

**THE LANDSCAPES OF PUBLIC LUNATIC ASYLUMS
IN ENGLAND, 1808-1914**

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**APPENDICES,
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND PLATES**

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APPENDIX I . ENDWORD: ASYLUM LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION

The historic environment is always subject to change. This is not a matter for regret, since without change there would be no history. But change needs to be managed intelligently. Things that people value should not be thrown away thoughtlessly, through ignorance or for short-term gain. And intelligent change requires information. At whatever level - an individual building, a city or a region, or the country as a whole - we need to understand the nature of what exists and to evaluate its significance.

Sir Neil Cossons, Chairman, English Heritage, 2002¹

Not since the Beeching axe fell on the railways has so large a slice of the nation's public architectural heritage been made so precipitately redundant.

Marcus Binney, Chairman, SAVE Britain's Heritage, 1995²

Conservation aim

This **Endword: Asylum Landscape Conservation** demonstrates that the English public lunatic asylum landscape (1808-1914) is an appropriate candidate for a conservation strategy at both national and local level, and, having done so, provides some broad suggestions as to how this might be achieved. Although in dealing with the conservation issues affecting asylum landscapes, this section appears outside the main body of the text, it is of importance in fulfilling the third of the aims of this study as stated at the beginning of Chapter 1.

The study in the main body of the work has indicated that asylum estates which survive to date are valid historic assets for evaluation and possible conservation. They fall into the class of designed landscapes, alongside other landscape types such as country house estates, public parks and garden cemeteries, and as such are likely to be good candidates for appraisal for conservation. They have been undervalued largely because of an extensive and shameful lack of awareness of their historic interest at national level (as a particularly acute symptom of the general approach to the conservation of designed landscapes manifested in organisations such as English Heritage and the National Trust) but also because of a lack of awareness of their historic value at a local level. This can sometimes result from a residual stigma attached by local residents which may lead to an apathetic or even

¹ Sir Neil Cossons, Foreword, in English Heritage, *State of the Historic Environment Report* (London: English Heritage, 2002), 1.

² Marcus Binney, Introduction, in Emma Phillips (ed.), *Mind over Matter: a Study of the Country's Threatened Mental Asylums* (London: SAVE Britain's Heritage, 1995).

hostile approach to their long term future. Because of these factors many examples of this historic resource have been squandered by destruction without a full understanding of the history and significance of the type to guide decisions. Redundant asylum sites are very often valuable assets for redevelopment which inevitably has some impact on the historic fabric and design of the site and which may vary from minimal disruption to utter destruction. A nationwide conservation strategy is required which stands up to robust scrutiny, in order to identify and promote the active conservation of those sites of local or national historic significance which remain, and educate those who deal with their management and future use.

Literature review

Designed landscape conservation is an even younger discipline than garden history, to which it is inextricably bound and by which it is largely fed. It only gained a degree of momentum from the 1980s with the publication of the English Heritage *Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest* (1988, hereafter referred to as the *Register*) and its junior status becomes patently obvious from a review of the literature relating to this subject. At the broadest level there is no national scheme of prioritisation of proactive research to inform practical historic conservation initiatives, whether historic research and analysis or research into conservation methods. This, however, should not be taken as a problem relating particularly to designed landscapes. In related disciplines, such as building conservation and archaeology, there appears to be no effective systematic programme of research prioritisation. Even English Heritage's *Register*, the most comprehensive historic body of work on English parks and gardens, at present covering 1600 sites of national importance, is nowhere near completion and the revision of entries in its first edition is only drawing close to conclusion after over six years in progress.

Because the field of designed landscape conservation has been marginalised as a subject there is little substantial guidance available relating to theories or practice within it, with works such as Goulty's *Heritage Gardens: Care, Conservation, Management* (1993) being rare in their subject matter, and now falling behind current conservation approaches.³ Woudstra and Fieldhouse's *The Regeneration of Public Parks* (2000) provides a more recent appraisal of methods relating to a particular type of designed landscape and provides practical advice on conservation issues, but even so it is necessarily limited in its scope and cannot fill such a huge gap in designed landscape conservation policy and practical guidance which at present exists.⁴ Two notable publications on conservation practices relate to conservation plans and the benefits of taking an holistic approach to conservation of historic built assets. The HLF's *Conservation Plans for Historic Places* (1998), while a useful overview of the approach is so brief as to offer guidance only in the most general terms relating to historic assets,

³ Sheena Goulty, *Heritage Gardens: Care, Conservation, Management* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁴ Jan Woudstra, Ken Fieldhouse (eds), *The Regeneration of Public Parks* (London: Spon, 2000).

providing no specific advice on the issues relating to designed landscapes, but at least conveys a holistic approach to buildings and landscapes.⁵ Clarke in English Heritage's *Informed Conservation: Understanding Historic Buildings and their Landscapes for Conservation* (2001), while including 'landscapes' in the title, goes on to mention them hardly at all, reinforcing the marginalisation of designed landscapes in conservation approaches. The content of the publication belies the holistic purpose of the whole technique, blandly advising only once, towards the back of the document in a photograph caption, that 'The approaches set out in these guidelines apply as well to historic and designed landscapes as they do to historic buildings'.⁶ English Heritage has tried to redress this imbalance in its more recent publication, *Paradise Preserved: an Introduction to the Assessment, Evaluation, Conservation and Management of Historic Cemeteries* (2002), published in conjunction with English Nature, addressing a formerly undervalued landscape type, the cemetery.⁷ This achieves more satisfactorily a holistic approach to the historic environment, combining as it does approaches to buildings, designed landscape and nature conservation, but it is, as its title indicates, an introduction, not a source of detailed conservation information.

Scholarly research into the conservation of asylum sites has concentrated on the conservation of the buildings, with a lack of theses at doctoral level addressing landscape conservation issues. Harding's 'Conservation Issues in the Disposal of National Health Service Land' (1993) is one of the very few which have tackled the conservation of asylum sites at this level of scholarship.⁸ His work relates to the closure of several former asylum sites in and around Bristol within the context of current conservation issues in the disposal of NHS land and community concern over this matter. It addresses in depth, amongst others, the issues surrounding the history and disposal of two asylums sited in adapted domestic sites, Stoke Park and Brenchley, neither of which were purpose-built but originated as country house estates. In doing so it does not provide a contextual historical overview of the development of asylum landscapes and their position in relation to other landscape types on which to base conservation decisions. Instead it concentrates on aspects of the campaigning methodology for conservation, which is more an adjunct to the approach of this study rather than directly informative to this body of work.

⁵ Heritage Lottery Fund, *Conservation Plans for Historic Places* (London: HLF, 1998).

⁶ Kate Clark, *Informed Conservation: Understanding Historic Buildings and their Landscapes for Conservation* (London: English Heritage, 2001).

⁷ English Heritage, English Nature, *Paradise Preserved: an Introduction to the Assessment, Evaluation, Conservation and Management of Historic Cemeteries* (London: for the authors, 2002).

⁸ Building conservation dissertations include Nicola Sterry, 'The Threat to Asylum Architecture in England' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of York, 1992); Robert Mayo, 'Adaptive Reuse of Victorian and Edwardian Hospitals and Asylums' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of York, 1997). Stewart Harding, 'Conservation Issues in the Disposal of National Health Service Land' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the West of England, 1993).

The NHS has played no part in actively promoting via publications the understanding and conservation of asylum landscapes as historic assets, partly because of ignorance, and partly because of its apparent fear of a reduction in the financial value of the sites that it perceives such evaluation and conservation might entail. Asylum landscape conservation activities have so far largely used as a basis those architectural and landscape history works which relate to conservation, supported by publications in professional and amenity society journals and primary research.⁹ English Heritage has recently published supplementary criteria for nationally important hospital and workhouse sites included in its *Register* (1988), intended to guide those working with such landscapes, including former asylums.¹⁰ These are based on work the author has carried out for this study. Although the *Register* is primarily a tool for the local authority planning system, it is also intended, by the production of detailed site descriptions which are publicly available, to raise the awareness of those managing sites included on it to the historic character of sites. At present there are 12 asylum sites included (see Appendix V, Asylum Sites Included on the English Heritage *Register*), although it should be realised that the *Register* lacks many similar sites which were formerly probably of national importance, lost to redevelopment from the 1980s to date. However, so far there has been no historical analysis of the conservation process of asylum sites to appraise the losses of these buildings and landscapes or a national strategic approach to their conservation. This study attempts to address some of the gaps in conservation approaches to asylum sites, as a useful tool with which to aid appraisals of the historic value and context of asylum sites as part of the conservation process, whether at an individual site evaluation at local level, or at a national level in the formation of strategic conservation policy. This could form the substance of further useful work in drawing up a detailed conservation strategy and identifying and evaluating the remaining former asylum sites in the national context.

Asylum conservation research began with inquiries into the potential for the reuse of the buildings. An early example, in the 1970s, was Burrell's master's dissertation on the history of asylum architecture, followed by Harwood (discussed in Chapter 1) in the mid-1980s whose pioneering work was widely known and referred to, and then a steady flow of work, including Sterry and Mayo.¹¹ While providing useful material about the history and conservation approaches to the buildings, they

⁹ Sarah Rutherford, 'Landscapes for the Mind', *Garden History Society News*, 52 (Spring 1998), 12-15; 'Landscapes for the Mind and Body', *Context*, 72 (December 2001), 11-13 (for the Institute of Historic Building Conservation); 'Historic Hospital landscapes and their healthy reuse', *Quarterly Briefing*, 10, no. 2 (2001), 6-8 (for NHS Estates managers).

¹⁰ Supplementary criteria published as: Sarah Rutherford, 'Hospitals and Workhouses: New *Register of Parks and Gardens* criteria', *Conservation Bulletin*, 41 (September 2001), 46-49. English Heritage, *Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England* (London: English Heritage, 1988).

¹¹ John Burrell, 'Therapeutic Architecture and the Nineteenth Century Asylum' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Essex, 1972); Elaine Harwood, 'The history and plan forms of purpose-built lunatic asylums with a study of their conservation and reuse' (unpublished diploma thesis, Architectural Association, London, 1986); Sterry, *op. cit.* (1992); Mayo, *op. cit.* (1997).

ignore the value and potential of the landscape for conservation and are of little direct value to this study other than in providing contextual material. As an adjunct to architectural histories, asylum sites have been addressed in campaigning publications issued by bodies concerned with architectural conservation, principally in SAVE Britain's Heritage's *Mind Over Matter* (1995), which concerned the reuse of the sites in general.¹² It also provided a brief gazetteer of sites including comment on their condition. Although there were some factual flaws in the gazetteer information, the introductory essays included very useful material including one which covered a specific asylum landscape, the Royal Holloway Sanatorium, although this was a private not a public site. The NHS, although the major owner of asylum sites during the second half of the twentieth century, has not been conspicuous in promoting the conservation of its historic asylum sites, whether of architectural or landscape significance, although paying lip service to this aspect in the production jointly with English Heritage of *Historic Buildings and the Health Service* (1995), a guidance document for those responsible for the management and disposal of historic buildings in the NHS estate.¹³ The conservation and reuse of sites for domestic developments is the subject of regular articles in the national press, usually in relation to schemes at individual sites.¹⁴ Although obviously aimed at a mass market and with limitations in its subject matter, this body of information is of considerable use to this study as an indicator of potential for reuse, providing as it does an overview at national level of the scope of notable conversion schemes and the level and approach of popular interest towards them. There is usually little reference to the reuse of the landscapes accompanying the building conversions, other than as the setting for what are usually listed buildings.

Methodology

The main body of this study is intended to help inform conservation approaches, and in order to complement this work an overview of conservation approaches and mechanisms is required to fulfil the main conservation aim. As explained in Chapter 1, sites were visited for the purposes of this study in order to gain an understanding of their structure and setting in which to set the archival material which was identified and to gain an overview of the general design trends on the ground. This programme of visits also served a second and equally important purpose, to answer the question, what is being lost? In this way the author gained a broad picture of the survival and structural condition of asylum estates at the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first; altogether almost 100 asylum sites in England and Scotland were visited by the author to inform this secondary purpose.

¹² Phillips (ed.), *op. cit.* (1995).

¹³ National Health Service, English Heritage, *Historic Buildings and the Health Service* (London: HMSO, 1995).

¹⁴ Lesley Gillilan, 'We've taken over the asylum', *Sunday Telegraph*, Review (10 January 1999), 15 [Moorhaven]; Marcus Binney, 'You don't have to be crazy to live here', *The Times*, Property (10 July 1999), 13

In addition to primary research and site visits, a survey was undertaken of relevant conservation issues in order to identify the threats to asylum landscapes, particularly as reported in the professional and popular press since 1980, this date being taken as a point from when serious threats to asylum estates escalated. This was set in the context of, and augmented by, the author's own professional knowledge of the threats to asylums in her work at English Heritage since 1996, which was used to appraise the validity of the threats raised in the press. By approaching such issues related to the disposal and reuse of asylum sites this helped to answer the question, why is this historic resource being lost? These issues have been usefully addressed below in terms of a review of the activities and approaches of various players in the conservation field, including the NHS, developers, local authorities, local residents and professional conservationists including architects.

A third strand of research surveyed the conservation approaches and mechanisms employed in England to date related to the historic environment, and under which asylum conservation presently labours. This resulted in an overview of the conservation philosophy and planning legislation from which to identify the suite of available conservation mechanisms which might be most appropriate for asylum landscapes. This information was used to inform the discussion of appropriate conservation approaches.

Evaluation of the asylum as a type

As a first step towards examining conservation issues, it is essential to provide an overview of the cultural and historic importance of asylum sites and their context. Such an evaluation of the historic assets then forms an objective rationale underpinning the argument for their conservation.

The cultural significance of designed landscapes as an element of the historic environment is still not widely understood. Whatever material exists on this subject is poorly disseminated, even given a steadily increasing body of academic research appearing and with the adoption of holistic concepts of historic environmental analysis and evaluation such as characterisation. There is a lack of interpretation of primary documentary archives in relation to analysis of the sites as field evidence. In terms of the asylum, whatever recording and analysis has been carried out has largely ignored the entire asylum estate, concentrating mainly on the built elements instead. The holistic development of both built and landscape elements of such sites has largely been ignored, especially as it is only the present study which has contributed the first scholarly identification and understanding of the integral relationship between the two. Consequently the potential of entire asylum estates for conservation has remained relatively poorly defined and understood. The eighteenth-century landscape park has become more widely identified and valued to a degree, but general understanding of its structure and

[Haywards Heath]; Marcus Binney, 'You'd be mad not to live here, *The Times*, Property (5 February 2000), 12 [Colney Hatch].

design applied to conservation principles and practices remains patchy. This gives cause for concern as this type is the subject with which modern studies of garden history began, led by the art and architectural historians from their studies of Georgian country houses, and since the time of Horace Walpole (as discussed in Chapter 1) has been widely regarded as the apogee of garden design. It should therefore be the type of which there is most understanding and to which the most effective conservation techniques are applied. If such conservation techniques remain uncertain in relation to this landscape type, their application to lesser-known and understood types, such as institutions including asylums, will thus be even more uncertain.

Further types of historic designed landscape beyond the country house estate have been identified and catalogued sporadically since the 1960s and 1970s and evaluated as contributing to the historic environment.¹⁵ The identification and understanding of the historic character of other designed landscape types which are arguably equally valuable, including asylum landscapes, has been approached even more slowly and as a result there remains much ignorance about their significance and conservation potential and value. The systematic identification and study of such lesser-known designed landscape types for conservation purposes was not taken up at a national level and progressed until the 1990s, and then only to a very limited extent.¹⁶

The asylum landscape, as identified as a valid independent designed landscape type in the discussion in the main text, constitutes a legitimate target for conservation in the twenty-first century. Its aesthetic, scale and structure were carefully designed to underpin the therapeutic activities of a large residential medical institution with a county-wide catchment. The requirement for a therapeutic network country-wide led to the construction of a group of around 130 asylum landscapes of large size and important cultural value by the early twentieth century. Their cultural value includes social, medical and aesthetic design factors, and as a type they make a valuable contribution to England's stock of notable designed landscapes. The type is also of comparable importance to other

¹⁵ For example, in Ella Hatt, *Our National Heritage: Gardens* (London: National Benzole Company Limited, 1962), many different types of garden were identified, illustrated and briefly described, including municipal, railway, lock, public house, miniature, suburban, roof, farm, cottage, garage gardens and window boxes. Many of these less extensive types have never since been identified as being of national importance (and therefore potentially subject to conservation legislation), and in any case many examples have since been lost. In Marcus Binney, 'On the Conservation of Gardens,' in John Harris (ed.), *The Garden: A Celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening* (London: New Perspectives Publishing, 1979), 181, a further detailed list of garden types was provided, including other types such as schools, hospitals, institutions, hotels and pubs, factories, railway stations.

¹⁶ For example English Heritage during the 1990s and up to 2003 undertook thematic studies of particular types of landscapes including municipal parks, cemeteries, villa gardens, garden squares, the landscapes of post-war housing developments, and detached town gardens. Studies were also commissioned for individual designers, such as W.S. Gilpin, and landscape elements such as rock gardens and kitchen gardens. However, to date little of this work has been disseminated beyond the organisation. National amenity societies pioneered the debate on the conservation of particular designed landscape types such as the public park: the Victorian Society and Garden

contemporary social institutions such as workhouses and prisons, and other medical institutions with large landscapes including isolation hospitals and sanatoria.

Within each asylum estate can be identified areas of greater and lesser historic and design significance. For example, it is possible to generalise that the areas of the landscape which are usually most historically important to the design are those at the core, surrounding the buildings, as these have the highest design concentration. The sensitivity of the historic character of the core of the estate is discussed further in the context of supplementary criteria for inclusion on the English Heritage *Register*.¹⁷ However, because these areas were laid out on, and were interdependent with, the other elements of the asylum estate, including the buildings, the relationship of the elements requires careful analysis in each case.

It is common with country house estates which were laid out during the nineteenth century, as an ensemble of buildings and landscape closely linked by design, that both elements are now theoretically valued equally; occasionally the landscapes are considered to be of greater importance than the principal building.¹⁸ In these cases of such interdependence of design, the loss of one element is likely to devalue the remaining element (although the loss of a landscape is unlikely in the present evaluation system to lead to the downgrading of its associated listed building). This also occurs in relation to other types of designed landscapes laid out during the century, where they may again be valued as highly or more highly than the buildings within them, for example cemeteries and public parks, and with the single workhouse on the *Register*.¹⁹ This is also the case in the evaluation of asylum sites, where the landscapes are likely to be at least as important as the buildings and possibly more so. For example, the landscape of Brislington House, which has been demonstrated to be a significant site in the development of the asylum landscape, has been registered at II*, although its building is grade II. This disparity might also be shown to be appropriate if a detailed landscape evaluation were carried out for three others of the earliest sites which had particular significance in

History Society published their concerns in a campaigning publication, Hazel Conway, David Lambert, *Public Prospects: Historic Urban Parks Under Threat* (London: Victorian Society and Garden History Society, 1993).

¹⁷ Sarah Rutherford, 'Hospitals and Workhouses: New *Register of Parks and Gardens* Criteria', *Conservation Bulletin*, 41 (September 2001), 46-49.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the comparative grading of listed buildings and registered parks and gardens see Sarah Rutherford, 'Grade Expectations', *Views*, 37 (Winter 2002), 18-21; examples of Victorian country house estates on the *Register* with landscapes valued more highly than the principal building include, Biddulph Grange, Staffs., included on the English Heritage *Register* at grade I (indicating international importance), its principal building, the house unlisted (indicating that it is not of national importance); Alton Towers, Staffs., registered grade I, its principal building, the house listed grade II* (indicating exceptional historic interest); Shrubland Hall, Suffolk, registered grade I, its principal building, the house listed grade II*.

¹⁹ Birkenhead Park, Liverpool, registered grade I, where its buildings are all at grade II (indicating special historic importance) or II*. See also St James's Cemetery, Liverpool, registered grade II*, its principal building, the mortuary chapel also listed grade II*; Sefton Park, Liverpool, registered grade II*, its principal building, the palm house also listed grade II*; Thurgarton Workhouse, Notts., registered II*, its principal building, the workhouse also listed grade II*.

the development of the asylum landscape, The Retreat, Wakefield and Hanwell. In these cases the buildings are listed grade II (whether rightly or wrongly), but if sufficient of the original landscape design survived, it is quite likely that the landscapes would merit at least grade II* on the *Register*.

Evaluation of the remaining stock and identification of remaining examples

The discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 has demonstrated that the construction of the public asylum landscape rested on an integral and complex ornamental design complementing a therapeutic structure and purpose. Because this was implemented generally at such a large scale, with estates of hundreds of acres not uncommon, the entire group of such sites were bound to include a significant proportion of valuable designed landscapes. As nearly all public asylums were provided with extensive and complex landscapes with a high ornamental value, a much larger proportion of the entire asylum landscape stock extant in 1914 than many other publicly financed designed landscapes, for example public parks, is likely to be of high historic value. Only a small proportion of the stock of public parks constructed were as complex or extensive landscapes as asylums. Of an estimated 5,000 public parks with historic character (out of an estimated total of 30,000 public parks) only 212, or 4.24% were included on the English Heritage *Register* by February 2003, this following a concerted identification and assessment programme during 2000-02, as a result of which 80 such sites were added to the original 132 or 2.6%.²⁰ Similarly by April 2003, of an estimated 1,500 historic cemeteries in England, 110 (7.3% of historic cemeteries) were included on the English Heritage *Register*. This also followed a concerted identification and assessment programme during 2001-03, as a result of which 86 such sites were added to the original 24 (1.6% of historic cemeteries).²¹ By February 2003, of the 115 public asylum sites created, 9 (8% of historic public asylums) were included on the *Register*.²² It is important to note that this considerable proportion of asylum sites included was achieved in an *ad hoc* manner, without a similarly extensive and systematic official identification and assessment programme of the nature of the public parks or cemeteries reviews. It is thus possible by using the figures by which the public park and cemeteries figures increased on the *Register* after a nationwide identification and assessment programme, to estimate conservatively that before the great destruction in the last two decades, at least 25% of public asylum sites (at least 29 sites), and possibly significantly more, might have been of national design importance, and therefore eligible for inclusion on the English Heritage *Register*.

²⁰ Sources: Stewart Harding, 'A Blind Date Between Illness and Cure,' in Jan Woudstra, Ken Fieldhouse (eds), *The Regeneration of Public Parks* (London: Spon, 2000), xiii; English Heritage Parks and Gardens Database, interrogated February 2003. There probably remain a number of sites of national importance to be included.

²¹ Sources: Chris Brooks, 'English Historic Cemeteries: A Theme Study' (unpublished report for English Heritage, 1994), 47; English Heritage Parks and Gardens Database, interrogated April 2003. There probably remain a number of sites of national importance to be included.

²² A further three substantial private asylum sites based on similar principles were also included, see Appendix V for details of sites on the *Register* at February 2003.

When the NHS disposed of a former asylum site, its structure, particularly that of the landscape, was usually largely as built, unless it was an early example, built before the 1845 Lunatics Act. Such early sites were usually considerably altered as part of successive and extensive enlargement programmes in the later C19 and after, and thus few early landscapes were left intact as they had been originally constructed. For those sites built after 1845, most alterations to the landscape design up to 1939 tended to be absorbed into the design without major damage to the design, largely because the extensive nature of the sites tended to allow new features to be relatively easily absorbed into their design. Some degradation occurred as the landscapes acquired new types of accretions after 1945 such as system-built buildings (rather than those built in traditional materials) and car parks. The landscapes' loss of their fundamental use for therapeutic purposes in this post-war period led to further alterations occurring. The 'open door' policy of the 1950s and 1960s often resulted in the removal of airing court boundary structures, and iron gates and fences at estate boundaries.²³ The adoption of occupational therapy in the 1950s, which supplemented work in the landscape on the farm and in the gardens, led to hospital authorities being forced to sell estate farms and dispose of stock even though they were still well maintained and useful to the asylum economy, and patients still worked on them.

Evaluation of the losses

The redevelopment of asylum sites poses a serious threat, and has resulted in the loss of a large proportion of those built by 1914. The vast majority of asylum estates, possibly up to 90%, are likely to undergo redevelopment which will seriously damage their historic character in a variety of ways. The sale of this group of NHS-owned former asylum sites formed part of the overall rationalisation of government-owned property, and part of a much larger programme, for, as Worsley rather dramatically phrased it, 'Britain is in the middle of the greatest disposal of publicly owned buildings since the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, and it is passing almost unnoticed'.²⁴ No central record of the reuse of former asylum sites is being kept. It is difficult to track as there is constant marketing activity both within the NHS at local and central level and beyond, as sites acquire new owners. The NHS management either at local level or in the central Estates department have little idea of the historic value of the landscapes which they retain country-wide in their ownership. Those sites on which buildings are conserved are likely in the majority of cases to exist in isolation from their estate and landscape context as redevelopment continues on the open land around them; this will considerably reduce their cultural value, and severely hinder future interpretation and analysis.

²³ For a discussion of the greater freedom accorded to mental hospital patients in the 1950s see Liam Clarke, 'The Opening of Doors in British Mental Hospitals in the 1950s', *History of Psychiatry*, 4 (1993), 527-51.

²⁴ Giles Worsley, 'Waste Not Want Not', *Perspectives on Architecture*, 23 (June/July 1996), 34. Even a senior member of British royalty felt moved the following year to comment in print on the problems of finding

There is a hierarchy of three broad conditions that an asylum estate can be retained in after disuse by the NHS:

1. Intact

Building and entire estate retain historic character intact. How many will survive? It is likely to be very few.

2. Building kept and landscape core redeveloped

This occurs only where strong local authority or national development status is in place to prevent the building being demolished. It is often very damaging to the landscape core. The wider estate may survive to some extent because of a designation such as 'greenbelt' or a Conservation Area.

3. Building demolished for redevelopment and landscape core redeveloped

Perceived as the most desirable course by developers and, because there is the potential for so much economic gain attached to the sale of these huge sites, this is the circumstance of their choice, backed by the NHS.

In the most destructive cases, some, such as Stone (Bucks), Brookwood, and Burntwood, have already lost, or are destined to lose, almost all their buildings with the landscape core densely redeveloped. At others, less destruction has occurred to the historic core, such as Derby, Hatton, Littlemore and Hanwell. In these cases the main building has largely been preserved but the core of the landscape has usually been badly compromised by the insertion of densely-packed new buildings. Elsewhere the building and airing courts have survived within dense housing developments beyond, such as Bracebridge Heath. Another group at present lies untouched, awaiting final planning decisions, but the sites are in any case allocated in the Local Plan for the reception of dense housing schemes; these include Chichester and Colchester. The landscapes of a much smaller number may largely be left intact, such as Moorhaven (converted late 1990s) and Wallingford (awaiting redevelopment, 2003). A similarly small number may remain in medical use, including Mapperley, although many sites retain small psychiatric units within their former boundaries. Some have been converted to other institutional uses, including Stafford, which is a further education college, and Storthes Hall, which has been turned over to university use, both with uncertain but probably detrimental impact on their historic landscape character. A number of landscapes, even though covered by Conservation Area status, are at risk because of a lack of understanding of the landscape design value (as opposed to individual trees), leading to insensitive approaches to long term development, such as Chichester and Springfield. Some undoubtedly qualify to be Conservation Areas, but the local authority is reluctant to designate, for example Colchester Borough at Colchester,

sympathetic reuse for hospital buildings: Charles, Prince of Wales, 'Too Good to Lose', *Perspectives on Architecture*, 31 (October/November 1997), 36-39.

where planning gain appears to be the driving aim, together with the fulfilment of central government-imposed housing quotas.

The major landscapes which should be targeted for conservation would include initially those which were influential in the historic development of the public asylum type.²⁵ Other candidates would include those of particularly significant design, of which, as discussed above, there could have been 29 or more by 1914.²⁶ It is likely that from their sheer scale alone, given the fact that they were all laid out and ornamented as designed landscapes, all the public asylum landscapes were of at least local historic significance.

There is a valid comparison with the conservation of former workhouse sites, another network of culturally important Victorian institutions which was initially dismantled with the demise of the Poor Law in the 1930s. The buildings were usually found another similar use by their new owner from 1948, the NHS, often as hospitals or residential homes. Again, estate rationalisation and Care in the Community policies led to the redundancy of these historic buildings from the 1980s, threatening the buildings and what survived of their estates. As has been observed by the RCHME, following their extensive survey of workhouse sites (carried out in parallel with their hospitals survey in the 1990s), in most cases the chief value and interest of workhouse buildings resides in their expression of contemporary poor-law policy which informed their external appearance and internal planning, their structure being cheap and unpretentious with no superfluous ornamentation.²⁷ Similarly with the landscapes of workhouses, their design was intended to be largely functional as an element of a social residential institution, and there is usually little ornament to encourage their appreciation for conservation activities. Some of the landscapes accompanying the buildings were undoubtedly of at least local social and possibly design importance; some were of national importance, as for example Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, where such importance has been identified and included on the *Register*.

Again there is a serious problem with a lack of information about the development and importance of the workhouse, and in identifying the remains of workhouse landscapes, as the RCHME survey, as

²⁵ Examples for assessment would include those highlighted in previous chapters: The Retreat (extant although somewhat altered at the core since 1796), Brislington House (extant and somewhat altered since 1806), Norwich (extant although much altered since 1814), Nottingham (building demolished in early twentieth century but landscape converted to a public park), Wakefield (extant in 1999, destined for redevelopment in part), Hanwell (much of landscape lost to redevelopment by 2000), Derby (much of core of landscape lost to redevelopment by 2002), Colney Hatch (significant part of core lost to redevelopment 2002), Chalfont Epileptic Centre (still in use), Ewell Epileptic Colony (largely intact by 2000 but destined for major redevelopment).

²⁶ Those at present on the *English Heritage Register* are of national importance and undoubtedly worthy of conservation.

with hospitals, did not address the landscapes in detail. Both workhouses and asylums now have similar landscape conservation problems, those of workhouses being even less valued as they tended not to be laid out to the asylums' extensive, highly ornamental level, lacking the same therapeutic imperative to provide ornamental landscapes. The valuation of workhouses as a type has had one conservation fillip which has not been applied to the asylum type, that of the acquisition in the late 1990s and subsequent restoration of the Thurgarton workhouse by the National Trust for use as a museum.

Threats to asylum sites

Why are asylums and their landscapes being lost? What are the threats?

Since the 1980s the loss either of whole asylum sites or of major portions of their historic fabric has been driven principally by the NHS's disposal of its surplus property as a result of the adoption of Care in the Community and the policy of estate rationalisation which have operated in tandem. Very few other bodies on the whole wish to own such large institutional complexes and retain them in institutional use. Because of this, the further use of entire asylum estates beyond the ownership of the NHS for purposes which are substantially connected with their original use (i.e. residential psychiatric treatment) is almost impossible, and the likelihood of their use in other institutional functions has proved to be very unlikely. Unsympathetic reuse is a serious threat to the historic asset. Many groups with widely varying interests have become involved directly or indirectly with issues related to the disposal and reuse of asylum sites, some of which have threatened their historic character.

Analysis of the concerns of several interested groups concerned with the long term future of asylum sites reveals major issues and a complexity of needs arising from these issues which it has been necessary to satisfy in finding appropriate future uses for these sites. These issues constitute the principal threats to the historic fabric and character of such sites, once they are declared redundant by the NHS, and have been articulated in print in the popular press and professional organs. A survey of the issues reveals that the major ones include:

- a perceived need of the NHS and developers to achieve the maximum economic return for a site;
- ignorance by decision-makers and their professional advisers of the local and national historic value of historic parks and gardens, in particular asylum sites and their individual elements, especially the landscape;
- this ignorance, combined with the definition within the planning system of hospital sites as 'brownfield sites', mean that the open spaces of their designed landscapes are vulnerable to

²⁷ Kathryn Morrison, *The Workhouse: a Study of Poor-Law Buildings in England* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1999), 1-2. However, there are notable exceptions whose buildings were significantly ornamented such as those in Tudor style of the 1830s and 40s; see discussion in Chapter 4.

damaging redevelopment (would the same be allowed at Chatsworth, also potentially a 'brownfield site', were the Devonshires to consider selling it?);

- a general lack of political will at both local and national level, led by perceived financial obligations (NHS), and development quotas and possible financial benefits from developers (local authorities), to steer the reuse of these sites towards the conservation of those of local and national interest;
- lack of a methodology to identify and interpret, and strategy to conserve, asylum sites;
- lack of a national overview of the cultural value of asylum sites, both buildings and landscapes;
- unwillingness by owners to evaluate fully and objectively the entire historic asylum estate in order to identify areas of greater and lesser sensitivity to inform future development, in case economic value is subsequently reduced;
- conservation mechanisms not sufficiently sophisticated or well resourced to be effective;
- a perception by those involved with building conservation that the building is always the most important element of the site;
- a perception that only by developing the landscape can the reuse of an historic building be economically viable;
- frequent ineffectiveness of individuals and learned amenity societies in advocating the retention of asylum landscapes;
- cultural stigma attached to the site, in which the local population may be either indifferent or even hostile to an asylum as a possible historic asset, which influences their attitude to proposals for the reuse of the site.

The issues above are not necessarily restricted to one group of players and may recur in relation to several groups from various perspectives. However, an analysis of the interests of key players in the disposal and reuse, as well as interested bystanders, highlights where each of the above issues is focused. These key players include the NHS, local authorities, commercial developers, building professionals, English Heritage, local and national pressure groups, and the general public.

Key players in the disposal and reuse of asylum sites

NHS - disposal policies

The major threat from the NHS, as the original owner of nearly all of these surplus sites, has been the wish to maximise economic return from the sale of asylum sites at all costs. In adopting this policy the NHS has not been conspicuous in its championing of the historic environment, particularly in the long term. Its motivation was the requirement to satisfy its own need to raise capital to finance Care in the Community and other policies, as well as an estate rationalisation policy resulting in a

responsibility to the public to obtain best value from sales. In order to achieve this, the easiest and most cost-effective perceived method has been to sell with permission from the local planning authority for the land to be cleared ready for new-build. The long-term maintenance and repair of the fabric of many such buildings and landscapes has frequently been neglected, their managers knowing that they are destined for disposal. In such cases it often appears that conversion of the building, particularly if it is neglected, is far too costly to attempt, and if the building is at risk of demolition the sensitive core of the adjacent landscape is just as vulnerable.

One of the earliest sites in which the NHS attempted disposal and demolition was Hanwell (1828-31, Case Study 5), this being, as discussed in previous chapters, a seminal site in the development of the public asylum estate. Here, in 1986, the Health Authority wished to demolish elements of the building as they became vacant and sell the resulting land for new housing.²⁸ Following that exemplar case, in which permission to demolish was refused, nearly a decade passed before the NHS published its own guidance document, issued jointly with English Heritage, aimed at those Health Trusts responsible for the management and disposal of historic buildings. In this document, guidance from the Department of National Heritage was reiterated which emphasised that, 'the maximisation of receipts should not be the overriding aim in cases involving the disposal of historic buildings'. The stated aim of the NHS in that document in its disposal of historic sites was to obtain the best return for the taxpayer, but taking into account other factors including any agreed development plan, the policies set out in *Planning Policy Guidance 15: Planning and the Historic Environment (PPG 15)* and 'the recognition that the most appropriate long-term use for an historic building may not be the use which generates the optimum financial return'.²⁹ However, the history of disposals has not indicated that this policy was generally taken into account during the process to date.³⁰

NHS trusts do not appear to have applied this advice voluntarily in relation to historic asylum landscapes in their ownership. There is a continued threat to those asylum sites which comprise the final tranche in NHS ownership. In 2002 negotiations opened to sell these remaining redundant properties in a parcel to one consortium. The parcel comprised 120 sites, including hospitals and asylums with many Victorian buildings, which it was hoped would 'provide a rich seam of period properties for house builders'.³¹ If the new owners are unsympathetic or uninformed and insensitive to

²⁸ Anon., 'Conservationists' Political Asylum', *Architects' Journal*, 183, no. 10 (5 March 1986), 30.

²⁹ National Health Service, English Heritage, *Historic Buildings and the Health Service* (London: HMSO, 1995), 21. Its publication was mentioned in amongst other periodicals, Marcus Binney, 'They Must Be Mad', *The Times*, Feature Article (14 October 1995), 47.

³⁰ For example at Napsbury, Herts. (1900-05), in which a protracted planning inquiry in 1998-99 led to the redevelopment of much of the site; also at Claybury, Essex, where a further planning inquiry occurred in 1997, both led by NHS agents in bids to maximise the disposal value at all costs.

³¹ J. Davey, A. Spackman, 'NHS Land Sell-Off Helps to Cure Housing Crisis', *The Times* (2 September 2002), 3.

conservation needs, still further destruction will occur, particularly within the landscape in order to fund the conversion of the buildings.

The NHS has received little official criticism of its lack of concern over the conservation of property it has disposed of. Asylum buildings have been acknowledged to lend themselves well to conversion. It has also been said that 'in the heritage-obsessed 1990s, house-buyers' cravings for period homes [seemed] insatiable', but that one reason for their lack of delivery to the house-buyer was 'the ineptitude of health authority estate departments and their advisers'.³² However, the National Audit Office (NAO) found nothing to criticise in the management and disposal of surplus historic property by NHS health trusts in England, even though many seemingly sound and sustainable buildings were demolished and their designed landscapes built over.³³ In the NAO report issues concerning the value of the historic fabric and conservation of the character of the historic estates in terms of securing the most appropriate disposals were not mentioned at all, even though the Chief Property Adviser at English Heritage had been part of one of the focus groups informing the report, and represented conservation aspects.³⁴

Local Planning Authorities - an easy way to fulfil local housing quotas and obtain planning gain

Local planning authorities are potentially the best-placed bodies to control and steer large scale change on asylum sites to ensure appropriate reuse with minimal loss of historic character. Using Local and Structure Plans, local authorities exert the greatest influence in the long-term reuse schemes which are implemented on asylum sites, and have been criticised for their willingness to allow sites to be radically redeveloped with less than adequate reason.³⁵ To date most have not fully assessed the historic landscape value within a full evaluation of the historic environment of asylum sites before deciding on a long-term approach, leading to threats to sites from ignorance of the extent and importance of the historic asset. The landscapes have been particularly vulnerable, as although local authorities usually employ their own expert advisers on historic building matters, they almost never have an in-house adviser to offer guidance on the importance of designed landscapes.³⁶ For

³² Martin Spring, 'Alternative Therapies', *Building*, 260, no. 7920, Supplement, 'Building Renewal: Hospital Conversions', (49) (8 December 1995), 4-5.

³³ For example Stone, Bucks (1850-53), demolished c.1995.

³⁴ National Audit Office, *The Management of Surplus Property by Trusts in the NHS in England* (London: Stationery Office, 2002).

³⁵ Binney, the most vocal of the heritage sector critics, made accusations that, 'District councils - and, alas, English Heritage - have been far too free in agreeing to partial demolitions of listed asylums'. Marcus Binney, 'Lethal Doses', *Building*, 260, no. 7920 (49), Supplement, 'Building Renewal: Hospital Conversions' (8 December 1995), 8-9.

³⁶ 'There are very few historic parks and gardens specialists employed by local authorities and most [planning] applications are dealt with by conservation or archaeological officers.' English Heritage, *State of the Historic Environment Report* (London: English Heritage, 2002), 28. At present there are only two local authority-employed parks and gardens specialists, by Hampshire and Surrey County Councils, and none at district or unitary authority level.

sites on the English Heritage *Register*, the Garden History Society are consulted by authorities as a statutory consultee, in order to provide advice on the impact of planning applications on historic character, but for sites not included on the *Register* authorities are very unlikely to recognize the potential historic merit of the landscape design. A lack of detailed and widely available information about the value, national context and methods of evaluation of such sites, and in particular the landscapes, has undoubtedly contributed to losses. Although the reuse of Hanwell was notably championed in 1986 by the former Greater London Council Historic Buildings Division which expressed reservations at the proposals, urging the local authority to insist on the retention of the asylum building, little of the landscape was ultimately retained undeveloped.³⁷

Asylum sites, as so-called 'brownfield sites' allocated for redevelopment in Local Plans, are an easy target for allocation to housing to fulfil otherwise difficult to achieve government-imposed local authority housing quotas.³⁸ Additionally, some local authorities have been influenced by the prospect of major planning gain secured from major hospital developers via Section 106 Obligations. These provide a positive means of securing benefits for the local community, although as Mayo points out, 'in some instances, the Local Authority "shopping list" can appear largely unrelated to the proposed development'.³⁹ There is in these cases a strong possibility that the historic landscape is being sacrificed for unrelated community benefits. The use of planning briefs prepared by the local authority has provided a useful opportunity in the conservation of asylum landscapes. However, they are truly useful only where the historic character of the site has been fully evaluated and its landscape value given full weight in the reuse proposals for the site. Seldom has the designed landscape received such assessment of its importance as part of the historic asset, largely due to a lack of knowledge of the potential significance of this type of designed landscape.⁴⁰ Even in Conservation Area assessments, concerned with the identification and conservation of the locally significant historic environment in its widest sense, the full significance of the designed landscape has been found to be overlooked.⁴¹

³⁷ Anon., 'Conservationists' Political Asylum', *Architects' Journal*, 183, no. 10 (5 March 1986), 30. A further article, in *Country Life*, explained the site's historic interest and value, urging the retention and conversion of the building into 'splendid and most desirable homes'. Katrin Fitzherbert, 'Monument to Humanity', *Country Life*, 179 (22 May 1986), 1460-61.

³⁸ This occurred at Stone, Bucks, as reported in Binney, *op. cit.* (1995), 8.

³⁹ Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, 'New Uses for Old? The Adaptive Reuse of Victorian and Edwardian Hospitals and Asylums', *Research Findings*, 18 (April 1998), 2.

⁴⁰ Examples of planning briefs for former asylums sites which required little or no evaluation of the historic character of the designed landscape, which was subsequently identified as being of national historic interest and included on the English Heritage *Register*, include: North Kesteven District Council, 'Rauceby Hospital Development Brief' (December 1995); Leeds City Council, 'High Royds Hospital Planning Framework' (April 2000); Castle Morpeth Borough Council, 'Planning Brief for St Mary's Hospital [Stannington]', draft (October 2000).

⁴¹ As for example Chichester City Council, 'Graylingwell: Change and Opportunities' (unpublished report, n.d. [2000]), in which identification of the significance of the designed landscape centred largely on the distribution

Commercial developers - naturally wish to maximise profits from development projects

Large-scale commercial developers do not automatically pose a threat to the asylum landscape, but those who wish to use the landscape as a repository for new development, often without any guidance as to the historic significance, are a threat. Such developers usually comprise the only sector which is able and willing to finance conversion and reuse schemes for sites which are of high economic value because of their potential for residential development. Because of a perception of better financial returns, developers generally prefer to remove existing buildings and build anew on open ground. Where the local planning authority has been willing to allow this, the sites have been cleared as far as possible, and filled with new-build, usually concentrated in the core areas of most historic interest which formerly contained the building, airing courts and pleasure grounds. The outermost element of the asylum estate, the farmland, was usually preserved, often, paradoxically, because of planning constraints which labelled agricultural land as previously undeveloped and outside the 'brownfield' element of the core of the site, and thus 'greenfield' and inappropriate for development. This approach has led in many cases to the destruction of the key historic ornamental elements of the asylum landscape character. There has been nationally-addressed comment on the lack of will and expertise of the decentralised NHS trusts and developers to understand and look for sympathetic alternative uses for asylum sites, although this has resulted in no great improvement of the situation for landscape issues.⁴²

Attention has been paid to the reuse of historic asylum buildings which have statutory protection, but often this is to the detriment of the historic landscape. For example, in their reuse, asylum buildings which were listed were usually subject to a significant amount of historic analysis and care, and were almost always kept and converted, whether in part or wholly, to varying standards. Developers usually took on historic sites with listed buildings with the aim of converting the building and enhancing profits by constructing new-build nearby, but this tended to destroy the essential asylum landscape character of the majority of the historic core, the most important element of the designed landscape. In one scheme, Digby (1882-86) had been converted to 68 dwellings, having previously been bought by Tesco for conversion to retail use, a bid which had failed due to local planning authority pressure. The housing scheme was reported in a trade journal as having had a 'satisfactory' outcome for the developer in terms of the reuse of the building and its immediate surrounds, which occupied 4 ha. of the 10.4 ha. site, and returns for the investors. However, it also involved the loss of

of mature trees alone, rather than the full extent of features. This site was subsequently assessed as being of national importance and included in the English Heritage *Register*.

⁴² Examples include, Marcus Binney, 'They Must Be Mad', *The Times*, Features (14 October 1995), 40-47; Simon Jenkins, 'Angels in the Architecture', *The Times*, Features (21 October 1995), 20; Maeve Kennedy, 'Taking Care of the Asylums', *The Guardian*, Society (8 November 1995), 6, these prompted by the publication of SAVE Britain's Heritage's *Mind Over Matter ...* (1995).

a further 4 ha., a large proportion of the rest of the otherwise open core of the site, to new-build, and the resultant loss of much of the character of the design of the historically important landscape core of the site.⁴³ This case also raised the issue that the divided ownership of any designed landscape poses a potentially major threat to its historic character. Unless very carefully controlled via management agreements, divided ownership can be detrimental to the historic character and the design, even if this is not destroyed by development.

A further threat from developers results from shifts in the economic buoyancy of the building market. New-build housing overlaid a large proportion of the original designed landscape of the enormous, lavish, privately-built Royal Holloway Sanatorium, Surrey (1874-78), which lay empty and derelict for many years, and was eventually successfully converted by Octagon, a specialist developer of 'upmarket' schemes. This, however, was again at the expense of the formerly lavish and relatively confined landscape, laid out by the notable designer John Gibson. Much of the parkland was covered with executive housing in order to finance the enormous cost of the restoration of the derelict Grade I listed building.⁴⁴ Issues of such 'enabling development' (i.e. the new-build required to underpin financially the building rescue and conversion and which is outside local plan policies) which enveloped this scheme reveal how much the proportion of the landscape which was retained was dependent on the economic buoyancy of the property market. English Heritage publicly admitted that Octagon, having bought when the property market was low in 1993, were allowed to build 212 homes on the 10 ha. site to help finance the conversion, which was more than they probably would have been allowed seven years later in 2000 when the market was dramatically more buoyant.⁴⁵ This would have had a consequent impact on the extent of the designed landscape and its character which was conserved. In addition, the derelict condition into which the building had been allowed to fall by the early 1990s pushed up the cost of restoration and conversion with the consequently greater impact on the landscape.

There may be a geographically related threat relating to the greater value of property in the south of England than in the north, leading to a financial disincentive to take on the greater costs of conversion than new-build with the consequently greater threat to the conservation of whole sites in the north. Notably, conversion projects reported in the national broadsheets to date were largely restricted to sites in the south of England, although a few examples of building conversion schemes in

⁴³ Josephine Smit, 'Bursting the Straitjacket', *Building Homes*, 5 (July 1996), 30-31.

⁴⁴ Martin Spring, 'Hammer Beam Horror', *Building*, 260, no. 7920 (49), Supplement, 'Building Renewal: Hospital Conversions' (8 December 1995), 11-16.

⁴⁵ Ross Davies, 'Tragedy of the Beautiful Buildings Left to Rot', *Evening Standard*, Property (22 March 2000), 26.

the north were also reported.⁴⁶ Although the costs of building conversion in northern England were likely to be similar to those in the south, sale prices in the north were generally lower, reducing overall profits.

Building professionals - ignorance of landscape value

Threats to the asylum landscape may also come from influential and supposedly well-informed building professionals, largely as a result of their ignorance of the historic value of the landscape and its relative importance in conjunction with the buildings. Architects interested in building conservation have put forward design schemes for the reuse of public asylum sites, based on sympathetic conversion schemes. They believe that asylum buildings are usually sound and sustainable and will survive conversion well, but their schemes may be implemented at the expense of the designed landscape. In 1985 John Burrell produced an early scheme for asylum site reuse, likening such sites to Italian hilltop towns, and suggesting a generic method of converting them to new settlements, using Claybury (1889-93) as a model.⁴⁷ The concept turned round the idea of care in the community, bringing a new mixed community to a smaller number of patients, incorporating the development of sympathetic new-build 'township' schemes for the areas surrounding the main asylum building. This idea, although sympathetic to the retention of buildings, was fundamentally flawed. Its approach to evaluating the historic asylum environment lacked any reference to the intrinsic design value of the spaces around the buildings as part of an ornamental design forming a major element of the historic asset. Burrell's proposals entirely overlooked the design significance of particularly sensitive core elements of the historic landscape and their relationship to each other, advocating as it did infill houses and flats sited between ward blocks in areas which formed part of the landscape design, including airing and service courts.⁴⁸ His proposals were never implemented on an asylum site.

An architect-designed reuse scheme which was sympathetic to the whole site was also never implemented. Eric Throssell produced a scheme for the conversion of Stone (Bucks., 1850-53) into 'an attractive urban village' which was sympathetic to the designed landscape. Unlike Burrell's scheme, it involved little new-build at the core of the site, or reworking of the key elements of the landscape, but retained all the elements of the open landscape and their inter-relationships with each

⁴⁶ Northern asylum site conversions reported in the national press include, Lynne Greenwood, 'The Estate Where Time Stands Still', *The Times*, Business Plus (22 January 2003), 30 [Scalebor].

⁴⁷ Report, produced with financial assistance from the Royal Institute of British Architects: John Burrell, 'The Psychiatric Hospital as a New Community' (unpublished report for Burrell Foley Associates, 1986). It was developed from work initially conceived in Burrell, *op. cit.* (1972). The concept was publicised in a number of articles including John Burrell, 'A Sane Environment', *Building Design*, 760 (18 October 1985), 18-19; Anon., 'Economics of the Madhouse', *Architects' Journal*, 182, no. 33 (14 August 1985), 9; Martin Spring, 'Clearing the Mental Blocks', *Building*, 252, no. 7494 (18) (1 May 1987), 28-29; Ian Martin, 'A Saner Way to New Suburbia', *Architects' Journal*, 193, no. 8 (20 February 1991), 14.

other and the building. Instead, the threat came from the local authority which passed over the scheme in favour of entire demolition of the building, replacing it and the landscape core with executive housing. This happened principally because of a lack of protection and evaluation of the potential historic value of the site: the building was not listed and the historic quality of the designed landscape remained unassessed and unvalued except for a few mature trees, although clearly a strong candidate at least for local designation with Conservation Area status.⁴⁹

Other building professionals such as building surveyors, including Sterry and Mayo, have analysed the practical options for the reuse of asylum buildings as part of academic exercises.⁵⁰ While their work did not constitute a direct threat to the asylum landscape, they still managed to avoid addressing the historic importance of the whole site. Building reuse schemes and their success were addressed, the most important findings in the context of this study highlighting the fact that many more than just listed asylum buildings were capable of successful reuse.⁵¹

English Heritage - ignorance of landscapes' value, especially as part of building conversion schemes

Various public bodies with conservation remits, principally English Heritage, have sporadically addressed the sympathetic reuse of individual former asylum sites, although not without criticism.⁵² But again this involvement has been principally in relation to the conservation of the buildings with little reference to the historic designed landscape other than as the setting for a listed building. English Heritage advised on many individual asylum sites, including Exe Vale (1842-45). Here it served Urgent Works notices on behalf of the Secretary of State to enforce remedial work by the owners to protect a listed building which had been left to become derelict, during which time the landscape was also abandoned. The notices were served in the hope that proposals for conversion would be forthcoming, which English Heritage was then prepared to grant-aid. Again little significance was accorded to the historic character of the landscape of this early public asylum and its intrinsic relationship with the building, other than as the setting for the listed building.⁵³

English Heritage has been very slow to address the issues concerned with the reuse of asylum estates other than the main hospital buildings, even though it was fully aware of the NHS disposal policy

⁴⁸ Burrell, *op. cit.* (1986), 11, 13, 16.

⁴⁹ Marcus Binney, 'Introduction' in Phillips (ed.), *op. cit.* (1995), 3-4, 6; Marcus Binney, 'Lethal Doses', *Building*, 260, no. 7920 (49), Supplement, 'Building Renewal: Hospital Conversions' (8 December 1995), 8.

⁵⁰ Nicola Sterry, *op. cit.* (1992); Robert Mayo *op. cit.* (1997). Mayo's conclusions were subsequently published as Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, *op. cit.* (April 1998).

⁵¹ For example, Moorhaven has been successfully converted without the building being of national importance, and thus listed.

⁵² See for example Marcus Binney, 'Lethal Doses', *Building*, 260, no. 7920 (49), Supplement, 'Building Renewal: Hospital Conversions' (8 December 1995), 9.

during the 1980s and 1990s. A national review of extant historic asylum assets (including both buildings and landscapes) had still not been conducted by 2003. In the mid-1990s English Heritage undertook a partial thematic listing exercise of hospital buildings which, because of its incompleteness, was not reported beyond English Heritage and the NHS. Only those historically significant buildings within the NHS portfolio which were surplus to requirements and identified for disposal were surveyed, in order to assist with the disposal strategy for sites, and some buildings were listed as a result. The landscapes were not addressed in any way as part of this survey. A systematic assessment of the entire NHS historic site portfolio has not been undertaken.⁵⁴

Only even more belatedly, from 1998, did English Heritage make an attempt at a detailed assessment of asylum landscapes, via its *Register of Historic Parks and Gardens*. The choice of individual sites was not systematic, being driven largely by requests from members of the public and conservation professionals, alerted by planning threats and a wider appreciation of the character and value of asylum sites. Unlike urban parks and cemeteries in 1999 and 2001 respectively, no great spotlight of parliamentary inquiry was turned on asylums, and as there was no other influential driver, no official pressure was exerted to conduct a systematic and thorough appraisal of them.⁵⁵ Because of this a full, country-wide thematic survey of the quality of the remaining asylum sites was not undertaken by English Heritage. Analysis of the full extent of the quality of surviving examples was never identified at any point up to 2003, and in any case from the late 1980s the sites were continually being destroyed and degraded by development. However, recognising the need for a specialist approach to such sites to ensure systematic appraisal for those assessed for the *Register*, English Heritage produced a set of Supplementary Criteria for hospital and workhouse landscapes, based on academic research carried out by the author as part of this study, aimed at conservation professionals, to try and raise awareness of the type.⁵⁶ In addition, in an effort to raise awareness of the issues concerning the conservation of asylum landscapes, various articles on the subject were published in professional conservation and historical periodicals.⁵⁷

⁵³ Anon., *Conservation-led Regeneration: The Work of English Heritage* (London: English Heritage, 1998), 19.

⁵⁴ Pers. comm. via e-mail, Peter Smith, Listed Buildings Inspector, English Heritage, 22 October 2002.

⁵⁵ These were reported in House of Commons, Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs Committee, *Twentieth Report, Town and Country Parks, Report and Proceedings of the Committee together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Environment Sub-Committee* (London: Stationery Office, 1999); House of Commons Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs Committee, *Eighth Report, Cemeteries, Report and Proceedings of the Committee together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Environment Sub-Committee* (London: Stationery Office, 2001).

⁵⁶ Sarah Rutherford, 'Hospitals and Workhouses: New Register of Parks and Gardens Criteria', *Conservation Bulletin*, 41 (September 2001), 46-49.

⁵⁷ Amongst others, such articles included, for Health Service professionals, Sarah Rutherford, 'Historic Hospital Landscapes and their Healthy Reuse', *Quarterly Briefing*, 10, no. 2 (2001), 6-8; for conservation professionals, Sarah Rutherford, 'Landscapes for the Mind and Body', *Context*, 72 (December 2001), 11-13; and for historians of medicine, Sarah Rutherford, 'Asylum Landscapes', *Wellcome History*, 17 (July 2001), 4-6.

A conference was held jointly by English Heritage and NHS Estates in 2000, aimed at raising the awareness of conservation and NHS professionals and consultants engaged in the disposal of hospitals to the issues relating to historic sites in particular. During this event, and in subsequent reporting of it, designed landscapes were discussed as an historic feature of hospital sites, but the issues concerning their conservation remained a minor element of concern in comparison with the reuse issues surrounding the buildings.⁵⁸

Local and national pressure groups - limited success in adoption of views by decision-makers

Local amenity groups, together with concerned groups of residents, have been active in trying to influence the final reuse of these sites and do not, in general, wish to see their local asylum sites built over. However, their opinion is often not influential enough to prevent large-scale destruction of the historic character and loss of open space amenity as a result of insensitive redevelopment. Again at Hanwell, the Hanwell Preservation Society joined other concerned bodies in objecting to the demolition of elements of the asylum building, and they also part-funded with the local authority a report suggesting alternative uses for the initial section which the health authority intended to demolish.⁵⁹ Eventually the asylum was largely converted to apartments and the scheme lauded as a success in terms of the reuse of the building.⁶⁰ Most of the landscape was largely built upon. At Portsmouth (1879), local residents formed a pressure group specifically to retain as much of the historic fabric of the whole asylum site as possible following its disposal by the health authority.⁶¹ At the time of writing a decision on the reuse of the site was still awaited.

Amenity and pressure groups with a nationwide remit have over several decades been active in the debate about asylum reuse, including the Victorian Society, the Garden History Society and SAVE Britain's Heritage. Their stance has almost universally been in favour of the retention as far as possible of the historic fabric of the whole estate where it is historically merited. The Victorian Society as part of their role as a statutory amenity society within the planning system have commented on proposals for various listed asylum buildings, including, early on and critically,

⁵⁸ The conference, entitled *The Re-use of Historic Hospitals: Health v. Heritage*, was held at Lincoln on 23 and 24 May 2000, and reported as, Anon., 'Health v. Heritage', *Insites: NHS Estates Newsletter* (July 2000), 3. The author presented a paper on the historic interest and value of hospital landscapes with special reference to asylums entitled 'Hospital Landscapes and the *Register of Historic Parks and Gardens*'.

⁵⁹ Anon., 'Conservationists' Political Asylum', *Architects' Journal*, 183, no. 10 (5 March 1986), 30. The recommendations of this report by URBED, 'Reusing the Redundant Parts of St Bernard's Hospital, Ealing: A Preliminary Report' (July 1985), are discussed in detail in E. Harwood, 'The history and plan forms of purpose-built lunatic asylums with a study of their conservation and reuse', part 2 (unpublished thesis, Architectural Association, London, 1986).

⁶⁰ Nick Cohen, 'Yuppies Take Over the Asylum', *The Independent on Sunday* (10 January 1993), 8.

⁶¹ Their purpose and function was outlined in St James' Park Trust, 'St James' Memorial Park, Portsmouth, Lottery Bid Document' (August 1998), a report putting the asylum site in its social and historic context and outlining options for its reuse with sympathetic retention of much of the historic fabric.

Hanwell in 1986.⁶² Following this the Garden History Society commented on various proposals for sites included in English Heritage's *Register*, but was, like English Heritage, relatively late in its bid to raise awareness specifically about the threat to asylum landscapes, beginning in 1998.⁶³ SAVE Britain's Heritage was the most vocal in campaigning for asylum and other redundant hospital sites to be treated with respect in their reuse. Its most notable statement on the subject was a gazetteer of 106 asylum sites across the UK which also cited the potential of each one for reuse.⁶⁴ SAVE also campaigned for the sympathetic conversion of various individual asylum sites, most recently with Colchester in 2002-03 including concerns about the designed landscape, and Horton Road, Gloucester.⁶⁵

General public - apathetic about stigmatised sites

Residual antipathy, or even fear, resulting from a sense of stigma which the general public attached to mental hospitals in their locality, may in some cases also have formed an element of threat in the huge cultural undervaluation of asylum sites. This stigma was reflected in deliberately attention-grabbing headlines in the national press, such as 'Developers fear that old mental hospitals carry a stigma', in which the conversion of an asylum was discussed in terms of being dogged by a widespread repugnance attached by local residents to its former use; and, 'Would you seriously want to set up home in a converted mental hospital?'⁶⁶ Such antipathy was articulated more broadly in yet another article, 'There will be some who would balk at the thought of buying a new home inside the high perimeter fence of a former mental hospital. Even more would reject out of hand the notion of living in a property converted from the forbidding wards once occupied by generations of those deemed to be insane'.⁶⁷ Although no work has been carried out to assess the effect of such residual antipathy to former asylum sites, it is likely that it has contributed to their being undervalued by many local authorities, these being the key bodies in local decision-making on the future of such sites.

Thus it appears that threats to asylum landscapes are twofold: firstly ignorance of the value of the asset, at all levels of decision-making, and, secondly, the economic driver to maximise financial returns from the reuse process on each site. The conservation legislation and practice which is

⁶² Anon., 'Conservationists' Political Asylum', *Architects' Journal*, 183, no. 10 (5 March 1986), 30.

⁶³ David Lambert, Christopher Dingwall, 'Redundant Mental Hospitals', *Garden History Society News*, 52 (Spring 1998), 10-11; Sarah Rutherford, 'Landscapes for the Mind', *Garden History Society News*, 52 (Spring 1998), 12-14.

⁶⁴ Phillips (ed.), *op. cit.* (1995), publication reported in Marcus Binney, 'They Must Be Mad', *The Times*, Feature Article (14 October 1995), 40; Maeve Kennedy, 'Taking Care of the Asylums', *The Guardian*, Society (8 November 1995), 6; Simon Jenkins, 'Angels in the Architecture', *The Times*, Features (21 October 1995), 20.

⁶⁵ SAVE Britain's Heritage, *Newsletter* (May 2002), includes items on the conservation of Colchester and Gloucester asylums.

⁶⁶ Daloni Carlisle, 'Peace of mind in grand old asylums', *The Times*, Property (24 March 2001), 21; Lesley Gillilan, 'We've taken over the asylum', *The Sunday Telegraph*, Review (10 January 1999), 15 [Moorhaven].

⁶⁷ Peter Birkett, 'Homes are taking over the Asylum', *The Daily Telegraph*, Property (13 November 1999), 8 [Claybury].

currently in place is able to combat these two main factors, but it requires the will of local authorities and English Heritage to apply it to asylum sites rigorously and objectively in an informed way. The potential to achieve the effective application of conservation legislation and practice is discussed in the following section.

Conservation philosophy and planning aids for designed landscapes

Before addressing this specific issue it is necessary to address briefly the more general question, why conserve the historic environment? There are various inter-related arguments in favour of conservation. The principle ones, as identified by Dobby in the late 1970s, continue to be valid and include economic reasons, plus 'history, artistic design and associations'.⁶⁸ History is vital to the understanding of the present and relevant to the future; artistic design provides symbols of our past skills; associational factors provide symbols of permanence and security. However, 25 years later two more issues which relate to the first, the economic reason, are pertinent and politically relevant in guiding the decision whether to conserve particular elements of the historic environment: the sustainability of the historic asset, and its ability to assist in economic regeneration. There is also the further economic strand of tourism, the world's largest industry, which in England is based upon the retention intact of the historic environment. It is surely significant that from 1977 until 2001 the English Tourism Council published *The Heritage Monitor*, an annual national review of the state of the historic environment.⁶⁹

Assuming that the case has broadly been made for the retention of historically valuable asylum sites, it is now useful to rehearse the historic context for the current approaches to conservation, as it affects the direction that methods of conservation of asylum sites may take. As Cossons pointed out, the historic environment is vulnerable to inappropriate change, often occasioned by those ignorant of historic value or for whom there is little economic imperative to conserve.⁷⁰ In England the concept of the statutory and practical conservation of historic buildings and monuments as valuable historic artefacts has become well established over more than a century, since at least the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877 and the statutory protection of ancient monuments in the 1880s (the first Schedule of Monuments was drawn up in 1882 as a result of the Ancient Monuments Act of that year).⁷¹ There were, by 2002, 19,347 Scheduled Ancient Monuments.⁷² This legislation began a steady stream of conservation-led statutes. Since the Town

⁶⁸ Alan Dobby, *Conservation and Planning* (London: Hutchinson, 1978), 24.

⁶⁹ Ian Baxter, *Heritage Monitor* (London: English Tourism Council, 2001). The continuation of this report, as *English Heritage, State of the Historic Environment Report, 2002* (London: English Heritage, 2002), was taken over by English Heritage from 2002.

⁷⁰ Cossons, *op. cit.* (2002), 1.

⁷¹ Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882 (45 & 46 Vict., c.73).

⁷² Source, English Heritage, *State of the Historic Environment Report 2002* (London: English Heritage, 2002), 17.

and Country Planning Act (1947) was passed the concept of protecting nationally important buildings via listing has become commonplace, although the scope of subject types has broadened considerably.⁷³ There were, by 2002, 376,094 listed buildings.⁷⁴ Conservation Area legislation in 1967 subsequently brought protection via a designation which addressed a geographical area rather than a particular asset to those areas deemed to be locally important by local authorities.⁷⁵ By 2002 there were 9,027 designated such areas.⁷⁶

Designed landscapes were acknowledged in statute in 1983, which led to the drawing up of a statutory register with no statutory powers, the *Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest*, which took as its criterion that sites should be of national importance.⁷⁷ Following publication of the first edition in 1988, by October 2002 there were 1,531 sites included on the *Register*, a considerably smaller number than the other area designation, Conservation Area status, which partly reflected the lower number of individual sites of national importance. It also reflected the incomplete state of the *Register*.⁷⁸ By the 1990s, this battery of individual statutory designations, designed to highlight the importance of elements of the historic environment and protect them via the local planning system, was well embedded at the heart of the conservation process. However, as a system it did not function smoothly or in a consistently effective manner in terms of the conservation of asylum landscapes. The disparate nature of the powers vested in each designation were not complementary to each and led to confusion in the planning system, resulting in a lack of effectiveness in the conservation of major areas of the historic environment.

The value of historic parks and gardens was further endorsed from 1994 by government, using the planning system, thus giving additional validity to this type of heritage asset, and assistance to their conservation. Government declared historic parks and gardens to be as important as other elements of the historic environment in *PPG 15*.⁷⁹ In the same document the place of historic parks and gardens on the *Register* was slightly strengthened within the planning system, by being deemed a material consideration, although the *Register* still lacked statutory powers.⁸⁰ Additionally it was stated that it

⁷³ Town and Country Planning Act, 1947 (10 & 11 Geo. VI, c.51).

⁷⁴ Source, English Heritage, *State of the Historic Environment Report, 2002* (London: English Heritage, 2002), 19.

⁷⁵ Civic Amenities Act, 1967 (c.69).

⁷⁶ English Heritage, *State of the Historic Environment Report, 2002* (London: English Heritage, 2002), 27.

⁷⁷ English Heritage is enabled to compile one or more registers of land of special historic interest by Section 8C of the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953 (inserted by section 33 of, and paragraph 10 of Section 4 to, the National Heritage Act 1983-4 (c.47). English Heritage's *Register of Battlefields* was also compiled under this legislation.

⁷⁸ Source, English Heritage, *State of the Historic Environment Report, 2002* (London: English Heritage, 2002), 31.

⁷⁹ Department of the Environment, Department of National Heritage, *Planning Policy Guidance 15: Planning and the Historic Environment* (London: HMSO, 1994), 25.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

was appropriate for parks and gardens to be designated as Conservation Areas where they fell within the categories subject to Conservation Area controls.⁸¹ This provided a valuable and positive guide for local authorities, indicating that it was appropriate to protect designed landscapes with this tool whether they were deemed to be of national or local importance and provided a stronger control mechanism for nationally important sites beyond those limited controls imposed by the *Register*. Further protection was afforded shortly after when in September 1995 local authorities were required to consult English Heritage on planning applications affecting grade II* and I sites, and the Garden History Society on all registered sites, in a similar manner to other statutory amenity societies for listed buildings such as the Georgian Group and Victorian Society.⁸² English Heritage has recognised the asylum landscape as a legitimate type of historic designed landscape to fulfil the criteria for inclusion on the *Register*, this recognition being endorsed by its inclusion of 12 asylum sites on the *Register* (see Appendix V for details of sites) and the publication of supplementary criteria for assessment.⁸³ This recognition is in turn endorsed by the conclusion within this work that asylum landscapes are indeed a distinct and potentially valuable designed landscape type and should be analysed as an element of the greater realm of garden history within the evaluation of the historic environment as a whole.

Conservation plans

The conservation of parks and gardens could not be achieved by designation in the planning system alone. Practical conservation and the will to apply its principles is an essential adjunct. Best practice in practical conservation had come in the late 1990s to advocate the adoption of a holistic approach to the identification, evaluation, management and development of cultural assets within the historic environment. This more area-based approach meant that historic designed landscapes should have been addressed as being equally valid to other elements. In practice this was seldom the case. Theory dictated that conservation activities required for any particular site were established and informed by an appraisal of the various elements of the historic and ecological environment within a site as whole, drawn together in a document known as a conservation plan. This technique in part drew on practical methods pioneered in Australia, elements of which had been applied directly to the conservation of designed landscapes in particular.⁸⁴ These methods had also been commonly applied from the late 1980s in the UK to the site-wide assessment and conservation of historic designed landscapes. Their use had initially been implemented on a wide scale as a response by English Heritage and the

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸² This consultation was required as a result of *Central Government Circular, 9/95* (London: HMSO, 1995). The request for comments was actually more strongly worded than those for the other Statutory Amenity Societies, whom the local authorities were required to notify of applications.

⁸³ Sarah Rutherford, 'Hospitals and Workhouses: New *Register of Parks and Gardens* criteria', *Conservation Bulletin*, 41 (September 2001), 46-49.

Countryside Commission to the need to assess the damage and grant-aid requirement for historic parks and gardens following the two devastating storms of 1987 and 1990.⁸⁵ A major element of the conservation plan, in the form of the heritage landscape management plan, had been in use by the Countryside Commission since the 1980s in relation to capital tax exemption.⁸⁶

The compilation of a thorough conservation plan demanded that the historic development of elements across the whole site be surveyed, and ideally the ecological assets, too. This technique was particularly suited to the complexities of the development and structure of designed landscapes, in which other types of elements such as historic buildings and archaeological monuments might be located, together with ecological and other elements. This information, once analysed, could be used to highlight areas of greater and lesser historic and other significance which informed an overall long-term management and development strategy. This methodology was taken up by the influential HLF to inform grant-aid activities, followed by English Heritage's adoption and promotion of the method as a sound conservation principle. The resulting advice recommended the adoption of conservation plans as best practice to inform the management and development of historic sites to ensure equal consideration of all elements of sites.⁸⁷

Government direction - sustainability and regeneration

Two major themes, sustainability, and urban and rural regeneration, gained particular significance during the 1990s, particularly from 1997 around the time that the Labour government assumed power. These themes have come to form strong criteria for the direction of conservation activities and as such deserve consideration in the context of the conservation of the asylum estate. Sustainability can be defined as managing our assets in order to meet current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs. This theme had been developed in various government policies and documents since the late 1980s and sustainable development in particular was addressed in 1990 in the White Paper, *This Common Inheritance: Britain's Environmental Strategy*.⁸⁸ This continued to be a particular policy area, as expressed in, for example, *Sustainable Development: the UK Strategy*, and

⁸⁴ Anon., *The Burra Charter: the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (Australia ICOMOS, 1979); Anon., *Historic Gardens in Australia: Guidelines for the Preparation of Conservation Plans* (Australian Garden History Society, n.d. [c.1980]).

⁸⁵ English Heritage, *After the Storms* (London: English Heritage, 1997).

⁸⁶ Countryside Commission, *Heritage Landscapes Management Plans* (Cheltenham: Countryside Commission, 1988).

⁸⁷ HLF, *Conservation Plans for Historic Places* (London: HLF, 1998); Kate Clark (ed.), *Conservation Plans in Action: Proceedings of the Oxford Conference* (London: English Heritage, 1999); Kate Clark, *Informed Conservation: Understanding Historic Buildings and their Landscapes for Conservation* (London: English Heritage, 2001).

⁸⁸ Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, *This Common Inheritance: Britain's Environmental Strategy* (London: HMSO, 1990).

formed a key element of the development plan system, as set out in *PPG 12: Development Plans* (1992).⁸⁹

The themes of sustainability and regeneration were adopted and promoted by the Labour government of the late 1990s as underpinning elements of one of its key policies, social inclusion, which was particularly emphasised in 2000 in both its Urban and Rural White Papers.⁹⁰ Sustainability and regeneration were also taken up and promoted by the government's lead body in the historic environment, as it had been designated in the late 1990s, English Heritage. The value of local historic assets and character began to be promoted by quangos in terms of conservation, using initiatives such as Local Agenda 21 (LA21) which was concerned with promoting local environmental issues resulting from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992.⁹¹ To all of these it was argued, the historic environment was well suited to contribute. The historic environment, it was said, was on the whole eminently sustainable, and in addition it could contribute significantly to rural and urban regeneration.⁹² This is equally true for designed landscapes as an integral part of the historic environment and so must therefore be true of the asylum estate, if its historic character is evaluated as being of sufficient historic interest.

Conservation practice - sustainability and regeneration

In response to government policies, the themes of sustainability and regeneration, together with social inclusion, were central to a document drawn up by the historic environment community in consultation with the general public. *Power of Place* reviewed policies relating to the historic environment and made practical recommendations for approaches over the following decades.⁹³ These recommendations were informed by conservation philosophy and best practice, and the need to key into the main political themes of social justice, regeneration, diversification and sustainable development.

Two recommendations in *Power of Place* which were potentially very promising for the conservation of designed landscapes, and for asylum sites in particular, focused on introducing further legislation

⁸⁹United Kingdom Parliament, *Sustainable Development: the U.K. Strategy* (London: HMSO, 1994). Department of the Environment, Department of National Heritage, *Planning Policy Guidance 12: Development Plans* (London: HMSO, 1992). Chapter 4 of the 2000 revision (ODPM) is entitled 'Sustainable Development' (www.planning.odpm.gov.uk/ppg12/4.htm, 6 April 2003).

⁹⁰ These were published as, Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, *Our Towns and Cities: the Future* (London: HMSO, 2000); *Our Countryside: The Future. A Fair Deal for Rural England* (London: HMSO, 2000).

⁹¹ The issues were promoted at local level by use of publications, for example, Countryside Commission, English Nature, English Heritage, *Ideas into Action for Local Agenda 21* (Peterborough: Countryside Commission, English Nature, English Heritage, n.d. [c.1990s]).

⁹² The philosophy behind these themes was developed in publications such as English Heritage, *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future* (London: English Heritage, 1997); English Heritage, *Conservation-led Regeneration: the Work of English Heritage* (London: English Heritage, 1998).

to secure practical long-term management and conservation of nationally important historic assets. These were particularly useful in relation to the conservation of the lesser understood and more vulnerable of designed landscapes such as asylum sites, but only related to those included on the *Register*, leaving many locally important sites potentially unprotected. The first recommendation proposed the introduction of a statutory duty of care on owners of listed buildings, scheduled monuments and registered parks and gardens, supported by fiscal incentives and the wider availability of grants. The second recommendation proposed legislating to give statutory force to conservation plans and management agreements for individual listed buildings and registered landscapes. Nearly two years later, government responded to *Power of Place in The Historic Environment: a Force for Our Future*, completely avoiding commitment to these two possibilities. It merely agreed to work closely with English Heritage in 'researching the current impact of management agreements and their further potential', and avoided the issue of a statutory duty of care, although endorsing the 'importance of the preventative maintenance of historic fabric'.⁹⁴

Conservation at the opening of the twenty-first century thus combined the statutory obligations to conserve the historic environment via the planning system, with the practical approach to the analysis and conservation of the historic environment in its entirety. In part this was assisted by the techniques associated with a further new approach, characterisation. The identification and definition of historic environment character areas, whether at detailed or broad scale, is intended to ensure that crucial historic character is taken into account as a major factor during proposals for change. This is particularly relevant to asylum estates, for, as Binney pointed out in 1995 in relation to them, 'What matters is the whole ensemble of these places - architecture, landscaped grounds and country around'.⁹⁵ The value of characterisation was subsequently confirmed as an important element of conservation by Baxter who stated in 2001 that, 'the resort to statutory protection in isolation in the first instance is falling out of favour, as we reaffirm the cultural importance of historic areas as a whole, in both urban and rural settings'.⁹⁶ In *A Force for Our Future*, government undertook to initiate a review of, 'the case for integrating the present array of heritage controls into a single regime', driven principally by a practical wish to simplify and speed up the planning system.⁹⁷ This was being undertaken during 2003 by the Department of Culture Media and Sport, with assistance from English Heritage, intended eventually to lead to primary legislation revising heritage controls. It was not just intended to improve conservation measures, but to placate developers who were dissatisfied with the results they were obtaining from the planning system. Alongside this the Office

⁹³ Anon., *Power of Place* (London: Power of Place Office, 2000).

⁹⁴ Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001), 56-57.

⁹⁵ Marcus Binney, 'Introduction' in Phillips (ed.), *op. cit.* (1995), 7.

⁹⁶ Baxter, *op. cit.* (2001), 68.

⁹⁷ Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *op. cit.* (2001), 34.

of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) undertook a review of *PPG 15* in 2002-03 to produce a revised edition in late 2003 (forthcoming). These reviews may benefit the conservation process by producing controls which approach conservation from a holistic site-based angle, rather than addressing individual heritage assets. While a holistic and detailed approach remains optional, as in the present system, there will inevitably be losses of some magnitude, particularly in terms of asylum estates. In any case the introduction of such holistic measures would come too late for the retention and conservation of many asylum sites.

Unfortunately for the conservation of all types of designed landscape, an expert analysis and evaluation of them is still required to ensure that their full significance is appreciated for such purpose. Beyond the conservation professions, other local and national governmental bodies, in particular the NHS, do not generally accord historic landscapes the same importance as buildings and archaeological monuments, even though *PPG 15*, reiterated by inference in *A Force for Our Future*, places them on a par. This inequality of approach stems from their relative novelty as a valid and valued element for conservation. In most guidance about the management and disposal of government-owned historic built assets the historic environment beyond the building is accorded very little significance, and usually only in relation to those sites which are included in the *Register*. There is no direction to take into account the local or regional importance of the designed landscape which accompanies the building, such as might result from the consideration of Local Agenda 21 issues. The emphasis in such documents usually revolves around obtaining the most sympathetic use only for the building, with the designed landscape regarded as merely a frame with which to improve 'the likelihood of successful disposal of a historic building for a viable new use'.⁹⁸

Conservation tools for asylums

Even though there is an inequality of approach towards the conservation of designed landscapes as part of the historic environment, the planning system, together with conservation theory and practice, can still provide a useful battery of tools to apply to asylum estates in particular, if there is the will to use them. The most significant ones are now discussed.

In *A Force for Our Future*, government states that it will initiate a review of, 'the case for integrating the present array of heritage controls into a single regime', and this appears to be the ultimate aim of the present Heritage Designation Review being carried out by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. While this might, if a practical working method for such a regime is implemented, be of use in the continuation of the identification and protection of individual heritage assets, there is still a place for a designation of national group importance for historic sites. Such a designation might incorporate

⁹⁸ See for example, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *The Disposal of Historic Buildings: Guidance Note for Government Departments and Non-Departmental Public Bodies* (London: HMSO, 1999), 12.

the major elements of buildings, designed landscape and the wider landscape setting, which while the individual elements are not of national importance for designation, as an ensemble they take on a national significance. It would be particularly appropriate for hospital sites, including asylum estates, as indicated by Binney (see above).

At present the *Register* is the main focus for the nationwide assessment and understanding of designed landscapes. This is in many ways divisive and unfortunate, because the *Register* should ideally form part of a suite of measures covering the identification and evaluation of significant extant designed landscapes which carry equal weight with decision-makers. One current problem arises because the *Register* is incomplete. The 1,600 sites on the *Register* at February 2003 may be joined by a further 500 to 1,000 sites over the next ten years, but at present these sites of national importance have not been identified beyond a preliminary survey by English Heritage, and lack any major measure of identification and protection which the *Register* may confer.⁹⁹

The focus on nationally important designed landscapes is divisive partly because our understanding of the history of designed landscapes is still evolving and throwing up notable new types. The majority of sites initially included on the *Register* comprised principally eighteenth-century landscape parks (confirming Walpole's great propaganda coup of the late eighteenth century discussed in Chapter 1). The *Register* when first published in 1988 included fewer than 40 municipal public park sites because this type was not at the time appreciated as an important designed landscape, even though many survived in good condition.¹⁰⁰ A campaign during the 1990s for their recognition as valid designed landscapes resulted in a nationwide survey by English Heritage which threw up the best for inclusion, with very few historic sites having been lost. There were at February 2003 just over 200 municipal public parks included on the *Register*, with possibly more remaining to be identified and included.¹⁰¹ As discussed above, as there are believed to be several thousand public parks in existence, this is but a small fraction. Asylum landscapes were not so lucky to have been identified as a significant landscape type while a large number of the original stock remained intact. There were no purpose-built asylum sites on the *Register* in its first edition, but nine public and three private sites have been added since then (see Appendix V for details).

The *Register* has been perceived as the focus of designed landscape evaluation. This, too, is divisive because there are far more designed landscapes extant than will ever be considered of 'special historic interest' in the national context and added to the *Register*. The ranking effect of the *Register* tends to

⁹⁹ Number of sites on the *Register* from English Heritage Parks and Gardens Database, interrogated February 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Hazel Conway, David Lambert, *Public Prospects: Historic Urban Parks Under Threat* (London: Victorian Society and Garden History Society, 1993), 4.

devalue or even condemn those sites of less than special historic interest by their omission. These sites not only form the context for those on the *Register* but they are in their own right, both individually and as a group, a priceless heritage even if regarded as being of 'only' local interest. They form an essential element of local character, but because they are not systematically identified and designated by a national body (and even this is no great measure of protection at present, especially to asylum sites) they are destined to suffer a very uncertain fate. There is no strong guidance to indicate how best they should be approached. They may in a growing number of cases form part of lists of sites of local interest in local development plans, or they may be included within Conservation Areas. There is, however, no systematic approach to their identification, management and development at local level. One example of good practice in terms of identification and designation is that developed by Surrey County Council in their *Areas of Special Historic Landscape Value (ASHLV)*. A set of selection criteria is used to evaluate potential areas which may qualify for such status, including designed landscapes. Following evaluation and designation, landowners and land managers are provided with information regarding beneficial and harmful practices. Such information is also used to inform the policies in the county Structure Plan, the district Local Plan and thus the consideration of planning proposals.¹⁰²

A further list of historic parks and gardens, identified as of local importance by Reigate and Banstead Council, Surrey, within its local plan, illustrates both the positive and negative aspects of using such lists as supplementary planning guidance at local level, particularly with reference to historic asylum sites. The positive aspect is that two out of 36 sites identified are purpose-built asylum sites and their landscapes are recognised and valued for this origination. Less positively, the area of local interest designated for Netherne (1905-09) is but a small proportion of the original landscape design, so small that it is virtually meaningless in relation to the original design context and merely indicates one of many open spaces which formed part of the design. A short section of the much longer approach drive has also been included, having been the principal approach to the main front of the building, but now giving access to the open space and former main entrance to the building. The core airing courts of the site are entirely omitted from the identification, even though until 2001 they survived; this omission was presumably connected with proposals for the Netherne-on-the-Hill development which occupies much of the site.¹⁰³ It should, however, be noted that many of the more conventional sites identified are also fragmentary as a result of widespread suburban development on the fringes of London, and it is possible that other planning constraints have led to the omission of further historic areas.

¹⁰¹ English Heritage Parks and Gardens Database, interrogated February 2003.

¹⁰² Pers. comm. via e-mail, Brenda Lewis, Historic Landscape Officer, Surrey County Council, 1 November 2002.

Again at a local level of protection, Conservation Area status is potentially very useful and appropriate as a designation tool to protect both locally and nationally important asylum landscapes. Such designation to control development within an asylum landscape does not, however, guarantee that the designed landscape is understood sufficiently for the essential elements of its historic character to be conserved in the face of large scale development proposals, even where the local authority is sympathetic to the landscape and wishes it to be retained. At Napsbury (1900-05), the local planning authority objected to the inevitable damage to the historic character of the site which would result from the massive scale proposed by the NHS for the redevelopment of the site, a Conservation Area, as well as being included on the *Register*. Even at public inquiry the inspector largely ignored the historic designed landscape in making his decision about reuse of the site, favouring a huge amount of landscape change within the site which was not even to be controlled and informed by the imposition of a comprehensive conservation plan based on sound, detailed historic research.¹⁰⁴ In some cases Conservation Area status was conferred more for the visual amenity value of the site, rather than for its historic design, as at Chichester (1894-97).¹⁰⁵ This lack of understanding of the value of the designed landscape was detrimental to the site, losing elements for example of the internal design and boundaries of the airing courts.

The holistic approach to practical conservation, as expressed in a full conservation plan, is intended to reconcile the varied and sometimes conflicting approaches to conservation that different professions bring to the understanding and management of a site. It is undoubtedly an essential tool for the understanding and practical conservation of asylum sites, which are both large and complex, and is also of use in the planning system. The conservation profession/community is moving towards the practice of advising that it is essential that such a plan, incorporating all the important elements of a particular site, informs the general planning brief, detailed proposals and long-term management and development aspirations. It can be structured to take into account the sustainability of the various elements of the site, and emphasise and build upon any potential to assist in economic regeneration. This practice is being implemented by exemplar bodies such as the National Trust at Stowe, but seldom if ever does a comprehensive conservation plan, based on thorough and informed research, inform planners and owners about the best long-term development and management of a hospital site. Planning briefs are only a limited part of the process and usually any document entitled a

¹⁰³ Reigate and Banstead Borough Council, 'The List of Historic Parks and Gardens: Supplementary Planning Guidance', (November 2001).

¹⁰⁴ Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, Planning Inspector's Report, 10 February 2000, re: Appeals by the Secretary of State of Health: Land at Napsbury Hospital, London Colney, Hertfordshire, Application Numbers 5/97/0404; 5/97/0406CA; 5/97/0403; 5/97/0405CA.

¹⁰⁵ See report, Chichester City Council, 'Graylingwell: Change and Opportunities' (unpublished report, n.d. [2000]).

'conservation plan' is principally focused upon the reuse of the building and the placing of new development appropriately within its setting.

The conservation plan for Springfield (1838-41) virtually ignored the historic designed landscape, even though its quality was such that it was subsequently designated a nationally important designed landscape by its inclusion in 2002 on the English Heritage *Register*.¹⁰⁶ The limitation of the use of a conservation plan within the present system is that it requires the will to require and provide a complex and relatively expensive assessment set out in a document as a preliminary to any decision-making by local authorities. In addition it does not provide protection *per se*. Rather, it is a starting point for long-term management proposals. The introduction of statutory force, as recommended in *Power of Place*, to strengthen conservation plans and management agreements for registered landscapes would rectify this situation for nationally important sites, but it might be difficult to implement, and would in any case again leave the locally important sites without such a detailed level of protection.

Asylum sustainability in practice

The conservation and reuse of asylum landscapes is likely to involve a considerable undertaking by owners and managers over a longer period than buildings, producing a lower immediate financial return for investment. However, such conservation is not necessarily unsustainable. It appears that there is potential for the sustainability of the conservation of the asylum landscape especially in relation to residential building conversion schemes, which seem to be the most lucrative option for developers where conversion is demanded. In this case in particular the historic asylum landscape continues to form an attractive adjunct to the building which enhances building conversion schemes where the landscape has been left and not redeveloped. The landscape's potential for sustainability is considerable.

By 2002 a trend appeared to be moving in favour of the sustainable conversion of asylum buildings, confirmed by headlines such as, 'The transformation of one of Britain's biggest lunatic asylums into luxury apartments has whetted the appetite for hospital conversions'.¹⁰⁷ This general approval, reflected in the national press, marked a widespread shift in emphasis to a more positive approach to the conservation of former asylum sites, endorsing interest with phrases such as 'you don't have to be crazy to live here'.¹⁰⁸ General interest in this area was defined as 'lifestyle heritage', in which the

¹⁰⁶ G.L. Hearn Planning, 'Draft Conservation Plan Springfield Hospital, Wandsworth' (March 2000). Consideration of the importance of the historic landscape was limited to occasional brief references as the setting for the listed buildings, and providing a list of trees covered by Tree Preservation Orders.

¹⁰⁷ Article relates to the conversion of Colney Hatch, in David Brown, Clare McDonald, 'You No Longer Have to be Mad to Live Here', *The Times* (2 September 2002), 3.

¹⁰⁸ Marcus Binney, 'You don't have to be crazy to live here', *The Times*, Property (10 July 1999), 13 [Haywards Heath].

public were believed to value actively a sanitised version of their heritage, thought to be driven by 'the country's continued growing interest in community history, and the pursuits of gardening and DIY where heritage influences are frequently cited'.¹⁰⁹ Sometimes one particular asylum conversion attracted so much notice that it was covered prominently several times at both national and local level.¹¹⁰

The conversion at Colney Hatch (1849-51) was one such site said to be an exemplar to inspire and guide those involved with financial investment interests, such as investors and estate agents, contemplating attempting similar asylum conversion activities.¹¹¹ This scheme, although providing a sustainable long-term future for the building, did not provide an ideal solution for the designed landscape, for a major element of the core was lost in the accompanying new build and provision of car parking. In the scheme's favour it demonstrated the potential for sustainable reuse of a proportion of the asylum landscape, this having been stipulated by the local authority to fulfil planning requirements. The conservation of a considerable area of the asylum pleasure grounds also enhanced the scheme's marketability; much of Broderick Thomas' scheme to the north of the building was retained as a communal visual and recreational asset to the property, it being fully sustainable in the present economic climate as long as the management of the building continued.

In such 'lifestyle' articles the landscape is usually mentioned in passing, and only in terms of the pleasant setting which the core landscape forms for the building, this view reflecting a general opinion of them.¹¹² *Country Life* reviewed several so-called 'village developments' largely based on the reuse of former hospital and asylum sites. It avoided complex and sensitive questions of building and landscape conservation, instead concentrating on what it referred to as 'the twin objectives at the top of the Government's rural housing agenda', sustainable development and the regeneration of brownfield sites.¹¹³ As it assured the reader, 'People are queuing up to buy apartments and houses in imaginative new developments that convert [redundant country houses and other major buildings of architectural merit] to contemporary ways of life'.¹¹⁴ However, those three schemes which it described, all in the south of England, included large elements of new-build on the core of the asylum

¹⁰⁹ Baxter, *op. cit.* (2001), 14.

¹¹⁰ For example articles relating to Claybury Hospital, Essex, include, Peter Birkett, 'Homes are taking over the Asylum', *The Daily Telegraph*, Property (13 November 1999), 8; Daloni Carlisle, 'Peace of mind in grand old asylums', *The Times*, Property (24 March 2001), 21; Anon., 'Stylish Living at Leafy Repton Park', *Ilford Recorder* (9 August 2001), 3.

¹¹¹ David Brown, Clare McDonald, 'You No Longer Have to be Mad to Live Here', *The Times* (2 September 2002), 3.

¹¹² A further selection of such articles includes, Lesley Gillilan, 'We've taken over the asylum', *The Sunday Telegraph*, Review (10 January 1999), 15 [Moorhaven]; Marcus Binney, 'You'd be mad not to live here', *The Times*, Property (5 February 2000), 12 [Colney Hatch]; David Brown, Clare McDonald, 'You No Longer Have to be Mad to Live Here', *The Times* (2 September 2002), 3 [Colney Hatch].

¹¹³ Anon., 'Catch the Community Spirit', *Country Life*, 196, no. 17, Supplement (25 April 2002), [unpaginated].

¹¹⁴ Anon., 'Editorial', *Country Life*, 196, no. 17, Supplement (25 April 2002), [unpaginated].

landscape.¹¹⁵ This illustrates the threat to the open spaces which are integral to the design of such a landscape, and potentially perfectly sustainable, when developers are permitted by local authorities to deal with them as a blank space which is considered perfectly acceptable as a receptacle for new development. In these cases the opportunity to attempt a sustainable use of the landscape is irreversibly lost.

One successful and sustainable conversion has been regarded as an exemplar in terms of the conservation of the building and the generation of a new community helping to meet housing demand, that at Moorhaven (1888-91). It has also helped to indicate the potential sustainability of the landscape in such schemes. This late and unlisted asylum could not be redeveloped to the commonly adopted intensive commercial blueprint so detrimental to the landscape because of the planning restrictions arising from its situation adjacent to Dartmoor National Park. This also reduced its value on the open market. In this case a further issue arises in relation to the extent of conservation achieved, that of the type of developer. Because of the asylum's reduced value on the property market, and consequent reduction in likely profit margin, two individuals who were not large-scale commercial property developers were able to buy the site and put in place a very low-key scheme of conversion to residential use. The buildings were retained intact, together with the entire landscape.¹¹⁶ In this case two of the main threats in the reuse of asylum sites, those of the scale of the building complex and the remote location, have successfully been overcome by an independent developer whose primary aim has not been to squeeze as much profit out of the site as possible.

Suggested conservation approach

Using the extensive discussion of evaluation methods, threats and potential conservation tools above, the next question to ask is, what approach can be adopted to ensure that the vital elements of the remaining historically valuable sites may be conserved? An informed public can now be induced to visit even workhouses, partly because it is now 50 years since the last one closed and public memory of the awfulness of them has receded with the passing of time and inmates. Are we still too close to the functioning of asylums to persuade public opinion that they should not all be lost?

In discussing the formulation of a conservation approach for asylum landscapes the solutions must be matched to the specific threats to this type of landscape and its present position in terms of reuse. Solutions which may be appropriate for a country house landscape or public park are unlikely to be entirely appropriate for the asylum landscape, given the generally enormous amount of pressure to

¹¹⁵ The three schemes referred to in the *Country Life* Supplement were Netherne, Surrey, now known as Netherne-on-the-Hill; Knowle, Hants., now known as Knowle Village; and Claybury, Essex, now known as Repton Park.

divide the historic core of the site and redevelop as far as possible. A strategy can ameliorate the long-term situation only for those which survive, not for those which have been lost or largely ruined; it will also draw on more general principles which apply to the historic environment as a whole. The elements of a conservation strategy will cover research, analysis, education and protection measures. It should be environmentally sustainable and, to be even more successful, be a tool to feed into and enhance the currently politically popular regeneration schemes. The following is a selection of the potentially most effective tools which might be used as a suite within an approach to the conservation of asylum landscapes.

If there is the will to keep these sites then strategy and action is needed at several levels:

Identification and evaluation of historic significance

The first requirement is a structured programme to inform decision-makers quickly about the potential significance of remaining asylum landscapes which may be valuable historic assets. Asylum sites continue to be lost in a steady stream and any information made available to local planning authorities would have to be fed into planning processes which may have been considering the long-term future for individual sites for many years already. At a national level, government, the conservation world, the NHS and interested developers are the most important players; at a local level, local planning authorities and local interest groups require information to inform their decision making. Such a programme would include the identification, assessment and evaluation of sites, including condition survey, at national and local levels, to produce a list of key historic sites to conserve in ideal circumstances. Given that the public asylum is a finite resource, originally only 115 sites, and considerably fewer than this now retain major elements of their original historic character, this is not an unreasonable approach.

A nationwide survey of the historic interest of the remaining asylum sites, in conjunction with structural assessment, would identify those most worthy of conservation. The level of damage already sustained by asylum sites is such that it may be that there would not be more than 20 sites to choose from now, avoiding the situation of having to prioritise the conservation of a large number of candidate sites where it may only be sustainable to conserve a small number. English Heritage are the best-placed body to lead, fund and orchestrate such an assessment, which for those sites identified as being of national importance would result in inclusion on the *Register*. Such an identification and information programme would then inform the two further main strands of the approach, these being reactive, via the planning system, and proactive, via conservation methods.

¹¹⁶ For example, articles include Giles Worsley, 'More of a Haven', *Perspectives on Architecture*, 22 (April/May 1996), 54-55; SAVE Britain's Heritage, *Catalytic Conversion: REVIVE Historic Buildings to Regenerate Communities* (London: SAVE Britain's Heritage, 1998), 17; Gillilan, *op. cit.* (10 January 1999), 15.

Reactive conservation approaches - via the local authority planning system

The use of the local authority planning system is a reactive approach because it relies on authorities reacting to development proposals which arise, driven by a desire to engineer large-scale change, rather than by a desire to conserve. This is not ideal for conservation purposes. Local authorities should, as part of the development proposals for asylum sites, obtain objective professional appraisal of the historic value of such sites as a whole, as is best practice for any element of the historic environment. The old approach, particularly for asylum sites, that the building is automatically the focus and the landscape is merely the context for its historic interest, is now believed, in theory, to be invalid. It is the totality of the elements of the historic environment which should be under scrutiny. It is possible that the landscape may not be as important as other elements such as the main building, but it is important to identify areas of greater and lesser historic significance from an informed standpoint. It is then possible, if required, to make an informed decision as to which, if any, areas are legitimate candidates for redesign or can accommodate new structures.

Two parallel scales of evaluation apply in particular, that of historic interest (that is, those which were of importance in asylum landscape development), and that of the survival of historic fabric (that is, those which still survive in recognisable form at all). Occasionally the two may overlap where sites are of importance and survive in recognisable form, such as The Retreat, Brislington House and Wakefield. This is becoming increasingly rare.

Following the evaluation of the site it should be considered for inclusion on lists of local and national importance, e.g. application of Conservation Area status or inclusion on lists of locally important parks and gardens, as supplementary planning guidance, which is a material consideration in the planning system. Conservation Area designation is in particular one of the most useful of the present conservation tools, being flexible in its approach to change and with powers to slow down harmful change. Conservation Area status could have been used at sites such as Hellingly where Goldring's landscape work was degraded too much for inclusion on the *Register* but was of considerable local importance and so ideal for such a local designation. For similar reasons, Hellingly was also a valid candidate for inclusion on a local list, but had never been considered as potentially of sufficient interest for such action.

Proactive conservation approaches

Beyond the planning system there are other methods which are proactive and could be applied to the conservation of asylum landscapes. Having identified the important sites, a national review of the condition of survival of all sites to date would be of use in assessing approaches to conservation. Detailed analysis of conservation activities on asylum sites could identify case studies of good and

bad practice in terms of the whole historic environment, with emphasis on the landscape. A document detailing best practice might be produced, using examples of model approaches such as Moorhaven; of moderate successes, such as Colney Hatch; of disasters such as Stone, Bucks, where both building and landscape were destroyed. Such an exercise could identify where lessons could be learnt which might be applicable to other facets of the historic environment, especially where designed landscapes form component parts. For example, to identify, evaluate and designate the entire stock of particular types of historic asset before irreversible major damage begins to occur.

One proactive and apparently radical conservation method which would be very beneficial, but is very unlikely to occur, is for an entire asylum estate to be bought and displayed by a conservation body as an important surviving example. To achieve this, all the asylum sites of national historic significance still sufficiently well preserved would have to be identified and their condition and potential for restoration appraised in order to be considered for preservation by a heritage conservation body as an exemplar. This has happened successfully at Becher's Thurgarton workhouse, Nottingham (1824, see Chapter 4). HLF grant aid assisted the National Trust to purchase the site, which was modest in both its size and potential for residential development particularly when compared with the larger asylum sites. The value to the NHS on the open property market was smaller than that of an average asylum site and so its purchase was more easily achieved than perhaps that of an asylum might be. In addition, the Trust believed that they had acquired the best surviving early workhouse example. Their workhouse is an example of a formerly execrated public institution now loved and visited. However, the justification for a more recent acquisition, Tyntesfield, is questionable. Should the Trust have deliberately set out to acquire an asylum, as an example of a typical important historic social institution, rather than another example of the domestic country house estate, of which they already have many, including comparably important examples of Victorian estates, including Craggside (which is arguably more important in any case in terms of its architecture, landscape and contents than Tyntesfield)? It is possible that in any case this approach is not achievable, as the most historically important asylums may have by now been too severely altered or even disappeared altogether. It is likely, though, that HLF funding would be forthcoming to part-fund a project of such potentially high social interest. However, the Trust do not appear to have a systematic acquisitions policy country-wide, and asylums do not appear to be on their agenda.

A broader proactive strategy where asylum sites survive, which could be implemented country-wide and championed by local authorities or English Heritage, would actively involve local communities in plans for their long-term future, for example by encouraging the setting up of 'friends' groups as has been done successfully for historic cemeteries. This would help to educate the community about

historic assets which may be under threat, empowering them with choices about their environment and encouraging a sustainable approach to the long-term future of whole asylum estates.

A further proactive strategy is to encourage the use of conservation management plans on all asylum sites, championed by local authorities and supported by English Heritage. Their use as part of planning conditions for reuse is a reactive process, but to encourage their use even without planning conditions may also be possible. The designed landscape needs to be managed as whole, not as a series of individual parcels of land. The conservation plan is useful as an analytical tool to highlight the areas of greater and lesser historic sensitivity to inform the most appropriate areas for development, as well as drawing together owners of divided estates in informed and sympathetic management regimes. In this way it might be possible to identify areas on which new-build might more appropriately be sited, perhaps on otherwise undeveloped farmland, sacrificing areas of the wider landscape in order to keep development away from the most historically sensitive landscape areas, usually the core of the site, and long views. Sustainability could be used as one of the major indicators for conservation - its potential identified as part of a conservation plan for individual sites. In this way perfectly sound building stock and mature ornamental landscapes of local and possibly national significance, which might otherwise be destroyed, may be identified as sustainable in reuse and in their historic entirety could be an asset to regeneration.

Conclusions

Asylum estates are valid *historic assets* for conservation as designed landscapes alongside other landscape types such as country house estates, public parks and garden cemeteries. There is no doubt that the opportunity to conserve some of the most important asylum landscapes has been lost, partly out of ignorance of their value, partly from economic drivers. Some asylum landscapes remain intact but the range is very unsystematically chosen and does not take account of historic importance; the future for most remaining sites is at best uncertain.

A nationwide analysis of sites is required in order to inform and educate decision-makers at local and national level. Following on from this, a national conservation strategy is required for the asylum site as a type, and at local level conservation strategies for individual asylum sites are required. If such action is speedily implemented in the short term it might be possible to conserve a very small number of asylum landscapes largely intact, together with elements of others. The historic character of the landscapes of the rest is likely to be irreversibly harmed.

Action required

- Current conservation mechanisms are not at present dealing effectively with the threats to asylum estates because the entire historic asset is poorly understood. Current mechanisms are flexible

enough to be effective if the will exists at local and national government level to apply them in this particular case. The onus rests with English Heritage as the lead body for the historic environment and local authorities as guardians of the historic environment at local level.

- English Heritage must at last undertake a national asylum site identification and evaluation project to identify the importance of entire estates (landscapes and buildings) at both local and national level, notifying local authorities of sites identified at both levels. This is not likely to be resource-hungry in view of the relatively small number of sites originally constructed (130 including public, private and charitable) which number has been reduced still further by recent damage sustained by individual sites.
- Alongside such an identification and evaluation exercise a condition survey of the historic character of the asylum estate stock should also be undertaken.
- English Heritage must inform decision-makers of the results of such an asylum survey.
- English Heritage must include on the English Heritage *Register* those remaining sites of national importance not already included.
- Local authorities must be encouraged by English Heritage, as part of a national policy, to include those sites of both local and national importance within Conservation Areas as this is a more powerful, but flexible, conservation tool than the *Register*.
- Local authorities and English Heritage should ensure that fully comprehensive conservation plans, including site evaluation, are prepared at the earliest stage to inform planning briefs and later proposals, to indicate importance in the local and national context.
- English Heritage, local authorities and amenity societies should ensure that locally important asylum sites are included within lists of locally important designed landscapes as supplementary planning guidance (assuming that the national ones are covered by lists relating to the *Register*).

APPENDIX II. CASE STUDIES

1. Bethlem
2. Brislington House
3. Derby
4. Ewell Epileptic Colony
5. Hanwell
6. Middlesbrough
7. Norwich
8. Nottingham
9. The Retreat
10. Wakefield

The case studies describe briefly the significance, history, structure and principal historic sources for the landscapes of sites which have been chosen to illustrate particular points under discussion in the main text of the thesis. Each has good relevant surviving archival material. Together the sites provide a chronological distribution over the whole period under discussion, 1808-1914, as well as addressing key sites in the contextual period leading up to 1808. The case studies also provide a geographical spread across England, including rural and metropolitan areas. Individually they illustrate well either the development of the design and variant types of asylum landscape, and/or the therapeutic use of the landscape by patients.

Case Study 1. Bethlem

Former names	St Mary of Bethlehem
Address	Moorfields, London
Date of erection	1674-76 (demolished c.1815)
Type of asylum	Charitably funded asylum administered by the Corporation of London
Architect	Robert Hooke
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 328 816

SIGNIFICANCE

Bethlem provided, from the mid-1670s until the mid-eighteenth century, the only significant example of a purpose-built lunatic hospital in Britain. Major features of Hooke's Bethlem, in terms of the setting, accommodation and treatment, provided the model used for other charitable lunatic hospitals founded in the eighteenth century and even the publicly funded county asylums in the nineteenth century. As such its estate was very influential in asylum construction, including the principal elements of the estate: the building, airing courts and forecourt.

HISTORY

St Mary of Bethlehem was founded in 1247 as a priory to offer hospitality to the poor, and to accommodate the representatives of the Order of Bethlehem when they visited England from the Holy Land. The priory was built in Bishopsgate, just outside the wall of the City of London, and became a hospital which from the fourteenth century specialised in the treatment of the mad. It was the only institution offering this service to paupers.

In 1674, when there were c.60 inmates, the Bethlem Governors decided to abandon the Bishopsgate site and rebuild the lunatic hospital elsewhere. By the later seventeenth century the hospital was aiming to implement a policy of admitting 'curable' patients who were deemed likely to recover from their lunatic behaviour. Although there was 'no particular time limited for the continuance of a patient in the hospital, who is under cure ... it is generally seen in a twelvemonth, whether the case will admit relief' and at that point patients were released whether cured or not.¹ The Governors, drawn from the Aldermen of the City of London, took the opportunity to erect a magnificent building and formal grounds, for the colossal sum of £17,000.

¹ T. Bowen, *An Historical Account of the Origin, Progress and Present State of Bethlem Hospital* (London, 1783), 14.

The new site selected, close by Bishopsgate, at the head of Moorfields, was chosen for its 'health and aire', the benefit of an ample, unsullied fresh air supply and its effective circulation being regarded by the Governors as the key to healthy surroundings.² The poem *Bethlehem's beauty* (1676) emphasised the perceived virtues of the new site's healing air:

Th' Approaching Air, in every gentle Breeze,
 Is *Fan'd* and *Winnow'd* through the neighbouring *Trees*,
 And comes so *Pure*, the *Spirits* to Refine,
 As if th' wise Governours had a Designe
 That should alone, without *Physick* Restore
 Those whom *Gross Vapours* discompos'd before ...³

The Governors employed the prominent architect Robert Hooke (1635-1703), who was actively involved in the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire, to design the building.⁴ Largely constructed by 1676, it was probably only the third purpose-built asylum, after one in Valencia (1409, destroyed 1512) and the Dolhuys in Amsterdam (1562).⁵ Andrews states, in connection with the intentions of the Governors, that they were 'much more concerned with the 'Grace and Ornament of the ... Building' than with the patients' exercise or any other therapeutic purpose ... New Bethlem was constructed pre-eminently as fund-raising rhetoric, to attract the patronage and admiration of the elite, rather than for its present and future inmates, whose interests took a poor second place'.⁶ The building was eventually deemed to be poorly built and in 1815 it was abandoned and demolished, when the institution moved to its third site at Southwark in south London. This site was abandoned in the early twentieth century when Bethlem moved to another new site at Monks Orchard in Kent, opened in 1930.

² Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Bridewell and Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes, 8, 16 May 1674, 638, 642.

³ Anon., *Bethlehem's Beauty ...*, reprinted in R.A. Aubin (ed.), *London in flames, London in glory: poems on the Fire and rebuilding of London 1666-1709* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1943), 245-48.

⁴ Hooke was a close colleague of Christopher Wren and designed several other institutional buildings in London including the Bridewell Hospital (1671-78), also for the City of London; the Haberdashers Aske's Hospital, an almshouse at Hoxton (c.1690-93); with John Oliver, Christ's Hospital Writing School (1675-6); as well as several town and country houses. Hooke's Hoxton building was of similar design to Bethlem: a long, single-pile building with an elaborate central block connected by flanking wings to two pavilions. A large, grassed forecourt appears to have been used by the inmates for recreation and exercise, and was divided from the road beyond by a wall and central gateway, the whole layout in similar formal style to that at Bethlem. It is illustrated in Strype's edition of John Stowe's *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720). Hooke only used the single-pile design for these two hospitals, not for his houses.

⁵ Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 255, n. 48.

DESCRIPTION

Until the Reformation (1530s) the initial Bethlem site at Bishopsgate had been quite open around the main building, having gradually acquired a series of gardens and courts. Following the Reformation its open site had gradually been reduced in size, with the sale of plots within it.⁷ By the later C17 Ogilby and Morgan's map of London shows that there was virtually nothing of the formerly spacious precinct left that had not been built upon, apart from the limited space in front of and behind the main buildings.⁸ This space contained in the early C17 a single airing court, to which was added a second court in the expansion of 1643-44.⁹ But by then it was set in a noisy, crowded location which did not suit the aspirations of the City of London or medical requirements for fresh air to combat infectious miasmata.

The second site was in Lower Moorfields, to the west of Bishopsgate, again outside the north boundary of the City, although only just so.¹⁰ The site for the building ran parallel to the ancient London Wall, and only nine feet (3m) to the north of it, occupying open ground on the site of the old City ditch which had been filled in. The site formed the south boundary of, and overlooked, Moorfields, a series of substantial formal public open spaces laid out from 1605, which, although largely surrounded by development, formed a finger of open space which led directly out to the open fields to the north. New Bethlem was palatial in scale, even in terms of new constructions put up as part of the building campaign after the Great Fire, being intended to accommodate 120 patients. The c.540 feet (166m) long entrance facade on the north front was depicted by Robert White in an engraving of 1677, shortly after construction, together with parts of the grounds surrounding Hooke's building (Plate 11). The single-pile building was of two storeys over a basement, and showed Dutch and French influences in its elaborate external decoration. The patients were segregated indoors, at first with males on the ground floor and females on the first floor. The cells, for individual patients, led off galleries which served for communication and for exercise in inclement weather. John Evelyn was one of the many admirers of new Bethlem, describing it as 'magnificently built, & most sweetly placed in Morefields'.¹¹ There must surely have been a service entrance on the south side of the building, between it and the City Wall, although the space between the two was only nine feet (3m).

⁶ Jonathan Andrews, 'Bedlam Revisited: A History of Bethlem Hospital c.1634-c.1770' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1991), 174-5.

⁷ Andrews, et al., *op. cit.* (1997), 43-44.

⁸ Ogilby and Morgan, *City of London* (London, 1676) (in Andrews, et al., *op. cit.* (1997), 49).

⁹ Andrews, et al., *op. cit.* (1997), 208.

¹⁰ The site is now covered by Finsbury Circus.

¹¹ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E.S. De Beer (ed.), vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 134; entry for 18 April 1678.

White's engraving clearly shows the grounds and part of the provision made for patient exercise (Plate 11).¹² The outline in plan form of the building and its open spaces in relation to their setting is also shown on contemporary maps of London (Plate 10, Morgan's map of 1682).¹³ These are the two main illustrative sources available for Hooke's Bethlem. The grounds were divided into a large rectangular forecourt in front of the building, flanked by two smaller exercise yards. The whole was approached via the formally laid out and enclosed lawns of Moorfields, a fashionable recreational space for the local inhabitants which had been one of the first such formally designated public open spaces. Security at Bethlem was of great concern, as patients were perceived to be continually likely to abscond as the opportunity arose. As reliable staff to supervise patients were difficult to find, the Governors had to rely on making the environment itself provide the means for ensuring confinement. The first three reports on the construction of the building by the hospital's Committee of Governors were largely taken up with matters concerning the boundary wall that was to surround the hospital and its grounds, and to confine the patients.¹⁴ These reports provide a narrative of the layout of part of the grounds and, together with White's engraving, provide a useful basis for the analysis of their construction.

The existing London Wall was used to form part of the secure 680 feet (c.207m) long south boundary wall. On the other sides a wall was to be constructed at 14 feet (4.2m) high along the sections which bounded the airing courts, with a coping expressly intended to stop the lunatics escaping. The exception was the front, north, wall of the forecourt which ran parallel to the whole length of the building and divided it from the adjacent Moorfields. This c.420 feet (c.128m) long central section of the whole north wall would be only eight feet (2.5m) high, so 'that the Grace and Ornament of the said intended Building may better appeare towards Morefeilds', thus allowing the grandeur of the Corporation of London's unique institution to be fully appreciated. The lowering of the forecourt wall did not affect security, for the patients were forbidden to exercise in the forecourt.¹⁵ The wall was broken by six evenly spaced panels of iron railings, each forming a ten-foot (c.3m) wide *clairvoie* intended to enhance the views of the building from the adjacent and impressively laid out Moorfields open recreational space. The views were clearly intended to impress the users of Moorfields, both nearby residents and visitors alike, and the visitors to Bethlem itself upon their approach.

The north side of the building and the forecourt are shown in detail on White's engraving, with a passer-by admiring the ensemble. The *clairvoie* panels were flanked by piers surmounted by stone

¹² Engraving: Robert White, after Thomas Cartwright, *Hospitium Mente-Captorum Londinense* (1677); copy at Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

¹³ W. Morgan, *London &c. Actually Survey'd*, (London, 1682) is illustrated; Ogilby and Morgan's map, *City of London* (London, 1676) shows useful detail of the Moorfields setting.

¹⁴ The following from Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Bridewell and Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes, 23 October: Committee reports of 13, 16, 20 October 1674 read into the Court minutes.

pineapples. At the centre of the forecourt wall an elaborate triple gateway gave access from the formally fenced and tree-lined lawns of Moorfields to the north, between which the visitor approached. The portentous gateway was elevated above a flight of steps and surmounted by the life-sized statues of two figures depicting raving and melancholy madness, attributed to Caius Cibber. From here the visitor crossed the expensively paved and gravelled forecourt to gain access to the main entrance at the centre of the building. There were numerous large windows in the north walls of the ward wings, flanking the central administrative block, allowing for the ample ingress of light and air. Those in the raised ground floor and first floor, in particular, gave the patients an elevated view of the forecourt, and beyond this of the designed open spaces of Moorfields.

The boundary wall also enclosed the two exercise yards, which flanked the forecourt at the corners of the building. The forecourt was several times *larger than either of the exercise yards*, which were limited in their extent by, apart from the forecourt which divided them, the proximity of Moorfields to the north, the London Wall to the south, and development to the west and east.

Two yards were provided 'reserved for the use and benefit' of the inmates, one each for the separate sexes to exercise in. Those patients 'well enough' were 'permitted to walke the Yards there in the day tyme', so that they could 'take the aire in order to [aid] their recovery'.¹⁶ Each yard was surrounded by the 14 feet (4.2m) high wall, topped with a 'Coping ... intended to p'vent the Escape of Lunatickes'. Both were laid out with grass and gravel plots of 120 feet (36.5m), with, set into the rear wall, a small pavilion with windows at first-floor level.¹⁷ The upper level of the pavilions may have provided shelter for attendants supervising patients whilst allowing them an elevated view of their charges in the yard, with the lower level providing shelter for the patients. By the late eighteenth century Bethlem was noted for its 'fine gardens' where the patients 'enjoy fresh air and recreate themselves amongst trees, flowers and plants'.¹⁸ Although there was no formal classification by symptoms, there was obviously a category of patients who were allowed to exercise outdoors. Those whose behaviour was deemed to be too wayward or who were physically too unwell remained indoors.

By 1740 the wings had been extended to west and east in L-shaped form, covering much of the site of the early airing courts. Provision for patient exercise was made by reducing the width of the forecourt, such that it only extended half way along each of the original wings. It had also lost the *clairvoies* formerly sited in the north boundary wall. The open ground formerly flanking the forecourt

¹⁵ Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Bridewell and Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes, 23 October 1674.

¹⁶ Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Bridewell and Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes, 23 October 1674, 5 May 1676, and Bethlem Committee report, 16 October 1674.

¹⁷ Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Bridewell and Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes, 23 October 1674; Engraving: White, *op. cit.* (1677).

was given over to airing courts, surrounded by higher walls. The old gateway had been re-sited to the south, much closer to the front door and a curved carriage sweep open to Moorfields now provided more direct access to the entrance to the building, while dividing the forecourt into two compartments. This removed the need for visitors to cross the forecourt on foot to gain admittance. The opening up of the approach physically linked the main entrance to the building with the main axial walk of Lower Moorfields pleasure grounds.

The Moorfields site was abandoned in 1815, when a new site was opened in St George's Fields, Southwark. The old building had for long been unsound, having been constructed very quickly of poor materials over the unstable infilled ground of the City ditch below the City wall. The building was demolished and Finsbury Circus was developed on its site.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

An extensive archive is held at The Bethlem Royal Hospital, Monks Orchard, Beckenham, Kent, including information about all four sites that Bethlem has occupied. One of the most useful sources for the construction of Hooke's building is the Bridewell and Bethlem Court of Governors Minutes for 1674-76.

Publications

The definitive published work is:

Andrews, Jonathan, Briggs, Asa, Porter, Roy, Tucker, Penny, Waddington, Keir, *The History of Bethlem* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

See also:

Andrews, Jonathan, 'Bedlam Revisited: A History of Bethlem Hospital c.1634-c1770' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1991).

Strype, John, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster ... Written at First ... by John Stowe*, vol. 1 (London: Churchill, 1720), 199, 195.

Several maps and illustrations provide useful views including:

Robert White, after Thomas Cartwright, *Hospitium Mente-Captorum Londinense* [Bethlem Hospital], (1676) (engraving).

Ogilby and Morgan, *City of London* (1676).

¹⁸ C. Williams (ed. and trans.), *Sophie in London, 1786, Being the Diary of Sophie v. La Roche* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), 166-71.

Morgan, William, *London, etc Actually Survey'd* (1682).

For Robert Sayer, *Bethlem Hospital*, (c.1740) (engraving).

Rocque, J., *The Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and ... Southwark ...* (London: Pine, 1747).

Case Study 2. Brislington House

Former names	-
Address	Bath Road, Brislington, Bristol
Date of erection	1804-06
Type of asylum	Private lunatic asylum owned and run by the Fox family
Architect	unknown
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	ST 633 702

SIGNIFICANCE

Brislington House was the first purpose-built private asylum (1804-06) and was influential on the erection of the county asylums. Established by a Quaker doctor, Dr Fox, its structure and regime were almost certainly influenced by The Retreat. Elements drawn from Bethlem were used at the core of both asylums, these being principally the airing courts, but the use of moral treatment was manifested in the construction of further, new elements in the wider landscape. Brislington House reflected the layout of the site at The Retreat, while extending, developing and increasing the individual elements. The influence of Fox and Brislington House extended widely in England and Scotland.

HISTORY

In 1804 Dr Edward Long Fox began the construction of a new asylum on former common land close to the village of Brislington on the outskirts of Bristol. In 1806 this opened as Brislington House, a prestigious establishment catering largely for wealthy patients of the gentry and nobility, but taking some paupers. It cost c.£35,000 to build and equip.¹⁹

Fox's influence extended widely. Shortly after the passing of the 1808 Lunatics Act, Fox provided advice on the construction of Nottingham county asylum, in 1809, and Gloucester in 1813.²⁰ He was one of only a handful of private asylum proprietors whose regime and premises were praised during the evidence given to the major 1815 Parliamentary Select Committee Inquiry into Lunacy.²¹ The text of his c.1806 promotional pamphlet for Brislington House was reproduced in full with Robert Reid's *Observations on the Structure of Hospitals for the Treatment of Lunatics* (1809), which was published together with Reid's proposed designs for the new Edinburgh asylum.²² Fox's pamphlet was quoted as being a 'valuable authority' in the second edition of William Stark's *Remarks on the*

¹⁹ Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Bills relating to lunatics and lunatic asylums, in *Journals of the House of Lords*, Appendix II (1828), 710.

²⁰ Nottinghamshire RO, SO/HO/1/1, Nottingham asylum, Committee minutes, entries for March and April 1809; Gloucestershire RO, HO 22/1/1, Horton Road asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, entry for February 1813.

²¹ *Report together with The Minutes of Evidence, of Select Committee on Madhouses in England* (1815), 298.

²² R. Reid, *Observations on the Structure of Hospitals for the Treatment of Lunatics* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1809).

Construction of Public Hospitals for the Cure of Mental Derangement (1810). Here Stark republished his proposals for the construction of Glasgow asylum, and expressed his regret at not having known of Fox's pamphlet for the first edition in 1807, as 'it would have supplied me with much valuable authority respecting many of the statements contained in my former Report'.²³ Fox's asylum arrangements continued to be directly influential for some years. The Committee at Bedford in 1825, 13 years after its opening, were informed of the arrangements which Dr Fox adopted in the airing courts at Brislington House, and duly altered their own airing courts to incorporate mounds to allow the patients to take advantage of views beyond the airing courts.²⁴ Fox gave extensive evidence once more, towards the end of his career, to the 1828 House of Lords Select Committee Inquiry relating to lunatics and asylums.²⁵ His asylum may additionally have been influential because of the number of influential and wealthy people who visited their relations when patients there. Even in the 1830s W.A.F. Browne commended favourably in print upon the structure of Dr Fox's Brislington House and his therapeutic regime.²⁶

By the late 1820s Dr Fox accommodated 'all Classes of Society' at Brislington House, but there were very few pauper lunatics. Classification was as important as in the early days of the institution, 'Not only are the Classes of Society kept distinct, but three Classes of each Society are kept distinct according to the State of the Disease'. There was also division by sex. To effect this classification, the establishment was divided into six 'houses', with two attendants for each one. One other house was provided, for paupers, detached from the main group. In terms of cures effected, in 1826 Fox received 42 patients, 22 of whom were cured and nine were under gradual improvement; one was discharged to another asylum, five died, and the remainder continued at Brislington. There were on average 90 patients in the asylum.²⁷

DESCRIPTION

The building stood at the heart of the site, with an open and informal forecourt to the front and a block of rectangular airing courts to the rear, and views from the rear towards the distant Bath Hills. Its six separate ward pavilions, referred to by Fox as 'houses', comprised three for males and three for females flanking a central block (Plates 23, 25 and 26 - engraving of main front and plans of the core of the site). Initially the patients were classified by social rank, then by severity of symptoms, rather

²³ William Stark, *Remarks on the Construction of Public Hospitals for the Cure of Mental Derangement* (Glasgow: Hedderwick, 2nd edn., 1810), 35.

²⁴ Bedfordshire RO, LB 1/1, Bedford asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, entry for July 1825.

²⁵ Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Bills relating to lunatics and lunatic asylums, in *Journals of the House of Lords*, Appendix II (1828), 710-13.

²⁶ W.A.F. Browne, *What Asylums Were, Are and Ought to Be: Being the Substance of Five Lectures Delivered Before the Managers of the Montrose Royal Lunatic Asylum* (Edinburgh: Black, 1837), 172, 185-86.

²⁷ Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Bills relating to lunatics and lunatic asylums, in *Journals of the House of Lords*, Appendix II (1828), 710-13.

than by type of illness. Those of the highest social rank were referred to as 'ladies' and 'gentlemen', and were allocated the most prestigious accommodation within the upper floors of the main central block (divided into two for the separate sexes). The lower ranks comprised males and females of the second and third classes who inhabited the two larger pavilions of the three on either side of the main block. The various social classes and sexes were never to meet. The accommodation was graded such that the central block, where Dr Fox himself lived, was for the higher class, the central two of the flanking pavilions were for the second-class patients, whilst those furthest from the main block were for the third, lowest class. The smallest of the three pavilions on either side of the main block was for use as an infirmary or isolation block.

An unusual management and treatment feature was *the manner in which a line of cells* was sited at the far end of each of the airing courts at the back of the building. These isolation cells, for the more recalcitrant patients, were placed well away from the ward pavilions so that those patients who were quieter and less disruptive were less disturbed by noisy patients. However, they were still within call of staff and services from the main buildings. The main building, cells and courts were enclosed by a wall and the only entrance and exit, apart from the doorway to the walled garden behind, was via the main central door opening onto the forecourt.

On the front, entrance side of the building lay an informal forecourt with a grand turning circle. This was divided from the main house and its individual ward blocks by two outdoor sunken service passages to allow communication between the blocks, which also flanked and linked with the central block. To prevent escapes these passages were divided from the forecourt and wider estate by a stone wall 11 feet (3.5m) high.

Behind the ward pavilions lay the line of six walled airing courts, to which Fox said, patients had access 'whenever they please'. Each of the three social class divisions within each sex was specifically allocated one of the courts. Those two for the second class were a few feet broader than those for the other classes, and the 'gentlemen's' court had direct access to the walled garden behind. Each court contained lawns, paths and a central viewing mount to allow the patients views over the countryside to distant hills. The provision of these mounts was a novel feature designed by Fox. A border sloping towards the outer wall of each court in the form of a ha-ha prevented them from escaping, while allowing a good view of the surrounding country.²⁸ In general the courts resembled domestic town gardens, where the emphasis in each enclosed space was on combining rural views, if available, with ornamental and convenient amenities for recreation. The therapeutic use of airing

²⁸ Huntington Library, San Marino, CA: Stowe Papers, maps and plans, Box 10, item 4, engraving *The Ground Plan of the Asylum for Lunatics at Brislington House near Bristol. Erected 1806 by Dr. Fox*, n.d. [c.1806]. Somerset RO, Q/RLu 42/6, Brislington House, ground plan of airing courts and cells, 1843.

courts had not been classified to such a degree before. Neither, it seems, had their layout been so elaborate or provided with features allowing the patients to take advantage of 'therapeutic' views. Brislington House, along with The Retreat, was one of the earliest asylums to promote the enjoyment of the surrounding setting of the asylum for therapeutic purposes. It is clear that Dr Fox, as part of his aim of curing via moral therapy, constructed these core elements, building, airing courts and walled garden, to ensure that those patients whom he considered required confinement were not allowed the opportunity to escape.²⁹

Beyond the airing courts a bowling green and fives-court were provided, and other 'innocent amusements for exercise' were allowed, probably largely for the higher social classes of patients.³⁰ In order to provide ample recreation and employment facilities, and because Fox did not want patients to be disturbed, or incommoded by neighbours complaining of disturbance, the asylum was sited in 80 acres (32 ha.) outside Bristol on an isolated tract of former common heathland. The main buildings stood at the centre of what amounted to an extensive and purpose-built country house estate with modifications for use in the treatment of lunatics (Plate 27, annotated plan of estate, 1902). The traditional country estate elements, parkland, pleasure ground, lodges, approach drives, and kitchen garden, all enclosed by a stone wall, were supplemented with secure, walled airing courts adjacent to the main buildings. Additionally, a number of cottages were erected in picturesque style around the grounds, in a manner reminiscent of Blaise Hamlet (c.1810), built nearby on the west side of Bristol to designs by John Nash. The patients' cottages, scattered in the park in their own small grounds, were for the most wealthy patients who could not be accommodated in the main block in the style to which they were accustomed (for example, see Plate 24, the Swiss Cottage, built in 1819). In this way they could live, with their own retinue if desired, splendidly isolated from all possible social and medical taint associated with the main asylum buildings, while benefiting from the proximity of the expert Dr Fox and his establishment.³¹

Several passages written by John Perceval concerning his enforced stay as a patient at Brislington House in 1831 address the uses to which this early therapeutic landscape was put. Although Fox was initially reluctant to give gentlemen activities below their perceived status, Perceval's narrative indicates that gentlemen were allowed to work in the gardens and grounds of the House. Perceval complained that upon his admission in January 1831 there was little for him to do indoors, apart from looking out of the window and reading the newspaper. His mother asked Dr F.C. Fox to let Perceval

²⁹ Somerset RO, T/PH/fx2, Edward Long Fox, *An Account of the Establishment* [Brislington House] (Bristol: for the author, c.1806), 1.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 1-2; Huntington Library, San Marino, CA: Stowe Papers, maps and plans, Box 10, item 4, engraving *The Ground Plan of the Asylum for Lunatics at Brislington House near Bristol. Erected 1806 by Dr. Fox*, n.d. [c.1806].

work in Fox's garden 'this was indeed beneficial, as it gave me occupation and more privacy'. Later on in the year he was employed with two other gentlemen and an attendant to do further work, cutting out a small path in the shrubbery, having been entrusted with a mattock and spade, although he rejected these when his voices teased him with contrary instructions, reverting instead to wheeling the barrow, picking up sticks and using a bill-hook.³²

Perceval refers to the use of the airing courts, or yards, for exercise and a change of scenery, as a common activity for patients, used together with walks further afield within and outside the grounds. Seats were provided, and patients might be left on their own, 'When left alone in the yard, [a patient] amused himself with picking up stones, climbing up into a small tree and sitting there looking over the country, and one day he picked nearly all the leaves off this tree'.³³ Later on in the 1870s, the Reverend Francis Kilvert recounted in his diary visiting his aunt Emma who was to be found sitting in the gardens, doing some work with a cat or two on her lap, where they walked whilst talking.³⁴

Perceval describes a precipitous pleasure ground known as The Battery, situated on a terrace above the River Avon, to which the patients were often taken, and its drawbacks for those experiencing hallucinatory voices. 'At one elevated spot that commanded a view down the valley, a natural or artificial precipice yawned in the red soil, crowned with a small parapet, in rear of which was a small terrace and summer house [the Battery]'. The view was, apparently, enchanting. A photograph shows the picturesque summerhouse at the turn of the century.³⁵ Here Perceval sat on the parapet, overlooking the precipice, 'My voices commanded me to throw myself over, that I should be immediately in heavenly places' and having managed to resist this injunction, on subsequent visits he refused to go up to the parapet, but instead sat in the summerhouse 'to avoid the temptation'. Other patients sat on the Battery, but Perceval disapproved of them being taken there at all for safety reasons.³⁶

The asylum continued to be owned and run by the family until c.1950, when the asylum building was sold to the NHS as a nurses' home. Following a period as a nursing home in the 1990s it has been converted into private apartments, and a school built in part of the park.

³² Reprinted in G. Bateson (ed.), *Perceval's Narrative: a Patient's Account of his Psychosis 1830-1832* (2 vols. 1838-40; reprinted Stanford, CA.: Stanford University, 1961), 150.

³³ *Ibid.*, 169-70.

³⁴ *Kilvert's Diary 1874-1879*, ed. W. Plomer, vol. 3 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961), 103-5.

³⁵ Bristol RO, 39624/5, Album of photographs 'Brislington House, near Bristol', n.d. [c.1900-1910].

³⁶ Reprinted in Bateson (ed.), *op. cit.* (1961), 116-7.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The administrative records have not been located, despite searches in various repositories and communication with members of the Fox family. However, some remaining documents, in scattered repositories, present useful information about the development of the asylum site. The core of the estate was illustrated in an undated plan of the building, airing courts and adjacent walled garden, and described, together with his theories of treatment, in Fox's promotional pamphlet of 1806.³⁷ These together provide an invaluable source of information about the structure and management of the establishment.

Somerset RO

Building Plans Q/RLu 42/6, 1843 ground plan of asylum, airing courts and cells

Building Plans Q/RLu 42/2, 1850 (proposals to alter the core of the site)

Edward Long Fox, *An Account of the Establishment* [Brislington House], c.1806, T/PH/fx/2

The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, USA

Stowe Papers, maps and plans, Box 10, item 4, *The Ground Plan of the Asylum for Lunatics at Brislington House near Bristol. Erected 1806 by Dr. Fox*, n.d. [c.1806].

Bedfordshire RO

LBP 1, Early Misc papers 1812-30, Anon., *Brislington House, An Asylum for Lunatics, ... An Account of the Establishment*, n.d. [c.1817] (pamphlet).

Bristol Local Studies Library

Anon., *Brislington House Prospectus*, 1902.

Bristol RO

39624/5 Album of photographs, c.1900-1910.

Publications

Bateson, G. (ed.), *Perceval's Narrative: A Patient's Account of his Psychosis 1830-1832* (2 vols. 1838-40; reprinted Stanford, CA.: Stanford University, 1961), 94-95, 116-17, 150-51, 169-70.

³⁷ Fox, *op. cit.* (1806), 1-2; Huntington Library, San Marino, CA: Stowe Papers, maps and plans, Box 10, item 4, engraving *The Ground Plan of the Asylum for Lunatics at Brislington House near Bristol. Erected 1806 by Dr. Fox*, n.d. [c.1806].

Fox, A., 'A Short Account of Brislington House 1804-1906', in *Brislington House Quarterly Newsletter, Centenary Number* (1906).

Fox, F.K. and C.J., *History and present state of Brislington House near Bristol: an asylum for the cure & reception of insane persons, established by Edward Long Fox ... 1804 and now conducted by F. & C. Fox* (Bristol: Light and Ridler, 1836).

Parry-Jones, William Llewellyn, *The trade in lunacy: a study of private madhouses in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 112-3.

Case Study 3. Derby

Former names	Derbyshire Asylum; Pastures Hospital
Address	Mickleover, Derby
Date of erection	1844-51
Type of asylum	County asylum administered by the county of Derbyshire
Architect	Henry Duesbury
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	SK 297 331

SIGNIFICANCE

When the plans for the erection of this asylum were published this was the estate which most closely followed John Conolly's ideal (the ground plan was reproduced in his *Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums ...*). Although it was not erected exactly as depicted in the early plans, it was a typical county asylum which was in the course of design and erection as the 1845 Lunatics Act was passed. It displayed typical asylum landscape features and design from this period, which continued in use during the rest of the century and were commented upon favourably some decades later by authors such as Sibbald in 1897 and Hine in 1901.

HISTORY

When planning their asylum the magistrates visited Conolly at Hanwell together with existing asylums at Wakefield, Nottingham and Gloucester. The importance of buying a larger farm than was initially required was urged, as an asylum farm was regarded as beneficial in treating insanity. The value of separate airing grounds for the several classes of insanity was noted, and the magistrates recommended that no less than 50 acres (20 ha.) of land be attached.³⁸ Henry Duesbury won the architectural competition in 1844, but the proceedings were delayed, so that the asylum was only completed in 1853 to modified designs. Meanwhile Conolly had somewhat misleadingly published Duesbury's earlier design in 1847 as that which was executed (Plate 6).³⁹ The plan as built appeared with an engraved view (Plate 39) and a description by Duesbury in the 1853 Annual Report.

DESCRIPTION

A 79 acre (32 ha.) estate was laid out at Mickleover, three and a half miles (5.5 km) south-west of Derby, in an isolated rural area, the building being designed for 360 patients. The site lay between two major arterial routes, to the north the Derby to Uttoxeter road, and to the south-east the Derby to Lichfield/Birmingham road, but was separated from both by a buffer of fields. A lane constructed specifically to give access to the asylum from the Uttoxeter road entered at the north-east corner of

³⁸ RCHME, Report, Derby asylum, NBR 102238 (1993).

the site. The Tudor-style building stood towards the summit of rising ground with wide panoramic views to the south (Plate 39, engraving of south front). The entrance lay at the north-east corner of the estate, at which stood entrance gates with a Tudor-style lodge on one side. From here one arm of the circuit drive around the c.30 acre (c.12 ha.) core of the site led south-westwards along the north front of the asylum building to the farm and cemetery at the south-west corner of the site, the other leading around to the south, entrance front at the centre of the building (see Plate 38, annotated plan of core of site and pleasure grounds, based on OS 25" plan, pub. 1882). The male half of the asylum was to the east and the female to the west of the central administration block. The patients were classified by degree of illness, i.e. severity of their symptoms, rather than by type of illness.

Henry Duesbury's Architect's Report (December 1852) provides a useful description of the earliest layout.

The Asylum is situated about three quarters of a mile S.W. of the village of Mickleover, on an estate consisting of 79 acres of land, ... and stands, with a southern aspect, on rising ground overlooking the rich valley of the Trent, and commanding a panoramic view of the wide spread country beyond, bounded in the extreme distance to the South, by the Charnwood Hills, having Needwood to the West, and the flats of Nottinghamshire to the East - perhaps one of the most beautiful and varied views in the County. The Property is approached from Uttoxeter Rd by a pleasant lane, which forms its Northern boundary, and in which at the N.E. angle of the estate, are the entrance gates with a lodge attached; a carriage drive, with turfed slopes, leads from these gates past the Eastern front, and along the south terrace, which stretches across the property from East to West, to the CHIEF ENTRANCE in the centre of the Southern or principal front, the drive being continued forward to the Farm Building at the N.W. boundary. The Farm is also approached by a back road from the entrance lodge, which, skirting the plantation (about 4 acres in extent to the North), also affords access to the offices and back premises of the Establishment. A kitchen garden (containing about 5 acres) surrounds the building on the North, East and West sides, and occupies the remaining space enclosed by the roads before mentioned. The site of the building and exercise gardens [airing courts] covers a space of 5.5 acres.

The main entrance at the centre of the south front gave access to the Superintendent's and officers' residences in the central block. It opened onto a paved terrace approached by a broad flight of steps from the drive running along the outer sides of the two southern airing courts. The drive itself at this point was carried on a broad terrace, separated from the parkland beyond by a ha-ha. Duesbury's report continued:

³⁹ John Conolly, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane* (London: Churchill, 1847), pl. 1.

The Airing Grounds, being considered essential to the advantageous treatment of the Patients, are here placed in front to enjoy as much as possible the cheerfulness & warmth of the southern aspect. Each Airing Ground (or Exercise Garden) is surrounded by a sunkwall having a ha-ha on each side

The EXERCISE GARDENS or Airing Courts attached to the Ward ... are all laid down with turf and have well drained gravel walks, the tops of the inclosing walls not being more than 3' above the surface - a novelty in the manner in which the slopes of the front Exercise Gardens are managed may be noticed, it is a double slope ..., the small slope answering the two-fold purpose of forming a seat in fine weather, and of preventing a 'running jump' being taken from the top of the large slope to the wall.⁴⁰

The farm contained the steward's house, and adjoining bailiff's house. Beyond the latter was the farmyard, with a large covered manure shed in the centre, and a tank for liquid manure. The yard was enclosed by buildings including a visitors' stable, cart house, barn, cart-horse stable with harness room, slaughter-house with copper to cook pig food, and hen house. The pigsties were arranged on Lord Torrington's principle. There were also carpenter's and blacksmith's shops, a fold yard, and cart sheds, calf house, cow house, magistrates' and officers' stable, harness room, and a double coach house. The surfaces of the farm and fold yards were both asphalted. The foul drainage from the asylum and farm drained into a large tank in the grounds, from which it was pumped for agricultural purposes. A stack yard lay at the back of the farm buildings, and beyond, in the extreme north-west angle, lay the burial ground surrounded by a dwarf wall. A small chapel in the cemetery also included a mortuary.

The 1879 25" OS plan shows a paddock immediately to the south beyond the triangular core of the site planted with a belt of trees and clumps of trees, the surrounding estate farmland being laid out as agricultural fields. The paddock is separated from the field beyond by a ha-ha. The whole estate was laid out to accomplish a complex series of tasks, as well as housing several hundred patients and staff.

⁴⁰ 'The Architect's Report', in First Report of the Derbyshire County Lunatic Asylum, Derby (1853), 5-17 and plan.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is the Derbyshire RO. Useful sources include:

Derbyshire RO

Anon., *Report on the proposed Pauper Lunatic Asylum for the County of Derby* (Derby: for the Committee, 1844).

First Report of the Derbyshire County Lunatic Asylum, Derby, 1853. [includes the Architect's Report, 28 December 1852, 5-17 and plan]

OS 25", Derbys. sh. LIV.2, pub. 1882.

Publications

Conolly, John, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane* (London: Churchill, 1847).

Hine, George T., 'Asylums and Asylum Planning', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 9 (23 February 1901), 164.

Sibbald, J., *On the Plans of Modern Asylums for the Insane Poor* (Edinburgh: Turner, 1897), 8-9.

Thompson, John D., Goldin, Grace, *The Hospital: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1975), 75.

RCHME, Swindon

Report, Derby asylum, NBR 102238 (1993).

Case Study 4. Ewell Epileptic Colony

Former names	LCC Epileptic Colony; St Ebba's Hospital
Address	Ewell, Surrey
Date of erection	1900-03
Type of asylum	County epileptic colony administered by LCC
Architect	W. C. Clifford Smith
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 204 626

SIGNIFICANCE

The LCC Epileptic Colony was the first publicly funded working epileptic colony. The asylum was a pioneering example of a complete epileptic colony based on a villa layout, influenced by earlier charitable colony sites, particularly that at Chalfont St Giles, Bucks. The sources provide a useful insight into the design of this type of specialist estate, demonstrating its development as a variant of the non-specialist public asylum.

HISTORY

In the late 1890s the LCC had concluded that the housing of certain types of epileptic patients in standard asylums was inappropriate and by 1898 had decided that a separate working colony would provide more appropriate therapeutic accommodation for them. It was intended to accommodate those epileptic men, at that time *spread between the other LCC asylums, who were deemed able to work well despite their condition.* It was believed that, 'The insanity of the epileptic is different from that of the ordinary insane. The insane epileptic associate together and are sympathetic, the other solitary and egotistical. They are industrious and benefit to a marked degree by occupation and congenial industrial pursuits'.⁴¹ It was reasoned that epileptics, many of whom were regarded as harmless and their insanity as intermittent, 'must necessarily suffer considerable hardship by association with those whose insanity is continuous'.⁴² There were believed to be some epileptic patients, 'whose prevailing mental features, though subject at intervals to acute exacerbations, were, on the whole, mild in type, and whose reasoning powers were not so clouded by their malady but that they could not both value the increased comforts of Colony life and be trusted not to abuse the liberty and freedom the system carried out in its entirety'.⁴³

Villa colonies for all types of asylum patients had been laid out in Europe for many decades, based on the model at Gheel in Belgium, and discussed in the British medical press for almost as long, with no

⁴¹ Dr Robert Jones, Medical Superintendent, Claybury Asylum, Essex, in LMA, LCC, Claybury Asylum Sub-Committee minutes, Report on the Housing of Epileptics, June 1898.

⁴² LMA, LCC, Asylum Committee minutes, December 1898.

⁴³ LMA, LCC, Asylum Committee minutes, May 1904.

major adoption of its design in England until the 1890s. The earliest colony in England was the pioneering Chalfont Colony, founded by the National Society for the Employment of Epileptics and begun in 1893. This was the first working institution in England specifically for the treatment of epileptics. The Chalfont site was not laid out complete with all its elements but developed slowly. Although the site initially included a farm and orchards, the colonists' accommodation were only built piecemeal over the following decades, laid out informally with scattered Arts and Crafts-style villas at a domestic scale lining a serpentine access drive, and a detached administration block near the entrance. The farm on which the patients worked surrounded this core.⁴⁴

This model was taken up by other charitable institutions during the 1890s and 1900s, but sporadically by public bodies, even though a reliable estimate of epileptics in England and Wales had in 1908 put the number at 150,000.⁴⁵ The number of public epileptic colonies was small and following World War I arrangements made for epileptics were largely in conjunction with the mentally defective, a much larger group. Publicly run epileptic colonies included The Langho Colony for Sane Epileptics, opened in 1906 by the Chorlton and Manchester Boards of Guardians for 272 former workhouse residents. In 1908 three Birmingham Boards of Guardians opened the Monyhull Colony for 210 feeble-minded and epileptic workhouse residents capable of work, and during World War I the Metropolitan Asylums Board opened Brentwood Colony (1915) for 400 sane epileptic women and children, and Edmonton Colony (1916) for 350 sane epileptic men.

More broadly, the construction of a publicly funded colony was an early move towards the ideals of social Darwinism, and the consequences of the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act which required the confinement of 'mental defectives'. Local authorities were obliged to provide accommodation for 'the care and protection of the mentally deficient classes whose removal from undesirable surroundings is necessary in their own interests and that of society', in their own special, certified institutions.⁴⁶ These colonies formed a complementary system for those with learning difficulties which paralleled the provision of county asylums for mental illness. Many of these institutions were constructed in the 1920s and 1930s, based on the LCC colony method, enabling the removal from the population and deactivation of what were perceived in eugenic terms as defective genetics. In America this was manifested in sterilisation programmes; in Nazi Germany ultimately as extermination.

The Epsom site was constructed as a relatively modest establishment in comparison with many of the mainstream county asylums, to reflect as domestic a scale as possible within the need to make

⁴⁴ For further information see Jean Barclay, *A Caring Community: A Centenary History of the National Society for Epilepsy and Chalfont Centre 1892-1992* (Chalfont St Giles: National Society for Epilepsy, 1992).

⁴⁵ *Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded*, vol. 2 (1908), 310-27.

⁴⁶ Mental Deficiency Act, 1913 (3 & 4 Geo. V, c.28).

economies of scale. Fit male epileptics at other LCC asylums were deemed suitable for the new colony, which it was intended should act as a therapeutic agent in its own right. At the time the meaning of the word colony was imputed with a dual meaning: to till or cultivate, applied to both the grounds and to cultivating the patients in small groups or families.⁴⁷ Great importance was attached in general in lunacy to participation in 'suitable and regular occupation', with the most striking results to be seen in epileptic patients, even though the medical establishment was unable to define epilepsy. Thus the main emphasis of the Colony System was to be on work, with the patients employed full-time on the surrounding estate farmland. The residents were deliberately called colonists rather than patients, and apparently preferred this term.⁴⁸

This was the third asylum out of five to be built by the LCC on the 1,050 acre (425 ha.) Horton Manor Estate, and it was laid out upon quite different lines to the echelon design which characterised the non-specialist asylums. The Colony took its first colonists, men, on 19 August 1903, with two villas, Holly and Laurel, given over to women in September. The superintendent's report of May 1904 described the Colony as the first of its kind in England, being 'the first institution for those certified of unsound mind designed entirely on the villa or cottage system, including under that expression the advantages of complete parole within the grounds'. The intention was that the environment provided should be utilised to the full as a therapeutic agent.⁴⁹

In his 1904 report the superintendent referred to Treatment, Occupation, Recreation and Progress Achieved under one heading, believing that occupation and recreation were branches of treatment. He reiterated that in the absence of fundamental knowledge of the pathology of epilepsy, occupation, especially outdoors, maintained a pre-eminent position in the treatment of this condition. Because of this, the daily programme and much of the administration had been planned to allow the most time to be given to farm and garden operations.⁵⁰

The working day was punctuated by meal times, main meals being taken in the Hall, others in the villas. During the working day the men took their meals with the supervisory staff in the grounds. After tea time the colonists' time was their own. On Saturdays further entertainment was provided, including concerts by a staff string band. Except during worktime, meals, the two Sunday services and weekly associated entertainment, the grounds were freely open for the men to stroll about in as much as they pleased until sunset. Outdoor recreation included cricket and other games, daily after tea, and as well as the unrestricted access within the grounds each patient was allowed at least once a

⁴⁷ Medical Superintendent in LMA, LCC, 15th Annual Report of the Asylums Committee and Sub-Committees, May 1904, 110.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 110, 112.

week to walk outside the estate in the locality.⁵¹ Of 234 colonists at work during late 1903 and early 1904, 151 worked on the farm, with 38 employed at domestic work in the villas, etc. The others were employed in clerical work, coal carrying, in the stores, shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry and weaving, with 12 unemployed.⁵² In 1930 the name was changed to Ewell Mental Hospital, and then in 1936 to St Ebba's Hospital.

DESCRIPTION

In 1896 the 1,050 acre (425 ha.) Horton Manor Estate, adjacent to Epsom, was bought by the LCC in order to contain several new asylums for London patients, with an estimated 10,000 residents in total. Shortly after this, 112 acres (45 ha.) in a triangular piece of ground at the north-east corner of the site was appropriated for the Epileptic Colony in an area where the standard echelon asylum could not be accommodated (see Plate 83, *annotated site plan, based on OS 25 " plan, pub. 1913*). The Colony also benefited from central support services which were being constructed, including a central station for water, gas and electricity supply and centralised sewage disposal. A cemetery was laid out early in the century on elevated and well-drained ground at the north end of the estate. It was intended to serve the whole estate, adjacent to the west boundary of the Colony site, with a second acre (0.4 ha.) of ground being drained and laid out during the winter of 1903-04.⁵³ The unconsecrated cemetery was enclosed with iron fencing and contained a small chapel at its north end, to serve the pauper patients.

The Colony site was bounded on two sides by main roads. In 1900 the LCC Asylums Engineer, W.C. Clifford Smith, designed an informal group of eight scattered, single-storey villas, together with a two-storey administration and service block, a dining and recreation hall, an infirmary wing, and superintendent's house. Two variants of an Arts and Crafts-style villa were produced, to add character to the site, each villa being sited so as to have a south-eastern aspect. In the layout of these buildings, which occupied a 25 acre (10 ha.) nucleus of elevated ground within the site, and the wider landscape, it bore a marked resemblance to the developing Chalfont epileptic colony and to the developing garden cities and related settlements.

A bird's-eye view of the projected design, published in 1901, shows the low, domestic-scale villa blocks scattered about an open landscape, connected by paths, with the service buildings at one corner of the site.⁵⁴ The site was entered at the south corner, the drive running past the bailiff's lodge, then the superintendent's house set in its own grounds, to arrive at the main entrance to the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 117-18.

⁵¹ Ibid., 110-18.

⁵² Ibid., 118.

⁵³ Ibid., 122.

⁵⁴ W.C. Clifford Smith, 'London County Asylums. Horton Estate Epsom. Epileptic Colony for 300 Male Patients' (May 1901) [bird's eye view; whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file NBR 101286].

administration block. A path continued behind this building to give access to the grounds in which the villas stood, together with the recreation and dining hall and eight villas, beyond which the farm building complex was constructed. Each villa, with accommodation for 38 colonists supervised by a resident married couple, had a path to its front door, and another giving access to the rear of the building, but did not stand in its own enclosed grounds. The main south-east-facing facades were provided with porches over the main doors, and verandas, 'enabling colonists to be in the open in all weathers'.⁵⁵ By 1913 (OS) five villas stood within two areas of orchard and the other three stood in more open lawns. Although originally the Colony had been intended only for men, 60 or so epileptic women were also housed here, in order particularly to give assistance in the kitchen and laundry and repair clothing.⁵⁶

The superintendent, appointed in November 1902, was given the task of laying out the grounds, and his plan of the roads and paths giving access to the villas, and the garden spaces for each villa was duly adopted. The service road led to the service entrance at the back of each villa, rather than the main entrance porch at the front. Paths led from this back entrance both to the boot room, which was the usual means of entrance for the colonists, and to the front of the villa where there was to be an ornamental garden. The informal gardens were each to be of 26 poles in size bounded either by earth banks or broad belts planted with shrubs and free from any intersecting paths from outside, so that they could only be entered at one point. The villas were given tree names which were deliberately only of one or two syllables – holly, laurel, pine, lime, elm, chestnut, thorn, walnut, beech – so that they could easily be articulated by colonists, the idea being to plant around them the corresponding trees. It was intended to allow the staff and colonists of each villa 'considerable latitude' in the laying out and maintenance of their respective gardens. It was regarded as a great incentive if the Committee could be persuaded to offer a shield or other prize for the best-kept garden.⁵⁷

During the seven months that the Colony had been in operation, despite very wet weather, the colonists had cleansed and weeded the land, which had been in a very poor state. The villa gardens were all laid out and the surrounding land given over to vegetables. The cricket pitch had been carefully levelled, removing in the process many tons of soil by hand barrow, and turfed with turf from the new Long Grove asylum site. A lawn of about one third of an acre (0.13 ha.) was laid in front of the main entrance, and in the outer grounds an orchard was created and 24 acres (10 ha.) dug and planted with potatoes.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ LCC Brochure, produced for the official opening of the Ewell Epileptic Colony, 1903.

⁵⁶ RCHME, Report, Ewell Epileptic Colony, NBR 101286 (1992).

⁵⁷ LMA, LCC, *op. cit.* (1904), 111-12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

The admission of patients directly from their families led to a need for an assessment procedure, which was conducted on site at the Colony. For this an admissions villa was constructed in 1910 for 50 acute male patients. Subsequently the Colony gradually acquired further villas scattered in the landscape continuing the original informal concept, with a building campaign in the 1930s which more than doubled the accommodation available. The villas were placed along the service drive, which was extended, enclosing open areas, some of which contained sports pitches.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is Surrey RO, but the remaining records are not particularly informative in this context apart from a sequence of site plans dating from the construction of the asylum. The annual reports, published as part of the LCC Asylums Committee, are held at the LMA. The Colony was reported on in the architectural press.

Surrey RO

6292/20/1, 'Plan of Horton Asylum Epileptic Colony', October 1902.

6380/1/8/3, Annotated plan of the five LCC asylums on the Horton site, November 1905, drawn by the Asylums Engineer.

6380/1/8/1, Plan of Ewell Epileptic Colony, n.d. [c.1920s].

LMA

LCC Asylum Sub-Committee, in Committee minutes, Report on the Housing of Epileptics, June 1898.

LCC 12th Annual Report of the Asylums Committee and Sub-Committees, May 1901 (includes W. C. Clifford Smith's bird's-eye view of projected colony).

LCC Brochure, produced for the official opening of the colony, 1903

Anon., 'The Ewell Epileptic Colony opening by the Duke and Duchess of Fife', *The Poor-Law Officers' Journal* (10 July 1903), 652.

LCC 15th Annual Report of the Asylums Committee and Sub-Committees, May 1904, 110-122 (contains the Superintendent's Report and description of the Colony).

OS 25", Surrey shs. XIII.13, XIX.1, pub. 1913 (LCC Epileptic Colony, Ewell).

RCHME, Swindon

Report, Ewell Epileptic Colony, NBR 101286 (1992).

Clifford Smith, W.C., 'London County Asylums. Horton Estate Epsom. Epileptic Colony for 300 Male Patients' (May 1901) [bird's eye view; whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file NBR 101286].

Unpublished Report

Cochrane, D.A., 'The Colonisation of Epsom' (unpublished report for South West Thames Regional Health Authority, 1985).

Case Study 5. Hanwell

Former names	Middlesex Asylum; St Bernard's Hospital
Address	Uxbridge Road, Hanwell, Ealing
Date of erection	1828-31
Type of asylum	County asylum administered by Middlesex
Architect	W. Alderson
Landscape designer	D. Ramsay
National Grid Reference	TQ 177 180

SIGNIFICANCE

Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell was the first publicly funded county asylum erected to serve the population of London and remained one of the largest asylums throughout the century. It was a model of its time, in part due to the influence of its first medical superintendent, William (later Sir William) Ellis, formerly of the Wakefield asylum, the great exponent of work therapy as an agent of moral treatment. Shortly after Ellis retired John Conolly followed in his post at Hanwell, and although he only stayed for five years (1839-44) he famously achieved the feat of ensuring that none of the 800-900 patients were personally restrained by means of strait jackets, manacles, leg locks, etc. This momentous act caused the asylum to become 'the most famous and the most controversial mental hospital in the world'.⁵⁹ His experience was extensively set down in print; his two most influential books being *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums ...* (1847), one of the seminal works of the century on this subject, and *The Treatment of the Insane Without Mechanical Restraints* (1856), both published after he left Hanwell and set up in private practice.⁶⁰

HISTORY

Hanwell was the twelfth county asylum to be built, supplementing provision for London paupers provided by the charitable Bethlem and St Luke's, the workhouses, and various private establishments. This was the principal recorded work of the Quaker architect William Alderson (d. c.1835).⁶¹ William Ellis joined the establishment as medical superintendent, with his wife as matron, in December 1830, the year before it opened, and was responsible for much of the early detail of the site and its organisation. Ellis left in 1838 and in 1839 John Conolly became medical superintendent, again making sweeping changes to the management of the asylum, leaving in 1844. Ellis in his 1838

⁵⁹ Richard Hunter, Ida Macalpine, 'Introduction', to John Conolly, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums* (London: Dawsons, 1968), 10.

⁶⁰ John Conolly, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane* (London: Churchill, 1847); *The Treatment of the Insane Without Mechanical Restraints* (London: Smith Elder, 1856).

⁶¹ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven and London: Yale, 3rd edn. 1995), 69.

book published a plan of the asylum site following some additions to the accommodation (Plate 36), but in its form the layout is very similar to plans showing the earliest layout of the site.⁶²

In December 1830 a report on the proposals for Hanwell Gardens was produced by Dr. and Mrs Ellis and Mr Sibley the Surveyor, offering the following advice:

The Gardens should be made available for the earliest occupation As the cheerful appearance of the Grounds and Buildings have been found to produce a very salutary effect on the Patients, it is very desirable that no time should be lost in laying out and planting the approach to the House, the inner Quadrangle and various parts of the ground. An avenue from the Lodge to the Building, and clusters of trees in different situations, seems most advisable, and equally so the fencing along the [river] Brent should be continued to prevent accidents and complete the Inclosure. When that is finished a Holly hedge is recommended to be planted as in time it will form a barrier nearly equal to a brick wall.

From the cursory view we have yet been enabled to take, we think the general plan and arrangements both of House Offices and Grounds, so good that no alteration appears necessary beyond what we have hitherto noticed.⁶³

In May and July 1831, and January 1832, the Brompton landscaper and nurseryman David Ramsay, who also landscaped Highgate Cemetery and was involved with the Brompton Cemetery, was paid sums for ground work and planting of the gardens amounting to £1,930. In addition, in November 1831 Hugh Ronald and Sons were paid £94 for garden plants for the asylum.⁶⁴

DESCRIPTION

The asylum was sited 10 miles (16 km) west of London in a rural area noted for its nursery and agricultural produce. The asylum lay between the London to Uxbridge road to the north and the Grand Union Canal to the south, and shortly after its erection the Great Western Railway was driven through not far north of the Uxbridge Road. The building, designed for 300 patients, was somewhat reminiscent of that of the Wakefield asylum, with wings extending off two hubs joined by a central administration block, but it could not be called radial. It had provision for the extension of the wings, which was quickly utilised. The patients were classified by degree of illness, i.e. severity of their symptoms, rather than by type of illness.

⁶² LMA, H11/HLL/4, Wm. Moseley, County Surveyor, *General plan of the pauper Lunatic Asylum for Middlesex showing the original design, buildings completed, buildings proposed and area of original design not now required*, n.d. [1831].

⁶³ LMA, Ma/A/J2, vol. 2, Hanwell asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1830-31.

⁶⁴ LMA, MF/A/1, Hanwell asylum, Building Account Ledger, 1828-47.

Specifications produced in 1829 included provision for a six foot (1.8m) high oak fence around the boundary, to encompass the 44 acre (18 ha.) site. The entrance, off the Uxbridge Road (linking London and Oxford) north of the main building, was marked by a large arched gateway in Classical style, set in a screen wall, flanked by two lodges (Plate 37). In April 1831 the wife of the Gardener was detailed to act as gatekeeper. From here a straight drive led through cultivated ground, later remodelled as pleasure grounds and playing fields, up to the entrance to the forecourt. The rectangular forecourt was laid out with a regular pattern of serpentine paths, enclosing a central oval carriage turn. The forecourt was flanked by ward wings, the south, entrance front and administration block forming the third side, and on the fourth, north side the forecourt was bounded by a wall or fence. To the west, east and north of the wings lay a range of irregularly shaped airing courts which extended round to the south side, those for each sex firmly separated by the superintendent's garden. In 1830 boundary walls with gates were built to enclose the 'gardens' and the planting and ground work on trenching, making surfaces, etc. was estimated at £1,540. In March 1831 Dr Ellis was authorised to lay out and furnish his own garden at the centre of the south front.⁶⁵

To the south-west and south-east of the building lay the offices for each side, incorporating kitchens. Immediately to the south of the building and airing courts the service yards ran alongside the canal, including the farmyard, farm buildings, stores and a coal shed surrounding two sides of the dock leading off the canal, and beyond the dock the cemetery.

A Guide through the Hanwell Asylum (1843), published towards the end of Conolly's time there, detailed the layout as follows:

		A.R.P.
Shrubberies		3.3.30
Front Airing Ground	West	5.3.20
	East	6.0.0
Airing Courts	Male side	3.0.20
	Female side	3.0.0
Garden		4.0.4
Orchard		2.1.17
Burial Ground		0.0.32
Farm by the Brent side		20.1.35

⁶⁵ LMA, Ma/A/J2, vol. 2, Hanwell asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1830-31.

It went on to provide a detailed picture of the asylum just over a decade after it opened:

The Porter's Lodge is on the right; the Counting House is on the left of the Entrance Gate. Beyond the Porter's Lodge is a stable for the accommodation of Visiting Justices. Beyond the Counting House is the residence of the Engineer.

The large Western or Female Airing Ground, with a Summer House lies to the right hand, and the large Eastern or Male Airing Ground with a Bowling Green, to the left hand side of the path to the Centre Tower.

The *Guide* then describes how the wards were divided and which airing courts are allocated to which wards. Of the Convalescent Ward of 40 patients it says:

Generally speaking, few Patients are to be seen in this Ward. They are in their apartments, or occupied about the premises, or amusing themselves in the Shrubberies and Airing Courts... .

Of the garden it says:

Patients are employed in the cultivation of this Garden, under the superintendence of the Head Gardener and out-door attendants. The Garden is overlooked by the Airing Courts belonging to the Male Convalescent Ward; from which there is an extensive prospect. The Farm belonging to the Asylum lies at the bottom of this Garden.

The Entrance to the Burial Ground is on the South Side of the Garden. It was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1833. All patients not removed by their friends, or Parishes, are buried here.

Of the Outer Yard, to the south of the hospital building next to the canal:

This yard contains the Head Gardener's Residence, the Stable and Cart Sheds, the Fowl House, the Plumber's and Carpenter's Shops, and the Cow House, at the back of which is the Farm Yard and Piggery. ... Patients are employed in all the departments connected with this yard. The Coal Wharf forms the East Side of this yard. The Basin in its centre communicates with the Grand Junction Canal, so that the Coal Barges are unloaded on the Premises. ...

Of further service areas:

Passing westward from the outer Yard, the visitor proceeds by the Orchard, the Smith's Shops, the Engine Houses, Gas House, and Drying Yard, to the large front Western Airing Ground; and from thence returns to the Centre Tower, or proceeds to the Entrance Gate.

In the 1857 Annual Report the Committee and then the Matron reported on the laying out of a number of small gardens in the pleasure grounds for the therapeutic benefit of the female patients. The Matron reported:

A most valuable, perhaps as yet an inappreciable remedial agent, has been added by the Committee to the beneficial indulgences and suggestive amusements of the Patients, in the establishment of a number of small Pleasure Gardens. The broad margin of the Shrubbery surrounding the front field has been most appropriately as well as conveniently selected as the site of this new arena of healthful occupation. These gardens are separated and surrounded by gravel walks, and bordered with box; they are allotted to individual Patients; and each is given up to the sole care and cultivation of its possessor, and bears her name, which is painted on an oval zinc plate, and placed in a conspicuous position. Some of the amateur gardeners display considerable artistic skill, as well as great taste in the arrangement of their plants and flowers; and the whole space thus occupied presented at 'working time', during the whole summer and autumn, a most interesting scene. The demand for gardens has been, from the commencement, greater than the supply, and several have already passed into fresh hands, the first tenants having returned to society restored to health and usefulness - a consummation to which it is very possible that these cherished gardens may have contributed in no slight degree. But not only has the physical health of many Patients become benefited by exercise in this new field of labour, its moral effects are undeniable. Reciprocal kindnesses are interchanged, mutual sympathies are elicited, and forbearance is in continual exercise.

Little bouquets found their way from these gardens into the wards.

In the 1858 Annual Report the Farm and Garden Committee detailed the quantities of food a large asylum farm produced in a year, including 45 tons mangold wurzel, 2,239 bushels potatoes, 77 bushels carrots, 183 bushels onions, 4,017 bushels cabbages, 1,020 bushels turnips, 495 bushels parsnips, 225 bushels peas and beans, 12,945 lbs pork, 13,542 galls milk, 170 doz. eggs. The estimated average number of patients working in the garden and farm was 97.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is the LMA. Here the remaining records are extensive, and the most useful sources include the minute books of the Committee of Visiting Justices, the surviving annual reports, and a sequence of site plans. Ellis' comments of 1830 survive, on the setting up of the asylum which he was about to take over, particularly the arrangement of the grounds, augmented by his comments in his book of 1838.

LMA

Ma/A/J1-J2, Hanwell asylum Visiting Committee minutes, 2 vols, relating to the building of the asylum, 1827-31.

H11/HLL/4, Wm. Moseley, County Surveyor, *General plan of the pauper Lunatic Asylum for Middlesex showing the original design, buildings completed, buildings proposed and area of original design not now required*, n.d. [1831].

H11/HLL/Y2/1, Anon., *A Guide through the Hanwell Asylum* (London, 1843).

226.21 MID, Hanwell asylum, Annual Reports, 1848, 1855, 1858, 1868, 1878, 1888, 1898, 1908.

Publications

Anon., *New and Improved Practical Builder*, vol. 3 (1838), 157-58.

Conolly, John, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane* (London: Churchill, 1847).

Ellis, William Charles, *A Treatise on the Nature, Symptoms, Causes, and Treatment of Insanity, with practical observations on lunatic asylums and a description of the pauper lunatic asylum for the county of Middlesex, at Hanwell* (London: Holdsworth, 1838).

Hunter, Richard, Macalpine, Ida, 'Introduction', to John Conolly, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums* (London: Dawsons, 1968).

Norris, Reverend, *A Short Account of the History of St Bernard's Hospital* (1981).

Case Study 6. Middlesbrough

Former names	Middlesbrough Borough Asylum; Cleveland Asylum; St Luke's Hospital
Address	Marton Road, Middlesbrough
Date of erection	1893-98
Type of asylum	Borough asylum administered by Middlesbrough
Architect	C.H. Howell
Landscape designer	R. Lloyd
National Grid Reference	NZ 508 179

SIGNIFICANCE

Cleveland Asylum was in its components and layout a typical non-specialist public asylum of the end of the nineteenth century. As it was constructed for a borough it was a relatively modest establishment of its type, but it reflects the general trends in asylum layout of the period. The asylum was designed at the height of the period when the 'echelon' plan of asylum building predominated, and in the construction of the grounds, following completion of the building, typically the male patients' labour was used. The attention to detail and perceived patient needs with which this and many other asylums were laid out is particularly well demonstrated in the archival material for this site. The grounds were laid out to designs of R. Lloyd, the Head Gardener of the second Surrey asylum, Brookwood, who advised at several other asylums and who provided a plan and detailed instructions (the latter survive). This rare insight into asylum landscape design is especially useful as its author was an experienced practitioner.

HISTORY

A 105-acre (42.5 ha.) site two miles (3 km) from the centre of Middlesbrough was bought by Middlesbrough Town Council at £95/acre for £9,997.⁶⁶ In March 1893 the architect C.H. Howell was asked by the Asylum Committee to prepare plans for a modest asylum for 220 patients. Howell had already designed asylums at Brookwood (1862-67), Beverley (1868-71), Wallingford (1868-70), and Cane Hill (1883), and was by then the consulting architect for the Commissioners in Lunacy and County Surveyor for Surrey. Howell, however, resigned from the Middlesbrough commission in January 1896 due to ill health, to be succeeded by A.J. Wood, his former colleague for 20 years.⁶⁷ In addition to an asylum building with wards for 130 patients of each sex, the brief required staff cottages, a farm complex, a separate house for the superintendent, a church, mortuary and isolation hospital.

⁶⁶ RCHME, Report, NBR 102173 (1995).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

In June 1896 Wood report to the Committee that he had consulted Mr Lloyd, the Head Gardener at Brookwood asylum, who would advise the Committee on the laying out of the grounds and airing courts for £20 plus expenses. For this he would inspect the site, draw up a report and provide a rough design plan. Wood would draw up the final plans for 10gns. Lloyd's other landscape commissions were stated to include Cane Hill, Surrey, the asylum at Brookwood, and the City of London Asylum at Stone in Kent.⁶⁸ He was shortly after to work at the Hertfordshire Asylum at Hill End, St Albans (1899) and in 1900 gave up a commission for which he had produced a plan at the Kesteven County Asylum, Rauceby in Lincolnshire due to ill health; soon after he died. In October 1896 Lloyd submitted a detailed report on the laying out of the grounds. This is a rare account of the features to be provided and the reasons for their provision and design details. Because of this his statement is described in some depth below.⁶⁹

Lloyd, who admitted to 30 years of asylum experience, addressed the boundaries of the site initially. He recommended a belt of evergreen shrubs alongside the roadside plantation to prevent the public gaze falling on the patients, and a thick plantation on the boundary with the railway where the Committee proposed a wall, the plantations being a source of income once grown up. 'Whatever you do, do not put a Plantation on the Asylum side of your Wall, but put your Wall to face your Plantation. If you put the Plantation in front of the wall you will be making a hiding place for any Patient seeking to get away over the Wall'. He suggested putting soft fruit up against the wall and a bed for early vegetables below it. An eight-foot (2.25m) wide boundary walk was recommended for the boundary plantations as forming a very useful and pleasant exercising ground for convalescents and children's parties which could be used for this purpose in conjunction with the drives. Lloyd recommended these as much better activities than keeping such patients confined to the airing courts.

Lloyd then turned to the airing courts, in which he allowed what he regarded as ample room for patients to promenade on paths without having to walk on the grass plots between. He provided a raised boundary walk to allow the patients a view of the surroundings and so make it much more cheerful for them, as he perceived. He referred to 'a class of patients' who, he said, enjoyed walking alongside the airing courts' sunken boundary walls. *For these patients he provided a six-foot (1.8m) wide walk at the bottom of the ha-ha below the raised boundary walk. The slope separating the upper and lower levels was to be thickly carpeted with impenetrable shrubs such as Mahonia aquifolium or the common laurel, pruned to about two-feet (60cm) high, with a few trees planted at regular intervals to relieve the undergrowth and make a little feature. The planting was intended to make the slope safer for epileptics, who if they fell were prevented from falling down the slope or hurting*

⁶⁸ Teesside Archive, H/SL/CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, June 1896.

⁶⁹ His report is reproduced in Teesside Archive, H/SL/CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, October 1895-96, 834-38.

themselves. The courts were to be connected by gates in the dividing walls, and further gates in the outer walls to allow for maintenance. Shelters were to be provided in each court to protect patients from rain and sunshine, which Lloyd stated were much appreciated by them. He stipulated a simple construction, open all round with back rests for the seats.

The inner courts (the spaces entirely surrounded by the building) were used as access routes between various parts of the building, and were to be planted up ornamentally, the walls to be clothed with ornamental climbers. The two principal approaches to the main doors of the asylum, from the north-west and south-west, passed the outer airing courts, and the spaces between the court walls and the drives were to be made as ornamental as possible by planting with flowering shrubs which were kept low enough not to obstruct the patients' view from the courts. The detached chapel was to stand in its own grounds of about half an acre (0.2 ha.), which were to be planted up ornamentally to ensure seclusion, as was the isolation hospital which was set at some distance from the main building with its own approach. The mortuary was to stand close to the building and its walls were to be covered with ivy and ampelopsis. The superintendent's detached house standing in the grounds was to have a garden of 1.75 acres (0.7 ha.), enclosed by a holly or thorn hedge. A walk was planned to wind through boundary shrubberies of his garden, allowing plenty of space for tennis in the middle and a few flower beds.

Lloyd proposed a four-acre (1.6 ha.) recreation ground overlooked by the south-west, main front, so that the games being played could be seen by patients from the airing court walks. Cricket and football facilities were to be provided, together with the so-called 'Anniversary Sports', set in, and fenced off from, the surrounding pasture, well away from the boundaries to avoid surreptitious escapes by patients in the excitement of the games. The grass was to be mown or grazed by a few sheep, and a small pavilion provided.

The indispensable kitchen garden was to be close to the farmyard for ease of access to manure, and to the railway siding if manure had to be bought. Five acres (2 ha.) was considered sufficient, to be enclosed by a beech hedge and laid out with walks for ease of access by hand-cart gangs and with entrances which provided easy access to stores, farmyard, refuse yard and railway siding. One or two greenhouses were to provide robust types of plants such as aspidistras and rubber plants which would 'survive the ward atmospheres and not be easily broken'. An herbaceous garden was to be situated on the walk connecting the superintendent's house and the main building, to provide cut flowers for the wards.

Lloyd recommended that various works should be completed before the asylum was opened, including the construction of the roads, the laying out of airing and inner courts, and the trenching and laying out of the kitchen garden.

As per Lloyd's recommendation, at the end of 1896, before the laying out of the grounds was begun, a head gardener, Mr Allsop was appointed, one of 46 applicants for the post. He and his wife lived in the north-west asylum lodge and his wife attended the lodge gates. In February 1897 Allsop requested from the Visiting Committee two dozen labouring men and a horse and cart, together with a long list of tools in order to begin to lay out the grounds. Shortly after this the construction of the estate roads was begun by contractors together with the laying out of the airing courts. Allsop continued to buy and plant out trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants.

DESCRIPTION

The building was constructed of red brick in echelon style, with the male and female wards stepped back from the central service buildings. It was set at the edge of the metropolitan area which it was to serve, a population of c.750,000, with predominantly industrial employment, and overlooked the distant Cleveland Hills.

The asylum officially opened on 15 June 1898, and was described by the superintendent in his first annual report of 1899, from which the following description is drawn (see also Plate 80, asylum estate plan based on OS 6" plan, rev. 1938).⁷⁰ The five-acre (2 ha.) kitchen garden lay close by the main building. It was well set up to provide amply the fruit and vegetables for the asylum, and no expense appears to have been spared. There were two 'perfectly heated and ventilated' glasshouses with complete fittings (by Richardson of Darlington), rainwater tanks, plant house, forcing house, fruit store, potting shed, tool house, cart shed, messroom for gardeners, and a potato store with washing and cleaning apparatus for the potatoes to be delivered clean to the vegetable scullery. The farm was similarly well provided for, with a cow house for 12 cows, stables for three horses, harness room, dairy, calf pen, root fodder and hay stores, cart and implement sheds, boiler house and pig pens.

Two lodges were provided, one at each entrance to the estate off the Marton Road to the west. The north-west one, in vernacular style, was occupied by the head gardener, the other to the south-west was occupied by the engineer. Six staff cottages were constructed to the north of, and 'in character with the entrance lodge' and were thought to enhance the appearance of the position they occupied.

⁷⁰ Teesside Archive, H/SL/2/1, Middlesbrough asylum, Annual Report, 1899.

According to the 1899 Report the rest of the grounds were laid out by the head gardener Mr Allsop as per Lloyd's 'excellent working plans ... in a very successful and painstaking manner'. The planting was especially mentioned for its success, and the paths in the courts mentioned as having been tar paved.

The two wards closest to the central administration block were for sick and infirm patients, the other two being for epileptic patients.⁷¹ Three airing courts per side were provided, adjacent to the south-west front and flanking the main entrance and administration block, and arranged in L-shape around the two wards on each side which they were to serve. Presumably the third airing courts were intended to serve the third ward which it had always been intended to construct on each side at a later date. The courts were laid out with simple geometric patterns of paths enclosing panels of lawns, each with two sets of steps down to the ha-ha walk. One of the female courts, and two of the male courts had octagonal shelters open on all sides. Two of the male courts contained urinals. A further ward per side was constructed in 1901-04 to accommodate 170 more patients.

With regard to the occupation of the patients, the superintendent remarked that, 'every effort has been made to fill up the day in the healthiest possible manner ... as many men as are physically able are encouraged, to work in the grounds and on the farm, and I believe with Dr Moody of Cane Hill [Surrey], that this is one of our best therapeutic agencies'. Some men also acted as ward helpers and other worked in the engineer's, joiner's and shoemaker's workshops. Weekly walks beyond the boundaries for both sexes were said to be much appreciated, and the grounds were used for weekly entertainments when the weather allowed, together with twice-weekly band concerts, dancing, football, skipping, quoits and other games (1900 report).⁷² Indoors there was a good supply of books and periodicals, and chess, draughts and cards were played.

⁷¹ H/SL/11/5, Middlesbrough Asylum plan, n.d. (late 1890s).

⁷² H/SL/2/2, Middlesbrough Asylum, Annual Report, 1900.

The site was allocated in the following amounts, as given in the First Annual Report of the asylum in 1899, from which the following table is drawn.⁷³

Compartment	Area (a.r.p. unless otherwise stated)
Site of main buildings	1.3.37
Farm buildings	5760 sq. ft.
Greenhouses & buildings	4528 sq. ft.
Entrance lodge	717 sq. ft.
Arable land	23.0.28
Pasturage	26.2.4
Recreation ground	5.0.0
Kitchen garden	6.1.17
Medical Superintendent's garden	1.1.28
Airing courts and inner courts	3.1.13
Plantations, shrubberies, roads, etc.	30.0.25
Total area of site	98.2.18

Over the following years the grounds continued to be laid out, with the assistance of the male patients, and the farm rapidly became a successful enterprise. In 1900, when there were approximately 225 patients, the 60 acres (24 ha.) under cultivation housed seven cows, two horses, 31 pigs, 14 sheep, 32 poultry and produced 7,188 gallons of milk, 384lbs butter, 586 eggs, 2,785lbs pork, 2,499lbs mutton, 1,014lbs beef, 34 tons potatoes and 50 sacks of oats.⁷⁴

In 1901 Allsop was replaced as Head Gardener by Alfred Clemmit, the foreman at the town park. The kitchen garden was used to produce beans (0.5 acre, 0.2 ha.), early potatoes (1.75 acres, 0.7 ha.), turnips (0.25 acre, 0.1 ha.), cabbage (0.5 acre, 0.2 ha.), parsnips (0.5 acre, 0.2 ha.), other green crops (0.25 acre, 0.1 ha.) and small fruit including gooseberries, strawberries, currants (0.5 acre, 0.22 ha.) (see also Plate 59, superintendent's annotated plan of the farm estate, c.1902).

Lloyd's recommendation to plant the slopes of the airing courts, borne of many years of experience, was not initially put into practice. However, its intention was proven when during a quarrel between two patients, one rolled down the ha-ha bank and fractured his shin bone. As a result the Committee proposed making a grass verge between the edge of the bank and the path at the top; however, the Commissioners in Lunacy who visited additionally recommended planting a border of low shrubs at the edge of the bank.

Two years after opening the asylum, the statistics of the patients' employment and recreational activity for 1901 were provided in the Commissioners' report. Some 54% of males and 67% of females were usefully employed. With regard to recreational exercise, in the absence of a boundary

⁷³ H/SL/2/1, Middlesbrough Asylum, Annual Report, 1899.

⁷⁴ H/SL/2/2, Middlesbrough Asylum, Annual Report, 1900.

walk, no patients walked out daily beyond the airing courts, to which 16% were confined for exercise 'from inability or unwillingness to go beyond them' and 4% were confined from 'excitement, violence or bad habits'.⁷⁵

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is the Teesside Archive, Middlesbrough. The remaining records are extensive, and the most useful sources include the Asylum Committee minute books, the Committee Reports in the Proceedings of the Middlesbrough Town Council, the early annual reports, and a sequence of site plans.

Teesside Archive

H/SL CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, 1895-96.

H/SL CB/M/C 1/57, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, 1896-97.

H/SL/2/1-7, Middlesbrough asylum, Annual Reports, 1899-1905.

H/SL/13/2, Middlesbrough asylum, superintendent's farm notebook, 1898-1906.

H/SL/CB/M/C (2) 9/156, Ground Plan of Middlesbrough Corporation Lunatic Asylum, 1895.

H/SL/CB/M/C (2) 9/157, Middlesbrough Lunatic Asylum, Plan of Roads, June 1896.

H/SL/2/1, Ground Plan of asylum building, in First Annual Report, 1899.

H/SL/2/1, Plan of site and plans of detached buildings, in First Annual Report, 1899.

H/SL/11/5, Middlesbrough asylum, plan, n.d. (late 1890s).

OS 6", Yorks. sh. XVI NE, rev. 1938.

RCHME, Swindon

RCHME, Report, Middlesbrough asylum, NBR 102173 (1995).

⁷⁵ Teesside Archive, H/SL/2/3, Middlesbrough asylum, Annual Report, 1901, Report of Commissioners in Lunacy.

Case Study 7. Norwich

Former names	Norfolk Asylum; St Andrew's Hospital
Address	Thorpe St Andrew, Norwich
Date of erection	1811-14
Type of asylum	County lunatic asylum administered by Norfolk
Architect	F Stone
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	TG 279 086

SIGNIFICANCE

The Norfolk County Asylum, Norwich, was the third earliest publicly funded county asylum to open. It was constructed initially as a large establishment for the time, for 100 patients, when asylums seldom took as many as 50 patients. The asylum was laid out on a confined site at the beginning of the county asylum-building period, before patients were widely considered to benefit from a regime of exercise, recreation and employment within a wider asylum estate. It was then extended many times as the century progressed, as were many other early asylums, and is a useful example of this process. It forms part of a group of the three earliest public asylums (with Nottingham and Bedford, both 1810-12), the buildings and estates of which were largely arranged in similar fashion. The development of this asylum through the nineteenth century into an extensive institution is well documented and provides a useful picture of this process at a very early public asylum.

HISTORY

In 1810 plans were drawn up for an asylum to hold 100 patients, estimated to cost £23,000. The 1810 plan of the Nottingham asylum by Richard Ingleman is very similar to that of Norwich, dated 1816 based on the 1810 layout by the county surveyor, Francis Stone.⁷⁶ In 1811 five acres (2 ha.) of land were bought, on which the asylum was begun in early 1812 and opened in May 1814, its final cost being £35,221. The site cost £600, was south-facing, and occupied land sloping down to the River Yare to the south.⁷⁷

The building followed the general plan form of Bethlem, using the formula of men and women's wings flanking the central administration and service block (see Plate 32, engraving of the approach and entrance front, 1825). The layout of the airing grounds, however, differed from that at Bethlem, where initially they flanked the building. At Norwich, the airing court layout was remarkably similar to that of Brislington House and Nottingham: male and female sides each had three rectangular airing courts extending back from the ward wings. It is probable that this was in part dictated by the layout

⁷⁶ F.H. Stone, Ground floor plan of Norfolk Asylum, (1816) [whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file 100458, NMR, Swindon].

⁷⁷ RCHME, Report, Norwich asylum, NBR 100458 (1992).

of the wards within the building and the relationship with the building which the airing courts were required to maintain. On each side the prevalent classification of patients by clinical state was manifested in the appropriation of a walled airing court for each of 'convalescent', 'lunatic' and 'uncurable' patients and each court was directly accessible from the particular patients' quarters.⁷⁸

The cost of laying out the grounds, including raising the ground around the building, making roads, gravelling the yards, planting, etc. was £1,086, which had not been allowed for in the original estimates for the establishment. This was carried out by John Stannard and Samuel Howard. Howard continued to be paid £5.17s. a quarter for maintaining the airing grounds and gardens throughout the 1820s. This sum can be compared with quarterly wages for the other staff, for example the doctor, who was paid £26, master, £31, matron, £6.5s., porter, £4.4s. and cook maid, £3.3s.⁷⁹

Security problems were experienced, with occasional escapes by patients soon after the hospital opened in 1814. James Secker, assisted by another patient, scaled one of the airing court walls using the hand rail and yard chairs. It was immediately ordered that the walls adjoining the main building and hospital building should be raised, and that the seats should be removed from the around the walls and placed in the centre of each yard. The surveyor proposed an alternative wall coping which would project in order to prevent escapes. The matter was again examined in 1817, but instead of the projecting coping it was decided to raise the height of the walls by two feet (60cm) where necessary.⁸⁰

DESCRIPTION

Norwich asylum was built three miles or so (5km) east of the city at Thorpe. The individual airing courts were laid out with gravel paths and grass plats, and were enclosed by 13-foot (4m) high brick walls which had to be raised once the first patient had escaped over them in 1814. As with Nottingham, the two central courts were divided by a narrow passage, this time flanked by an arcade leading to the hospital buildings for men and women respectively, each with its own small airing court. The asylum was approached via a walled forecourt with railings flanking gates leading straight off the Yarmouth turnpike road which lay close by. The remainder of the grounds were given over to a cemetery, kitchen garden and drying ground.⁸¹ The cemetery was laid out in 1815 at the south-east corner of the airing courts, enclosed by a four and a half-foot (1.5 m) high wall and consecrated by the Bishop of Norwich on 4 August 1815.

⁷⁸ F.H. Stone, Ground floor plan of Norfolk Asylum, (1816) [whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file 100458, Swindon].

⁷⁹ Norfolk RO, SAH 2, Norwich asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1813-16.

⁸⁰ Norfolk RO, SAH 2-3, Norwich asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1813-17.

⁸¹ F.H. Stone, Ground floor plan of Norfolk Asylum, (1816) [whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file 100458, Swindon]; Norfolk RO, SAH 2, Norwich asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1813-14.

A lengthy description of the asylum in 1825 presents a very positive account of the establishment and its management. The writer described the situation as being 'on a fine, open healthy spot, near the Yarmouth Road', approached via four iron gates set into cast-iron palisades on low brick walls which gave access to the 'fine, open yard' in front of the building. He writes approvingly about the arrangements for the patients within the building. The airing grounds were reached directly by the patients via their day rooms and galleries on the ground floor, each wing (one for each sex) having three areas, which the writer classified as an airing ground, a probation yard, and a convalescent yard. The description does not mention how the patients were classified within the accommodation in the building itself, although the men occupied the west wing and the women the east. Each yard was enclosed by walls high enough to 'insure the safety of the patients during the hours of recreation', and laid out with grass panels intersected by gravel walks which gave them a 'neat and pleasant appearance'. The male and female yards were separated by a semicircular courtyard, as shown on Stone's 1816 plan, from which a passage led south to the other offices. The court contained an arcade which continued along the passage, leading on the west side to the men's hospital, the nurses' room, a drying room and a stoving room. A yard was appropriated for the use of the hospital patients. On the east side of the passage was a similar arrangement for women, with the yard being used by convalescents. The author also mentioned the remaining part of the site being appropriated for a 'burying ground', spacious kitchen garden, coach house, stables and other offices.

In the early years of the asylum little written reference has been located to the patients using spaces outdoors anywhere other than the airing courts. Halliday's brief description of 1828, as part of his country-wide survey of asylums, referred critically to the asylum in terms of the amount of space for patients to be employed within. 'It has not the advantages to be derived from a farm or great extent of garden, but upon the whole, is a well-arranged and ably conducted establishment'.⁸²

The original five-acre (2 ha.) site was not greatly extended until the 1840s, after the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy had complained in 1843 about the seats and benches in the airing courts being furnished with chains and leg locks, and the inadequate extent of land which they viewed as so essential to the occupation of the patients.⁸³ By January 1846 the Commissioners reported that a considerable number of men were employed in the yards and outhouses and the grounds and gardens. Two and a half acres (1 ha.) of land was bought in 1847, providing a total of seven and three quarter

⁸² Andrew Halliday, *A General View of the Present State of Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Underwood, 1828), 21.

⁸³ Norfolk RO, SAH 137, Norwich asylum, Report Books of the Visiting Justices, 1840-44.

acres (3 ha.) for the use of the patients, the new land being laid out partly as a garden and partly as a pleasure ground intended for the women patients to enjoy air and exercise.⁸⁴

The building was extended by the county surveyor, John Brown c.1849 and the male and female sides were reversed to east and west respectively. The original arrangement of six airing courts was remodelled to form two large airing courts, one on each side of the south front, with two new courts to the west and east of the building. At that time a large, square kitchen garden lay immediately to the west of the main building, with a further area of kitchen garden to the east, and to the north of this an area labelled 'garden' containing what appears to be an orangery or similar structure. The cemetery, the narrow Governors' Garden, the Drying Ground and Bowling Green formed a narrow band of open land which separated the hospital from land running down to the river to the south.⁸⁵ At the same time or shortly after, the turnpike road was moved further away to the north to allow more room for expansion and create more privacy from the public road. Because of this the main entrance and lodge were demolished and new lodges were built. Following the re-routing of the road in a cutting, in 1856 a new and substantial bridge, also by Brown, was erected across the road, allowing male patients unhindered access from their accommodation on the east side of the site to the farmland to the north of the road.⁸⁶

By 1854 there were 298 patients, and a further 30 acres (12 ha.) of land had recently been bought, in response to further criticism by the Commissioners in Lunacy and their recommendation that this constituted the minimum amount required for an asylum containing up to 300 patients. It was hoped that the general increase in the space available to patients would lead to a lessening in the number of chronic patients and the lessening of the mortality of the other patients. The exact use of the land had yet to be decided, whether the more general activities of farming would be carried out in addition to 'spade husbandry'. It was believed that, 'The more varied and extensive the occupation of the patients, the more fully will be developed their individual capabilities'.⁸⁷

The 1854 report admitted that the limited amount of asylum estate land had until then made it difficult to find work for those patients used to agricultural work. Idleness was regarded as a major limiting factor to the recovery of the patients. In the summer a piece of land had been rented and 50 men were engaged daily in 'cricketing' and after that a large number were employed on the land; however, nearly all the patients had some kind of physical ailment, restricting the amount of work they could be expected to undertake. Marching drill occurred in the grounds, as 'Great control is

⁸⁴ Norfolk RO, SAH 141, Norwich asylum, Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, 1846-47.

⁸⁵ Attr. J. Brown, Plans and drawings of Norfolk County Asylum (1849), plan no. 1 [whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file 100458, Swindon].

⁸⁶ RCHME, Report, Norwich asylum, NBR 100458 (1992).

gained over the patients, and the task of taking a vast number to a distance from the Asylum for air and exercise, becomes comparatively easy'.⁸⁸

A self-contained annexe for 280 'quiet' cases of each sex was built c.1878-80 at some distance to the north of the original complex, on 24 acres (10 ha.) of land bought for the purpose. This New Asylum stood remotely in a large expanse of agricultural land and was provided with airing courts which were enclosed by sunken fences. The old and new complexes were connected by a sunken drive across farmland which left the turnpike road opposite the lodges. The old path which had connected the two sides of the site since the 1850s, carried by the bridge across the turnpike road, had been planted up as an avenue. At the south end of the path, in 1891-92, the superintendent's house was built, set in its own spacious grounds to the east of the path. In 1899 all the male patients were moved to the New Asylum and all the female patients to the Old Asylum. In 1900 13 acres (5.25 ha.) were bought, and the New Asylum extended for a further 150 patients. The southern, earliest part of the asylum closed in the late twentieth century, and the building was converted into apartments.⁸⁹

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is the Norfolk RO, Norwich. The remaining records are extensive, and have many references to the asylum estate. Copies of a very useful ground floor plan, dated 1816 including part of the airing courts, and a set of architect's drawings from the 1850s, before major alterations took place, are lodged in the RCHME file, but the whereabouts of the originals is at present unknown.

Norfolk RO

SAH 2-3, Norwich asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1813-22.

SAH 123, Norwich asylum, Master's report book, 1814.

SAH 137, Norwich asylum, Report Books of the Visiting Justices, 1814-44.

SAH 141, Norwich asylum, Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, 1844-1914.

WLHM

WLM28 BE5N83, Norwich asylum, Annual Reports, 1853-58.

⁸⁷ WLHM, WLM28 BE5N83, Norwich asylum, Annual Report, 1854.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ RCHME, Report, Norwich asylum, NBR 100458 (1992).

RCHME, Swindon

F.H. Stone, Ground floor plan of Norfolk Asylum, (1816) [whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file NBR 100458].

Attr. Brown, J., Plans and drawings of Norfolk County Asylum (1849) [whereabouts unknown, copy in RCHME file NBR 100458].

RCHME, Report, Norwich asylum, NBR 100458 (1992).

Publications

Anon., *Excursions Through Norfolk*, vol. 2 (1825).

Halliday, Andrew, *A General View of the Present State of Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Underwood, 1828), 21.

Thomson, D.G., *The Norfolk County Asylum, 1814-1903* (Norwich, 1903).

Case Study 8. Nottingham

Former names	General Lunatic Asylum for the County and Town of Nottingham
Address	Carlton Road, Nottingham
Date of erection	1810-12 (building demolished c.1900-10)
Type of asylum	County asylum administered by subscribers, together with the county and town of Nottingham
Architect	R. Ingleman
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	SK 583 401

SIGNIFICANCE

The asylum was the earliest publicly funded county asylum to open, following the 1808 Lunatics Act. It was laid out at the beginning of the county asylum-building period, before patients were widely considered to benefit from a regime of exercise, recreation and employment. It forms part of a group of the three earliest public asylums (with Bedford, 1810-12, and Norwich, 1811-14), the buildings and estates of which were largely arranged in similar fashion. Nottingham, along with Bedford, sought advice from Dr Fox of Brislington House about the layout of its grounds. Elements of the grounds beyond the airing courts were used for patient recreation, and from c.1818 for employment for those patients who were considered to be in an appropriate condition to use them.⁹⁰ The development of the asylum is well documented and provides a useful picture of this process at a very early asylum.

HISTORY

The establishment was reckoned to have cost to October 1811 £19,820 to erect. This exceeded original estimates, and included £964 for extra earth and rock digging and cutting in the sub-basement, the yards, the courts and the foundations, and £1,755 for the purchase of the land, planting trees and setting down hurdles.⁹¹

The Nottinghamshire magistrates consulted Dr Fox of Brislington House about their asylum. They were principally interested in his novel building layout of divisions into separate blocks (which they did not ultimately act upon), presumably because they were interested in systems of classification. Fox also advised on other matters including the grounds immediately surrounding the asylum building. One of the magistrates who contacted Fox was the Revd. John Becher of Southwell. Becher was active in other schemes of social provision and classification, for in 1808 a workhouse had been erected in Southwell to his design, for 84 pauper residents of the parish, which was, as he maintained,

⁹⁰ Nottingham Local Studies Library, Nottingham asylum, Annual Report, 1817-18.

⁹¹ Nottingham Local Studies Library, Nottingham asylum, Annual Report, 1810-11.

'constructed and governed upon a principle of Inspection, Classification, and Seclusion'.⁹² Becher piloted and also helped to design its even larger and more influential successor at nearby Thurgarton in 1824 (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4).

It was stated in the 1814 Annual Report that from the outset a 'liberal spirit' suffused the intentions of the asylum governors, such that by their Fourth Annual Report of 1818 they could state that, 'they have seen that the system adopted in your Asylum is invariably that of tenderness and gentleness, united with a firm and powerful resistance against maniacal paroxysms, yet restraining and coercing the unhappy patient no longer than the occasion may require'.⁹³ The liberal spirit was obviously tempered with a perceived need for practical restraint at times.

The 1818 Annual Report also related the purchase in the previous year, and at the considerable expense of £700, of a parcel of land behind (that is, to the east of) the asylum. There were three reasons given for this acquisition, which was considered to be of considerable importance to the welfare of the asylum. The steep slope of the land down from the east allowed passers-by to overlook the asylum and its airing courts, causing 'very great annoyance, which was too frequently found to harass and disturb the minds of the Patients placed in those Courts for air and exercise, and to retard their recovery'. The new parcel of land created a visual barrier to the inquisitive who had no business looking into the asylum grounds. The second reason given for the acquisition of this land was that, 'it is obvious, that more extensive means of employment will thus be furnished for such of the male patients, to whom bodily labour may be deemed serviceable'. This is a very early example of the managers of an asylum declaring the therapeutic benefits of employment. It appears that the employment of patients had already been contemplated and possibly carried out, and the original extent of land not found to be great enough to allow all those to work who wished to or were able. The final reason for acquiring the land was that 'in the cultivation of this ground, considerable benefit will be derived to the Asylum'. This probably referred to its economic use to provide fruit and vegetables for the institution.⁹⁴

DESCRIPTION

In 1808 just under five acres (2 ha.) of land were purchased at Sneinton on the south-east edge of Nottingham. At this point a group of subscribers, who had been contemplating the erection of a charitable asylum for the previous 20 years, joined with the county of Nottinghamshire and city of Nottingham in the project. The asylum was set at the edge of a rapidly expanding urban area and took patients from both rural and industrial areas. It was constructed initially as a relatively large

⁹² J.T. Becher, *The Anti-Pauper System*, (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1828, 2nd edn. 1834).

⁹³ Nottingham Local Studies Library, Nottingham asylum, Annual Reports, 1813-14, 1817-18.

⁹⁴ Nottingham Local Studies Library, Nottingham asylum, Annual Report, 1817-18.

establishment for 60 patients. Ingleman, who later designed the charitable asylums at Lincoln (1819-20) and Oxford (1821-26), designed a building which followed the general plan form of Bethlem, with men and women's wings flanking the central administration and service block (see Plate 31, the entrance front and approach, 1818). The asylum was built as one long, three-storey block, with galleries overlooking the airing courts to the rear. The asylum was set 300 feet (92 m) back from the road. The building and airing courts were set within a tightly drawn walled enclosure (248 feet x 348 feet; 76 x 107m), behind an area of informal lawn which was obscured from the road by a screen of trees (see Plate 30, annotated plan of the estate, based on the OS 25" plan, pub. 1883).⁹⁵ A lodge, costing £390, was erected at the same time as the tree screen was planted in 1809, even before the committee could afford to put up the hospital building.⁹⁶

From the lodge a serpentine drive was cut through the hillside, crossing the lawn to the turning circle in front of the asylum building. Dr Fox in 1809 advised that the approach to the asylum should prevent patients from seeing the asylum, from seeing visitors to the asylum, and from being able to guess its purpose.⁹⁷ The asylum did not have a farm attached, but the lawn at the front, encircled by woody planting in the manner of an informal pleasure ground, may have been used for supervised patient recreation.

Fox advised that instead of the three airing courts per side, which his establishment had, probably only two airing courts each for the male and female sides were required, one designated for the 'filthy and refractory', and the other for the 'temperate cleanly and convalescent patients'.⁹⁸ The building and courts he recommended should face somewhere between the east and south-west, the whole being arranged so as to prevent communication between the sexes by speech or otherwise. Three airing courts per side were subsequently built, with a gap between the two central ones to provide access from the central administration block to the kitchen gardens beyond.⁹⁹ The airing courts on male and female sides each seem to have been assigned to a different medical class of patient.

In 1828 Halliday referred to the asylum. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the amount and use of space for patients to be employed within. He believed that there was 4.5 acres (c.1.8 ha.) of land attached to the building, which could take 80 patients. 'The land is laid out as a garden, the cultivation of which is the only employment the patients have. Their treatment however, seems to be well

⁹⁵ W. Dearden, *Plan of the Town of Nottingham from the best authorities* (Nottingham, 1844).

⁹⁶ Nottinghamshire RO, SO/HO/1/1, Nottingham asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, August 1809, October 1810.

⁹⁷ Nottinghamshire RO, SO/HO/1/1, Nottingham asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, March, April and June, 1809.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Nottinghamshire RO, QAL 10, R. Ingleman, Working plans of Sneinton Hospital, Carlton Road, Nottingham 1810, plan No. 1, ground plan of building and airing courts.

conducted, and the strictest economy preserved, as the expense of each person does not exceed 7s./week'.¹⁰⁰

Some time after 1844 the building was extended, and the airing courts, of which there were now seven, were remodelled and thrown into two large main courts, with a third alongside to the south.¹⁰¹ The courts were terraced to accommodate the steep slope up to the east and laid out with lawns and paths. The land beyond the courts was laid out as an elaborate terraced garden with wooded zig-zag paths connecting the main terraces at the top and bottom. Seating areas were provided at the back of the upper terrace, overlooking the asylum grounds below, and a fountain at the centre of the lower terrace. The setting became more built up, with networks of streets with small houses to the west and south, although open ground remained to the north, and to the east lay large areas of detached town garden plots and other open ground.¹⁰²

In the early 1900s the asylum was superseded by the new asylum at Saxondale, and was closed and demolished. The grounds were reused as King Edward Park.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is the Nottinghamshire RO, Nottingham. There is not a great amount of archival material for this site covering the laying out of the grounds but enough to provide a picture of the asylum's construction and purpose of the landscape. The remaining records include those concerning the purchase of land and the establishment of the asylum, 1803-1810, which are very useful and include Dr Fox's report and advice, and the Visiting Committee minutes from 1810. A complete set of Ingleman's architectural drawings is also held, including a very useful ground plan of the arrangement of the core of the site: the building, forecourt and airing courts. The Nottingham Local Studies Library holds further material, including copies of some of the earliest annual reports.

Nottinghamshire RO

QAL 10, R. Ingleman, Working plans of Sneinton Hospital, Carlton Road, Nottingham, 1810.

SO/HO/1/1, Nottingham asylum, reports of meetings, minutes with related copy letters, reports, etc. concerning the purchase of land and establishment of lunatic asylum, 1803-1810.

SO/HO/2/1, Nottingham asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1810-45.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Halliday, *A General View of the Present State of Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Underwood, 1828), 21.

Nottingham Local Studies Library

Nottingham asylum, Annual Reports, 1810-11, 1813-14, 1817-18, 1835-36.

Dearden, W., *Plan of the Town of Nottingham from the best authorities* (Nottingham, 1844).

OS 25", Notts. sh. XLII.2, pub. 1883.

Publications

Halliday, Andrew, *A General View of the Present State of Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Underwood, 1828), 21.

¹⁰¹ W. Dearden, *Plan of the Town of Nottingham from the best authorities* (Nottingham, 1844). OS 25", Notts. sh. XLII.2, pub. 1883.

¹⁰² OS 25", Notts. sh. XLII.2, pub. 1883.

Case Study 9. The Retreat

Former names	-
Address	Heslington Lane, York
Date of erection	1792-96
Type of asylum	Charitably funded asylum administered by the Society of Friends
Architect	John Bevans
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	SE 337 217

SIGNIFICANCE

The Retreat is the earliest example of the expression of so-called moral therapy in an asylum estate landscape. It was the most influential model for public asylum estates during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its example being developed but not entirely superseded. It was influential beyond England, in Europe and North America. The archives for The Retreat are extensive, but the published *Description*, an account by Samuel Tuke in 1813 of its founding, structure and management, provides a detailed and concise contemporary picture of its methods and was a seminal work for the asylum builders and managers of the nineteenth century.

HISTORY

The construction of The Retreat had been precipitated by the death in 1791 of Hannah Mills, a Quaker inmate at the York Asylum. She had died in suspicious circumstances which pointed to ill-treatment, in a subscription asylum which had, since its opening in an air of optimism in 1777, become a byword for the ill treatment of its patients. Subsequently 'it was conceived that peculiar advantage would be derived to the Society of Friends, by having an Institution of this kind under their own care, in which a milder and more appropriate system of treatment, than that usually practised, might be adopted; and where, during lucid intervals, or the state of convalescence, the patient might enjoy the society of those who were of similar habits and opinions [i.e. other members of the Society]'.¹⁰³

The 'milder and more appropriate system of treatment', referred to as 'moral treatment', and also as 'moral management' in the nineteenth century, was based on the novel notion that the violence of lunatic patients was largely caused by their harsh treatment and surroundings, and that a gentler and more humane regime would produce better results in treatment. To this end the charitably run Retreat was founded, largely piloted by William Tuke (1732-1822), a committed and prominent local Quaker who ran a family tea, coffee and cocoa merchant business. It was resolved in June 1792 that a piece

¹⁰³ Samuel Tuke, *Description of The Retreat* (York: Alexander, 1813), 22-23.

of land should be bought and a building for 30 patients be erected on it, 'in an airy situation, and at as short a distance from York as may be, so as to have the privilege of retirement; and that there be a few acres for Keeping cows, and for garden ground for the family; which will afford scope for the Patients to take exercise, when that may be prudent and suitable'.¹⁰⁴ It was planned that the distance from the city should allow privacy to the patients, although the proximity would also allow for convenient communications and deliveries with the provincial centre. It was also intended that the provision of grounds for the use of the patients should include more than just the usual, confined exercise yards.

The situation of the establishment and its setting were to be 'cheerful'. The building was sited on a low hill, with a 'delightful and extensive prospect all round', in a situation which provided 'nearly all the circumstances which were deemed likely to promote longevity'. This included the provision of ample fresh air which not only prevented the perceived spread of infection: Tuke believed that the clear, dry air which The Retreat benefited from was also specifically favourable to the recovery of lunatics. He reasoned that 'the general effects of fine air upon the animal spirits, would induce us to expect especial benefit from it, in cases of mental depression'.¹⁰⁵

DESCRIPTION

Samuel Tuke described the grounds and the building, which had been designed by a London architect and builder, the Quaker John Bevans. Bevans had designed a number of other buildings for the Society of Friends including several meeting houses. The brick building, which by 1813 held 50 or so patients, was said by Tuke to be designed chiefly for economy and convenience (see Plate 22, the entrance front of the building and approach). However, the layout of the building was also intended to facilitate the classification of patients in various ways: by gender, social class and by clinical state. The so-called quiet patients, those exhibiting non-disruptive symptoms and those being convalescent, were separated from the disturbing and disruptive behaviour of more refractory patients. The division by gender and by clinical state was manifested in the layout of the building and in the associated airing courts. Two ward wings, for the more tractable category of male and female patients, extended in opposite directions from the central block and benefited from airing courts adjacent on the south side, and the associated views out over the walls to the surrounding countryside. The two courts were divided by a central path giving access to baths at the back of them. A semicircular wall, which marked the outer boundary of the two inner courts for the more tractable patients, was about eight feet (2.4m) high 'but, as the ground declines from the house, their apparent height is not so great; and

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 129-30.

the view from them of the country is consequently not so much obstructed, as it would be if the ground was level' (see Plate 21, Tuke's 1813 plan of the core).¹⁰⁶

The two main wings led in turn to two smaller wings, almost entirely detached from the main building, with associated walled airing courts. Here were housed the more refractory class, who could be noisy, unclean in their personal habits, and violent. Because of such antisocial behaviour, physical isolation was practised in order to reduce their negative effect on the other patients and localise the amount of extra work which they created for the staff. Each of the four airing courts covered between four and five hundred square yards (334 to 418m sq.).

For those patients too physically ill or difficult to control to be allowed beyond the confines of the courts, the courts were supplied with domestic animals as pets including rabbits, sea-gulls, hawks and poultry. 'These creatures are generally very familiar with the patients: and it is believed they are not only the means of innocent pleasure; but that the intercourse with them, sometimes tends to awaken the social and benevolent feelings'.¹⁰⁷

Samuel Tuke censured the courts as being too small and confined, this, he believed, being deleterious to the patient's state of mind when the boundary of confinement was always so obvious. However, the sense of confinement, he said, was alleviated by taking such patients as were deemed suitable into the garden, and by frequent excursions into the city or the surrounding country, and into the fields of the Institution, one of these being surrounded by a walk, interspersed with trees and shrubs [in the manner of a *ferme ornée*]. The criteria for being regarded as 'suitable' for these activities related to physical robustness and whether or not the patient's behaviour was considered to be too antisocial or whether they could conduct themselves with a reasonable measure of self-control.¹⁰⁸

The French doctor Charles-Gaspard de la Rive published a useful early account of The Retreat in the *Bibliothèque Britannique* following his visit in 1798. It suggests that he had an agreeable surprise at the pleasant conditions of the asylum, although Foucault believed that the main purpose of the institution was to serve as a repressive instrument of segregation. According to de la Rive it lay, 'in the midst of a fertile and smiling countryside; it is not at all the idea of a prison that it suggests, but rather that of a large farm; it is surrounded by a great, walled garden. No bars, no grilles on the windows'.¹⁰⁹ It had 11 acres (4.5 ha.) of land and was largely given over to growing potatoes, and grazing cows which provided milk and butter for the establishment. A one-acre (0.4 ha.) kitchen

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 95, 102.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 96.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 95.

garden lay to the north of the building and provided abundant fruit and vegetables which fed the establishment.

The Retreat also provided a place for recreation and employment for many of the patients, 'being divided by gravel-walks, interspersed with shrubs and flowers, and sheltered from the intrusive eye of the passenger, by a narrow plantation and shrubbery'.¹¹⁰ The clothing of the grounds was apparently a major feature; fourteen pounds and ten shillings-worth of native and exotic woody plants were bought in 1794 from the notable York nurseries of John and George Telford, and Thomas Rigg, at a time when the erection of the building was hardly advanced.¹¹¹ For this amount 768 plants were purchased.¹¹²

The asylum building was therefore surrounded by the equivalent of a small country estate, with ornamental pleasure grounds, and productive kitchen garden and farmland. It fused the elements which were purely asylum-related with the type of carefully constructed country house-type landscape that was being promoted by landscape improvers and designers such as Humphry Repton (1752-1818).¹¹³

Publications

An extensive archive is held at The Borthwick Institute, University of York, York, although for the purpose of this study it has not been consulted in detail, the most useful source for the widely disseminated (and therefore likely to be the most influential) early principles of the institution being: Tuke, Samuel, *Description of The Retreat* (York: Alexander, 1813).

¹⁰⁹ Published in 1798, quoted in Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, (1965), trans. Richard Howard, (London: Routledge, 1989), 242-43.

¹¹⁰ Tuke, *op. cit.* (1813), 94-95.

¹¹¹ John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1974), 64-65, 131. John Telford (1744-1830 and George Telford (1749-1834) ran their family nursery, the most distinguished in the North, from Friar's Gardens in York; Thomas Rigg (c.1746-35) was a well-known nurseryman of York whose ground at Fishergate was subsequently taken over by the emerging and later prestigious Backhouse family nursery, also of York.

¹¹² Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Building of The Retreat, 1794: 'Wm Tuke Bo.t of John [?&] George Telford over 200 trees including 100 Beeches, 30 Black Italian Poplars, 50 Lombardy Poplars, 25 Oakes [sic], 25 Larches, 3 Cluster Pines, 2 Sugar Maples, 4 Berrybearing Alders, 6 Silver Firs, 2 Sea Buckthorn, 4 White Berried Spindle Trees, 2 Hickory Nut, 6 Weymouth Pines, 4 Red Berried Spindle Trees ... 3 pounds, 4 shillings, 9 pence [and] Wm Tuke Bo.t of Thomas Rigg [flowers, bushes, trees] including, 100 green hollies, 100 very large Quickwood, another 100 green hollies, 10 Mountain Ash, 10 Areatheophrasti, 2 Weeping Birch, 2 Red Virginia Cedars, 2 Horse Chestnuts, 2 American Spruce, 2 Oriental Platines, 2 Occidentals, 50 White Poplars, 50 Balsam, 2 Double Flowering Thorns, 2 Althea Frutex, 6 Red Barberry, 2 Long Bowing Honeysuckles, 2 Portugal Laurels, 4 Guilders Roses, 25 Tall Beech, 30 Scotch Firs ... for 11 pounds, 6 shillings, and 1 pence' quoted in Kathleen Anne Stewart, *The York Retreat in the Light of the Quaker Way* (York: William Sessions, 1992), 35-36.

¹¹³ In for example Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: Taylor, 1803); *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London, 1816).

Other useful publications include:

Digby, Anne, *Madness, Morality and Medicine: a study of The York Retreat 1796-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1985).

Hunt, H.C., *A Retired Habitation A History of The Retreat York (Mental Hospital)* (London: Lewis, 1932).

Hunter, Richard, Macalpine, Ida, 'Introduction', to Samuel Tuke, *Description of The Retreat* (London: Dawsons, 1968).

Stewart, Kathleen Anne, *The York Retreat in the light of the Quaker Way* (York: William Sessions, 1992).

OS 6", Yorks. sh. CLXXIV, pub. 1853.

Case Study 10. Wakefield

Former names	West Riding Asylum; Stanley Royd Hospital
Address	Aberford Road, Wakefield
Date of erection	1815-18
Type of asylum	County asylum administered by the West Riding of Yorkshire
Architects	C. Watson & J.P. Pritchett
Landscape designer	unknown
National Grid Reference	SE 337 217

SIGNIFICANCE

The Wakefield asylum was the earliest public asylum to introduce the use of work in the building and grounds at a significant level as a form of therapy, reflecting the increasing interest in moral therapy in public asylums. As such it was influential on other public asylums. Its first medical superintendent, William (later Sir William) Ellis implemented this programme, the asylum having been constructed on an expansive site with advice from Samuel Tuke of The Retreat, York, where work was already a major element of treatment. Tuke expressed his opinions on the laying out of the asylum structure in print, and the plans for the asylum were also published.¹¹⁴

HISTORY

The asylum was the sixth public asylum opened, shortly after Stafford (1816-18). The main building was based on a double radial plan form which provided a cruciform block for each sex, connected by central medical, domestic and administrative facilities. The plan form of the radial blocks bore a marked resemblance to Stark's design of 1807 for Glasgow asylum.¹¹⁵ The architects, Watson and Pritchett, took advice from Samuel Tuke in the arrangement of the site and building. Tuke published his advice as a testimonial, together with plans of the winning design in 1815.¹¹⁶ In the design as executed, one wing of each block met at the main entrance in the administrative block, behind a forecourt enclosed on three sides by ward wings and, unusually, on the fourth, entrance side by service courts. The employment regime was expressed in the building form by the provision of work rooms specifically for the patients.

¹¹⁴ Samuel Tuke, 'Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums; including Instructions to the Architects Who Offered Plans for the Wakefield Asylum', in W. Watson, J.P. Pritchett, *Plans, Elevations and Description of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum lately Erected at Wakefield for the West Riding of Yorkshire, etc.* (York: Alexander, 1815), 10-12.

¹¹⁵ William Stark, *Remarks on the Construction of Public Hospitals for the Cure of Mental Derangement* (Edinburgh: for the Committee, 1807).

¹¹⁶ Watson, Pritchett, *op. cit.* (1815).

DESCRIPTION

The asylum was built for 150 patients and at 25 acres (10 ha.) was set in an unprecedentedly large site for a public asylum, in an agricultural area just outside Wakefield (see Plate 35, estate map based on OS 6" plan, pub. 1853). The building was sited at the centre of the rectangular site, and reached from the east off the Wakefield to York turnpike via a serpentine drive, entered past a lodge. The drive entered the forecourt on the north side of the building, which was enclosed on the other three sides by 12 airing courts, six each for male and female patients (see Plate 34, plan of architects' proposal for the core of the site, 1815). The number of airing courts reflected the number of ward galleries, six in each radial wing. Centrally to the south, separating two airing courts, an area was laid out informally as a garden and beyond this a kitchen garden covering approximately 3 acres (1.2 ha.) was laid out with a grid of paths, serving the establishment, and also in which the male patients worked.¹¹⁷ Early on in the construction of the site, at the beginning of the building work in the winter of 1815/16, the rectangular site was enclosed and secluded by a thick belt of trees.¹¹⁸ The shelter belt would have been partly grown by the time the first patients were admitted. The rest of the grounds within the belt were open and given over to farmland. The structure incorporated the elements which typified earlier, more confined asylum estates, but these elements were arranged in a more complicated pattern of courtyards and airing courts as the nucleus of a wider estate.

By 1828 Halliday described the regime and establishment in favourable terms, for, 'the patients have uniformly been kept employed at their various trades, and in agricultural labour, and the best results have followed this judicious system'. Within his description, Halliday quoted Dr Ellis saying that "'no accident has ever occurred from allowing the insane the use of the instruments necessary for their trades or occupation; and that while their labour has tended greatly to lessen the expense of the establishment, it has also aided in hastening their cure.'" Halliday continued that 'It [Wakefield] has 25 acres of land for the employment of the patients; workshops are fitted up for the accommodation of the different tradesmen, and the house has apartments for 250 or even 300 patients ... '. He further reported that the building and grounds had cost £55,000.¹¹⁹

Halliday also reproduced a letter to him from Ellis in 1827, which recounted Ellis' policies for the use of vocational therapy.

Among the lower classes of the people, it will generally be found that useful occupation in the pursuits they have been most accustomed to is their best amusement, and such employment the most salutary mode of recreation that can be resorted to. One of the principal objects kept in view, in the direction of this Asylum, has been to obtain for the

¹¹⁷ Watson, Pritchett, *op. cit.* (1815).

¹¹⁸ Wakefield RO, C85/1, Wakefield asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, November 1815.

¹¹⁹ Halliday, *op. cit.* (1828), 17, 19.

patients constant and regular employment, and for that purpose, not only farming and gardening, but all trades have been forced into the service; we have spinners, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, brewers, bakers, blacksmiths, joiners, painters, bricklayers and stonemasons, all employed. ... nearly one half of both male and female patients are constantly engaged in some kind of labour. The moment there is any appearance of convalescence, the patient is enticed to occupy himself with his usual healthy pursuits, and indeed many never begin to amend until we have got them to engage in such employments.¹²⁰

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The main repository for the administrative records is Wakefield RO. The remaining records are limited, and the most useful source is Ellis' Annual Report book covering the years from the opening of the asylum (C85/107). This records his approach to the use of the landscape as a beneficial therapeutic tool, and his commitment to promoting this in the asylum as part of moral therapy.

Wakefield RO

C85/1, Wakefield asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1814-19.

C85/107, Wakefield asylum, Director's Annual Reports, 1819-29.

OS 6", Yorks. sh. CCXLVIII, pub. 1851.

Publications

Ashworth, A.L., *Stanley Royd Hospital, Wakefield, 150 Years: A History* (Wakefield: for the author, 1975).

Halliday, Andrew, *A General View of the Present State of Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Underwood, 1828), 17, 19, 94.

Tuke, Samuel, 'Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums; including Instructions to the Architects Who Offered Plans for the Wakefield Asylum', in Watson and Pritchett (1815).

Watson, W., Pritchett, J.P., *Plans, Elevations and Description of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum lately Erected at Wakefield for the West Riding of Yorkshire, etc.* (York: Alexander, 1815; 2nd edn. for the authors, 1819).

¹²⁰ Ibid., 94.

APPENDIX III. GAZETTEER OF ENGLISH ASYLUM SITES REFERRED TO IN TEXT

(excluding Case Studies, for which see Appendix II)

Sites addressed in the gazetteer comprise sites mentioned in the text but not covered as case studies.

Name	BANSTEAD
Former names	3rd Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Sutton Lane, Sutton, Reigate, Surrey
Date of erection	1872-77
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	W.H. Pownall
Landscape designer	Alexander MacKenzie
National Grid Reference	TQ 263 613
Comments	The third asylum to be built to the system devised for the MAB idiot and imbecile asylums, Caterham & Leavesden (q.q.v.). Archive at LMA.

Name	BARMING HEATH
Former names	Kent County Asylum; Oakwood Hospital
Address	Barming Heath, Maidstone, Kent
Date of erection	1830-33
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	John Whichcord
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 730 550
Comments	Early corridor asylum which incorporated a bowling green alongside its airing courts. Archive at Kent RO, Maidstone.

Name	BEDFORD
Former names	Bedfordshire County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Amphill Road, Bedford, Bedfordshire
Date of erection	1810-12 (demolished c.1860)
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	J. Wing
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SP 047 485
Comments	Earliest public asylum opened, demolished c.1860. Limited grounds reminiscent of earlier charitable asylums. Archive at Beds. RO.

Name	BEXLEY
Former names	6th LCC Asylum; Heath Asylum; Bexley Mental Hospital
Address	Old Bexley Lane, Bexley, Kent
Date of erection	1896-98
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	G.T. Hine
National Grid Reference	TQ 515 727
Comments	This large echelon asylum rivals Claybury in grandeur of approach via a double lodge device. Both set in earlier parkland. Archive at LMA.

Name	BODMIN
Former names	Cornwall County Lunatic Asylum; St Lawrence's Hospital
Address	Bodmin, Cornwall
Date of erection	1817-20
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	J. Foulston
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SX 055 669
Comments	The only radial asylum where the wings radiate from a single hub. Airing courts located between the wings. Archive at Cornwall RO.

Name	BRACEBRIDGE HEATH
Former names	Lincolnshire County Lunatic Asylum; St John's Hospital
Address	Bracebridge Heath, Lincolnshire
Date of erection	1849-52
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Hamilton & Holland
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SK 981 676
Comments	Large corridor-type building with formally laid out airing courts. Archive at Lincs. RO.

Name	BROADMOOR
Former names	State Criminal Lunatic Asylum
Address	Crowthorne, Berkshire
Date of erection	1860-63
Type of asylum	State criminal lunatic asylum
Architect	Joshua Jebb
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SU 850 640
Comments	Male and female buildings stand at the top of a steep slope, terraced down to a 6 ha. former kitchen garden, the core surrounded by a high wall. Archive believed to be at hospital.

Name	BROOKWOOD
Former names	2nd Surrey County Lunatic Asylum; Knaphill Asylum
Address	Knaphill, Woking, Surrey
Date of erection	1862-67
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	C.H. Howell
Landscape designer	Possibly Robert Lloyd; plants from Jackmans' Nursery, Woking
National Grid Reference	SU 961 581
Comments	The asylum landscape designer Robert Lloyd was head gardener here for 30 years and may have laid out the landscape when he arrived. Archive at Surrey RO.

Name	BURNTWOOD
Former names	2nd Staffordshire County Lunatic Asylum; St Matthew's Hospital
Address	Burntwood, Staffordshire
Date of erection	1864-65
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Unknown
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SK 077 095
Comments	Largely demolished by 2002. Archive at Staffs RO.

Name	CANE HILL
Former names	3rd Surrey County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Coulsdon, Surrey
Date of erection	1883
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	C.H. Howell
Landscape designer	Robert Lloyd
National Grid Reference	TQ 293 588
Comments	Echelon building with informally laid out courts. Archive split between Surrey RO, LMA & Croydon RO.

Name	CATERHAM
Former names	Metropolitan Asylum for Imbeciles; St Lawrence's Hospital
Address	Croydon Road, Caterham, Surrey
Date of erection	1868-70
Type of asylum	MAB imbecile asylum
Architect	Giles and Biven
Landscape designer	G. Woollett
National Grid Reference	TQ 326 558
Comments	One of the first of three almost identical imbecile asylum buildings (the other two being Banstead and Leavesden, q.q.v.). Two parallel rows of airing courts adjacent to pavilion wards. Archive at LMA.

Name	CHALFONT CENTRE FOR EPILEPSY
Former names	Chalfont Epileptic Colony
Address	Chalfont Common, Chalfont St Peter, Buckinghamshire
Date of erection	1894-1920s
Type of institution	Charitable epileptic colony
Architect	M. Adams & others
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 004 926
Comments	The prototype epileptic colony, laid out piecemeal from the 1890s in informal style without airing courts. Archive at Centre.

Name	CHEDDLETON
Former names	3rd Staffordshire County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Cheadle Road, Cheddleton, Leek, Staffordshire
Date of erection	1895-99
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Giles, Gough and Trollope
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SJ 974 535
Comments	Echelon building with distinctive landscape layout including detached villas, railway and cricket oval. Archive believed to be at Staffs. RO.

Name	CHERRY KNOWLE
Former names	Sunderland Borough Asylum
Address	Ryhope, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear
Date of erection	1891-95
Type of asylum	Borough asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	Fell and Co.
National Grid Reference	NZ 402 520
Comments	Situated on high ground, the airing courts set unusually for an echelon building on a terrace, with long views over the North Sea. Archive at Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle.

Name	CHICHESTER
Former names	West Sussex County Lunatic Asylum; Graylingwell Hospital
Address	Chichester, West Sussex
Date of erection	1894-97
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	A. Blomfield
Landscape designer	Robert Lloyd
National Grid Reference	SU 866 064
Comments	Echelon building with excellent woody planting, including distinctive holly hedges between airing courts. Archive at W. Sussex RO.

Name	CLAYBURY
Former names	4th Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum; 5th LCC Lunatic Asylum
Address	Claybury, Redbridge, Essex
Date of erection	1889-93
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	'The Steward'
National Grid Reference	TQ 435 915
Comments	Grand echelon asylum on Claybury Hall estate parkland, originally laid out by H. Repton, the Hall reused for private patients. Archive at LMA.

Name	CLIFTON
Former names	North and East Riding Lunatic Asylum
Address	Clifton, York, North Yorkshire
Date of erection	1845-47
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G.G. Scott & W.B. Moffatt
Landscape designer	Possibly 'Mr Ponty'
National Grid Reference	SE 585 525
Comments	Corridor building. Archive at Borthwick Institute, York.

Name	COLNEY HATCH
Former names	2nd Middlesex Asylum; Colney Hatch Asylum; Princess Park Manor (development name)
Address	Colney Hatch, London
Date of erection	1849-51
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	S.W. Daukes
Landscape designer	William Broderick Thomas
National Grid Reference	TQ 285 920
Comments	Huge metropolitan asylum, with grand grounds and numerous airing courts. Well documented involvement of Broderick Thomas. Archive at LMA.

Name	DARENTH PARK
Former names	Metropolitan Asylum Board Imbecile Asylum; Darenth Asylum for Imbeciles and Schools for Imbecile Children; Darenth Industrial Colony; Darenth Training Colony
Address	Darenth, Kent
Date of erection	1875-78
Type of asylum	MAB imbecile asylum
Architect	A. & C. Harston
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 515 727
Comments	The only publicly funded idiot and imbecile school for children, the site also including an adult imbecile asylum. Archive at LMA.

Name	DAVID LEWIS CENTRE FOR EPILEPSY
Former names	David Lewis Manchester Epileptic Colony
Address	Warford, nr. Alderley Edge, Cheshire
Date of erection	1900-03
Type of asylum	Charitable epileptic colony
Architect	A. Graham
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SJ 810 767
Comments	<i>An early epileptic colony in Arts and Crafts style.</i>

Name	DEVIZES
Former names	Wiltshire County Lunatic Asylum; Roundway Hospital
Address	Devizes, Wiltshire
Date of erection	1849-51
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	T.H. Wyatt & D. Brandon
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SU 009 599
Comments	The building was almost identical to Stone, Bucks., but the landscape was laid out less formally to accommodate the local topography. Archive at Wilts. RO.

Name	DIGBY
Former names	Exeter City Asylum
Address	Exeter, Devon
Date of erection	1882-86
Type of asylum	City asylum
Architect	R. Stark Wilkinson
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SS 770 880
Comments	Some archival material at Devon RO.

Name	DUSTON
Former names	Northampton County Asylum; Berrywood Hospital
Address	Upton, Northampton, Northamptonshire
Date of erection	1873-76
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	R. Griffiths
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SP 712 611
Comments	Archive at Northants. RO.

Name	EXE VALE
Former names	Devon County Asylum
Address	Exminster, Devon
Date of erection	1842-45
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	C. Fowler
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SX 98
Comments	Early county asylum with semicircular corridor with radiating wings dividing the airing courts.

Name	FAIRFIELD
Former names	Three Counties Asylum
Address	Arlesey, Bedfordshire
Date of erection	1855-60
Type of asylum	County asylum, erected for counties of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire
Architect	George Fowler-Jones
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TL 204 352
Comments	Corridor building with distinctive evergreen woody planting at core. Conforms closely to <i>Suggestions ...</i> (1856). Archive at Beds. RO.

Name	FORSTON HOUSE
Former names	Dorset County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Dorchester, Dorset
Date of erection	1827-32 (site abandoned in 1860s)
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Unknown
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	ST 667 953
Comments	A small manor house was incorporated at the centre of a much larger asylum building, the landscape adapted for asylum use. Archive at Dorset RO.

Name	FULBOURN
Former names	Cambridgeshire & Isle of Ely Asylum
Address	Fulbourn, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire
Date of erection	1855-58
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G. Fowler-Jones
Landscape designer	William Davidson
National Grid Reference	TL 500 564
Comments	The building is set on a terrace overlooking a large lawn formerly laid out with paths in a petal formation, surrounded by a belt of trees. Archive at Cambs. RO.

Name	GLOUCESTER
Former names	Gloucestershire Asylum
Address	Horton Road, Gloucester, Gloucestershire
Date of erection	1813-23
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	W. Stark, then W. Collingwood
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SO 844 186
Comments	One of the earliest public asylums, based on wings radiating from a semicircular connecting corridor and airing courts fitted between. Archive at Gloucs. RO.

Name	GOSFORTH
Former names	Newcastle upon Tyne Borough Asylum
Address	Gosforth, Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne & Wear
Date of erection	1865-69
Type of asylum	Borough asylum
Architect	W.L. Moffatt
Landscape designer	'Mr Hancock'
National Grid Reference	NZ 240 680
Comments	Corridor building. Archive at Tyne & Wear Archives.

Name	GREAT BARR
Former names	Great Barr Park Colony, St Margaret's Hospital
Address	Great Barr, Walsall, West Midlands
Date of erection	1911 and later
Type of asylum	Local authority mental deficiency colony
Architect	Gerald McMichael
Landscape designer	Unknown (input from H. Repton and J. Nash when a private estate)
National Grid Reference	SP 057 953
Comments	An early mental deficiency colony, occupying a former country house estate with residential and other buildings inserted in a formal layout for therapeutic purposes. Archive at Walsall RO.

Name	HATTON
Former names	Warwickshire County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Hatton, Warwick, Warwickshire
Date of erection	1849-52
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Harris & Francis
Landscape designer	Richard Ashwell
National Grid Reference	SP 252 670
Comments	Grand Tudor-style building, the entrance flanked by Wellingtonias. Very similar to Aston Hall, Birmingham. Archive at Warwicks. RO.

Name	HAYWARDS HEATH
Former names	East Sussex County Lunatic Asylum; Brighton County Borough Asylum; St Francis' Hospital
Address	Haywards Heath, East Sussex
Date of erection	1856-59
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	H.E. Kendall Jun.
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 336 228
Comments	The polychrome building is sited at the top of steep terraces incorporated into the airing courts, with long views to the South Downs. Archive at E. Sussex RO.

Name	HELLINGLY
Former names	East Sussex County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Hellingly, East Sussex
Date of erection	1901-03
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	William Goldring
National Grid Reference	TQ 598 125
Comments	The main building was supplemented by large villas in their own gardens and a separate acute hospital building, also in its own grounds. Archive at E. Sussex RO.

Name	HILL END
Former names	Hertfordshire County Lunatic Asylum
Address	St Albans, Hertfordshire
Date of erection	1896-99
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	Robert Lloyd
National Grid Reference	TL 176 067
Comments	Echelon building in extensive grounds, now largely redeveloped. Archive at Herts RO.

Name	HULL REFUGE
Former names	-
Address	Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire
Date of erection	1814
Type of asylum	Charitable asylum
Architect	Unknown
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	Exact location unknown
Comments	William Ellis co-founded this charitable asylum before moving to Wakefield in 1818.

Name	LANCASTER MOOR (ANNEXE)
Former names	Lancashire County Asylum
Address	Lancaster, Lancashire
Date of erection	1882
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Thomas Standen & A.W. Kershaw
Landscape designer	Possibly Henry Moore
National Grid Reference	SD 494 614
Comments	This large corridor building is unusual at a time when the echelon was appearing. It stands on a large terrace sloping down to lawns beyond, on a separate site to the earlier asylum building. Archive at Lancs. RO.

Name	LANGHO
Former names	Langho Epileptic Colony
Address	Wilpshire, Lancashire
Date of erection	1902-06
Type of asylum	Poor Law epileptic colony
Architect	Giles, Gough and Trollope
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SD 690 339
Comments	Early Poor Law epileptic colony on site of earlier country house estate.

Name	LEAVESDEN
Former names	Metropolitan Asylum for Imbeciles
Address	Abbots Langley, Watford, Hertfordshire
Date of erection	1868-70
Type of asylum	MAB imbecile asylum
Architect	Giles and Biven
Landscape designer	A. MacKenzie
National Grid Reference	TL 103 017
Comments	One of the first of three almost identical imbecile asylum buildings (the others being Banstead & Caterham, q.q.v.). Two parallel rows of airing courts, each laid out with informal path system, adjacent to pavilion wards. Archive at LMA.

Name	LINCOLN
Former names	Lincoln Asylum
Address	Lincoln, Lincolnshire
Date of erection	1819-20
Type of asylum	Charitable asylum
Architect	R. Ingleman
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SK 972 719
Comments	An early charitable asylum with a landscape laid out for moral therapy. Archive at Lincs. RO.

Name	LITTLEMORE
Former names	Oxfordshire City and County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Oxford, Oxfordshire
Date of erection	1844-46
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	R.N. Clark
Landscape designer	William Day
National Grid Reference	SP 536 023
Comments	Early public asylum. Archive at Oxon. RO.

Name	MONYHULL
Former names	Monyhull Industrial Colony for Imbeciles and Epileptics
Address	Monyhull Hall Road, Kings Norton, Birmingham
Date of erection	1905
Type of asylum	Poor Law epileptic and imbecile colony
Architect	Unknown
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SP 065 793
Comments	An early colony estate combining epileptics and mental defectives.

Name	MOORHAVEN
Former names	Plymouth Borough Asylum
Address	Ivybridge, Devon
Date of erection	1888-91
Type of asylum	Borough asylum
Architect	James Hine
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SX 667 577
Comments	Excellent model for conversion of building and retention of entire areas of landscape. Archive at West Devon RO.

Name	MORPETH
Former names	Northumberland Lunatic Asylum; St George's Hospital
Address	Morpeth, Northumberland
Date of erection	1853-59
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	H. Welch & T. Robson
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	NZ 202 870
Comments	Classical-style building with airing court walls sunk as ha-has flanking the main entrance. Archive at Northumberland RO.

Name	NAPSBURY
Former names	Middlesex County Asylum
Address	London Colney, St Albans, Hertfordshire
Date of erection	1900-05
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	R. Plumbe
Landscape designer	William Goldring
National Grid Reference	TQ 165 038
Comments	Similar estate layout to Hellingly, with main building supplemented by separate admissions building, and a number of villas in their own grounds. Archive at LMA.

Name	OXFORD (RADCLIFFE)
Former names	Radcliffe Asylum, Warneford Hospital
Address	Headington, Oxford, Oxfordshire
Date of erection	1821-26
Type of asylum	Charitable asylum
Architect	R. Ingleman
Landscape designer	Vaughan Thomas
National Grid Reference	SP 542 062
Comments	Early charitable asylum incorporating landscape laid out for moral treatment regime designed by Chairman of Committee. Archive remains at hospital.

Name	PORTSMOUTH
Former names	Portsmouth Borough Asylum; St James' Hospital
Address	Portsmouth, Hampshire
Date of erection	1879
Type of asylum	Borough asylum
Architect	G. Rake
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SU 670 001
Comments	Archive at Portsmouth RO.

Name	PRUDHOE
Former names	Prudhoe Hall Colony
Address	Prudhoe, Northumberland
Date of erection	1913-20s
Type of asylum	Poor Law mental deficiency colony
Architect	J.H. Morton & J.G. Burrell
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	NZ 106 619
Comments	An early mental deficiency colony. Archive at Northumberland RO.

Name	RAINHILL
Former names	3rd Lancashire County Asylum; West Derby Lunatic Asylum
Address	Rainhill, St Helens, Lancashire
Date of erection	1847-51
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	H.L. Elmes & W. Moseley
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SJ 493 928
Comments	Archive split between Merseyside and Lancs. ROs.

Name	RAMPTON
Former names	2nd State Criminal Lunatic Asylum
Address	Woodbeck, Retford, Nottinghamshire
Date of erection	1908-12
Type of asylum	State criminal lunatic asylum
Architect	H.L. Elmes & W. Moseley
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SK 775 775
Comments	Laid out with the main building supplemented by a group of villas in Arts and Crafts style. Archive believed to remain at hospital.

Name	RAUCEBY
Former names	Kesteven County Asylum
Address	Rauceby, Sleaford, Lincolnshire
Date of erection	1897-1902
Type of asylum	Borough Asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	William Goldring
National Grid Reference	TF 041 440
Comments	Modest borough asylum but with a very fine plan by Goldring of his proposals, largely executed. Lloyd advised originally but did not complete the commission. Archive at Lincs. RO.

Name	ROYAL ALBERT
Former names	Royal Albert Institution for Idiots
Address	Lancaster, Lancashire
Date of erection	1866-73
Type of asylum	Charitable idiot asylum
Architect	E.G. Paley
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SD 476 600
Comments	Grand charitable idiot asylum, deliberately designed without airing courts & with lavish woody planting scheme. Archive at Lancs. RO.

Name	ROYAL EARLSWOOD
Former names	Royal Earlswood Asylum for Idiots
Address	Redhill, Surrey
Date of erection	1852-55
Type of asylum	Charitable idiot asylum
Architect	W.B. Moffatt
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 280 486
Comments	Grand charitable idiot asylum, deliberately designed without airing courts and with lavish woody planting scheme. Archive at Surrey RO.

Name	ROYAL HOLLOWAY SANATORIUM
Former names	St Ann's Hospital
Address	Egham, Surrey
Date of erection	1874-78
Type of asylum	Private asylum
Architect	Crossland & Philpot Jones
Landscape designer	John Gibson
National Grid Reference	TQ 002 583
Comments	Grand private asylum set in highly ornamented grounds, but limited in extent because private patients were not expected to work in them. Archive at Surrey RO.

Name	SAINT ANDREW
Former names	Northampton General Lunatic Asylum
Address	Billing Road, Northampton, Northamptonshire
Date of erection	1836-38
Type of asylum	Charitable asylum
Architect	Mr Wallett
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SJ 600 925
Comments	Charitable asylum. Archive believed to remain at hospital.

Name	SAXONDALE
Former names	2nd Nottinghamshire County Asylum
Address	Radcliffe on Trent, Nottinghamshire
Date of erection	1900-02
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	E.P. Hooley
Landscape designer	Unknown; Messrs Barron and Son provided planting
National Grid Reference	SK 669 390
Comments	Echelon building with extensive grounds. Archive at Notts. RO.

Name	SPRING VALE
Former names	-
Address	Tittensor, Staffordshire
Date of erection	1808
Type of asylum	Private asylum
Architect	Unknown
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	Location unknown
Comments	Private asylum kept by Thomas Bakewell who gave evidence at 1815 Select Committee. Example of humane regime in private asylum.

Name	STAFFORD
Former names	Staffordshire County Asylum
Address	Corporation Street, Stafford, Staffordshire
Date of erection	1816-18
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	J. Potter
Landscape designer	Clarke of Lichfield
National Grid Reference	SJ 924 238
Comments	Early county asylum with limited landscape. Archive at Staffs. RO.

Name	STANNINGTON
Former names	Gateshead Borough Lunatic Asylum; St Mary's Hospital
Address	Stannington, Morpeth, Northumberland
Date of erection	1910-14
Type of asylum	Borough asylum
Architect	G.T. Hine
Landscape designer	George Cooper & Mr Pattinson
National Grid Reference	NZ 181 811
Comments	Very late echelon asylum with grounds laid out by borough cemetery superintendent and surveyor. Archive at Tyne & Wear Archives.

Name	STONE
Former names	Buckinghamshire Lunatic Asylum, St John's Hospital
Address	Stone, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire
Date of erection	1850-53
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	D. Brandon
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SP 770 720
Comments	Very similar building to Devizes, but more formal layout. Demolished late 1990s and grounds built on. Archive at Bucks. RO.

Name	STONE HOUSE
Former names	Canterbury Borough Asylum; St Martin's Hospital
Address	Canterbury, Kent
Date of erection	1900-03
Type of asylum	Borough asylum
Architect	W.J. Jennings
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TR 167 577
Comments	One of the smallest late asylums, incorporating earlier park, with the House as a ward. Archive at Canterbury Cathedral Archive.

Name	STONE HOUSE
Former names	City of London Lunatic Asylum
Address	Cobbs Croft, Stone, Dartford, Kent
Date of erection	1862-66
Type of asylum	City asylum
Architect	J.B. Bunning
Landscape designer	Edward Milner, possibly with later input by Robert Lloyd
National Grid Reference	TQ 561 741
Comments	Tudor-style corridor building, landscape laid out with complex formal designs within airing courts. Archive at Corporation of London RO

Name	THE MANOR
Former names	8th LCC Asylum; Horton Manor Asylum
Address	Ewell, Surrey
Date of erection	1898-99
Type of asylum	County asylum (part of Epsom Cluster)
Architect	W.C. Clifford Smith
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 192 615
Comments	The first of the Epsom Cluster erected on the 1,050 acre (450 ha.) site. Archive at LMA.

Name	TICEHURST HOUSE
Former names	-
Address	Ticehurst, East Sussex
Date of erection	1792
Type of asylum	Private asylum
Architect	Unknown
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 66 28
Comments	Noted for its humane regime and wealthy clientele; landscape lacked airing courts because of high level of patient supervision. Archive at WLHM.

Name	TOOTING BEC
Former names	Tooting Bec Asylum
Address	Wandsworth, London
Date of erection	1899-1903
Type of asylum	MAB asylum
Architect	A. & C. Harston
Landscape designer	Messrs Milner
National Grid Reference	TQ 269 712
Comments	Built for senile patients, with parallel linked pavilions. Little associated landscape, except for airing courts, as patients not expected to work. Archive at LMA.

Name	WALLINGFORD
Former names	Berkshire, Reading and Newbury Lunatic Asylum; Fairmile Hospital
Address	Cholsey, Wallingford, Oxfordshire
Date of erection	1868-70
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	C.H. Howell
Landscape designer	Robert Marnock
National Grid Reference	SU 598 860
Comments	Simplified Tudor-style building with axial walk down to the River Thames flanked by fields and parkland. Archive at Berks. RO.

Name	WANDSWORTH
Former names	Surrey County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Wandsworth, London
Date of erection	1838-41
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	W. Moseley
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	TQ 271 725
Comments	Early Tudor-style corridor building with brick privy buildings in similar style in airing courts attached to court walls. Archive at LMA.

Name	WELLS
Former names	Somerset and Bath County Asylum
Address	Wells, Somerset
Date of erection	1845-48
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	G.G. Scott & W.B. Moffatt
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	ST 571 465
Comments	Tudor-style corridor building with stone shelter (or possibly privy) buildings in similar style set in centre of airing courts. Archive at Somerset RO.

Name	WINSON GREEN
Former names	City of Birmingham Lunatic Asylum; Birmingham Borough Asylum; All Saints Hospital
Address	Winson Green, Birmingham, West Midlands
Date of erection	1847-51
Type of asylum	City asylum
Architect	D.R. Hill
Landscape designer	Edward G. Williams
National Grid Reference	SK 044 884
Comments	Tudor-style corridor building forming part of a group of institutions, with prison and workhouse sites, adjacent to canal. Archive at Birmingham City RO.

Name	WINWICK
Former names	5th Lancashire County Lunatic Asylum
Address	Winwick, Lancashire
Date of erection	1894-97
Type of asylum	County asylum
Architect	Giles, Gough & Trollope
Landscape designer	Unknown
National Grid Reference	SJ 600 925
Comments	<i>Large echelon building set in Winwick Hall parkland. Hospital itself since largely gone. Archive at Cheshire RO.</i>

APPENDIX IV. DESIGNERS OF ENGLISH ASYLUM LANDSCAPES

In order to identify asylum landscape designers and the processes associated with their work the most useful archival material has proved to be the administrative records of the asylum construction. A search of such material for 75 asylum sites has revealed 30 sites with named designers (although not all were professional designers), together with considerable information about the process of laying out the asylum landscape.

In England 115 publicly funded asylums and related institutions were built or begun in the period 1808-1914. Additionally around 15 large-scale private or charitably funded purpose-built asylums were erected in the same period, the numbers for this category diminishing sharply after the 1860s. For 75 of the above 130 sites the author has searched for the main deposit of administration records, and where such records exist inspected the material most apparently relevant to the erection of the asylum and the laying out of its grounds. Of these 75 sites where records have been inspected, it appears that 30 public sites have named persons who contributed to the design process and/or laying out of the grounds. One private site had a named designer and one charitable asylum was similarly identified.

Of the 30 public sites, 11 had significant input from a professional landscape designer. A further ten were laid out to designs of a professional horticulturist in a consultant capacity. For these sites there is clear and sometimes lengthy reference to that person's input. For the remaining nine sites where a named person had a significant input they tended to advise in the capacity of architect, medical superintendent or nurseryman.

Three major groups of landscape professionals who designed and laid out sites are detailed in the tables below. One difficulty in assigning the site design to an individual is that the detail of individual contribution to the estate design is not always clear. In some cases the responsibilities blur, for example whether a designer was consulted regarding the core of a site alone or the wider landscape, or whether an architect designed the course of drives in the wider landscape.

The first group comprises professional landscape designers. The second group comprises professional horticulturists who were also consultant designers, often occupied in a full-time post elsewhere, for example as head gardener in a public institution. The third group contains landscape professionals, largely landscape contractors, who in particular provided and supervised the labour and materials to lay out the site, but also in some situations provided design advice. This information is accompanied

for the first two groups by information on the terms of their employment and activities within that employment.

A fourth group who had design input consists of those who were not landscape professionals, but were closely involved with the construction of individual sites, largely either medical or other employees of the asylum or local authority, or else the architect.

Group 1 Professional landscape designers

The first group comprises nationally significant designers. From the records located so far it is seldom clear how the choice of designer in this category was made. An exception is at Cambridge where in November 1857 the Curator of the Cambridge Botanic Garden declined an invitation to provide a design, and instead, on the recommendation of Mr Hammond, a Visiting Committee member, Mr William Davidson was employed.¹

From an analysis of the information given below it is clear that in some cases national, and even internationally practising designers were employed to provide asylum landscape designs.

¹ Cambridgeshire RO, R63/9, Cambridge asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, October 1856-November 1857.

Table 7. Asylum Landscape Designers: professional landscape designers of national significance

Site	Date constructed	Landscape designer	Background of designer	Architect
Hanwell, London	1828-31	Ramsay, David ² (fl. 1810s-1850s)	Initially a nurseryman of Stanhope Nursery, Old Brompton; also laid out Highgate Cemetery (1839) and Brompton Cemetery (from 1837)	Alderson
Colney Hatch, London	1850-51	Thomas, William Broderick ³ (1811-1898)	Leading designer; commissions included Sandringham, Norfolk, Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire	Daukes
Cambridge, Cambs.	1855-58	Davidson, William ⁴	One Robert Davidson laid out the City of London Cemetery (1856); may be connection	Fowler-Jones
Stone, Dartford, Kent	1862-66	Milner, Edward ⁵ (1819-84)	Leading designer, protégé of Joseph Paxton ⁶	Bunning
Leavesden, Herts.	1868-70	McKenzie, Alexander ⁷ (c.1829-93)	Leading designer, protégé of Robert Marnock ⁸	Giles
Wallingford, Oxon.	1868-70	Marnock, Robert ⁹ (1800-89)	Leading designer ¹⁰	Howell
Banstead, Surrey	1872-77	McKenzie, Alexander ¹¹ (c.1829-93)	Leading designer, protégé of Robert Marnock	Pownall
Rauceby, Lincs.	1897-1902	Goldring, Wm. ¹² (1854-1919)	Leading English & colonial designer	Hine
Tooting Bec, London	1899-1903	Messrs Milner ¹³ (initially)	A leading late C19/early C20 design firm; Tooting formed part of a group of MAB hospital sites at this time awarded to the firm. ¹⁴	Harston
Hellingly, E. Sussex	1901-03	Goldring, Wm. ¹⁵ (1854-1919)	Leading English & colonial designer	Hine
Napsbury, Herts.	1900-05	Goldring, Wm. ¹⁶ (1854-1919)	Leading English & colonial designer	Plumbe

² LMA, MF/A/1, Hanwell asylum, Building Account Ledger 1831-32, 12-14.

³ LMA, H12/CH/A/01/02/1, Colney Hatch asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1848-1849.

⁴ Cambridgeshire RO, R63/9, Visiting Committee minutes, 1856-59. Not mentioned in Ray Desmond, *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1994).

⁵ Corporation of London RO, Report to the Court of Common Council from the Committee of Justices, March 1866.

⁶ Milner started his own practice in 1850 (Desmond, *op. cit.* (1994)); as well as private commissions he also designed several public parks, including three in Preston in the 1860s; Lincoln Arboretum (1872); Stoney Road Cemetery, Halifax (1867).

⁷ LMA, MAB 351-52, Leavesden asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1869-70.

⁸ As well as private commissions McKenzie was a notable public park designer, including in London: Alexandra Palace (1863), Victoria Embankment Gardens (1875), Southwark Park and Finsbury Park (both 1869).

⁹ Berkshire RO, D/XQ 1/3, Wallingford asylum, cash book, July 1871.

¹⁰ Marnock, sometime editor of the *Floricultural Magazine*, received various other public commissions including Sheffield General Cemetery extension (1847); Weston Park, Sheffield (1874); Northampton General Cemetery (1846-47); Alexandra Park, Hastings (1882).

¹¹ LMA, LCC/MIN/760, Banstead asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1872, 1875.

¹² Lincoln RO, 85/159, Rauceby asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1900.

¹³ LMA, MAB minutes, vol. 34, 1900 (re: Tooting Bec asylum).

¹⁴ H.E. Milner (1845-1906), author of *The Art and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1890), designed Stoke on Trent Cemetery (1880); Howard Park, Glossop (1888).

¹⁵ East Sussex RO, HE 1/2-3, Hellingly asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1900-04.

¹⁶ LMA, H50/A/01/006, Napsbury asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1904-05.

Table 8. Asylum Landscape Designers: professional landscape designers of national significance, terms of contract, asylum commissions

Site	Date constructed	Landscape designer	Terms
Hanwell, London	1828-31	Ramsay, David	For ground work and planting gardens paid £1,930 ¹⁷
Colney Hatch, London	1850-51	Thomas, W.B.	Engaged for £300 to lay out the grounds; supervised asylum gardeners and labourers ¹⁸
Cambridge, Cambs.	1855-58	Davidson, W.	Agreed to superintend works for 6% of total outlay; £729 spent on works under his supervision; his fee £35.10.0 ¹⁹
Stone, Dartford, Kent	1862-66	Milner, E.	Paid £780 for making up the grounds, planting shrubberies, laying turf, making roads and paths, gravelling the same and forming the whole of the gardens ²⁰
Leavesden, Herts.	1868-70	McKenzie, A.	He to prepare the necessary plans and superintend the work, including travelling expenses, for £105. Total cost £2,500 ²¹
Wallingford, Oxon.	1868-70	Marnock, R.	Paid £30 for 'laying out grounds' and providing plan ²²
Banstead, Surrey	1872-77	McKenzie, A.	Laid out the grounds using his own labour, total cost £8,751. Fee as consultant, £105 ²³
Rauceby, Lincs.	1897-1902	Goldring, Wm.	Terms £4.4.0 per day for visits and preparing plans; paid £5.18.0 for plans & £23.7.0 for professional services ²⁴
Tooting Bec, London	1899-1903	Messrs Milner	£15.15.0 for a plan, to merge into the fees of 5% for total cost of works if Milners supervised their execution; total cost estimated £2,637 ²⁵
Hellingly, E. Sussex,	1901-03	Goldring, Wm.	Provided plans, and supervised works via County Surveyor for £73.1.6 ²⁶
Napsbury, Herts.	1900-05	Goldring, Wm.	£4.4.0 per day to include plans and superintendence (he stated that these were the same rates he charged other counties for asylum works); £192.15.6 paid by December 1904 ²⁷

¹⁷ LMA, MF/A/1, Hanwell asylum, Building Account Ledger 1828-47; payments made in May and July 1831, also January 1832, to David Ramsey [sic] for ground work and planting gardens.

¹⁸ LMA, H12/CH/A/01/02/01, Colney Hatch asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, July 1848; H12/CH/A/01/03, Colney Hatch asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, October 1850; H12/CH/A/01/04, Colney Hatch asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, August 1851.

¹⁹ Cambridgeshire RO, R63/9, Cambridge asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1856-58.

²⁰ Corporation of London RO, Stone asylum, Dartford, Report to the Court of Common Council from the Committee of Justices, March 1866.

²¹ LMA, MAB 351, Leavesden asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1867-1870 contain reports of McKenzie's activities.

²² Berkshire RO, D/XQ 1/3, Wallingford asylum, cash book, July 1871.

²³ LMA, LCC/MIN/760-62, Banstead asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1871-77. McKenzie eventually went to arbitration, arbitrator C. Lee of Hammersmith, to recover full sum due.

²⁴ Lincolnshire RO, 85/159, Rauceby asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1894-1902; Lloyd provided a plan and visited but was unable to continue due to ill health. Goldring produced a very fine water-colour plan of his design (Plates 4 & 5).

²⁵ LMA, MAB Minutes of the Proceedings of the Managers, vol. 34, May 1900.

²⁶ East Sussex RO, HE 1/2, Hellingly asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1901-03; HE 1/3, Hellingly asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1903.

²⁷ LMA, Middlesex County Council, minutes and reports, Reports of New Asylum Committee [Napsbury], 1900, 1904-05.

The terms that these designers were employed under indicate that the degree of involvement varied. Some designers merely provided a plan accompanied by a report, as did Marnock at Berkshire. It is uncertain whether he even visited the site. In some cases the designer oversaw the laying out of his design over a few days at a day rate. In some cases the designer became the landscape contractor, providing construction and planting services. McKenzie laid out the grounds at Banstead in this way, and incurred much difficulty with the Visiting Committee in carrying out the contract, eventually having to resort to arbitration to resolve the problems.²⁸ At Colney Hatch, Broderick Thomas closely supervised the gardener, assistants and labourers employed by the asylum steward.

Very few original plans for asylum designs by these designers have been located. The most noteworthy is that by Goldring for Rauceby (1897-1902), for which he produced a very attractive water-colour plan of his proposals. Some of his planting plans for Napsbury (1900-05) may still survive with the new owner of the site but their whereabouts is unknown.

²⁸ LMA, LCC/MIN/761, Banstead asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1875-77. McKenzie requested Robert Marnock act as arbitrator, but Marnock declined, citing pressure of work. Instead Charles Lee of Hammersmith found in McKenzie's favour.

Group 2 Professional Horticulturists

Table 9. Asylum Landscape Designers: professional horticulturists

Site	Date constructed	Landscape designer	Other information	Architect
Bedford, Beds.	1810-12	Apethorpe, William, with Chair of Committee, Samuel Whitbread ²⁹	Apethorpe was gardener at Bedford Infirmary	
Clifton, N. Yorks.	1845-47	Mr. Ponty ³⁰	Provided design advice in 1844	Scott & Moffatt
Hatton, Warwicks.	1849-52	Ashwell, Richard ³¹	Coventry Cemetery Superintendent, Paxton protégé ³²	Harris & Francis
Brookwood, Surrey	1862-67	Lloyd, Robert ³³	Asylum gardener; this may have been his first asylum design	Howell
Stone, Dartford, Kent	1862-66	Lloyd, Robert, after initial design by Kemp ³⁴	Gardener, Brookwood Asylum	Bunning
Lancaster Moor Annexe, Lancs.	1876	Moore, Henry ³⁵	Head Gardener, Peel Park, Salford; ³⁶ extent of work uncertain	Standen & Kershaw
Cane Hill, Surrey	1882-83	Lloyd, Robert (with Superintendent) ³⁷	Gardener, Brookwood Asylum	Howell
Chichester, W. Sussex	1894-97	Lloyd, Robert ³⁸	Gardener, Brookwood Asylum	Blomfield
Middlesbrough, Yorks.	1893-98	Lloyd, Robert ³⁹	Gardener, Brookwood Asylum	Howell/Wood
Hill End, Herts.	1896-99	Lloyd, Robert ⁴⁰	Gardener, Brookwood Asylum	Hine
Rauceby, Lincs.	1897-1902	Lloyd, Robert initially engaged ⁴¹	Gardener, Brookwood Asylum. Lloyd too ill to finish; commission went to Goldring (see above)	Hine
Stannington, Northumberland	1910-14	Cooper, G., & Mr Pattinson ⁴²	Gateshead Borough Cemetery Supervisor & Town Surveyor	Hine

²⁹ Bedfordshire RO, LB 1/1, Bedford asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, April 1812.

³⁰ Borthwick Institute, York, CLF 1/1/1/1, Clifton asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, October 1844. This may well be the William Pontey [sic], fl. 1830s-60s, who laid out Ipswich Arboreta (1853).

³¹ Warwickshire RO, CR 1664/1, Hatton asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, July 1851.

³² Ashwell also laid out Witton Cemetery, Birmingham (1859-61).

³³ Teesside Archive, H/SL/CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, June 1896. 'Obituary Robert Lloyd', *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 33, 3rd series (16 June 1900), 388.

³⁴ Teesside Archive, H/SL/CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, June 1896.

³⁵ *Eccles and Patricroft Journal* (24 June 1876). Moore in the same article is said to have laid out 'the grounds of the County Asylum at Lancaster, and others in and around London'. No reference to him has been located in archival material for London and Home Counties sites examined.

³⁶ *Eccles and Patricroft Journal* (24 June 1876); *Salford City Reporter* (19 August 1893). Moore also designed Lancaster Cemetery, Weaste Cemetery extension, Salford (1887); Seedley Park (Buile Hill) (1876), Albert Park (1877) and Ordsall Park (1879), Salford.

³⁷ Teesside Archive, H/SL/CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, June 1896.

³⁸ West Sussex RO, HC/GR MA/2, Chichester asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, November 1896.

³⁹ Teesside Archive, H/SL/CB/M/C 1/56, Proceedings of Middlesbrough Town Council, June 1896.

⁴⁰ Herts. RO, OFF ACC 1025 Box 1, Hill End asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, November/December 1898.

⁴¹ Lincolnshire RO, 85/159, Rauceby asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1894-1902; Lloyd provided a plan and visited but was unable to continue due to ill health.

⁴² Tyne and Wear Archives, 1957/ 1/1, Stannington asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1909-1910; 1957/1/2 Visiting Committee minutes, 1910-1913.

The most prominent and prolific horticulturist in this group is Robert Lloyd (d. 1900), the head gardener at Brookwood, whose name is known, from the archival research carried out for this study, to occur in connection with seven asylum sites. Lloyd seems to have made a reputation for himself as a designer of asylum sites, and was said to have had considerable experience in the laying out of asylum grounds.⁴³ His brief obituary in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* provides a glowing account of his time at Brookwood asylum, and useful information indicating his length of involvement with asylum gardens, the obituary stating that he died 33 years after becoming head gardener there (indicating his year of starting as c.1867). Although the obituary relates how, having arrived at Brookwood when the estate was still a common, Lloyd developed it to become a garden, 'of beauty and productiveness', it does not give details of any of the commissions beyond this asylum that he is now known from archival sources to have been involved with.⁴⁴ Towards the end of his career, his work was commended at one of his sites, Chichester, and minuted by the Visiting Committee as follows,

This Committee desire to record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered them by Mr Robert Lloyd in designing the plans for laying out the grounds and gardens of the Asylum, and subsequently in superintending the execution of the work, and that a copy of this resolution be illuminated and presented to him.⁴⁵

It is unlikely that the Committee would have done the same for Goldring, as a professional designer. The engagement of this type of horticultural professional reflected the similar involvement of public park superintendents in designing other public parks and cemeteries.

⁴³ West Sussex RO, HC/GR MJ/1, Chichester asylum, Annual Report, 1898.

⁴⁴ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, i (16 June 1900), 388. The asylum was sited at the edge of Woking, close to the huge Brookwood Cemetery laid out in 1852, which occupied adjacent heathland.

⁴⁵ West Sussex RO, HC/GR MA/2, Chichester asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, March 1898.

Table 10. Asylum Landscape Designers: professional horticulturists, terms of contract and payments

Site	Date constructed	Landscape designer	Terms and payment
Clifton, N. Yorks.	1845-47	Mr Ponty	Provided design advice for £7.7.0 in 1844, early in the construction process ⁴⁶
Hatton, Warwicks.	1849-52	Ashwell, Richard	£40.6.0 total; engaged at £1.1.0/day + 5 shillings/day travelling expenses ⁴⁷
Brookwood, Surrey	1862-67	Lloyd, Robert	Unknown
Stone, Dartford, Kent	1862-66	Lloyd, Robert	Unknown
Lancaster Moor Annexe, Lancs.	1882	Moore, Henry	Unknown
Cane Hill, Surrey	1882-83	Lloyd, Robert (with Superintendent)	Unknown
Chichester, W. Sussex	1894-97	Lloyd, Robert	£45 for plans and report; £1 per visit + travel expenses to supervise; total payment £52.18.3 ⁴⁸
Middlesbrough, Yorks.	1893-98	Lloyd, Robert	Advised Committee for £20 (inc. report); plans drawn up to his designs by architect for £10 ⁴⁹
Hill End, Herts.	1896-99	Lloyd, Robert	Full report for £35; £1 per visit + travel expenses; no total given ⁵⁰
Rauceby, Lincs.	1897-1902	Lloyd, Robert initially commissioned	Engaged at terms of £35 for plans & £1.1.0 per visit with travelling expenses (Goldring finished the commission) ⁵¹
Stannington, Northumberland	1910-14	Cooper. G., & Mr Pattinson	Cooper loaned from Corporation cemetery to supervise; received £10 honorarium in appreciation of his work ⁵²

Lloyd's fees in the 1890s were in the same region as that which Ashwell was paid several decades earlier. However, Lloyd was unable to command fees anywhere near as great as the national designers. His day rate, one guinea, was a good deal lower than that the four guineas charged by the professional designer Goldring, who was his exact contemporary.

⁴⁶ Borthwick Institute, York, CLF 1/1/1/1, Clifton asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1844.

⁴⁷ Warwickshire RO, CR 1664/1, Hatton asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1851.

⁴⁸ West Sussex RO, HC/GR MA/2, Chichester asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1896-1898.

⁴⁹ Teesside Archives, CB/M/C 2/1, Middlesbrough asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1896-1897. It is stated that 'Amongst other Works, Mr Lloyd has Laid Out the Grounds of the London County Asylum at Cane Hill, the Surrey County Asylum at Brookwood, and the City of London Asylum at Stone'.

⁵⁰ Hertfordshire RO, OFF ACC 1025, Hill End asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, vol. 2, 1898-99.

⁵¹ Lincolnshire RO, 85/159, Rauceby asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, May 1900; Lloyd provided a plan and visited but was unable to continue due to ill health. £5 paid to Lloyd for his visit made to site and his plan, in addition to expenses of £1.10.6.

⁵² Tyne and Wear Archives, 1957/1/3, Stannington asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, December 1913.

Group 3: Landscape Contractors

The third group of landscape professionals involved with asylum landscape design and layout includes landscape contractors brought in separately from the architect or building company, specifically to lay out the grounds, sometimes providing some design input too. In general this group consists of local nurserymen and landscapers.

Table 11. Asylum Landscape Designers: landscape contractors

Site	Date constructed	Landscape designer	Other information	Architect
Norwich, Norfolk	1811-14	Unknown	Grounds laid out by J. Stannard and S. Howard under direction of surveyor and Visiting Committee ⁵³	Stone
Stafford, Staffs.	1816-18	'Clarke of Lichfield'	Local designer/nurseryman ⁵⁴	Potter
Littlemore, Oxon.	1844-46	Day, William	Local nurseryman working at asylum 1846 ⁵⁵	Clark
Winson Green, Birmingham	1848-51	Williams, Edward G.	Landscape contractor based in Birmingham ⁵⁶	Hill
Rainhill, Lancs.	1847-51	Messrs Farrel & Griffiths	Main building contractors; also laid out airing courts ⁵⁷	Elmes & Moseley
Gosforth, Tyne & Wear	1867-68	'Hancock'	Possibly a local designer/nurseryman ⁵⁸	Moffatt
Caterham, Surrey	1868-70	Woollett, G.	Local nurseryman ⁵⁹	Giles
Darenth, Kent	1878	Nicholson, George, of Watford	Contractor to make roads and lay out grounds ⁶⁰	Harston, A. & C
Ditto, further phase	1880-81	Holmes, W.	Paid substantial sums for trees, shrubs and planting ⁶¹	Harston, A & C.
Cherry Knowle, Tyne & Wear	1891-95	Fell & Co.	Nurserymen of Hexham ⁶²	Hine
Saxondale, Notts.	1900-02	Barron and Son	Supplied plants; advised on planting of belts and avenue ⁶³	Hooley

⁵³ Norfolk RO, SAH 2, Norwich asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1814-15.

⁵⁴ Staffordshire RO, D550/1, Stafford asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1818-19.

⁵⁵ Oxfordshire RO, H1/F3/3, Littlemoor asylum, Capital and loans account. Clerk of the Peace's account of the Capital Fund including accounts of building expenses. Day's address was St Giles' Field, Oxford, fl. 1840s (Desmond, *op. cit.* (1994)).

⁵⁶ Birmingham City RO, MS 344, Winson Green asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, vol. 1. 1848-49; Birmingham Corporation Plans [Public Works], 40, Plans for Lunatic Asylum, 1847; 128, Plan and contract for laying out grounds of Lunatic Asylum, 1847-48 (includes estimate of costs for works to grounds, 29 October 1848); 131, Plans approved by the Secretary of State, D.R. Hill, Architect, 1846-47; 132, Plans of proposed site of Birmingham Borough Lunatic Asylum, D.R. Hill, Architect, n.d. [c.1845].

⁵⁷ Merseyside RO, 614 RAI/30/1, Rainhill asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1851.

⁵⁸ Tyne and Wear Archives, HO/SN/2, Gosforth asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1867.

⁵⁹ LMA, MAB 243, Caterham asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, January 1870. Woollett was paid 10 gns for his plan, which was modified to some extent.

⁶⁰ LMA, MAB 802, Darenth asylum, Clapton and Darenth Committee minutes, vol. 1, May 1878.

⁶¹ LMA, MAB 287, Darenth asylum, Clapton and Darenth Committee minutes, vol. 2, 1880-81.

⁶² Tyne and Wear Archives, CB/SU/7/1-2, Cherry Knowle asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1895. Tender for work valued at £540. Firm founded by Wm. Fell (c.1847-1903), *Garden*, 63 (11 April 1903), 252.

⁶³ Nottinghamshire RO, CC3 15/1/1, Saxondale asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, 1901.

Group 4: Other Designers

The fourth group who were involved with the estate design were not landscape professionals, and their input is largely poorly recorded, other than by occasional disjointed references. For example, at Carlisle (1861-62), the medical superintendent and county surveyor collaborated on the laying out of the airing courts; at Colchester (1907-13) the county architect who designed the building is also believed to have designed the grounds.⁶⁴ In several instances the architect himself provided advice on the layout and design of the landscape, particularly in the case of G.T. Hine who designed two of the five LCC Epsom Cluster asylums at Horton (1897-1902) and Long Grove (1903-07), together with Bexley (1896-98) on which the two former buildings were based, all with a capacity for 2,000 patients.

Few institutional architects designed more than two asylum sites and so it is difficult to build up a picture of their working relationships with asylum landscape designers. Major design partnerships included G.G. Scott and W.B. Moffatt, who, both separately and as a partnership, were very productive in institutional architecture, particularly workhouses in the 1840s and 1850s.⁶⁵ John Giles, both on his own and in partnership with others, designed seven asylum sites from the 1860s to the 1890s.⁶⁶ Of Giles' sites only two have so far been identified where a named landscape designer is known to have worked.⁶⁷

The information in Tables 12 and 13 below relates to two of the most prolific asylum architects, C.H. Howell (1824-1905) and G.T. Hine (1841-1916), who were both Consulting Architect to the Commissioners in Lunacy and whose asylum commissions spanned five decades from the 1860s. Hine was the most prolific asylum architect and the only one to work full time in the private sector. Of his 13 asylum commissions, the records have been examined for nine, and these all provide some indication as to the designers connected with the estate layout.

⁶⁴ Cumbria RO, CC1/24/2, Carlisle asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, January 1861; Sarah Green, 'Severalls Hospital Colchester Essex: Historical Study of its Layout and Grounds' (unpublished dissertation, Architectural Association, London, March 2001), 11.

⁶⁵ Scott and Moffatt designed Clifton, York (1845-47), Shrewsbury (1843-45) and Wells (1845-48) asylums; Moffatt on his own designed the charitable Royal Earlswood Idiot Asylum, Surrey (1852-55).

⁶⁶ John Giles or his firm was connected with the design of the following English public asylums: Metropolitan Asylums for Imbeciles at Caterham (1868-70) and Leavesden (1868-70); St Augustine's, Canterbury (1872-75); Barnwood, Gloucs. (1880-85); Taunton (1891); Cheddleton, Staffs. (1895-99); Winwick, Lancs. (1894-97); Langho Epileptic Colony, Lancashire (1902-06).

⁶⁷ These were Leavesden (1868-70), connected with A. McKenzie, and Caterham (1868-70), connected with Woollett (see Tables above for references).

Table 12. Asylum Buildings by the Architect G.T. Hine, with landscape designers (where known)

G.T. Hine (13 sites)	Date of construction	Landscape designer	Background of designer
Nottingham Borough	1875-80	Records not examined	-
Claybury, Middlesex	1889-93	Asylum steward	Asylum employee
Cherry Knowle, Tyne & Wear	1891-95	Fell and Co.	Nurserymen?
Hill End, Hertfordshire	1896-99	Lloyd, R.	Gardener, Surrey asylum, Brookwood
Bexley, Kent	1896-98	Hine, G.T. (partly)	Architect
Rauceby, Lincs	1897-1902	Goldring, W.	Professional designer
Horton, Surrey	1897-1902	Hine, G.T. (partly)	Architect
Hellingly, East Sussex	1901-03	Goldring, W.	Professional designer
Long Grove, Surrey	1903-07	Hine, G.T. (partly)	Architect
Barnsley Hall, Worcestershire	1903-07	Records not examined	-
Netherne, Surrey	1905-09	Records not examined	-
Stannington, Northumberland	1910-14	Cooper, G. & Mr Pattinson	Borough cemetery superintendent and surveyor
Park Prewett, Hampshire	1913-20	Records not examined	

Table 13. Asylum sites by the Architect C.H. Howell, with landscape designers (where known)

C.H. Howell (5 sites)	Date of construction	Landscape designer	Capacity
Brookwood, Surrey	1862-67	Lloyd, R.	Gardener, Brookwood asylum
Wallingford, Oxon.	1868-70	Marnock, R.	Professional designer
Beverley, Yorks.	1868-71	Unknown	-
Cane Hill, Surrey	1883	Lloyd, R. (with Steward)	Gardener, Surrey asylum, Brookwood
Middlesbrough, Yorks.	1893-98	Lloyd, R.	Gardener, Brookwood asylum

Of sites where the building was designed by Hine, the most prolific asylum architect, it appears that at least three were laid out by professional designers, as opposed to nurserymen, including one by Lloyd and two by Goldring. It is possible that Hine himself recommended particular designers to the Visiting Committees, but the sources of designers are usually opaque from minute books. Four of Howell's five sites are connected with a professional designer or horticulturist. It is particularly evident that Howell and Lloyd may have collaborated in a working relationship as architect and landscape designer.

The role of the architect within the landscape became more noticeable in Hine's case. Several sites were laid out with Hine's own advice, the scope of which he deliberately tried to limit. When advising

on the layout of the roads and airing courts at the LCC asylum at Horton (part of the Epsom Cluster) he referred to having advised on similar aspects at the LCC asylum at Bexley. He went on to protest that, 'It is not part of the Architect's duty to be a Landscape Gardener', which he considered that laying out the airing courts amounted to. He considered his part in the laying out of the courts would be complete when the railings had been erected, but he then conceded that he was willing to supervise the change of levels of the courts, and prepare a design sketch of their layout. To do this he required the asylum committee to employ a working bailiff to supervise the work, together with a practical working gardener with experience of laying out grounds as foreman.⁶⁸ Lloyd of Brookwood, who might otherwise have been a candidate in this case, had died in 1900, and Hine does not suggest anyone for these posts.

In the transitional period, leading towards the completion of the building and following its opening, the landscape designer worked in conjunction with a variety of advisers: with the architect to varying degrees, and also with the Visiting Committee, and, where appointed in advance of the asylum opening, with the medical superintendent who would be so closely involved practically with the landscape once the designer had left. In many asylums it is impossible to determine exactly who was responsible for the design of major structural features such as drives and the ground levels for airing courts and pleasure grounds. The architect would certainly have been capable of designing such things, and where a competent landscape designer was employed, he too could have carried out such tasks as part of his overall site design. It is likely that the Visiting Committees provided their own ideas which were to be incorporated within the overall design. The superintendent's professional opinion on such matters had been sought since at least the construction of the Middlesex asylum at Hanwell (1828-30), when William Ellis and his wife, as Matron, produced a report commenting on the proposed site layout.⁶⁹ At Cane Hill (1883) Lloyd incorporated advice from the superintendent to design and lay out the grounds in the most satisfactory way to achieve the therapeutic purpose.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ LMA, LCC/MIN/1120, Horton asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, November 1901.

⁶⁹ LMA, Ma/A/J2, Hanwell asylum, Visiting Committee minutes, vol. 2, report on the proposals for Hanwell Gardens, 27 December 1830, Dr and Mrs Ellis and Mr Sibley, Surveyor.

⁷⁰ LMA, LCC/MIN/855, Cane Hill asylum, Sub-Committee minutes, October 1882.

**APPENDIX V. ASYLUM LANDSCAPES INCLUDED ON THE
ENGLISH HERITAGE REGISTER OF PARKS AND GARDENS OF
SPECIAL HISTORIC INTEREST, FEBRUARY 2003**

Site Name	County	Date erected	Grade on Register
Publicly built sites			
Broadmoor	Berkshire	1860-63	II
Chichester	West Sussex	1894-97	II
Colchester	Essex	1907-13	II
High Royds (Menston)	West Yorkshire	1884-88	II
Napsbury	Hertfordshire	1900-05	II
Rauceby	Lincolnshire	1897-1902	II
Springfield	London	1838-41	II
Stannington	Northumberland	1910-14	II
Wallingford	Oxfordshire	1868-70	II
Privately built sites			
Brislington House	Bristol	1804-06	II*
Cheadle Royal	Manchester	1848-49	II
Ticehurst House	East Sussex	1796 (landscape laid out c.1816)	II*

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The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by author/institution, and is divided into two main sections. The first deals with primary sources, both manuscript and published, and the second deals with secondary sources. Each of these is sub-divided into categories as follows:

Primary Sources

1. Manuscript and other archival items
2. Ordnance Survey maps
3. Public general statutes
4. Parliamentary and official publications
5. Books
6. Journals and newspapers

Secondary sources

7. Public general statutes
8. Parliamentary and official policy publications
9. Books, journals and newspapers
10. Theses and dissertations

1. Manuscript and other archival items

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77. Leavesden, Herts. (1868-70). Core of site as executed (OS 25", Herts. shs. XXXIX.5, pub. 1871, XXXIX.6, pub. 1873).
78. Broadmoor, Berks. (1860-63). Postcard of female block overlooking airing court, terrace and shelter, late C19/early C20 (SR).
79. Broadmoor, Berks. (1860-63). Engraving of male patients playing croquet in their airing court (in *Illustrated London News* (7 September 1867), 273).
80. Middlesbrough, N. Yorks (1893-98). Asylum estate (OS 6", Yorks. sh. XVI NE, rev. 1938).
81. Royal Earlswood Idiot Asylum, Surrey (1852-55). Core of charitable idiot asylum estate (OS 25", Surrey sh. XXXIV.4, surveyed 1871).
82. Royal Albert Institution for Idiots, Lancaster (1866-73). Core of charitable idiot asylum estate (OS 25", Lancs. sh. XXX.15, pub. 1893).
83. Ewell Epileptic Colony, Surrey (1900-03). Core of estate (OS 25", Surrey shs. XIII.13, XIX.1, pub. 1913).
84. Prudhoe Hall Colony, Northumberland (1913-23 and later). Proposed layout of mental deficiency colony estate (in the *Builder*, 172 (17 January 1930), 183).
85. Great Barr Park Colony, W. Mids. (1911 and later). Core of mental deficiency colony estate (OS 25", Staffs. sh. LXVIII.4, pub. 1937).

PLATES

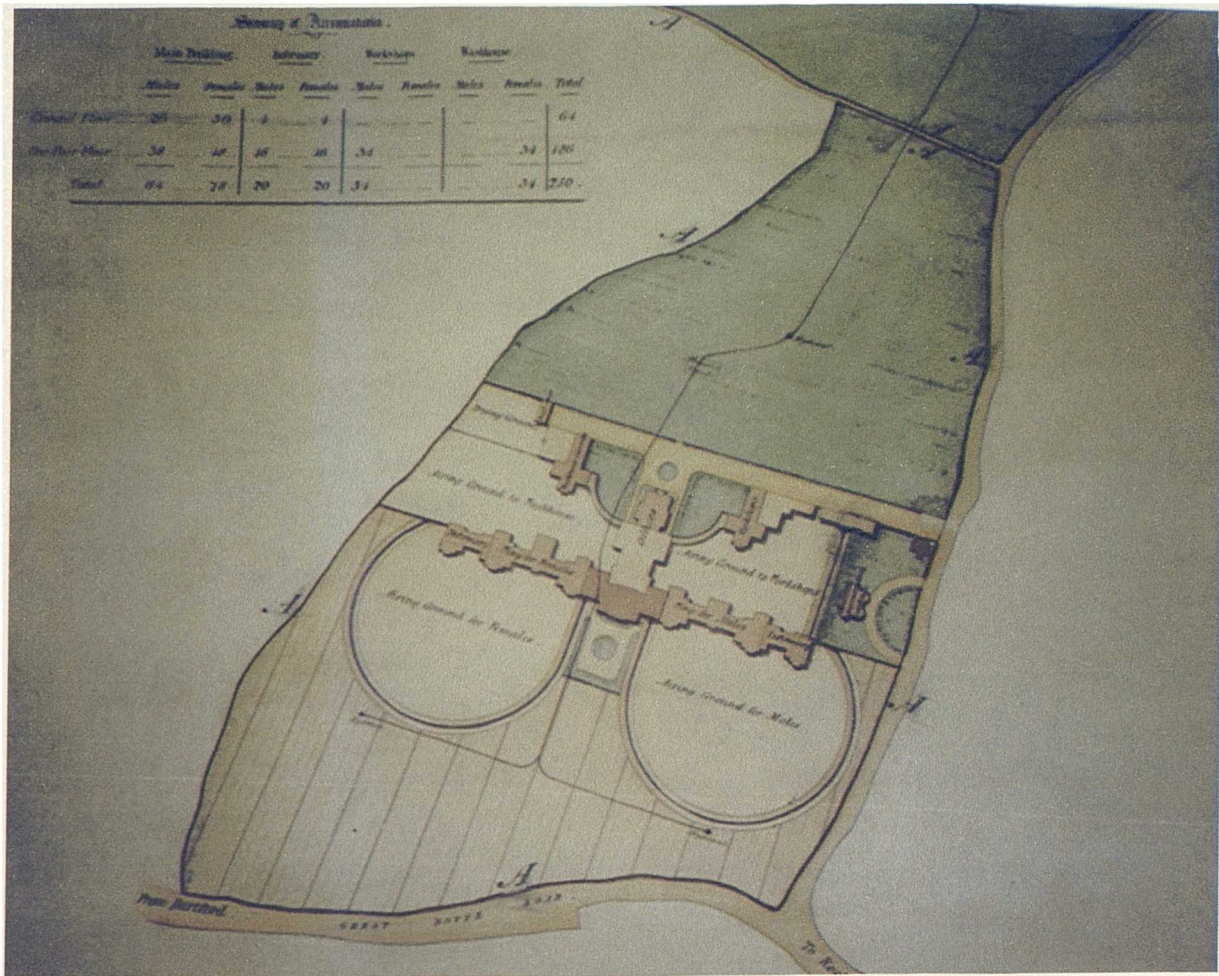


Plate 1. Stone House, Dartford, Kent (1862-66). Plan of proposed layout, October 1860, unexecuted (Corporation of London RO, Surveyor's Institution Plan no. 92).

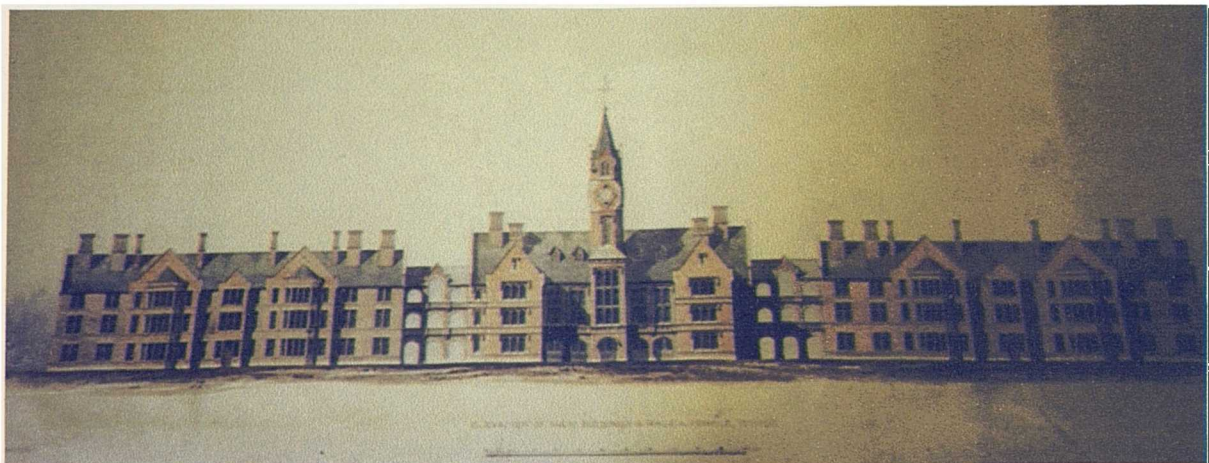


Plate 2. Stone House, Dartford, Kent (1862-66). Proposed elevation of garden front of asylum building, c.1860 (Corporation of London RO, Surveyor's Institution Plan no. 81).



Plate 3. Stone House, Dartford, Kent (1862-66). Estate plan with pencil sketch marks of landscape details, largely as executed, October 1860 (Corporation of London RO, Surveyor's Institution Plan no. 93).

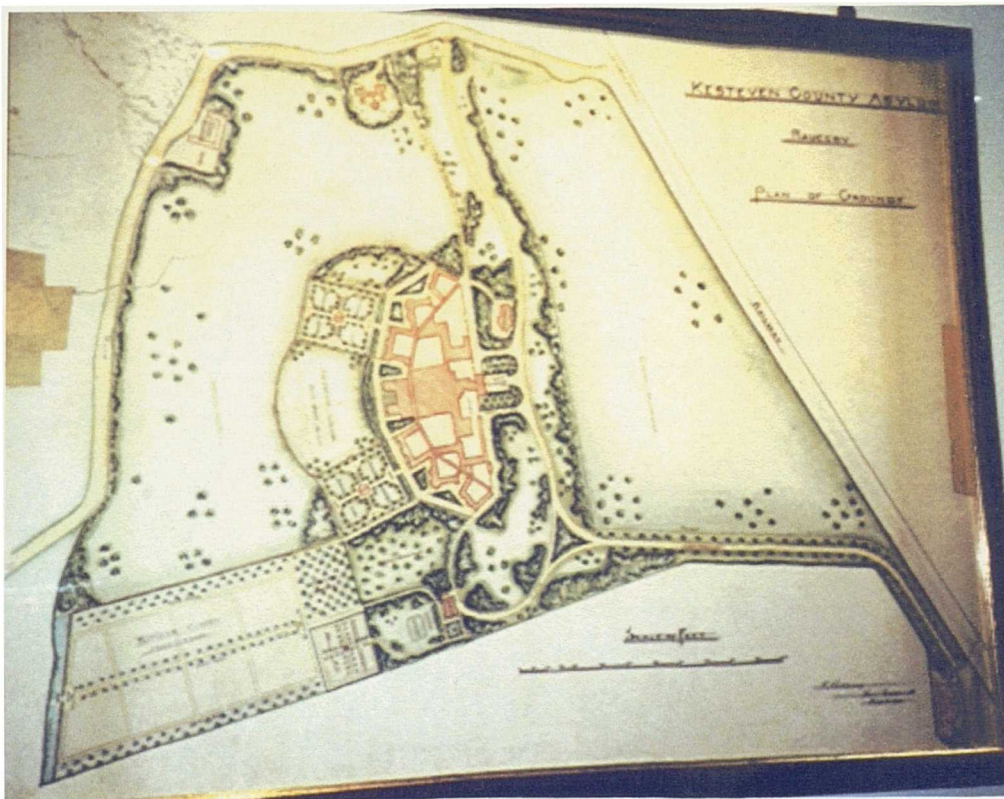


Plate 4. Rauceby, Lincs. (1897-1902). Plan of proposed layout, 1900 (W. Goldring, at Orchard House, Rauceby).



Plate 5. Rauceby, Lincs. (1897-1902). Plan of proposed layout, enlarged, 1900 (W. Goldring, at Orchard House, Rauceby).

DERBY LUNATIC ASYLUM.

MANAGEMENT	REFERENCES.	WARDS	OFFICES (continued)
9. Manager		A A. Food and Infirm	32 Patients
10. Committee		B B. Moderately Disrupt	32 D ^o
11. Dispensary		C C. Refractory	25 D ^o
12. Steward and Clerk		a a. String (wards for A A and the Wards above)	
13. Visitors Room		b b. D ^o for B B	
		c c. D ^o for C C	
		d d. D ^o for Wards above C C	
		e e. Re. Insullions	
14. Cooks Room		1. Compartments for Meals	29 Tanks
15. Servant Hall		2. Attendants' Rooms	30 Cartways
16. Butchers		3. Patients Washing Rooms	31 Wash House
17. Bakers		4. Patients Water Closets	32 Drying Closet
18. Wash Kitchen		5. Attendants' Sculleries & Store Rooms	33 Laundry
19. Butchers &		6. Bath Rooms	34 Madmen Work Room
20. Stairs, etc.		7. Patients S.I. Cases	35 Brew-house
21. Board Room		8. Corrid. of Communication	36 Cooper
22. Wash room			37 Plumber
23. Grovers Store			38 Shoemaker
24. General Store			39 Upholster
25. Mast Room Larder			40 Tailor
26. Dairy			41 Boiler House
27. Cists			42 Engine House & Well
28. General Store			43 Mad Linen Wash House
			44 Smith
			45 Gas House
			46 Gas Holder
			47 Lodge
			48 Open Vault
			49 Drying Ground
			50 Back Court

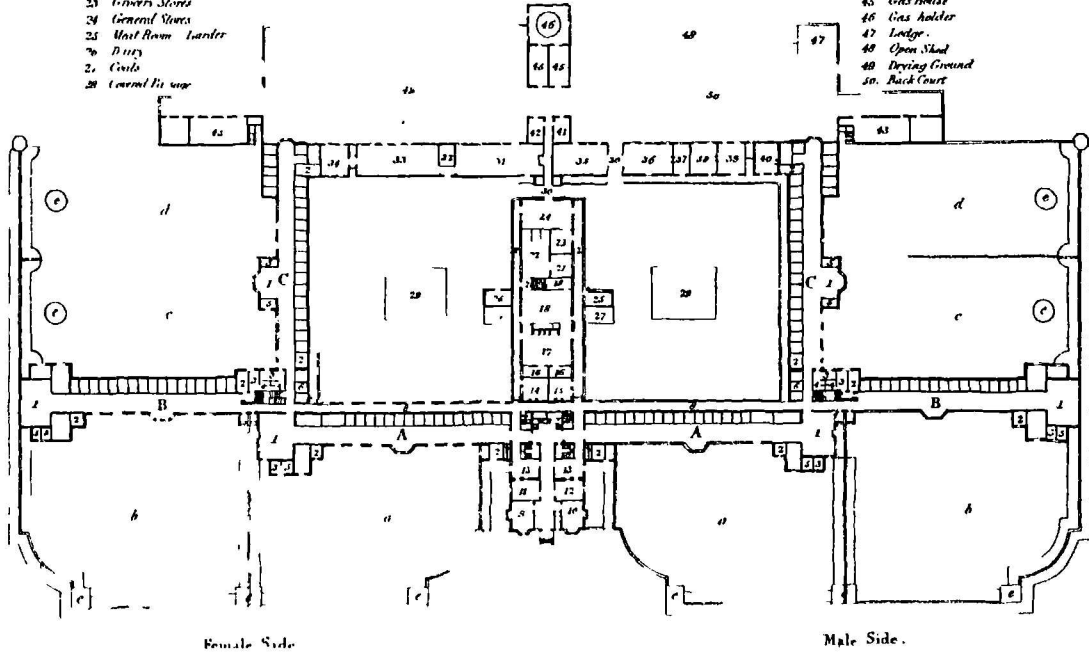


Plate 6. Derby (1844-51). Plan of core of site (in Conolly, 1847).

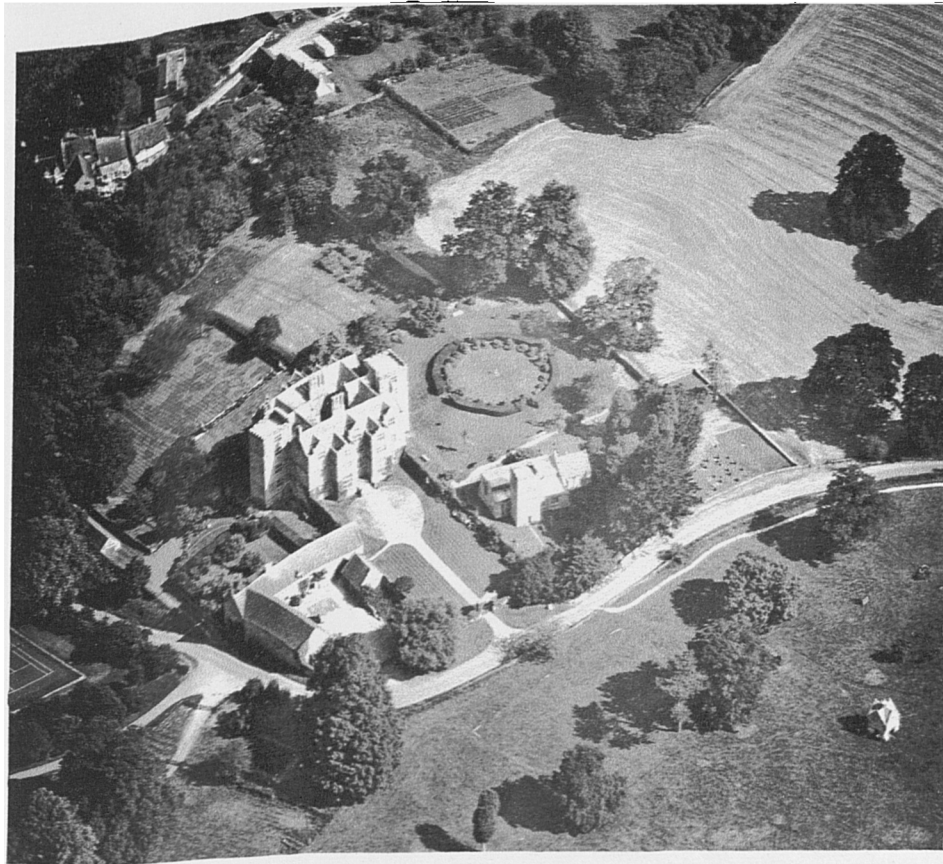


Plate 7. Chastleton, Oxon (1607-12). Aerial photograph, 2000. The Best Garden to the right of the house contains a circular hedge; the base court lies to the left of the house; the forecourt is in front of the house (NMR, 18860/21).

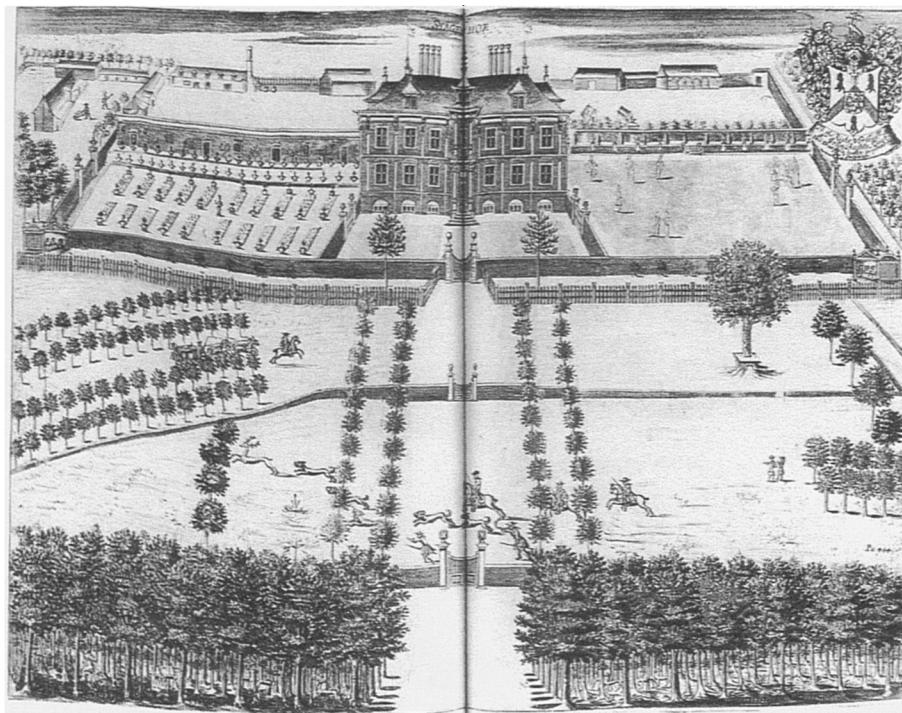


Plate 8. Stagenhoe, Herts. Engraved bird's-eye view, 1700. A typical, formal compartmentalised garden and wider estate; the forecourt in front of the house is approached via avenues through the park, the main garden compartment lies to the left of the house, with bowling green to right, service yards to rear. Henry Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700 (in Mowl, 2001).

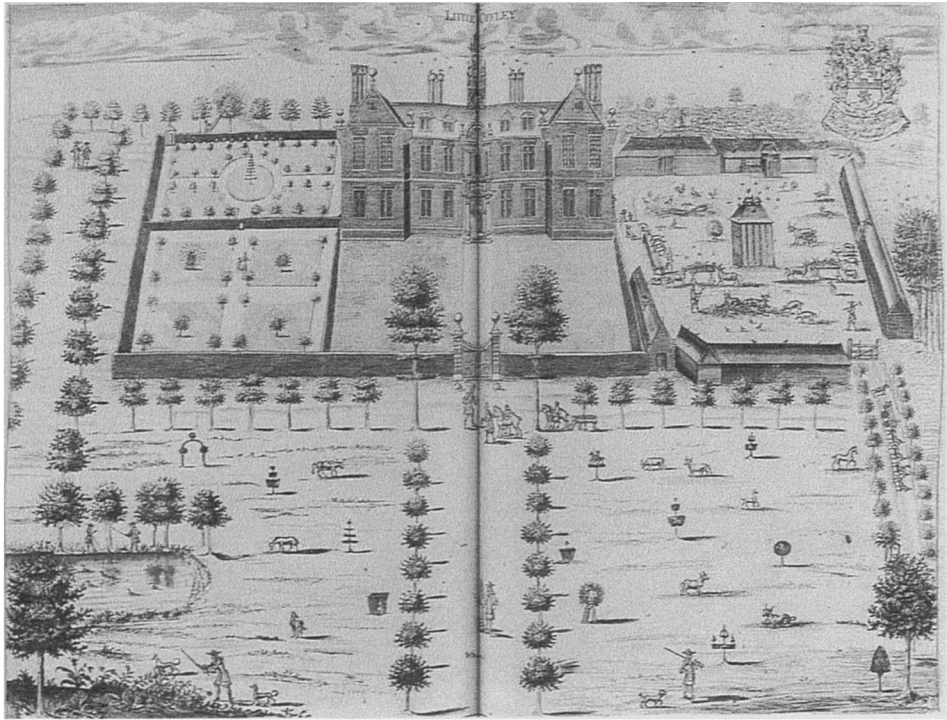


Plate 9. Little Offley, Herts. Engraved bird's-eye view, 1700. A typical, formal compartmentalised garden and wider estate. The forecourt in front of the house is approached via a formal avenue, with garden compartments to left, working farmyard to right. Henry Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700 (in Mowl, 2001).

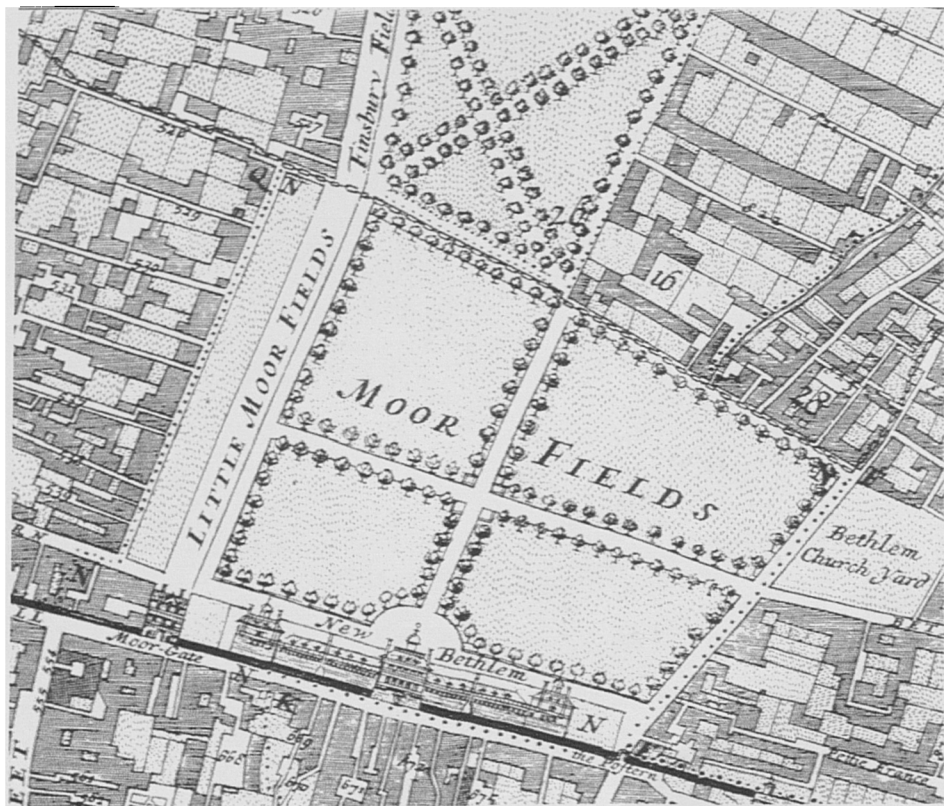


Plate 10. Bethlem, London (1674-76). Map of Bethlem. The Bethlem estate lies adjacent to the London wall to the south, and Moorfields to the north. Airing courts flank the main building (William Morgan, *London, &c. Actually Survey'd* (1682)).

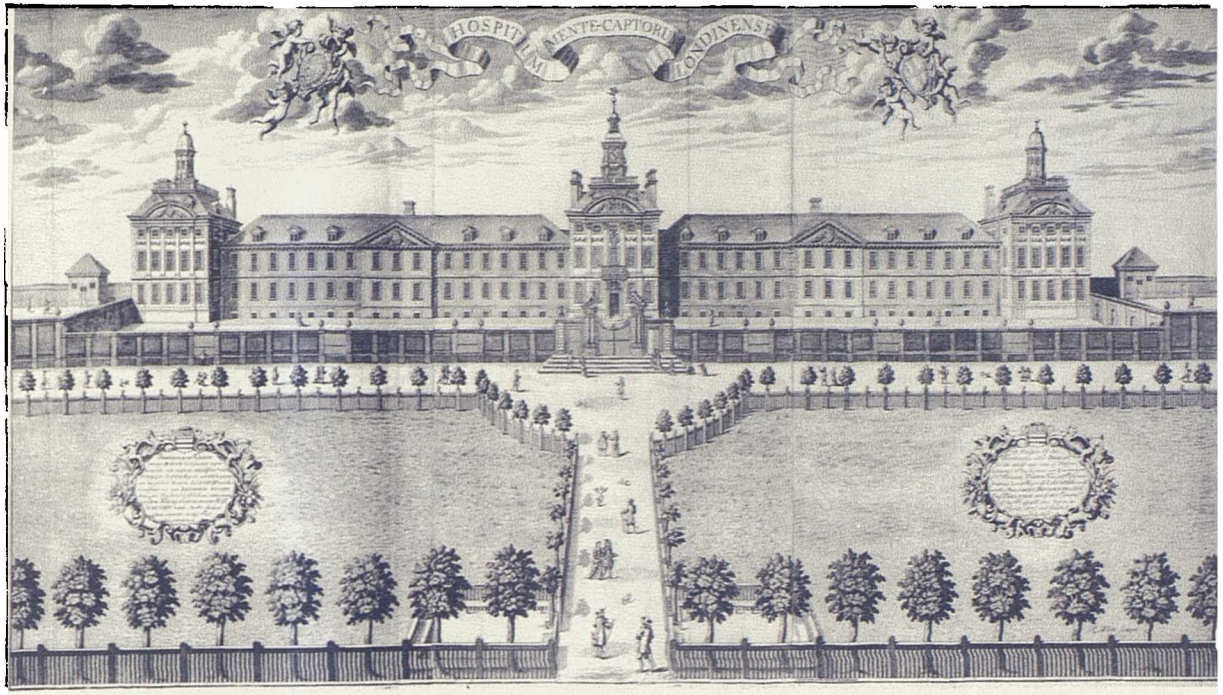


Plate 11. Bethlem, London (1674-76). Engraving of the north front, 1677. The forecourt is flanked by airing courts and overlooks Lower Moorfields (Robert White, after Thomas Cartwright, *Hospitium Mente-Captorum Londinense* (1677)).



Plate 12. Nuneham Courtenay, Oxon. Engraving of the house and informal pleasure grounds overlooking the River Thames (Joseph Farington, 1794).

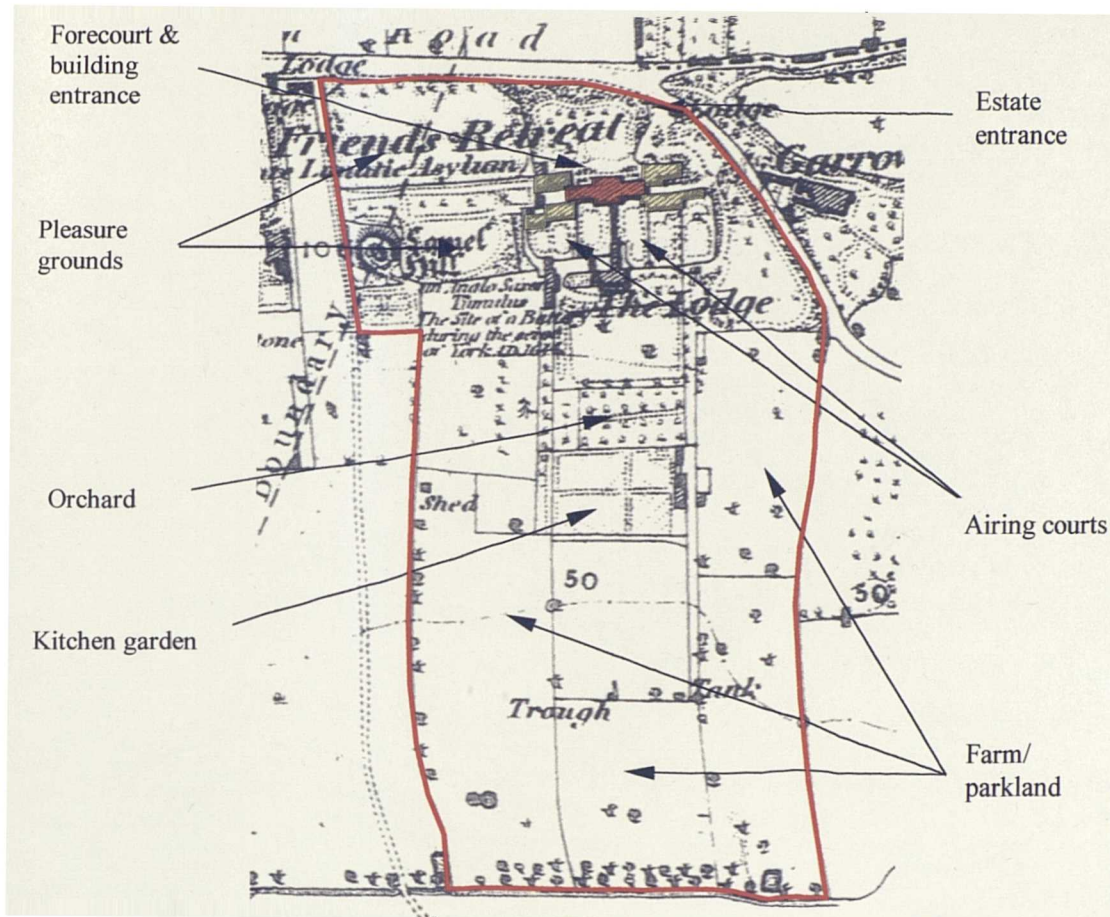


Plate 13. The Retreat, York (1792-96). Annotated plan of the mid-nineteenth-century charitable asylum estate. The estate boundary is marked with a red line; the original building footprint is shaded in red; building extensions by 1813 are shaded in yellow (OS 6", Yorks. sh. CLXXIV, pub. 1853).

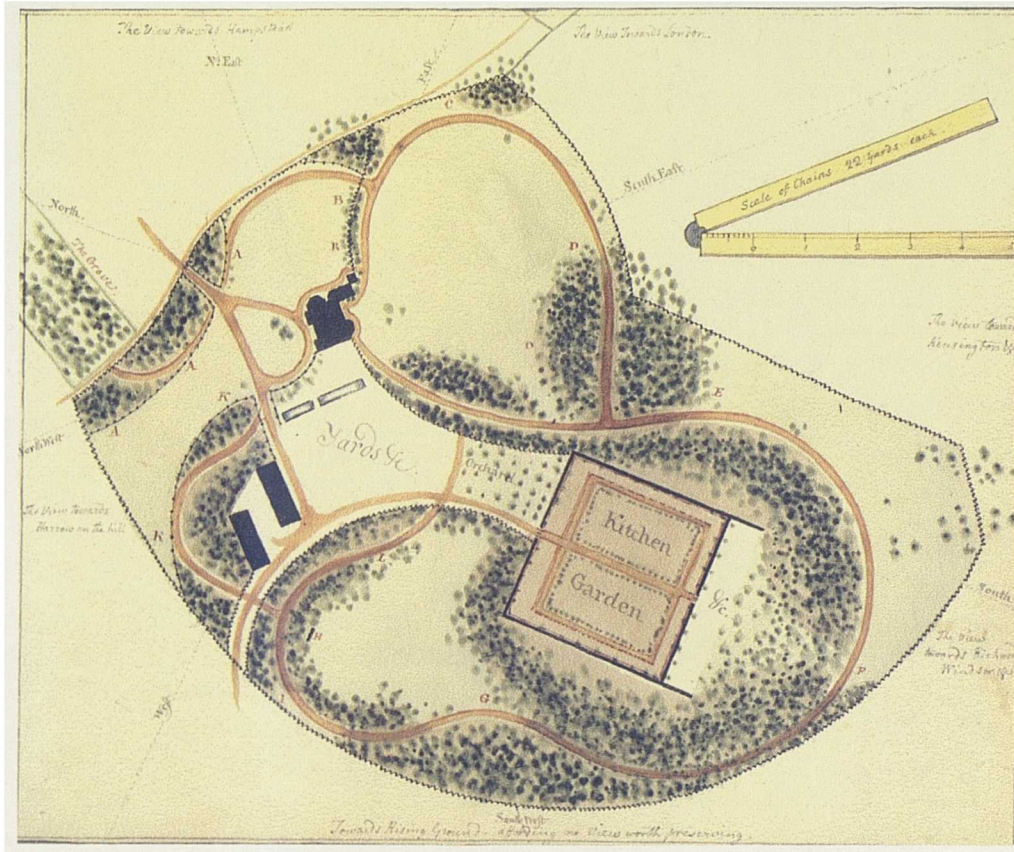


Plate 14. Brandsbury, London. Plan in Humphry Repton's Red Book for Brandsbury, 1789. A modest 10-acre villa estate (in Daniels, 1994).

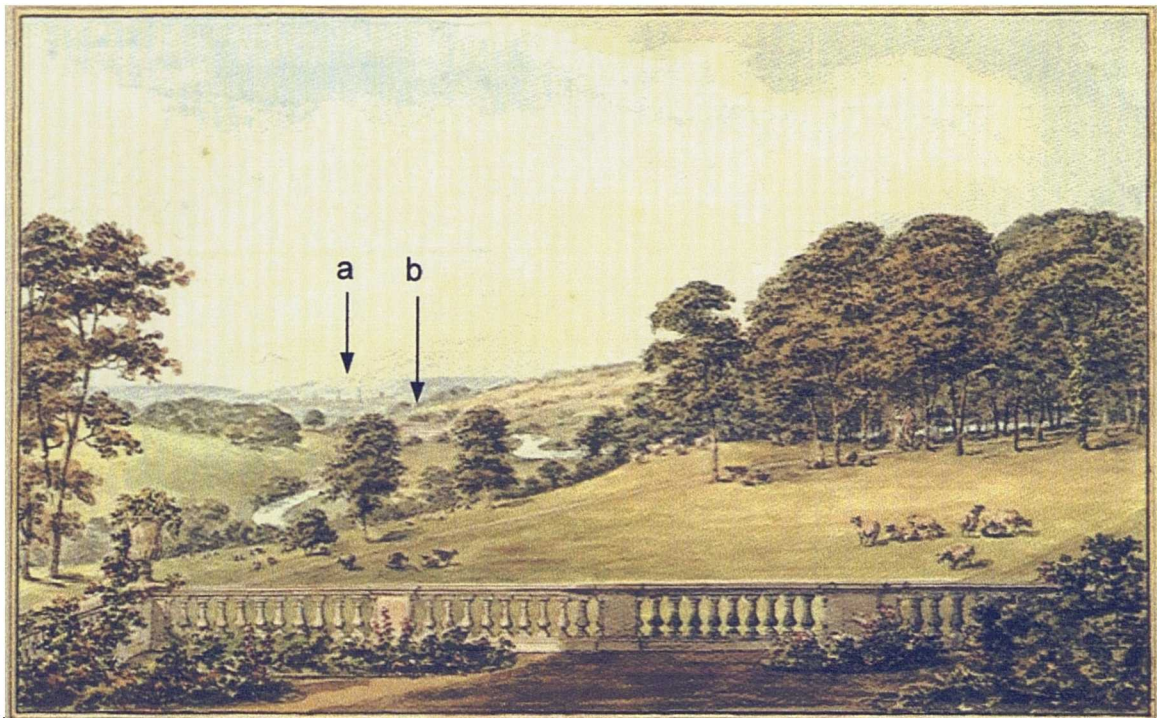


Plate 15. Armley Park, W. Yorks. The proposed view from the terrace across the park towards Leeds, incorporating the distant urban view of the town, (a), together with the industrial element of Gott's own mill in the middle distance, (b), H. Repton, Red Book for Armley Park, 1810 (in Daniels, 1999).



Plate 16. Mentmore, Bucks. (early 1850s). The Italianate west parterre, overlooked by the family wing and top terrace. The servants' wing lies sunken to the left, 1997 (SR).

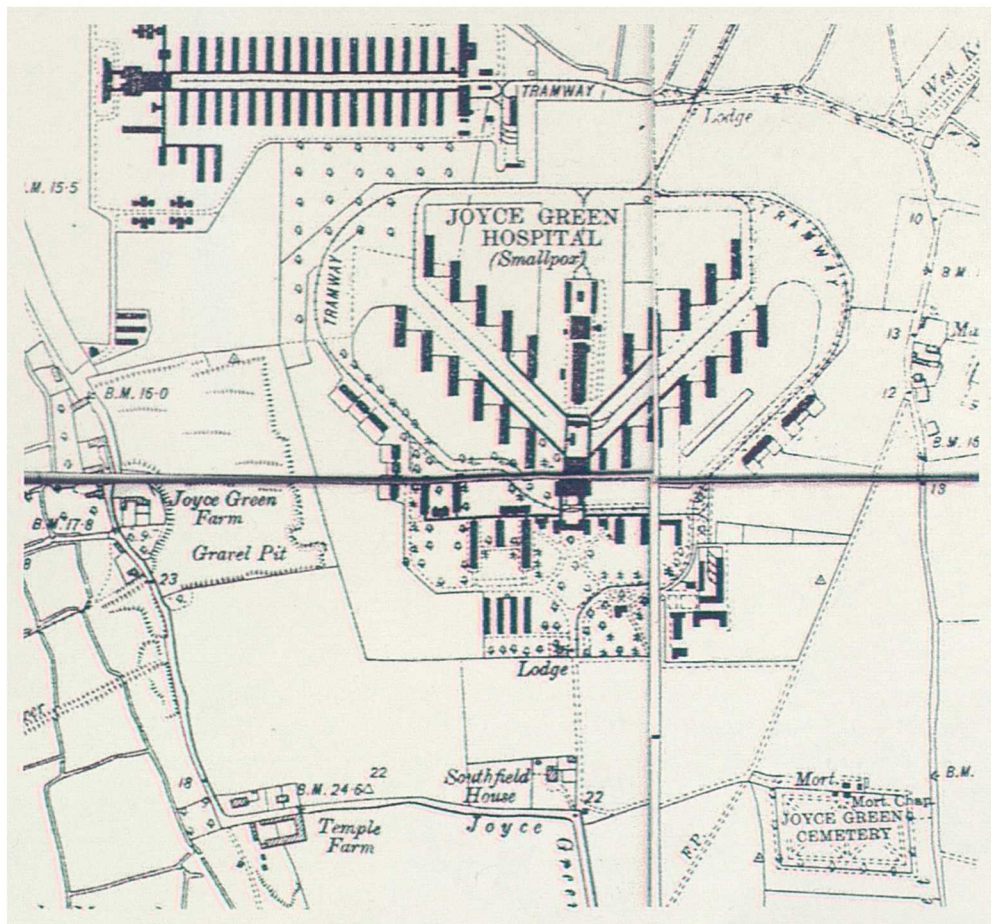


Plate 17. Joyce Green Hospital, Kent (1900-03). Isolation hospital estate laid out with advice from Messrs Milner. An extensive institutional estate occupying grounds comparable with the asylum estate, including fragmented positioning of ward pavilions (OS 6", Kent, shs. III SW & SE, IX NW & NE rev. 1938).

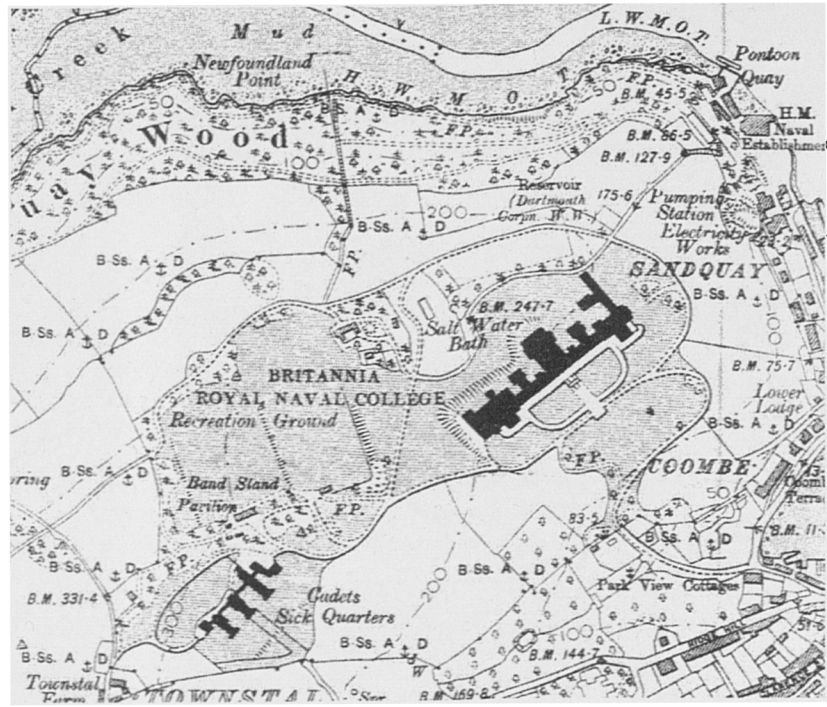


Plate 18. Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, Devon (1900-03). Boarding school estate laid out by H.E. Milner. The building is unfragmented apart from sick quarters to the south-west; together with the parkland, the estate includes an area of pleasure ground walks, Quay Wood, extending along the hillside to the north, leading down to the waterside (OS 6", Devon sh. CXXVII SE, pub. 1906).

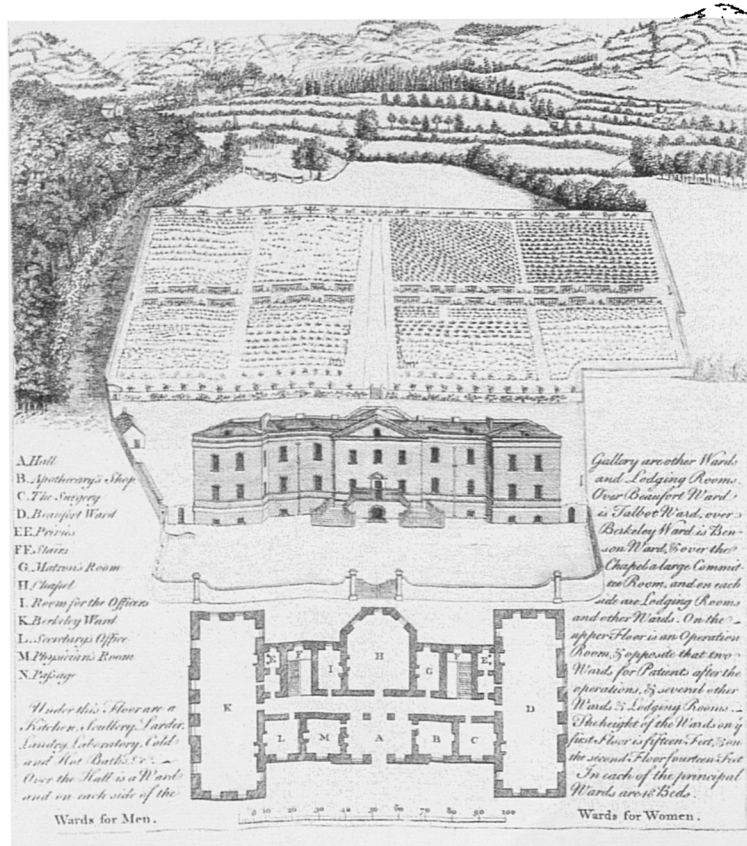
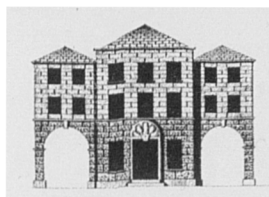
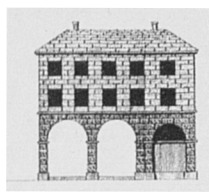


Plate 19. Gloucester Infirmary (1755-61). Bird's-eye view of a charitable general hospital estate, 1764 (Gloucester RO, HO 19/8/1).

A PLAN for a COUNTY GAOL.



Front of Gaoler's House & Debtors' Ward.



Front of Men Debtors' Ward

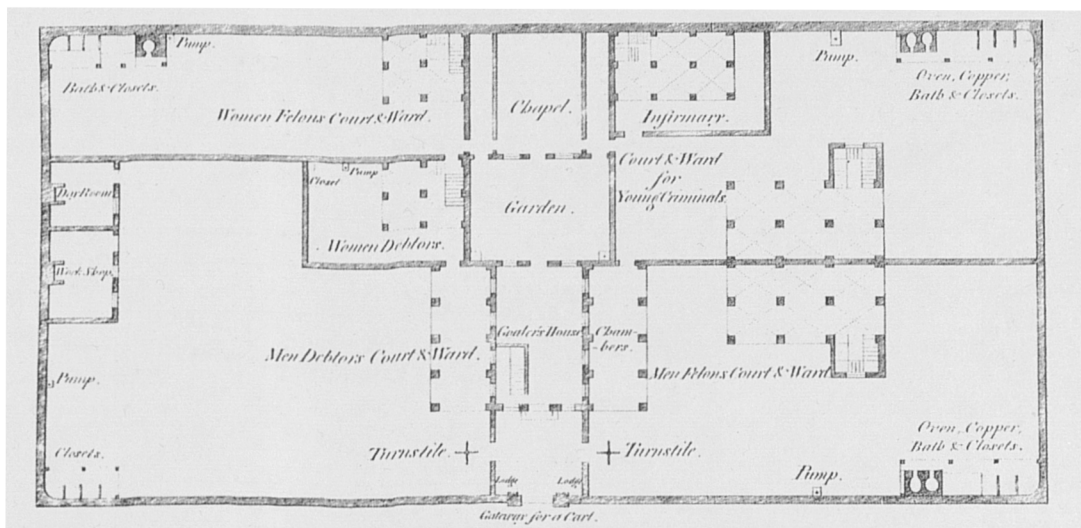
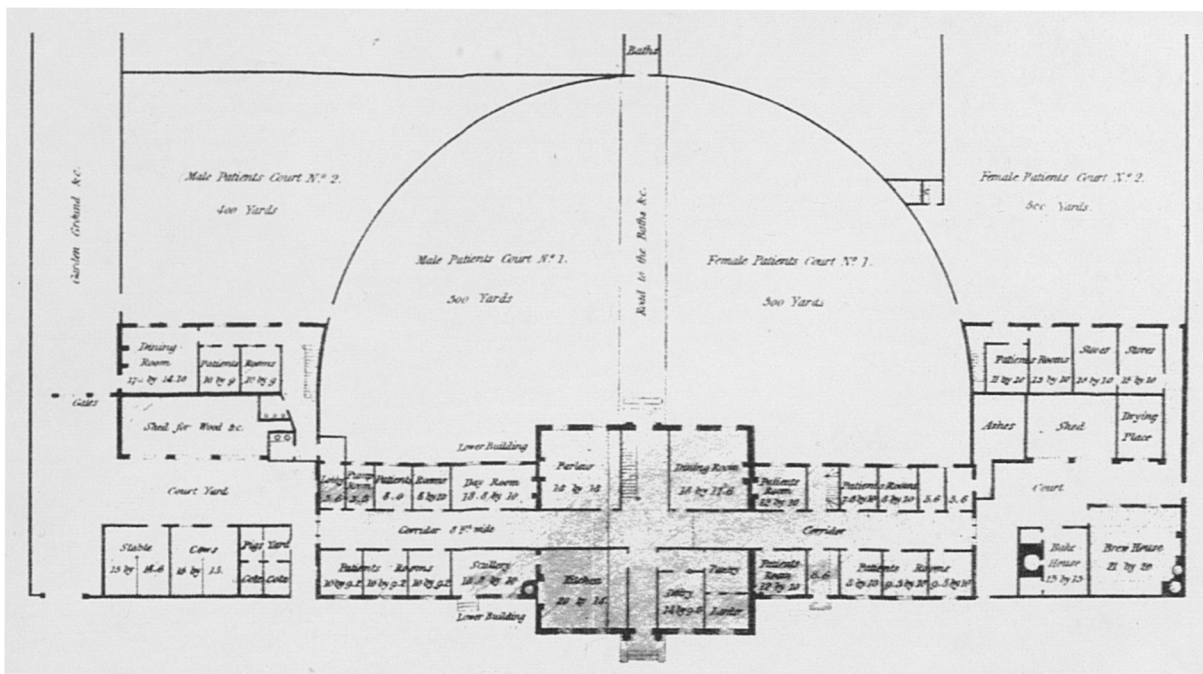
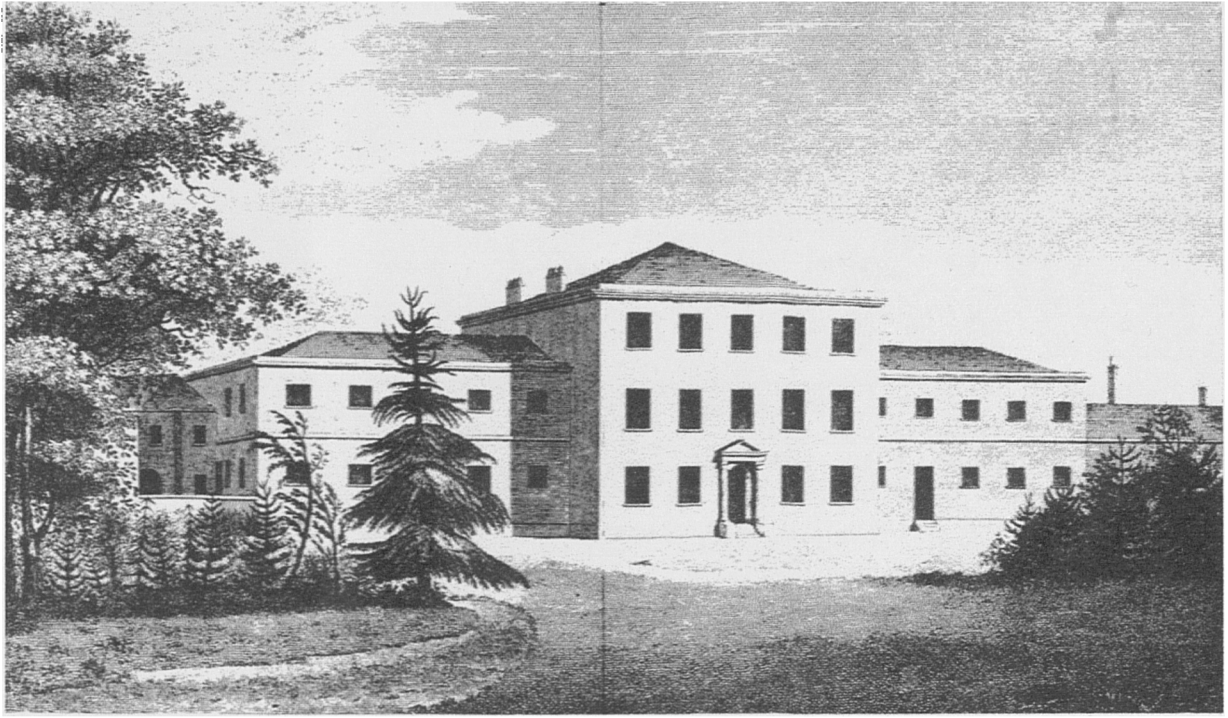


Plate 20. 'Plan for a County Gaol'. Plan of proposed prison showing exercise yards encircling the prison building (in Howard, 1777).



Adapted

Plate 21. The Retreat, N. Yorks. (1792-96). Plan of the estate core as it had developed by 1813. It illustrates the relationship of airing courts to the asylum building. The original building consisted of the square central block and two short, flanking wings (in Tuke, 1813).



PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF NORTH FRONT of the RETREAT near YORK.

Plate 22. The Retreat, N. Yorks. (1792-96). Engraving of the north front (in Tuke, 1813).

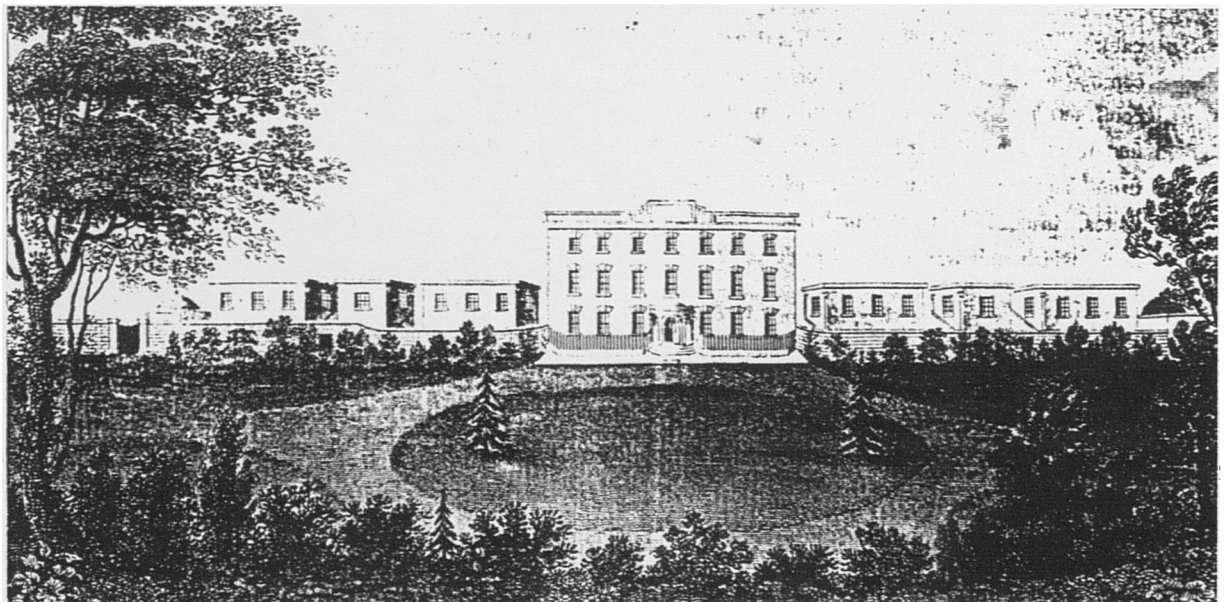


Plate 23. Brislington House, Somerset (1804-06). Engraving of entrance front, c.1806. The central block included the owner's residence, and accommodated some of the highest class patients, with individual flanking ward blocks behind a wall concealing a sunk passageway (in Fox, n.d. [c.1806], Somerset RO, T/PH/fx2).

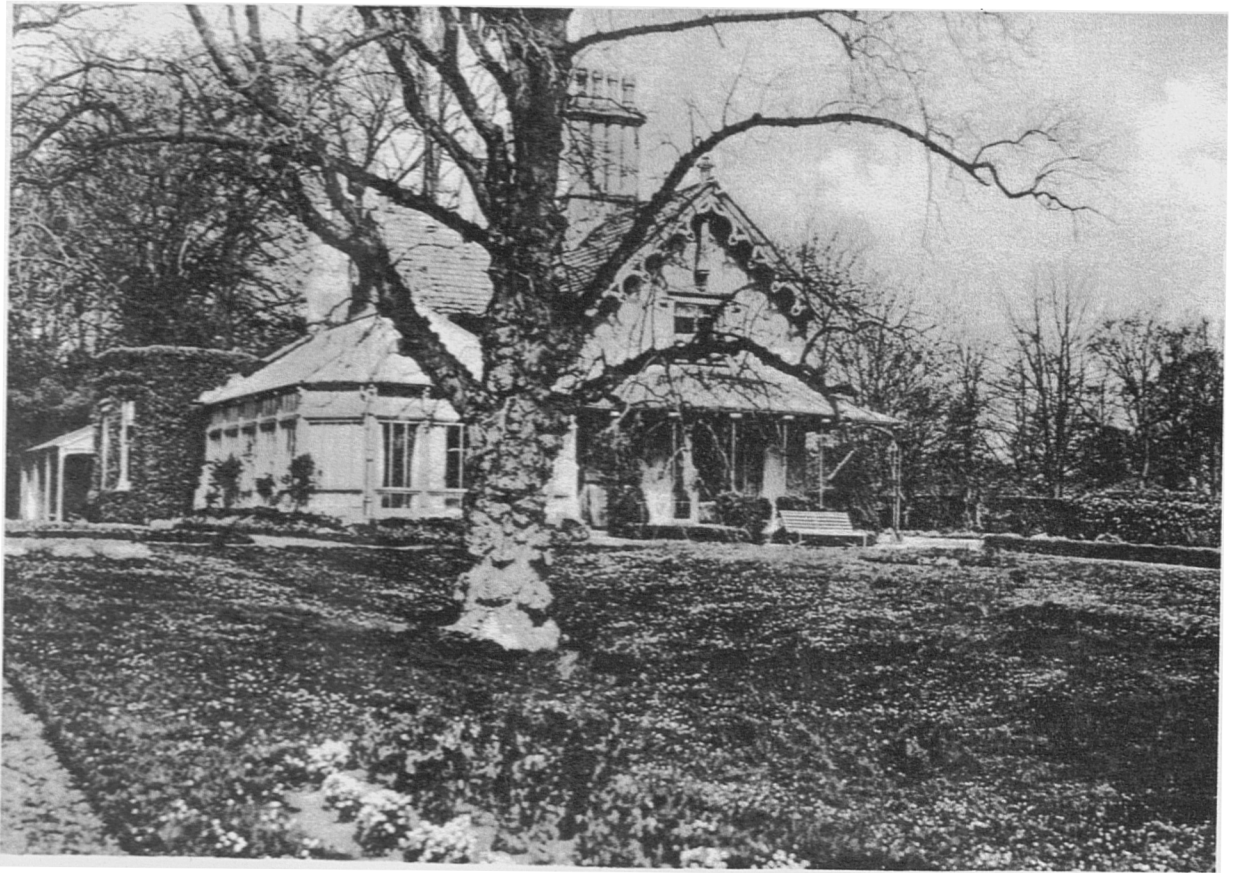
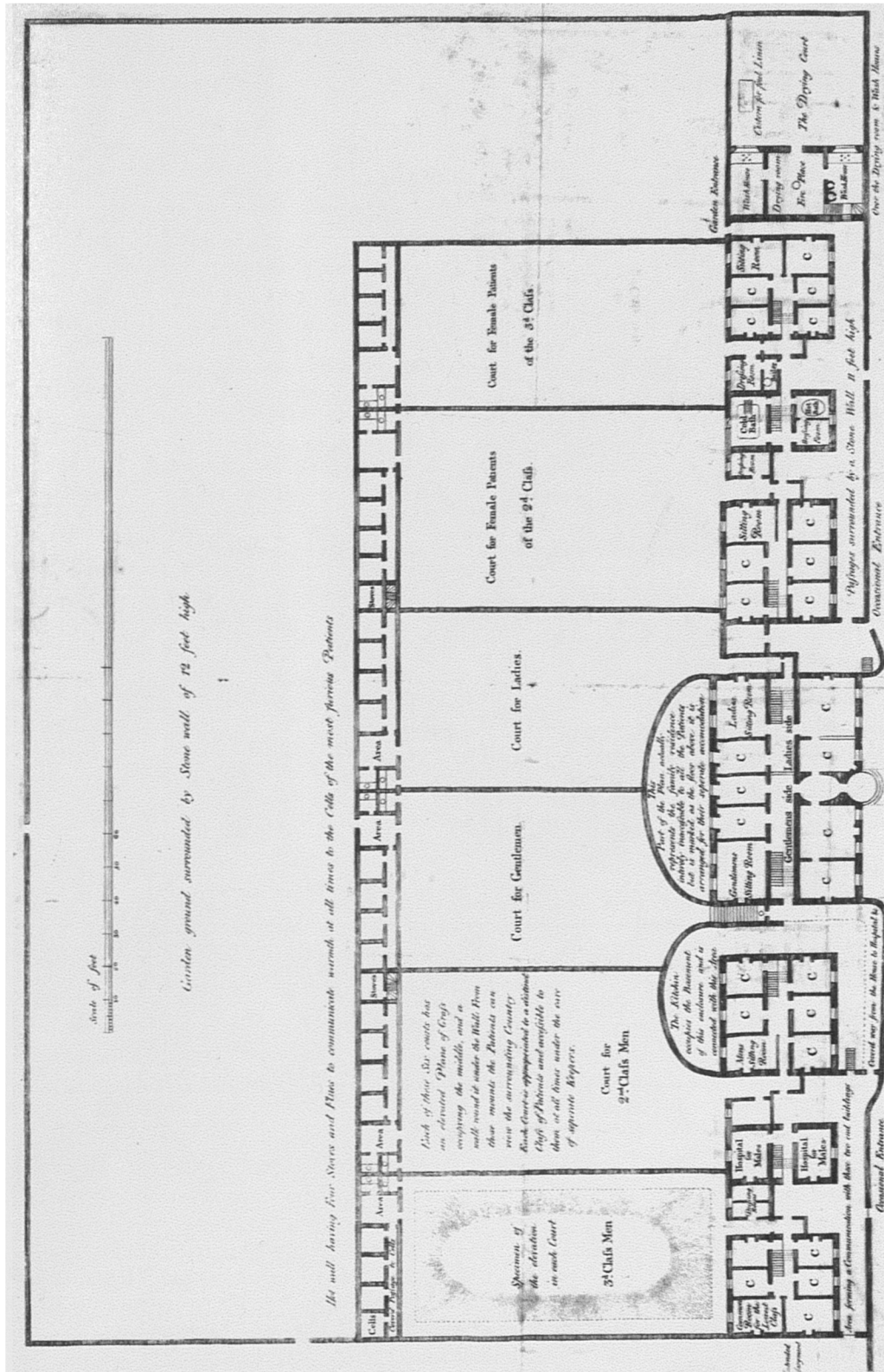


Plate 24. Brislington House, Somerset (1804-06). The Swiss Cottage, 1902. A Picturesque element of the asylum estate intended to house individual patients and their staff (Anon., Brislington House Prospectus, 1902. Bristol Local Studies Library).



C. Red Chambers

The Ground Plan of the Asylum for LUNATICS at Brislington House near BRISTOL.
 Erected 1806. by D^r Fox.

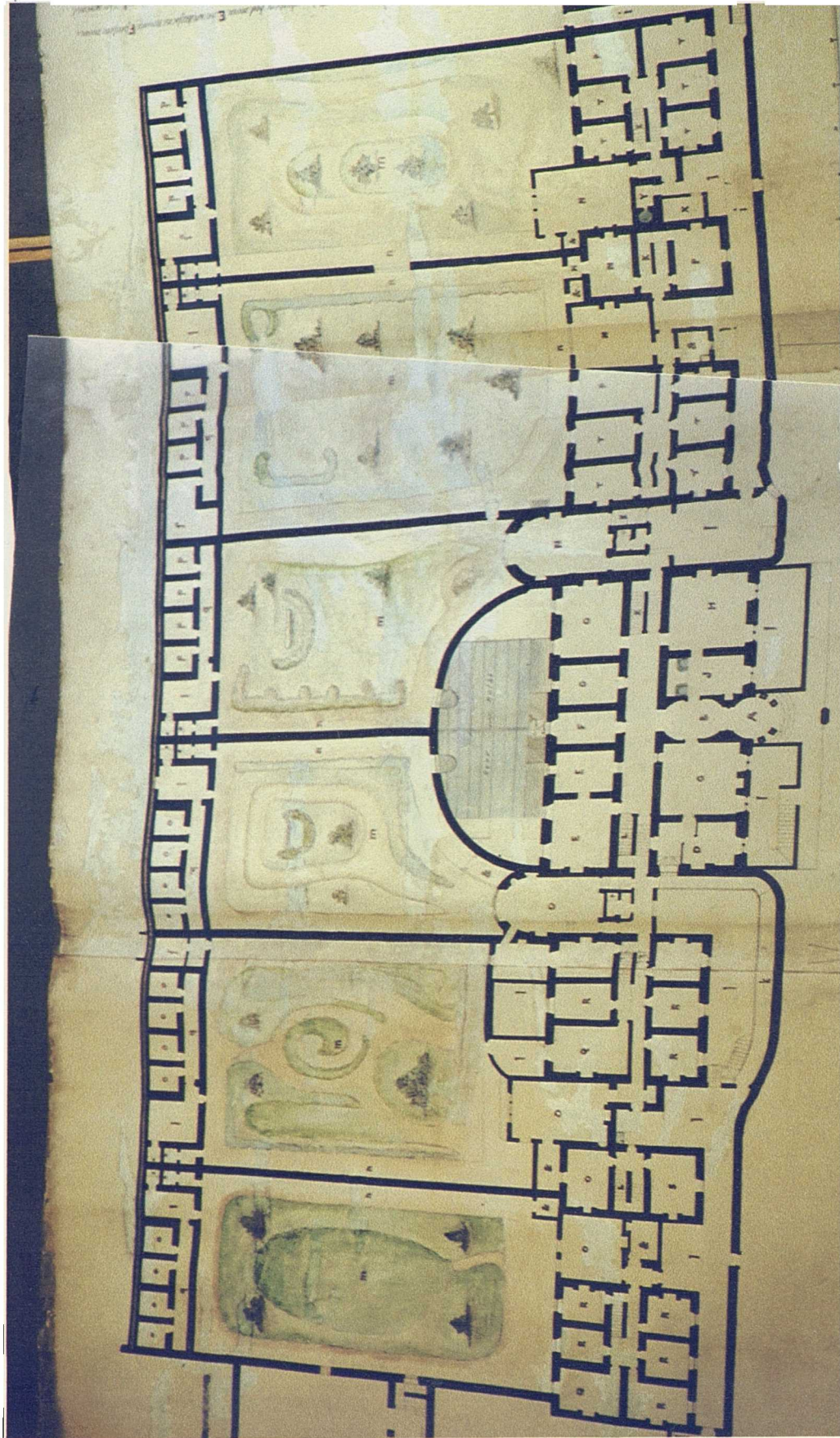


Plate 26. Brislington House, Somerset (1804-06). Watercolour plan of the building, airing courts and cells, 1843 (Somerset RO, Q/RLu 42/6).

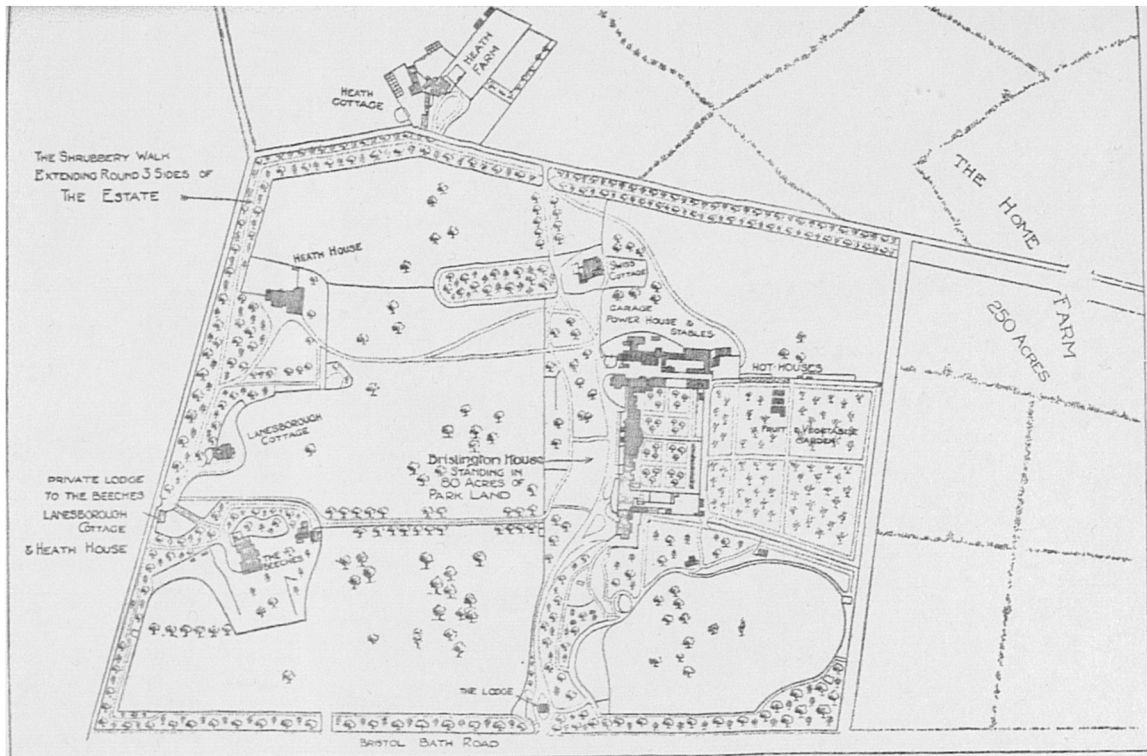


Plate 27. Brislington House, Somerset (1804-06). Annotated estate plan. The six original courts, formerly immediately to the right of the central main building, had been thrown into two (Anon., *Brislington House Prospectus*, 1902. Bristol Local Studies Library).

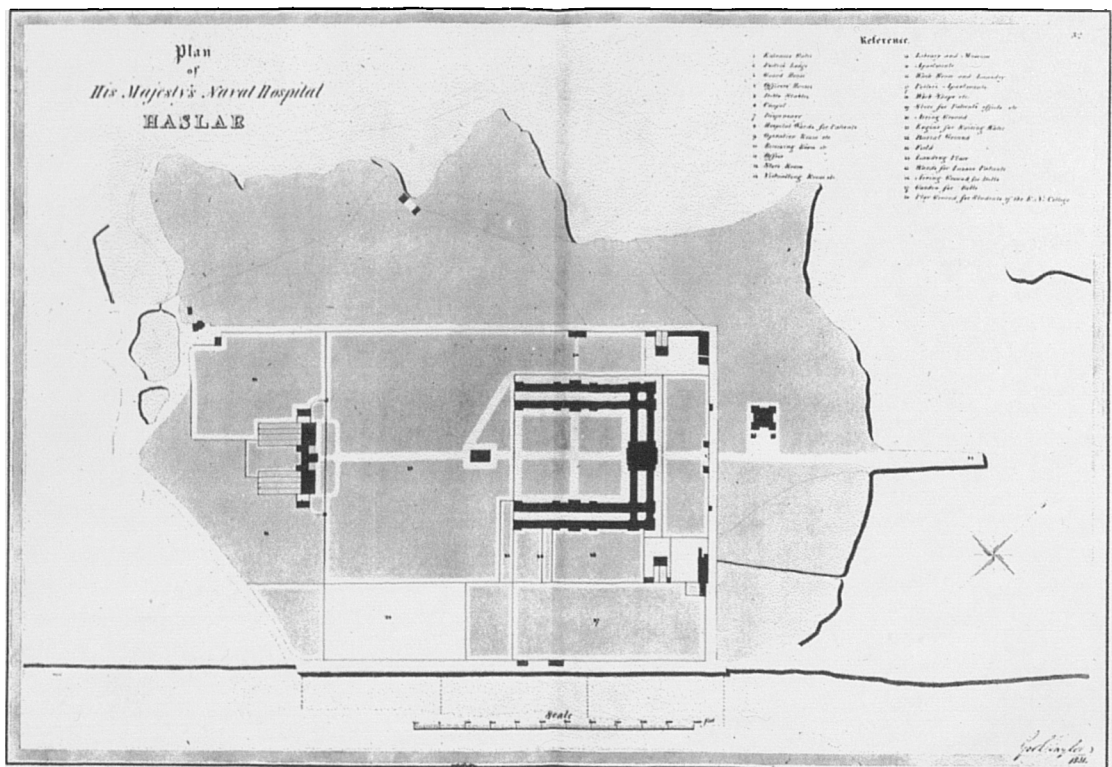


Plate 28. Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar, Hants. (1745-62). Estate plan, 1831. To the left of the central U-shaped hospital building is the line of nine officers' residences and gardens, the gardens arranged to resemble domestic town gardens, and arranged in similar form to the original line of airing courts at Brislington House (George Taylor, *Plan of His Majesty's Naval Hospital, Haslar*, 1831. National Maritime Museum LAD/10).

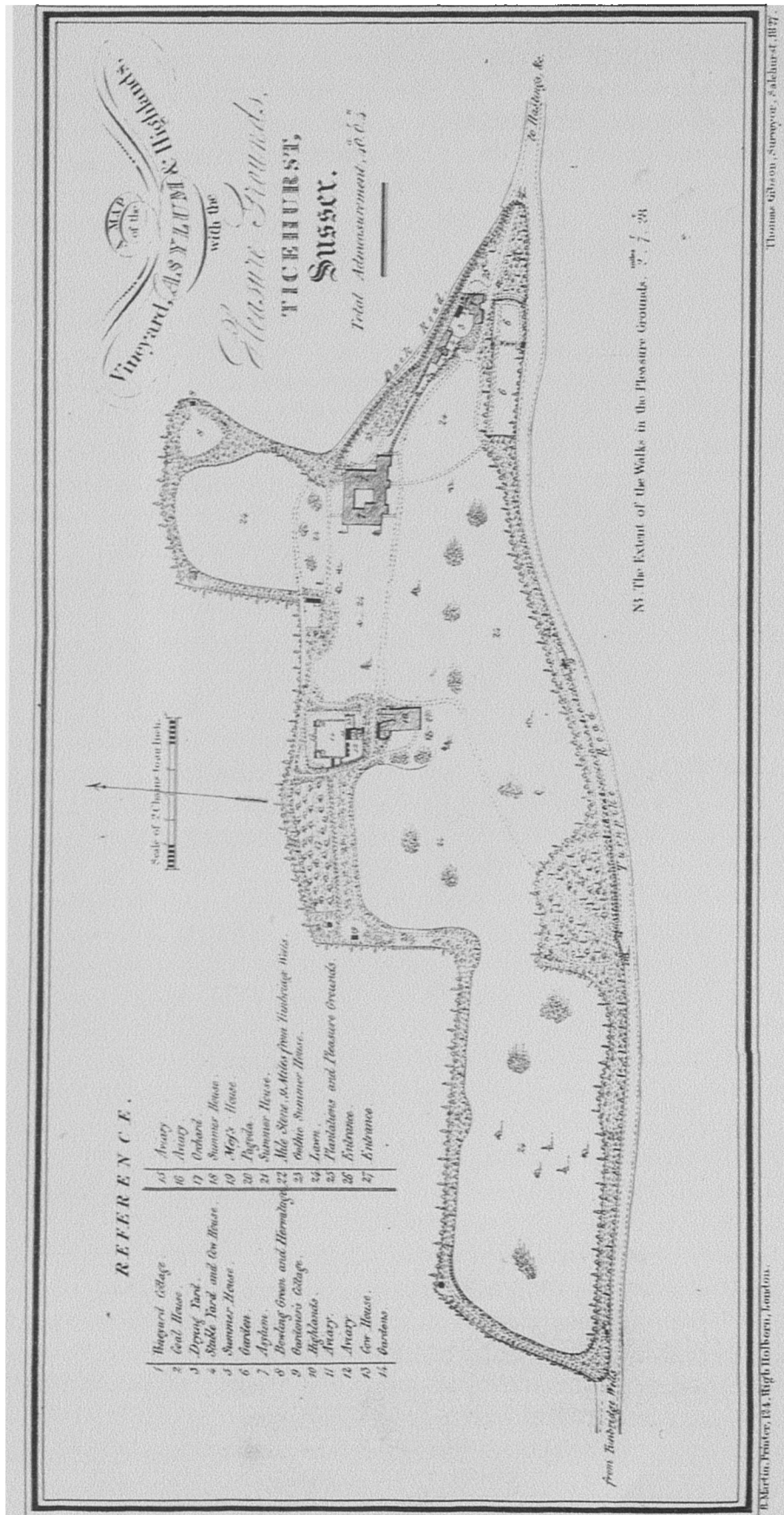


Plate 29. Ticehurst House, Sussex (1794). Estate map, 1828. The grounds were largely laid out c.1816, illustrating the sophisticated quality of the asylum estate design and the absence of airing courts in this private asylum (East Sussex RO, QAL/1/2/E2, *Views of Messrs Newington's Private Asylum for the Cure of Insane Persons, Ticehurst Sussex (1828)*).

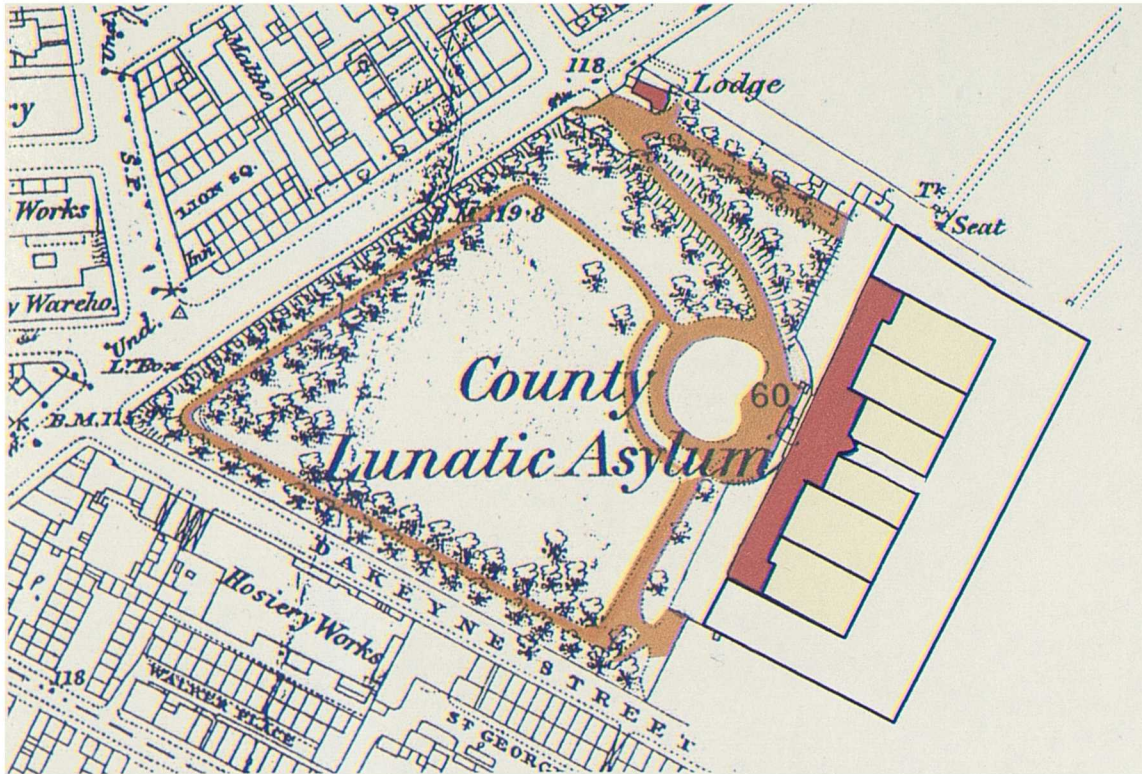


Plate 30. Nottingham (1810-12). Estate plan, based on OS 25" (Notts. sh. XLII.2, pub. 1883), annotated with layout of original airing courts, 1810, based on a plan by the architect R. Ingleman (Working plans of Sneinton Hospital, Nottingham (Nottinghamshire RO, QAL 10). This early public asylum incorporated a greater area of ornamented landscape than the other two of the earliest public asylums (Bedford and Norwich) and most contemporary charitable asylums. The relationship of the core building (shaded red) and attached line of courts (shaded yellow) is similar in arrangement to that of Brislington House. The drive system and pleasure ground paths are marked in brown.

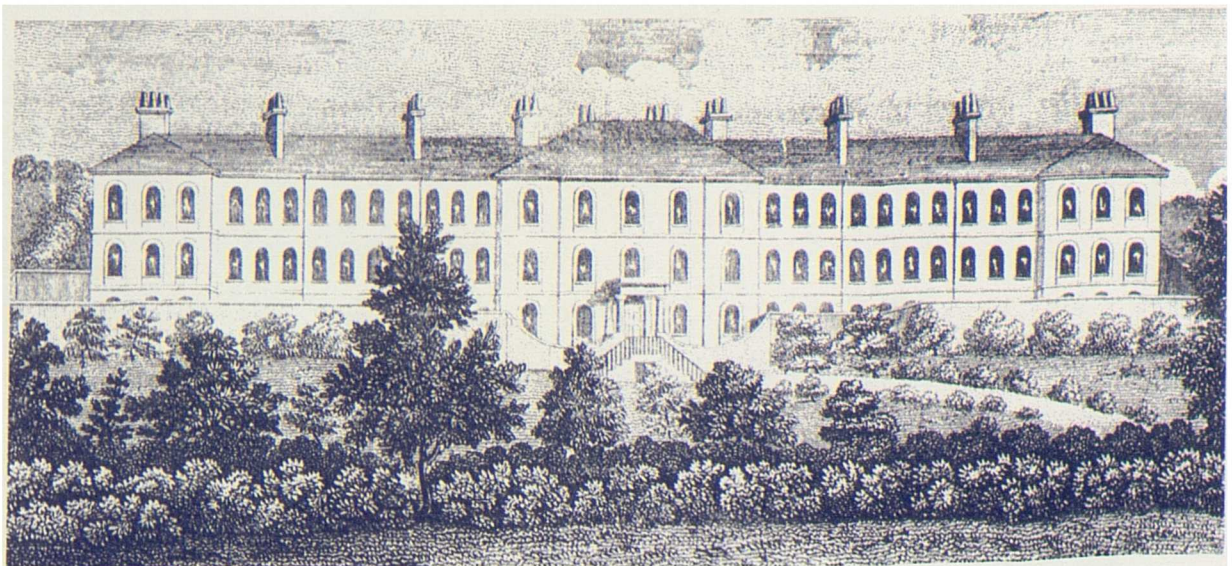


Plate 31. Nottinghamshire General Lunatic Asylum (1810-12). Engraving of entrance front and pleasure grounds to the west, Annual Report, 1818 (Nottingham Local Studies Library).

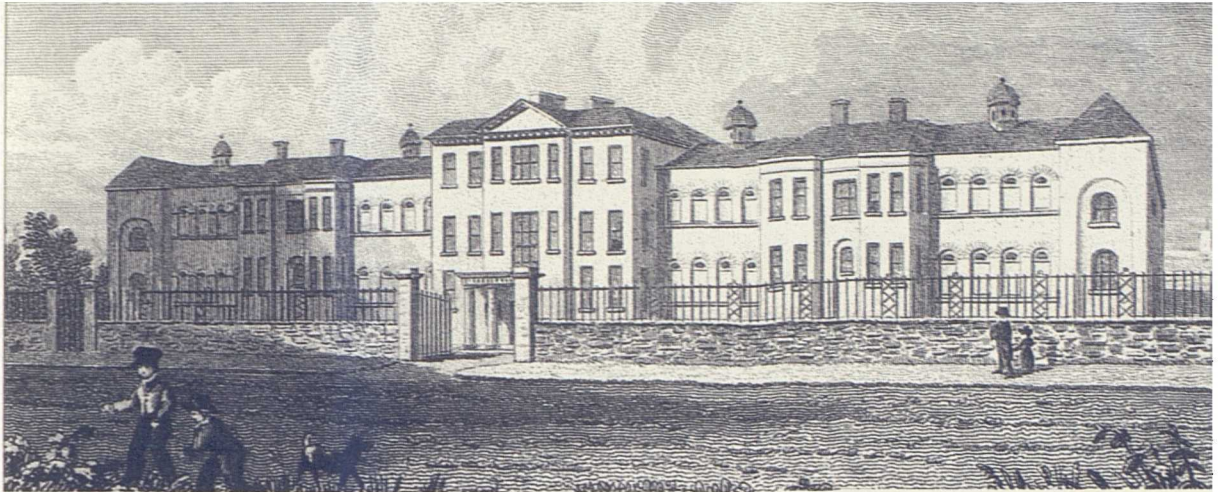


Plate 32. Norfolk County Lunatic Asylum, Norwich (1811-14). Engraving of entrance front overlooking the turnpike road, from which it was buffered by a small forecourt, 1825 (Norwich Local Studies Library).

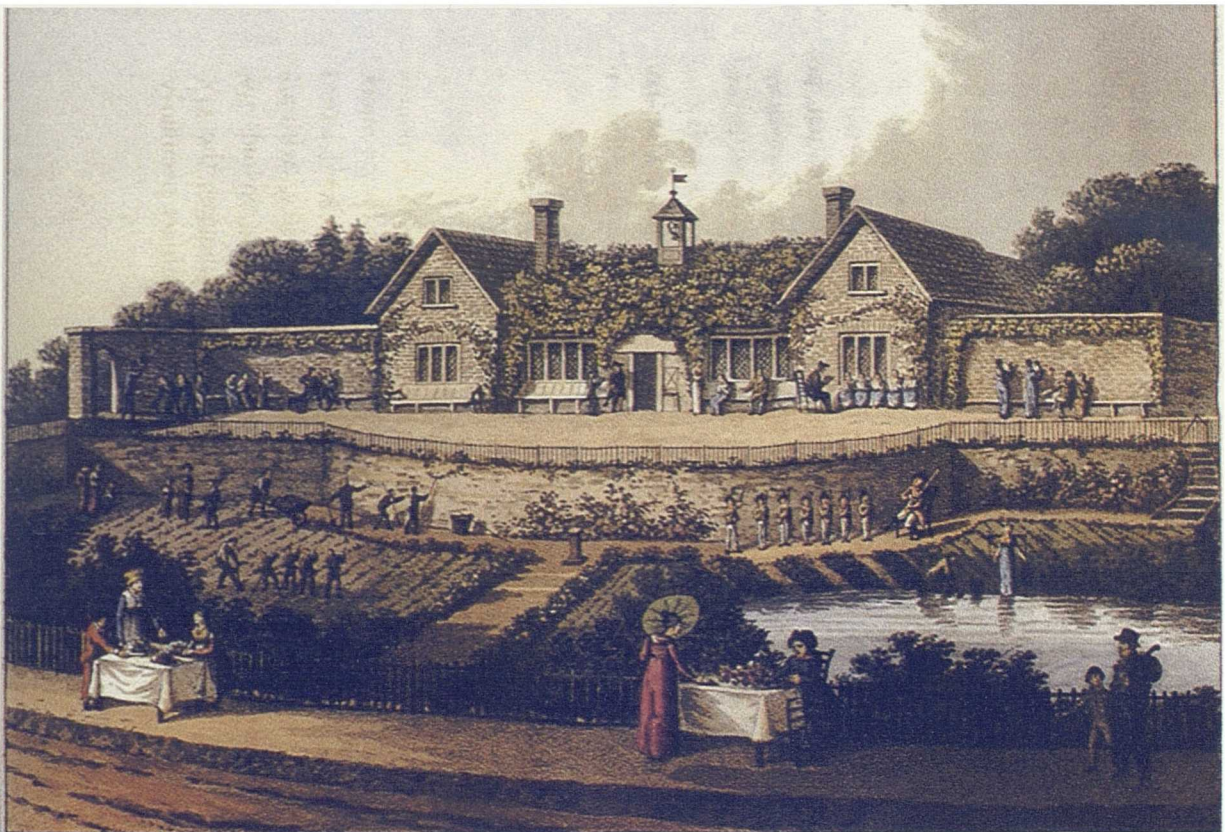


Plate 33. The Work House, Crayford, Kent. Proposal for building and landscape in Picturesque style by Humphry Repton c.1809. A rare published example of a significant landscape designer's ideas for a residential institution (in Repton, 1816).

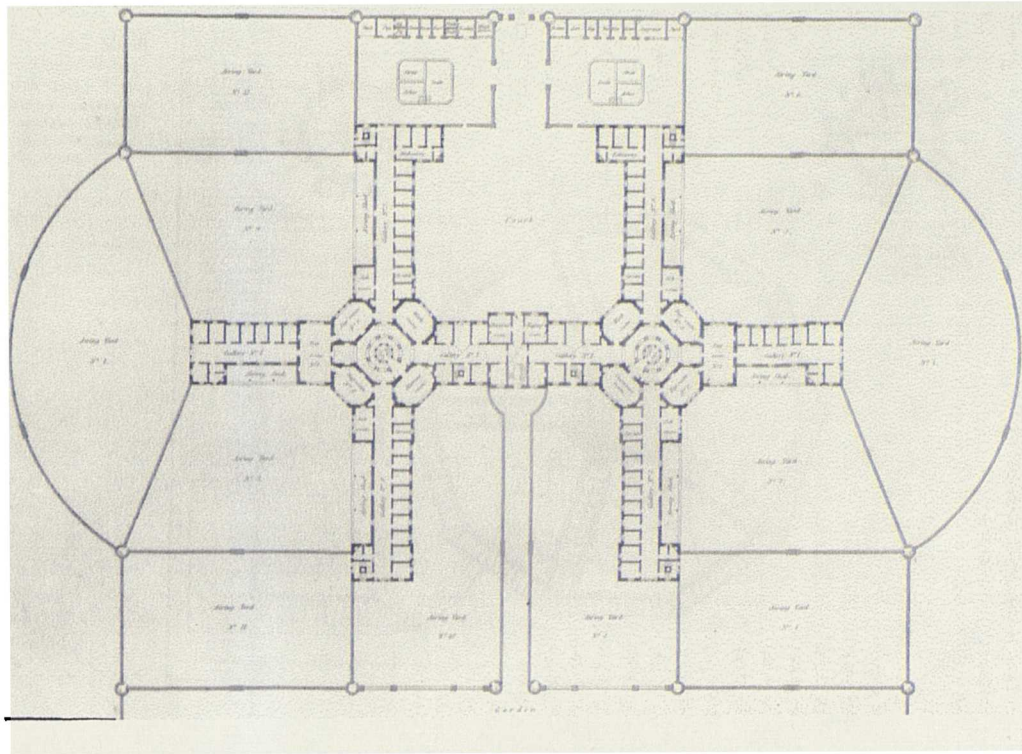


Plate 34. Wakefield, W. Yorks. (1816-18). Annotated plan of architects' proposal for core of site (largely as executed). Airing courts almost entirely surround the building apart from the forecourt at the centre of the north side, the approach to which is flanked by service areas (in Watson and Pritchett, 1815).

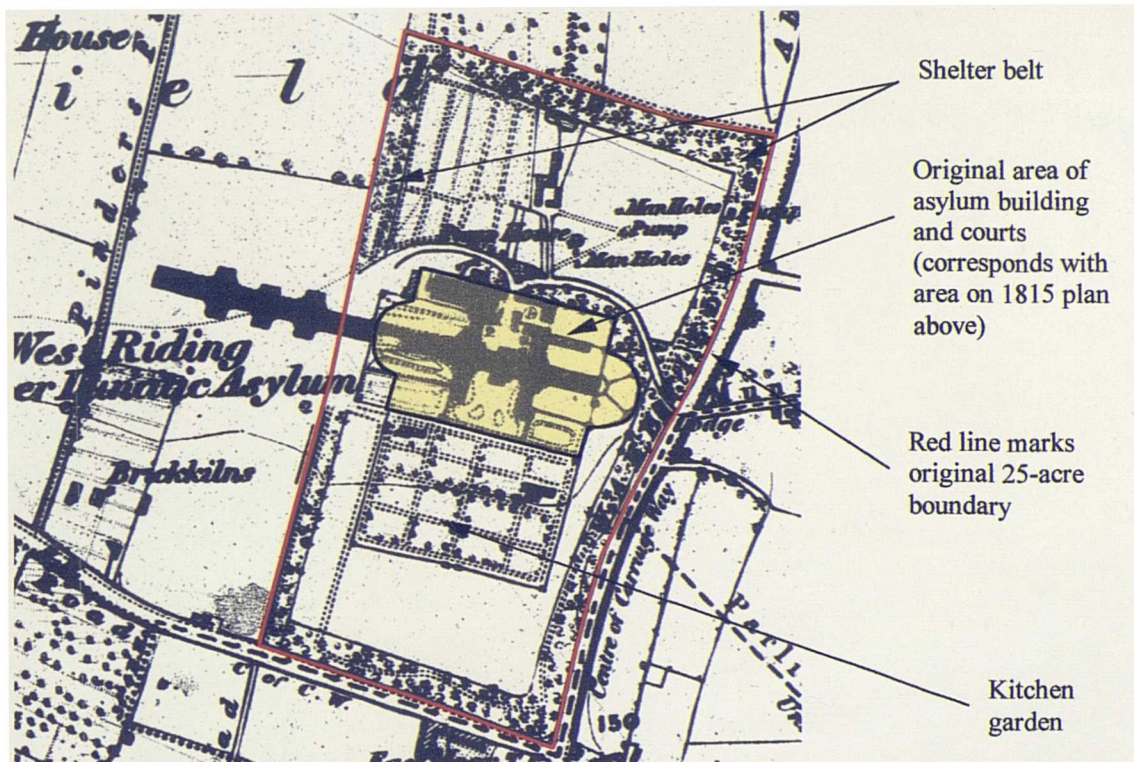


Plate 35. Wakefield, W. Yorks. (1816-18). Annotated plan of the estate 35 years after opening. The original 25 acres is encircled by a belt, punctured to the west by an extension to the building. The drive approaches from the turnpike road to the east. The courts largely encircle the original extent of the building. The kitchen garden lies in close proximity to the courts and building (OS 6", Yorks. sh. CCXLVIII, pub. 1853).

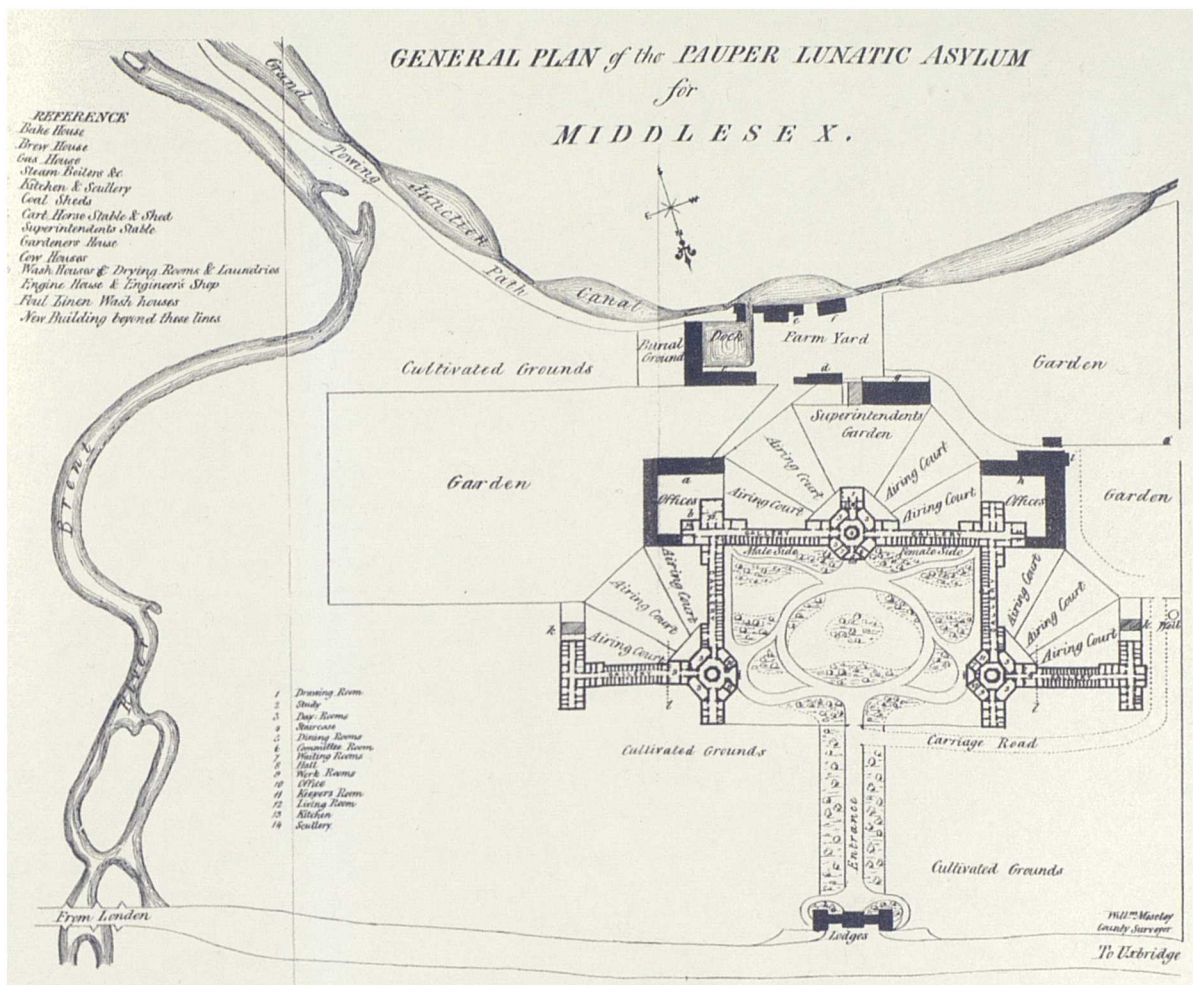


Plate 36. Hanwell, London (1828-31). Annotated estate plan. The building is surrounded by courts and set in the wider landscape containing farmland and kitchen gardens (in Ellis, 1838).



Plate 37. Hanwell, London (1828-31). Classical gateway and lodges at main entrance, 2000 (SR).

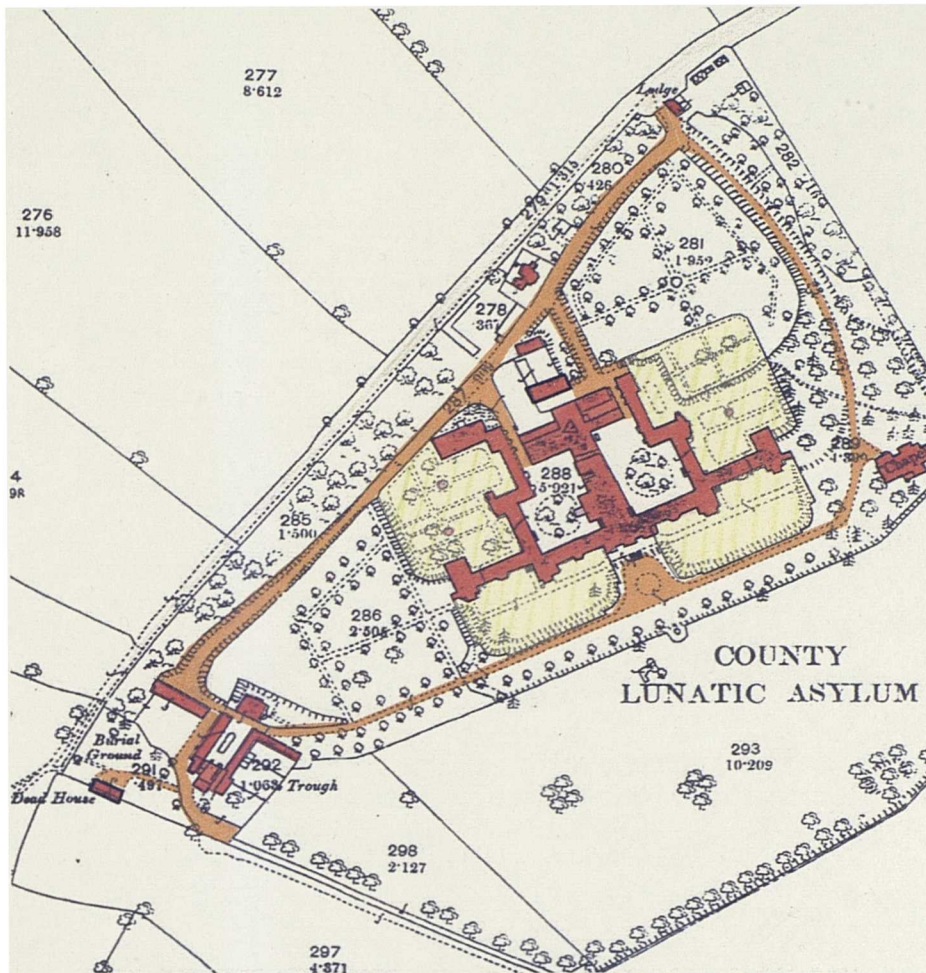


Plate 38. Derby (1844-51). Core of site including pleasure grounds. A more sophisticated layout than Wakefield or Hanwell. Red shading marks buildings, brown marks the drive system and yellow marks the airing courts (OS 25", Derbys. sh. LIV.2, pub. 1882).

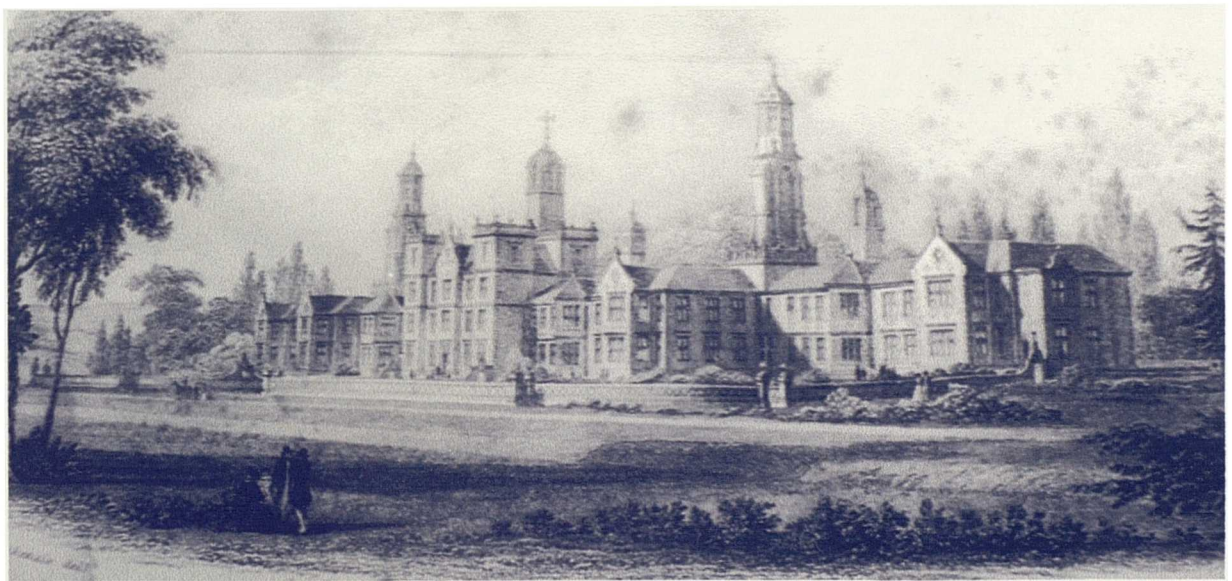


Plate 39. Derby (1844-51). Engraving of the forecourt terrace set on a ha-ha, and Tudor-style asylum building (in First Report of the Derbyshire County Lunatic Asylum, Derby, 1853. Derbyshire RO).



Plate 40. Wandsworth, London (1838-41). Engraving of entrance front and forecourt. A further example of the Tudor architectural style commonly used for asylum and workhouse buildings at this time, as well as for country houses (in *The Mirror*, 37 (13 February 1841), 1).



Plate 41. Mentmore, Bucks (1850s). House, in Jacobean style, and forecourt set on the terrace. The sunken service wing stands to the right of the dominant family wing. The windowless walls of the service wing (the position of windows is filled by niches) prevented servants overlooking arrivals, 2000 (SR).

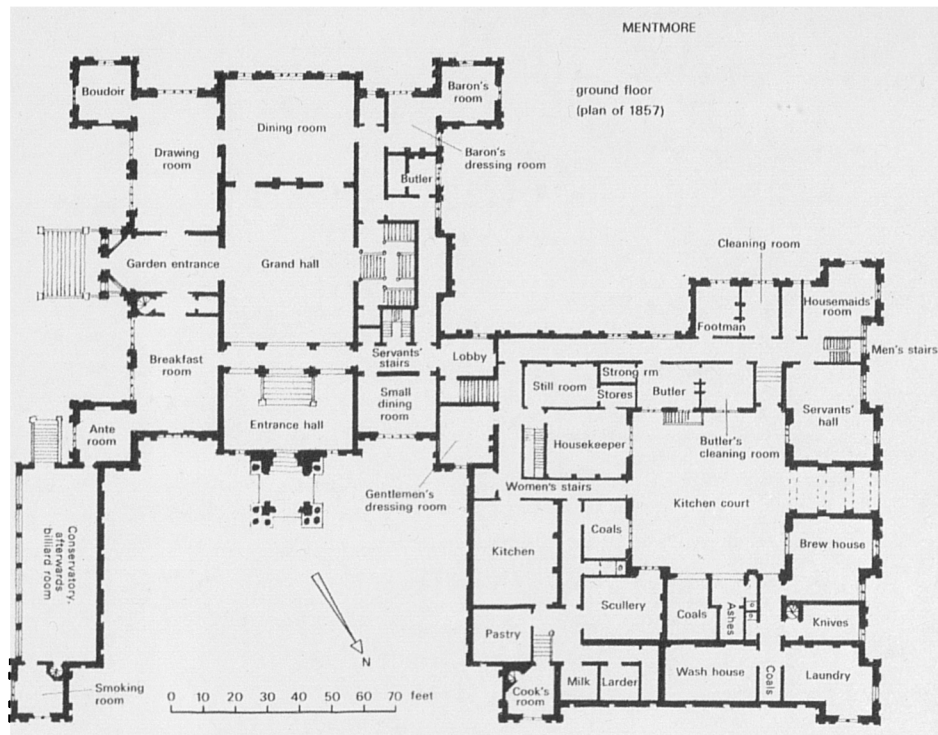


Plate 42. Mentmore, Bucks. Annotated ground plan of house at 1857. The segregation of family and service wings (the latter surrounding the kitchen court to the right) is clearly shown (in Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan: 1835-1914*, 1981).

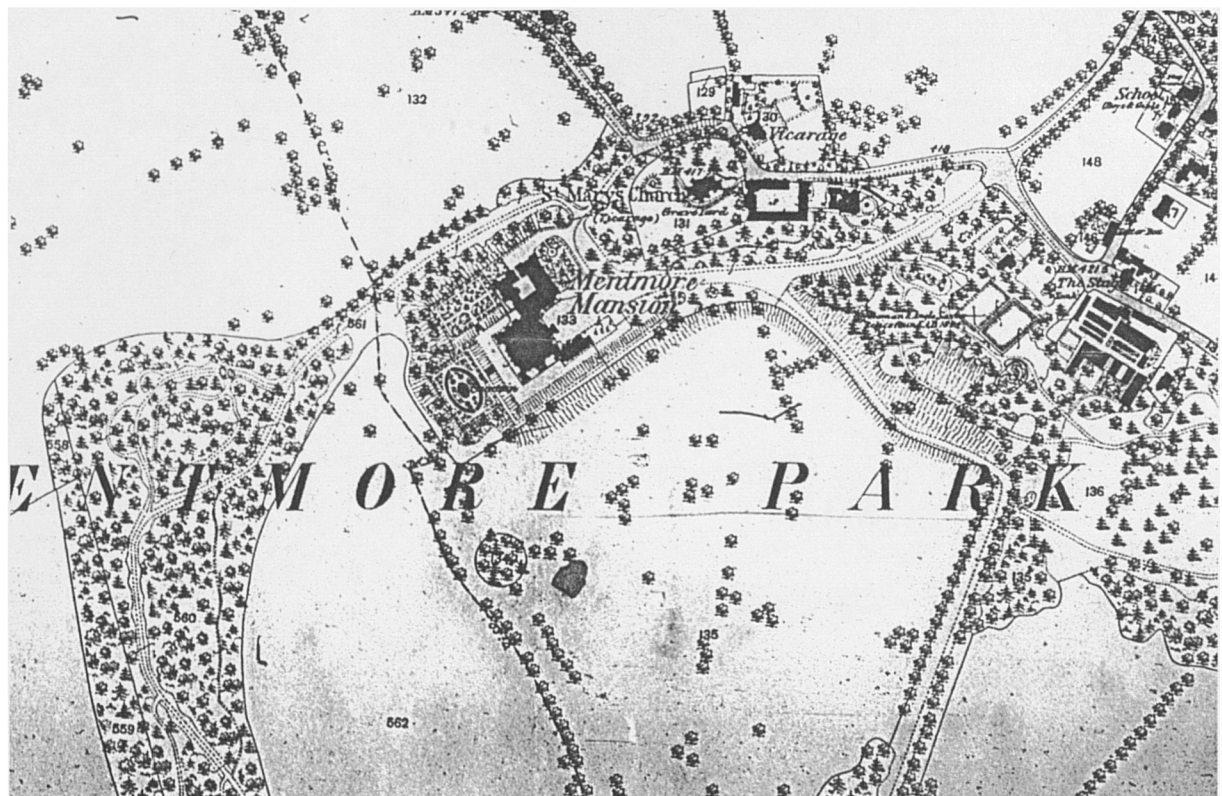


Plate 43. Mentmore, Bucks. (early 1850s). Estate core. The house and adjacent formal gardens (two parterres to the west, and terrace to the west and south), from which informal pleasure grounds extend into the park to west and east (OS 25", Bucks. sh. XXIV.15, pub. 1880).



Plate 44. Maidstone, Kent (1830-33). *Classical gateway at main entrance to estate, asylum building, and formal approach, 2000 (SR).*

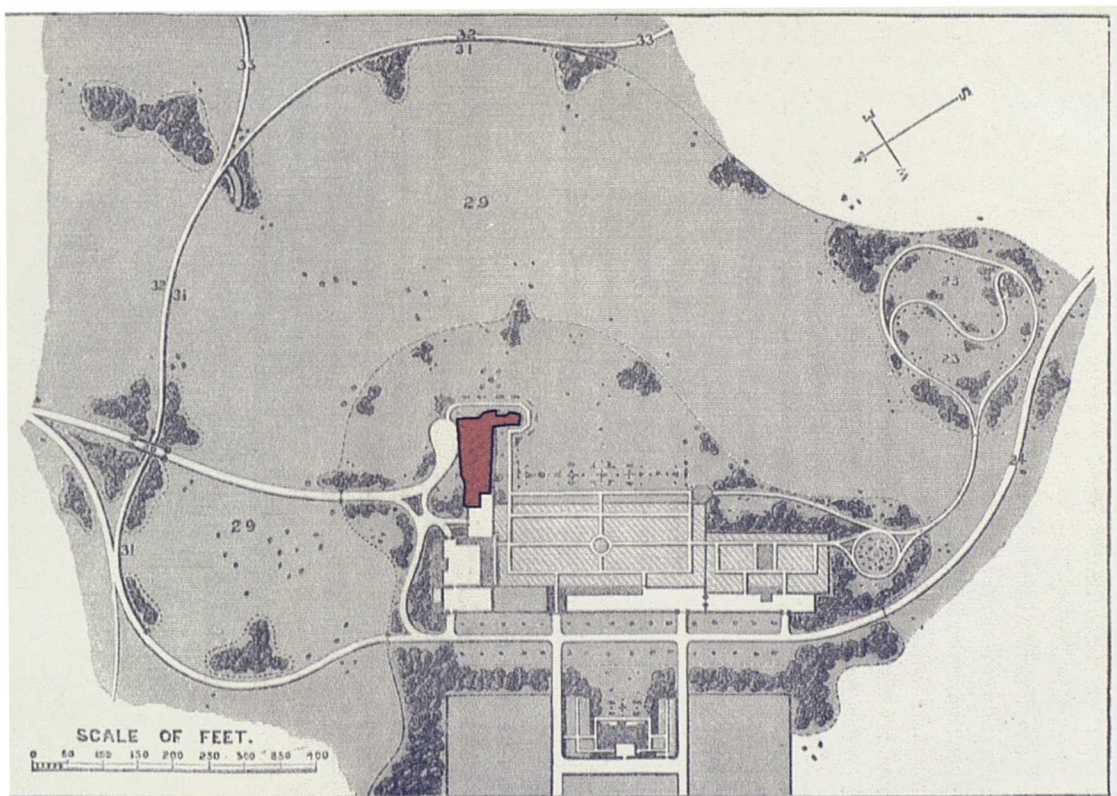


Plate 45. Shendish, Herts. *Kemp's design for a mid-nineteenth-century estate, showing his favoured arrangement of drives with the house at the centre (marked red) (in Kemp, 1864).*

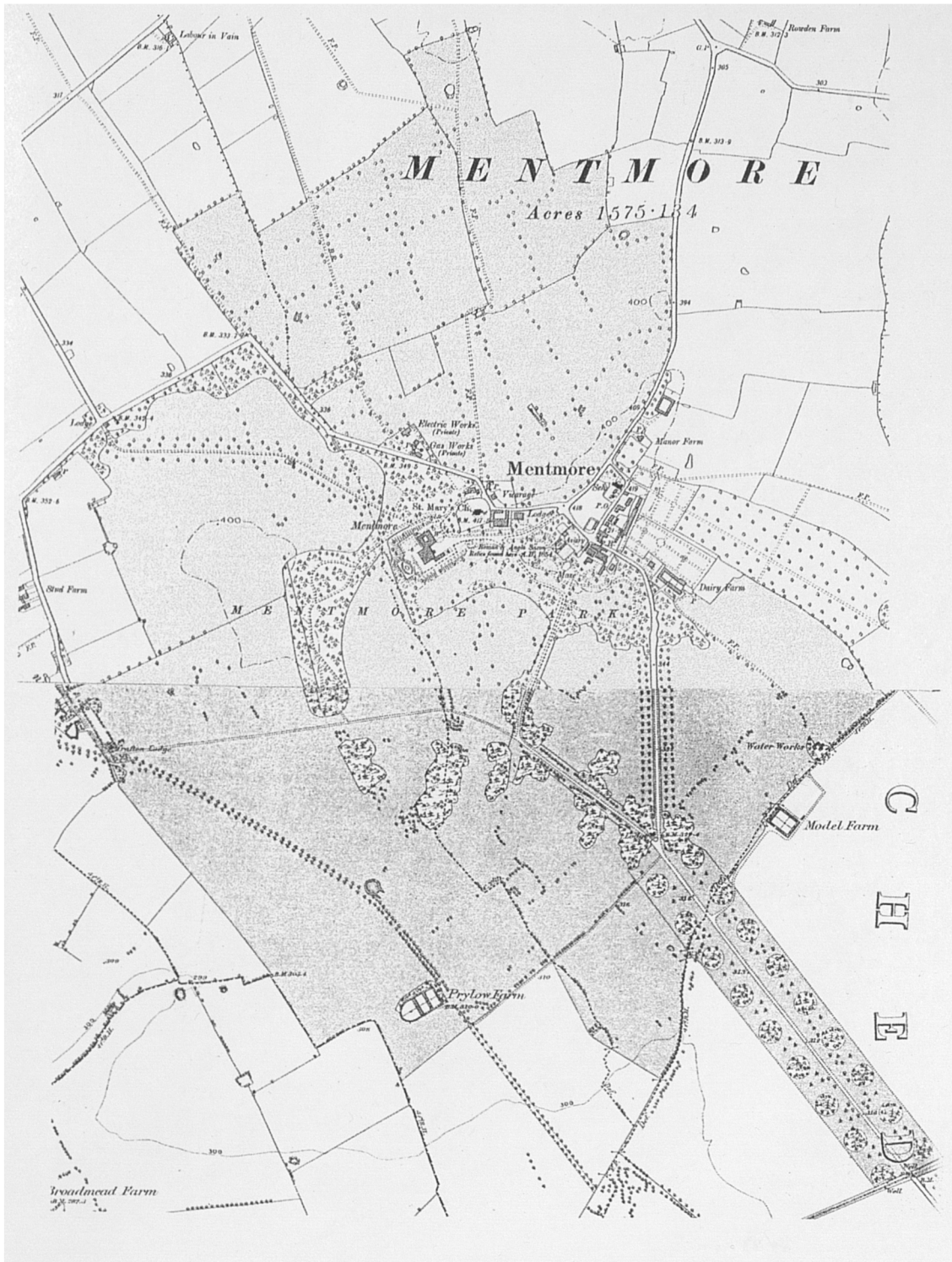


Plate 46. Mentmore, Bucks. (early 1850s). A typical large country house estate, including house, gardens and pleasure grounds at the core, a nearby village (to the east), together with the extent of wider parkland, drive network, kitchen gardens, orchards, etc. (OS 6", Bucks. sh. XXIV pub. 1885, sh. XXIX, pub. 1884).

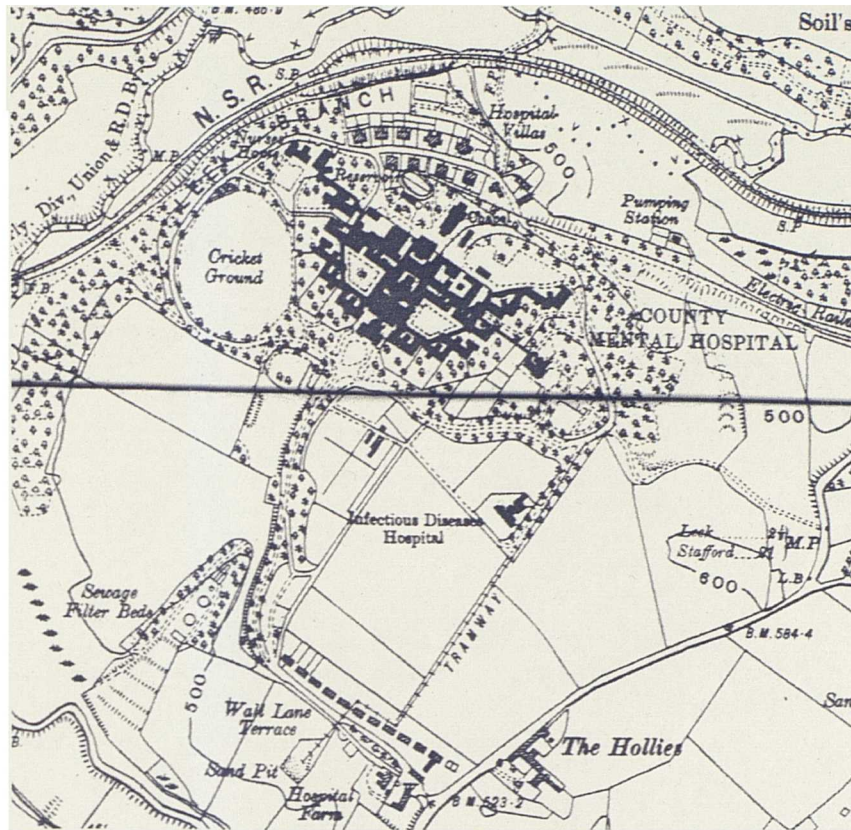


Plate 47. Cheddleton, Staffs. (1895-99). The asylum estate. The main building, airing courts, pleasure and recreation grounds lie at the core, encircled by the wider estate. The entrance to the estate is at the far southern tip, the drive leading to the forecourt on the south-west front of the echelon-shaped building. The electric railway leads in from the east (OS 6", Staffs. sh. 13 NW, pub. 1925, sh. 8 SW, pub. 1926).



Plate 48. Westonbirt, Gloucs. The 1860s house and terrace on which it stands, 2003 (SR).

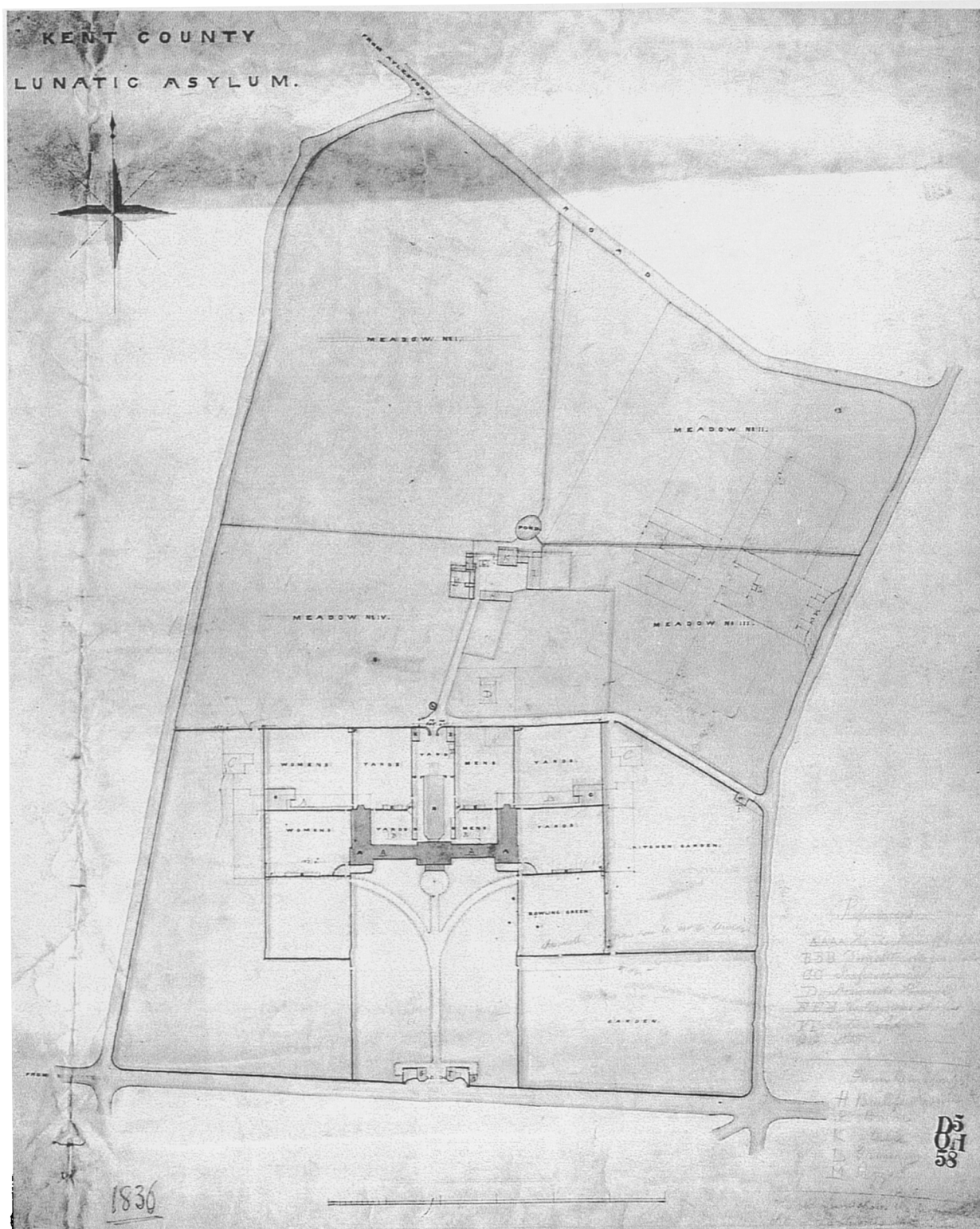


Plate 49. Maidstone, Kent (1830-33). Plan of the asylum estate, 1836. This illustrates the typical number and regular arrangement of the asylum compartments in use by this date. The women's courts lie to the west of the building, the men's to the east, together with the bowling green, which lies to the south-east. Two larger compartments labelled kitchen garden and garden, respectively, lie east of the men's courts. The farm and four 'meadows' lie to the north of the core, with the gate lodges to the south (NMR, neg. no. 90/237).

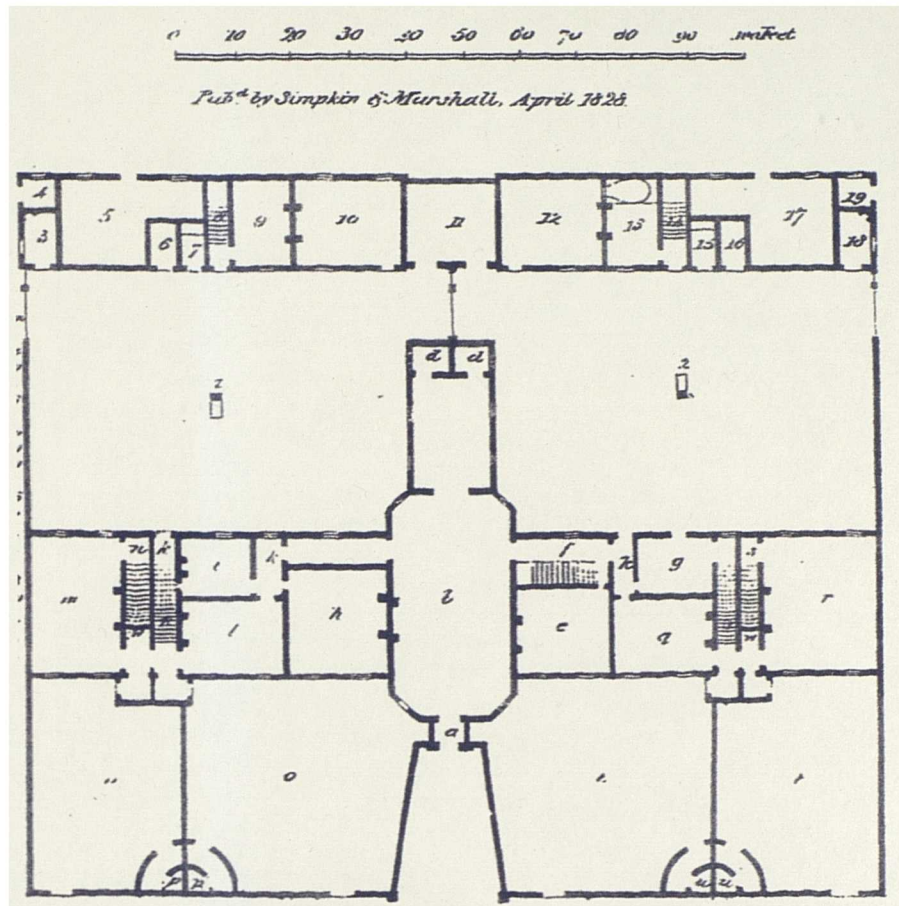


Plate 52. Plan of proposed model workhouse and exercise yards. Service range at top, separated by the service yards from the workhouse building in the centre, and exercise yards at bottom. The central visitors' entrance to the workhouse building divides the range of four exercise yards, females to left and males to right, and leads into the Committee Room with the Master's quarters above. Both rooms overlook the yards and bisect the two main wings (in Becher, 1828).



Plate 53. Thurgarton Workhouse, Notts. (1824). South front including exercise yard walls and visitors' entrance, overlooked by the Committee and Master's rooms, 2002 (SR).

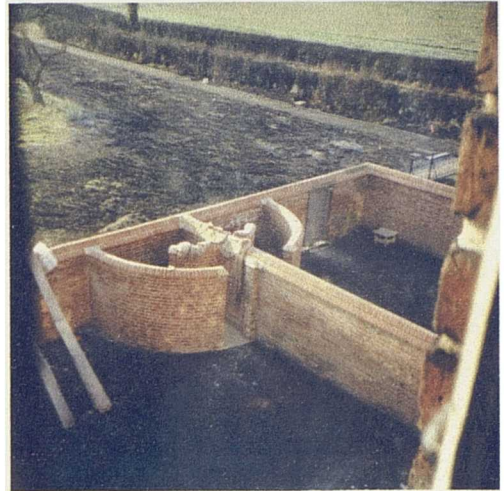


Plate 54 (above left). Thurgarton Workhouse, Notts. (1824). One of two women's exercise yards and entrance to women's wing of building, 2002 (SR).

Plate 55 (above right). Thurgarton Workhouse, Notts. (1824). The women's exercise yards and privies, from the upper storey of the women's wing of the workhouse building, 2002 (SR).

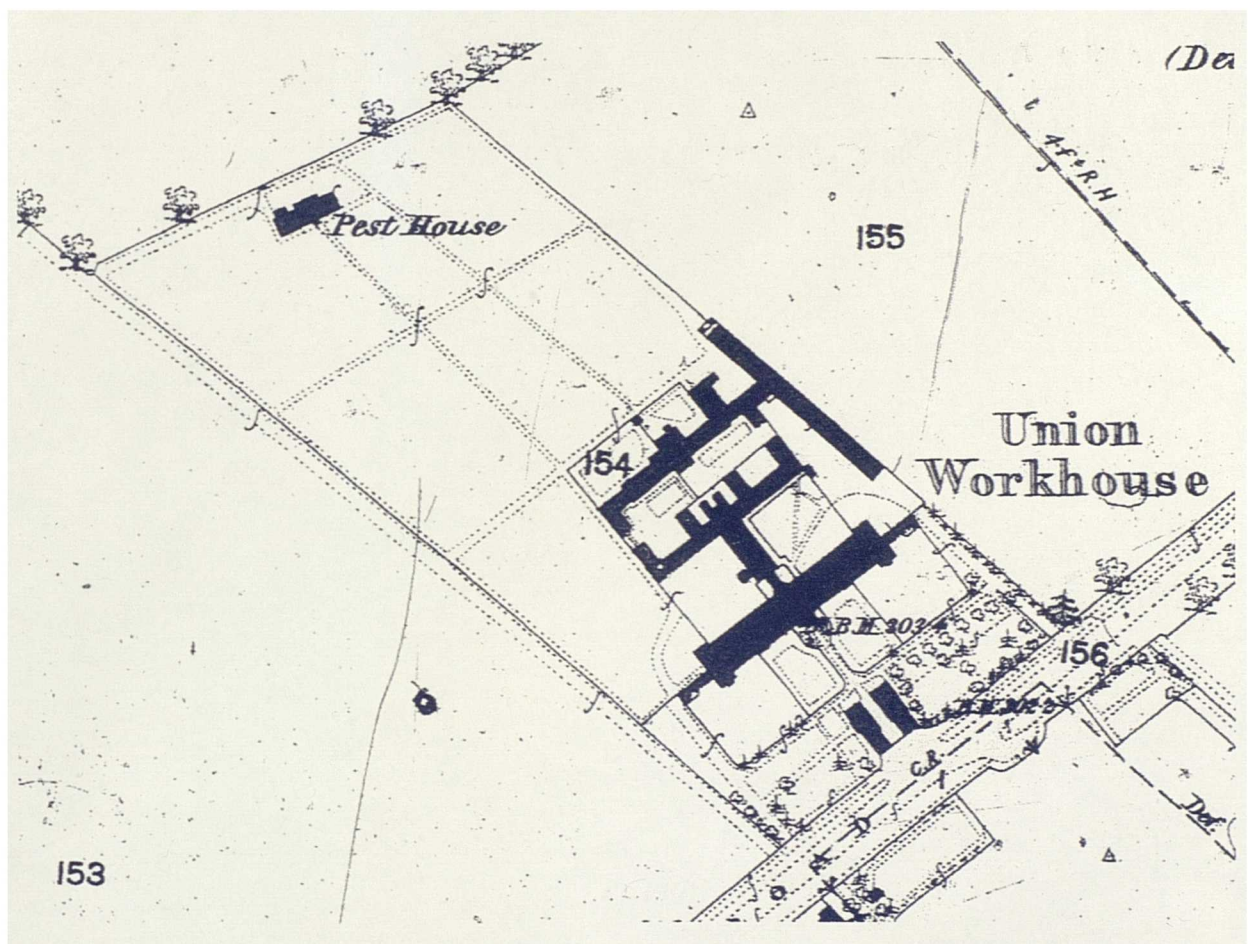


Plate 56. Aylesbury Workhouse, Bucks. (1844-45). Workhouse estate, with, from south-east to north-west, gate lodges flanked by ornamental lawns, exercise yards, workhouse building and service yards, and to the north-west the kitchen garden areas leading to the pest house (OS 25", Bucks. sh. XXVIII.12, pub. 1879).

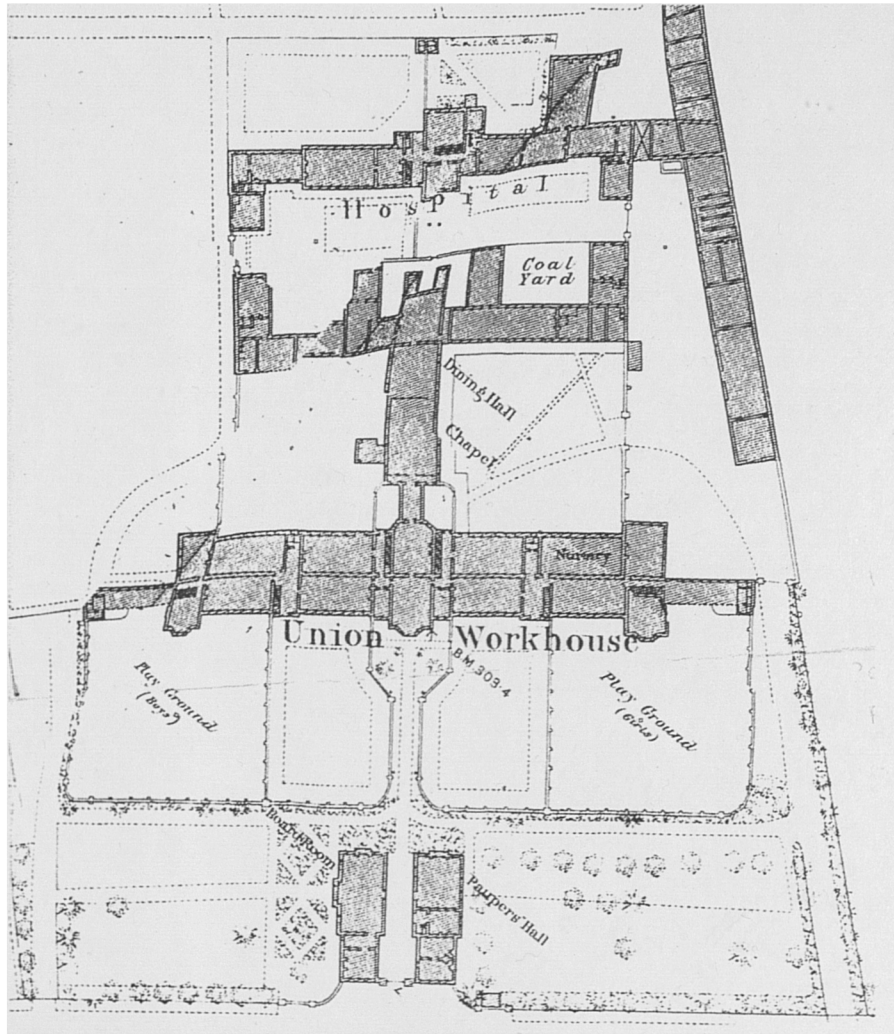


Plate 57. Aylesbury Workhouse, Bucks. (1844-45). Estate core. Ornamented lawns flank lodges containing the board room and paupers' hall respectively. The inmates' exercise yards lie in front and the service yards to the rear of the workhouse building (OS 1:500, Bucks. sh. XXVIII.12, pub. 1879).

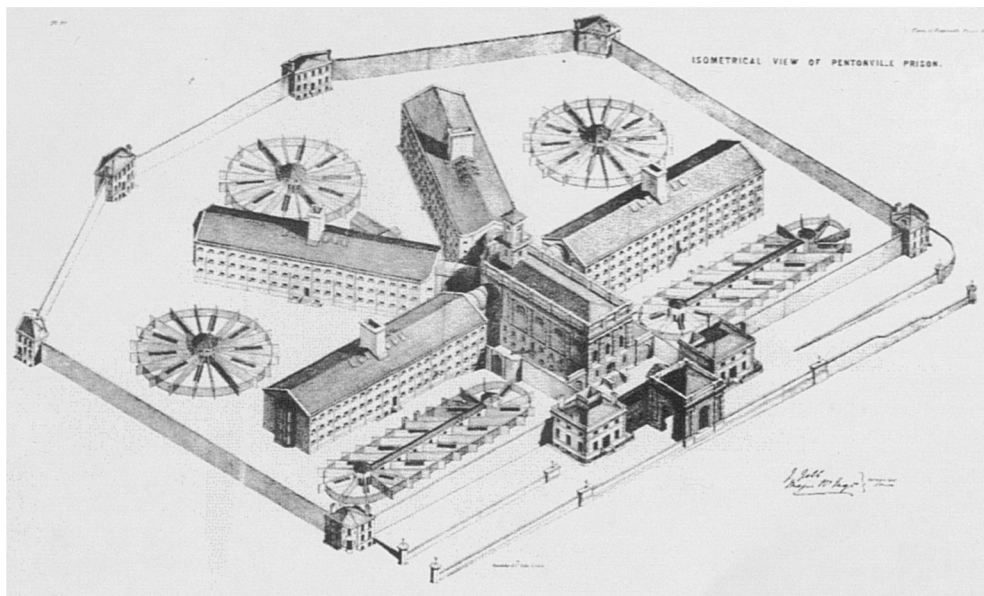


Plate 58. Pentonville Prison, London (1840-42). Bird's-eye view of site. Groups of exercise yards are sited between the radially arranged wings (in *Report of the Surveyor-General of Prisons* (1844), pl. 22).

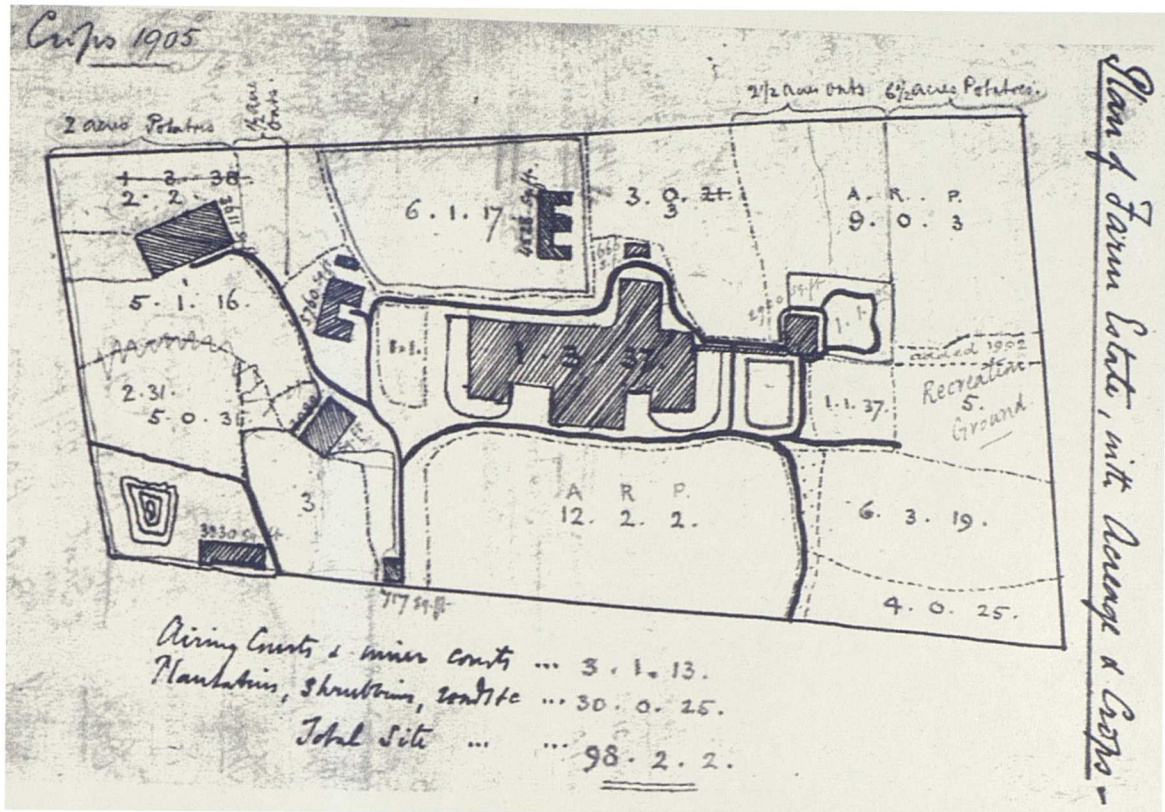


Plate 59. Middlesbrough, N. Yorks. (1893-98). 'Plan of Farm Estate, with Acreage & Crops', c.1902, in 'Superintendent's Farm Notebook', 1898-1906 (Teesside Archive, H/SL/13/2).

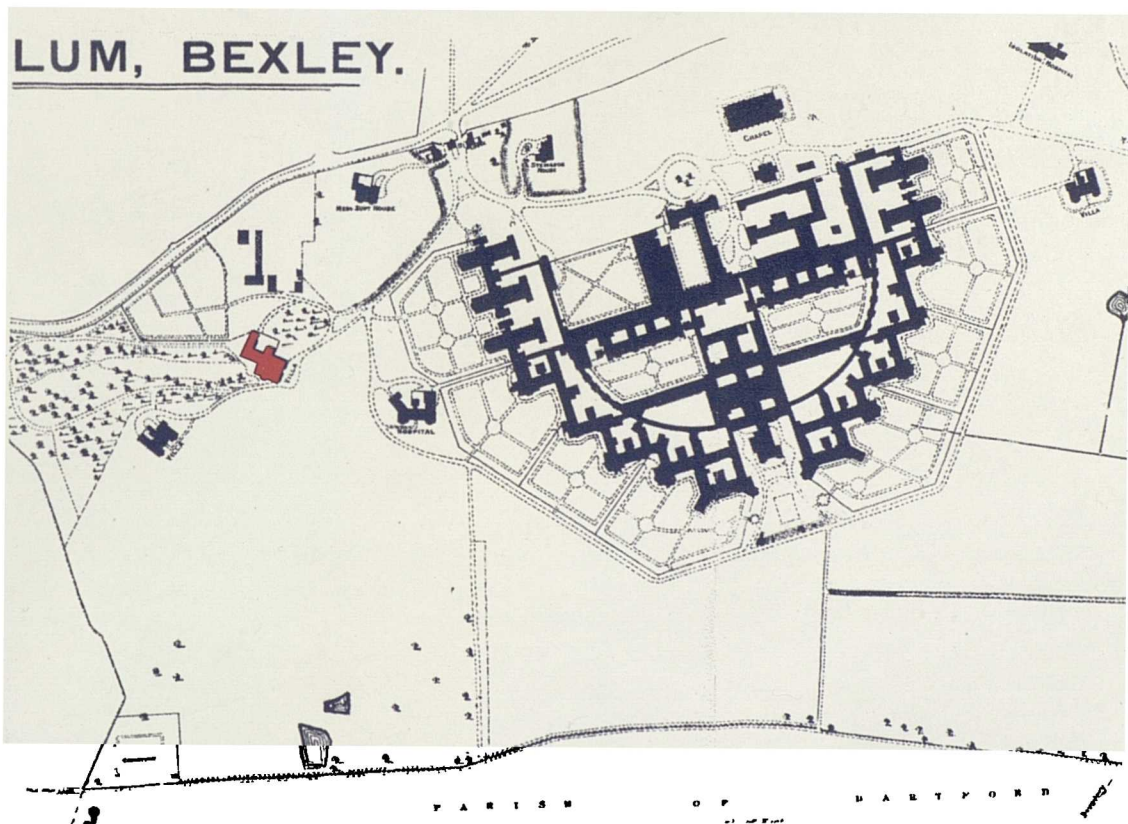


Plate 60. Bexley, Kent (1896-98). Plan of asylum estate set in Baldwyns Park Estate. Former mansion, reused as a patient villa, highlighted in red, in LCC, 12th Annual Report of Asylums Committee and Sub-Committees, May 1901 (LMA).

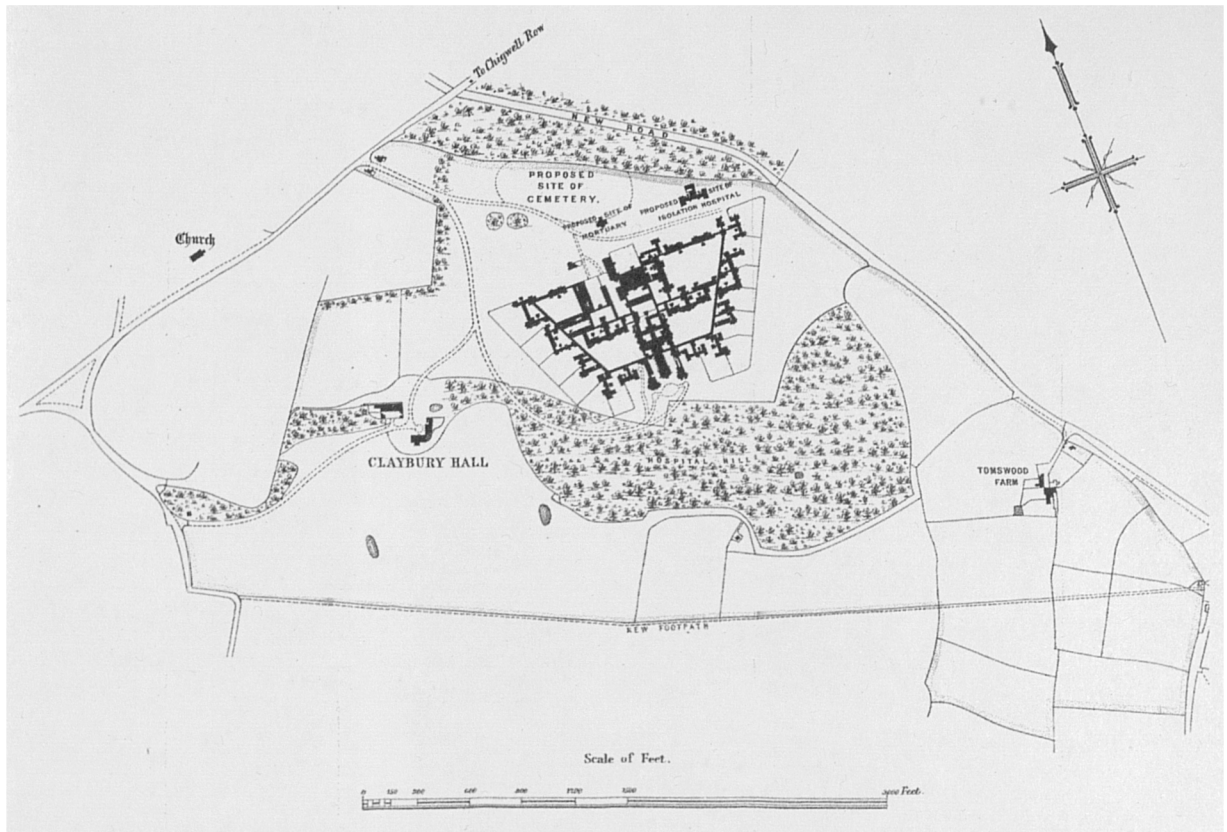


Plate 61. Claybury, Essex (1889-93). Proposed layout of asylum estate in Claybury Hall parkland, Report of the Committee for the 4th Asylum, 1887 (LMA, MA/RS/1/130).



Plate 62. Claybury, Essex (1889-93). Asylum estate as executed, Claybury Hall reused as a villa for private patients. Repton's parkland to the south and south-west of the asylum building (OS 6", Essex shs. LXV NE and SE, pub. 1921).

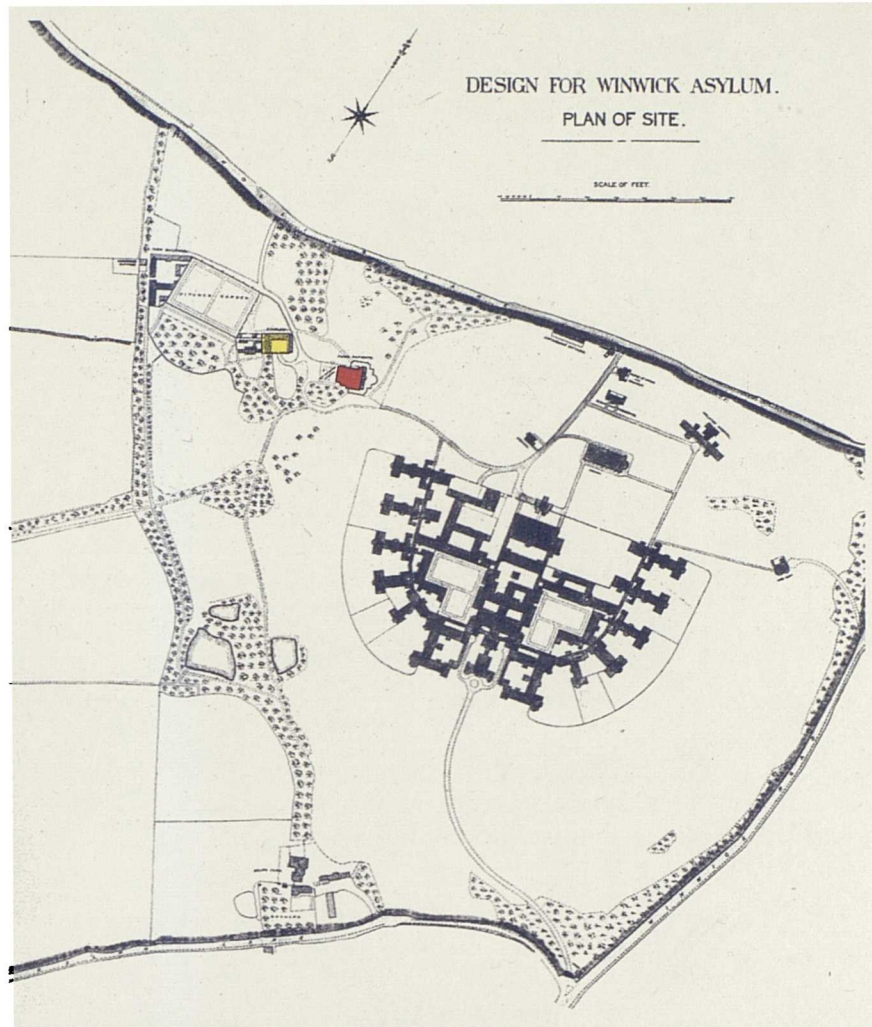


Plate 63. Winwick, Lancs. (1894-97). Plan of proposed asylum estate in Winwick Hall park. Hall marked in red, stables in yellow (Messrs Giles, Gough and Trollope, in Report on the Design by the Lancashire Asylums Board for the Proposed New Lunatic Asylum at Winwick, 1894 (PRO, MH 83/157)).

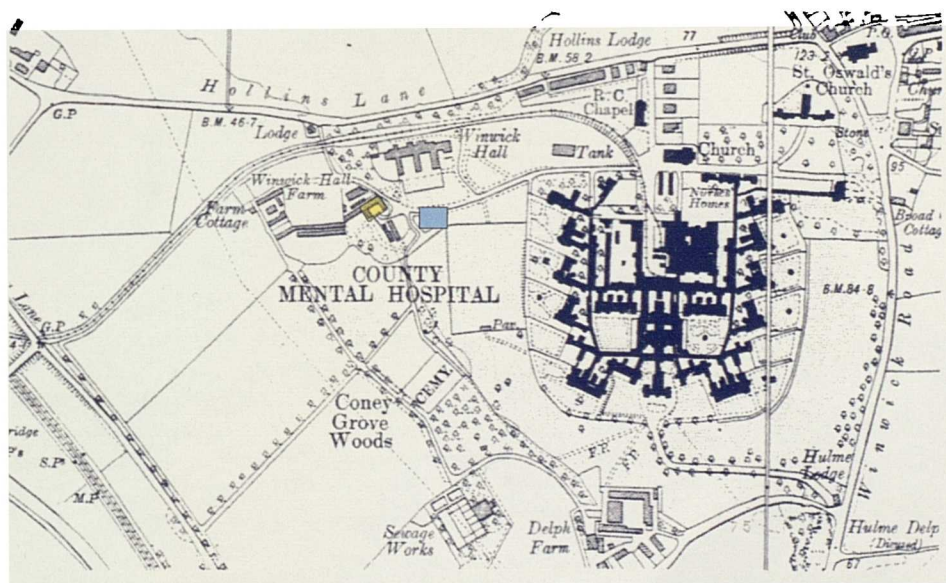


Plate 64. Winwick, Lancs. (1894-97). Estate as executed. Site of demolished Winwick Hall marked in blue. Stables, marked yellow, and kitchen garden adjacent to west, both retained (OS 6", Lancs. sh. CIX NW, pub. 1921, sh. CVIII.NE, pub. 1927).

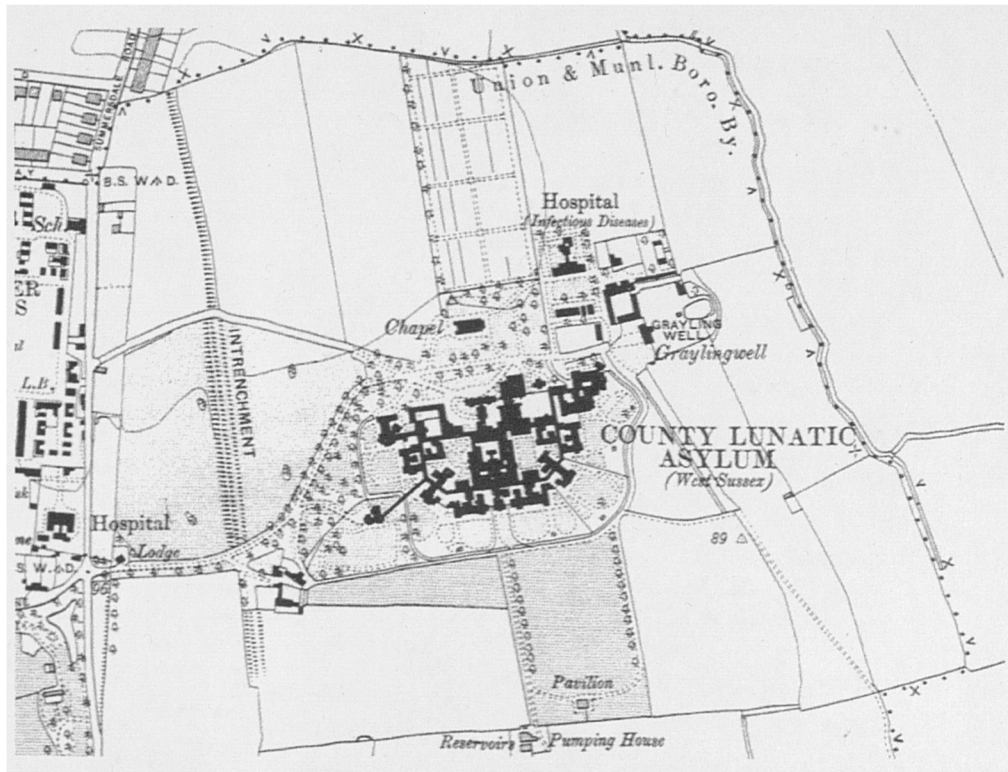


Plate 65. Chichester, Sussex (1894-97). Estate. Two drives from the west flank the main parkland paddock to north and south. The playing field lies to the south of the echelon-shaped building, marked grey and flanked by lines of trees (OS 6", Sussex sh. LXI NE, pub. 1914).

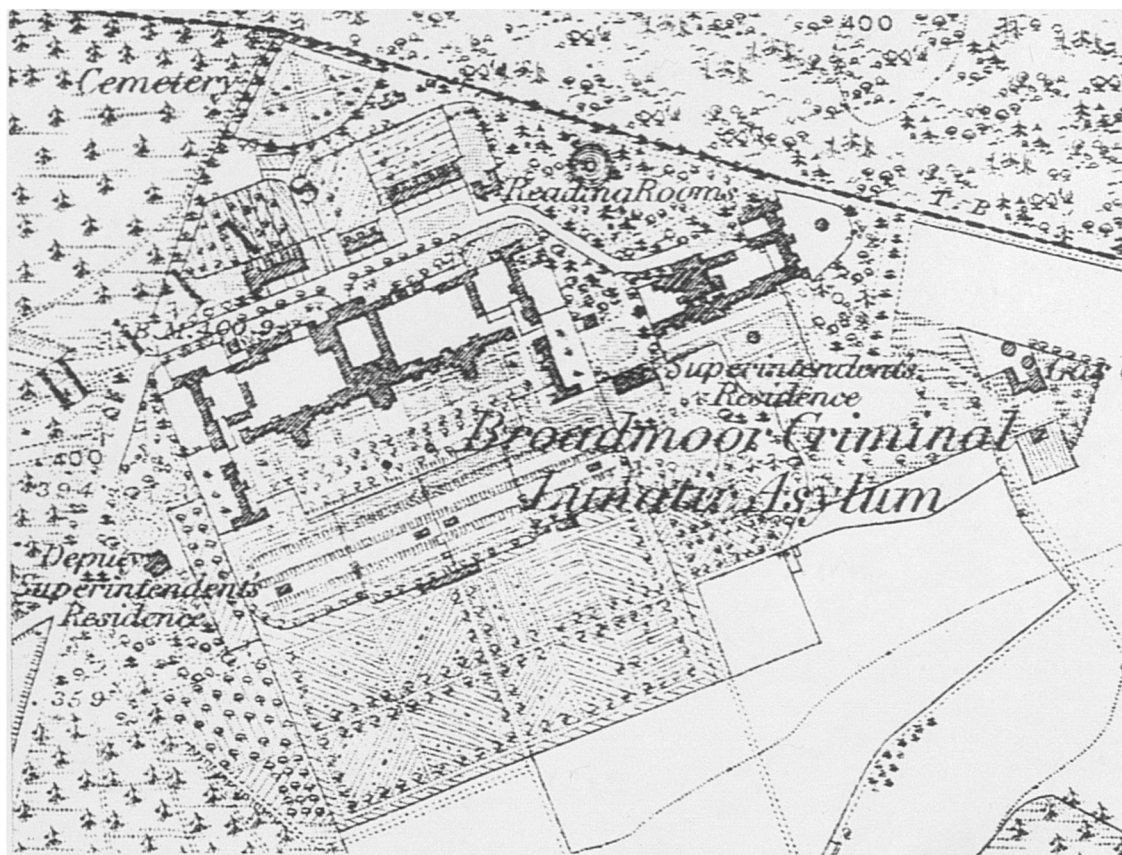


Plate 66. Broadmoor, Berks. (1860-63). Core of estate. The walled kitchen garden lies to the south-east of the male patients' building and airing-court terraces. The superintendent's residence separates the male and female blocks and respective airing courts (OS 6", Berkshire sh. XLVII, pub. 1876).



Plate 67. Wells, Somerset (1845-48). Visitors' entrance to the asylum building, in Jacobean style, 2000 (SR).



Plate 68. Wells, Somerset (1845-48). Main entrance to the asylum estate, lodge in Jacobean style, 2000 (SR).

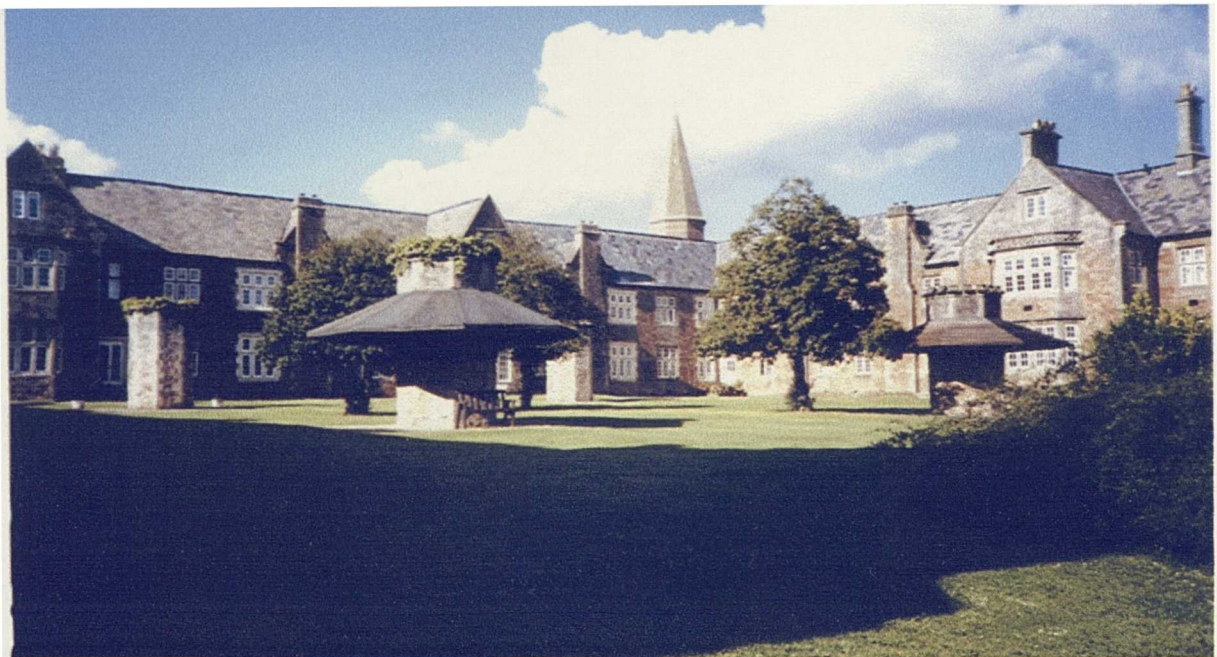


Plate 69. Wells, Somerset (1845-48). Airing court with shelters (possibly incorporating privy function), 2000 (SR).

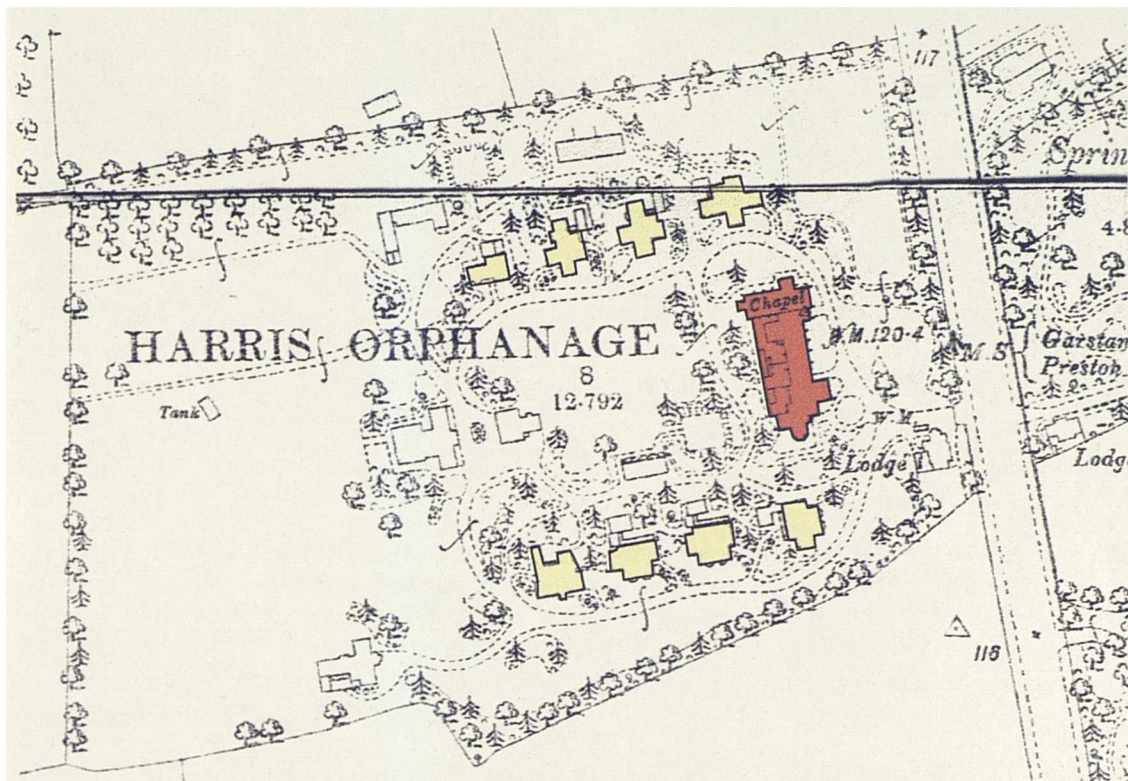


Plate 70. Harris Orphanage, Preston, Lancs. (1884-88). Estate. A residential institutional estate comparable with asylum and workhouse estates, the landscape laid out by George Rowbotham. Chapel, schoolroom and master's residence (marked red) stand on the east side of the estate; the two rows of boys' and girls' villas (marked yellow) to the north-west and south-west, flanking the north and south sides of the 'village green', linked by a serpentine drive system (OS 25", Lancs. sh. LXI.1, pub. 1890, sh. LXI.5, pub. 1893).

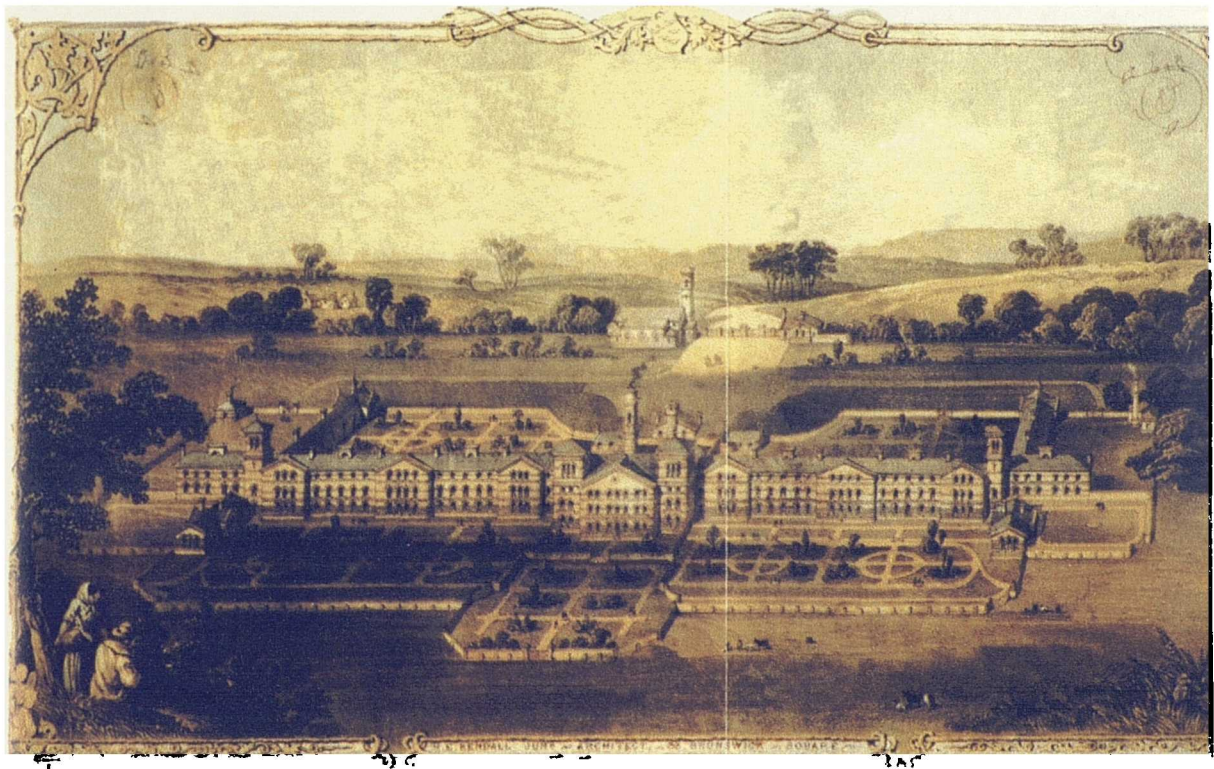


Plate 71. Haywards Heath, Sussex (1856-59). Architect's bird's-eye view of core of estate, 1860, showing the asylum building above the formal, terraced airing courts (H.E. Kendall, East Sussex RO, QAL/2/E7).



Plate 72. Broadmoor, Berks. (1860-63). Engraving of south front of asylum buildings. Terraces lead down from the male patients' blocks to the walled kitchen garden and asylum farmland in the foreground. Female block at far right, with smaller (two-storey) superintendent's residence separating male and female accommodation (in *Illustrated London News* (24 August 1867), 208).

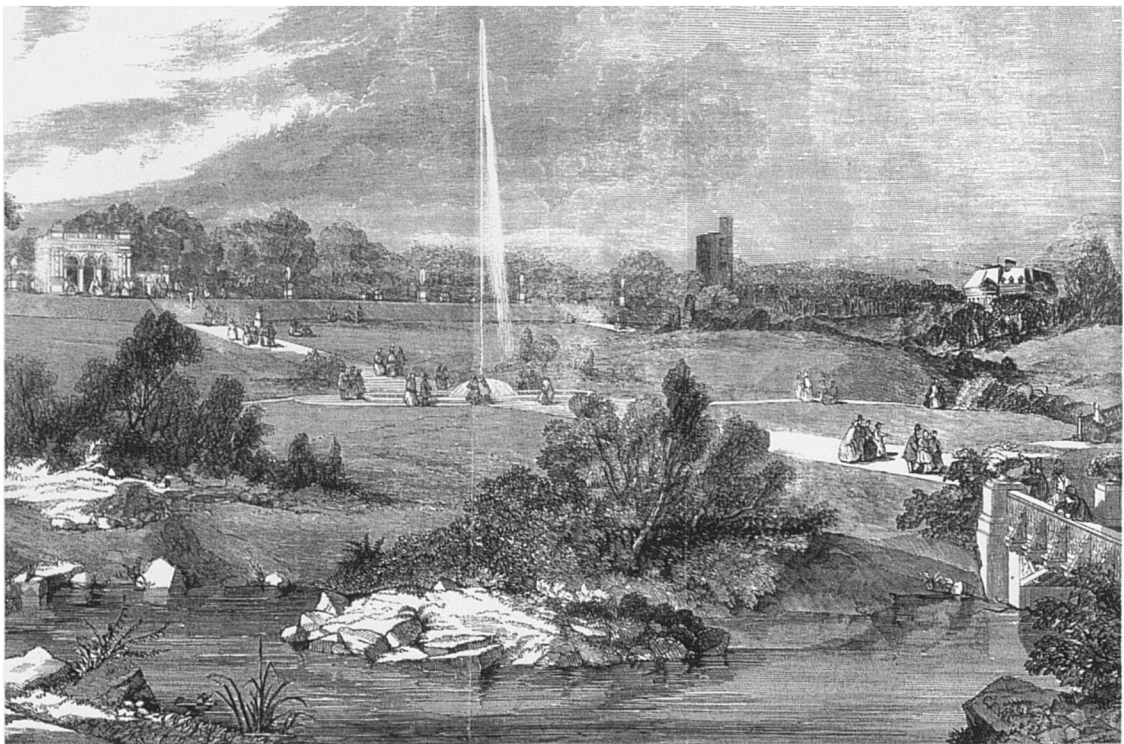


Plate 73. People's Park, Halifax, W. Yorks. (1857). Engraving at its opening. The promenade terrace and main park building overlook the rest of the park, combining formal and informal features (in *Illustrated London News* (22 August 1857), 188).

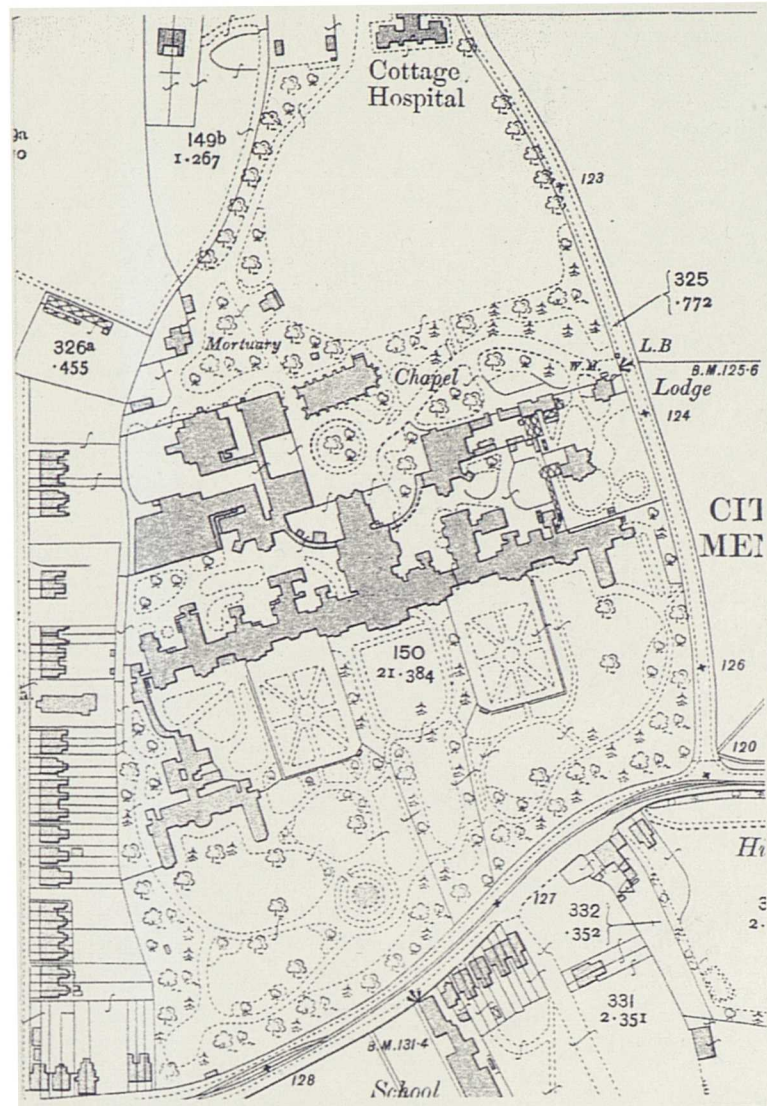


Plate 74. Stone House, Dartford, Kent (1862-66). Core of site. To the south of the main building the airing courts are laid out in complex formal patterns, enclosed by informal pleasure grounds including a circular mound with shelter (OS 25", Kent sh. IX.7, pub. 1909).

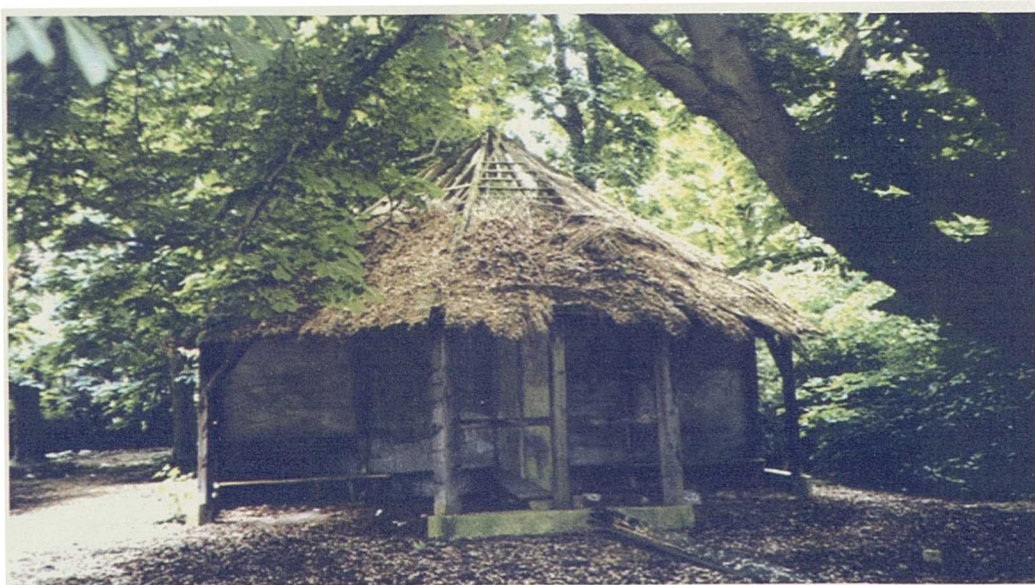


Plate 75. Napsbury, Herts (1900-05). Remains of thatched shelter in airing court, 2000 (SR).

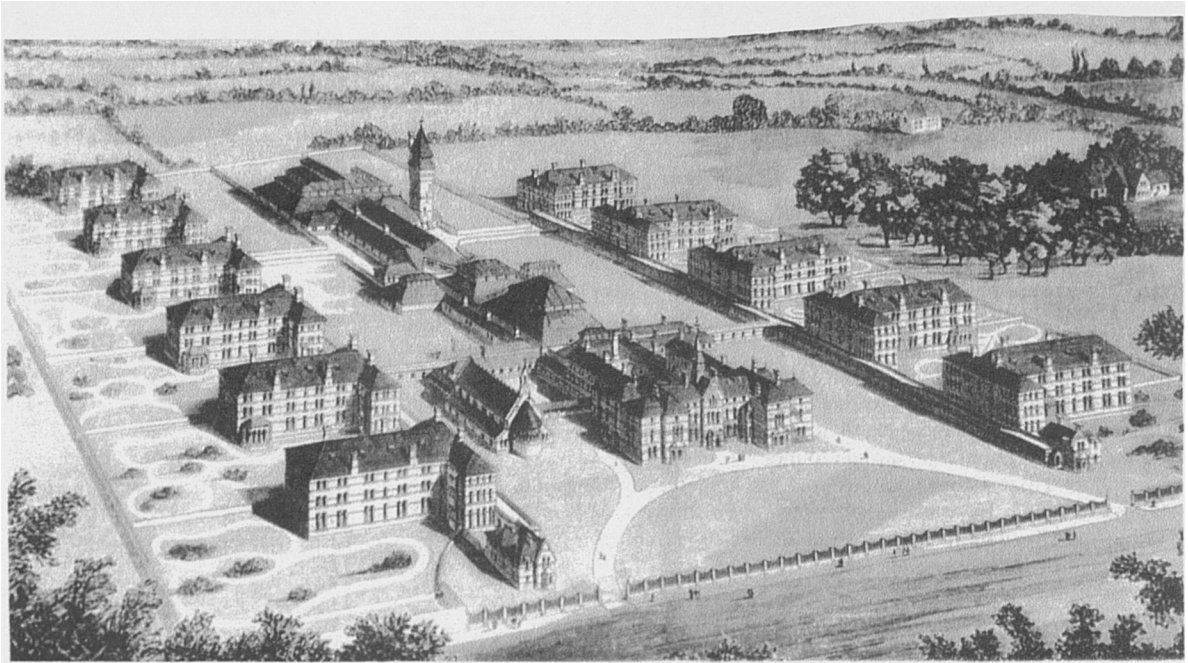


Plate 76. Leavesden, Herts. and Caterham, Surrey (both 1868-70). Proposed asylums, bird's-eye view of core of generic scheme for both sites. The largely detached lines of ward pavilions are flanked by associated parallel rows of airing courts with spinally placed administrative and service blocks and chapel (in the *Builder*, 26 (25 July 1868), 551).



Plate 77. Leavesden, Herts. (1868-70). Core of site as executed. Parallel rows of airing courts laid out informally by Alexander MacKenzie (OS 25", Herts. shs XXXIX.5, pub. 1871, XXXIX.6, pub. 1873).



Plate 78. Broadmoor, Berks. (1860-63). Postcard of female block overlooking airing court, terrace and shelter, late C19/early C20 (SR).

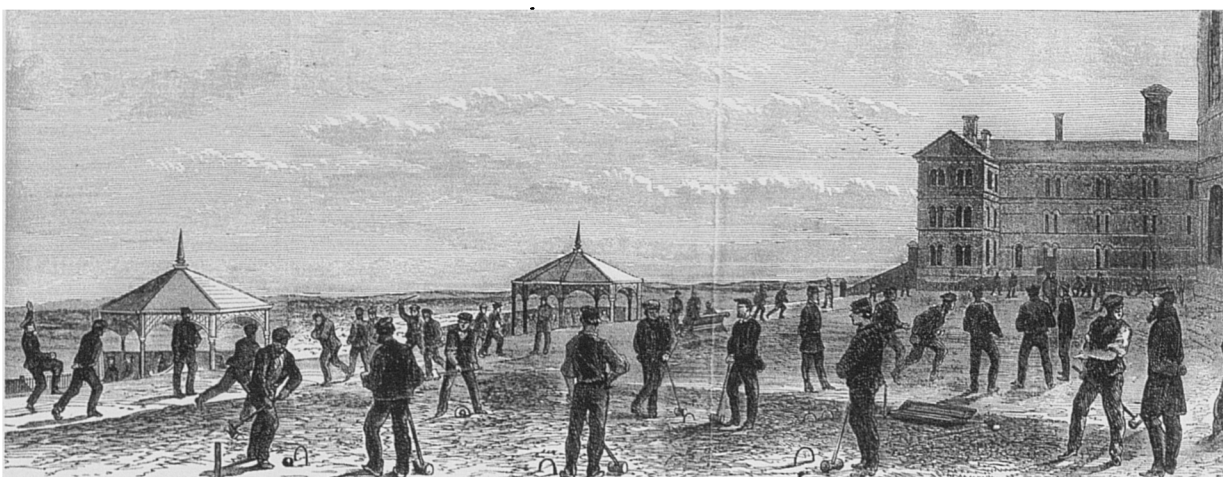


Plate 79. Broadmoor, Berks. (1860-63). Engraving of male patients playing croquet in their airing court with long views over the surrounding countryside below (in *Illustrated London News* (7 September 1867), 273).

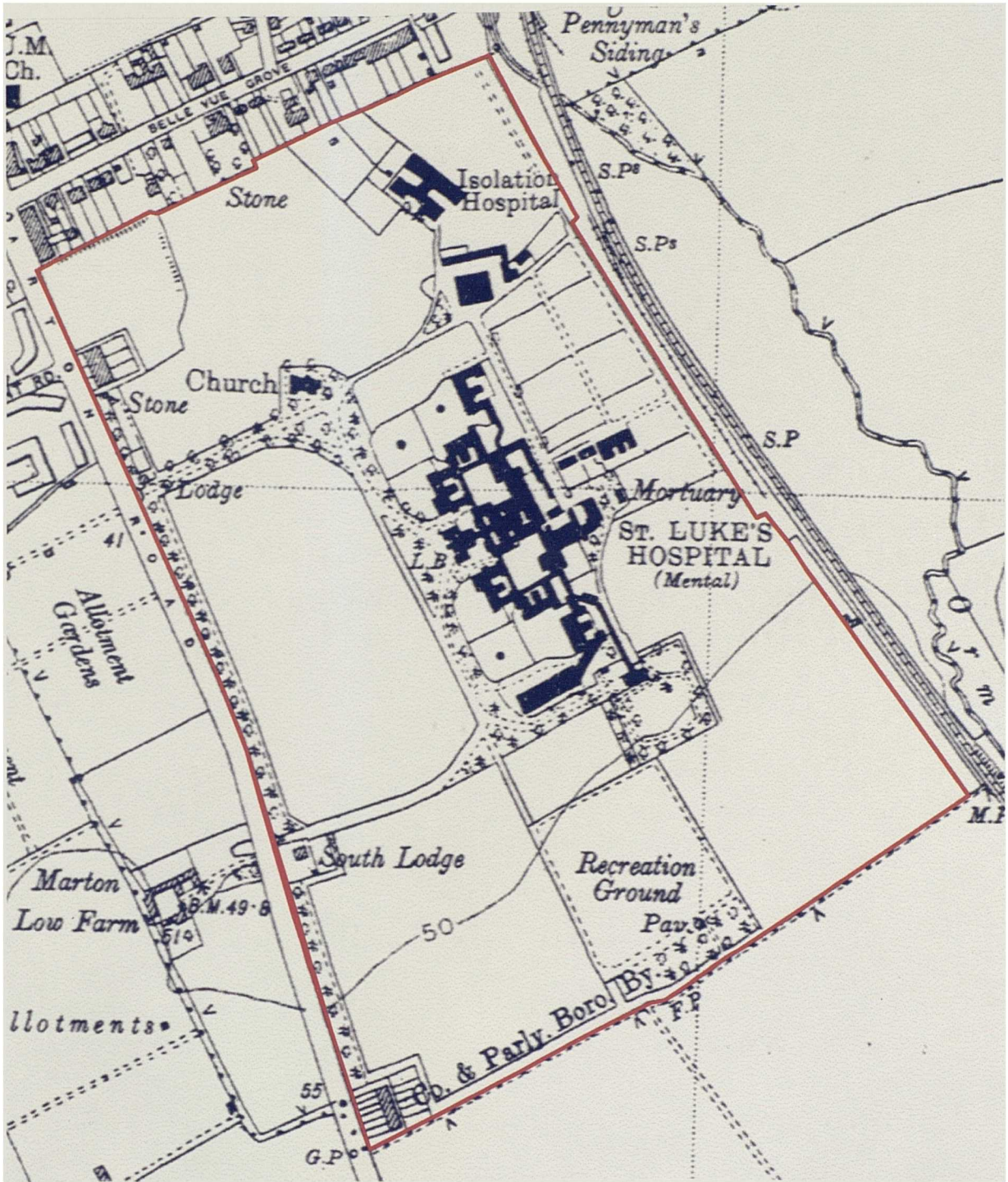


Plate 80. Middlesbrough, N. Yorks. (1893-98). Asylum estate, outlined in red (OS 6", Yorks. sh. XVI NE, rev. 1938).



Plate 81. Royal Earlswood Idiot Asylum (1852-55). Core of charitable idiot asylum estate. Airing courts are absent, replaced by pleasure grounds leading up to the asylum building in a move closer towards the country house estate model (OS 25", Surrey sh. XXXIV.4, surveyed 1871).

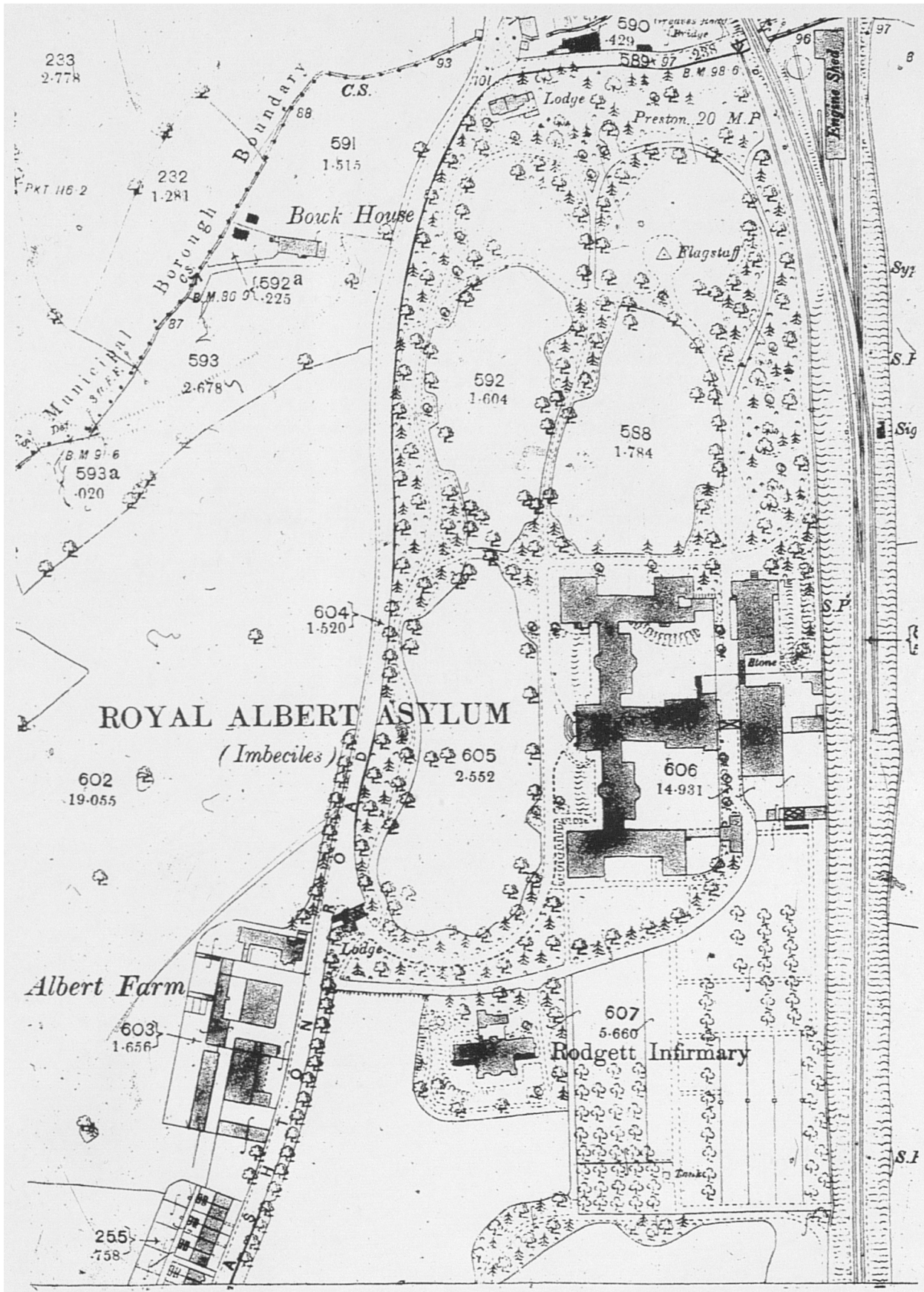


Plate 82. Royal Albert Institution for Idiots, Lancaster (1866-73). Core of charitable idiot asylum estate. Airing courts are absent, instead pleasure grounds lead up to the asylum building. The farm lies to bottom left, and kitchen garden to bottom right (OS 25", Lancs. sh. XXX.15, pub. 1893).

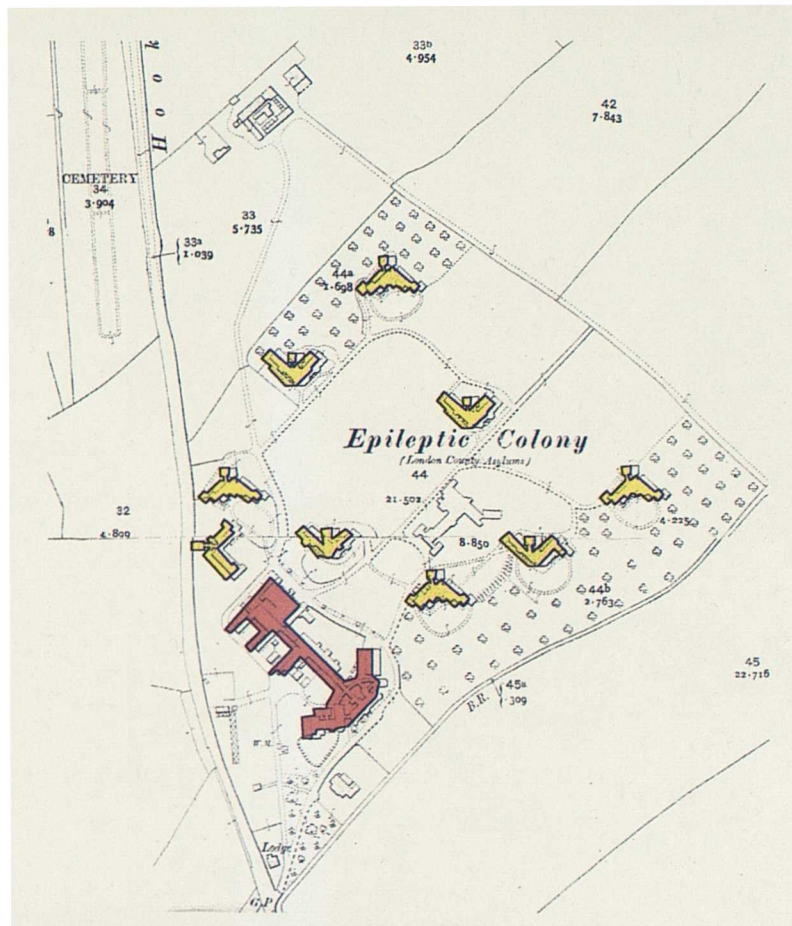


Plate 83. Ewell Epileptic Colony, Surrey (1900-03). Core of estate. A very early publicly funded epileptic colony, with scattered patient villas (marked yellow) located in informal pleasure grounds. The administrative and service blocks (marked red) are located closer to the entrance of the site at the southern tip (OS 25", Surrey shs. XIII.13, XIX.1, pub. 1913).

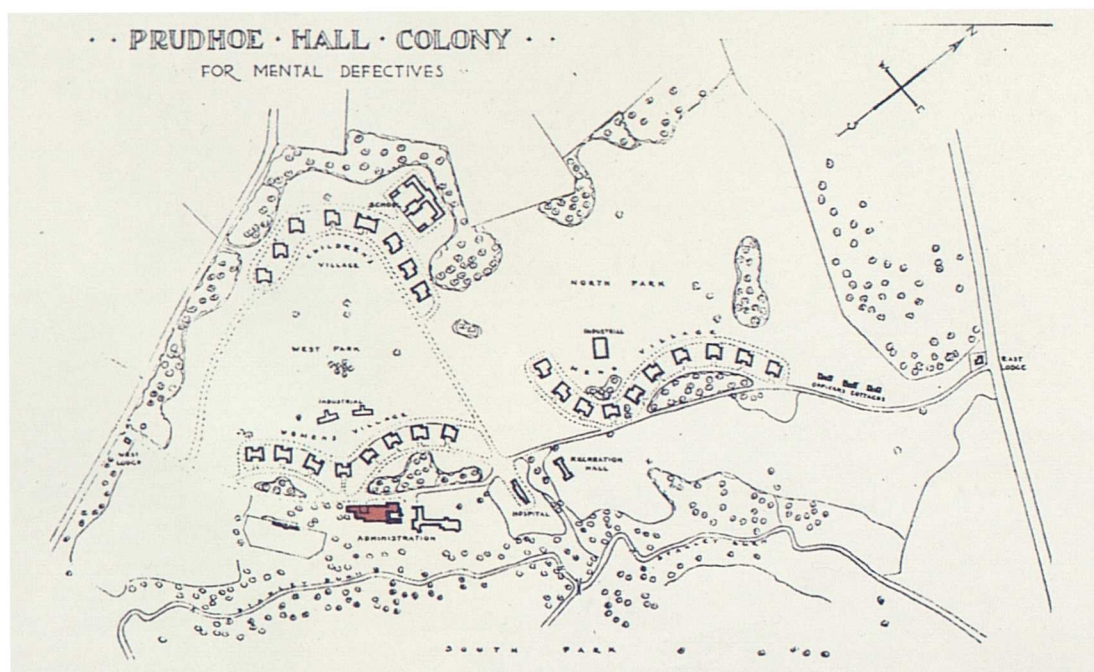


Plate 84. Prudhoe Hall Colony, Northumberland (1913-23 and later). Proposed layout of mental deficiency colony estate. Informally scattered serpentine lines of patient villas are set in the earlier parkland. The original Hall (marked in red) lies towards the bottom left, reused as the administration block, with the estate kitchen garden to the lower left of this (in the *Builder*, 172 (17 January 1930), 183).

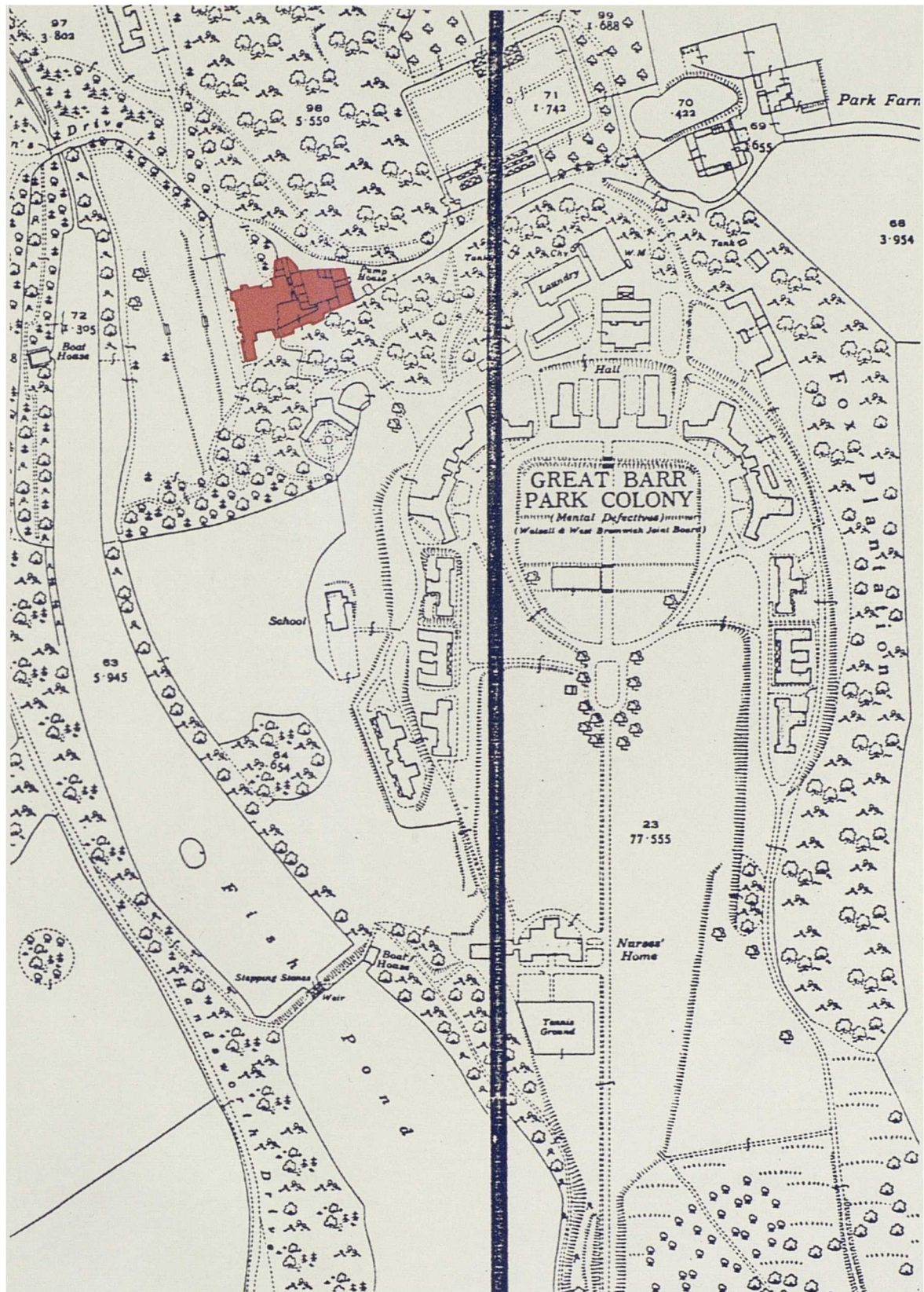


Plate 85. Great Barr Park Colony, W. Mids. (1911 and later). Core of local authority mental deficiency colony estate designed by Gerald McMichael. The formal horseshoe arrangement of colony buildings is inserted into the informal eighteenth and early nineteenth-century parkland to the south-east of the Hall (marked red) whose garden terraces lead west down to the lake. The administrative and service buildings are at the top of the curve with the patient villas extending down the sides (OS 25", Staffs. sh. LXVIII.4, pub. 1937).