p 373-4
[168] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 56
[169] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 373-4
[170] Ibid. p 374

The grounds were more extensive than any other house on the Island at the time and also attracted visitors. Water was the only element missing from what was represented as a picturesque setting for the house, Plate 34.

> the Park is well stocked with deer; and the grounds disposed with much beauty, independent of the advantages they have derived from Nature. The prospects also from the eminences are extremely fine, and comprehend a great portion of the Isle of Wight, as well as Spithead, Portsmouth, and the adjacent parts of Hampshire. The artificial ruins called *Cooke's Castle,* which stand on a rocky cliff at a considerable distance to the east, form a good object from various points of view. On the summit of the principal eminence in the Park, is an obelisk of Cornish granite, nearly seventy feet high, erected to the memory of Sir Robert Worsley, by the present Baronet.[171]

Charles Tomkins had different interests in his 1796 topography; he noted what he considered the basics details of the house.

> It is a modern building of free stone, with pilasters of corinthian order. The principal entrance is at the east front; and it has a spacious hall, with many commodious apartments, handsomely fitted up, and decorated with valuable pictures, and curious antiques.[172]

Other Worsley houses were noted because of their family connections, for example *Billingham* which was the seat of Revd. James Worsley[173] and *Gatcombe.* "This mansion-house was rebuilt by Sir Ed. Worsley in 1750. It is a stately building, having some resemblance to Apuldercombe."[174] *Gatcombe* is illustrated in Plates 35 and 36. William Cooke was interested in the stylistic associations of the house, whereas Brayley and Britton recorded the location of the house which

> is beautifully situated on the declivity of a hill. ... Some fine timber and coppice wood ornament the grounds; and the scenery derives interest from the contiguity of the river Medina, which flows on the east side. The house is a regular square building of stone."[175]

Gatcombe has the elements of a country house represented by the adjacent settlement and church with a lake and wooded area. It was the representation of an eighteenth-century ideal.

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[171] Ibid. p 377
[172] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 129-30
[173] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 397
[174] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 126
[175] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 372

Nunwell, Plate 37, had been the Oglander family seat for many generations; the family had neither mainland interest nor residence.[176] Two projects for remodelling the house were made but not executed, the first in classical style in about 1730-1740[177] and again in 1810 when plans attributed to John Nash were drawn up.[178] Brayley gives the location and considers the building of only passing interest, "The mansion is a plain building of brick, sheltered by a lofty grove of ash and lime trees; it has been much improved by the present owner [Sir W Oglander]."[179] A junior member of the family was at *Fairy Hill,* "the delightful abode of Rev. Henry Oglander."[180] Whilst Worsley noted *Nunwell* and gave it status, later topographers from the metropolis only mentioned it in passing possibly due to the family having no standing away from the Island.

The Simeon family were more recent Island residents than the Oglanders and Worsleys but were established and had supplied the Island with MPs. A now lost building is *The Marina*, at St John's, which is recorded in the topographical plates in the *King's Maps* at the British Library.[181] This is described and also illustrated by Cooke, Plate 38.

> In the centre of the walk that meanders through the hanging wood, bordering the shore, is the pretty Gothic, or Moorish castle, called the *Marina.* From its upper apartment, and the turret above, is a view so near as to be quite distinct, of Portsmouth, Gosport, and Spithead; while, from the sea, this building affords an object that draws the attention to the shore, and embellishes the fine island scenery of the neighbourhood. This, with the contiguous mansion of Appley, and Mr. Simeon's house above, give together a rich and captivating picture, when viewed from a little distance on the water.[182]

This recommendation of viewing from the sea is important, as all but one of the mansions discussed here presented distinct and impressive pictures from both land and sea.[183] James Clarke, writing in 1812, urges his readers to study

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[176] Binney, M. (1976a) *Country Life.* p 402 Quotes Sir John Oglander's (1585-1655) advice to his descendants " Fear God as we did; marry a wife whom thou canst love; keep out of debt; see thy grounds well stocked; and thou mayst live as happily at Nunwell as any Prince in the World."
[177] Ibid. p 403
[178] Binney, M. (1976b) *Country Life.* p 472
[179] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 387
[180] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 99
[181] BL KTOP.XV.10
[182] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 89
[183] The exception was *Fernhill* which could be viewed from Wootton Creek. Only the top of the toqwer was visible from the mainland.

Uvedale Price and J. Loudon on country residences and notes Mr Simeon's *Marina*. "It possess a fine view of the sea, and is itself a beautiful object from the shore, but especially from the water."[184] The *Marina,* which was little mentioned by other topographers, was a pleasure pavilion providing sea views and representing a historic type that would come into prominence with building on the Island of substantial castle dwellings. The primary residence of the Simeons would appear to have been *St John's,* Plate 39, "a house built by Lord Amherst. The situation is very elevated, and has an extensive view down the Solent sea."[185] Various descriptions of the house are given. "The building is plain but very neat, and displays great taste, it possesses every requisite to make it a complete and commodious mansion."[186] "It is convenient rather than spacious."[187] Albin describes the situation and grounds with more interest than the house which must have been small by mainland standards. *St. John's* "presents many interesting views of Spithead, Gosport, Stokes Bay and Portsmouth. The House is ... desirably situated for a sportsman, being almost surrounded with woods which afford plenty of game."[188] James Clarke notes the grounds were laid out by Repton and were open for ticket holders to view as at *Appuldurcombe.*[189] In 1799, a reporter noted "we were told that strangers had not the liberty of walking round the grounds, or seeing the house, without permission of the owner."[190]

A significant house in the vicinity of *St John's* was *Appley,* Plate 40. It was "...nearer the shore [than St. John's, and] is the seat of Mrs. Roberts."[191] The correspondent for the Hampshire Repository wrote effusively of the grounds, possibly in response to the more fulsome response of the topographers to *St John's* Repton designed grounds.

> Appley, [is] the seat of Captain Hutt. A small lawn smooth as velvet, and skirted with trees of all growths from fine elms to low twisted bushy oaks, feathered down to the grass, and uniting with it, opens to the sea, above

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[184] Clarke, J. (1812) *The Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical, and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* E. Tayler, Newport, IOW. p 38
[185] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 96
[186] Hassell, J. (1790b) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 37
[187] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 86
[188] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 44.
[189] Clarke, J. (1812) *The Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical, and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* E. Tayler, Newport, IOW. p 37
[190] Robbins (1801) *The Hampshire Repository,* Robbins, Winchester. p 20
[191] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 96

> forty feet above high water mark. This height is a very steep bank, entirely covered with most luxuriant wood of very various sorts. Sumach, Laurustinius, and other beautiful shrubs, are mixed with oak and hazel; and over their tufted tops, the view falls directly on the waves murmuring under your feet...Of all that I have seen of the Island, or indeed anywhere else, I know nothing comparable to this delicious retreat, in which beauty and comfort have made their rest, under the name of Appley.[192]

Brannon described *Appley* as a "most lovely villa" and in the next sentence as a mansion.[193] Descriptive terms were flexible and would seem to be a reflection of the status of the resident rather than the size of the house. *Swainston* was the home of Sir John Barrington, Plates 41 and 42.[194] Two prints of the house exist in the *King's Maps* at the British Library.[195] Tomkins noted that "The house is small, but the rooms are convenient. The principal part of it has been built in the present century, though the walls of the former house yet remain in some of the offices."[196] The ancient chapel remained "but it is formed into a residence for the Steward. It is formed of plain gothic architecture, and appears from the East end to be of very ancient construction."[197] Bullar quotes a description by Sir H Englefield of this 'ancient construction'. Englefield was a member of the Society of Dilettanti and the Society of Antiquaries; all his references to the Island reflect these interests combined with the geology of the coastal region.

> Though Swainston is in a great degree modernised, there are yet remaining in the offices, some curious fragments of high antiquity. A very neat Norman double window is visible in the court; and the outside of a pretty chapel is nearly entire. These fragments are possibly a part of the mansion of the Bishops of Winchester, to whom, in early times, the manor belonged.[198]

The gardens, though admired were seen as being capable of picturesque improvement.

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[192] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 98

[193] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 26

[194] Tomkins dedicated his topography, Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London., to Sir John Barrington, the owner of *Swainston* in 1796. Sir John was MP for Newtown and his mainland seat was Barrington Hall in Essex.

[195] BL. TOPXV.13 a&b.

[196] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 52

[197] Ibid. p 52

[198] Bullar, J. (1818) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 85

> The lawn before the house lies in good sweeps, and is capable of much improvement, there is a spring in Ashen Grove, sufficient to form a canal in the lower grounds, which, with the addition of a bridge over it, in the approach to the house, would give it a superiority of entrance over any other residence in the Island.[199]

At some point in the nineteenth-century this suggested development was carried out and the bridge remains on the approach to the house. In his 1801 edition Bullar had given the owner of *Swainston* as Edward Simeon. He describes Swainston as "an elegant house which stands high."[200] "The mansion is plain but enjoys a wide view of the country toward the channel, spread with rich tufted oak woods, and sweeping in elegant forms; with the coast of Hampshire beyond."[201] The topographers were by this time looking for these elements in all significant houses and were reflecting the interests and aesthetic taste of the owners on the mainland as well as on the Island.

A choice site in the vicinity of the sea appears to have been all important as a determinant of quality in a mansion; for example *Osborne*, Plate 43, was praised for its situation

> This seat may be ranked as one of the best chosen residences on the Island. On a fine spacious lawn, that leads to the sea stands the pleasantly situated mansion. The views from it are as extensive as they can be on the northern side.[202]

The house looks impressive but is barely mentioned in detail; this would be the site used for the nineteenth-century *Osborne House* of Queen Victoria.

Another impressive coastal site in the area was the location of *The Priory*, which was recorded by Worsley for its site and prospect as much as for its owner, Plate 44. It was the seat of Sir Nash Grose.

> We need not wonder at its having been the scite [sic] of an ancient priory of moriks, who generally selected the finest situations. To the farm that succeeded the suppression of the religious order, Sir Nash Grose has added the embellishment of the present mansion, an elegant pile of freestone, with bow windows to the finest prospects.[203]

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[199] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 51
[200] Bullar, J. (1801) *Companion in a Tour round Southampton and a Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 282
[201] Ibid. p 277
[202] Hassell, J. (1790) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 52
[203] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 93

Plate 45 shows the "elegant pile of freestone." John Wilkes recorded his impressions after visiting the *Priory* in 1772

> Yesterday I went to the priory [sic], Mr. Grose's seat, on the eastern part of the island. ... The house is mean; but the situation is most beautiful, and the gardens are well laid out, although not entirely in the modern style: Portsmouth, Gosport, and the ships at Spithead, are in sight, which give great variety to one part of the view; and the grandeur of old Ocean, without a prospect of the shore, adds sublimity to it.[204]

His use of the descriptor 'sublime' shows his knowledge of the national picturesque debate which was part of mainland society interest imported to the Island.

Of interest amongst the other recorded houses is *Fairlee*, the "seat of John White [which] was built by Knowles, a modern house."[205] "Its views down the water to Cowes are very fine."[206] Worsley illustrated the site, Plate 46, and Tomkins the house, Plate 47. Both thought it significant enough to be used for illustrations, again a pointer to the site being of prime importance: the name of the architect/builder was still at this time of low significance. No further information on Knowles has come to light. *North Court House* was "...the seat of Richard Bull, Esq., whose grounds afford many fine prospects, and particularly from the terrace an unbounded one of the channel."[207] It was

> a fine mansion of the age of James I. Though nearly surrounded by hills, Northcourt enjoys, from a terrace in the garden, a fine sea view. Immediately beyond this; a rustic foot bridge, fancifully constructed of the peeled branches of trees, is thrown across the road, high over head.[208]

The lack of status of these two owners leads to only passing textual reference, *Fairlee* because it was a new house, with a known builder/architect in a fashionable style, and *Northcourt* because of its antiquity and rustic footbridge, an item of picturesque interest at the time.

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[204] Almon, J. (Ed.) (1805b) *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his friends,* Richard Phillips, London. p 110 from a letter of Wilkes to his daughter from Shanklin dated August 5 1772.
[205] Anon (1792) *Sketches of Descriptions taken from Sailing from Newport in the Isle of Wight to Lymington,* John Albin, Newport, IOW. p 6
[206] Albin, J. (1823) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* John Albin, Newport IOW. p 103
[207] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 37
[208] Bullar, J. (1818) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* Baker, Southampton. p 69

Two notable houses of antiquity and myth recorded by the topographers ceased to exist and their sites were abandoned within the period of this study; one of them was *Freshwater House,* the residence of Mr. Rushworth at Freshwater. He moved to the newly built *Farringford Hill*, already noted, Plate 31, "a situation certainly preferable to his more ancient mansion of *Freshwater House*, which, though spacious and convenient, and surrounded with good gardens and grounds, yet may be thought to yield to the eligible situation of this new house."[209] The choice of site was again important as extensive sea views were available from the new house. The second notable building to cease to exist was *Knighton*, Plates 48 and 49, a mansion held by the Bissett family since the reign of Elizabeth I.[210] John Wilkes was a frequent visitor to *Knighton* in the 1770s before he came to be a resident of the Island.

> I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Garrick, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Mr. Fitzmaurice, &c; who carried me away to Knighton, Mr. Fitzmaurice's seat, where I dined, and passed the day. I met sir [sic] Richard Worsley there, and some more Neapolitan acquaintances.[211]

Metopolitan society met regularly on the Island at *Knighton;* Wilkes told his daughter of another such meeting

> What fine food for political paragraphs! But I whisper to you, that not a syllable has been hinted of politics; and I suspect, from the accounts given me here, that Lord Shelburne's brother and his lordship have scarcely all the same party ideas: but the conversation was in a much superior strain; and literature, the *belles-lettres*, human life and manners, find us occupation enough for every kind of reflection and thought.[212]

The early topographers noted the site above the features of the building.

> At the foot of the [Ashley] Down, on the south, is an ancient and venerable mansion, called Knighton House, the seat of G. M. Bissett, Esq. This, from the hills above, appears to be situated in the bosom of a valley; yet its prospects are extensive, from the yet lower elevation of the adjacent country. The grounds, though not extensive, contain some fine timber.[213]

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[209] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 70

[210] Clarke, J. (1812) *The Delineator, or a Picturesque, Historical, and Topographical Description of the Isle of Wight,* E. Tayler, Newport, IOW. p 29

[211] Almon, J. (Ed.) (1805b) *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his friends,* Richard Phillips, London. p 109, letter from Wilkes to his daughter from Shanklin, dated August 5 1772

[212] Ibid. p 109, letter from Wilkes to his daughter from Shanklin, dated August 5 1772

[213] Brayley, E. W. and Britton, J. (1805) *The Beauties of England and Wales,* Vernon and Hood, London. p 387

In 1782 G.M. Bissett, the owner of *Knighton,* had been the co-respondent in the divorce proceedings, previously noted, between Sir Richard Worsley and his wife.[214] The drawing used by Englefield in his 'Description' of the Island, Plate 49, shows the exterior features mention here.[215] By 1818 Knighton was

> almost entirely demolished. We subjoin the following description, which will show what this house once was. Open to the south, and with a most copious spring rising close under it, stands Knighton House, a very large old building of beautiful grey stone, and a very irregular form. One end is totally covered with Ivy which closely invests the wall, roof and chimney. The north front, to which you enter from a small lawn, is all ancient, and much broken with projections, with large windows of very good shape. On the south side, the grounds fall so quick, that the garden is in a succession of terraces; and in one part the ground is supported by a high stone wall, built sloping, and winding with irregular angles round the hill on which the house stands. Just at the foot of a steep bank from which this wall rises, the spring forms a transparent pool, overhung with willows and shrubs. The whole scene is as picturesque as possible and the house in every point of view presents the happiest subjects for the pencil.[216]

Mrs Lybbe Powys recorded her visit to the house in 1792

> ...Knighton House, situated in a dale surrounded by woods, from the walks of which are views of the sea. The building, tho' very ancient, is not gloomy, and spacious and plesing [sic] inside, tho' the windows are laticed and retain their antique pillar of stone. One part of the edifice is finely variegated by ivy binding its gable end; on each side of the house is a fine range of woods; on one side of the hill is seen St. Catherine's, on the other the downs of St. Boniface. I took a sketch of the old mansion. We were so agreeably entertain'd with Knighton and its hospital [sic] owners, that we did not reach Ryde till very late.[217]

It is curious that the one mansion identified as antique, *Knighton*, was demolished. The mansions that were to be built would all hark back to previous forms, but abandon the freely developed structure of Knighton that had developed over the centuries, and create more homogenous forms of buildings. This was following the national trend and absorbing the cultural influences of amongst others, the Society of Antiquaries.

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[214] The divorce trial in London was notorious; etchings by Gillray dated 1782 (NPG D12979, D12980 and D12984) and a transcript of the trial were published in London.

[215] Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London. Plate 7.

[216] Bullar, J. (1818) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* Baker, Southampton. p 105

[217] Climenson, E. J. (Ed.) (1899) *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, 1756-1808,* Longmans, Green & Co., London. p 260

The new or remodelled mansions.

Topographical writings had shown more emphasis on the value of the old residences and for the most part found difficulty with describing the new or different. Between 1790 and 1835 there was a spate of building activity noted by the topographers on the Island. Cottages continued to be built but on a smaller scale than previously, but during this period larger and more complex villa/mansions were built. The previously noted importance of site with picturesque properties was of primary importance and all the new properties had both extensive sea views, and were visible, often in a dramatic setting, from the sea. The only part of *Fernhill* which was visible from the sea was the top of the tower; the distant observer had to imagine what supported the tower, a pleasure of the imagination. In order of construction they were

1790 *Fernhill,* built for Thomas Orde, later Lord Bolton and not ascribed to an architect

1798 *East Cowes Castle,* built by John Nash for himself

c.1799 *Bellevue,* later *Northwood,* remodelled for George Ward to designs ascribed to Nash & other metropolitan architects

1799 *Norris Castle,* built for Lord Henry Seymour to designs by James Wyatt

1825 *St Clare (Castle),* built for T.V. Utterson to designs by James Sanderson

1833/5 *Steephill Castle,* built for John Hamborough to designs by James Sanderson

A national trend in building style of new mansions started from the middle of the eighteenth-century in the mainland countryside and was reflected on the Island. The choice of building style for new mansions, both exterior and interior, was moving away from the classical and vernacular base and becoming more concerned with site and a developing association of ideas and in particular, a selective sense of the past that could be expressed in the structure of the building; that is, nostalgia as an aesthetic influence. Crook noted this move to a looser aesthetic control; "The old aesthetic absolutes dissolved in a haze of association."[218] This national trend can be seen in the Island mansions

[218] Crook, J. M. (1989) *The Dilemma of Style,* John Murray, London. p 18

discussed in this chapter. With the broarder set of influences on design came a rise in the significance of the designer or architect of the new properties. Unlike the cottage building of the 50 years previously the position and significance of named architects come into prominence and gave the property a status in its own right to enhance the status of the resident. The cottage design books, noted in the first section of this chapter, became more complex in the options they put forward; in effect proposing small scale mansions masquerading as cottages, or promoting a 'cottage-retreat' lifestyle.

The earliest of the new houses, *Fernhill*, is an eclectic mix of styles with gothic predominant; next come the three castles and lastly a classical inspired mansion. Of the architects identified, John Nash and James Wyatt were architects who worked for members of the Royal family and had recognised careers both in the metropolis and the countryside. Foucault who identified the author function specifically relating to text allows that it has a wider usage in art and architectural creation.[219] Authorship, or named architect was used as a means of classifying and valuing the quality and significance of the buildings, part of the general classification of the environment that was taking place at a national level. This has led to many of the topographers dealing at length with the buildings of metropolitan architects on the Island and affording them a status due to their 'respected' architects and by association their owners. James Sanderson, an architect from the metropolis but less well known and recorded than Nash and Wyatt, was responsible for two of the castellated houses and numerous classical based civic and residential buildings in Ryde. The house not ascribed to an architect, *Fernhill*, was reported with less interest and given less importance than those of the three named architects. There appears to have been inadequate language available to the writers to describe what they observed in *Fernhill*, perhaps because it was an eclectic mix of styles rather than being formed in one of the established historical styles of published pattern books.

Why build a residence in the eighteenth-century in the outward style of an ancient castle? What did these residences represent? Gilpin, already quoted, alluded to this action of the imagination, "I assert, that our eyes are mere glass

[219] Rabinow, P. (Ed.) (1991) *The Foucault Reader,* Penguin, London. p 113

windows; and that we see with our imagination."[220] The idea of a castle held potent associations with the past that were thought suitable by their builders. In the case of *Steephill* a well recorded early Georgian cottage was destroyed so the site could be reused for a castle structure, but in general new sites were chosen for the new castle homes.[221] The imaginative associations of the residents, both local and from the metropolis, who had built the picturesque cottages would remain but new wealthy residents would use their imagination to incorporate greater imaginative features with new structural forms for their houses; all with grander and more complex function than the eighteenth-century cottage. What were the sources of the impetus for these changes in outward visuals and more complex function?

One source was undoubtedly that of Royal interest in gothic forms and concepts. Girouard has proposed a mid-eighteenth-century starting point for Royal interest in gothic concepts with George III's interest and support of the works of Richard Hurd.[222] "As a young man George III had been taught architecture by Sir William Chambers, and had almost certainly learned from him to reverence the classical tradition and despise Gothic."[223] However the King's interest in the mediaeval developed, "It seems likely that his medievalism was less the result of personal interest than of appreciation of its value as a buttress to the monarchy."[224] In 1800 the King appointed James Wyatt, an acknowledged gothicist, as his architect. All Wyatt's Royal projects were to be in gothic style. The King wrote "I never thought I should have adopted the Gothic instead of Grecian architecture, ... I have taken to the former from thinking Wyatt perfect in that style."[225] James Wyatt is important to this Island narrative for his renovation of *Carisbrook Castle* for Lord Bolton and design of *Norris*, for Lord Henry Seymour.

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[220] Letter from William Gilpin to William Mason, dated 1769, quoted in Crook, J. M. (1989) *The Dilemma of Style,* John Murray, London. p 21

[221] *Steephill Cottage* was demolished to make way for the Castle. *Fernhill* was most likely built on the site of an earlier dwelling, *Barr House.*

[222] Girouard, M. (1981) *The Return to Camelot,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 22. Hurd had proposed chivalry as a source of moral fortitude for the times in his *Moral and Political Dialogues* of 1759, quoted by Girouard.

[223] Ibid. p 23

[224] Ibid. p 23

[225] Ibid. p 24 quoting *The Later Correspondence of George III* (ed. A. Aspinall, 1968), Vol. VI, p 135.

A second source was the rise of generalised antiquarian interests. John Carter (1748-1817) was proposing gothic purity for restoration in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and being openly critical of the 'restoration' work of James Wyatt.[226] Recent work by Rosemary Sweet has traced the work of antiquarians and the development of the Society of Antiquaries through the eighteenth-century.[227] Sir Henry Englefield, already noted for his comments and engraving of *Knighton*, was a prominent member of the Society and objected to what he identified as James Wyatt's lack of purity in using gothic forms. Englefield was joined by John Carter, who wrote for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in criticising Wyatt for having no interest in the 'gothic spirit' when renovating or building in gothic. This trend has been observed by many commentators, Yates being one who said of the late Georgians: "Gentlemen antiquaries began to preserve and adapt ancient ruins on their estates and to rebuild houses and churches in a strange pastiche of the Gothic style."[228] Yates' observations are reliant on visual clues and do not help us explain why 'Gentlemen antiquaries' behaved as they did towards ruins and gothic stylistic features, that is, they appeared to venerate the past. This action can be viewed as a possible element of the architectural reaction to the new industrialisation of society that was taking place coupled with a visual sense of "Nostalgia for the imagined harmony of the lost society of the Middle Ages."[229] To members of society with antiquarian interests, gothic was associated with chivalry, architecture of castles and a past society with specific values at odds with the social changes taking place specifically in France at the same period. These people wished to live in a reflection of past times.

A third source came from fiction. Both Sir Walter Scott and Horace Walpole in their novels, were concerned with the mediaeval morality the assumed values as well as gothic forms. Both writers lived in house that were decorated in gothic style Amongst others, Scott and Walpole "had started to make medievalism chic even while the styles of Georgian classicism and the Regency

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[226] This is detailed in Crook, J. M. (1995) *John Carter and the Mind of The Gothic Revival,* W.S. Maney & Son, London.
[227] Sweet, R. (2004) *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-century Britain,* Hambledon & London, London & New York.
[228] Yates, N. (1990) In *Victorian Values*(Ed, Marsden, G.) Longmans, London. p 62.
[229] Ibid. p 60.

were still in full flood."[230] This assumption that gothic was a minority interest during the Regency is not borne out by the gothic nature of much of the large scale late Georgian building activity on the Island. The development of aesthetics by Edmund Burke, already noted in previous chapters, led to the addition of *Sublimity* to the vocabulary of aesthetic signifiers. *Sublimity* was sought, and *Astonishment* was identified by Burke as the highest emotional reaction to the *Sublime*.[231] These emotions could be applied as reactions to buildings as well as their sites. When *sublimity* and *astonishment* could be applied to both site and structure the resulting emotions would be of a high order. Two castles, *Steephill* and *Norris* were such that elicited these high order emotions from the topographers of the Island.

The cultural source that favoured gothic forms was both nostalgic or backward looking and romantic. The writings of Roland Barthes on *Myth* help to inform the advance in popularity of gothic ideas and forms at this time.[232] Barthes identifies *Myth* as "a system of communication, ... a message."[233] The *Myth* associated with the appearance of an eighteenth-century castle build to look outwardly like a castle from a previous historical period can carry associations with past times. Barthes states that *Myths* define things not words, allowing for the application of his ideas to architecture. Barthes shows that forms of structural representation can be developed; castles can have the outward appearance of a previous age but have a function, that is an inner form and structure, which bears no relationship to the original historical function. The original castle form had become obsolete by the mid-fourteenth century in this country but the idea and association were re-used for reasons of nostalgia and possibly social order. The function of the mediaeval castle had been changed to a function deemed appropriate to the long eighteenth-century. *Norris*, built in 1799 for Lord Henry Seymour, was intended as his retreat from the metropolis and its society. The architect James Wyatt, had worked on the renovations of the Governor's quarters of *Carisbrooke Castle* in the preceding years. Lord Henry's Castle was a stylistic anachronism; it held what was a prominent

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[230] Ibid. p 60.
[231] Boulton, J. T. (Ed.) (1958) *Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. p 57 and numerous further references.
[232] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London.
[233] Ibid. p 93

defensive position on the coast but had no defensive function.[234] The castle here had become what Barthes described as a "...kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions."[235] The castle was representing a *Myth*. The sites of *Norris* and later *Steephill* were in locations where a mediaeval defensive castle could have been built and which could be viewed in eighteenth-century picturesque terms, as fitting in with the natural landscape; to quote Barthes, "We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into Nature."[236]

Was it significant that there was a re-emergence of the castle form at a time when the Island was at the front line of defence during the years of war with France? Foucault proposes a possible answer

> If representation did not possess the obscure power of making a past impression present once more, then no impression would ever appear as either similar to or dissimilar from a previous one. ... Without imagination, there would be no resemblance between things."[237]

Imagination and association are a potent force in interpretation and Foucault is here reinforcing what has been identified as the pleasures of the imagination. Why were the castles such a potent source of interest to the topographers? The external appearance of castles were a "... myth [that] has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us."[238] The message can possibly be seen as one of defence and safety at a troubled time and at the same time fulfilled another language function, "... myth is always a language robbery."[239] Items of visual culture such as prints can be read, castles similarly; "...myth in fact belongs to the province of a general science, coextensive with linguistics, which is semiology."[240] What are the signs of the castle?

> ... form does not suppress the meaning, it only impoverishes it, it puts it at a distance, it holds it at one's disposal. One believes that the meaning is going to die, but it is a death with a reprieve; the meaning loses its value, but keeps its life, from which the form of the myth will draw its nourishment. The meaning will be for the form like an instantaneous

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[234] On viewing Norris from the sea it looks as if it has always been there, a Norman castle. See Brannon print, Plate 56.
[235] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London. p 103
[236] Ibid. p 116
[237] Foucault, M. (1994) *The Order of Things,* Routledge, London. p 76
[238] Sontag, S. (Ed.) (1982) *A Barthes Reader,* Jonathan Cape, London. p 102
[239] Ibid. p 118
[240] Ibid. p 95

> reserve of history, a tamed richness, which it is possible to call and dismiss in a sort of rapid alteration: the form must constantly be able to be rooted in its meaning and to get what nature it needs for its noutriment; above all it must be able to hide there. It is this constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth."[241]

The visual signifiers of castles, such as towers and crenellated battlements would be enough to nourish the myth which

> ... is a language which does not want to die: it wrests from the meanings which give it its substance an insidious, degraded survival, it provokes in them an artificial reprieve in which it settles comfortably, it turns them into speaking corpses.[242]

As with the earlier Island cottages, historical forms here were being re-invented and made relevant to the times. "Truth to tell, the best weapon against myth is perhaps to mythify it in its turn, and to produce an *artificial myth*: and this reconstituted myth will in fact be a mythology."[243] So the Island castles of the long eighteenth-century became part of the imagined or created past of the Island at the same time as being new; this is particularly true of *Norris* and *Steephill* which supplied the topographers with material that was nostalgic, romantic and historicist. Many writers have claimed as Mark Girouard does, that "building a castle because it was picturesque did not necessarily imply sympathy with the Middle Ages."[244] Girouard seems to be commenting on the stylistic appearance; perhaps on the Island building a castle has sympathy with the values of a society lost on the mainland, but still remaining on the Island. The building of the Island castles was complete by the time that Brown advised "If the mansion is to be designed for a high hill, then a resemblance to the feudal castle should be kept in view."[245] The Island gothic-inspired mansion-houses represent the development of the first national Gothic Revival at the time when many writers including Gilpin saw little value in Gothic other than to "dress up a hall or saloon."[246] Undoubtedly the mansions built during the second half of the long eighteenth-century were influenced by the publication of

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[241] Ibid. p 103-4
[242] Ibid. p 120
[243] Ibid. p 123
[244] Girouard, M. (1981) *The Return to Camelot,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 21
[245] Brown, R. (1841) *Domestic Architecture*, London. p 84
[246] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 127

the numerous design books, but *Fernhill,* built in 1790 predates them and was built while the national debates were proceeding.

Where does *Fernhill*, Plates 50 and 51, fit into this analysis? Does it reflect a myth? Does it reflect ecclesiastic and gothic interests? Does it reflect antiquarian interests? Initially the style of *Fernhill* defied clear description by topographers and visitors, and it continued to do so. This was a house of associations prompted by its architectural features. It had a base structure similar to a rectangular box associated with a classical structure, but was embellished with gothic features. Its messages would have been mixed a classical structure being very conventional with the added fantasy of gothic windows and a two storey colonnade on one side presenting an unconventional aspect to the observer. J. H. Plumb noted a generalised change in society at the time of the construction of *Fernhill.*

> Between 1760 and 1790 it was crystal clear that there were two worlds, the old and the new; the new was the product of technological change and certain of success, certain to bring into being a new and strange Britain.[247]

This, the first of the new and adventurous Island mansion-houses, was designed and constructed at the same time Sir Richard Worsley, the man of fashion and antiquarian, was building the last significant eighteenth-century Gentleman's Cottage retreat on the Island, *Sea Cottage.*[248] Both men were diplomats and had travelled widely; both were antiquarians, cultured and aware of the latest aesthetic issues and discussions. The resulting houses were very different in appearance but shared the function of retreat from public life. It is significant that the confidence in building larger houses in prominent positions occurred while the war with France was taking place; the Island was under threat of invasion and had an active defence militia under Bolton's direction and control. Did this threat add to the perceived picturesque and sublime qualities of an Island site? Fear of potential and imminent invasion could have been very real if one lived on the Island. Perhaps there was an element of speculation and anticipation of peace and prosperity in these early builders. Another factor in choosing a prominent position for houses was the recognition of the

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[247] Plumb, J. H. (1979) *England in the Eighteenth-Century* London. p 33.
[248] *Sea Cottage* has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

beneficial effects of clean and fresh air to health.[249] Loudon later linked ideal conditions with choice of site.

> The great advantage of elevation is, that it gives a command of prospect, without which a villa may be beautiful, picturesque, or romantic; but it never can be dignified or grand, and scarcely even elegant or graceful.[250]

The site of *Fernhill* had all these advantages, dense trees on a slope giving potential for sublimity and fear. Besides having a function for the observer of the property, the tower had a functional significance in the design, Bolton in his role as Governor of the Island, needed to send and receive communication to and from *Carisbrooke* and the mainland. Bolton was in residence by 1790.[251] Like so much about this house information is scarce and well hidden; this early date of occupancy has not been given by previous writers of the house.[252]

Writing in 1795 Albin informs us of a previous house that occupied the *Fernhill* site, a house that "in most of the maps of the Island heretofore published ... has been called Barr House."[253] How did the topographers view and record this unconventional house? John Bullar saw it as "a singular house, built on a curious Gothic plan."[254] Sir Henry Englefield took the antiquarian view when he visited the house, he described it as "another instance of the singular infelicity of attempts to imitate the style of our despised ancestors, whose works ... modern science strives in vain to rival. Modern insolence brands them with the appellations of dark and barbarous."[255] For such a radical building in a 'new

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[249] Clark, S. J. (1841) *The Sanative Influence of Climate,* John Murray, London, is a notable example of this type of work published at the end of the period.
[250] Loudon, J. C. (1833) *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, London. para. 1626
[251] HRO 11M49/207. This is a folio in Orde's hand. It is an "Inventory of Furniture, Plate, China, Glass, Earthenware etc. at Fernhill." It is dated 1790, with yearly updates until 1793. The impression is of the house being substantially as illustrated by William Cooke in 1808. Orde did not come into the Bolton Property, via his wife, until 1794, the year after this inventory ceased.
[252] There was nothing on the *Fernhill* site on the 1759 map of Isaac Taylor, which was dedicated to the Duke of Bolton, but it appears on Albin's map of 1805, which is dedicated to Lord Bolton, (Orde). Circa 1794 is given in commentaries to prints of the house by the Isle of Wight Record Office but the 1790 Inventory, already mentioned, in the Hampshire Record Office (HRO 11M49/207), which is in Orde's own hand shows that he was in residence by 1790.
[253] Albin, J. (1795) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* Scatcherd & Whitaker, Booksellers, London. p 545.
[254] Bullar, J. (1801) *Companion in a Tour round Southampton and a Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 278
[255] Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London. p 58. Englefield recorded these observations during one of his visits to the Island between 1799 and 1801. Publication in book form was delayed.

eclectic style' it is significant that no architect can be ascribed to it and it remains largely unknown outside the Island. At the time if a residence had a recognised inhabitant it had merit in the eyes off the topographers, if a recognised architect had designed the residence then it had added status. Until recently the study of architectural history has been based on the works of known or recognised practitioners and even substantial structures without a known architect have been left out of published surveys. Bolton had a wide circle of influential friends and could have consulted any number of eminent designers and architects; he could even have followed the occasional practice of the gentry and designed the house himself but no evidence of this has come to light. The only architect linked with Bolton on the Island was James Wyatt who was responsible for renovating *Carisbrooke Castle* and remodelling the Governor's Lodgings in 1794, after the construction of *Fernhill*.[256]

How was *Fernhill* described? The site was recorded as spectacular, "...its grounds sloping along the margin of the expanded sheet of water, that appears a fine lake, backed by woods and lofty downs."[257] Mrs Radcliffe on her first tour of the Island recorded only the site and tower visible above the tree line; she was viewing the scene from a boat in Wootton Creek. "The coast returns into a green recess, and the waters wind away among the hills verdant with thick woods and enclosures. Here the Governor has built a picturesque tower above his woods."[258] There was a precedent for this on the mainland, *Luttrell's Tower*, which was visible to all who made the crossing to the Island from Southampton. Cooke notes

> the view is heightened by the 'picturesque appearance of Eaglehurst, the seat of the Earl of Cavan, originally built by the late Temple Luttrell, the lofty tower of which is known amongst the seamen by the name of Luttrell's Folly.[259]

Richard Payne Knight noted with approval sites similar to both *Luttrell's Tower* and *Fernhill*: he wrote

> Well mix'd and blended in the scene you shew

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[256] Robinson, J. M. (1979) *The Wyatts,* Oxford University Press, Oxford. p 240. Records exist in the IOWRO for these repairs.
[257] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 77.
[258] Radcliffe, A. (1833) *The Posthumous Works of Ann Radcliffe to which is prefaced a memoir of the authoress with extracts from her private journal.,* Henry Colburn, London. p 30
[259] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 149-161

> The stately mansion rising to the view.[260]

in 1795 as a response to Uvedale Price, part of the debate on the nature of picturesque landscape. Bolton, building his house just prior to 1790, would most likely have been aware of the developing general picturesque discussions that were codified and recorded later by Payne Knight in 1795. Concerning the outward appearance of the house, William Cooke, a topographer from the metropolis, described it as

> ... a spacious edifice, in the Gothic style, having some resemblance to a church. The front has an open corridor, rising to the upper windows, supported by five slender pillars of great height. At each end are the principal rooms, which are sumptuously fitted up.[261]

Cooke's drawing, Plate 50, shows the house in considerable detail. It was a curious house by any standards. The style was free of classical constraints but had a symmetry about its essentially flat façades. Only the tower which is set to one side of the house gives an effect of asymmetry. The roof was of slate and low-pitched and almost hidden by the parapet; whereas the fashion of the earlier Island cottages involved a prominent and dominating thatched roof.[262] Why did Cooke describe the house as Gothic? There are pointed arches and a window at the northern end that one would expect to find in a church. These may have been the easiest features to pick on to describe the style. The house, by 1790, was a three-storey structure with a covered two-storey loggia, which Bolton referred to as "my Colonade [sic]," on the long east-facing side of the house. The second floor of the house extended over the loggia and formed a long gallery. Because of the height and delicacy of the columns, this loggia is most unusual, and gives an effect of a cloister to the eastern side of the house. Plate 52, a commercial postcard, shows the house as it was in the 1930s just before it was destroyed by fire. The delicacy of the pillars and open space created, are almost reminiscent of a Mediterranean architecture and climate.[263] There is a further modern feel to the building with the use of sash windows,

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[260] Knight, R. P. (1794) *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem in Three Books addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq.,* W. Bulmer, London. lines 217-8.
[261] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 77.
[262] Later Island cottages would continue to be built with prominent and dominating thatched roofs well into the twentieth century.
[263] The arches are not sharply pointed but rather rounded and are reminiscent of Moorish style found in southern Spain.

which were also used at this time by Sir Richard Worsley at his *Sea Cottage* on the Undercliff.[264]

The grounds of *Fernhill* were conventional for the period; pleasure grounds "judiciously laid out, and command[ing] a wide extent of beautiful prospect."[265] The house "stands at the head of a steep sloping lawn, interspersed with trees, and inclosed [sic] with fine plantations, terminated on the east by Fishbourne Creek (or Wootton River,) which forms at high tide an ample sheet of water."[266] The lawn was "of about 70 acres," and the surrounding plantations had "gravel walks though them, laid out in the most private and tasteful manner."[267] There were no borders and set parterres, this was still a picturesque park garden in layout with a wide range of tree species. "The views of Spithead, Portsmouth Harbour, [were] unrivalled for beauty and extent."[268]

One great Island event at *Fernhill* is recorded during Bolton's occupation that shows it worthy of the description *mansion:* the celebrations of the naval victory over the French by Lord Howe in June 1794. The King and Queen went to Spithead to review the fleet and the same night *Fernhill*

> was adorned with more than a thousand lamps of powerful lustre. The arts united to convey the feelings of its generous master to the captivated spectators. The lawn and garden were crouded [sic] with respectable parties of the island inhabitants, and within doors HOSPITALITY loaded the table with every kind of substantial and delicate refreshment.[269]

Many toasts were reported to those who had made the victory possible and the night ended with "the exhibition of fire works, [which] was inconceivably pleasing and superb."[270]

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[264] The Island norm for windows was casement. Sash windows were a feature of mainland Georgian architecture that eventually arrived on the Island.
[265] Bullar, J. (1801) *Companion in a Tour round Southampton and a Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker, Southampton. p 278.
[266] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 28
[267] *Hampshire Telegraph*, September 6th 1813, advertisement for a three-year fully furnished let of the house.
[268] Ibid
[269] Albin, J. (1795) *A History of the Isle of Wight,* Scatcherd & Whitaker, Booksellers, London. p 545-6. Albin is quoting a manuscript report of the events.
[270] Ibid. p 546. At the same time a Mr Vick of Wootton Bridge set up lights in his house and garden. "The disposition of brilliant ornaments in the house and gardens which reflected from the water, had the effect of almost magical enchantment."

The next significant houses were also built in the north east section of the Island, but this time on coastal land to the east of the Medina river. In 1798 William Gilpin had written that this stretch of coast "...is thought to contain the most beautiful part of the island."[271] He identified the lack of woods as a disadvantage to true picturesque beauty in the area, but noted that it was the best place from which to view the Hampshire coast.[272] The area just to the east of East Cowes provided sites for two significant residences as well as an ambitious scheme for a villa estate to be built between 1800 and 1850.[273] From west to east they were *East Cowes Castle*, for and by John Nash, *Norris Castle*, for Lord Henry Seymour to designs by James Wyatt.

East Cowes Castle

In 1798 Nash bought land on the Island and started to plan and build his retreat from the metropolis.[274] The site was on ground rising from the seashore which was prominent and exposed; Nash whilst in retirement from London was not seeking total seclusion as his castle was in sight of the docks.[275] Progress with building the house was rapid and he was in residence within the first year, however work continued on the property for several years. As it grew, it became more irregular; a mix of Norman and Tudor features, arranged asymmetrically according to picturesque principles, Plates 53, 54 and 55. This house, however, seems to have posed problems for early commentators who did not know how to describe the style; Englefield recorded it as "built in imitation of a small ancient castle."[276] John Bullar, writing in 1806 noted the "handsome residence of J. Nash Esq., a castellated villa [which] excites

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[271] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 304.
[272] Ibid. p 331.
[273] *"East Cowes Park"* was a proposal to develop land to the west of East Cowes Castle as an estate of villas around a central Botanic Garden. Secluded villas, mainly detached with surrounding gardens, would have been provided for the discerning wealthy away from local residents!
[274] Brading, R. (1990) *East Cowes and Whippingham, 1303-1914,* J. Arthur Dixon, Newport, IOW. p 54.
[275] Nash was one of the few people who felt the need to have a further place of retirement from his main island home. *Hamstead* was a farmhouse greatly renovated in a picturesque style in an isolated area to the west of Cowes.
[276] Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London. p 56.

particular notice and enjoys a situation of particular beauty."[277] In 1813 Daniell, went a little further in defining the house

> East Cowes castle, more commonly, and with greater propriety, called Mr Nash's Castle, as it was built by the celebrated architect for his private residence. He has shown good taste in giving a castellated character to this marine villa as no other style of building would have accorded so well with the commanding site which it occupies.[278]

As with *Fernhill*, the structure did not visually fit what had hitherto been expected of an Island retreat, but the composite description of the house as a castellated marine villa summed up the impression given of an eclectic mix of styles and function. John Nash was a nationally acknowledged architect confident in many styles. There was a precedent: Richard Payne Knight had built his own castle at Downton in Herefordshire (1771-8) in an eclectic mix that had a Gothic exterior with internal Grecian details.

In its early years *East Cowes Castle* must have appeared as radical a design as *Fernhill*, although Cooke, writing in 1808 showed a more informed view of site and structure than local topographers.

> Mr Nash ... has shewn [sic] his judgment in the choice of situation for a command of unrivalled prospect. ... He has ... exhibited his elegant taste in the style of this building, to which considerable additions are now taking place, that without injuring its simplicity, will render it at once more important as a distant object, while they increase its domestic convenience as a residence.[279]

Cooke had understood the nature of the house as a villa with a function as a residence as well as a picturesque object. It was a villa in function by nature of its use as a country retreat and having a small estate to support it. Nash was extending his visual ideas and from his work on the village development at *Regent's Park* in London; an introduction of metropolitan influence on the Island. The kitchen garden, which was formed of five broad terraces on the slope of a hill some hundred yards from the castle, supplied the house with fresh produce.[280] This was in reality a small country house with an estate to

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[277] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 47.
[278] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London. p 69
[279] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 140
[280] Summerson, J. (1980) *The Life and Works of John Nash, Architect,* George Allen & Unwin, London. p 148

support it. A few years later (1824) George Brannon was commissioned by Nash to produce a set of engravings of the castle. Rather than describe it in its own right as a structure he compared it to *Norris*; "it is more sheltered ... and is distinguished by greater elegance and lightness of character, - a pleasing diversity in the form of its towers, and is finished throughout with a very handsome, neatly executed detail."[281] Brannon had understood through comparison that Nash had not sought to recreate a castle, but to use castellated forms to produce a picturesque effect for a villa in a marine location. This was a castle devoid of much of the myth identified with *Norris* and *Steephill;* it was visual artifice with a subtle use of detail to aid the status of the owner. Plate 55 from *Ackerman's Repository* of 1825 shows an eclectic structure that had no defence function but provided for luxurious and eccentric living. This eclectic mix of period styles followed Knight's comment on quality Picturesque architecture.

> But mix'd and blended, ever let it be
> A mere component part of what you see.[282]

Brannon clearly admired the garden setting and noted the "very beautiful display of flowering shrubs, which, for luxuriance of growth in the open air, is rarely equalled: the collection of exotics in the conservatory comprises also the choicest varieties."[283] The picturesque quality of ivy and other lighter colour climbers came in for special mention.[284] This was not a park but a new garden of beds of shrubs and open walkways that were complemented by initially one, and later two, conservatories. Both of these overlooked a large lawn, the short conservatory gave the effect of a cloister, a form seen also at *Fernhill.*

When Barber produced his detailed critique of the site and style, he showed that he still did not quite understand Nash's choice of form.

> The site is well selected for a residence of Gothic character; and the general effect of this castle, with its surrounding woods, must be admitted to be imposing. On a nearer inspection, it is seen to unite the

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[281] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 23

[282] Knight, R. P. (1794) *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem in Three Books addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq.,* W. Bulmer, London. lines 219-220

[283] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 23

[284] Ibid. p 23

> features of a castellated mansion of a late date, with those of the baronial stronghold of a much earlier period; the former, doubtless, for convenience, the latter for the sake of antiquated and striking appearance. Whether such an union be consistent with correct taste, is a question which Mr Nash should be much more qualified to answer than ourselves: but in this, as in many other instances, we confess to have been but little struck with the propriety of machicolated towers frowning over the elegancies of domestic architecture. When time has divested a style of building of its objects and meaning, it should be either wholly laid aside, or, if adopted in the way of imitation, the imitation should be complete, and should admit of nothing incongruous: an axiom this, which has been but little studied by the architect and proprietor of East Cowes Castle.[285]

By this date Nash was seen as representing past ideas which were out of date. After his retirement from London *East Cowes Castle* was Nash's seat; to provide a retreat from Island Society he bought, in 1806, the manor of Ningwood. It is located on the isolated north-west coast of the Island and included the farm/hamlet of *Hamstead*.[286] As with the site of *East Cowes Castle*, *Hamstead* commanded views of the Solent and mainland coast that are more usually associated with a site of greater elevation. After renovation this house provided Nash with a secluded retreat, or rather a retreat within a retreat, the Island. *East Cowes Castle* shows what would be expected of an architect of his standing, a personal solution to exterior visuals and interior function as a home, and brings him nearer in spirit to Payne Knight than his sometime associate, Repton, who was "an eclectic in taste rather than an eclectic in style."[287]

Norris Castle

Norris was announced by Tomkins in 1796: "The ground rising from East Cowes will shortly be ornamented with the house of Lord H. Seymour."[288] When in 1799, Albin wrote of Lord Henry Seymour's villa being "deserving of notice" he was referring to the farmhouse that pre-dated the castle.[289] Lord Henry resided in this farmhouse whilst *Norris,* the first of the 'medieval revival' castles on the Island, was under construction. Construction was started in

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[285] Barber, T. (1845) *Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight,* Simpkins and Marshall, London. p 39-40
[286] Colvin, H. (Ed.) (1995) *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840,* Yale University Press, London. p 688
[287] Crook, J. M. (1989) *The Dilemma of Style,* John Murray, London. p 27.
[288] Tomkins, C. (1796) *A Tour of the Isle of Wight,* G. Kearsley, London. p 106.
[289] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 62.

1799; one year after Nash started work on his castle. Although both were designated castles they show two very different design solutions. The grounds of *Norris* were 125 acres in extent.[290] James Wyatt had worked recently on the Island for Lord Bolton on the renovations of *Carisbrook Castle.* The choice of site for *Norris* was masterly, showing an understanding by Wyatt of the *picturesque* and *sublime* qualities of water and rising land and the outline the building would create on the skyline. *Norris* was a significant group of buildings: an early print exists in the *King's Maps* at the British Library.[291] At the turn of the century Englefield recorded the house as "a magnificent structure ... professing to be in imitation of an ancient castle of no small dimensions" but added "of that part of the detail which is the peculiar province of the architect; the less said the better."[292] The difficult relationship between Wyatt and Englefield has already been recorded. The print, Plate 56, shows a sublime/romantic situation with shipping being menaced by a storm. The effect of the castle is seen here at its most severe and bleak; by contrast it appears at its friendliest in sunshine, when it is imposing but still formidable. Compare this with Plate 57 by Cooke which shows the castle in isolation on an eminence with no sea visible, and Plate 58 by Brannon which shows the castle site in relation to the sea and surrounded by a then fashionable pleasure ground. Brannon shows Wyatt as a master of composition and picturesque effect.

Whereas *East Cowes Castle* faced the estuary of the Medina River and the Solent, *Norris* faced the open water of the Solent and the opposite shore of Hampshire. The castle, which still exists, dominates the Island's north eastern coast. "As you sail close inshore along the coast, Norris seems to spring out at you suddenly from round the corner like a knight, armed, helmeted and breastplated."[293] It occupies a true coastal defensive position and is austere in structure, being devoid of decoration beyond castellation.[294] The impression is

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[290] Brading, R. (1990) *East Cowes and Whippingham, 1303-1914,* J. Arthur Dixon, Newport, IOW. p 58

[291] BL. KTOPXV.11

[292] Englefield, S. H. C. (1816) *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the isle of Wight: with additional Observations on the strata of the Island, and their continuation in the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire,* Payne & Foss, London. p 57

[293] *Country Life*, December 28, 1967, p 1694. From the article *Sham Castles of the Isle of Wight*, by Douglas Phillips-Birt.

[294] It lacks the machicolation that would be present on a castle designed to be defended.

'sublime', severe and with menace; certainly not one of beauty. This was Wyatt's interpretation of a Norman Castle but excluding defensive features, and is much nearer to a mediaeval castle in structure than Nash's *East Cowes Castle*. However Cooke did not see it as a castle but described it as "a noble mansion, in a style of grandeur which Mr. Wyatt has adapted, at once for the ornament of the neighbourhood, and the enjoyment of its peculiar advantages."[295] George Brannon noted its "very noble design, - massive in construction, and remarkable for a simplicity of style disdaining minute decoration."[296] Perhaps this is an early example of understated and minimalist architecture with its lack of gothic decoration; the outline profile would appear to be the main effect being sought by Wyatt. There were sash and oriel windows, square and round towers but no lancets for defence; it is an artifice to appeal to the eye. This was a reinterpretation of a castle for the 'picturesque' admirer, who wanted a touch of the 'sublime' when viewing from the sea. As with *East Cowes Castle*, this was a house in public view, but only from the sea. It was a secluded retreat and difficult to reach on land; Lord Henry used Norris as a place of retirement from society in the strictest sense.[297] Access from land was not open to the public and Lord Henry had all the seclusion that he needed.

Norris has always attracted attention and comment since the early nineteenth-century. John Bullar, writing in 1806, noted the situation and general plan but was not really impressed. He was looking for the historical authenticity of an 'ancient castle'.

> On a hill behind the town, Lord Henry Seymour has erected a magnificent structure on the plan of an ancient castle; which is allowed, by competent judges, to be very fine in general outline, but not altogether correct in the detail of the style intended to be followed.[298]

A little later Daniell noted that it seemed to blend into the landscape

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[295] Cooke, W. (1808) *A New Picture of the Isle of Wight. Illustrated with thirty-six plates,* W. Wilson, London. p 143. James Wyatt had worked at Windsor earlier in the 1790s.

[296] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 23

[297] Cave, K. (Ed.) (1984) *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* Vol. XVI, Yale University Press, New Haven & London. p 5557. Joseph Farington notes "Our party went to see Lord Henry Seymours House." There are numerous references to meetings with John Nash, George Ward and Lord Henry Seymour at which Farington was present. It would suggest that these men were close and enjoyed each other's company.

[298] Bullar, J. (1806) *A Historical and Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight,* T. Baker & I. Fletcher, Southampton. p 46

> Its site is very happily chosen and the style of its architecture worthily accords with the scenery in which it forms a conspicuous feature, and the enjoyment of which was probably the chief motive that induced the noble proprietor to fix his residence here. It stands on a commanding eminence near East Cowes, overlooking the opposite town and harbour, while from the tower of the lodge there is a very extensive land and sea prospect.[299]

His print, Plate 59, supports this description. Baker considered *Norris* to be the gem of Island properties. "The Island has here to boast its most stately ornament, placed on the conspicuous northern point opposite the mainland."[300]

St. Clare and Steephill Castle

James Sanderson (1790-1835) was a pupil of Jeffry Wyatville between 1813 and 1816, and had a practice in Cork Street, London. *St Clare* was one of his many designs constructed in the vicinity of Ryde.[301] The house was built in 1825.[302] George Brannon, recorded *St Clare* as

> a villa belonging to T.V. Utterson, Esq. The house is newly built, displaying all the variety and elegant lightness of the Gothic style of architecture; it is charmingly screened by full-grown oaks and elms; but the plantations are yet too young to afford any embellishment to the grounds.[303]

The title castle was to be added to the name when the Harcourt family, from the mainland, purchased the property. *St Clare* was one of a spate of large villas to be built in the Ryde area after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars. They were mainly designed for and occupied by ex-naval personnel. *St Clare* is yet again visually a hybrid building, having a castellated tower and attached house with Tudor features. It was less austere in style than *Norris* and less expansive

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[299] Daniell, W. (1824) *A Voyage round Great Britain,* Longmans, London. p 68
[300] Baker, T. (1829) *Picturesque Scenery of the Isle of Wight, comprising Thirty Views with a Map of the Island.,* Simpkin and Marshall, London. p 27
[301] Colvin, H. (Ed.) (1995) *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840,* Yale University Press, London. p 845. Sanderson was also the architect of Steephill castle as well as many buildings in the rapidly developing settlement of Ryde, including the Town Hall and Brigstocke Terrace. There are designs for a "Gothic House proposed to be built near Ryde" of 1826, it is doubtful if this house was built. Extensive alterations were carried out on Ryde Church in 1827, and paid for by George Player, whose family owned the land on which Ryde was built.
[302] Ibid. p 845.
[303] Brannon, G. (1824) *Vectis Scenery: or a series of twenty six well known Views Exhibiting the Picturesque Beauties, local peculiarities and general aspect of The Isle of Wight,* Brannon, London. p 26

than *East Cowes Castle* but with a similar function; not a full recreation of a castle but rather a castellated villa of the early gothic revival built by an architect who would shortly build a truly nineteenth-century gothic structure at *Steephill* on the Undercliff.[304] The earliest located illustration of *St Clare*, Plate 60, is by Bartlett.[305] Barber described the house as

> the elegant castellated mansion of Lord Vernon. The Tudor style of Gothic predominates in this building, the whole of which is in more than ordinary good taste. The grounds are laid out in the most approved modern style. A view of no common beauty, from the keep tower, completes the attractions of this delightful seat.[306]

It was, however, with *Steephill Castle* that Sanderson produced a castle design for a truly sublime setting and a return to the Undercliff as a site for a new structure on a large scale. The site of the castle had been occupied by a *Steephill Cottage* and *Inn* since the first half of the eighteenth-century; John Hamborough, with all the the wealth of an early nineteenth-century entrepreneur could command, acquired the site and decided to build his Castle to complement the *sublime* site.[307] The *picturesque* and *sublime* elements of this site had been appreciated and noted since the late eighteenth-century cottage of Governor Hans Stanley.[308] The site was noted "For nobleness of fore grounds, I am of opinion, this spot is not to be exceeded if equalled, in England."[309] The site was on the northern edge of the Undercliff, "The majestic perpendicular which has kept its station, and forms the northern barrier of this truly romantic spot, presents the appearance of the walls of an old castle of many hundred feet in height."[310] John Albin, alone of contemporary

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[304] Loudon, J. C. (1833) *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, London. In his Preface Loudon is perceptive in his comment that can be related to buildings of this period on the Island; "taste in building is little in advance of what it was two thousand years ago."

[305] Barber, T. (1845) *Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight,* Simpkins and Marshall, London. plate 11

[306] Ibid. p 20

[307] Details of the use of the site in the eighteenth-century are contained in the first section of this chapter. In 1770, Rt. Hon. Hans Stanley bought the estate. He was MP for Southampton and Governor of the Island on two occasions, 1764-1766 and 1770-1780. A 1729 map shows the cottage and summer houses in Home Close field. Stanley did not marry and the estate passed to his sisters and thence to their nephew, Hans Sloan, MP for Newport. In the 1790s the Tollemache family purchased the estate. From 1795 Hon. Wilbraham Tollemache, later 5th Earl Dysart lived at Steephill until his death in 1821. In 1821 Lady Louisa Manners, sister of Dysart, inherited the estate and sold it to Mr John Hambrough in 1828. Hamborough had residences in Middlesex and Northamptonshire as well as other properties on the Island.

[308] Gilpin, W. (1798) *Observations on the Western parts of England: to which are added a few remarks on the Isle of Wight,* T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, London. p 308. William Gilpin found the situation "pleasing" in 1798.

[309] Hassell, J. (1790a) *Tour of the Isle of Wight,* T. Hookham, London. p 203

[310] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 48

topographers, understood the 'sublime' aspects of the site; like Uvedale Price he understood the idea of "sublime being founded on principles of awe and terror, never descends to anything light or playful."[311] The area was prone to landslips, the most recent having been in 1799. With such a site in mind Uvedale Price posed a question, "Why are rocks and precipices more sublime when the tide dashes at the foot of them forbidding all access, or cutting off all retreat?"[312] His answer is apt, "The nearer any grand or terrible objects in nature press upon the mind, (provided that mind is able to contemplate them with awe, but without abject fear) the more sublime will be their effects."[313] The Brannon print of 1842, Plate 61, shows the castle in its 'sublime' setting.[314] Reactions to the castle were favourable from the early days; Barber was impressed by the sensitivity of the new building to its location. "All the natural beauties of the situation remain ... and Steephill, ... from a cottage has become a Castle."[315] Cooke thought that the style of the castle was an imitation of "a fourteenth century castle of Edward 1st time" and described it as presenting

> An embattled façade, with a gothic portal, and oriel windows, having towers with battlements at the angles and another rising in the centre, surmounted by a turret similarly ornamented[316]

Unlike Norris the height of the main building is rarely more than two storeys. However the flag tower in its upper reaches has lancet windows and would give the impression of a functional castle from a distance, due to the elevation of the site.

Northwood Park, West Cowes, a classically inspired structure, presents a different solution to the choice of visual features of a mansion to *Steephill*. Nash is linked with the house and the Ward family and was certainly influential in its style and design as it developed. It was not a new construction but a remodelling and extension of an existing house, *Bellevue*.[317] George Ward (1752-1829), an eminent City of London merchant, bought the Bellevue and

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[311] Price, U. (1810) *Essays on the Picturesque,* Mawman, London., Vol II, p 84
[312] Ibid., Vol II, p 100
[313] Ibid., Vol II, p 101
[314] Looking at the site this print gives an open vision of the site; today it appears to be almost overhung by the cliffs behind and is more forbidding.
[315] Barber, T. (1845) *Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight,* Simpkins and Marshall, London. p 78
[316] Cooke, W. B. (1849) *Bonchurch, Shanklin and the Undercliff and their Vicinities,* W. B. Cooke, London. p 109
[317] Sometimes Belle Vue or Belle-Vue.

Northwood estates in 1793.[318] No description was given of the house but when it was sold in 1787 as part of the estate of Lord Mount Edgecumbe, the property was described as

> a handsome dwelling House delightfully situated on a pleasing Eminence commanding the most cheerful and extensive prospects of the Harbour and town of Cowes, and of the New Forest, the sea and surrounding country.[319]

Its position was prominent on top of a steep slope from the seashore and was not secluded from view, although there was parkland surrounding the house; this was a house that was intended to be visible statement. In 1788 the *Bellevue* estate was of considerable size, consisting of the house and 716 acres of grounds.[320] The estate map of 1801 shows *Bellevue* as a small house, comparable to one of the large Undercliff cottages.[321] This corresponds with the ground plan of the buildings. The accommodation consisted of

> Three parlours, a servants Hall, four neat bedrooms and two garrets: a detached Building, containing a kitchen, wash house, laundry, dairy, brewhouse, servants room, double coach house, stabling for four horses, a handsome summer house, very good garden and several adjoining fields of fine land.[322]

Brannon called the house *Northwood Park* when he published his engraving of the house in 1824, which shows the house after the initial extension by Ward. John Albin, writing in 1799 notes "a very elegant and sumptuous mansion ... recently ... erected by George Ward, Esq., commanding in all directions a very pleasing prospect."[323] He later, in 1823, describes the house as "very elegant ... and highly ornamented ... commanding the richest prospects of wood and water.[324] This was the house that Nash was "commissioned around 1807 to completely remodel."[325] This house was now worthy of the description as a mansion; a term previously used on the Island to describe *Appludurcombe* and

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[318] *IOWRO*, Ward/531. The conveyance on August 8th 1793 of "Bellevue and Nutts Northwood" from Bryant Barret Stockwell, Surrey to George Ward, Old Broad Street, London, Esq.
[319] *IOWRO*, CRO/M/64/1. Auction catalogue of the Mount Edgecumbe Estate sale, September 18th & 19th, 1787.
[320] Brading, R. (1994) *West Cowes and Northwood, 1750-1914,* J. Arthur Dixon, Newport, IOW. p 18
[321] *IOWRO*, Ward/MP/2. Map of the Bellevue Estate, Cowes. Seat of Geo. Ward. Surveyed by J. Matie.
[322] IOWRO, CRO/M/64/1. Auction catalogue of the Mount Edgecumbe Estate sale, September 18th & 19th, 1787.
[323] Albin, J. (1799) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* Albin, Newport, IOW. p 59
[324] Albin, J. (1823) *A Companion to the Isle of Wight,* John Albin, Newport IOW. p 94
[325] Sherfield, I. (1994) *East Cowes Castle, the Seat of John Nash, Esq.,* Cannon Press, Camberley. p 65

the smaller scale *Fernhill*. On the death of George Ward in 1829 the Northwood estate passed to eldest son, George Henry Ward, who was responsible for the last stage of remodelling the property to the house. From 1835 with a failed Conservative political career behind him and failing health, George Henry Ward "took hardly any personal interest in the ... concerns of the town."[326]

> His chief care was given to extensive additions to Northwood, which he in great part rebuilt, very elaborately, after the model of an Italian palazzo, adding to the pictures and statues already there a fine collection of his own. The statue of Antinous, now in the Queen's collection at Osborne, was one of the statues brought by Mr G. Ward from Italy to Northwood. Over this and over the collection of rare and choice plants much time and money were expended; and in the summer months that section of the London world which went to Cowes for yachting purposes was invited to admire the house and grounds or to appreciate the skills of his French cook.[327]

The present interior of *Northwood Park* was largely the work of George Henry Ward. His work was largely cosmetic to the exterior with the addition of stucco features and the building addition of the rotunda entrance hall and new entrance to the house and the courtyard. Brannon's print of 1824, Plate 62, shows the eastern aspect with the tower of Nash's church to the left.[328] The comparison of *East Cowes Castle* and *Northwood Park* is of interest as it shows two sides of Nash's work as well as the dilemma of style, to be picturesque in construction or to follow the classical conventions, however loosely.[329] Nash had used both in the metropolis in the Regent's Park Development and indeed shown variety and visual interest in doing so. Ward, an entrepreneur from the metropolis chose conventional visuals albeit with an eclectic mix of interior decoration that followed fashion of the Prince Regent. *Norris,* and *Steephill* display visuals of romantic visions of a castle, not historicist gothic but an free updating of earlier forms. *Norris* assumes the type of a Norman castle, austere and unornamented. *St. Clare* displays Tudor features in its outward design. The gothic influence comes with *Fernhill*, which appears to have been little understood by the topographers although attempts were made to describe the design features. The earlier houses were noted by the distinction of their

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[326] Ward, M. (1934) *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition*, London. p 213
[327] Ibid. p 213
[328] Only the Egyptian style tower of Nash's church containing the tombs of the Ward family remains today,.
[329] This allows for Nash to have had input into *Northwood.* He was a close (business) friend of Ward from days in London and continued to be a frequent visitor to *Northwood* when he retired to the Island.

owners or their place in national history but as time progressed the importance of the architect came to the fore. Size and complexity replaced the simplicity of the early cottages but the function as a retreat from the metropolis and mainland remained. The new mansions, larger and more complex than the cottages and historic houses, represent a change in cultural interest and mirror and reflect the mainland building activity. Because of the relatively small land area of the Island the structures are on a similarly reduced scale to the mainland. All the mansions were built by people retreating from the mainland, the constant factor for the significant number of new houses during the period of this Island study.

This chapter has examined representations of the cottages and mansions of the Island. Some conclusions can be drawn that apply to both groups of dwellings. Firstly, that their inclusion in maps, tourist routes, and topographical references in text and image, seems to have depended on the style and status of the resident. Sometimes a notable resident lived in a dwelling that had stylistic interest at the time, for example, *East Cowes Castle* and John Nash. Alternatively, a notable resident lived in a very conventional dwelling which became a place of visitation such as John Wilkes, and his villa at Sandown. Secondly, the issues that some of the writers had in describing what they saw, *Fernhill* being a prime example. When did a cottage become a villa or a mansion? What constituted a cottage, a villa and a mansion? The answers were not clear to some of the topographers when they came across cottages that were more complex in structure than the simple artisan's dwelling. From this study naming seems to be related to the aspiration of the resident coupled with the location, or perhaps the whim of the topographer. Mansions were visible and complex but not as large as examples found on the mainland. Cottages could be on a large scale but were found in more secluded locations and offered their residents privacy and retreat, a notable example being *Sea Cottage* of Sir Richard Worsley, with its complex political garden, which was well hidden on the Undercliff and not open to visitors. What constituted a castle? *East Cowes Castle* was designated as cottage, villa and castle by different commentators. *Norris* and *Steephill* were clearly castles by outward appearance but were of mansion proportions internally. The vast majority of the dwellings discussed in tjhis chapter had one function in common, that is they

offered their residents a retreat from the mainland, an escape from one life to another. They were still at home, that is in Britain, and yet, not on the mainland but on the Island which offered a location of social difference. This difference or alterity, was significant, as it was perceived as pre-industrial, an era that many sought as the ideal form of society.

Concluding Comments

This study has examined how the Island was viewed, recorded and consumed by topographers and visitors from the mainland. From the middle of the eighteenth-century the Island had been the subject of a significant number of published topographies, travel books, guides, reviews and reports that supported the view that the Island was, at that time, a significant centre for Picturesque Travel and Retreat. Lindsay Boynton's work on the Georgian "Marine Villa" of 1996 has been developed.[1] He focused on the interpretation of the cottages and villas of the Island as 'Marine Villas', through contemporary text and print. In addition he opened up the way for this new assessment of the Picturesque and Sublime possibilities of the Island. This study has built upon Boynton's work and has extended the interrogation of the Island by examining the increasing popularity of, and ability to, travel within the British Isles rather than the continent, and specifically travel to the Island. The Island as a picturesque location has been examined and the interests of the eighteenth century travellers and visitors identified. The issues in representations of the Island have been discussed, Gilpin's methods of analysis were criticised at the time and the contemporary view of the *Hampshire Repository* put forward. Local notions of what constituted picturesque have been compared with national criteria. The Island alterities, combined with the health-giving properties of life on the Undercliff were significant attractions to people who had made money from the new industries and who desired to settle either as seasonal or permanent residents in this area of the Island. In addition to this focus on the Undercliff area the Island has been shown to have been an important locus of picturesque travel and retreat for visitors from the metropolis during the second half of the long eighteenth century. The popularly held notion of many current texts of Island history has been challenged; it was not discovered as a holiday location by the Victorians. In fact the Island was a, well developed and established place of visitation and retreat before Queen Victoria purchased *Osborne* in the early years of her reign.

The published works of the topographers and published diarists have been examined together with some unpublished diaries and journals. These diaries

[1] Arnold, D. (Ed.) (1996) *The Georgian Villa,* Alan Sutton, Stroud. p 118-129

of recorded first-hand experiences of the Island by eighteenth-century visitors have been brought together in this study. They range from the sophisticated reports of Mrs Ann Radcliffe, that echo the language found in her novels, to the recording of Countess Blessington's socially-aware observations for a general metropolitan readership to the unpublished diaries of several travellers generated solely for family and domestic consumption. The notion of picturesque travel as 'exclusive' has been questioned and a popular picturesque identified in published Island topographies. Travel did not however extend to the working classes until later in the nineteenth century but had become firmly established as an activity amongst the growing middling classes who with limited leisure and surplus funds, wished to acquire knowledge of Britain and by implication, sophistication. A distinct Island identity was created by the topographers and other published writers that could be absorbed through reading before visitors landed on the Island, or indeed to replace a visit, a proxy experience. How the Island was viewed and consumed was controlled by the tourist routes provided and the hotels and inns on these routes. Walking tours were established based on these routes, indeed many of the routes are still followed today.

A strand of analysis has been the comparison of similarities and differences and the impact of distance and time on our interpretation and understanding of these similarities and differences. Nostalgia has been identified as a strong element that visitors recorded. The Island and the mainland shared, and still share, many characteristics which can have different meanings and interpretations once the Solent has been crossed. Eighteenth-century visitors to the Island were expecting to find differences; the topographers were indeed telling them that this was so. This study has viewed the Island and its histories from two different aspects; firstly, from the metropolis and mainland to the Island, and secondly from within the Island. The nature of the water divide, the Solent, and its impact on the histories has been outside the scope of this study but could be an area of further research. The Island was identified as a miniature of the mainland with a wide range of landscape types contained in a small and compact area.

The ways in which the cottages, villas and mansions have been represented has been examined. The contrast between the vernacular building of the Island and the imported styles has been examined and identified within the framework of the 'design books' of the period. The picturesque marine villas identified by Boynton have been examined in more depth and cottages and villas outside the Undercliff added to this category. The distinction between a cottage is by no means clear and must remain a flexible term as it was in the eighteenth century. One of the problem properties that the topographers and visitors found hard to classify was *Fernhill*, near Wootton. *Fernhill*, has been given prominence in this study. It was a significant small mansion, with no known architect and in a 'style' that was difficult to assess and describe at its time of construction. In some ways it encapsulates the mood of discovery and gothic association of the last fifteen years of the eighteenth-century by its originality, and to us unconventional features, more than the other mansions discussed. By way of contrast to such an extraordinary house its builder, Thomas Orde, (Lord Bolton) appears to have been very conventional. Before coming to the Island as Governor he had been a high ranking officer of the Crown in Ireland and was described as a boring person in his DNB entry. On his visit to the Island Joseph Haydn, the Austrian composer, visited *Fernhill* at the invitation of Lord Bolton. Bolton may have been boring but he had a wide range of friends in the metropolis who came to visit him on the Island. Indeed most of the mansions and larger houses were centres for well recorded visitors from the metropolis.

This study has concentrated on the investigation of the non-urban development of the Island during the long eighteenth-century. There were significant contemporary urban developments, principally at Ryde and Cowes, both on the north coast of the Island that were recorded by topographers most significantly towards the end of the period. These have been outside the scope of this study. However the towns on the north coast of the Island were favoured seasonal locations by many visitors as well as being favoured as retreats for half-pay naval officers who needed to be within visible communication with and easy reach of the mainland and the Fleet. Cowes and its immediate environs acquired an added significance in connection with the growth in popularity of yacht racing and the establishment of the Royal Yacht Squadron. George IV, whilst Prince Regent, was the first Royal member of the Squadron, he had a

villa residence in West Cowes in the vicinity of West Cowes Castle, the Yacht Squadron headquarters and *Northwood Park*. His patronage gave an added boost to the growth and popularity of yachting in the Solent as well as seasonal residence at West Cowes and its environs.

This study has not provided conclusive thoughts on all aspects under investigation; it has, however, brought together a range of material not previously examined at one time and has opened up the possibility for further investigation of the extensive Island archive.

Appendix 1

Contents of Sir Richard Worsley, *A History of the Isle of Wight,* London, 1781

Contents

Appendix 2

List of Plates, (Copper Engravings)

Sir Richard Worsley, *A History of the Isle of Wight,* 1781, London

Location	Artist	Engraver
St Catharine's Tower	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Map of Island	J Hayward	J Hayward
View of the Needles and White Cliffs from Allum Bay	A. Devis	T. Vivares
View of the Village of St. Lawrence, the Church and the Rocks	A Devis	T. Vivares
The Needles, 1762	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Carisbrook Castle	Devis	T. Vivares
Plan of Carisbrook Castle		
Plan of Sandown Fort		P. Mazell
Plate I (Family Arms)		
Plate II (Family Arms)		
Plate III (Family Arms)		
Plate IV (Family Arms)		
Plate V (Family Arms)		
Henry Duke of Warwick as King of the Island		
Eleanor Dutchess of Somerset, sister to Henry Duke of Warwick		
Arms of the Boroughs		
Yarmouth Castle		R. Godfrey
The Remains of Quarr Abbey	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
A View from the East Front of the House at the Priory near St. Helens	J Brotherton	R. Godfrey
Sir Robert Worsley's Appuldurcombe, 1720		
The Church at St. Lawrence	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Nunwell	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
St John's	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
St Boniface Cottage	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
View from Ventnor Cove towards Steephill & Niton	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Knighton	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Appuldurcombe Park	A. Devis	Peter Mazell
The Cottage at Steephill	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
A North View of Osborne	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Fairlee	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Gatcomb	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Blackgang Chine, near Chale	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Swainston	G.B. Fisher	W. Watts
Westover Lodge, A Hunting Box	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey

Location	Artist	Engraver
View from Freshwater Gate	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
The Cave from Freshwater Cliff	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
The Needles, Hurst Castle, & Mouth of Lymington River	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey
Godshill Church	R. Godfrey	R. Godfrey

Appendix 3

From *The Hampshire Repository*, Vol. II., 1799, pps. 236-240

DESCRIPTION OF A LANDSLIP IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

The curious phenomenon of, a floating surface of 100 acres of different kinds of land, constituting the whole of a farm called Pitlands, on the confines of the parishes of Niton and Chale, in the Isle of Wight, and which continued in motion for two days, the 7th and 8th Of February last, may be justly reckoned among the extraordinary occurrences of the year 1799. The effect is, that of this extent of surface scarcely one square perch retains its original form, nor is there a rock or bush, with both of which the greatest part of the land is covered, that has not shifted its position. The small rills of water that intersected the ground quitted their ancient tracts, and furrowed for themselves new channels in their way to the sea. A small plantation of willows became a pool of water, and the main stream, into which all the smaller rills empty themselves sunk, far, below, its former level, and now flows in a deep ravine or chine into the sea, in some places invisible. A building, formerly a small farm house, but recently fancifully fitted up by George Arnold, Esq. the proprietor of the land, for *an* occasional tea drinking cottage, situated in the center of the convulsion, sunk downwards, and was entirely thrown down, with the exception of the stack of chimnies, [sic] the foundation of which made a considerable settlement into the ground, but is still standing. Between the cottage, a clump of apple-trees, which had stood together for many years, parted asunder, and now, though all growing, stand some at the top of an hill, and some in a deep valley below, separated by nearly a perpendicular precipice. An aged pear tree, that had for ages stood on dry land, has its stem in three or four feet depth of water. The surface over the whole extent of the convulsion was shivered to pieces, and in many places was sunk from 30 to 40 feet, carrying with it rocks and bushes, and the intermixt [sic] portion, of lacerated green turfs separated from each other by large and deep chasms. Notwithstanding this complete change in almost every inch of the surface by the violent rushing forward to the sea, it is probable, that the quantity, of acres have

rather been increased than diminished, as some very large rocks, at a point called Rockenend, have been pushed forward over part of the beach, and covered by the descending mass, to which they form a support.

It is not easy to give any adequate idea of this phenomenon by description. The general effect to people familiar with the spot, and who can account for it, is curious; but to the numerous visitors, who behold it without being able to, investigate its, cause, it cannot but appear wonderful.

Variety of conjectures respecting the cause of this curious circumstance have been detailed in the public prints, in a manner somewhat amusing and highly characteristic of the times, and the prevailing rage for publication: with some it was an earthquake, with others a volcanic eruption. The advocates for the former opinion traced the shock across the Channel to the Isles of, Guernsey and Jersey, where, a vague report said, it was felt about the break of the frost in February. The friends of the latter thought they had discovered the crater through which the volcanic explosion had taken place. Neither hypothesis has the least connexion (sic) with the real cause.

The whole is neither more nor less than a landslip, on a tolerably large scale, much larger than usually happens explosion had taken place but less than that which has at some period or other, or more probably at different periods, divided and precipitated towards the sea the high hills that run all the way from Pitlands to Dunnose, a space of about four miles, and now forms what is called the Under-cliff. The ground abounds with subterraneous water, which in very severe winters being arrested in its course and swelled into the shape of ice, and assisted by the lodgement [sic] of snow in the crevices made by this subterraneous water, (expanded likewise by being frozen), both, with united force, act as a wedge, and force the mass of rock and earth asunder, which, standing on a declivity, naturally subsides towards the sea, sometimes quietly, and sometimes with violence, in proportion to the bulk of the separated mass, and the prevalence of the impelling cause. This never happens but in

severe winters, which likewise, from the snow alone, cause partial falls of the free-stone from the top of the cliff. The soil of Pitlands, being of a soapy nature, every where mixt [sic] with large rocks, covered with bushes, and full of springs, is perfectly calculated to produce the effect above described.

During the severity of the frost in February last, the water and the snow being formed into ice, swelled to an unusual bulk, and caused a separation at the base of the perpendicular cliff that divides St. Catherine's hill from the Under-cliff. From this spot began a general settlement to the extent described, and by a gradual movement proceeded towards the sea. The rocks and the bushes making a stand and an opposition to the descending mass, in proportion to their size and situation, explain the reason of the innumerable fragments into which the surface was shattered, and likewise of the intervening chasm. By this removal of the snow and ice, that had stopt [sic] their course, the springs of water became at liberty to make their way into the sea, and to find themselves out such channels as the changed surface would admit of. The arable land round the cottage, and the cottage itself, being pressed upon by the descending mass, became part of it, and joined in the general settlement which stopped not till it met with the ridge of rocks called Rocken-end, which received and still supports the whole.

This is the real fact; and, without having recourse to earthquake or volcano, sufficiently explains the phenomenon that has caused so many conjectures, and attracted so many visitors. There can scarcely remain a doubt, but that the whole Under-cliff, five miles in extent along the shore, has been formed in process of time by many similar landslips, occasioned by severe winters.

It may not be unworthy of remark to observe, that the ephemeral prints, whose forte is the marvellous, embellished and enriched this event with many imaginary scenes, some of which were to acquire interest by being made tragic. The unfortunate death of two privates of the South Devon militia, who unhappily, in a dark evening, walked over the cliff about a month before, and were dashed to pieces, as also the fate of some

indiscreet persons who by intemperance and the uncommon severity of the weather perished at a shipwreck, which took place a mile or two farther to the east, were both adapted and thrown into the horrors of the *Pitland's convulsion.*

As it happened however neither man nor beast perished by the event. The overthrow of Mr. Arnold's cottage, with the destruction of some furniture and utensils in it, and the injury done to the land, arable and rough, constitute the whole loss. This Indeed might have been otherwise, and all the tragic events, in the present case only imaginary, realized. On the very spot where the cottage had for centuries past stood unshaken on its rocky foundation, the late Mr. Bradshaw, of the Treasury, had determined to build a house of magnitude and expense. With that view he had actually entered into a contract with a builder to the amount of five thousand pounds, but a subsequent derangement of circumstances prevented him from carrying his plan into execution: The property in consequence passed into other hands, and the ancient cottage was left in its original state, to undergo a memorable and singular fate, and to acquire a celebrity, not by its *rise,* but by its *fall.*

The surviving wreck exhibits a melancholy and forlorn aspect, greatly augmented by the gloomy scenery by which it is surrounded. Gore-cliff frown from above, the ever troubled element dashes its broken waves against the rocks of the shore below; all between is solitude and horror; nothing animate besides the raven and hawk of the cliff, and here and there a solitary sheep picking its scanty meal, presents itself to the eye. A mangled surface, black and dreary, exhibits nature in her rudest dress, and seems to challenge the pen of the poet, or the pencil of the artist, to do her justice in description.

Appendix 4

Publication Summary of Prints by George Brannon

Year	Main contents of *Vectis Scenery*
1821	Plates only. Issued to Subscribers (264 copies).
1822	Plates, with short descriptive text (6 pages).
1823	Plates, with medium length descriptive text (24 pages).
1824	Plates, with long descriptive text (42 pages). Issued in two completely different versions: one of these, which 'supplements' the 1821 edition by giving all the new plates and text, may have been prepared for subscribers.
1825-1829	Available in three forms: (i) basic edition (plates with text), (ii) enlarged edition (including extra plates), (iii) supplementary volume (containing the extra plates needed to convert (i) into (ii), entitled The Sequel to Brannon 's Views in the Isle of Wight — title from the 1829 edition).
1830-1839	Available in two forms: (i) basic edition, (ii) enlarged edition (with extra plates).
1840	Available in one version only

Notes: From 1821-4 the book was published in London, 1824-6 in Southampton, and 1827 — at Wootton Common. In 1839 its format changed from oblong (landscape) folio to (upright) quarto: i.e. the plates were secured by a long edge rather than a short one. Customers could also purchase views individually if they wished (price lists have survived).

Source: Turley, Raymond, *Vectis Scenery. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in Ryde Library, January 1976* (Newport: Crossprint, 1976), page 4

Appendix 5

ENGRAVINGS BY GEORGE BRANNON

Based on Raymond Turley's Catalogue
with additions by S. Abbott.[1]

Description	Date	Year
Shanklin Church[2]	Nov 1	1820
East Cowes	Nov 15	1820
Freshwater Bay	Nov 15	1820
Luccomb Chine	Nov 15	1820
Carisbrooke	Nov 15	1820
The Shore, called Rockenend, and the perspective view of Blackgang – part of the Undercliff, and the Dispensary Cottage belonging to the Sandrock Spring	Nov 15	1820
Binstead Cottage	Aug 1	1821
Brading	Aug 1	1821
Newchurch	Aug 1	1821
Newport	Aug 1	1821
The Head of Shanklin Chine	Aug 1	1821
The Head of Shanklin Chine (Variant State). Length of waterfall varies.	Aug 1	1821
Birds-Eye View of the Village of Ventnor	Dec 1	1821
East Cowes Castle	Dec 1	1821
Steephill	Dec 1	1821
The Undercliff	Dec 1	1821
Carisbrooke Castle	Feb 1	1821
Freshwater Cavern	Feb 1	1821
Part of the Undercliff near St.Lawrence	Feb 1	1821
Shanklin Chine	Feb 1	1821
The Parade, Cowes	Feb 1	1821
Ventnor Cove	Feb 1	1821
Blackgang Chine	May 1	1821
Bonchurch	May 1	1821
Ryde Pier	May 1	1821
Steephill Cove	May 1	1821

[1] Raymond Turley, *Vectis Scenery. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in Ryde Library, January 1976* (Newport: Crossprint, 1976).
[2] This is the first plate Brannon engraved for *Vectis Scenery.*

The Needles	May 1	1821
View near Niton	May 1	1821
Westover	April 1	1822
Westover (Variant State)	April 1	1822
The Sandrock Spring Cottage	April 20	1822
Norris	Aug 1	1822
Fernhill	August 1	1822
St. Boniface, Isle of Wight	May 1	1822
Swainston	May 1	1822
Swainston (Variant State)	May 1	1822
St. Boniface	Nov 1	1822
View near Ryde	Feb 10	1823
Gatcombe Park	Jan 20	1823
St. John's	Jan 20	1823
The Priory	Jan 20	1823
Carisbrooke Castle	May 1	1823
View near Niton	May 1	1823
Shanklin Chapel & Manor Farm	May 26	1823
Nunwell	Sept 1	1823
Nunwell (Variant State). Hill engraved in background behind the house.	Sept 1	1823
The Castle and Parade, W Cowes	Sept 1	1823
Yaverland Parsonage	Sept 1	1823
Northwood Park	Jan 1	1824
The Eminence of Bonchurch, Isle of Wight	Jan 1	1824
Shanklin Chine	July 27	1824
Alum Bay & The Needles Rocks	March 20	1824
Appley, Near Ryde	May 1	1824
Fairlee	May 1	1824
Medina Hermitage	May 1	1824
Northcourt	May 1	1824
East Cowes Castle	May 17	1824
The Cottage of James Vine, Esq., Near Niton	Jan 1	1825
The Needles Rocks	Jan 1	1825
Appuldurcombe	Jan. 1	1825
The Marine Villa of the late Sir John Coxe Hippesley, Bart., Cowes Parade	June 1	1825

View of Ryde, West of Pier	June 1	1825
Stickworth	April	1826
Norris Castle and Perspective View of West Cowes	April 16	1826
The Western Termination of the Isle of Wight, shewing the celebrated Needles Rocks	June 1	1826
St. Lawrence Church, Isle of Wight	June 1	1827
The Sand-rock Hotel, Niton, Isle of Wight	June 1	1827
Marine Villa of the Rt. Hon. Lord Yarborough, at St. Lawrence	June 11	1827
Ryde, I.W	Aug 18	1828
Ryde, I.W. (Variant State). Sail on foremast of paddle steamer	Aug 18	1828
Scratchell's Bay, I.W.	June 1	1828
Scratchell's Bay, I.W. (Variant State). There is an absence of birds.	June 1	1828
Ryde, I.W.	June 11	1828
Ryde, I.W. (Several Variant Plates)	June 11	1828
Blackgang Chine, I.W.	June 2	1828
Freshwater Cliffs	June 2	1828
Shorewell, I.W.	June 2	1828
The Needles, I.W.	June 2	1828
The Sandrock Chaylebeate-Spring near Niton	June 2	1828
Osborne	Feb 20	1829
Bembridge & Entrance to Brading Haven	July 1	1829
Binstead Parsonage	June 1	1829
Bonchurch, I.W.	June 1	1829
Freshwater Cavern	June 1	1829
Godshill, I.W.	June 1	1829
West Cowes, I. W.	May 25	1829
Cottage on Wotton-Common, Isle of Wight, (home of George Brannon)	June	1830
Cottage on Wotton-Common, Isle of Wight, variant print.	June 1	1830
The Undercliff	June 16	1830
Freshwater Bay	Mar 1	1830
Newport, I.W.	March 1	1830
St Clare	March 1	1830
St Clare (Variant State). Less ivy around window to left of door.	March 1	1830
View near Ryde	May 1	1830

Ryde, Isle of Wight	July 14	1831
Royal Sandrock Hotel, Undercliff, Noton, Isle of Wight	July 30	1831
East Cowes Castle, The Seat of John Nash, Esq.	May 1	1831
Norris Castle, Isle of Wight	May 1	1831
Sketch from the Hotel, Shanklin	May 1	1831
Vernon Cottage, the property of E.V. Utterson, Esq.	May 1	1831
Carisbrooke Castle	May	1832
The Head of Shanklin Chine	May 21	1832
Mirables	Sept 1	1832
Bonchurch, I.W.	June 1	1833
Alum Bay & The Needles Rocks	May	1833
Castle Hambro', Steephill, Isle of Wight	May 1	1833
Appuldurcombe, I.W.	April 10	1834
East End, I.W.	April 10	1834
Freshwater Cavern	April 10	1834
Shanklin Chine, Isle of Wight	April 10	1834
Puckaster Cottage, the Property of James Vine, Esq.	Jan 1	1834
Ryde, Eastward of the Pier	July 1	1834
West Cowes, Isle of Wight	June 4	1834
Wootton-Bridge and Fernhill	May 1	1834
Wootton-Bridge and Fernhill (Variant State)	May 1	1834
Swainston	May1	1834
Ryde & Pier, I.W.	Aug 15	1835
West Cowes, I. W.	June 1	1835
The Undercliff	June 16	1835
Osborne	May 1	1835
Sandrock Chaylebeate Spring	May 1	1835
St. Lawrence Church	May 1	1835
The Priory	May 1	1835
Ryde & Pier, I.W.	Aug 15	1836
Bembridge, Isle of Wight	June 1	1836
Carisbrooke Village	June 1	1836
East Dene Villa, Bonchurch	June 1	1836
View of Gatcombe	June 1	1836
View near the Orchard	May 1	1837

View from Shanklin Down	May 15	1837
Blackgang Chine, I.W.	May 9	1837
The Medina River	May 20	1838
The River Yar	May 20	1838
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 20	1838
St. Lawrence Well		1839
Ashley Sea-Mark & The Valley of Newchurch	May 20	1839
Carisbrooke Castle	May 20	1839
Luccombe	May 20	1839
View from Nunwell Down	May 20	1839
Brading Haven	Aug 1	1840
Alum Bay, Isle of Wight	June 1	1840
Freshwater Bay	June 1	1840
Freshwater Cliffs	June 1	1840
Ryde, Isle of Wight	June 11	1840
The Head of Shanklin Chine	May 1	1840
St Catherine's Light House		1841
Steephill Castle	June 1	1841
The New Light-House, Niton	June 1	1841
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 29	1841
Entrance to Shanklin Chine	June 1	1842
The Town of West Cowes, Isle of Wight	June 1	1842
The Southern Coast of the Isle of Wight	June 5	1842
St. Lawrence Cottage	June 1	1843
Ryde, Isle of Wight	June 11	1843
Norris Castle, Isle of Wight	June 1	1844
Osborne	May 1	1844
Bonchurch Old Church		1845
Watcombe Bay, I.W.	May 24	1845
Carisbrooke Castle	June 2	1846
The Needles, I.W.	June 4	1846
The Head of Shanklin Chine	June 1	1847
Ryde, Isle of Wight	June 11	1847
Appuldurcombe	May 25	1847
The Valley of Bonchurch	May 20	1848
Distant view of Osborne	June 11	1849

Ryde, from St John's	June 4	1849
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 29	1850
Wippingham Church	June 16	1851
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 24	1852
The Town of West Cowes, Isle of Wight	June 1	1854
Ryde, Isle of Wight	June 11	1855
Village of Carisbrooke	May 9	1855
Interior of Carisbrooke Castle	May 1	1856
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 24	1856
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 29	1856
Blackgang, Isle of Wight	June 1	1857
Freshwater Bay	June 1	1857
The Town of West Cowes, Isle of Wight	June 1	1857
Alum Bay, Isle of Wight	June 1	1858
Ventnor, Isle of Wight	May 29	1858
The River Yar	May 20	1860
Appuldurcombe, Park & House	May 25	1860

Appendix 6

The Tour of the Island

As suggested by George Brannon, *Vectis Scenery*, 1824 Chapter IV p 27-28

The central situation of Newport makes it extremely convenient for strangers visiting every part of the Island, which is usually done in three different Tours, giving a day to each, and returning at night. But the visitors who must have their lodgings at Cowes, and more especially at Ryde, often prefer making one general circuit of between 50 and 60 miles, allowing three or four days to perform it. In this case the party should apply to the inn-keeper or owner of the vehicle, for instructions, who can lay down a plan best suited to their respective wishes as to time and distance. There are several local Guides and pocket Companions published at low price, but no two agree as to *the order of the routes* – one commencing where the other finishes, - and all of them describe the Island as if the stranger made three daily tours from Newport, as here inserted. The places which afford accommodation are put in *Italic.*

FIRST, or EASTERN TOUR

To Arreton 3 miles, over Brading Down to Sandown 7, *Brading* 2, Nunwell and back 1, St Helen's and the Priory 3, *Ryde* 3; from here to Newport by Binsted and Wotton – Bridge 7; - which, allowing for little deviations, would be altogether 28 miles. Sometimes Yaverland (1 mile from Brading) and the peninsular of Birnbridge [sic] are taken into the day's excursion, which will make about 8 more.

SECOND, OR SOUTHERN TOUR

Through Arreton to *Shanklin* 10 miles, Bonchurch 3, *Ventnor* 1, Steephill 1, St. Lawrence 1, *Niton* 3; thence to Newport through Rookley and Blackwater 9; - or over St Catharine's Hill to Chale, returning to Newport through Chillerton and by Gatcombe, 11 miles. – Either way may be reckoned in all about 30 miles. From Niton it is usual to walk on foot to Sandrock-Spring, rather less than a mile.

THIRD, or WESTERN TOUR

Through Carisbrooke to Shorewell 5 miles, Brixton 2, Mottiston [sic] 2, Brook Down 2, *Freshwater-Gate* 4, Needles Point 3, *Yarmouth* 5; return to Newport through Calbourn and by Swainston, 12. – Total, about 35 miles.

The plan adopted in the following pages, of describing the Island in one continued comprehensive Tour, with the subsequent insertion of such places as could be conveniently embraced, will be found in *all cases* to answer the purpose of a General Directory, but particularly so for the continued Tour. Every object which may attract or ought to receive attention will be carefully noticed as we proceed, and of all the *principal features* the *fullest information* possible will be given.

Appendix 7

John Albin's 1805 Map of the Island

Published by John Albin, August 12th 1805, Newport, IOW

WEST MEDINA

Residence	Resident
Egypt	D. Collins, Esq.
Palance Parsonage	Rev. Mr Dalton
Gatcombe House	Col. Campbell
Billigham	Rev. James Worsley
Fairfield	
Chale Parsonage	Rev. Francis Worsley
Northcourt	Richard Bull, Esq.
Swainston	Sir John Barrington
Westover	Rt. Hon. Ld. Holmes
Ningwood Farm	
Brixton Parsonage	Rev. Neil Digby
Norton Lodge	
Freshwater House	Edward Rushworth, Esq.

EASTERN MEDINA

Residence	Resident
Norris Lodge	Rt. Hon. Ld. Seymour
East Cowes	
Osborne	R. Blackford, Esq.
Padmore Parsonage	
Fairlee	
Standen	
Pidford	Rev. Dr. Worsley
Fairfield	
Niton Parsonage	Rev. John Barwis
Fern Hill	Chute
Kite Hill	Major Popham
Apley	Rev. Dr. Walker
St. John's	
Fairy Hill	Rev. H. Oglander
Priory	Sir Nash Grosse
Nunwell	Sir W. Oglander
Knighton House	G. M. Blissett, Esq.
Stickworth	
Appuldurcombe	Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Worsley
Knowles	
Buddle	
Mirables	Geo. Arnold
Old Park	
Wolverton	
Cottage	Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Worsley
Steep Hill	Rt. Hon. Earl of Dysart
New Inn (Ventnor)	
St. Boniface (Cott.)	

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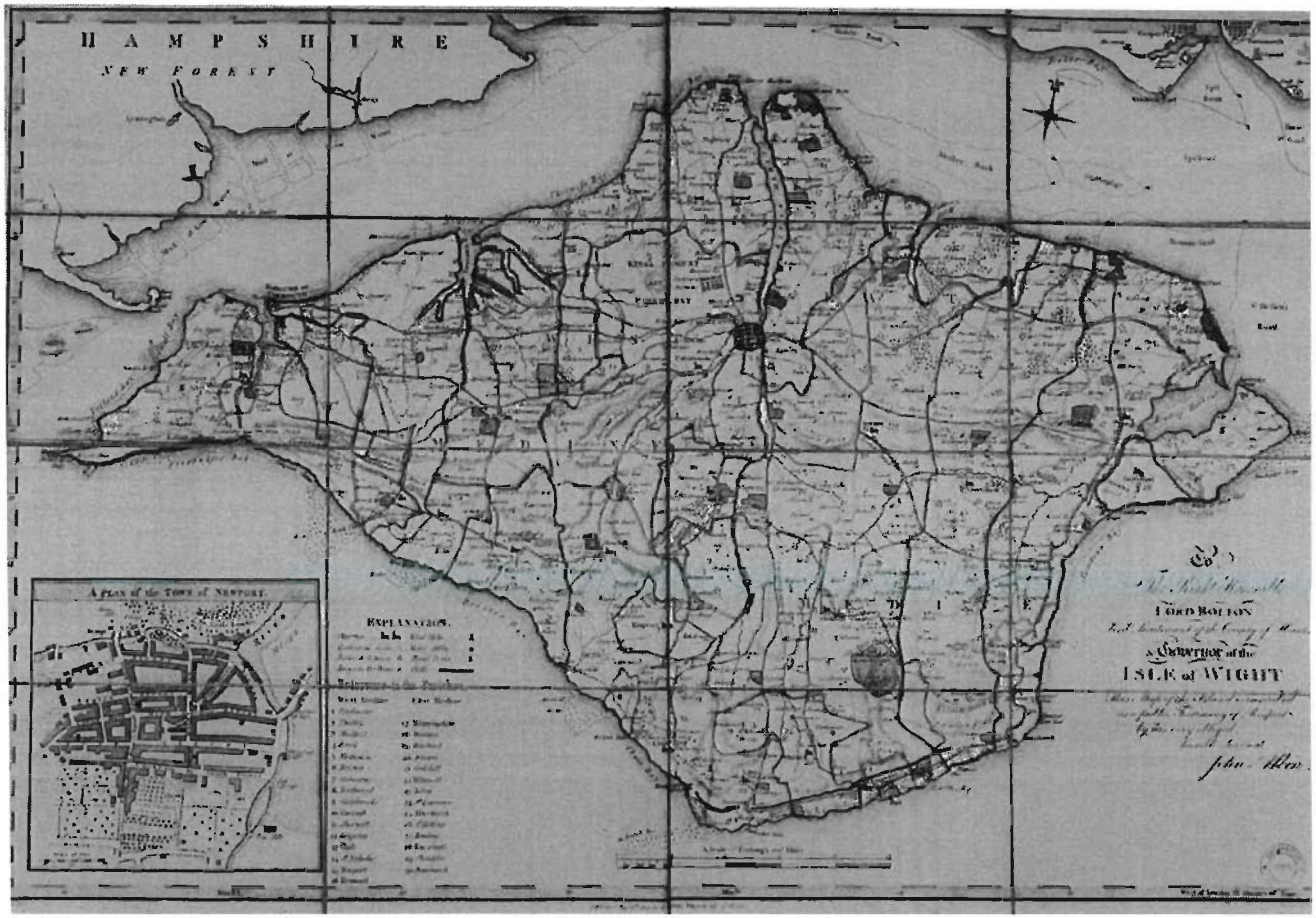
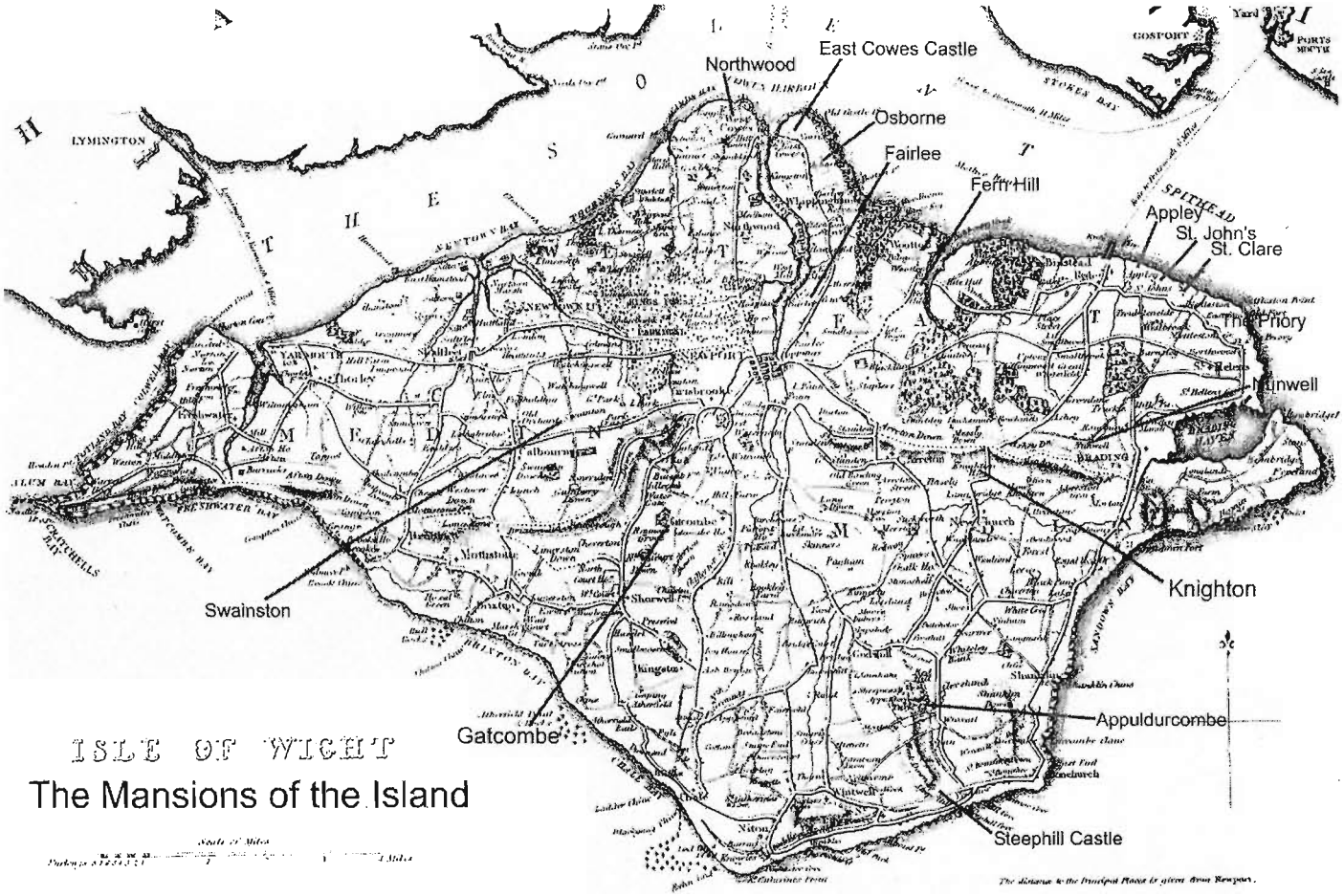
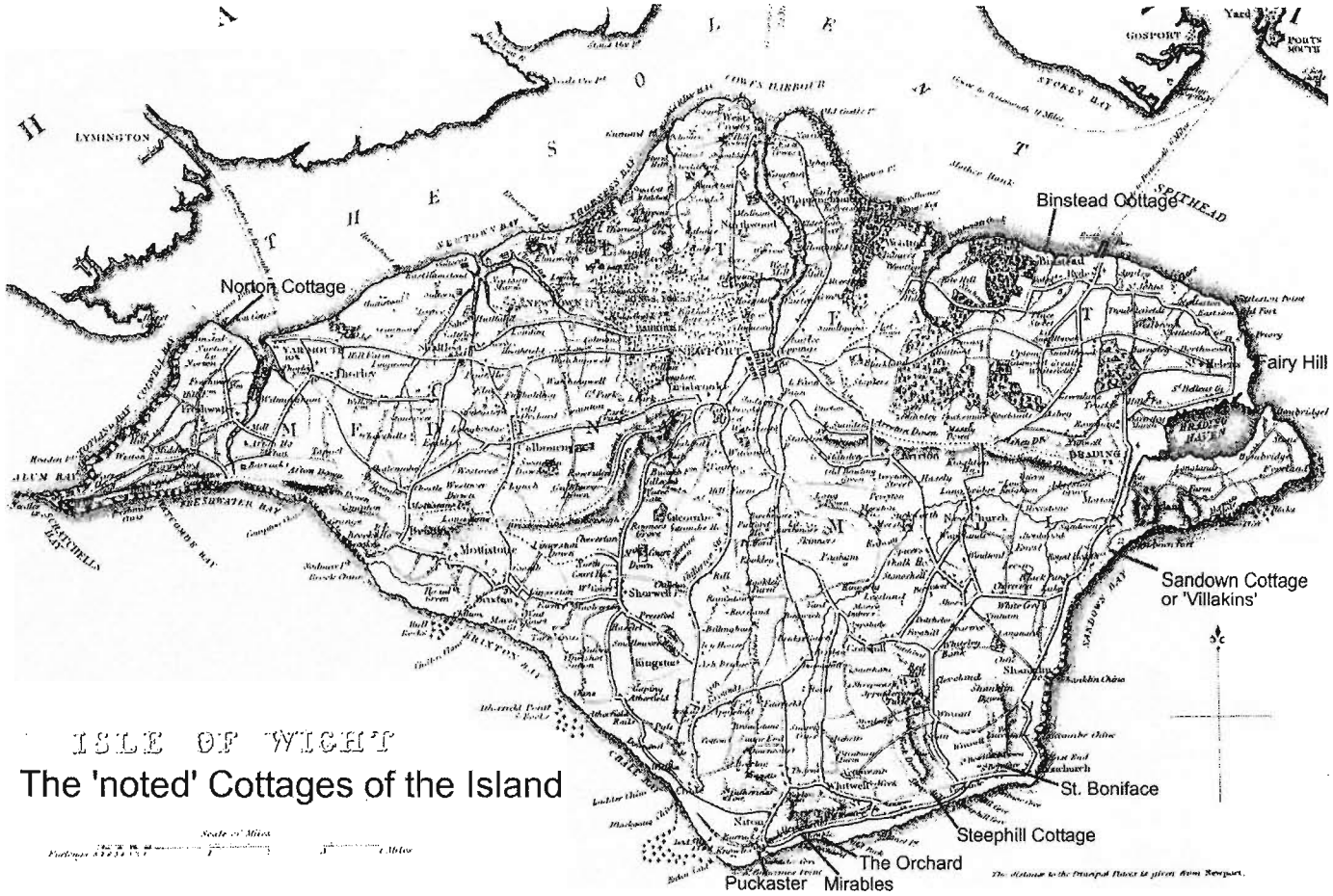


John Albin's map of August 12th. 1805, Newport, Isle of Wight, Cope 98.905



Based on Barber's map of 1845, London, Simpkins and Marshall



Based on Barber's map of 1845, London, Simpkins and Marshall

Plates

Illustrations (A)

Plate No.	Title	Source
1	Journey to the Island	Cope's Scrap Book
2	Cowes Harbour	Cope's Scrap Book
3	Carisbrook Castle	Sandby, P., 1799
4	Carisbrook Castle	Cooke, 1808
5	The setting of Carisbrook Castle	Cooke, 1808
6	The Remains of Quarr Abbey	Worsley, 1781
7	Topographical design for plates	C. Tomkins 1797
8	St. Catherine's Tower (frontispiece of Worsley)	Worsley, 1781
9	St Catherine's Tower	Photograph by author, 2004
10	The Needles, (1762)	Worsley, 1781
11	View from Ventnor looking towards Steephill and Niton	Worsley, 1781
12	View from Freshwater Gate	Worsley, 1781
13	The Cave under Freshwater	Worsley, 1781
14	The Needles, Hurst Castle and the mouth of the Lymington River	Worsley, 1781
15	The Cottage at Steephill	Worsley, 1781
16	Scrapbook fragment	Author's collection
17	St Boniface	Worsley, 1781
18	Steephill Inn	Cooke, 1826
19	Sand Rock Spring Cottage	Brannon
20	Sea Cottage	Cooke, 1808
21	Sea Cottage	Brannon
22	Mirables	Cooke, 1808
23	James Vine's Cottage (Puckaster)	Brannon
24	The Orchard	Brannon
25	Binstead Cottage	Cooke, 1808
26	East Cowes Cottage	Cooke, 1808
27	Lodge Cottages at St John's	Cooke, 1808
28	The Cottage of the late John Wilkes	Gentleman's Magazine

29	Villakin	Sarah Butler's Diary, 1799
30	Froghill,	Tomkins, 1796
31	Farringford Hill	Cooke, 1808
32	Norton Cottage	Tomkins, 1796
33	Appuldurcombe	Boynton
34	Appuldurcombe	Worsley, 1781
35	Gatcombe	Worsley, 1781
36	Gatcombe	Cooke, 1808
37	Nunwell	Worsley, 1781
38	The Marina	Cooke, 1808
40	Appley	Cooke, 1808
41	Swainston	Tomkins, 1796
42	Swainston	Cooke, 1808
43	Osborne	Worsley, 1781
44	View from The Priory	Worsley, 1781
45	The Priory	Cooke, 1808
46	Fairlee	Worsley, 1781
47	Fairlee	Tomkins, 1795
48	Knighton	Worsley, 1781
49	Knighton	Englefield
50	Fernhill	Cooke, 1808
51	Fernhill	Barber, 1835
52	Fernhill	Postcard, 1920s
53	East Cowes Castle	Cooke, 1808
54	East Cowes Castle	Brannon
55	East Cowes Castle	Ackerman
56	Norris, from the Sea	Country Life
57	Norris	Cooke, 1808
58	Norris	Brannon
59	Norris	Daniell
60	St Clare	Barber, 1835
61	Steephill Castle	Brannon
62	Northwood	Brannon

Illustrations (B)

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Cope's Scrap Book

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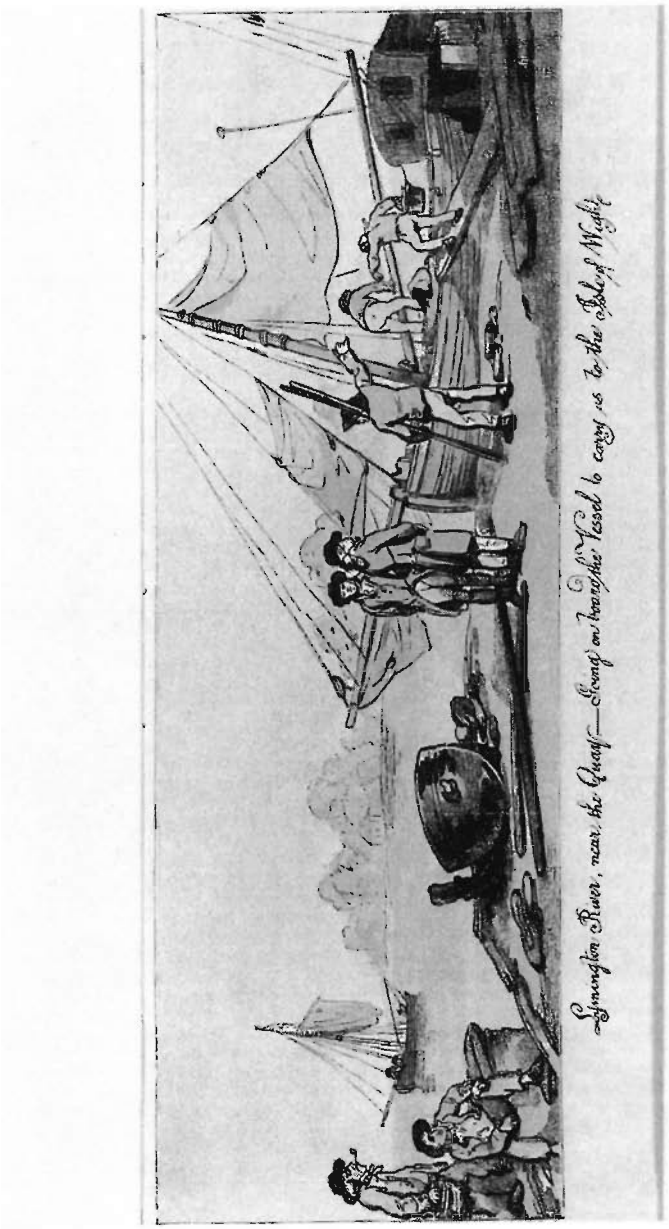
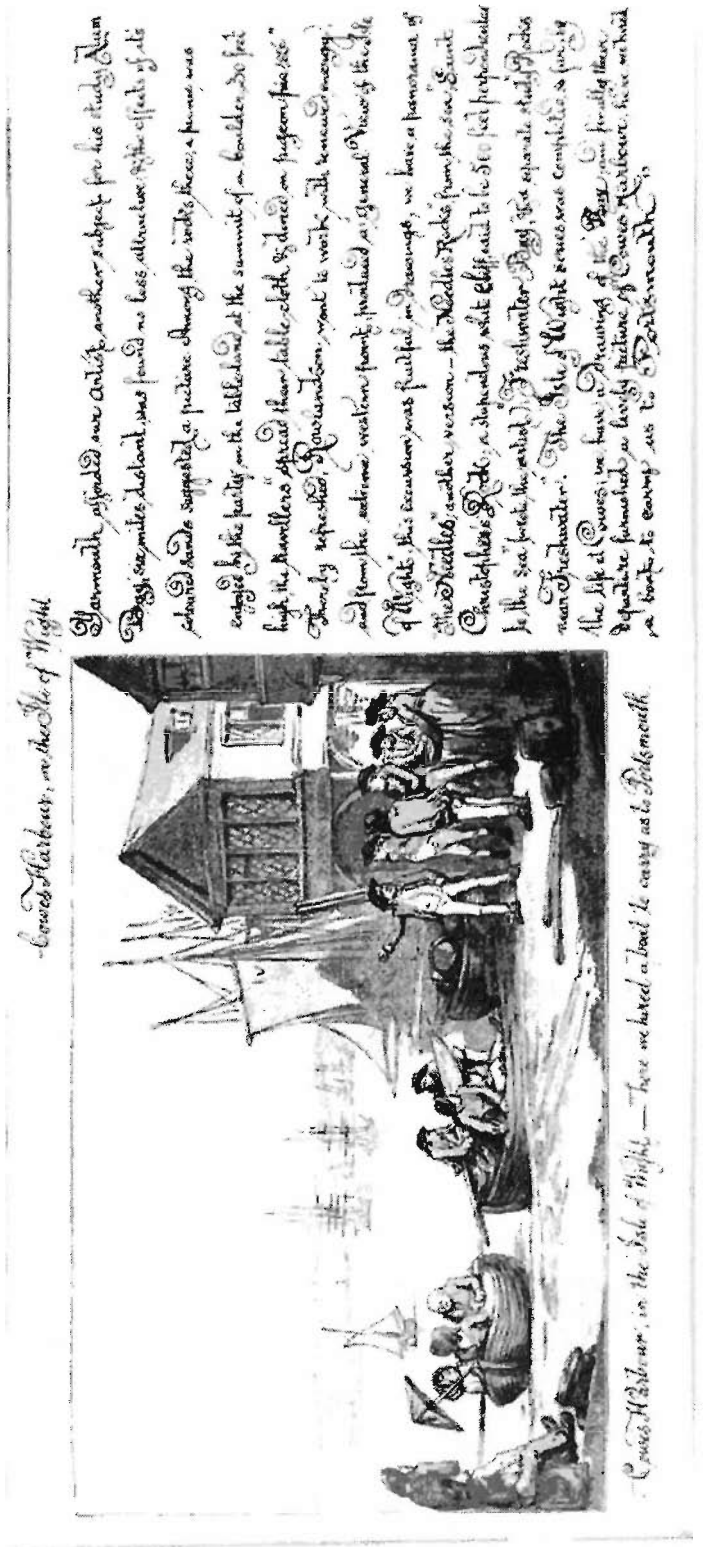
Plate 1



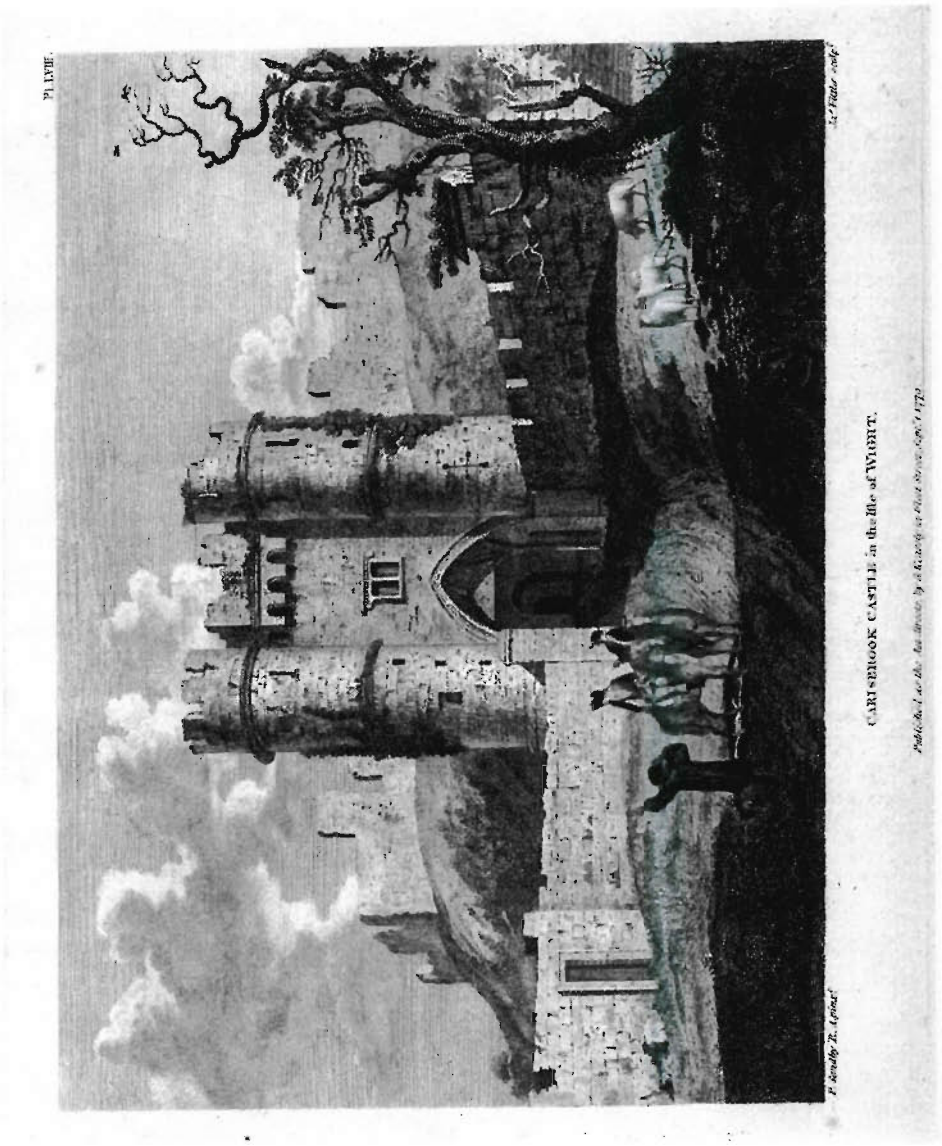
Journey to the Island, Cope's Scrap Book

Plate 2



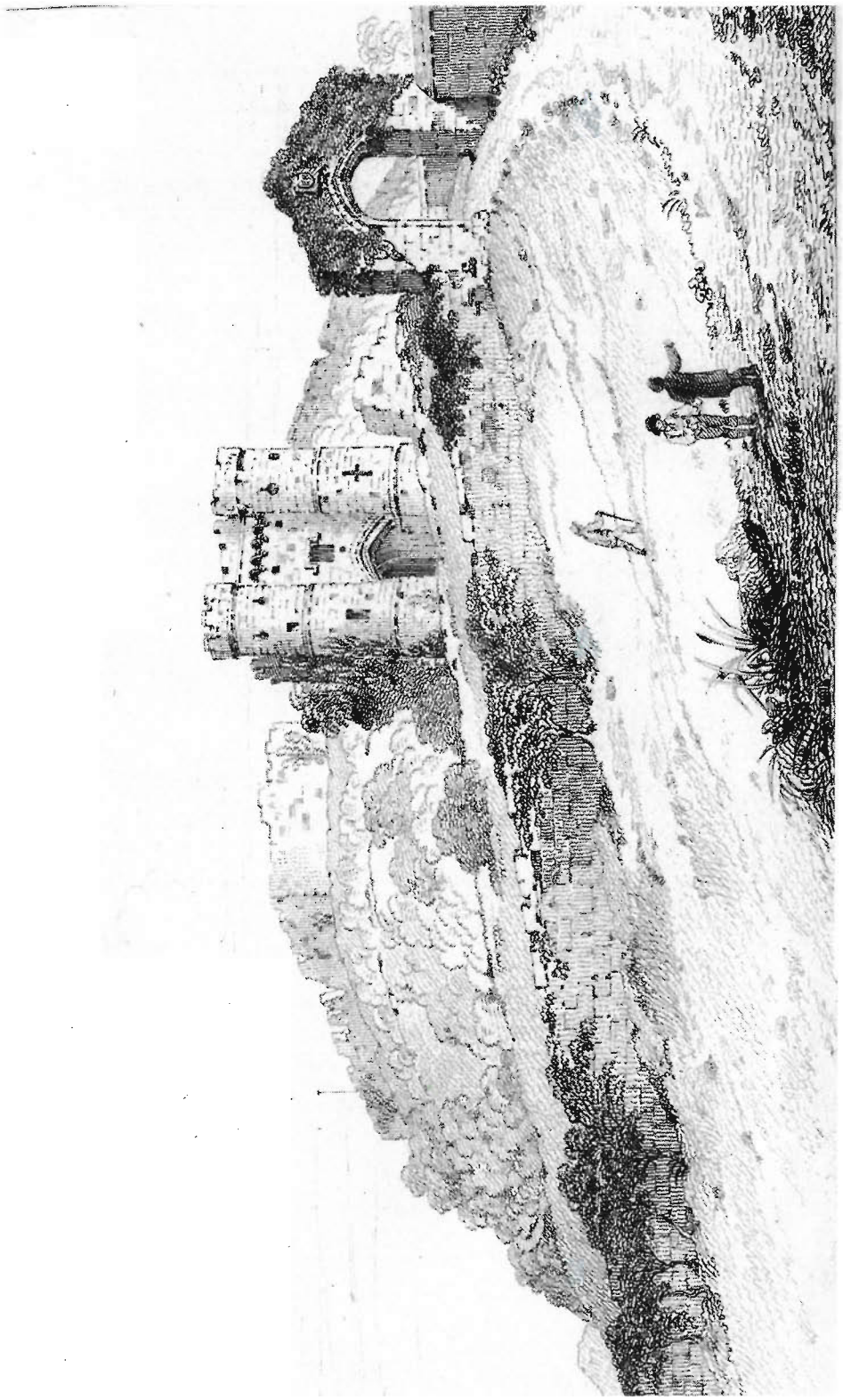
Cowes Harbour, Cope's Scrap Book

Plate 3



Carisbrook Castle, P. Sandby, 1779

Plate 4

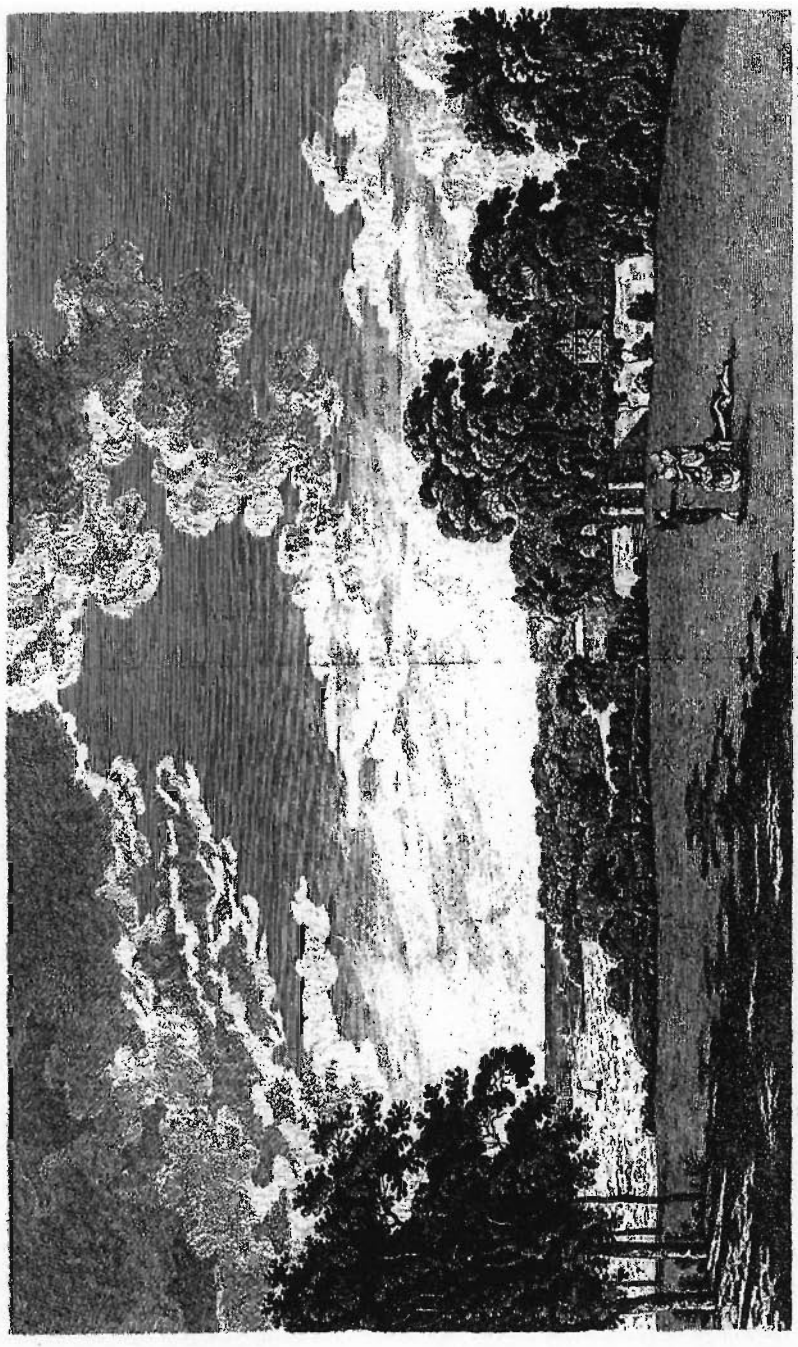


Carisbrook Castle, Cooke, 1808

Plate 5

The setting of Carsibrook Castle, Cooke 1808

Plate 6

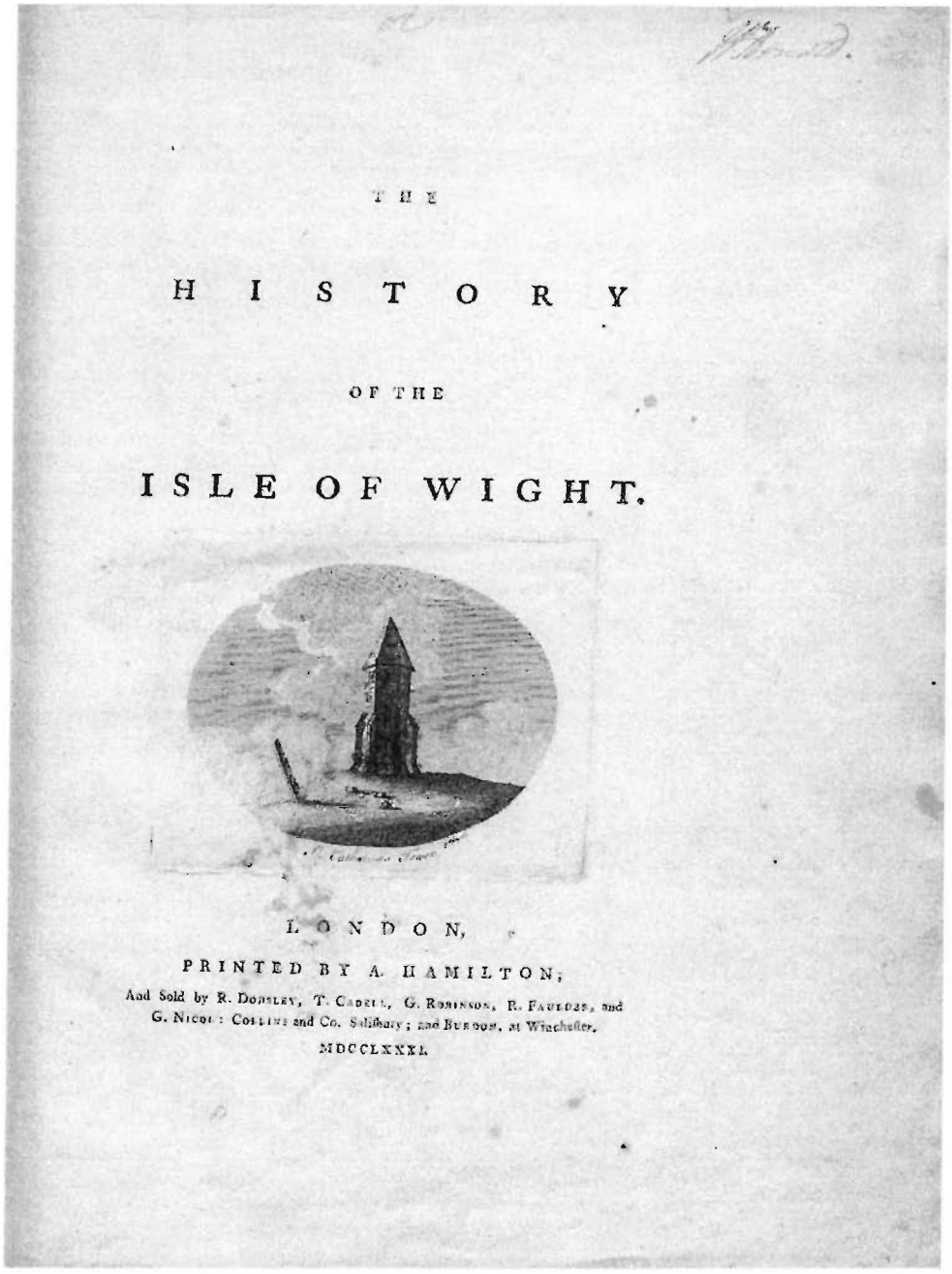


The Remains of Quarr Abbey, Worsley, 1781

Plate 7

Six Topographical designs used for plates, Tomkins, 1797

Plate 8



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ISLE OF WIGHT.

LONDON,

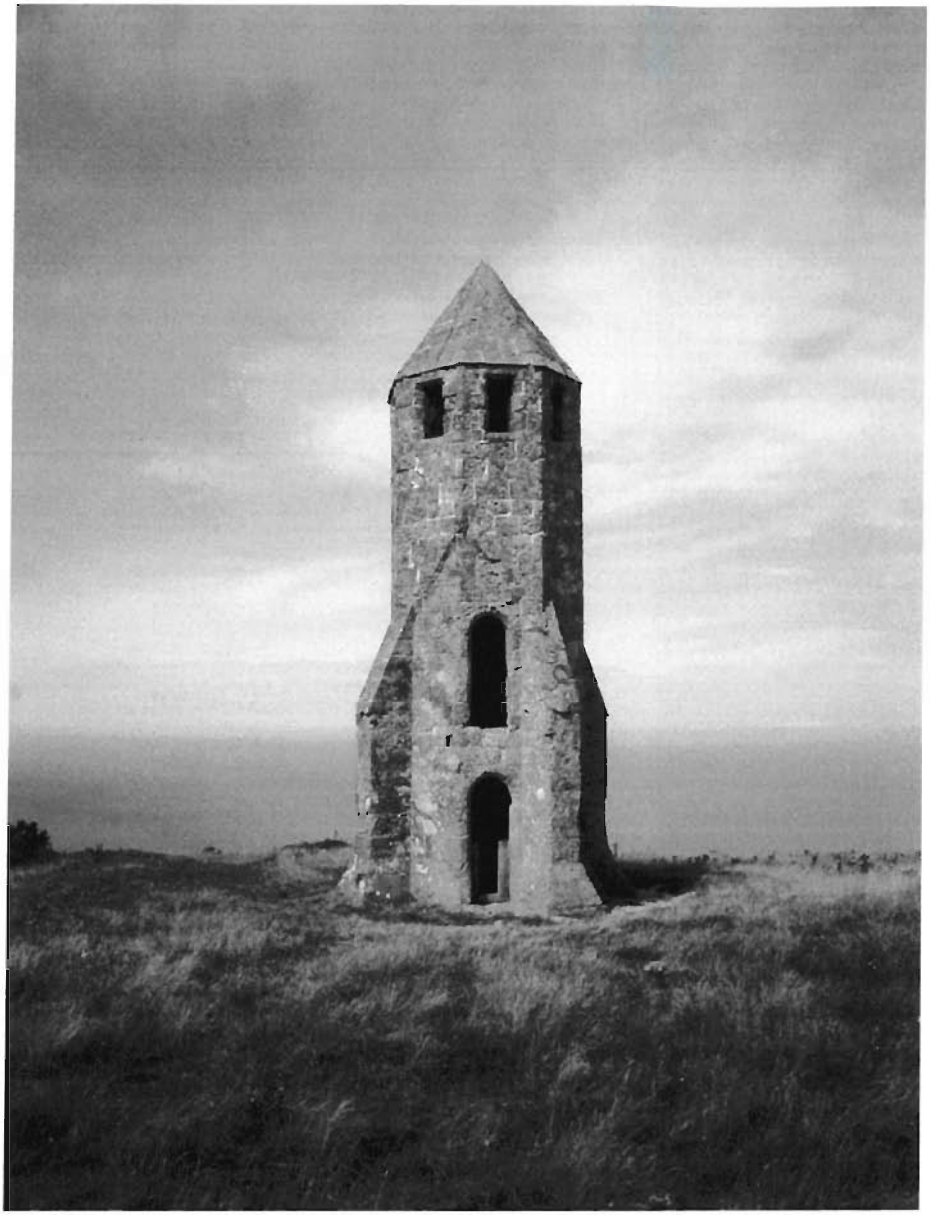
PRINTED BY A. HAMILTON;

And Sold by R. Dodsley, T. Cadell, G. Robinson, R. Faulder, and G. Nicol: Collins and Co. Salisbury; and Burdon, at Winchester.

MDCCLXXXI.

Frontispiece from Worsley, 1781, showing St Catherine's Tower.

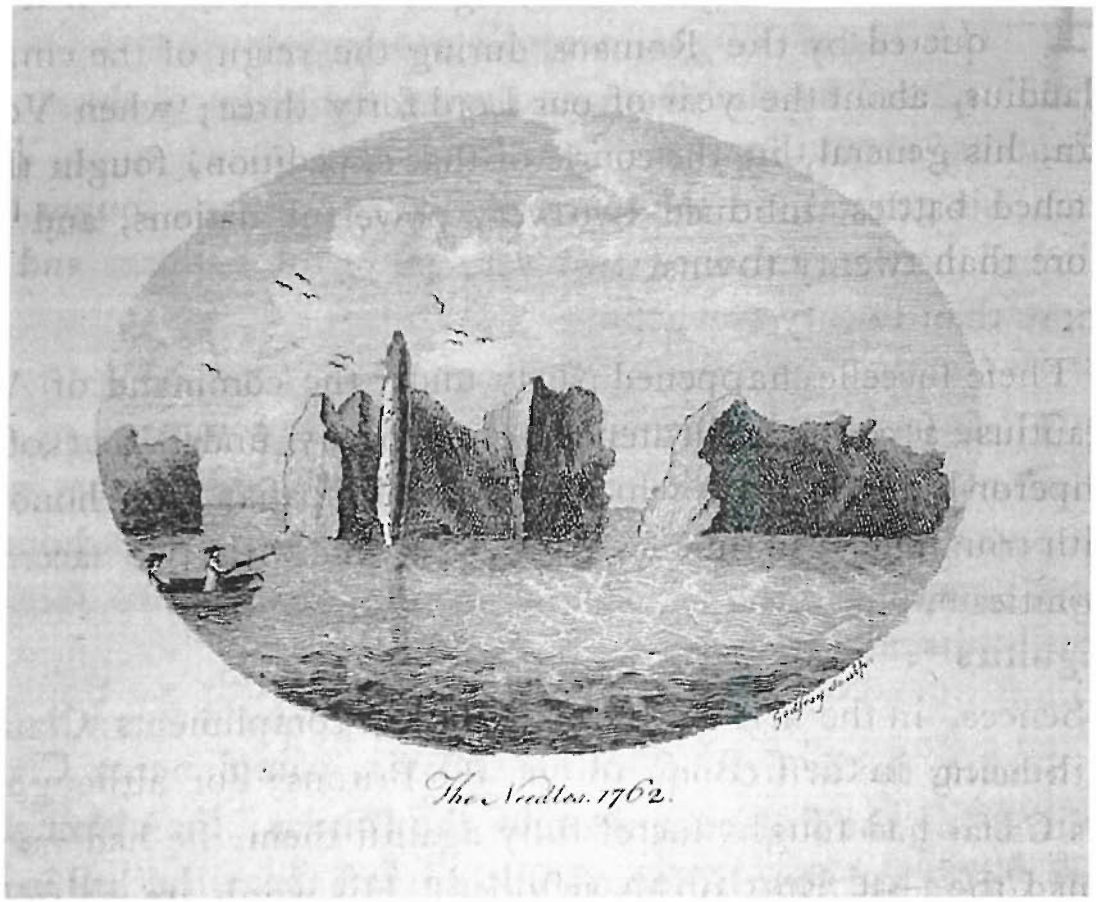
Plate 9



St Catherine's Tower, August 2004

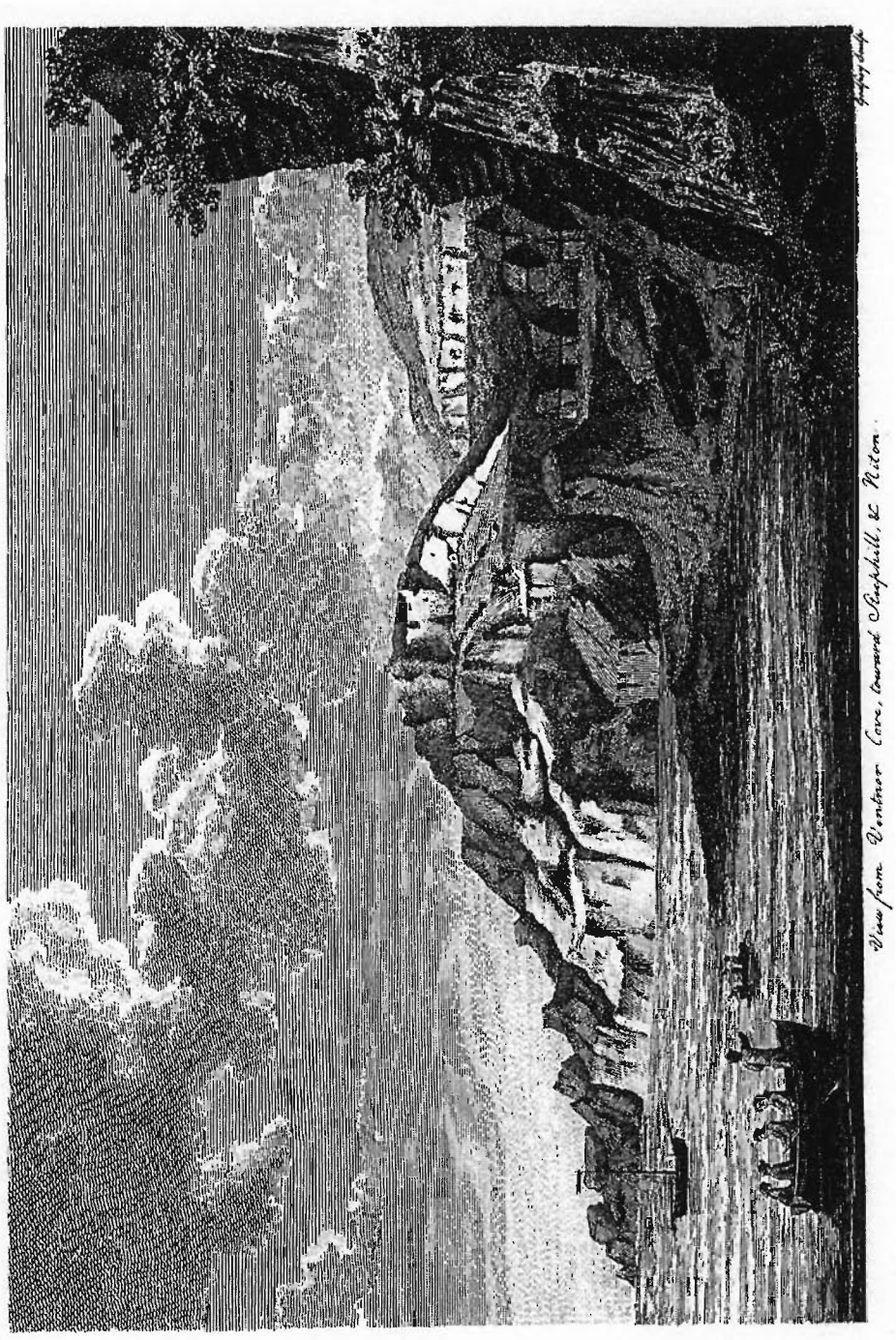
(Authors photograph)

Plate 10



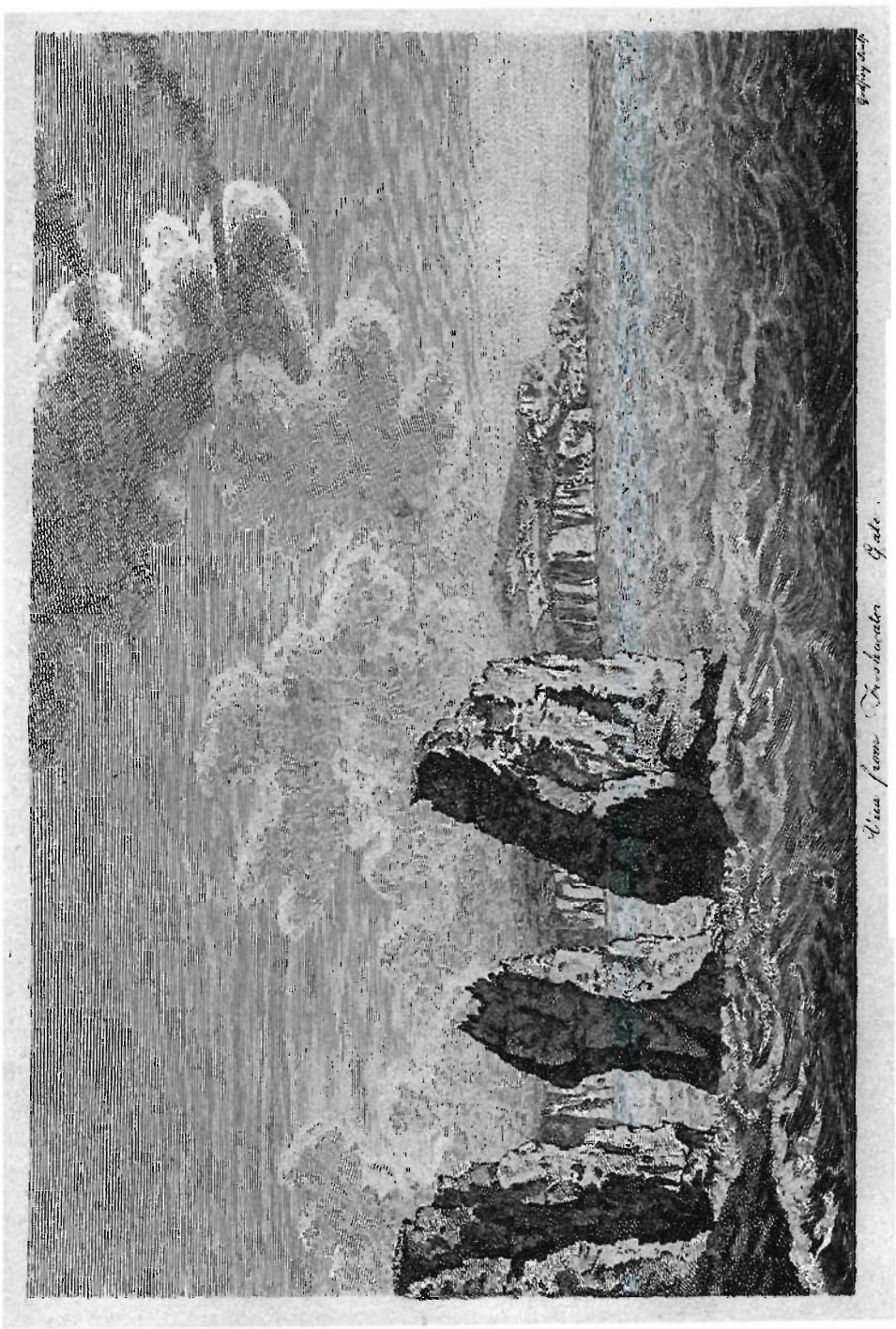
The Needles 1762, from Worsley, 1781

Plate 11



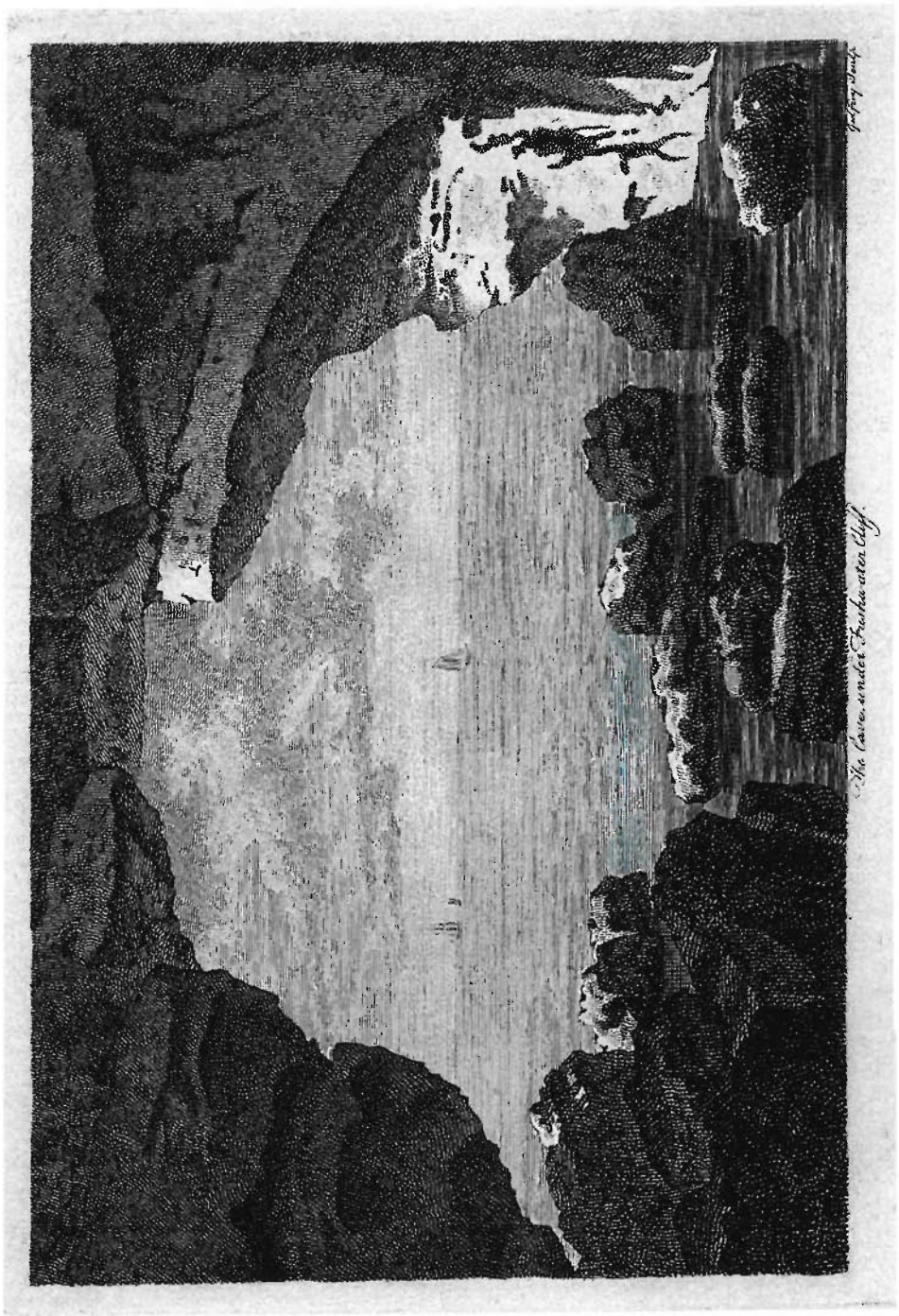
View from Ventnor Cove looking towards Steephill and Niton, Worsley, 1781

Plate 12



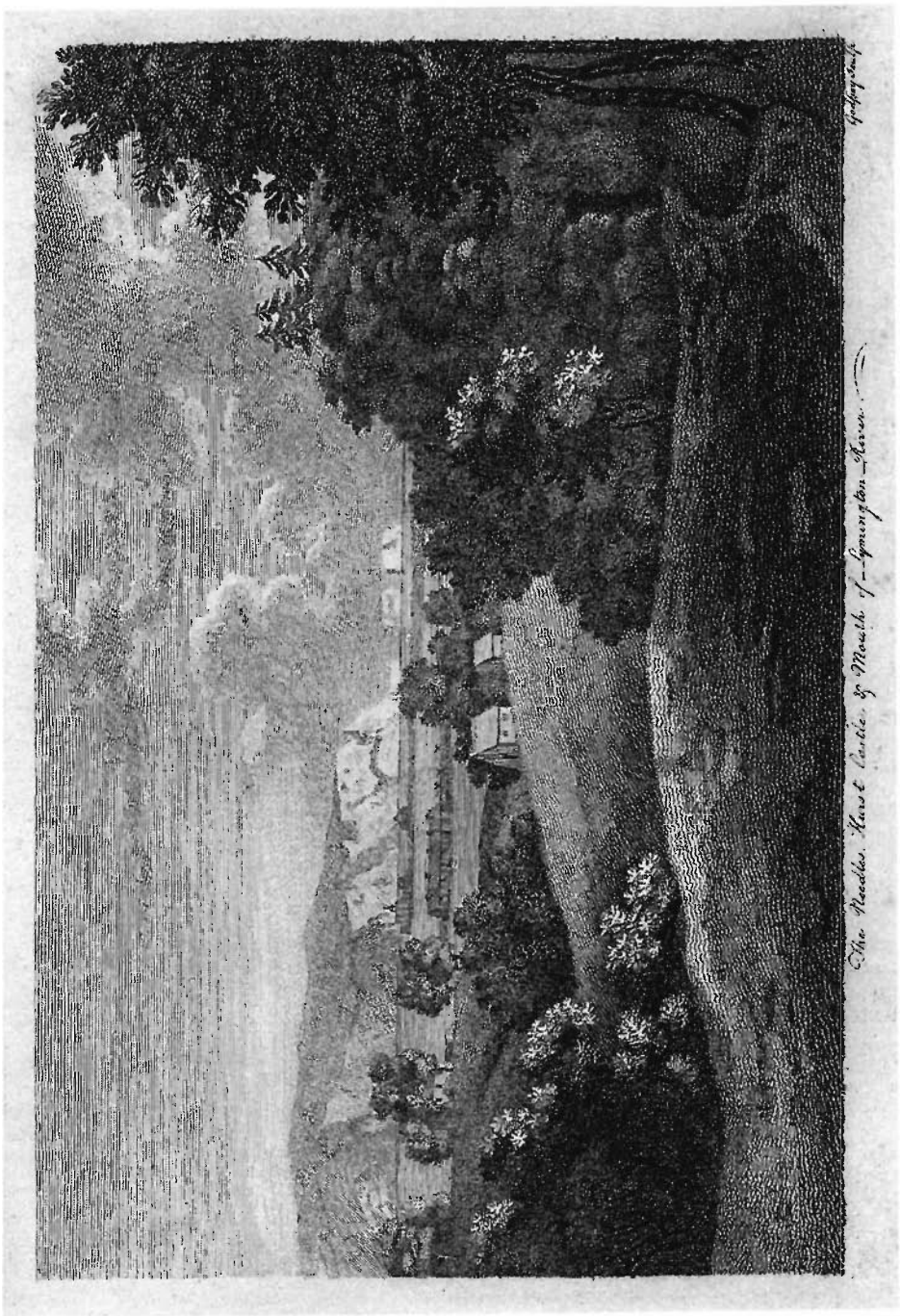
View from Freshwater Gate, Worsley, 1781

Plate 13



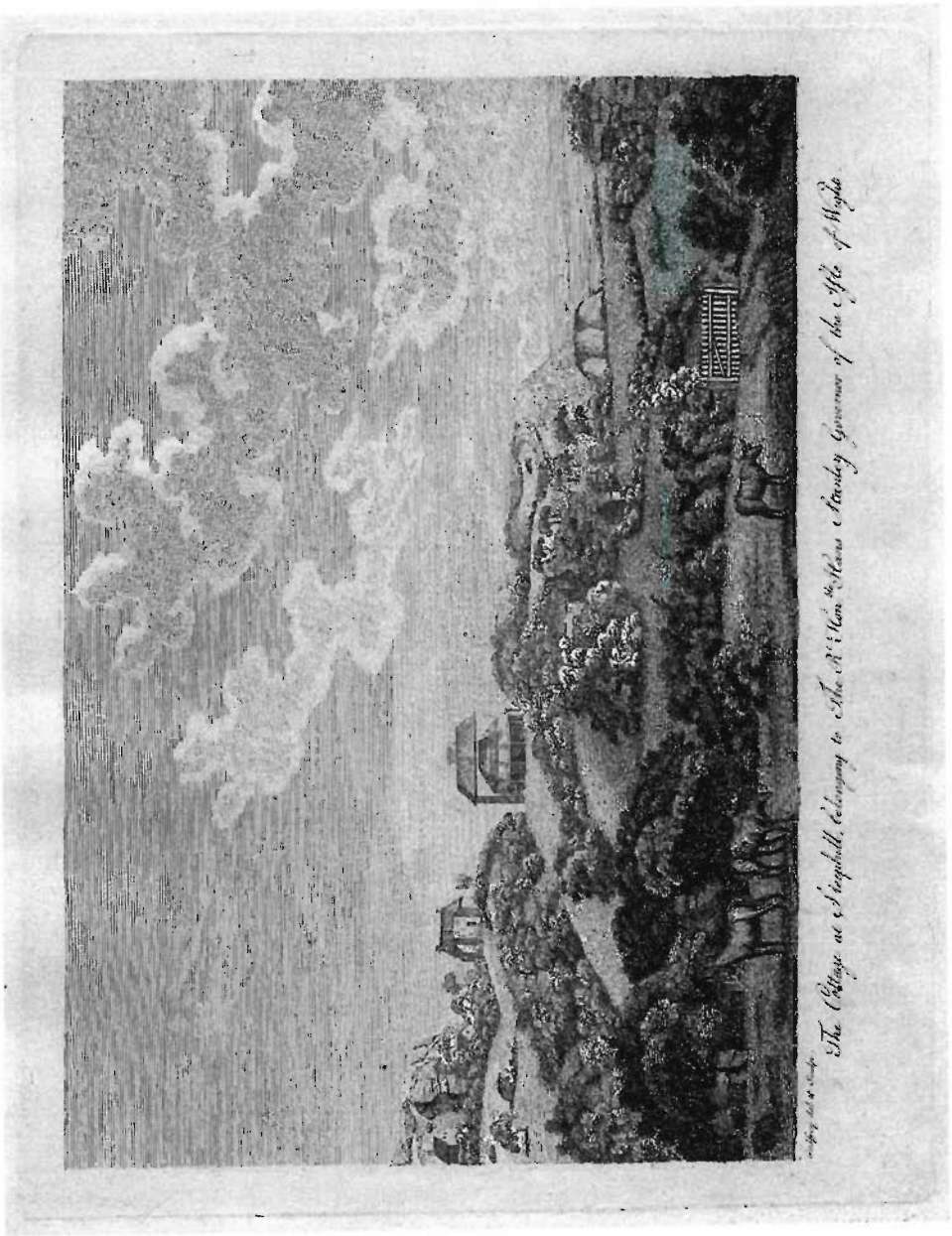
The Cave under Freshwater Gate, Worsley, 1781

Plate 14



The Needles, Hurst Castle and the mouth of the Lymington River, Worsley, 1781

Plate 15

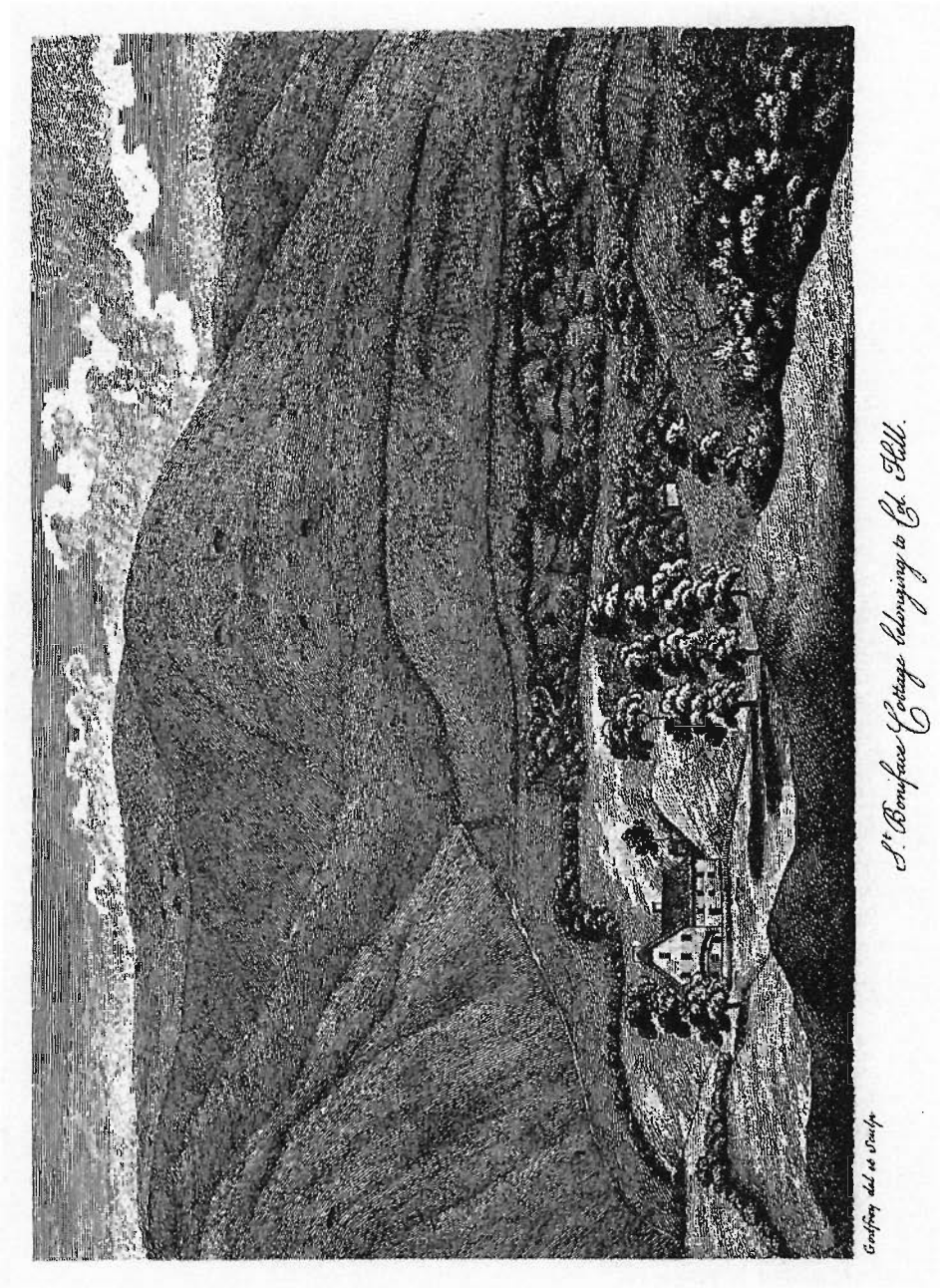


The Cottage at Steephill, Worsley, 1781

Plate 16

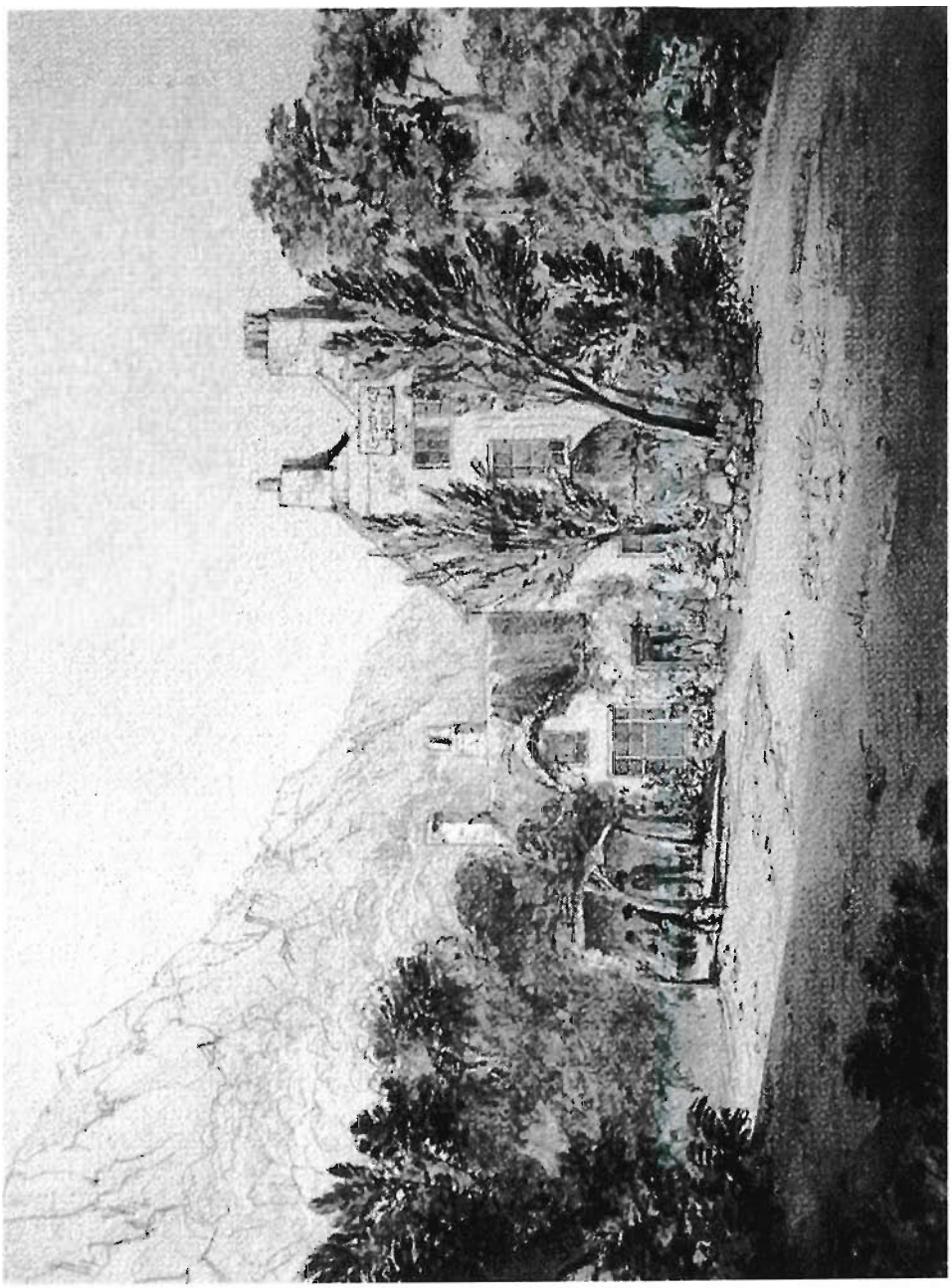
Scrapbook fragment, actual size.
(Author's Collection)

Plate 17



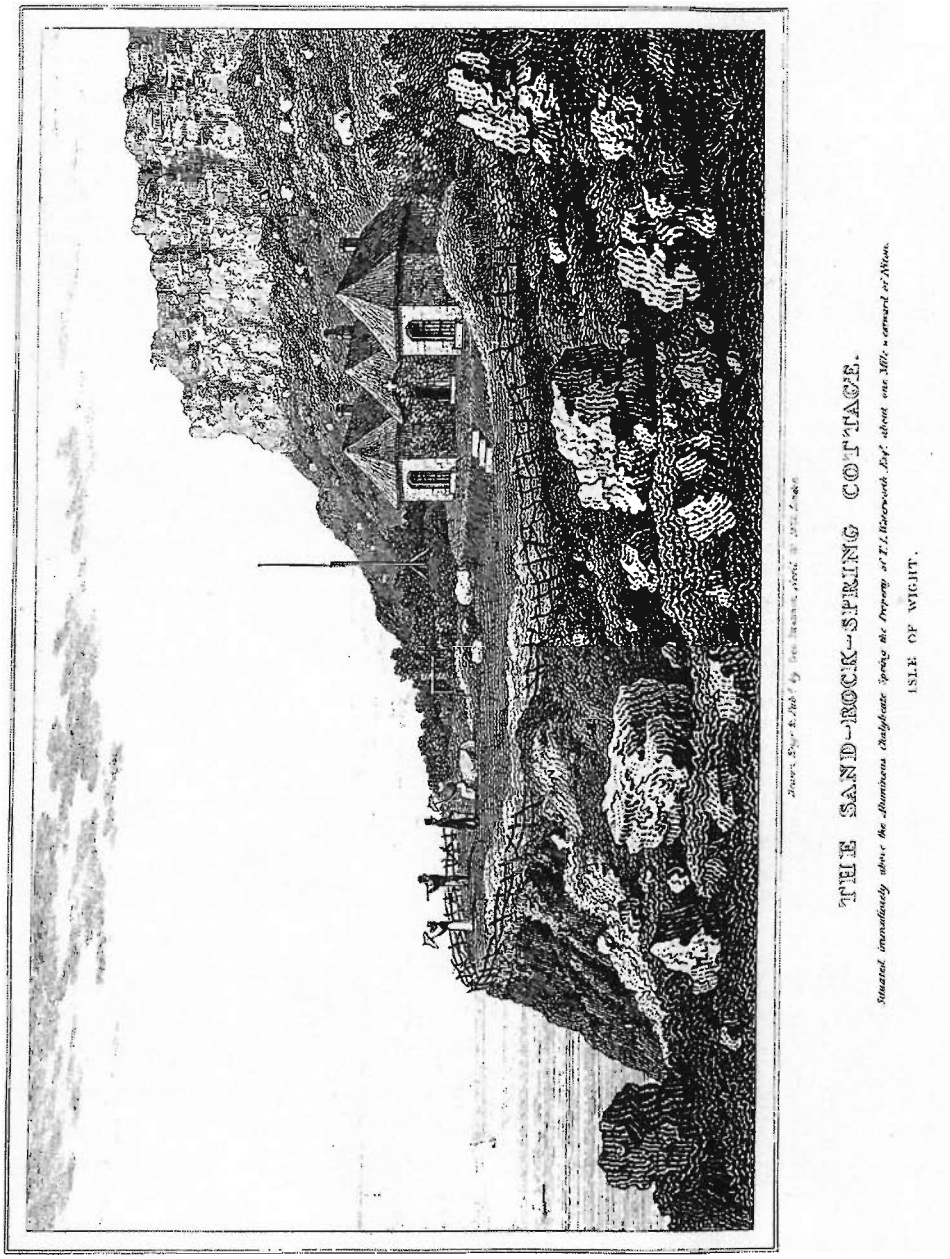
St Boniface, Worsley, 1781

Plate 18



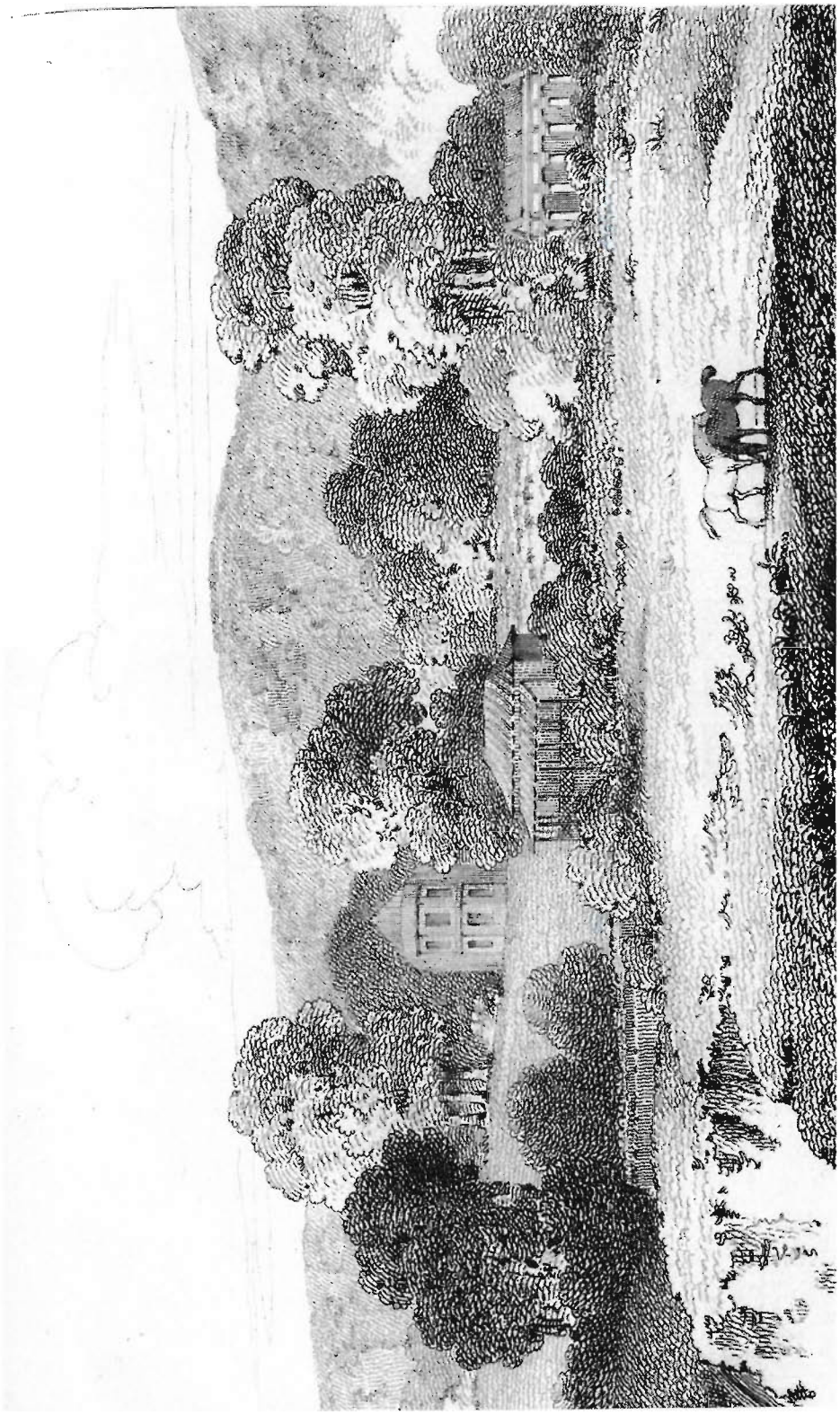
Steephill Inn, Cooke, 1826.

Plate 19



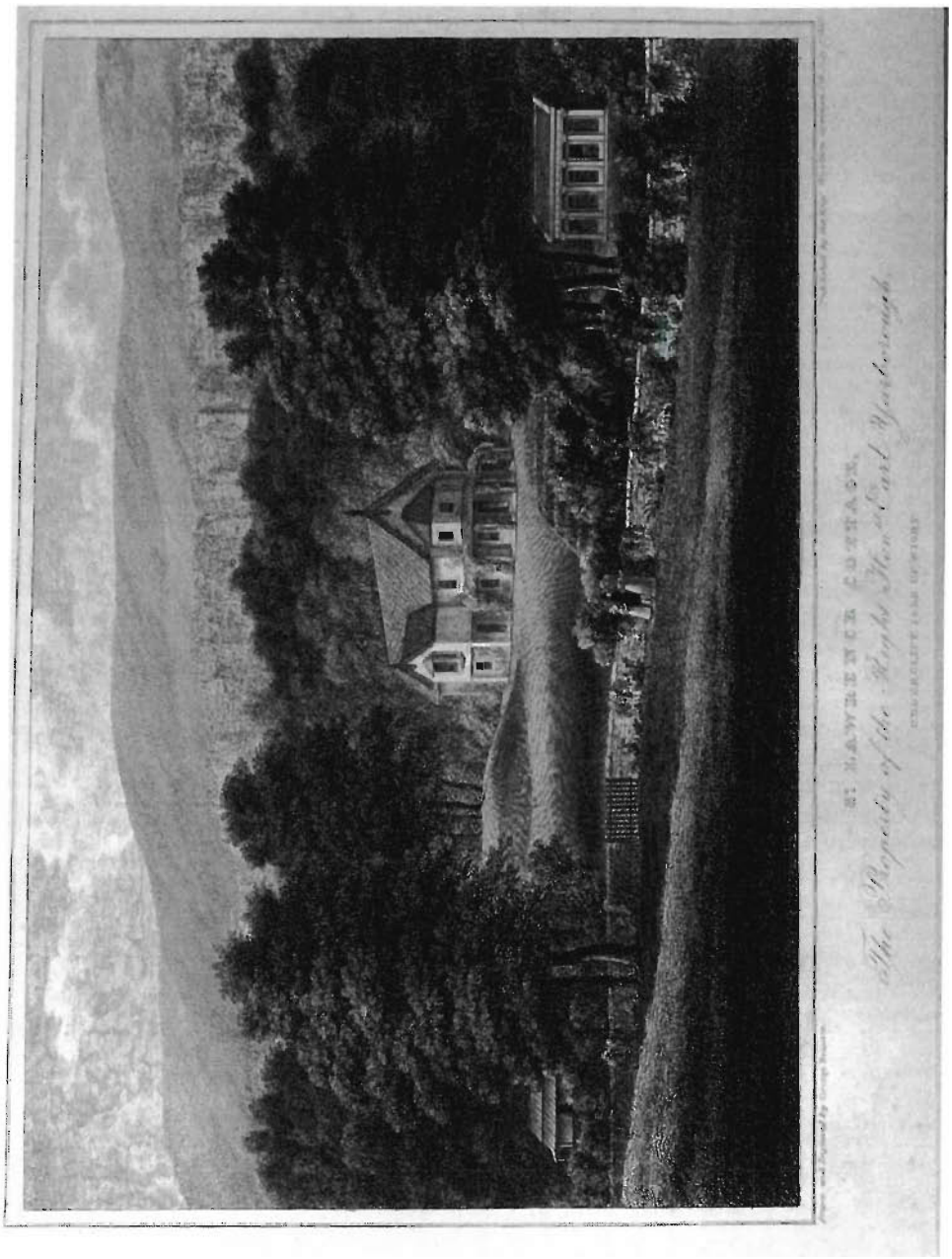
Sand Rock Spring Cottage, Brannon, 1822

Plate 20



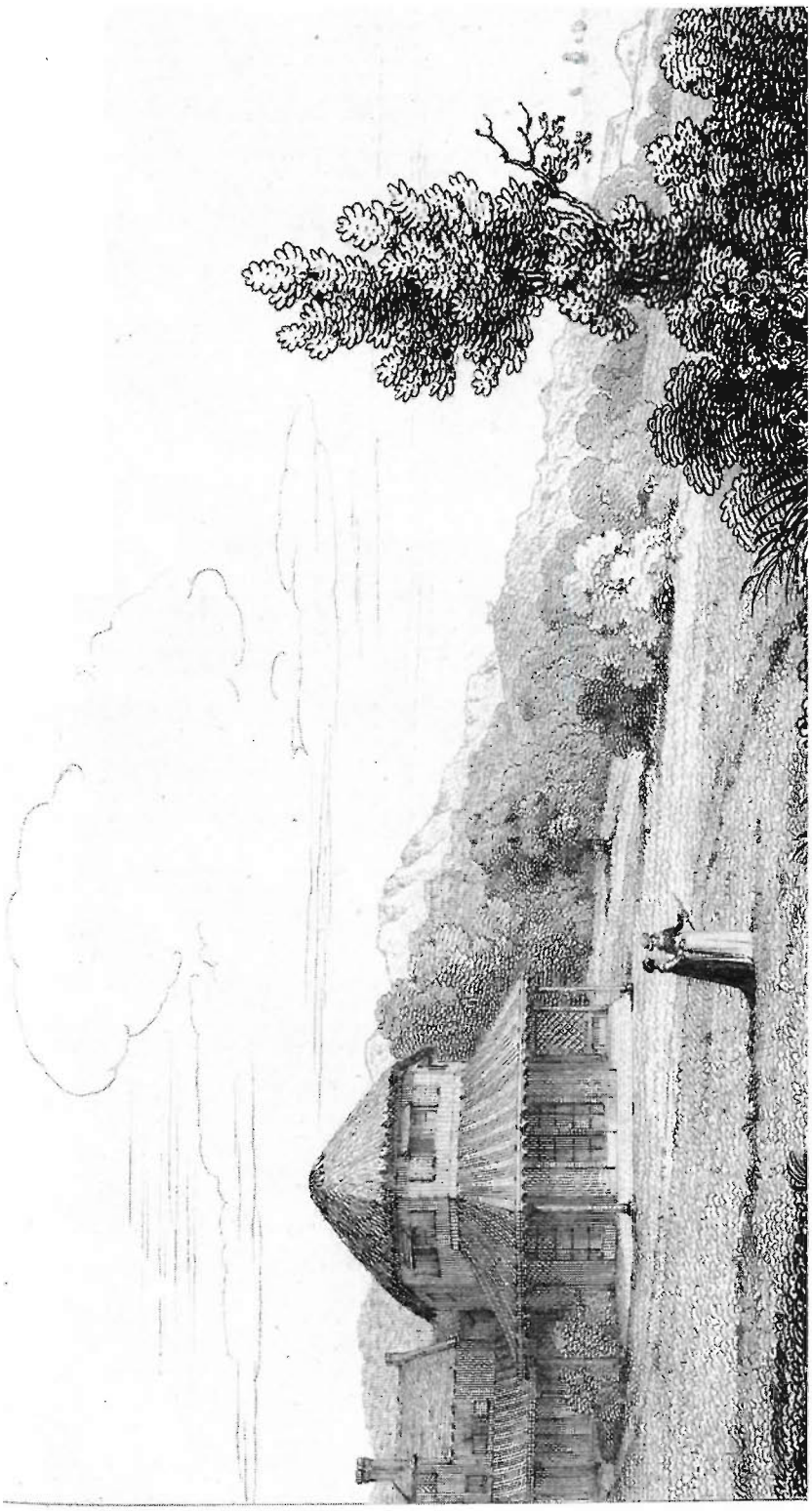
Sea Cottage, Cooke, 1808

Plate 21



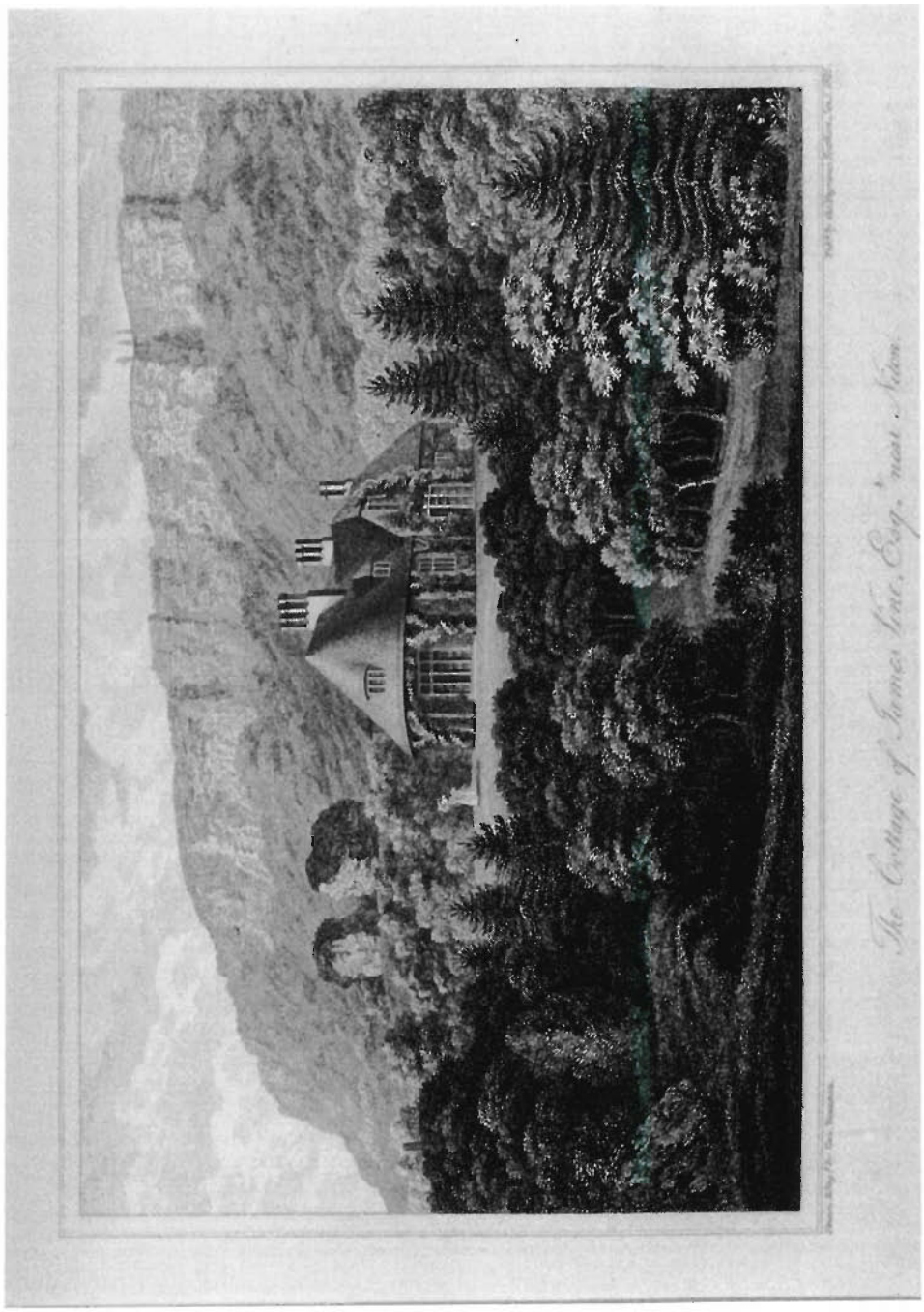
Sea Cottage, Brannon, 1835

Plate 22



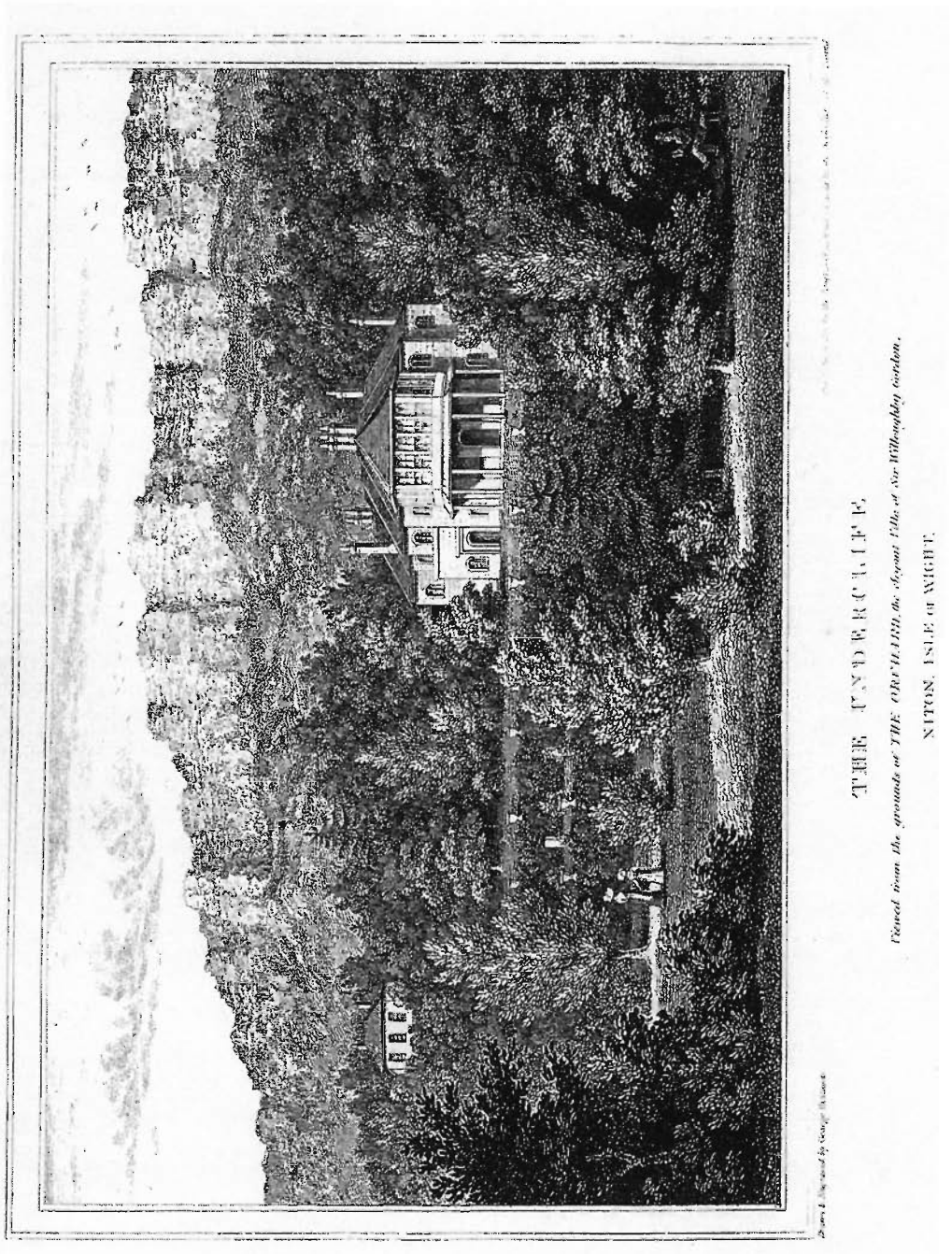
Mirables, Cooke, 1808

Plate 23



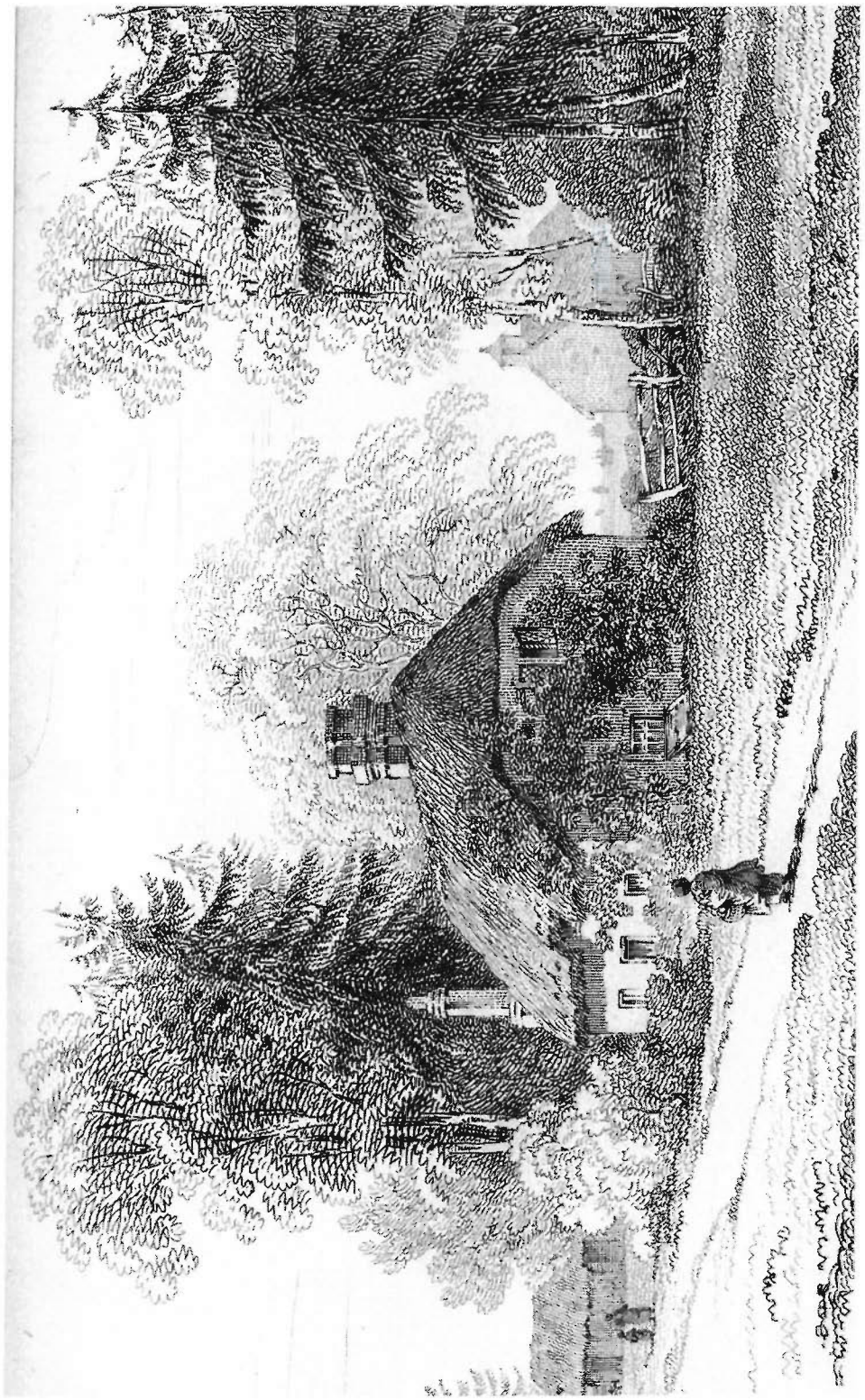
James Vine's Cottage (Puckaster), Brannon 1825

Plate 24



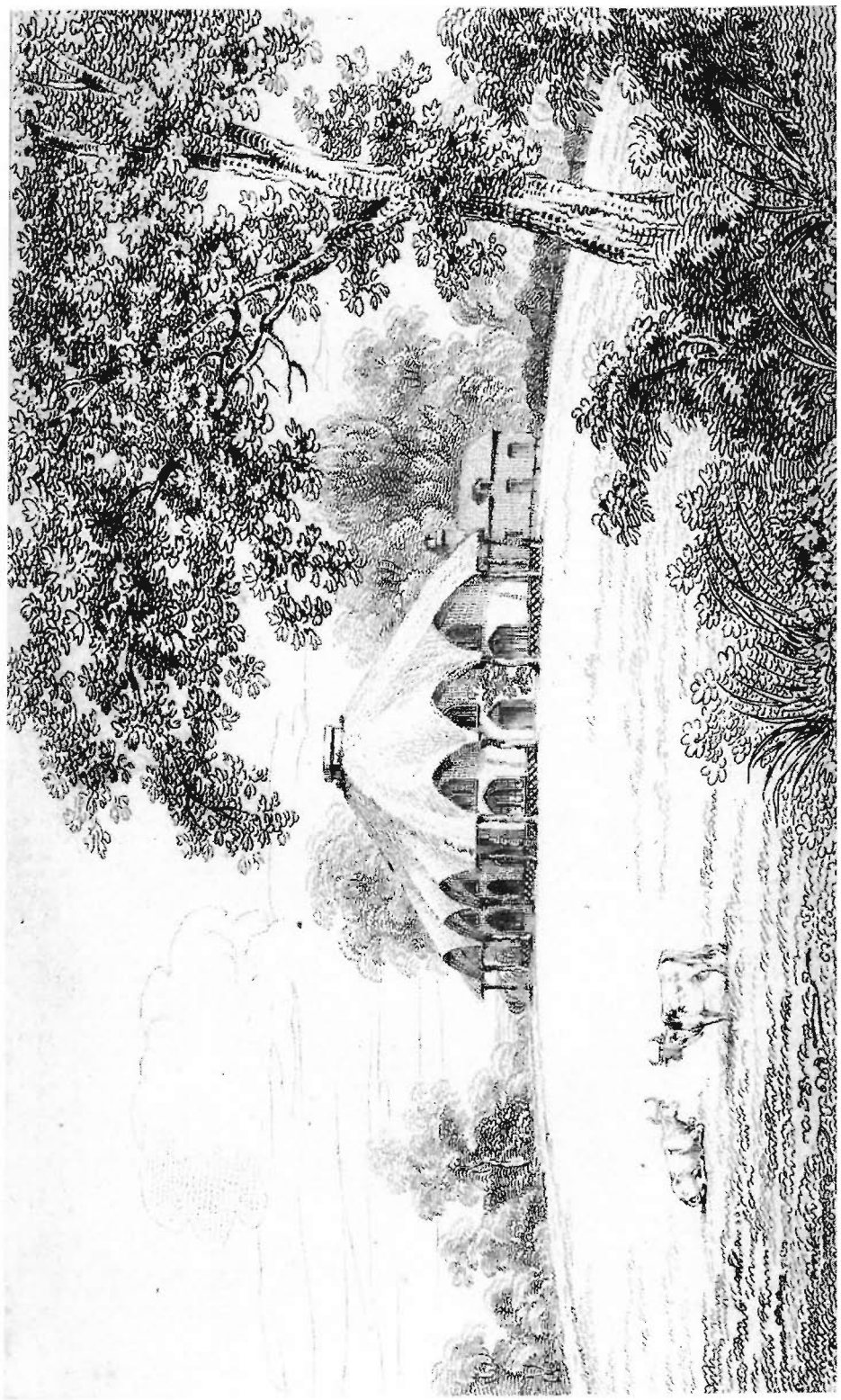
The Orchard, Brannon, 1821

Plate 25



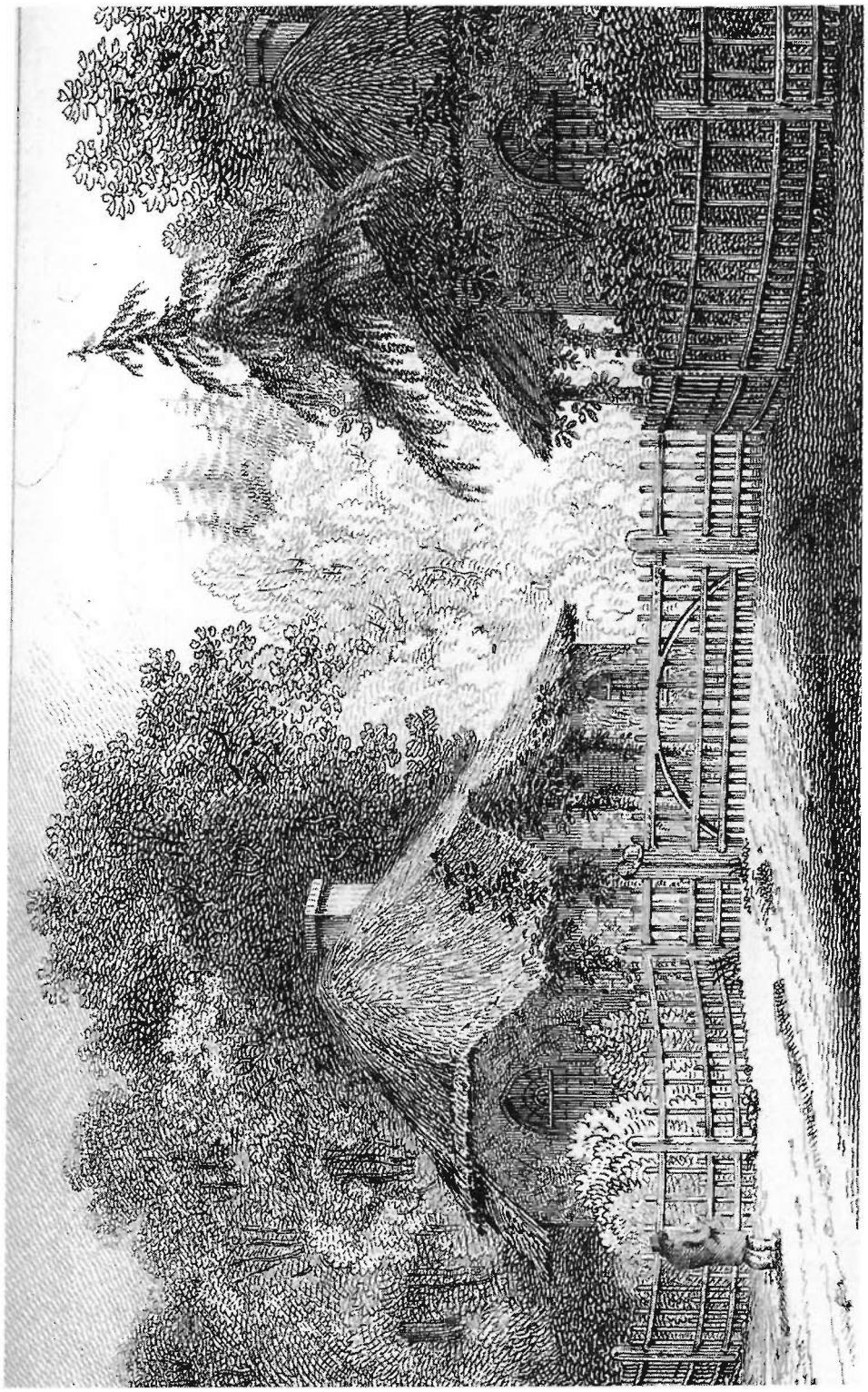
Binstead Cottage, Cooke, 1808

Plate 26



Cottage at East Cowes, Cooke, 1808

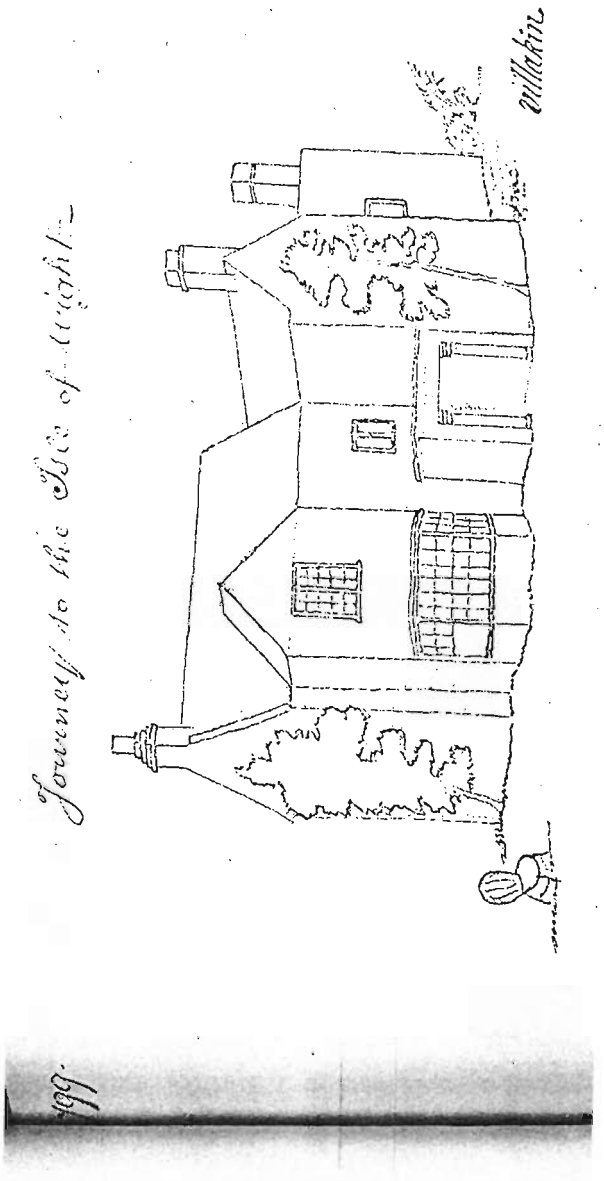
Plate 27



Lodge at St John's, Cooke, 1808

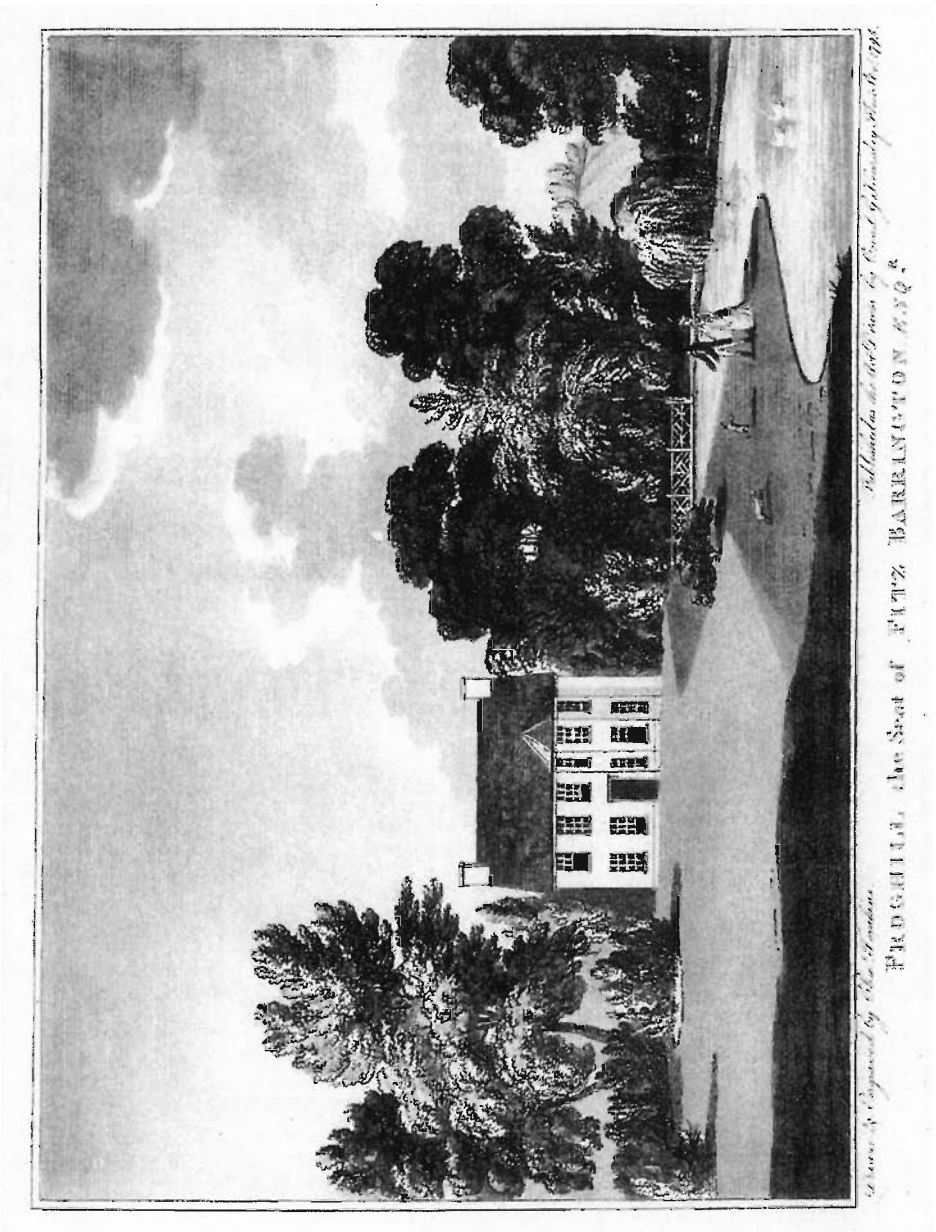
John Wilke's Villa, The Gentleman's Magazine

Plate 29



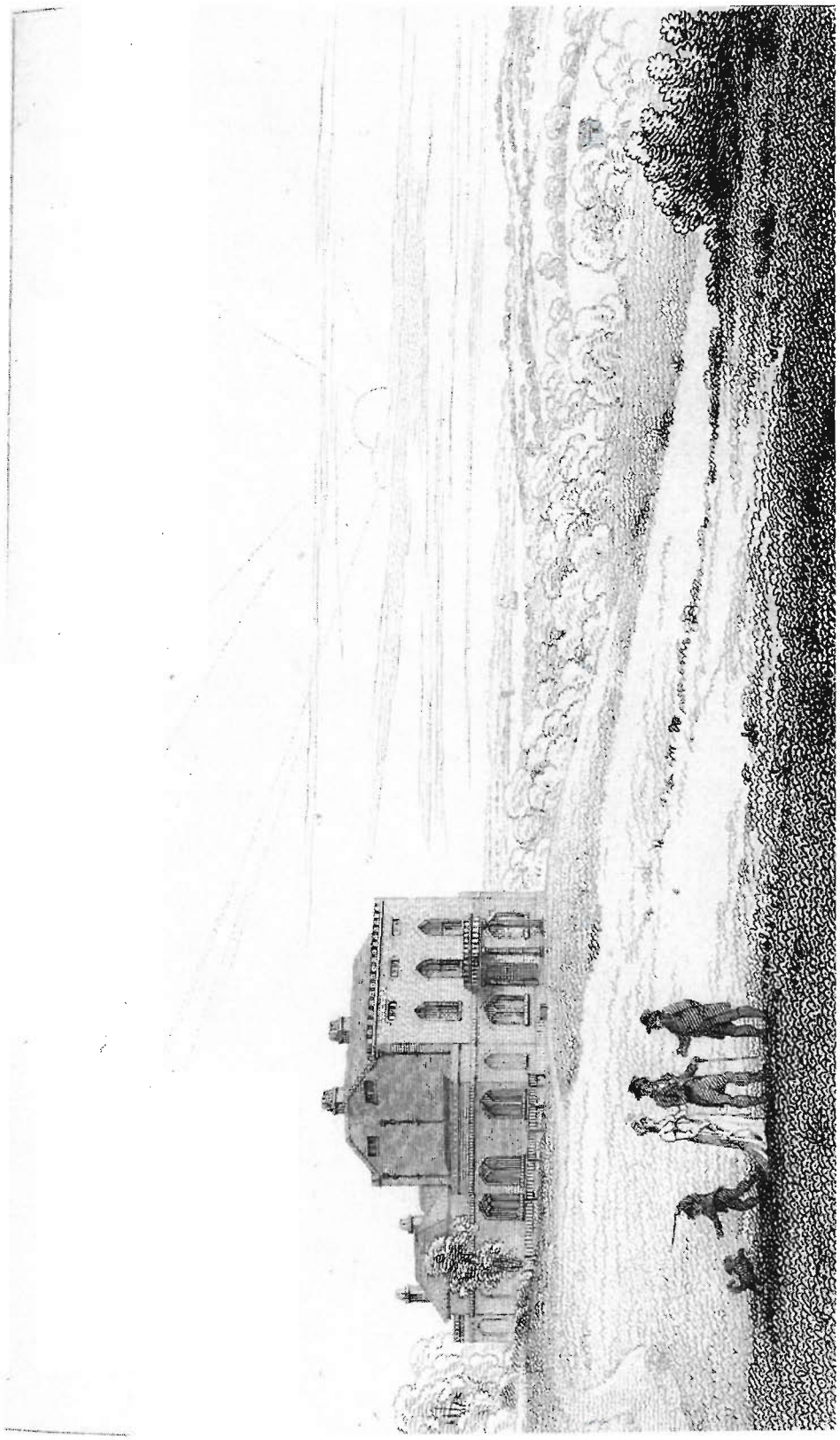
Villakin from Diary of Ann Butler, 1799

Plate 30



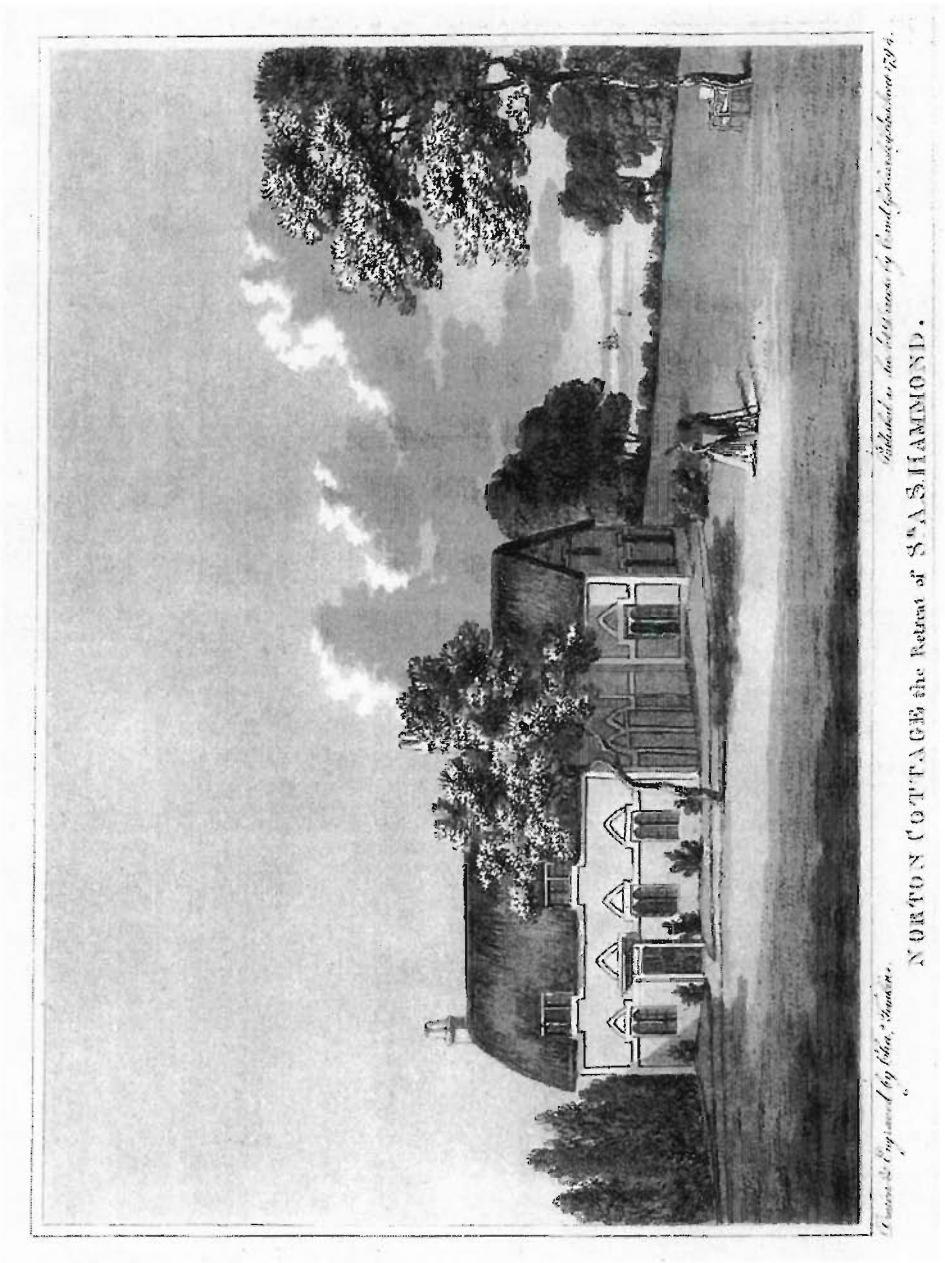
Froghill, Tomkins, 1795

Plate 31



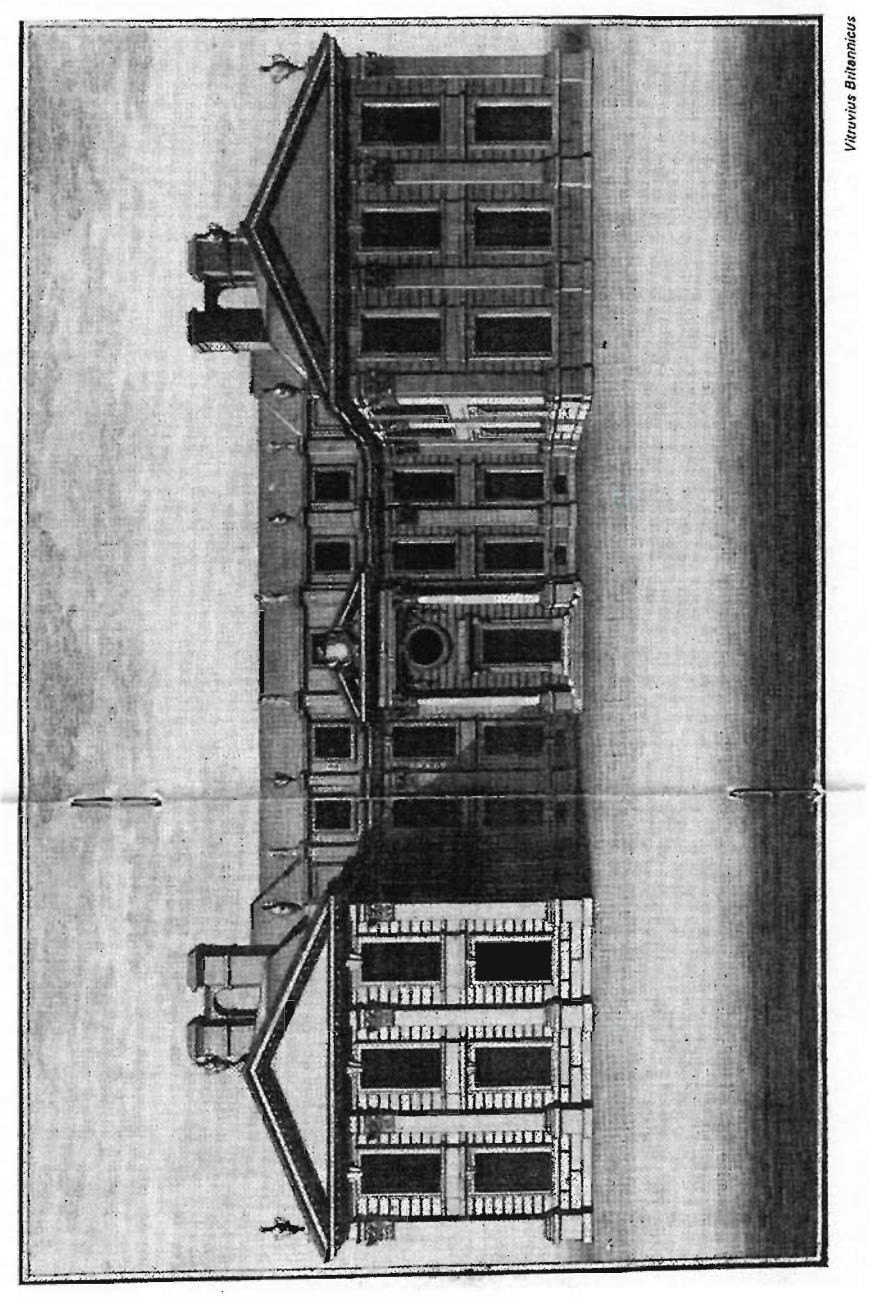
Farringford Hill, Cooke, 1808

Plate 32



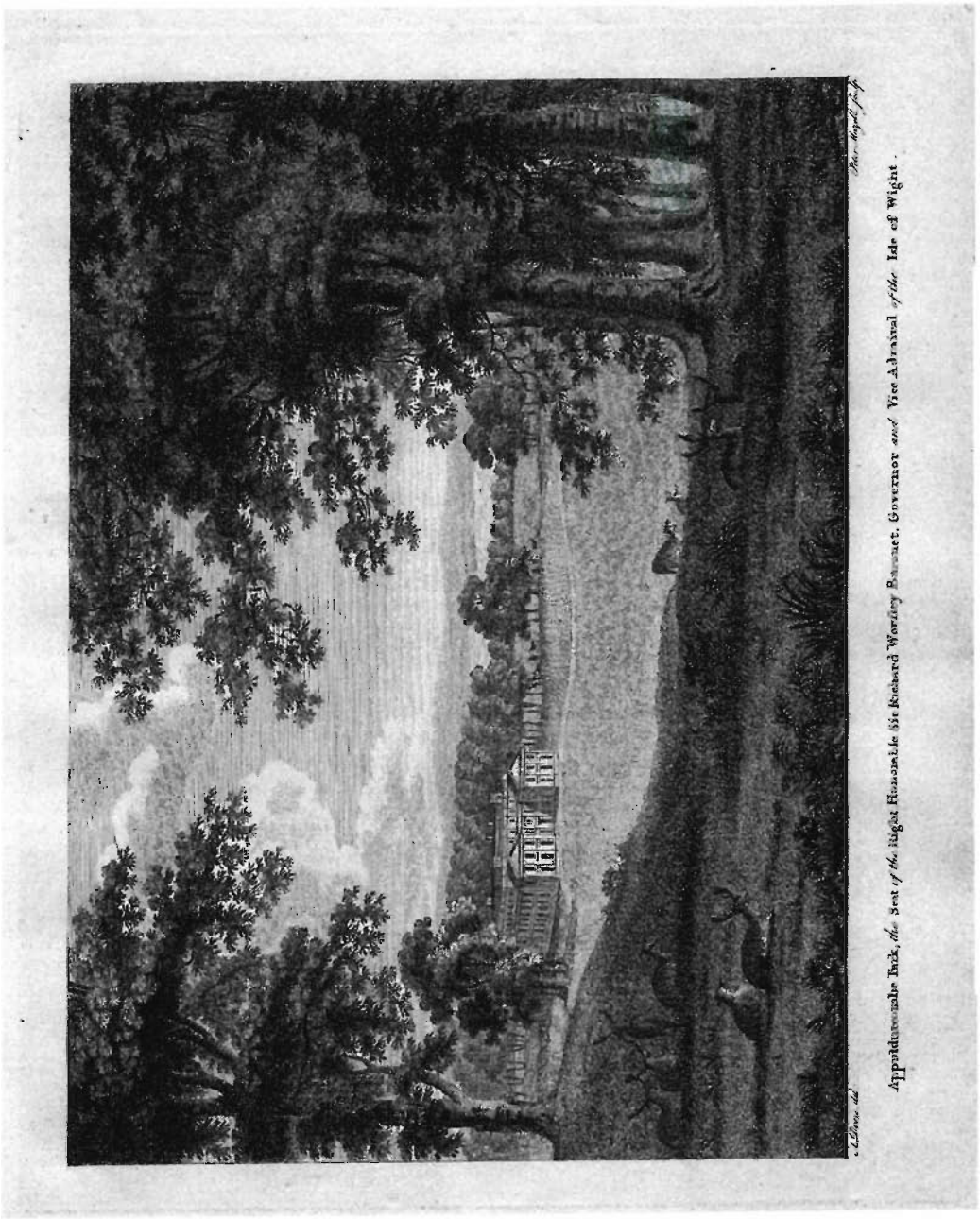
Norton Cottage, Tomkins 1796

Plate 33



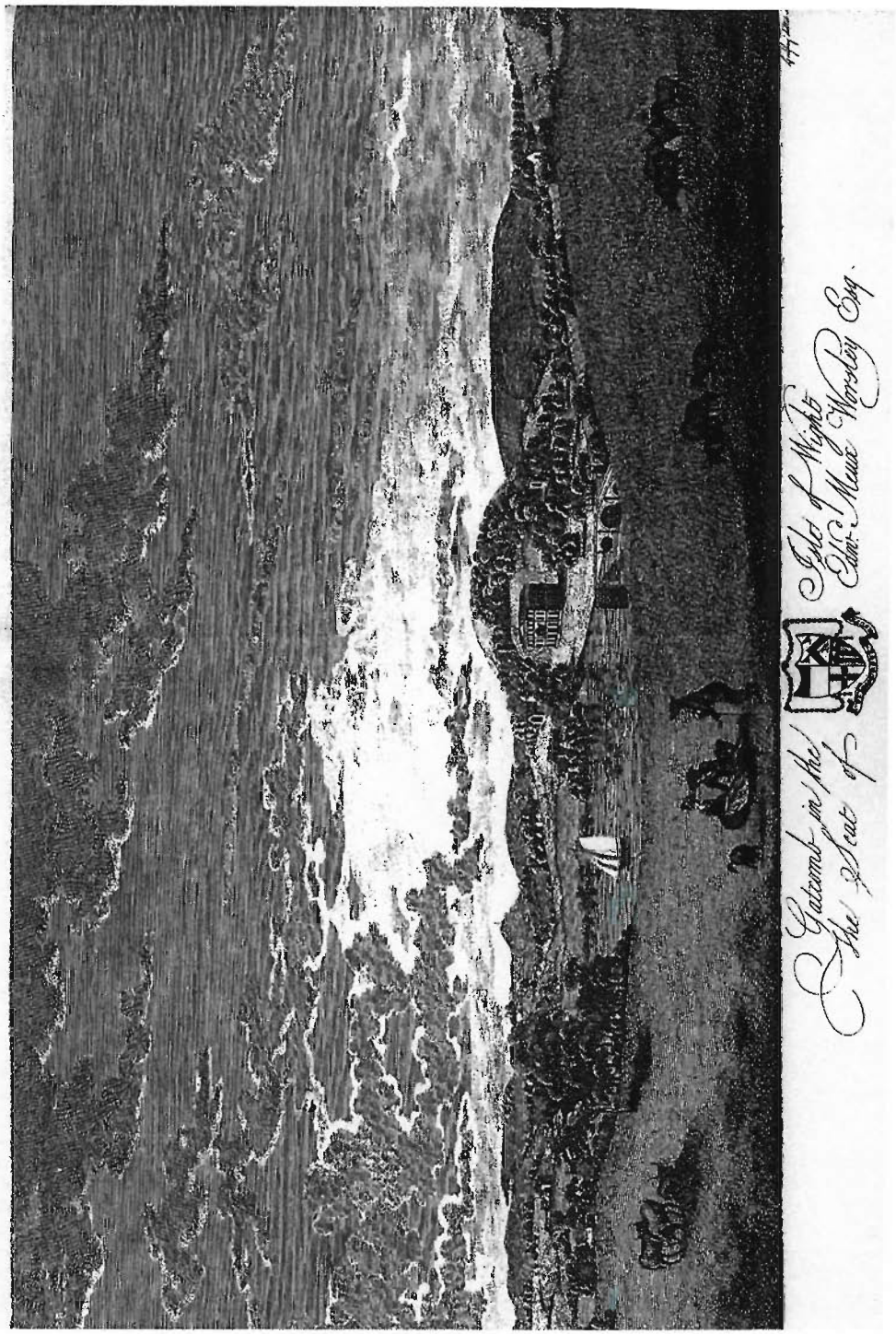
Appuldurcombe from Vitruvius Britannicus, reproduced from Boynton, 1967.

Plate 34



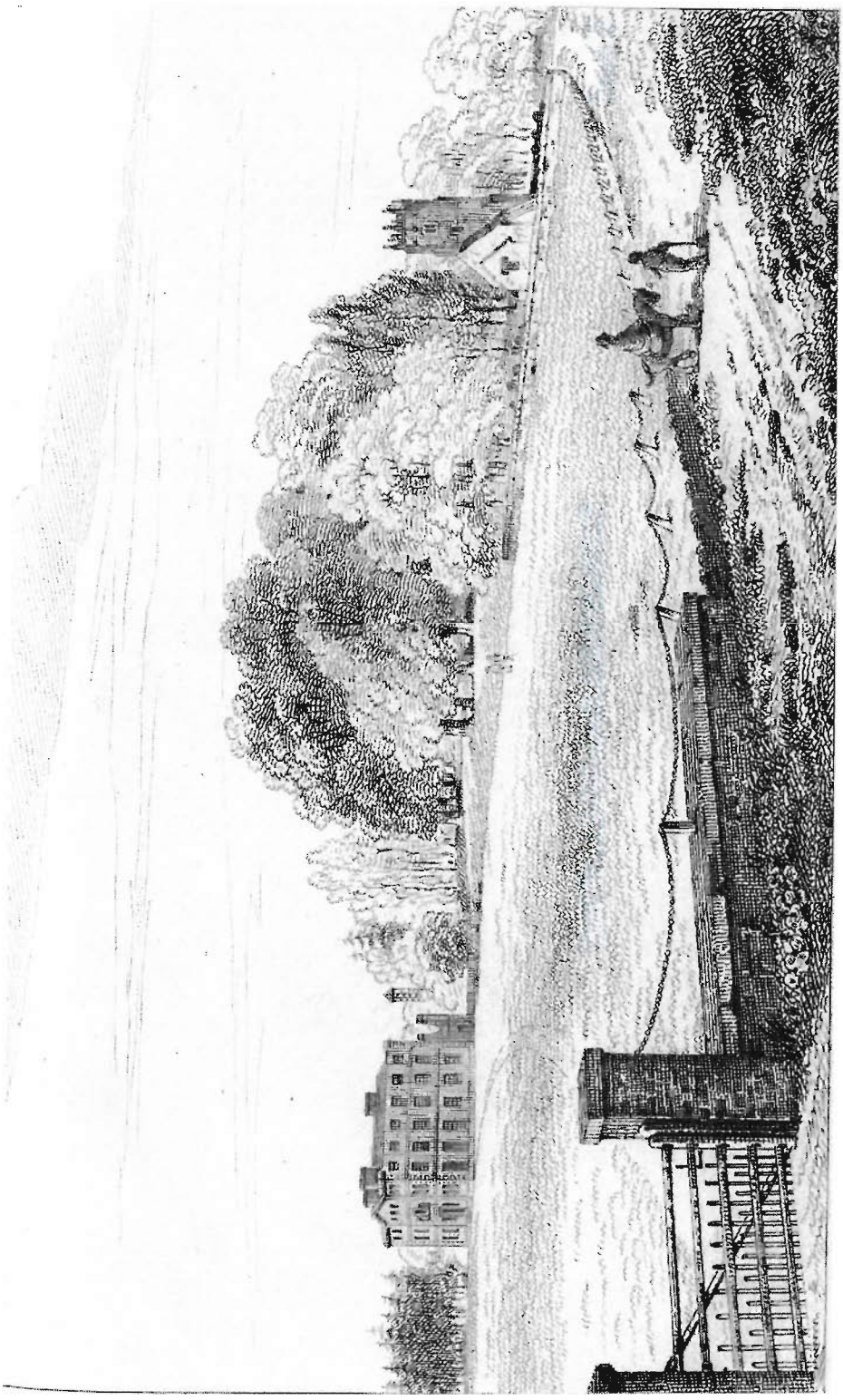
Appuldurcombe Park, Worsley, *1781*

Plate 35



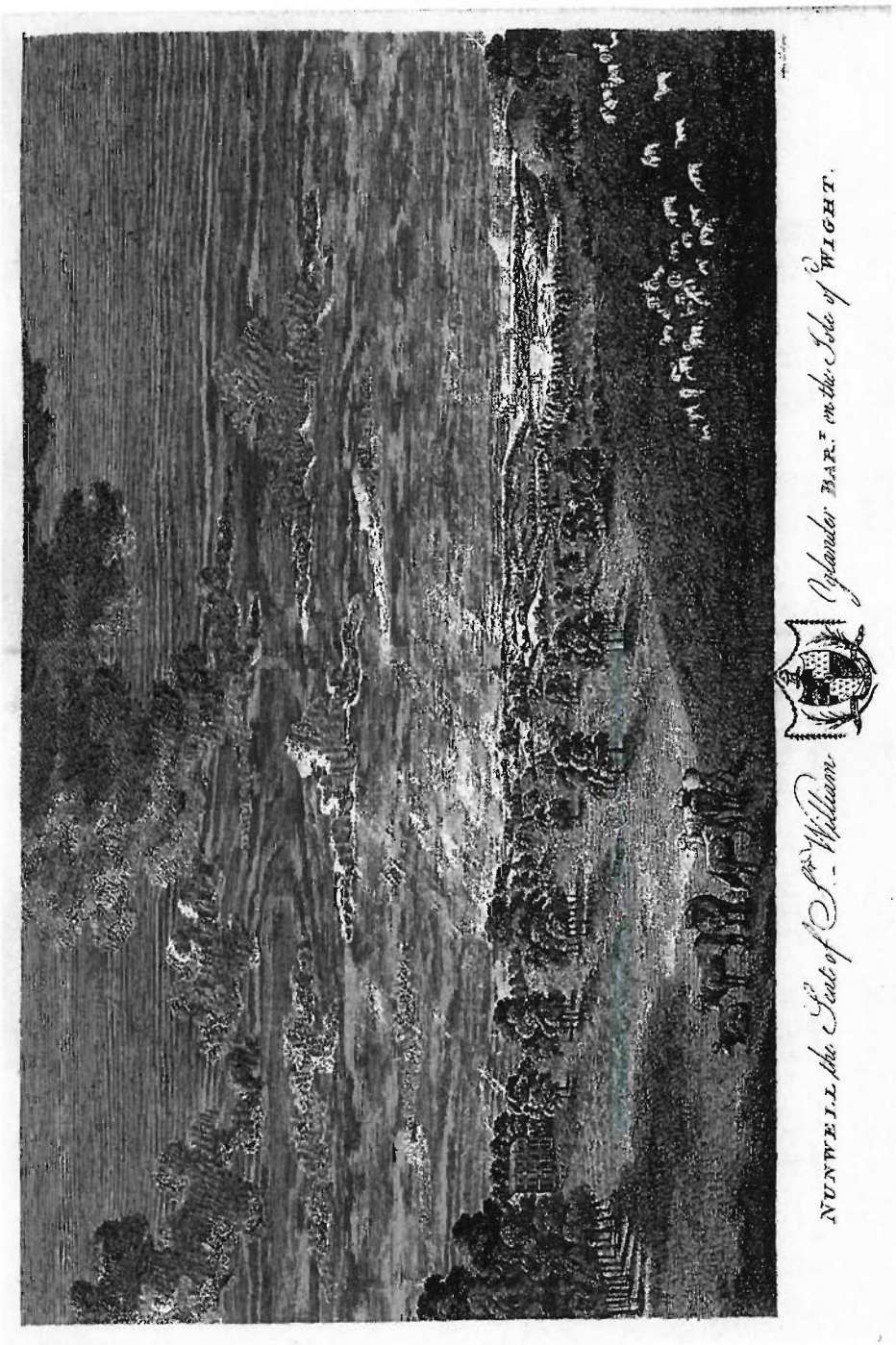
Gatcombe, Worsley 1781

Plate 36



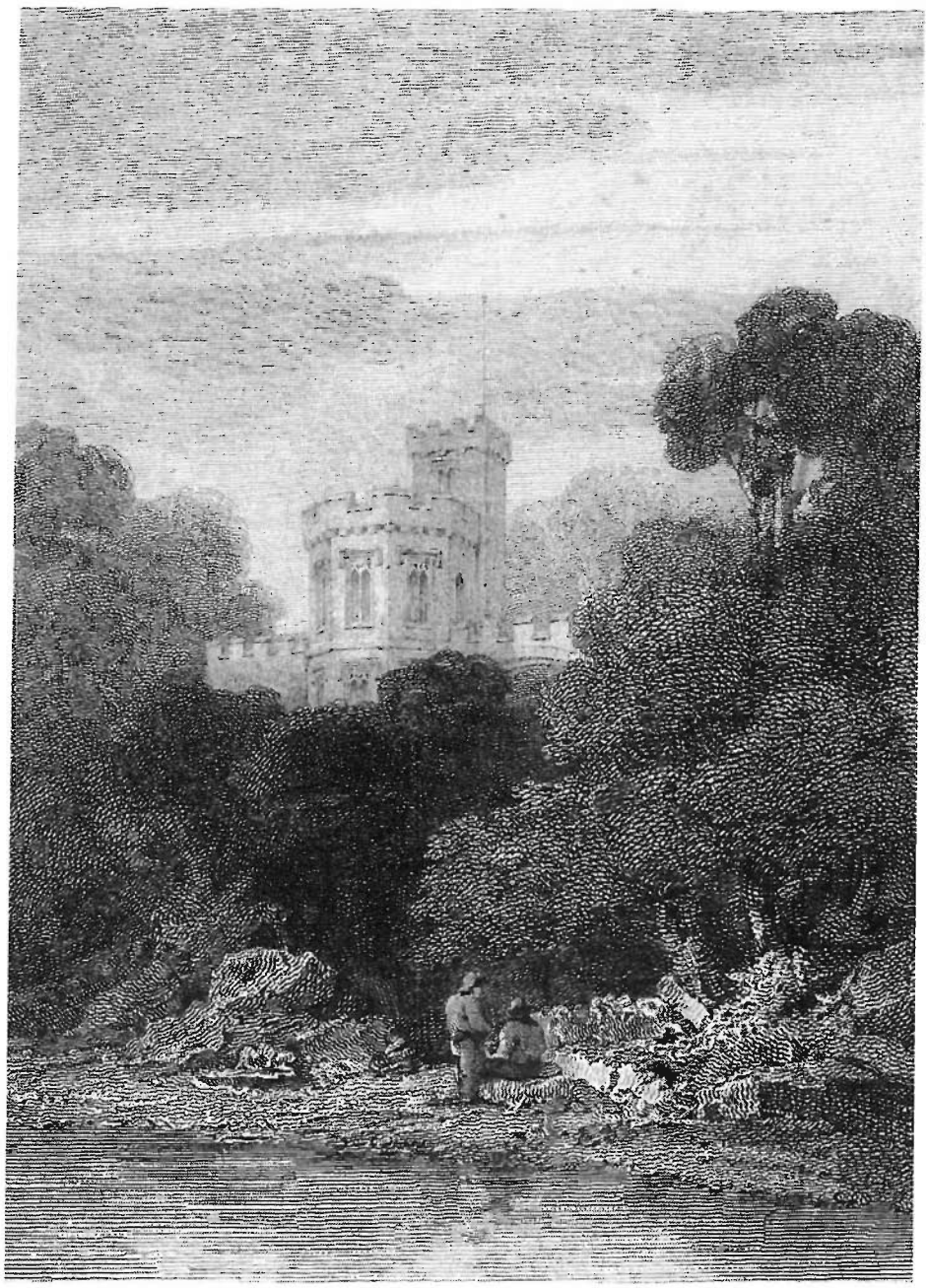
Gatcombe, Cooke, 1808

Plate 37



Nunwell, Worsley 1781

Plate 38



The Marina, Cooke, 1808

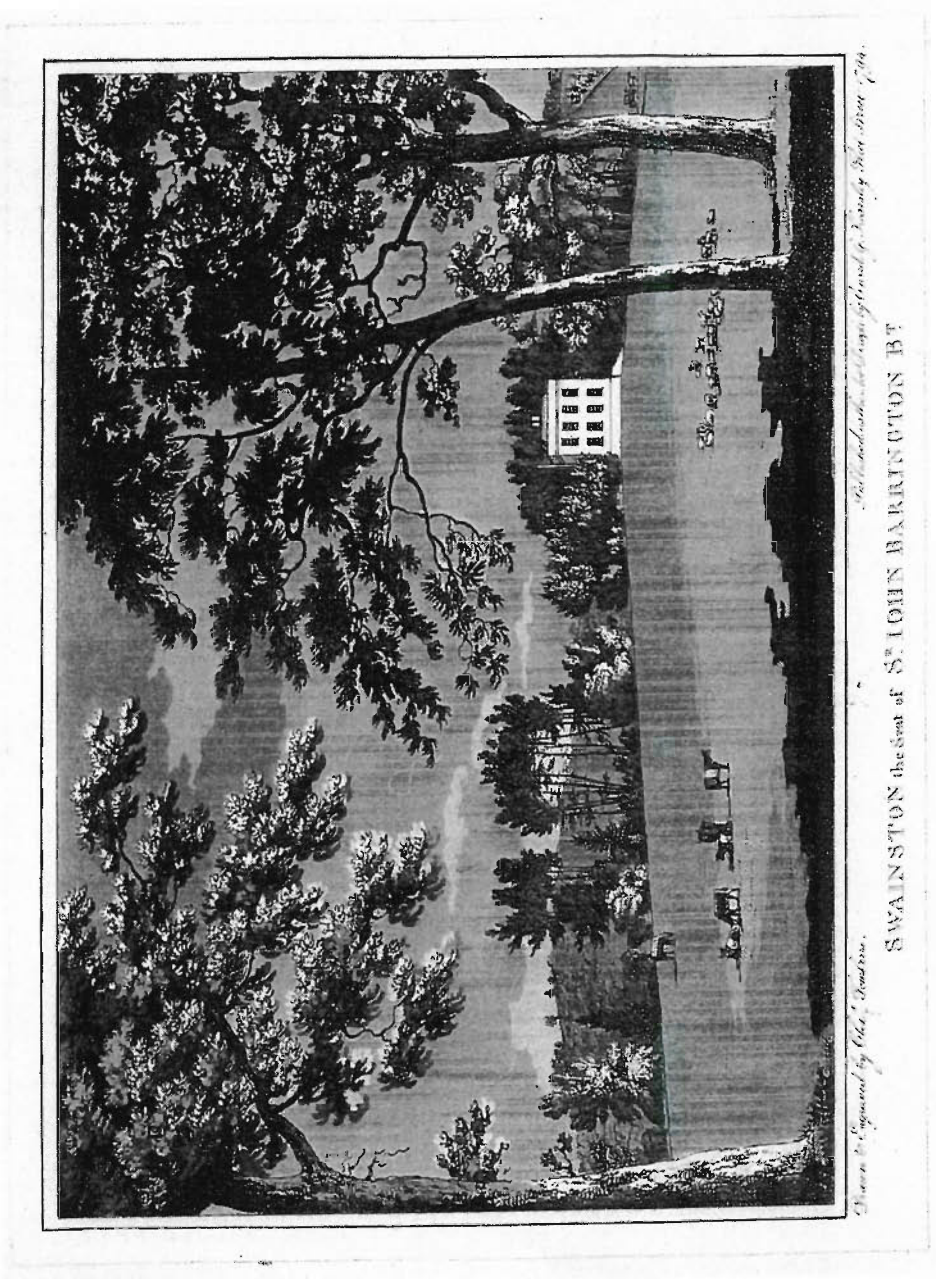
Plate 39

St. John's, Cooke, 1808

Plate 40

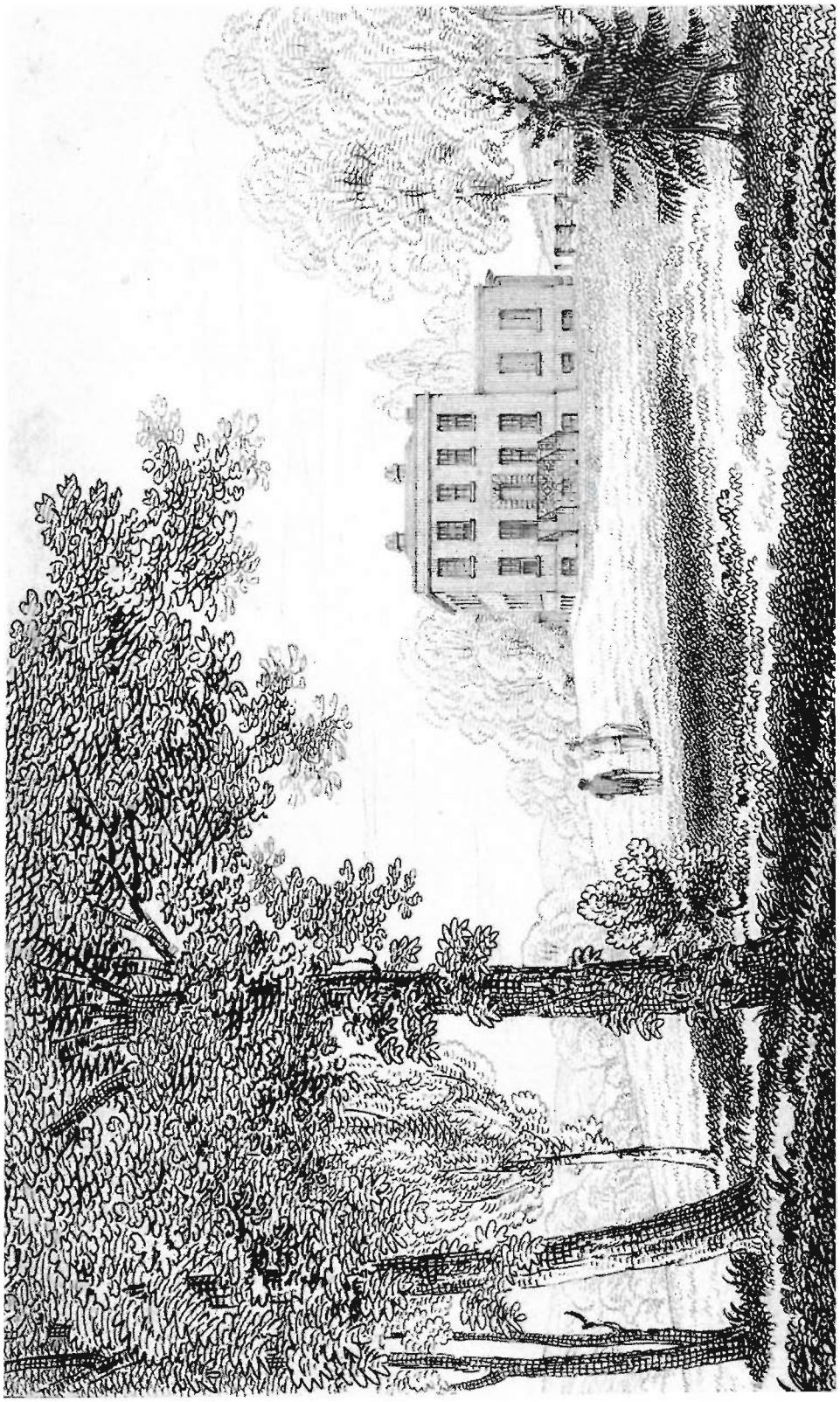
Appley, Cooke, 1808

Plate 41



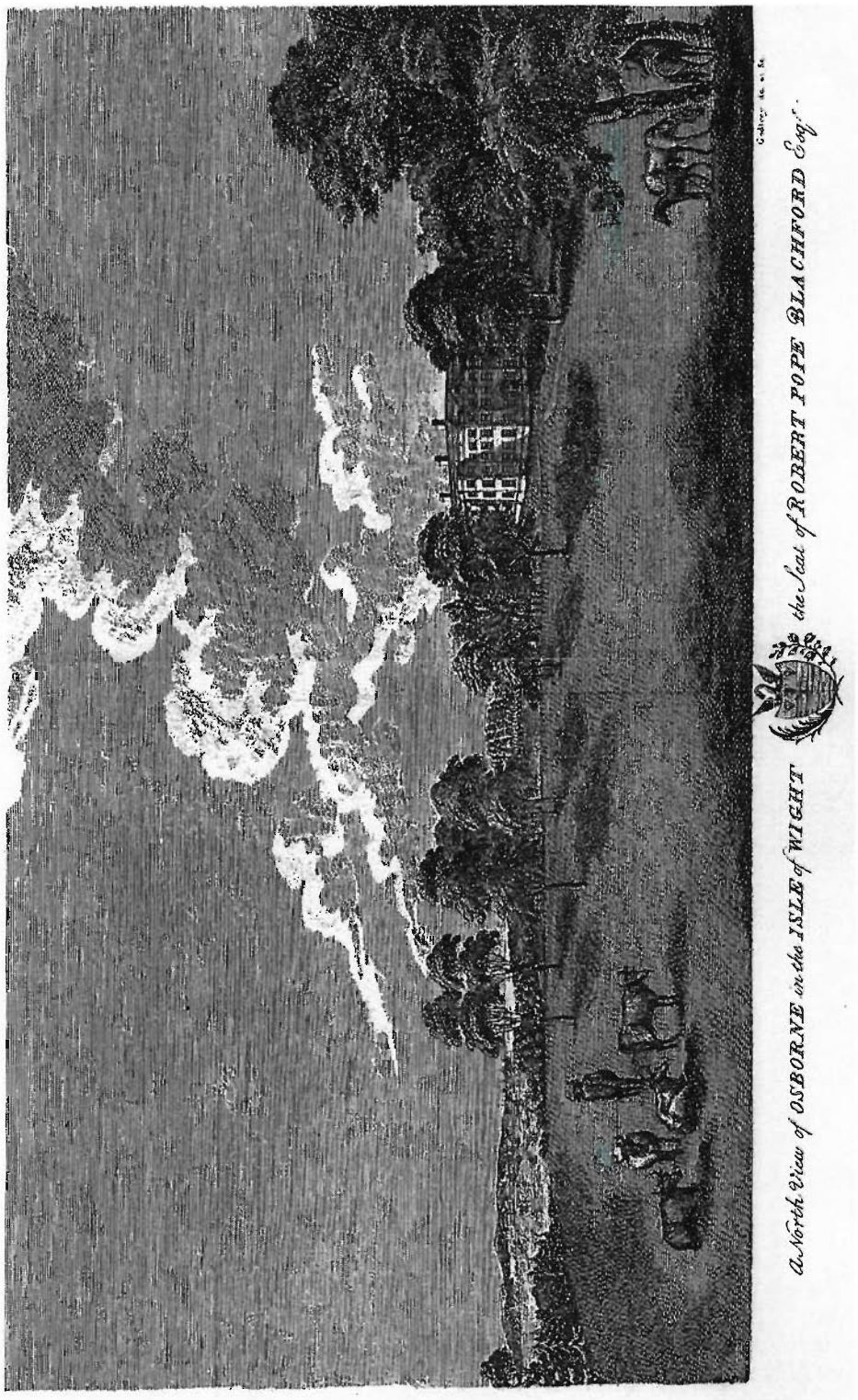
Swainston, Tomkins 1796

Plate 42



Swainston, Cooke, 1808

Plate 43

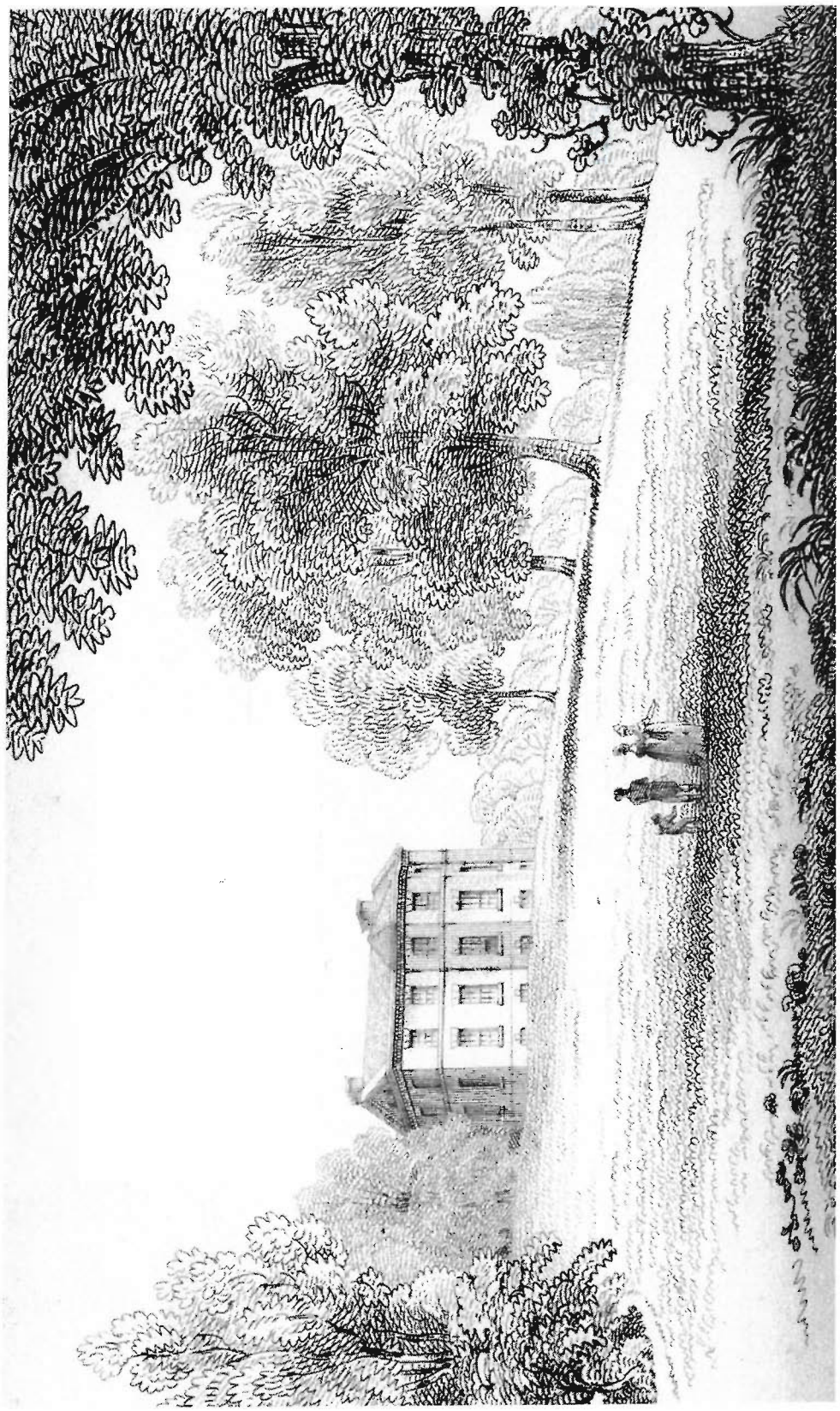


Osborne, Worsley, 1781

Plate 44

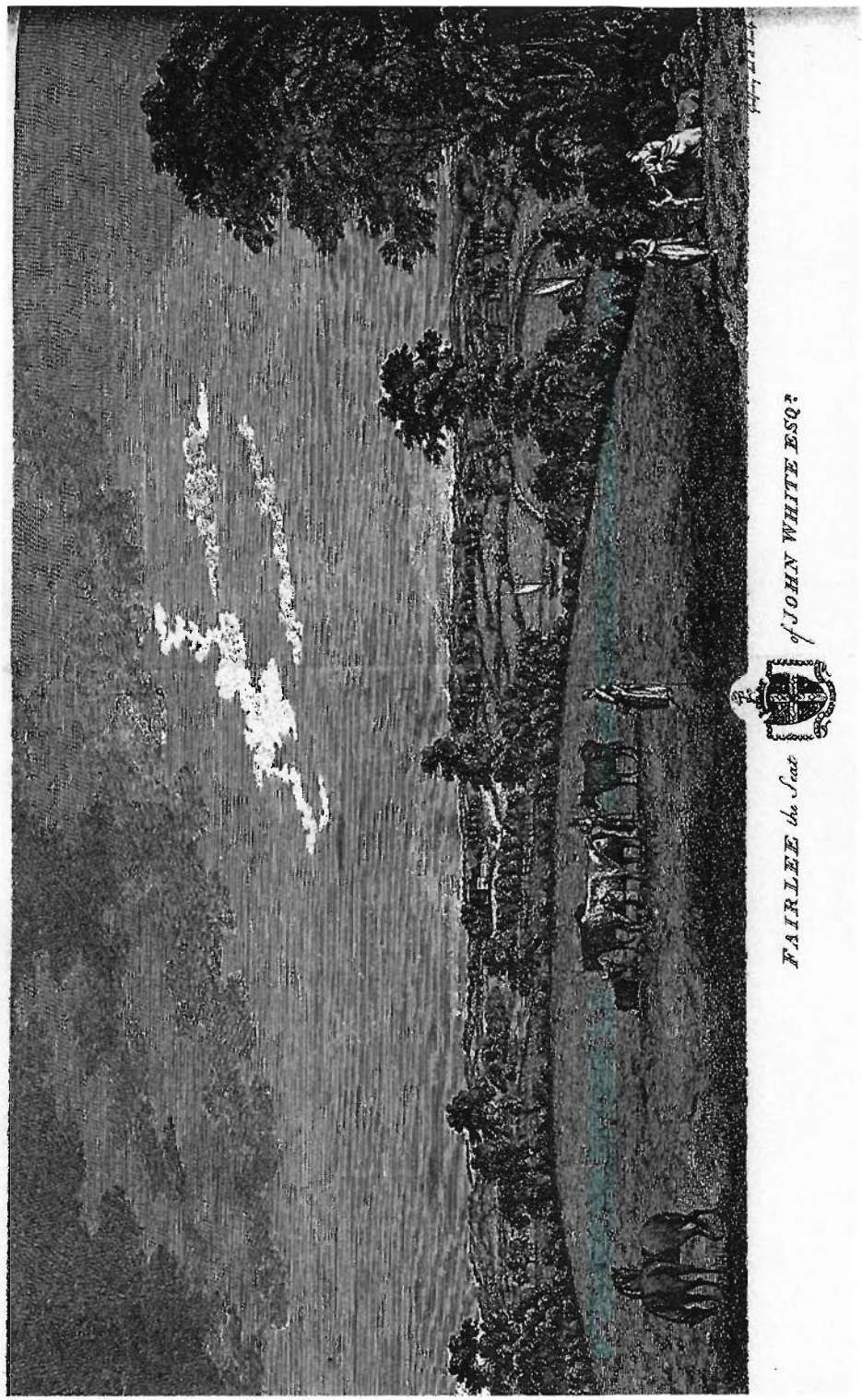
View from The Priory, Worsley 1781

Plate 45



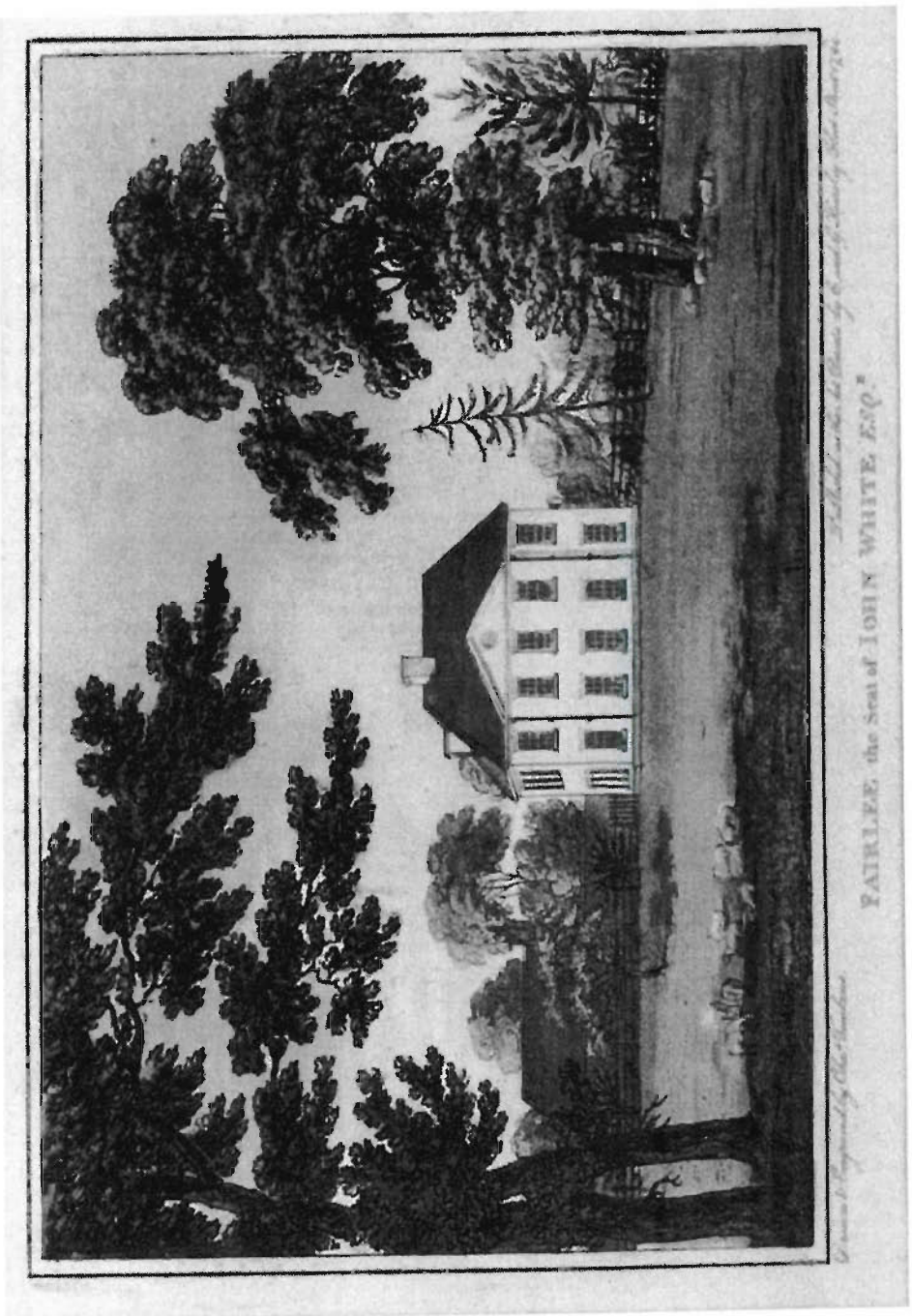
The Priory, Cooke, 1808

Plate 46



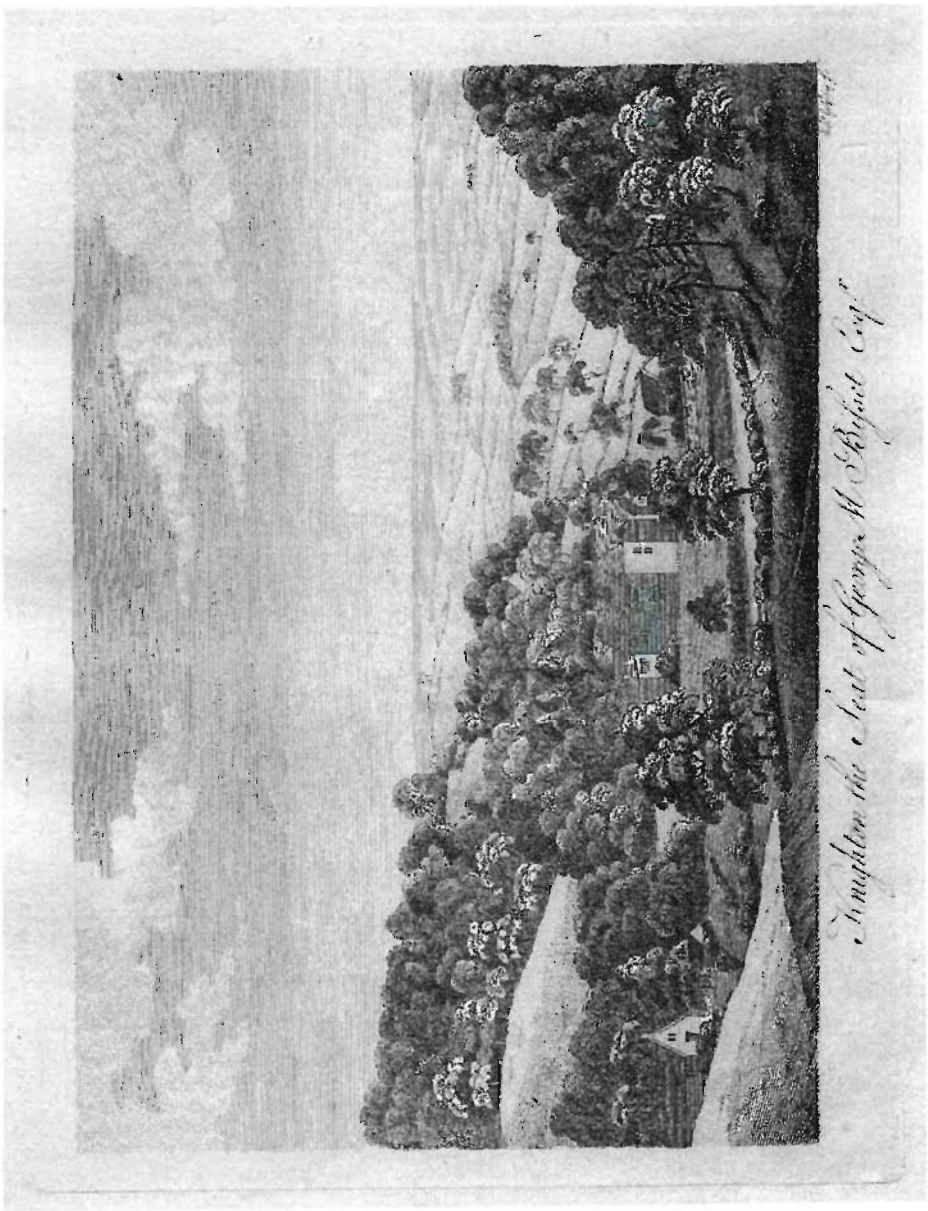
Fairlee, Worsley, 1781

Plate 47



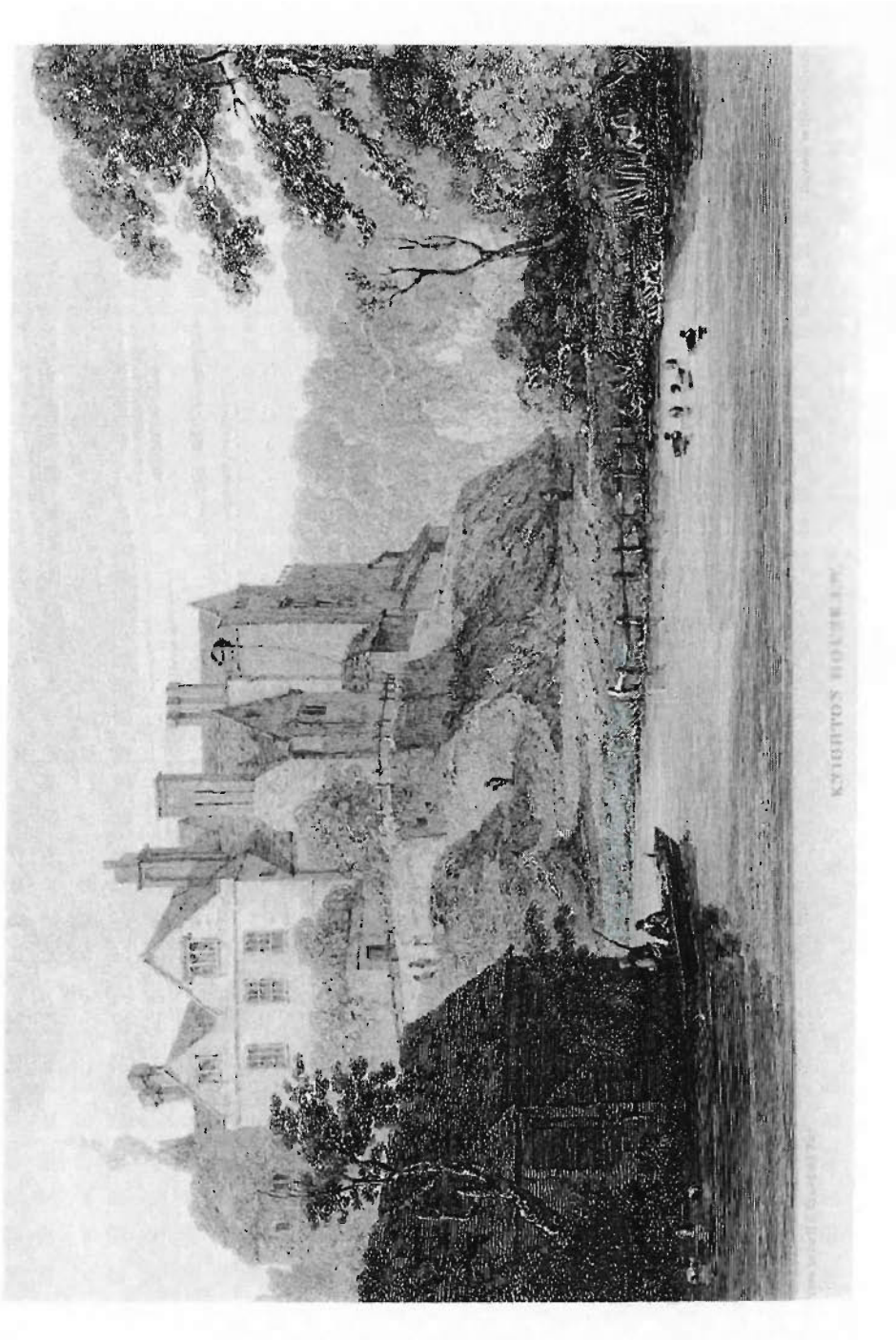
Fairlee, Tomkins, 1796

Plate 48



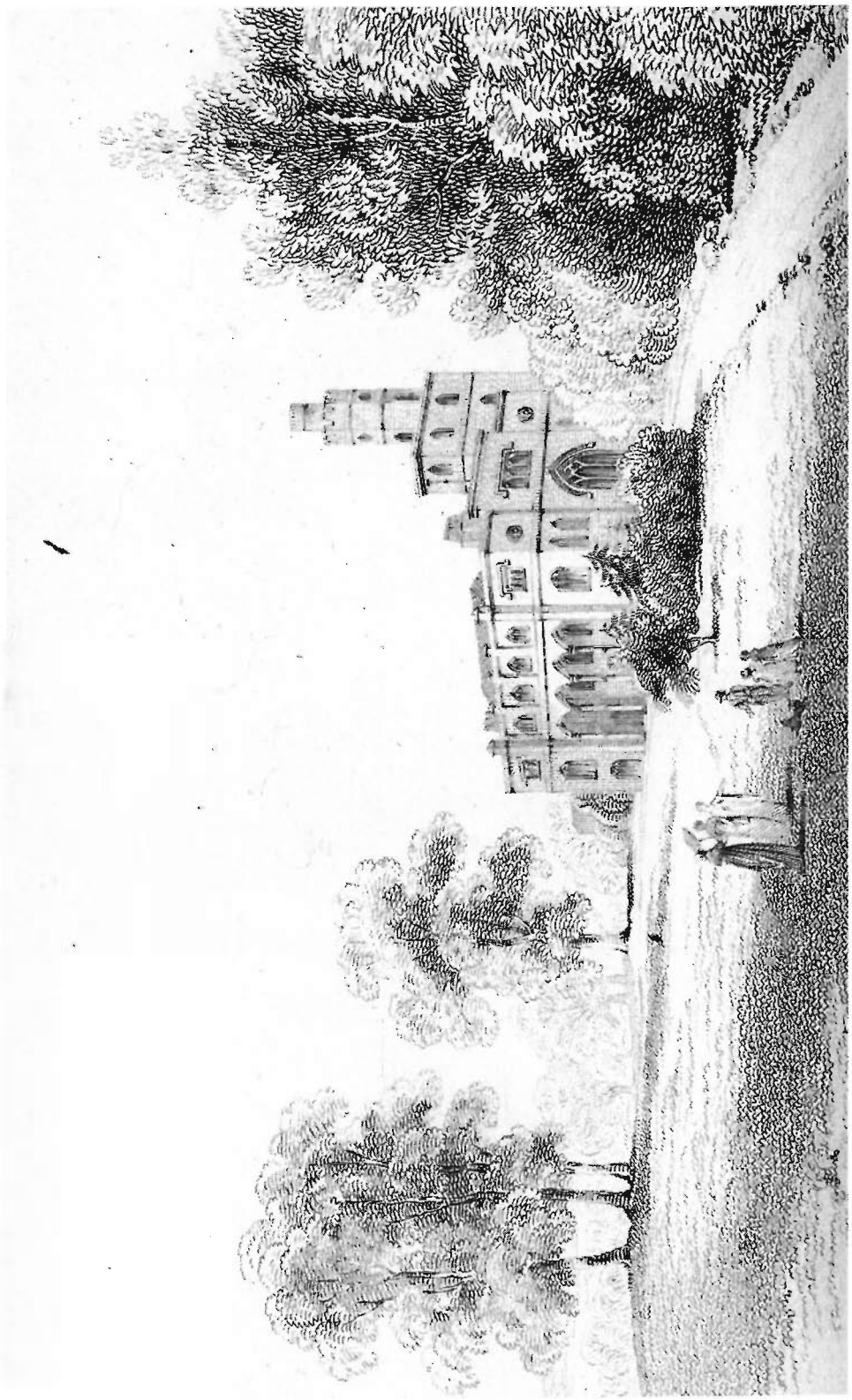
Knighton, Worsley, 1781

Plate 49



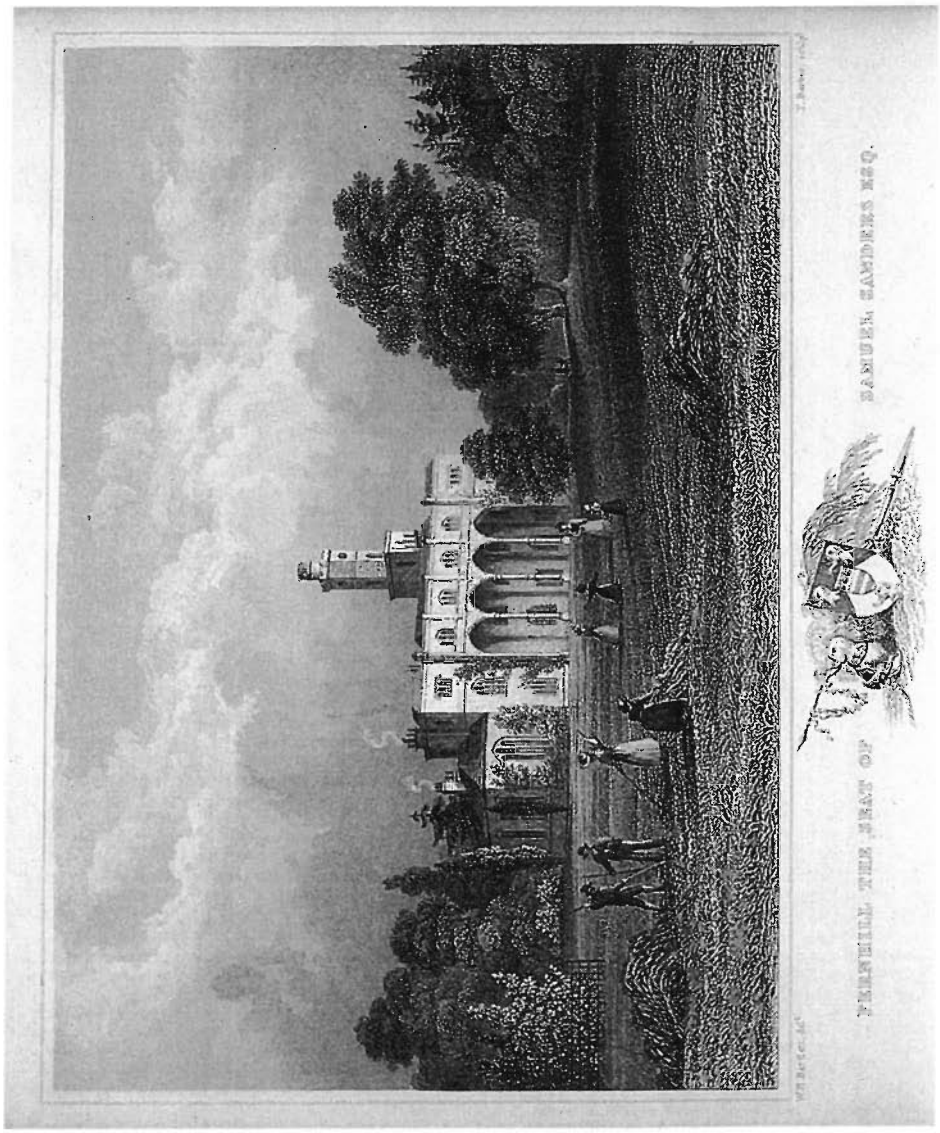
Knighton, Englefield, 1816

Plate 50



Fernhill, Cooke, 1808

Plate 51

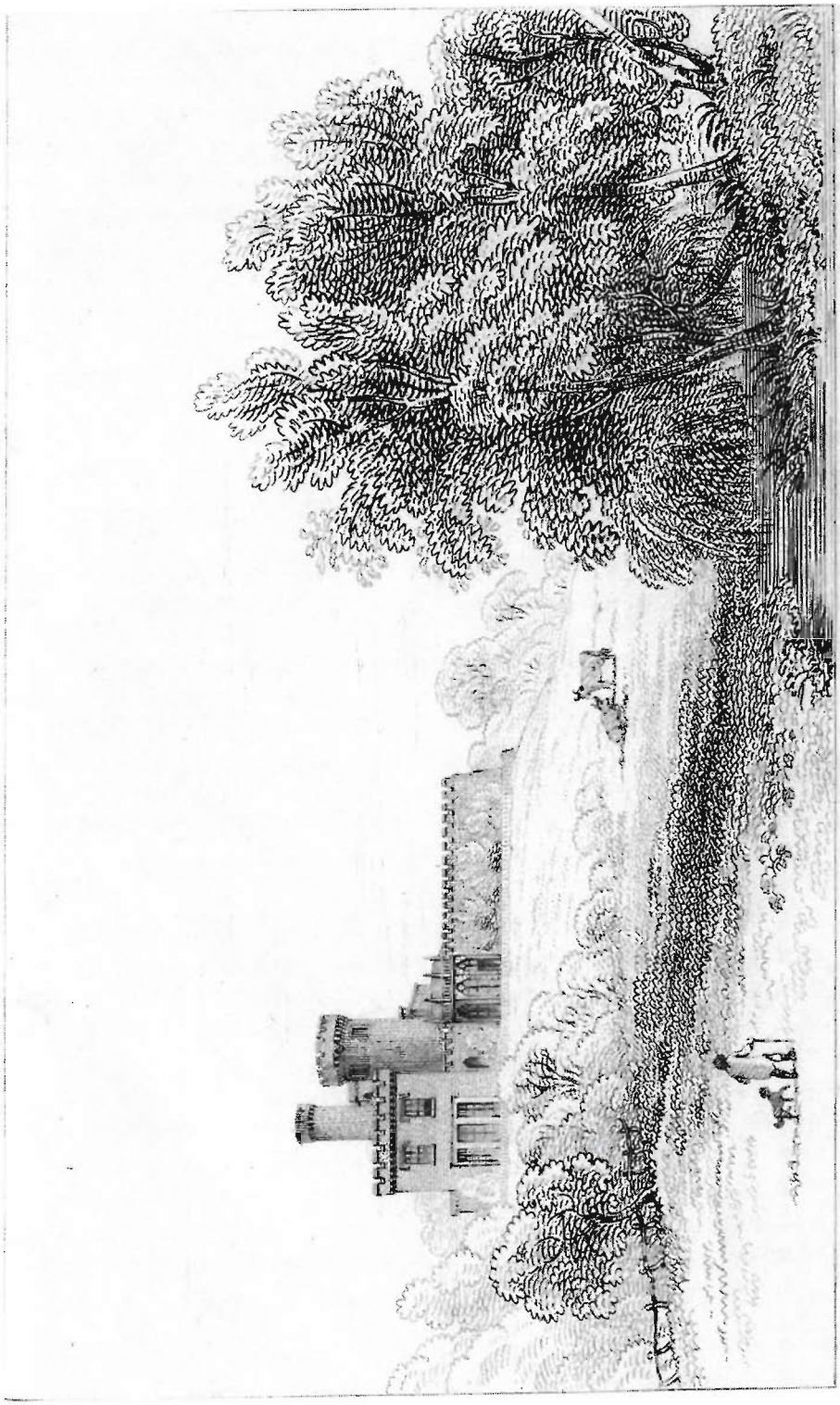


Fernhill, Barber, 1835

Plate 52

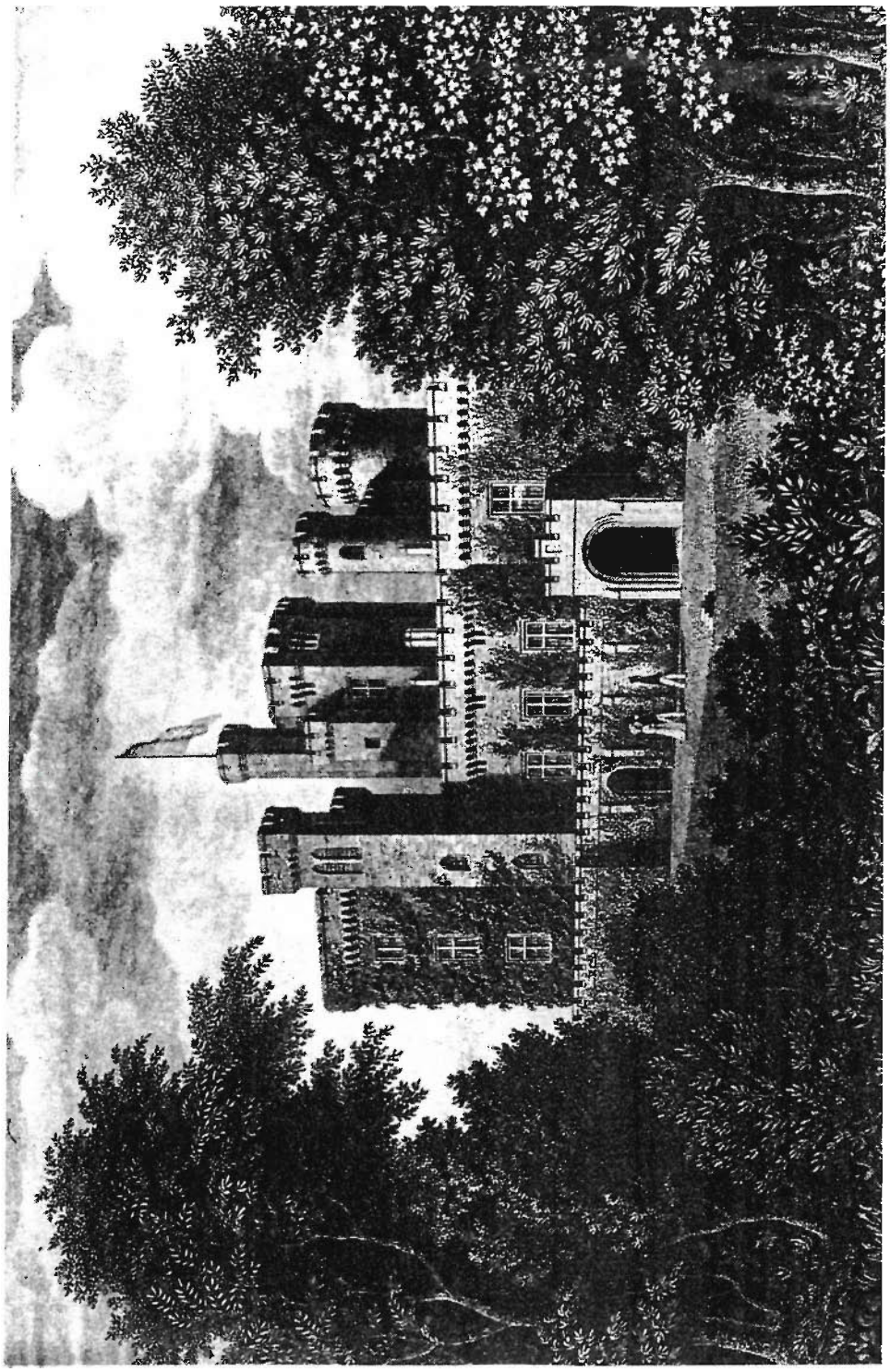
Fernhill, early twentieth century postcard

Plate 53



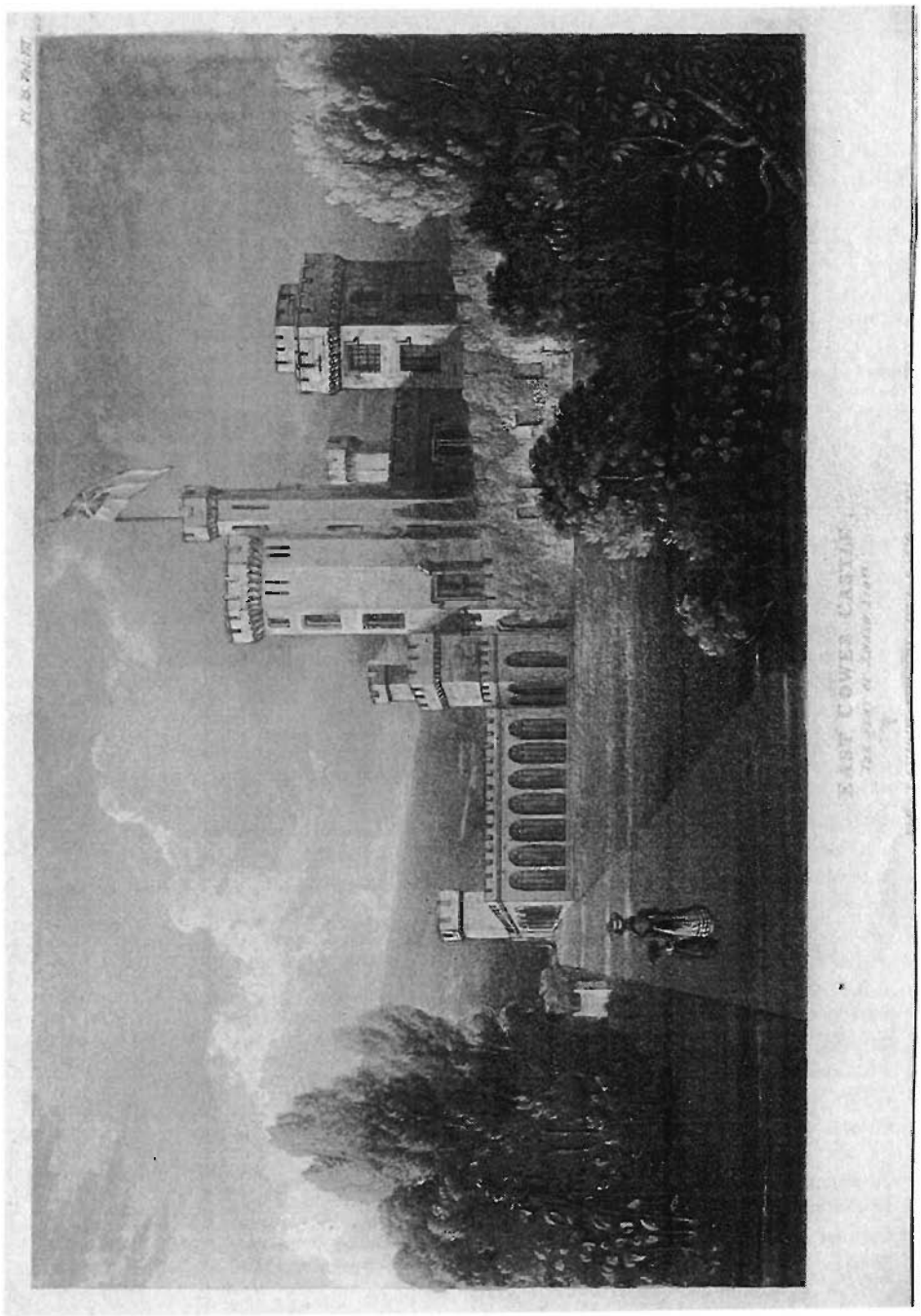
East Cowes Castle, Cooke 1808

Plate 54



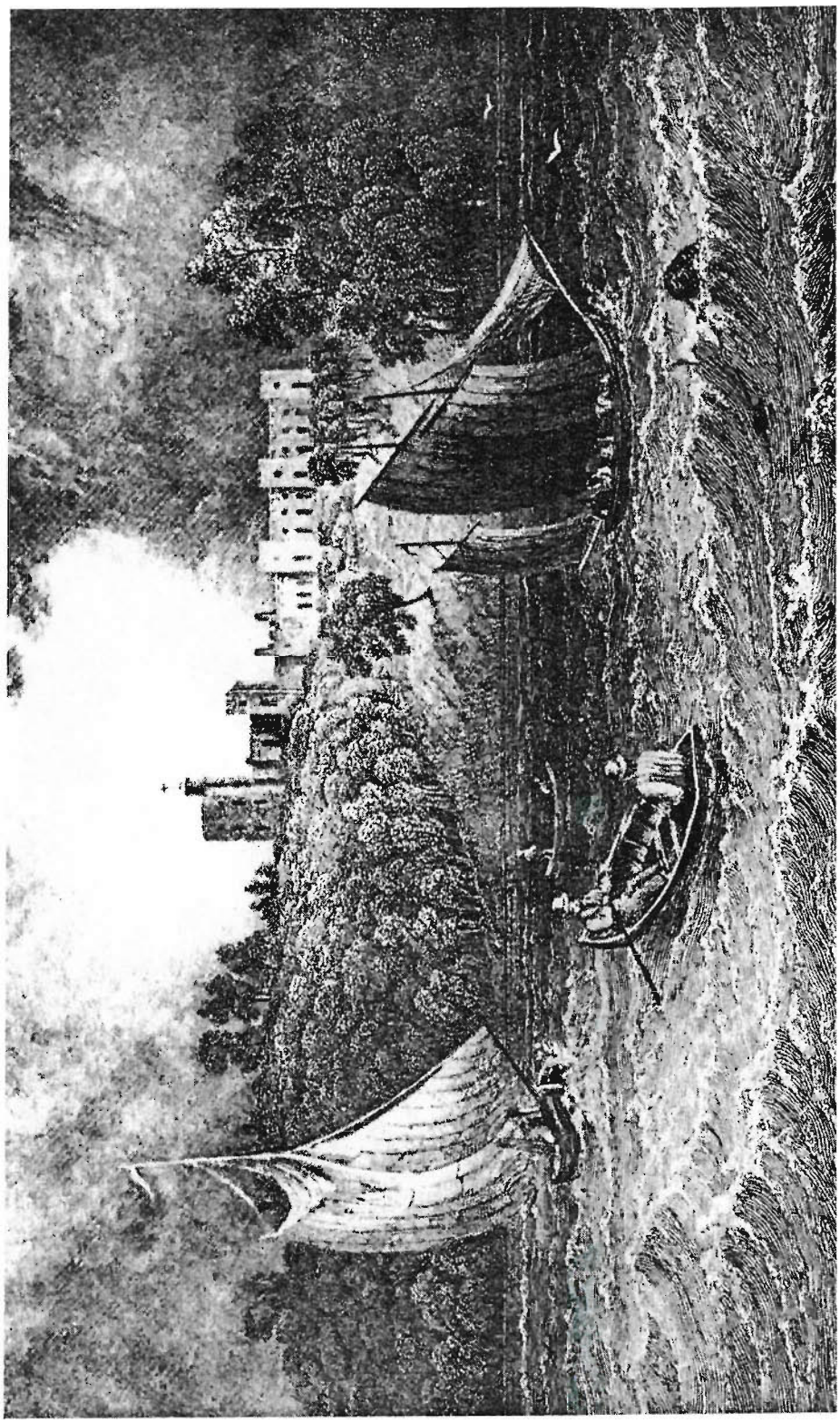
East Cowes Castle, Brannon, 1831

Plate 55



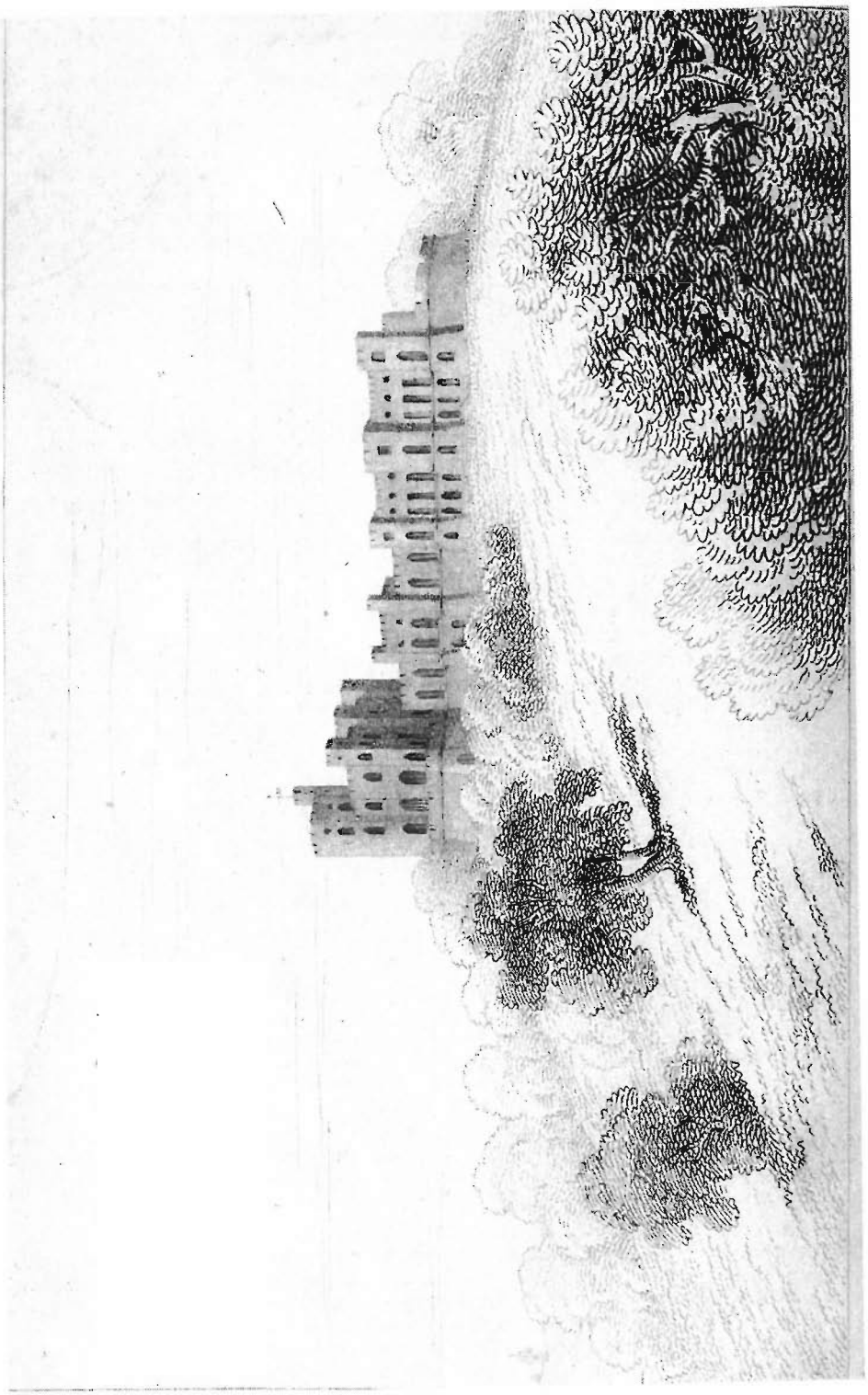
East Cowes Castle, from Ackerman, Pl 25, Vol VII

Plate 56



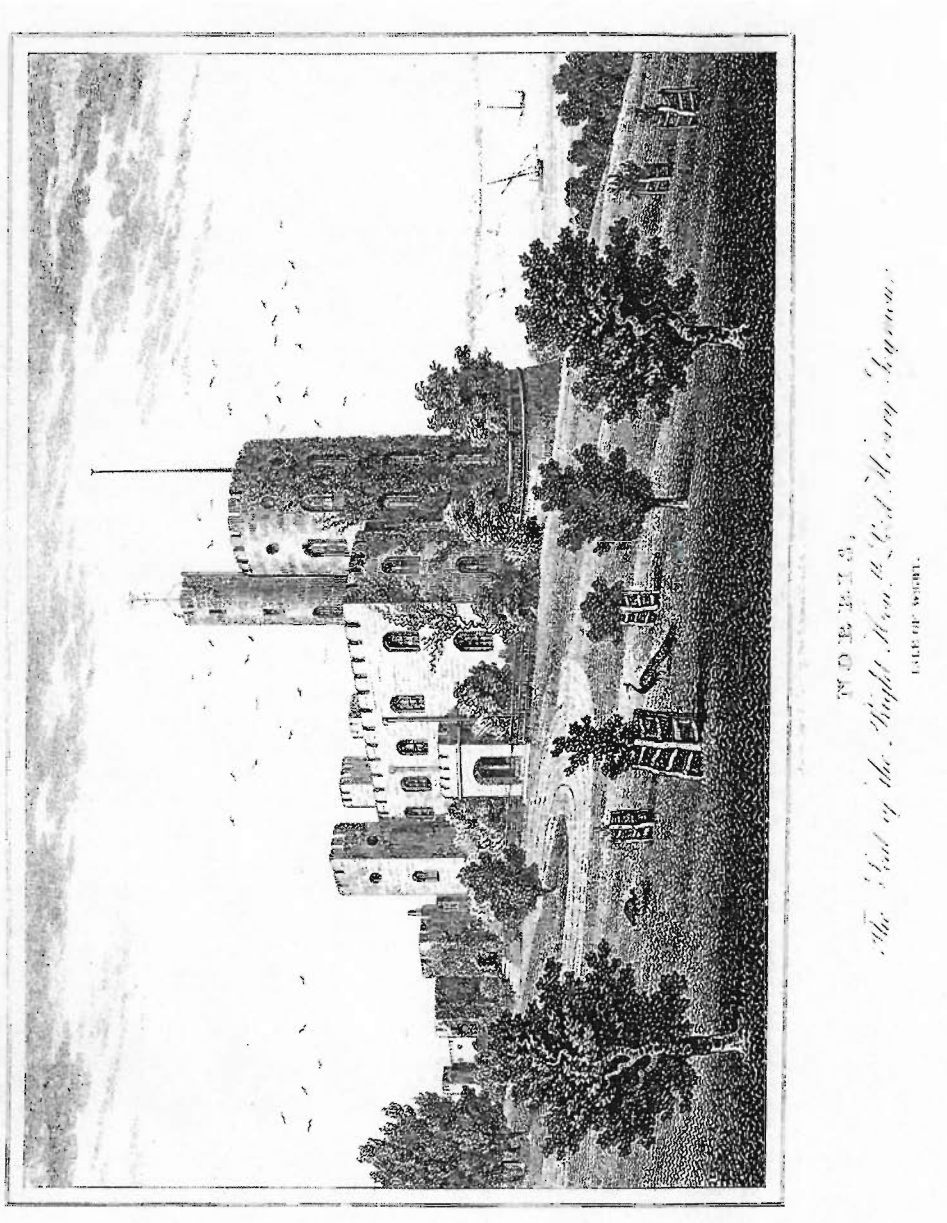
Norris from the Sea, Country Life

Plate 57



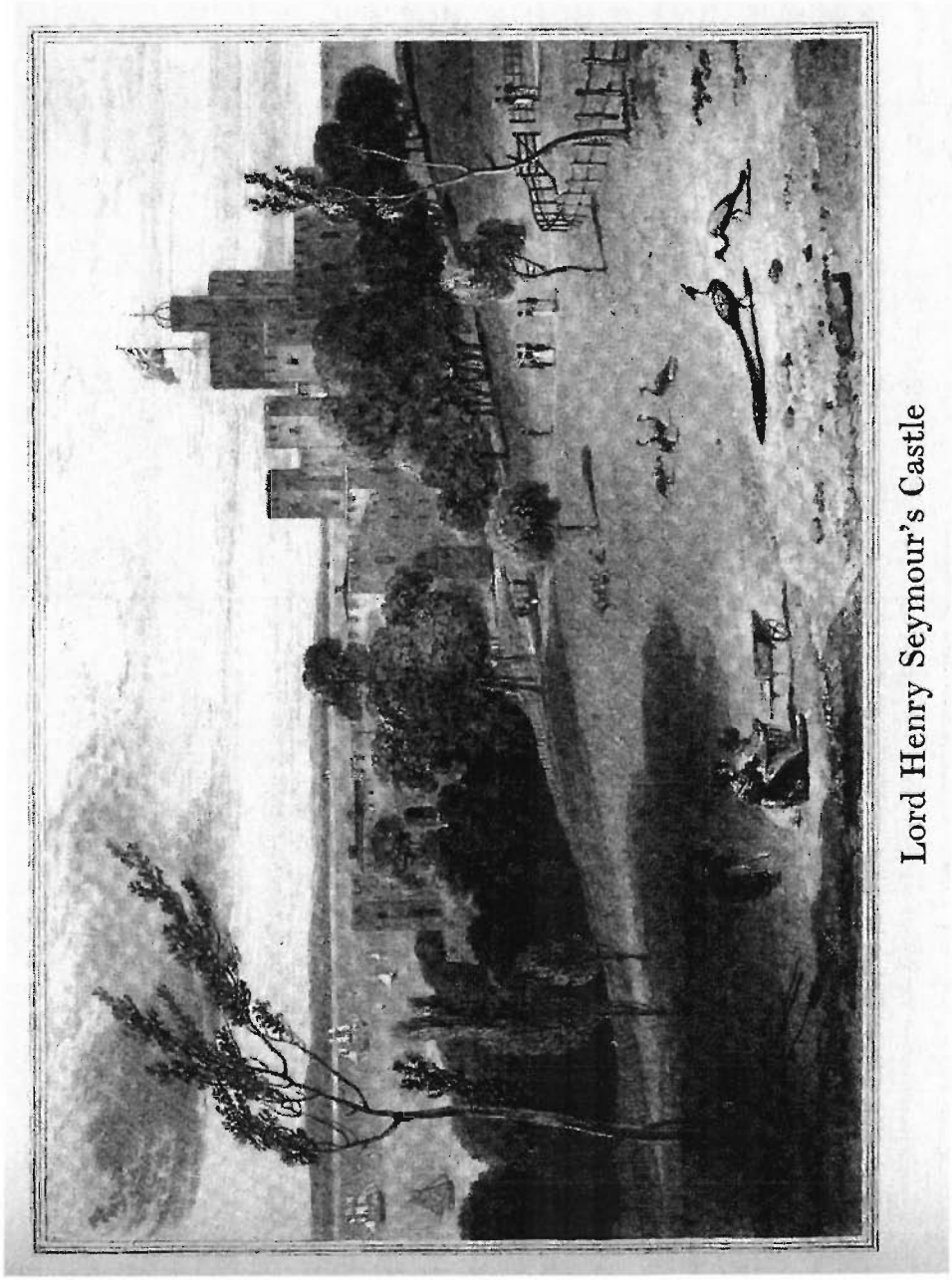
Norris, Cooke, 1808

Plate 58



Norris, Brannon, 1824

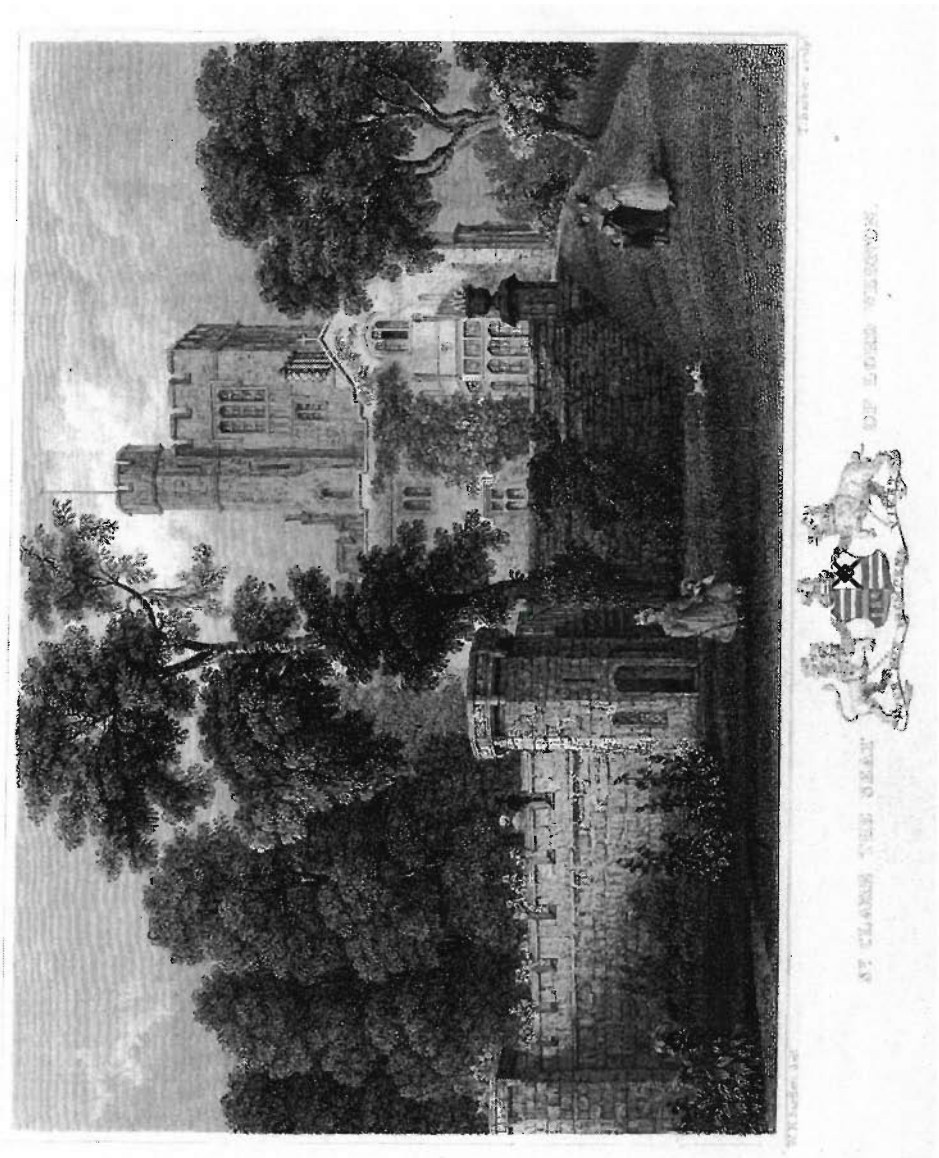
Plate 59



Lord Henry Seymour's Castle

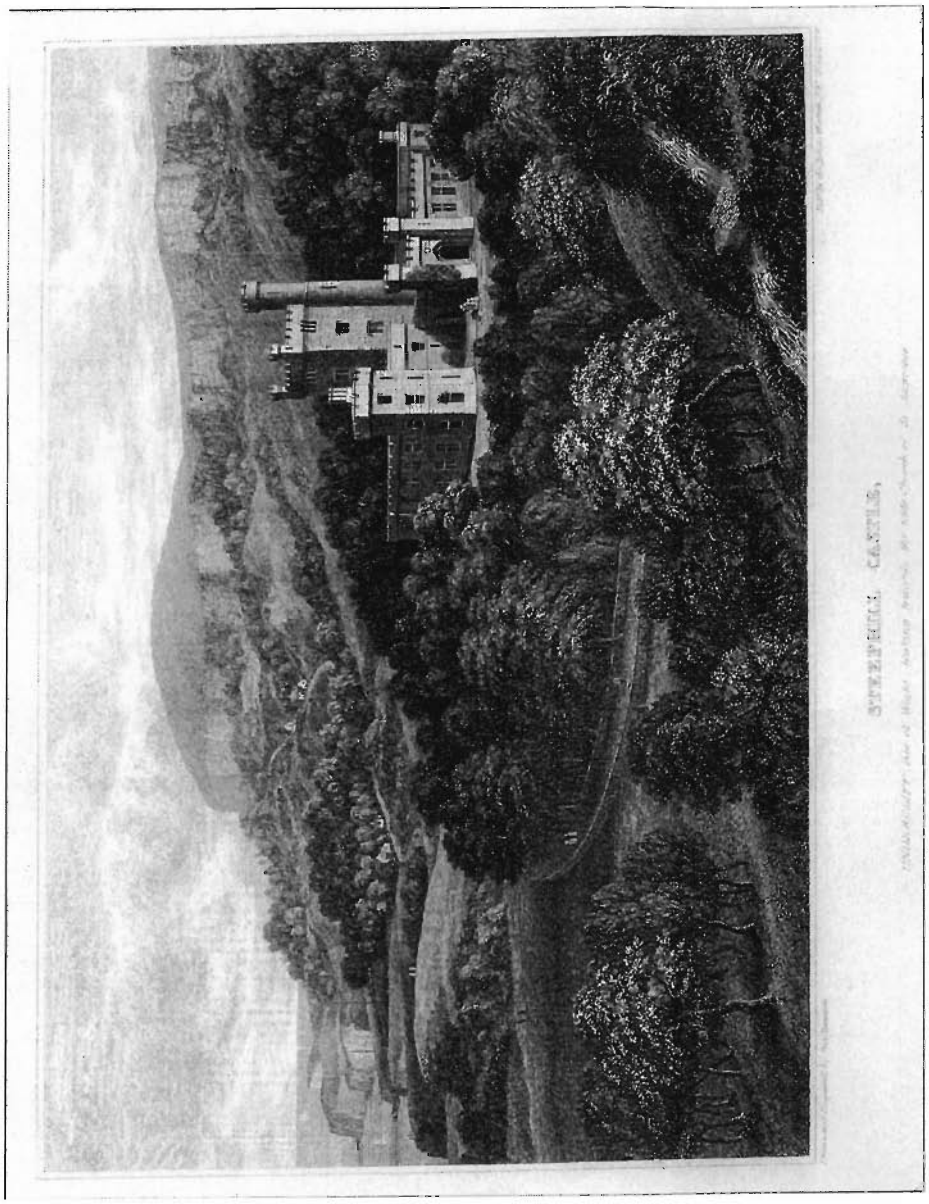
Norris, Daniell, 1824

Plate 60



St Clare, Barber, 1835

Plate 61



Steephill, Brannon, 1841

Northwood, Brannon, 1824