



Reginald Farrer's Rock Garden, Clapham, North Yorkshire: Analytical Survey and Assessment

Rebecca Pullen

Discovery, Innovation and Science in the Historic Environment



**REGINALD FARRER'S ROCK GARDEN
CLAPHAM
NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Analytical survey and assessment

Rebecca Pullen

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SUMMARY

Within the village of Clapham, below the limestone fells of Ingleborough in the Yorkshire Dales, are the remains of an important private rock garden that was developed and experimented in by ‘the father of modern rock gardening’, Reginald John Farrer (1880-1920).

In Farrer’s day the rock garden formed part of the designed gardens belonging to his family home, Ingleborough Hall. Farrer created the garden in 1894 at the age of fourteen and continued to adapt and improve the site until his death in 1920. Farrer was a significant figure in early 20th-century gardening, garden-writing and plant collecting; he influenced and advised on a number of important gardens during his life, and his work with alpine plants remained influential long afterwards. The garden is notable as the place where he formulated and trialled his prominent ideas about creating successful rock gardens, such as use of below-ground irrigation systems, ponds and naturalistic ‘moraine-gardens’ (planted scree).

To inform the future repair and management of the garden and pond, in 2015 Historic England undertook an accurate measured survey and analytical assessment of the fabric, layout and history of the garden; this report presents the results of that work.

CONTRIBUTORS

Survey fieldwork was undertaken by Rebecca Pullen and Marcus Jecock. Photographic record of the garden was undertaken by Alun Bull and Rebecca Pullen. Rebecca Pullen also carried out the background research, prepared the survey data and wrote the report, incorporating comments from Emma Sharpe and Erika Diaz Petersen. David Went and Neil Redfern commented on the final draft text. The final survey illustration was drawn up by Philip Sinton and the report was prepared for publication by the author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ARCHIVE LOCATION

The survey, photographic and report archive will be deposited with the Historic England Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH.

DATE OF INVESTIGATION

The liaison, research, photographic survey and measured survey relating to this investigation were carried out principally between April and June 2015.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS WORK.....	5
Farrer's life	5
Farrer's influence.....	7
The Ingleborough rock garden	8
The Craven Nursery – a second Farrer rock garden in Clapham	12
The Cliff Garden.....	13
DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE ROCK GARDEN	14
The terraced crescent slope: Farrer's 'Torrid bank' and rock face	16
The waterfall cascade and pond inlet stream	21
The pond	27
The pond's drainage system and outlet stream.....	32
South of the pond: Farrer's 'Great Moraine'	35
West of the pond: limestone-edged planting beds	36
North-west of the pond: Farrer's 'mountain-mass' and 'glacial boulders'.....	36
Irrigation system	37
Traces of the southern approach road to Ingleborough Hall	37
Botanical survivals in the garden.....	38
DISCUSSION	40
Coherence and integrity	40
Condition	41
Conclusions.....	42
ENDNOTES.....	43
BIBLIOGRAPHY	49
APPENDIX: ASSOCIATED MONUMENT AND EVENT RECORDS	53

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover: The view south across the concrete pond within Reginald Farrer's private rock garden. DP168956 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.

Figure 1: Location map	2
Figure 2: Ingleborough Hall	4
Figure 3: Reginald Farrer's rock garden and pond	4
Figure 4: Reginald Farrer wearing Buddhist robes	6
Figure 5: Photographs of the Ingleborough rock garden from Farrer's 1909 book <i>In a Yorkshire Garden</i>	9
Figure 6: Instructive diagrams from Farrer's 1919 book <i>The English Rock-Garden</i>	10
Figure 7: Photograph published in 1927 showing the pond with the rock face behind	11
Figure 8: The rock garden display area within Craven Nursery	13
Figure 9: Extract from the 1910 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of Clapham	15
Figure 10: The eastern extension of the garden	17
Figure 11: Farrer's 'Torrid bank' and rock face beyond	18
Figure 12: The east steps and the rock face	18
Figure 13: The east steps and rock face	20
Figure 14: The stone steps at the west end of Farrer's 'Torrid bank', with metal taps relating to the buried irrigation system	21
Figure 15: Photograph from Farrer's 1909 book <i>In a Yorkshire Garden</i> , showing the base of the rock face	22
Figure 16: The blocked steps at the south end of the rock face, with a clear stretch of pipe relating to the buried irrigation system	23
Figure 17: The brick manhole, iron pipe and concrete channel at the 'source' of the waterfall	24
Figure 18: Surviving stone drain caps found in the garden	24
Figure 19: Farrer's 'stream'	25
Figure 20: Detail showing the slate overhang within the channel of Farrer's 'stream'	26
Figure 21: Schematic measured profile along the channel of Farrer's 'stream'	26
Figure 22: Details showing the deterioration of the concrete pond	28
Figure 23: Historic photograph showing the pond filled with water and the garden lushly planted	28

Figure 24: Detail showing the composition of the concrete wall of the pond island.	29
Figure 25: The limestone slab creating a bridge between the outer edge of the pond and the island.	31
Figure 26: The concrete shelf of the bog garden, with communicating drainage holes and the rock face beyond.	31
Figure 27: Two of the numerous drainage slots in the top of the wall of the pond, with Farrer's 'mountain-mass' in the background.	32
Figure 28: The dip in the top lip of the pond wall and the inserted drainage pipe and hollow at the base of the south end of the pond.	33
Figure 29: The upper portion of the pond outlet channel.	34
Figure 30: The pond with the gentle scarp marking the position of Farrer's 'Great Moraine' and the rare Carpinus tree.	35
Figure 31: The limestone-edged planting beds.	36
Figure 32: Remnant stretch of the old beech hedge line and the northern of the two stone gateposts.	38
Figure 33: Analytical measured survey of Reginald Farrer's rock garden, 2015.	55

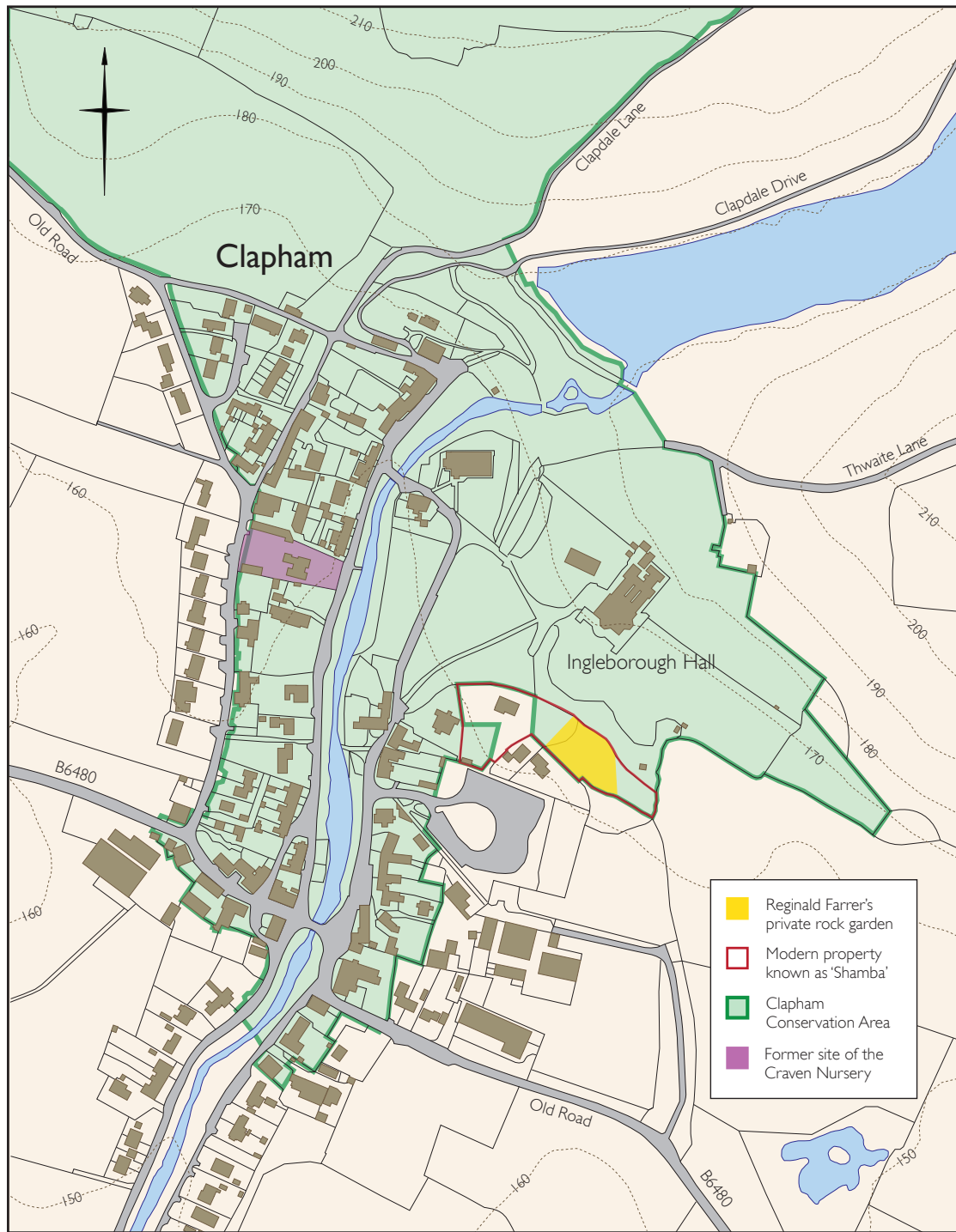
INTRODUCTION

In April-May 2015, at the request of Emma Sharpe (née Penny), Assistant Inspector of Historic Buildings and Areas, Historic England's Assessment Team (North) undertook an investigation and analytical measured survey of the remains of a limestone rock garden and concrete pond, designed and built by Reginald John Farrer (1880-1920), at his childhood home of Ingleborough Hall in Clapham, North Yorkshire (Figure 1). Farrer is an important person in the history of 20th-century gardening, and has been described as 'The dominant figure of the Edwardian rock garden, and its chief chronicler...whose writing was as fearless as his zest for travel'.¹

The young Farrer was greatly inspired by the natural limestone rock faces surrounding his parent's house in Clapham and at the age of fourteen, in 1894, he set about redesigning an existing alpine garden, to form the beginnings of the rock garden seen today.² At the time of construction the area chosen for the rock garden formed part of the landscape park and garden belonging to Ingleborough Hall. Part of the grounds of the Ingleborough estate were sold off separately in 1947,³ as a result the rock garden is now contained within the garden of the modern property 'Shamba', to the SSW of the hall. The rock garden forms part of the former gardens of the Grade II* Ingleborough Hall (built c.1814);⁴ it is also situated within the boundary of Clapham Conservation Area⁵ and, more broadly, within the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

Farrer was a significant figure in early 20th-century gardening, garden writing and plant collecting. His particular focus was on alpine and far eastern plants and on carefully reproducing their natural habitats for successful propagation and transplantation,⁶ and he showed great disdain for the unnatural massing of colour blocks within rock gardens⁷ and the ill-considered placement of stones.⁸ Farrer influenced and advised on a number of important gardens during his life, and he wrote numerous books about his plants, plant hunting and gardening which remained influential long afterwards. He founded The Craven Nursery near his home in Clapham (see below), was a keen and talented amateur painter of alpine plants and landscapes,⁹ and to date almost 30 plants reference Farrer in their scientific names.¹⁰ Farrer is still well-known and well-respected today for his contribution to British botanical collections and methods, and his influence is still apparent in modern styles of gardening and garden-writing. He is regularly attributed with having initiated the familiar literary style of garden-writing,¹¹ and has been described by later authorities as the 'father of modern rock gardening' and the 'Patron Saint of alpine gardening'.¹²

This investigation is intended to help to inform anticipated pre-application planning advice relating to the proposed full restoration and replanting of the rock garden, in particular the pond and its associated inlet and outlet features, by the present owners who wish to restore Farrer's work as faithfully as is practicable. A previous planning application¹³ for restoration of the pond and rock garden - including structural alterations to the waterfall, pond and drainage - was turned down on the basis of insufficient information relating to the significance of the garden and its associations with Reginald Farrer, and inadequate material regarding measurable details and



Background mapping based on Ordnance Survey data. © Crown Copyright [and database rights] 2016. OS 100024900.

Figure 1: Location map. © Historic England/drawn by Philip Sinton.

cost implications of the planned work. The outcome desired by all interested parties is for a positive and sympathetic restoration of the garden to take place. Survey and research information provided by Historic England is intended to improve understanding of the garden and its future management needs.

An initial site visit was undertaken by Rebecca Pullen, accompanying Emma Penny, on the 9th April 2015, to consider the potential for Assessment Team contribution to enhance the current record and understanding the garden, as well as to discuss the proposed restoration work with the owner and gardener. It was subsequently agreed that Assessment Team (North) would carry out an analytical metric survey of the garden remains in order to produce measured survey drawings highlighting key features and any identifiable elements of phasing and remodelling. The survey drawings would be supplemented by a photographic record and a short descriptive report.¹⁴

The main survey was undertaken by Rebecca Pullen and Marcus Jecock over two visits, on the 28th-29th April and 5th-6th May 2015; with a third visit made on 10th June to check, enhance and annotate the finished plan. During the survey an initial geographic position was achieved using Trimble R10 survey-grade differential Global Navigation Satellite System (GNSS) equipment to fix on to the Ordnance Survey National Grid using the Trimble VRS network to access the Ordnance Survey system of active stations (OSNet). Two temporary Ordnance Survey control points were thus established to create a central baseline on a NW-SE axis through the length of the garden. Due to the wooded nature of much of the garden it was not possible to undertake the main survey using GNSS equipment; as such, the survey was conducted primarily using Trimble 5600 series total station theodolite (TST) equipment, set up over a series of survey stations established by using the original two GNSS laid-out stations as control. A small amount of graphical survey (accurate tape and offset measuring by hand) was undertaken to fill in small details where vegetation obscured all possible TST sight-lines. The finished survey was prepared by Rebecca Pullen using AutoCAD Map 2012 software, and finished by Philip Sinton (Technical Survey and Graphics Officer) using Adobe Illustrator software (*see* Figure 33). A copy of the survey drawing will be deposited with the Historic England Archive in Swindon.



Figure 2: Ingleborough Hall. DP032970 © Historic England/Bob Skingle, 18th May 2007.



Figure 3: Reginald Farrer's rock garden and pond, looking east. © Historic England/Rebecca Pullen, 9th April 2015.

BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS WORK

Farrer's life

Reginald John Farrer was born in Marylebone, London, on the 17th February 1880, the elder of two sons of James Anson and Elizabeth Georgina Ann Farrer.¹⁵ In 1889, James Anson Farrer inherited the family's country home of Ingleborough Hall in Clapham from his uncle and soon moved his wife and young sons - Reginald and his brother Sydney (1882-1946) - to Yorkshire, which Reginald would always know as home (Figure 2).

Reginald was born with a cleft palate (which he later concealed behind a thick moustache) and a speech impediment. These had a great impact upon his childhood: he underwent frequent operations and was educated at home. This solitary upbringing led him to exploring the flora of the neighbouring limestone fells which ignited a life-long passion for plants.

His increasing interest in the rock-loving plants of his local fells led, in 1894, to the fourteen-year-old Farrer taking on from his parents the existing alpine garden within a small former quarry on the Ingleborough estate. It was in this position that he established the rock garden that we see today (Figure 3).

In 1898 Farrer followed family tradition and went to study at Balliol College, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1902. It is clear that the people and ideas to which he was exposed at university had an important influence on the Post-Victorian ideals and intellectual pursuits he would champion throughout his life.¹⁶ During these undergraduate years, Farrer regularly visited and assisted with the alpine plant collection and celebrated artificial rock garden in the grounds of St John's College, one of the earliest of its type, built by Reverend Henry Jardine Bidder (1847-1923) in 1893.¹⁷

Farrer's own rock gardening was certainly influenced by this experience, although having begun work on his own rock garden at Ingleborough some four years previously he would already have had ideas and knowledge of his own. Following his university days Farrer maintained some association with the St John's College rock garden, sending a plant specimen from his travels to Reverend Bidder to add to the collection.¹⁸

In 1901 Farrer set up The Craven Nursery for alpine plants (*see* below) within the village,¹⁹ a respectable local business with which he remained actively involved throughout the subsequent two decades, and where he was able to expand his practical experiments with rock gardening.

In 1903 Farrer undertook the first of many long journeys, a social trip with university friends taking him briefly to China and Korea before a longer stay in Japan. The plants he saw whilst exploring there kindled his passion for recording and collecting exotic specimens such that all his subsequent expeditions were undertaken specifically with that purpose in mind. Between 1903 and 1920 Farrer



Figure 4: Reginald Farrer wearing Buddhist robes; Farrer converted to Buddhism in 1907 whilst on a plant-hunting excursion in Sri Lanka. GB235 RJF/2/2/5 © the Farrer Family Collection, c/o the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh Archive.

undertook numerous plant-collecting trips in the Himalayas, the Dolomites, the Alps, and many other far-flung regions (Figure 4). Although financed initially from the proceeds of his garden books and articles, Farrer's later expeditions were often funded by private investors and occasionally by the Royal Horticultural Society (RHS).²⁰ During this time he established a relationship with the Royal Botanic Gardens at Edinburgh and Kew, to which he sent examples of his collected herbarium specimens. A number of the plants identified by Farrer during his excursions abroad had not been knowingly recorded previously, and to date almost 30 plants reference Farrer in their scientific names.²¹

Farrer's writing career was prolific and spanned almost two decades; his first book, *The Garden of Asia*, was published in 1904. As well as writing well-received garden books, horticultural magazine articles and plant glossaries, he produced several published novels, works of poetry, translations, and verse plays in both English and French, though these were rarely popular with critics.²² During the First World War Farrer, deemed unfit to be a soldier, undertook his war work as a civil servant for the Ministry of Information, a department newly formed in 1917 to produce government pamphlets and propaganda. Like many other writers of the time, and indeed headed up by John Buchanan, Farrer was dispatched to produce journalistic reports from the fronts of the war in Europe.²³

In addition to his prolific writing, Farrer also had a skill for botanical painting and regularly produced delicate and accurate watercolour illustrations of plants observed in their natural habitats whilst on his expeditions. In 1918, his talent as a painter of in situ alpine plants became more widely recognised when he exhibited over 200 watercolours at the Fine Art Society.²⁴

A plant-hunting trip to Burma in 1919-1920 was to be his last; Farrer died of diphtheria on the 17th October 1920 whilst up in the Burmese mountains close to the border with China.

Farrer's influence

The influence of Farrer's personal experiments in rock gardening and alpine planting - chiefly trialled at his Ingleborough Hall rock garden and in the Craven Nursery in Clapham - is proven through numerous associations and testimonials.

In 1909 Farrer met renowned horticulturalist E A Bowles (1865-1954) at the RHS; they became good friends, undertaking plant-hunting expeditions in the Dolomites together. Farrer went on to write the preface to Bowles' 1914 book *My Garden in Spring*,²⁵ helped Bowles to plan a 'moraine' in the rock garden at his home, Myddelton House in Middlesex,²⁶ and together they provided collaborative advice to the botanist and plant collector Frederick J Hanbury (1851-1935) on the creation of a moraine based on a succession of concrete tanks with a complex underground watering system at his Brockhurst estate in West Sussex.²⁷

The chalk pit garden created by Sir Frederick and Lady Stern at Highdown in West Sussex - including a rock garden built in 1910 - was planted with seeds and specimens obtained directly from contemporary collectors including Reginald Farrer.²⁸ Likewise, two prominent Cornish gardens, the woodland garden at Lamellen²⁹ and the arboretum at Werrington Park,³⁰ are also known to have been established using original plant introductions from far flung plant-hunting expeditions undertaken by Farrer and others.

Exotic plants gathered, propagated and advised upon by Farrer were welcomed into many other important contemporary gardens, particularly following the decision of the RHS to construct their famous rock garden (built 1911) at Wisley in Surrey, alleged inspired by Farrer's 1907 book *My Rock-Garden*.³¹ One such was at

Parcevall Hall, Wharfedale, which was bought by Sir William Milner (1893-1960) in 1927³² shortly after he had been unable to join Farrer on what turned out to be his final, fatal Burmese plant-collecting trip. Milner proceeded to create a large rock garden with rills, pools and a waterfall by embellishing the natural limestone outcrop above the hall and planting a good many exotic plant and shrub species collected by Farrer.³³

William Herbert St Quintin (1851-1933), the creator of the rock garden at Scampston Hall in North Yorkshire,³⁴ is thought to have been heavily influenced by Farrer's published works on best practice in recreating successful and convincing alpine habitats. St Quintin's own copies of Farrer's *The English Rock Garden* and *My Rock-Garden* are reportedly heavily annotated.³⁵ Although the rock garden at Scampston was established in 1890 - ie before Farrer had cut his teeth in gardening - St Quintin continued to develop and improve it until his death in the 1930s and almost certainly applied some of Farrer's published recommendations on the subject, - gleaned from his own well-thumbed copies of Farrer's books³⁶ - to his garden in its latter years. The Scampston rock garden incorporates a network of buried irrigation pipes, still in working order, which are much like those described by Farrer in 1919,³⁷ and may resemble those still buried within the Ingleborough rock garden.

No doubt other connections of this nature exist,³⁸ and as such a more detailed investigation into how Farrer's work, and in particular the Ingleborough rock garden, compares to and has influenced other contemporary gardens, would be helpful in understanding the significance and historical value of the garden. This could also be of benefit for the wider interpretation and future management of the Ingleborough rock garden. It is possible that identification and consultation of any associated primary documentary evidence relating to Farrer and the rock garden complex at Ingleborough Hall, such as letters held in the RBGE's archive collection,³⁹ might provide further insight. Unfortunately, thorough exploration of primary evidence was not achievable within the remit and resource of this brief investigation.

The Ingleborough rock garden

Other than Reginald Farrer's written descriptions of his 'Old Garden' published chiefly in his 1909 work *In a Yorkshire Garden*,⁴⁰ there are a mere handful of snippets in some of his other writings,⁴¹ and a few brief lines in various biographical pieces written about Farrer.⁴² Indeed, the garden has seen little in the way of description since it was first constructed, and none of these in any sense thorough. Certainly, the garden remains themselves do not appear to have been surveyed or recorded in any detail prior to this investigation.

Three useful contemporary photographs of the rock garden were published in Farrer's own books, *My Rock Garden* (1907) and *In a Yorkshire Garden* (1909), showing: a glen in the 'Old Garden', the thickly vegetated western entrance to the 'Old Garden', and the restored pond viewed from across the 'Great Moraine' to its south⁴³ (Figure 5; see Figure 15). In addition, the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection* within the archive of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE) includes a photograph album containing a single page of images of the rock garden from 1914-



Figure 5: Photographs of the Ingleborough rock garden from Farrer's 1909 book *In a Yorkshire Garden*; (left) published opposite p194, and (right) opposite p218. Copyright expired.

15.⁴⁴ This page includes four images thought to depict the rock garden, although the precise position and orientation of the photographer within the garden is uncertain. A further folder contains loose photographs⁴⁵ of the Ingleborough rock garden (see Figures 13 and 23) and of the nearby Craven Nursery where Farrer created a separate set of rock garden elements (see Figure 8, and below). These were viewed as digital scans⁴⁶ as given the rapid nature of this investigation it was not possible visit RBGE to examine the collection in person to ensure that no other directly-relevant images or documents were overlooked.

Farrer's 1907 work, *My Rock-Garden*, gives a good early insight into Farrer's feelings about how a rock garden should ideally be constructed to replicate nature; he could not tolerate ill thought out heaping of stones: 'Nature stratifies, Nature doesn't bristle her stones about like the quills of the porcupine'.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the last of Farrer's instructive garden books to be released – *The English Rock-Garden*, published in 1919 – provides an introductory best-practice guide with diagrams for those wishing to create their own rock garden in his approved form, presented as a prelude to a comprehensive encyclopaedia of alpine plants. The notes and diagrams in this volume bear a close resemblance to the form of rockery and pond construction found in the Clapham garden (Figure 6).

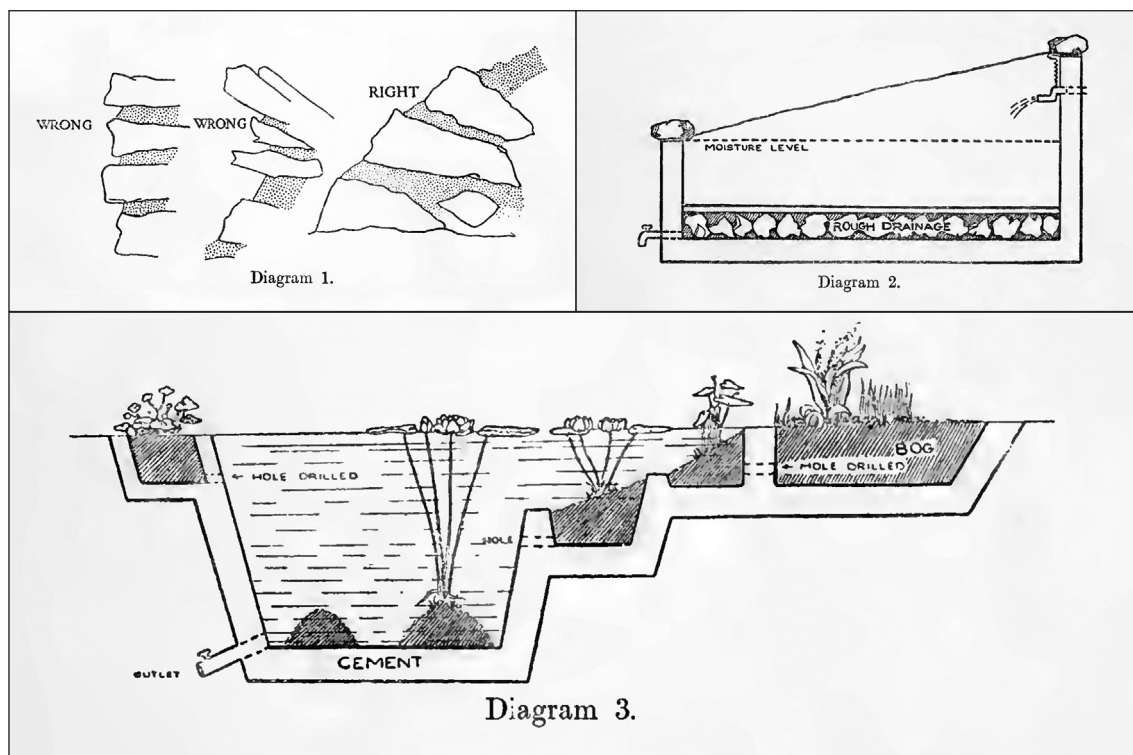


Figure 6: Instructive diagrams from Farrer's 1919 book *The English Rock-Garden*, showing close resemblance to the construction methods used in the Ingleborough rock garden. The illustrations show (clockwise from top left): the ideal construction of a rock face, an example of a successful below-ground watering system, and the preferred use of secondary troughs around pond margins; published on pages xxxi, xxxvii and xxxix. Copyright expired.

Euan Cox (1893-1977), a friend and contemporary of Farrer, published a short article in 1927 about Farrer and his Ingleborough rock garden in *Country Life* magazine;⁴⁸ the article includes two photographs of the pond area of the garden captured whilst it was still lushly planted (Figure 7). The magazine's picture library was contacted as part of the present research. They were able to confirm that they do not own originals or copies of these images, nor do they hold any other photographs of the rock garden in their collection.

Ingleborough Hall, built around 1814, was designated as a Grade II* listed building in 1958, in recognition of its architectural significance; the description also makes note of it being Reginald Farrer's place of birth.⁴⁹ The ice house and servants' tunnels within the grounds of the hall are listed at Grade II,⁵⁰ and other surviving components of the hall's former estate include the park, parts of the designed garden and Reginald Farrer's rock garden.

A short assessment of the grounds at Ingleborough Hall was undertaken by the Centre for the Conservation of Historic Parks and Gardens (CCHPG) in the 1990s as part of a review of the North Yorkshire Historic Parks and Gardens Register; the reason given for visiting this particular site was: 'Landscape Park with associations with Reginald Farrer'. The authors do not appear to have identified or investigated

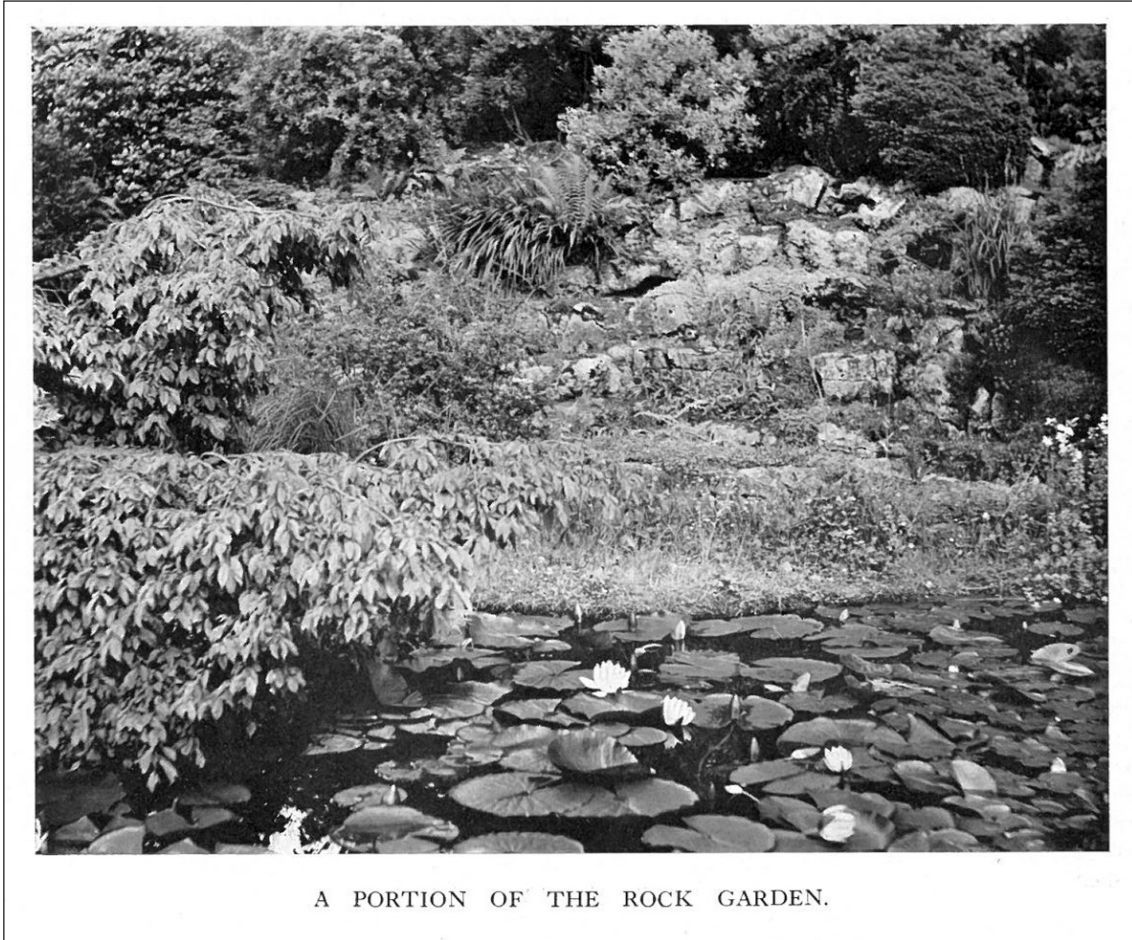


Figure 7: Photograph published in 1927 showing the pond with the rock face behind, looking west. Source: Cox 1927, p244, reproduced by kind permission of *Country Life*.

the remains of the rock garden, but they do cautiously suggest that Farrer was likely to have had input into the gardens at Ingleborough and may also have planted some of his collected specimens there.⁵¹ Of course, we know from Farrer's own accounts that was certainly the case. The preceding assessment made a strong recommendation for further research and investigation; despite this, none appears to have taken place.

In 2010, the garden was visited as part of the review process for a conservation area appraisal for Clapham village. The CAA report suggested several boundary changes, including a proposed expansion to the east in order to take in the landscaped grounds of Ingleborough Hall with specific mention of Farrer's rock garden (although excluding the remnant southern stretch of the former driveway to the house from 'Old Road').⁵² These proposed changes to Clapham Conservation Area were adopted on 25th January 2011.⁵³

To date, most existing research has primarily focussed on the plants and botanic specimens collected abroad and grown, to varying success, by Farrer in his garden

on the Ingleborough Estate, or on the colourful character and intrepid undertakings of Farrer throughout his relatively short but well-travelled and well-documented life. The physical form and design of this particular rock garden has usually only received brief mention, the exception being in the early written accounts by Farrer himself. He placed great importance in a well-planned and boldly-built garden, even where the desired result was to recreate a truly 'natural' aesthetic. He wrote frankly and instructionally on this topic, sometimes using his Ingleborough rock garden as an example.

The Craven Nursery – a second Farrer rock garden in Clapham

Another of Farrer's endeavours was The Craven Nursery Company, which he established in 1901⁵⁴ and frequently worked in, but he did not directly manage.⁵⁵ The nursery was a local enterprise in Clapham village, built in a disused kitchen garden west of the stream which passes through the village, a short distance up the valley from the stone footbridge. The site with its 'four long rows of frames' (glasshouses) can be identified on the 1909 Ordnance Survey map.⁵⁶ It specialised in growing and selling Asian alpines and was awarded medals for alpines and for rock garden displays every year between 1902 and 1905 at various RHS plant shows,⁵⁷ as well as the special cup offered by Lady Trevor Lawrence for its alpine plants at the Royal International Horticultural Exhibition in London in 1912,⁵⁸ but Farrer also used part of the nursery grounds to construct another rock garden. This second rock garden was built primarily to provide an in situ display of some of the plants from the nursery, with the purchasable specimens housed at the west end of the nursery site in the rows of wooden frames.⁵⁹ Contemporary photographs⁶⁰ show that the nursery's rock garden was constructed with stone formations and another 'little bean-shaped lake'⁶¹ very similar to the rock-work pond, and bog garden in his private rock garden at Ingleborough Hall (Figure 8). This second experimental rock garden is described by Farrer in his books as the 'New Garden', and his home rock garden at Ingleborough as the 'Old Garden'.⁶²

In some ways confusingly, Farrer also refers to part of the Craven Nursery rock garden as the 'Old Moraine' which he writes was in the lowest parts of the nursery, at the east end towards the beck, and was made all by his own hands. He applies the term 'old' here because the moraine-garden at the Craven Nursery was his first foray into the possibilities of moraine-gardening, and one that he saw as delightful and a success.⁶³ He soon went on to create another moraine-garden, this time within his own private rock garden at Ingleborough Hall, where he could experiment further. Indeed, plants particularly prized by Farrer in the nursery garden were often lifted out and moved to the 'Old Garden' for nurturing and his own private enjoyment.⁶⁴ Unfortunately the nursery went out of business during the economic downturn of the 1920s.



Figure 8: The rock garden display area within Craven Nursery (no precise date, but taken within the first quarter of the 20th century). GB235 RJF/2/2/5 © the Farrer Family Collection, c/o the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh Archive.

The Cliff Garden

Farrer's boyhood fascination with the limestone habitats of the Ingleborough fells eventually manifested itself in the Cliff Garden, high above the eastern shore of the lake above the hall. Here Farrer seeded and tended the limestone crevices and fissures to create a 'wild' and beloved haven for alpine species.⁶⁵ Alongside the native flora, many of the plants that were grown by Farrer in his 'Great Moraine' in the private rock garden were also trialled up in the crevices and ledges of the lakeside Cliff-Garden. Comparison of the two helped Farrer to further improve his methods of artificial moraine-gardening.

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE ROCK GARDEN

The interpretation of the garden remains, drawn from metric survey, observation on the ground and background research, is illustrated as Figure 33 at the rear of this report. Key areas and individual features mentioned below are labelled 1-16, or are otherwise indicated on the plan.

The village of Clapham is situated at the base of the southern hillside below the peak of Ingleborough, in Clapham cum Newby parish in the Yorkshire Dales. The linear village is aligned along either side of the narrow partially-wooded course of the Clapham Beck, which flows south from the hills above. The grounds of Ingleborough Hall form the upper north-east corner of the village and presently include in hall itself, the surrounding lawns and woodland. The estate formerly stretched further north to include the lake and south to include the rock garden built by Farrer, kitchen gardens, an orchid house, 'Low Pond', and a long tree-lined driveway leading up from Clapham 'Old Road' (B6480) towards the hall. The Ordnance Survey map published in 1910 depicts the area in the immediate vicinity of the (by then well-established) rock garden as free from shading, differentiating it from the surrounding lawns and parkland pasture (Figure 9). The course of the driveway is still visible as a metalled track leading north from stone gateposts at the roadside and then progressing as a flat-topped embanked earthwork ascending through the pasture fields to meet a second, less ornate, pair of stone gateposts which stand just within the southern edge of the rock garden [1].

Farrer's rock garden sits at between 160m and 165m OD on the southern front edge of one of the many natural stepped benches of the lower south-west slopes of Ingleborough Fell. The rock garden, Ingleborough Hall and Clapham village are all situated on Millstone Grit, siltstone and sandstone geology, overlain by superficial deposits of Devensian Till (glacial moraine deposits of till with seasonal and post-glacial outwash deposits of sand and gravel laid down during the most recent glaciation in Britain).⁶⁶ Immediately north of the village the bedrock changes to the familiar local limestone, seen across the crags and peaks of Ingleborough; it is locally-sourced, water-worn pieces of this limestone that Farrer loved, collected and arranged to create his rock garden.

The remains of Reginald Farrer's limestone rock garden are positioned immediately outside the current southern boundary to the grounds of Ingleborough Hall, approximately 100m south of the hall, on ground which now forms the eastern arm of the garden belonging with Shamba, at NGR: SD 74657 69244 (*see* Figure 1). The apparent extent the rock garden describes a roughly trapezoidal space, just under 0.2ha in area (approximately 55m NW-SE x 35m NE-SW in plan). To the south-west the garden space is bounded by the outer edge of the old line of the driveway, now marked by a straight, fenced property-boundary. From here the garden extends north and east to include the curving high terrace formed by the level top of a crescent shaped bank of glacial moraine (*see* Figure 33). This bank is composed of natural glacial moraine deposits; in contrast, Reginald Farrer used the term 'moraine' almost exclusively to refer to his beloved artificially-made scree gardens; to avoid confusion, use of the term 'moraine' in this report will follow Farrer's lead.



Figure 9: Extract from the 1910 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of Clapham (sheet CXIII SE), showing the route of the driveway from the south up to Ingleborough Hall, and with the rock garden location marked by a red star. Reproduced from the original by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Relatively little has changed in the overall form and layout of the rock garden, which is still recognisable from Farrer's descriptive perambulation through the Old Garden, Great Moraine and Lily-bed (dispersed amongst wonderfully detailed and indulgent accounts of the individual plants and their peculiarities) in the later chapters of *In a Yorkshire Garden*.⁶⁷ Naturally, this contemporary written account provided the main means of identifying named elements of the garden during the research and survey. Photographs mentioned above, published during Farrer's lifetime and soon after his death, show that the pond, rockery and general garden topography remain today largely as laid out in Farrer's time.⁶⁸ The main differences are that the garden is currently much less densely planted, that some degree of resetting of stones and replanting has been necessary for maintenance purposes, and that the pond is empty and in need of some attention. There is very little in the way of modern additions, the only notable element being the small, semi-circular, brick-edged pond inserted towards the south-east end of the rock garden [2]. Although this feature is out of keeping with the rest of the garden it is not particularly visually intrusive.

Farrer's writings reveal that the land now occupied by 'Shamba' and its front garden and modern driveway was, in his day, a grassy slope outside the limits of the rock garden.⁶⁹ Additionally, the land immediately downslope from the garden was a hollow strip of cool shady ground cryptically known by the Farrer family as 'Fashoda'.⁷⁰ This area is now occupied by the neighbouring modern properties of 'Twaite Cappy' and 'Park House' to the south-west of the old approach route to Ingleborough Hall.

Farrer's written accounts also show that, in the earlier days of the rock garden, he was doing battle with problems of soil nutrition. He pronounced his rock garden at Ingleborough Hall as '...ill-built, ill-soiled, and a perpetual worry',⁷¹ and went on to describe poor soils which required constant time and effort in order for any more unusual plants to prosper. His meticulous accounts of the plants in his garden and his detailed meanderings through the physical layout have enabled a good understanding of how the features seen in the garden today relate to those which he assembled and sometimes altered.

The terraced crescent slope: Farrer's 'Torrid bank' and rock face

The north and east edges of the garden are marked by relatively level, high ground above an arcing bank of glacial deposits. Shallow scarps survive above the bank demarking the position of a well-worn footpath [3] leading from the north-west end of the rock garden up to the terraces of the 'Upper Garden'⁷² in front of the Hall, beyond the boundary of the rock garden. Farrer refers to this track as '...the main path, that leads up from across the drive, along the top bank of the Rock Garden towards the house', and goes on to say that the view into of the rock garden from the path was obscured by dense shrubs, and that on the other, north, side of the path was a gentle grassy slope planted with Daffodils and Narcissus.⁷³ A second, shorter, stretch of forgotten pathway is also traceable as slight scarps aligned just inside the modern wire fence along eastern top of the bank [4].

The crescent bank itself is a natural mound of glacial till that was partly quarried away during building works at Ingleborough Hall: 'Roughly speaking ... the Old Garden is nothing more than a big semi-lunar bite, taken out of the bank, deep and far, when sand and gravel were needed for the rebuilding a wing of the house'.⁷⁴ No doubt the young Farrer originally laid-out his first rock garden here so that he could harness the existing arc of material and the old quarried slopes to provide topographic variance and structure to his planting endeavours. Although this physicality did prove advantageous for the garden – 'Its situation is the best thing about it, being a big semicircle in a sunny slope'⁷⁵ – Farrer found the glacial deposits themselves to be greatly lacking in nutrients,⁷⁶ making gardening of this site a continual battle, albeit a battle that he seems to have somewhat relished!

East of the quarried 'bite', the natural bank continues as a steep south-facing grassy natural slope [5] that gradually reduces in height until it nearly levels out at the far eastern end of the fenced property boundary of Shamba. A firm area covered in slate chips and partially edged with limestone cobbles might denote the position of a former bed, and a gravelled path runs along the base of the slope (Figure 10). There



Figure 10: The eastern extension of the garden, looking east. © Historic England/Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

is no clear evidence of this eastern arm of the glacial terrace having been structurally manipulated by Farrer or incorporated into his rock garden, but the possibility should not be ruled out. It is possible that some of this area may have been the location for the Lily-bed Farrer describes in *In a Yorkshire Garden*.⁷⁷

The main crescent cut into the bank is tallest through the central section where it rises about 3m above the path [6] that runs along the curving south-west base of the slope. The northern portion of this is a hot, dry south-facing slope, known by Farrer as the ‘Torrid bank’.⁷⁸ This section is largely characterised by south- and west-facing earthen slopes broken into narrow terraces by intermittent lines of horizontally-laid water-worn limestone blocks and interspersed with evergreen trees (Figure 11). These terraced lines of limestone are laid fairly sinuously on the slope to the west of the stream cascade, but are more uniformly parallel and straight to its south-east. It is not possible to assess how often the position and form of these lines may have been shifted by Farrer himself, or in the years since his death.

This loosely terraced portion of the bank is bisected by Farrer’s ‘stream’ – a now dry rock and concrete cascade to the pond (the stream and pond are described below) – and effectively ends at an imposing set of flag-stone steps, that curve up through a deeply-cut gouge in the bank with revetments of water-worn limestone blocks on both sides (Figure 12). By appearance these east steps seemed to have been recently refurbished or remade; however, the present owner confirmed that they unexpectedly uncovered the steps in situ beneath a thick build-up of soil and leaf-mould.⁷⁹ As



Figure 11: Farrer's 'Torrid bank' and rock face beyond, looking south-east. © Historic England/ Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.



Figure 12: The east steps and the rock face, looking south-east (note the horizontal arrangement of the lowest tier of limestone blocks). DP169007 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.

such these are likely to be the original east steps, and were plausibly constructed by or for Farrer - the visual starkness is accounted for by the years of protection from the mosses and weathering, some resetting of the revetting stone either side and by addition of fresh gravel between the steps. The steps quite likely post-date Farrer's detailed descriptions of the garden from 1909 which suggest that this was then the location of a route passing '...up through a steep gorge in the hillside which carries you straight through the bank to the upper garden'.⁸⁰ Indeed, he commented that the gully's steep sides and sandy gravels base made it an undesirable route to exit the rock garden,⁸¹ giving no mention of convenient stone steps. A photograph held in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection* at RBGE appears to show, what is probably a view of the made rock face and east steps in 1914-15 (Figure 13);⁸² indicating that the steps were constructed during Farrer's lifetime, albeit after 1909, and may have been added at his request to improve the appeal of using this path.

Towards the west end of the crescent, where the bank has less height, a second set of flag-stone steps, cut slightly into the slope, curve up from near the north end of the pond to the terrace above, described by Farrer as '...almost perilously naturalistic steps' which lead up to the higher levels from beneath the west end of the 'Torrid Bank'.⁸³ These west steps connect with the main path leading on towards the hall [3], and appear to have seen little alteration (Figure 14).

Immediately south of the larger eastern steps the bank has been turned into a more solid rock face, which Farrer described as his 'limestone cliffs'.⁸⁴ Seven tightly-packed stepped tiers of horizontally-laid, water-worn limestone blocks have been carefully stacked to follow the slope of the quarried bank (see Figure 12).

The large limestone blocks that currently lie horizontally to form the lowest tier of the rock face are very reminiscent of the large blocks which stood vertically to form the lowest tier of the rock face in photographs of the garden taken around 1908 and 1914-15 (Figure 15; see Figure 13). Judging by Farrer's later writings, his preferred arrangement for stones is for them to be placed with their largest face to the ground, and so it may be that he remade this rock face accordingly after the photographs were taken. Alternatively, the rock face could have been re-laid after his death, but following his published guidelines. If not an early experiment in layout, perhaps the vertically-set stones were a remnant from the pre-existing rock garden which Farrer adopted in 1894.

At the very southern extent of the constructed rock face the configuration of the stones implies the former location of another set of flag-stone steps [7], now blocked with a continuation of large limestone pieces; in particular, the lowest two steps are clearly identifiable (Figure 16).

Along the base of the rock face, running north from these blocked southern steps all the way up to the base of the far west steps is a narrow level footpath. Beside the southern end of this path, more water-worn limestone has been laid in intermittent tiers to create a low rock-work descending between the pond and the path; Farrer mentions this in 1909.⁸⁵



Figure 13: The east steps and rock face (note the vertical arrangement of the lowest tier of limestone blocks). GB235 RJF/2/2/6 © the Farrer Family Collection, c/o the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh Archive.



Figure 14: The stone steps at the west end of Farrer's 'Torrid bank', with metal taps relating to the buried irrigation system protruding from the base of the bank on either side, looking north. © Historic England/Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

At the south end of the crescent, on top of the natural bank, sits an elongated mound of soil, overlain by a smaller rubble dump [8]. Beneath this the curve of the 'bite' turns slightly west and falls as a steep earth scarp, ending at a basal edge of water-worn limestone blocks and a small semi-circular brick-edged pond [2] constructed by the present owners. This position could represent the former location of Farrer's 'Lily-bed', which sloped down to the Great Moraine on the far side from the foot of a 'peat-cliff', and whose edge was separated from the moraine by a line of stones.⁸⁶ From here the high terrace of the bank and its main natural slope turns east away from the rock garden and continues as a partially wooded grassy slope towards pasture fields at the edge of the village (see Figure 10).

The waterfall cascade and pond inlet stream

As mentioned above, halfway between the west steps and the east steps Farrer constructed a 'stream' using stone set into concrete. This allowed water to cascade down the steep slope as a naturalistic waterfall, for a distance of about 8m, before flowing into the great concrete pond below. The constructed stream bed, like the pond, is now dry; it survives largely intact, but its concrete channel is beginning to break up and deteriorate in places.

The waterfall and pond were originally fed by water piped from the large lake within the Ingleborough estate to the north of the hall. The subsequent division of

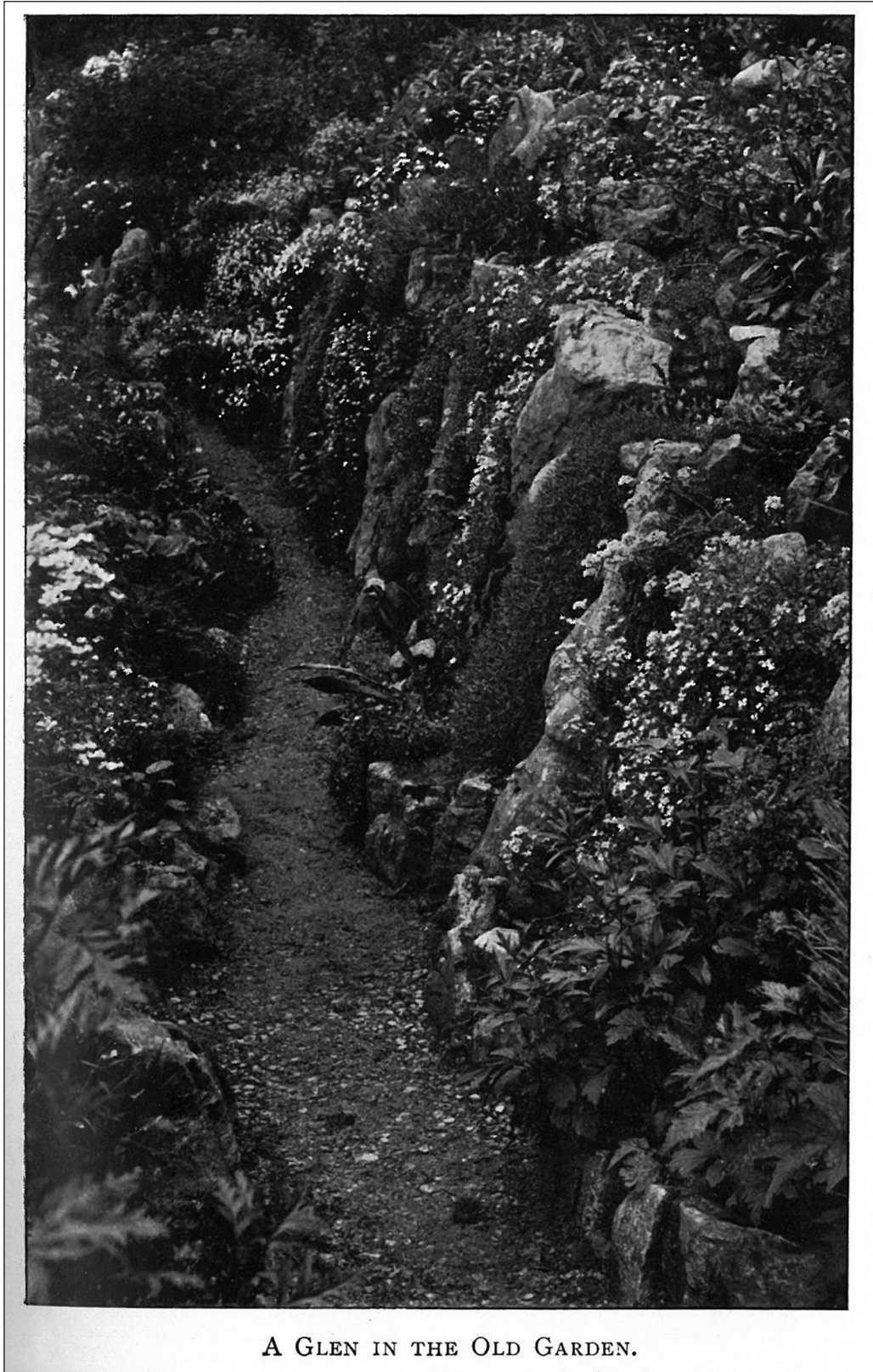


Figure 15: Photograph from Farrer's 1909 book *In a Yorkshire Garden*, showing the base of the rock face with the stones stood on end, before Farrer had adopted the current horizontal arrangement; published opposite p18. Copyright expired.



Figure 16: The blocked steps at the south end of the rock face, with a clear stretch of pipe relating to the buried irrigation system visible following a right-angled course across the surface in the foreground, looking east. © Historic England/Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

the former estate into multiple ownership means that the water source is no longer connected, and an alternative will have to be sought if water is to cascade down the slope once more.

Farrer's descriptions of this feature suggest that he regularly tweaked and improved his creation, and so what we see now is the product of his gradual alterations. In 1909 he wrote of the waterfall stream:

'Far up, amid yew-trees, the water bursts out in a fan-shoot like a glass dome, which I have spent many delightful messy afternoons adjusting and playing with. It descends, by one bold cascade, into a choked basin that was meant to grow things and wouldn't; and so, down... under the block-bridge, and into the lake.'⁸⁷

The source of the 'stream' is a broad iron pipe (7mm diameter) exiting from a square brick manhole housing a stopcock, constructed near to the top of the bank (Figure 17). The original square sandstone manhole cover, with a circular central hole and an incised lip to hold a metal grate, survives lying close to the brickwork, albeit cracked into three pieces (Figure 18).

The stream bed itself is formed by a chute of concrete, poured in situ, incorporating



Figure 17: The brick manhole, iron pipe and concrete channel at the 'source' of the waterfall. DP168982 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.



Figure 18: Surviving stone drain caps found in the garden: (left) found close to the manhole at the top of the waterfall, and (right) found close to the manhole at the end of the pond outlet. © Historic England/Rebecca Pullen, (left) 29th April 2015 and (right) 10th June 2015.

and partially sealing-in a number of small-to-medium limestone pieces that variously form higher sides to the channel in some places, and create small waterfalls and pools in its base in others (Figure 19; *see* Figure 33). Although the fabric appears to be largely in situ, the concrete chute that forms the bed has been cracked and twisted in several places by expanding tree roots, soil subsidence and, perhaps, frost damage.



Figure 19: Farrer's 'stream', showing (left) the full cascade from the brick manhole down to the 'block-bridge' at the pond's inlet, and (right) a detail of the central section showing limestone pieces set into the crude concrete channel, looking north-east. © Historic England: (left) DP168959/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015, and (right) Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

In a Yorkshire Garden contains a brief note which suggests that this 'stream' breached its embanked sides during the previous winter, and that Farrer then had need 'to carve out a proper channel for it again this spring with my trowel, casting what I dredged up over the promontory'.⁸⁸ This description might imply that the 1909 stream bed had not been formalised in concrete; alternatively it may be one of Farrer's characteristic exaggerations, and simply refers to the removal of soil and leaf debris that was clogging the channel. Comments made in the recent planning application for works to the garden suggested that this concrete channel (and the similar one at the pond's southern outlet) does not appear to be contemporary with Farrer's work and could be relatively modern.⁸⁹ However, the rather rough and hand-made nature of the feature aligns well with Farrer's descriptions of it, and with his regular desire to adjust it for better effect. The slate slab and concrete bed have been greatly disturbed by root expansion, implying that they have been in place for several decades at least. Farrer was predominantly working on the rock garden in a consciously post-Victorian time and mind-set - order and neatness were not the aim.

There are only two exceptions to the use of concrete and limestone in the construction of the waterfall's channel. The first is a large slate sheet located just



Figure 20: Detail showing the slate overhang within the channel of Farrer's 'stream' (note how the expanding roots and trunk of the adjacent yew tree are starting to push up beneath the concrete and stone). DP168981 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.

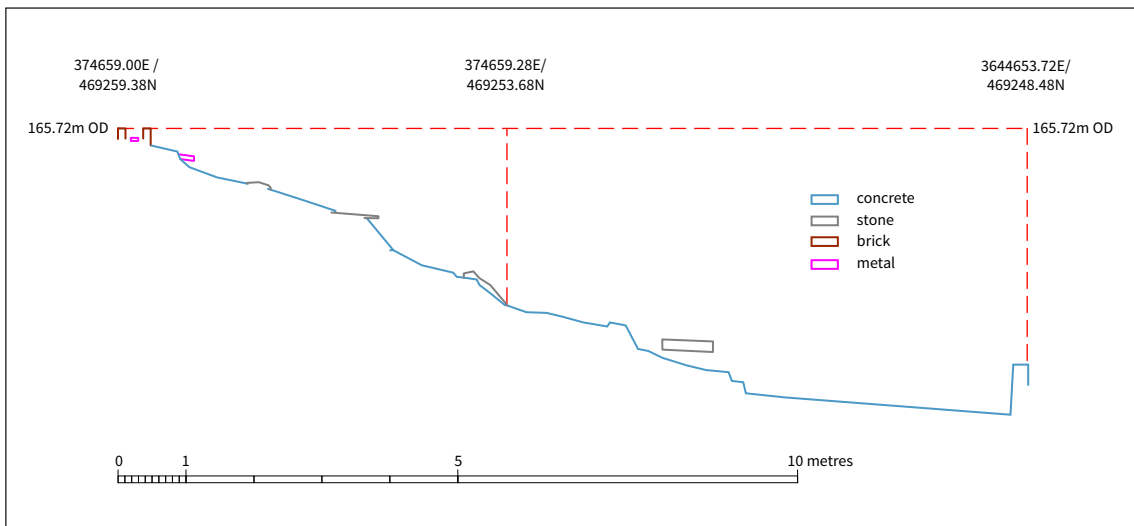


Figure 21: Schematic measured profile along the channel of Farrer's 'stream', created from the survey data. The profile line is also marked in plan on the main survey drawing. © Historic England/drawn by Rebecca Pullen.

above the halfway point of the stream laid horizontally with a slight overhang above a steeper drop to create a small but dramatic waterfall: Farrer's 'bold cascade'⁹⁰ (Figure 20). The second is a large, flat-topped, piece of local 'calliard',⁹¹ positioned across the mouth of the pond inlet to form Farrer's 'block-bridge' (see Figure 19). The section of the stream bed beside the slate slab is where swelling roots of the adjacent yew tree have caused visible splitting and upheaval of the concrete.

Farrer had a tendency to choose words suggesting largeness even where he was describing rather diminutive features, it is therefore likely that the 'choked-basin' which he mentioned in 1909 was actually quite a small feature. There are two plausible positions for this. It could be immediately beneath the slate slab, where the concrete channel runs for a short distance before its width is forced through a very narrow space by carefully positioned limestone pieces. A slight scooping in the earth bank to the immediate east of this – in the same location as the wooden post [9] and board displaying an inscribed metal memorial plaque to Reginald Farrer⁹² – has also been suggested as the possible position of the basin, but this seems less likely. Alternatively, beneath this partial limestone dam the channel falls at a more gentle angle and is slowed further by a raised lip of concrete, again creating a small dam, or basin (Figure 21). Water finally spilled over this to cascade beneath the block-bridge where it flowed into the pond via two neat concrete steps within the neck of the inlet. The block-bridge enables a continuous footpath to run along the base of Farrer's 'Torrid bank'.

The pond

The design of the whole rock garden seems to pivot around the large elongated sub-oval concrete pond at its centre. This is in part because the pond is currently dry and its empty state makes it much more starkly visible than was originally intended. The pond is no longer able to hold water; it requires effective but sympathetic restoration to make it watertight again. There are significant cracks forming between the base of the pond and its concrete walls, and in several areas the concrete walls are suffering from spalling, probably as a result of exposure and frost damage (Figure 22).

In Farrer's day this 'kidney-bean-shaped pond'⁹³ would have been filled to the top with water and planted to mask the tops of the walls. A number of historical photographs show the pond nestled amongst dense planting and the brim covered by pond lilies⁹⁴ (Figure 23; see Figure 7). At its maximum the pond measures about 18.5m x 8m, with its long axis aligned close to north-south. An island is centrally positioned inside the pond, aligned north-south so that its footprint is roughly parallel with the outer pond wall. A pond and island in this position formed part of Farrer's earliest incarnation of the garden in 1894, but the current pond and island are probably the result of Farrer's stated remaking of the cement-walled pond in 1908.⁹⁵ In 1909 Farrer was in the process of digging over and replanting the island, and described his intention to plant taller species such as Asters and Irises at the north end, and low flat planting of Primulas, grown flush with the water level, at the south end.⁹⁶



Figure 22: Details showing the deterioration of the concrete pond: (left to right) cracks forming between the wall and the base, with remnants of the unsuccessful mortar repairs; wall surface damage beneath the south example of two drainage holes between the bog garden and the pond; patches where render has flaked off the wall surface of the north end of the pond's central island. © Historic England/Rebecca Pullen, 9th May 2015.



Figure 23: Historic photograph showing the pond filled with water and the garden lushly planted, looking north-west from the south end of the pond. GB235 RJF/2/2/5 © Farrer Family Collection at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, reproduced by kind permission.

The pond's base and walls are composed of coarse, pebble-rich concrete (lain and presumably shuttered), masked with a thin, smooth cement render. The inner composition can be clearly seen along the top of the walls of the pond island where there is no render-finish (Figure 24); the top edge of the perimeter wall of the pond has been neatly rendered around the full circuit (*see* Figures 26 and 27). The narrow fissures opening up between the base of the pond and the foot of the pond walls appears suggest the two only just meet: that is, the base has not been constructed as a raft much wider than the superstructure, neither have the walls been constructed with foundations much deeper than the upper surface of the base. Without expert inspection this has not be confirmed. In places an attempt has been made to seal these cracks with thin fillets of a pinkish mortar, which is now falling away (*see* Figure 22). Staged construction of the pond base is implied by the presence of pouring seams; there are also a couple of unrelated narrow cracks appearing in the base. Near to the north end of the pond a fairly crude flight of three concrete steps, beginning well below the intended water level, provided access into the pond for cleaning and maintenance purposes [10].

The perimeter walls of the pond stand near vertical for most of its east edge, but the north, west and south sides of the circuit are slightly battered. The only exception being the slight inward bulge halfway along the west edge and the stretch of wall north of this, here the angle of the batter becomes much steeper to create a sweeping banked-curve.



Figure 24: Detail showing the composition of the concrete wall of the pond island. DP168965 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.

The island in the pond has near-vertical concrete walls, and would have provided another planting area. A large rectangular slab of limestone has been laid to form a bridge between the outer edge of the pond and the north-east end of the island, providing access for managing the planting in the central area (Figure 25).

A further extension to the pond exists in the form of a shallow, crescent-shaped concrete shelf appended to the outer eastern edge of the pond [11], which would have housed a bog garden that was designed to be kept moist by water shared with the pond. Part way along the communicating wall between the pond and the bog garden are two horizontal circular drainage holes (each 70mm in diameter) linking the two (Figure 26; *see* Figure 22). Unfortunately, since the pond has been empty, these holes have acted as drainage inlets, rather than outlets, and consequently the internal face of the pond wall below the holes is suffering from considerable spalling,⁹⁷ probably the result of frost action.

The water in the pond was under constant gentle flow, fed from the lake above the hall, via the waterfall, and issuing through an outlet channel at the deeper southern end of the pond (described below). The pond's perimeter wall is fairly uniformly level around most of its circuit, at about 162.25m OD. Towards the southern end this lowers very slightly by about 30mm which may reflect the design for an overflow outlet situated at this end. The island walls also stand a fraction lower than the equivalent points on the outer walls, this is not obvious to the eye but it may have been intentional to ensure that a more aesthetic arrangement was achieved by ensuring that the concrete was well concealed beneath plants hanging or tumbling over the water's edge.

Intermittent narrow drainage slots (each about 30mm wide) run across the top of the pond wall, always perpendicular to the wall face, to the north, west and south (Figure 27). Those to the south and west were designed to allow water to seep out on to the shallow ground where a marsh border and the 'Great Moraine' were maintained; whereas those along the north edge, where the adjacent ground rises higher than the pond, may have allowed surface run-off to trickle into the pond rather than pooling beside it. In several places along the south and west these slots have created weak points in the surface of the concrete.

Details of Farrer's best practice in the construction of water-gardens, including bog gardens and marsh borders, are laid out in his 1919 book *The English Rock-Garden*.⁹⁸ The fact that these explanations and diagrams so closely reflect the methods used in the Clapham garden (*see* Figure 6) show that, although Farrer found this garden initially 'a perpetual worry', the experiment would strongly influence his views on how best to both create and maintain a successful and naturalistic rock garden.



Figure 25: The limestone slab creating a bridge between the outer edge of the pond and the island, looking north. DP168970 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.



Figure 26: The concrete shelf of the bog garden, with communicating drainage holes (far left), and the rock face beyond, looking north-east. DP168994 © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.



Figure 27: Two of the numerous drainage slots in the top of the wall of the pond, with Farrer's 'mountain-mass' centred in the background, looking west. © Historic England/ Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

The pond's drainage system and outlet stream

At the south end of the pond two key features provided outflow and drainage: a depressed lip allowing water to overflow into a run-off channel, and an outlet pipe inserted in the base of the pond (Figure 28). Neither appears to have formed part of the 1908 construction, but it is possible that one or both were inserted by Farrer to allow the pond to function more effectively.

A cut line denoting the removal of a small section of the top of the pond wall, and a dipped concrete insertion to create a lowered channel designed to allow a gentle outflow of excess water, provide the evidence that this is a modification to the original design. Prior to this the narrow slots through the top of the pond wall around its north and west sides may have been the only means of regulating the water level. Adjoining the dipped lip of the pond is a crude, sinuous concrete channel which eventually leads into a rectangular brick manhole [12] (see Figure 33), though the manhole may have been preceded by a more basic soak-away. At the main break of slope in the channel's route, a few small sized stones are embedded within the concrete; these would once have created a small waterfall (Figure 29). In its construction and materials the outlet stream bed is not unlike the concrete channel for the cascade above the pond inlet, although the concrete of the outlet appears to be grittier than that used for the cascade.

In the initial planning application for works to the garden this channel is described as a 'poorly-built and very ugly modern surface drain' which was perceived to be



Figure 28: The dip in the top lip of the pond wall (top centre) and the inserted drainage pipe and hollow at the base of the south end of the pond (foreground), looking south-east.
© Historic England/ Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

of similar date to the waterfall channel, neither of which were thought original.⁹⁹ This feature is certainly in a poor condition; however, it is not entirely implausible that it dates from Farrer's day. Without more informative documentary evidence, or the opinion of an expert in historic concrete, the feature should not be completely dismissed as modern.

Farrer's own descriptions of the outlet stream as it was in 1909 portray it winding across the moraine-garden in a series of entirely natural looking cascades, with a block-bridge for crossing at its upper end and water emptying into an 'undrained pool' at its base.¹⁰⁰ Neither a block-bridge nor a pool is now apparent in this position, and the moraine survives only as a firmly-compacted, gentle slope beneath the concrete outlet channel (*see below*).

The second later outlet feature comprises a pair of vertical cut marks in the wall of the pond and a circular cut mark on the floor [13], both plainly visible at the south end of the pond and denoting an inserted feature and a remade section of wall (*see Figure 28*). A dished hollow in the concrete base has been introduced here along



Figure 29: The upper portion of the pond outlet channel, looking north-west towards the pond. © Historic England/ Rebecca Pullen, 10th June 2015.

with an iron pipe (0.12m wide) which exits through the wall of the pond, heading in the apparent direction of the brick manhole [12].

This manhole contains an iron stop-cock and is currently covered (for safety) by a modern ornamental wooden bridge. On the ground beside the manhole one half of the original stone drain cover with a central square hole, recessed to hold a metal grate, was identified; the other part of the cover may well be hidden under vegetation in the vicinity. The manhole and its stone cover appear stylistically equivalent to the smaller manhole and cover located at the top end of the waterfall (*see* Figure 18).

Farrer's descriptions from 1909 suggest that, despite a thorough remaking of the pond in 1908, it continually suffered with silting and algae.¹⁰¹ In his 1919 writings he advises others that successful ponds require a way of being drained completely for periodic essential cleaning and maintenance: 'And finally, as the pool will require cleaning and weeding at least once every two years, a drain should always be arranged at the bottom, by which the water may be let off.'¹⁰² As such, it seems likely that the outlet pipe and manhole were a later addition instigated by Farrer and that the work probably took place in the period between two publications.

Farrer's 1909 description extends to the general area thus: '...parallel with the drive, which is hidden by a beech-hedge, there goes down a deep gully, in which all the water of the whole garden makes an undrained pool after rain.'¹⁰³ Some of this water-logging at the south and south-west edge of the garden may have been remedied by the introduction of the brick manhole, which was probably added at



Figure 30: The pond with the gentle scarp marking the position of Farrer's 'Great Moraine' visible falling away from the pond edge at the left side of the image, and the rare *Carpinus* tree standing in the top left, looking west. © Historic England/ Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

same time as the drainage pipe was inserted in the base of the pond wall.

South of the pond: Farrer's 'Great Moraine'

Today, the area south of the pond appears fairly unremarkable. A pathway of small low stepping stones runs around the outside of the pond edge from the southern outlet stream part way along the western edge, beyond which a gentle mossy scarp, firmly compacted underfoot, runs down to meet the beech hedge [14] and the southern end of the crescent bank (Figure 30). During Farrer's lifetime, however, this scarp was the location of his most beloved form of alpine gardening – a 'moraine' garden of artificial scree – in this case, Farrer's 'Great Moraine', which he viewed as a 'complete and outstanding success for the growing of rare, difficult, delicate plants'.¹⁰⁴ This was Farrer's second moraine-garden, his first having been constructed within the Craven Nursery (*see above*). It is his connection with moraine-gardening for which Farrer is often celebrated, although he was by no means the first gardener to champion this technique he certainly did much to popularise it.¹⁰⁵

Farrer introduced the stepping stones of local ganister to avoid trampling the low delicate plants that inhabited the scree,¹⁰⁶ as well as a larger stone block for crossing the outlet stream.¹⁰⁷ This stone is no longer present, and the scree is no longer visible. *In a Yorkshire Garden* includes a photograph showing part of the great moraine (*see Figure 5*).¹⁰⁸

West of the pond: limestone-edged planting beds

The area west of the pond is largely occupied by two low, limestone-edged beds, separated by a narrow path (Figure 31). This area is described by Farrer as ‘a richly hollow piece of ground, often overflowed by the pond’¹⁰⁹ – probably intentionally, given the presence of the narrow drainage slots in the top of the pond wall, and Farrer’s keen belief in creating marsh fringes or bog gardens around naturalistic water-gardens.¹¹⁰ At the southern end of the smaller, eastern bed a pair of stone steps connects between the flag-stone path along the top of the edge of the pond and the lower areas beside the beech hedge.

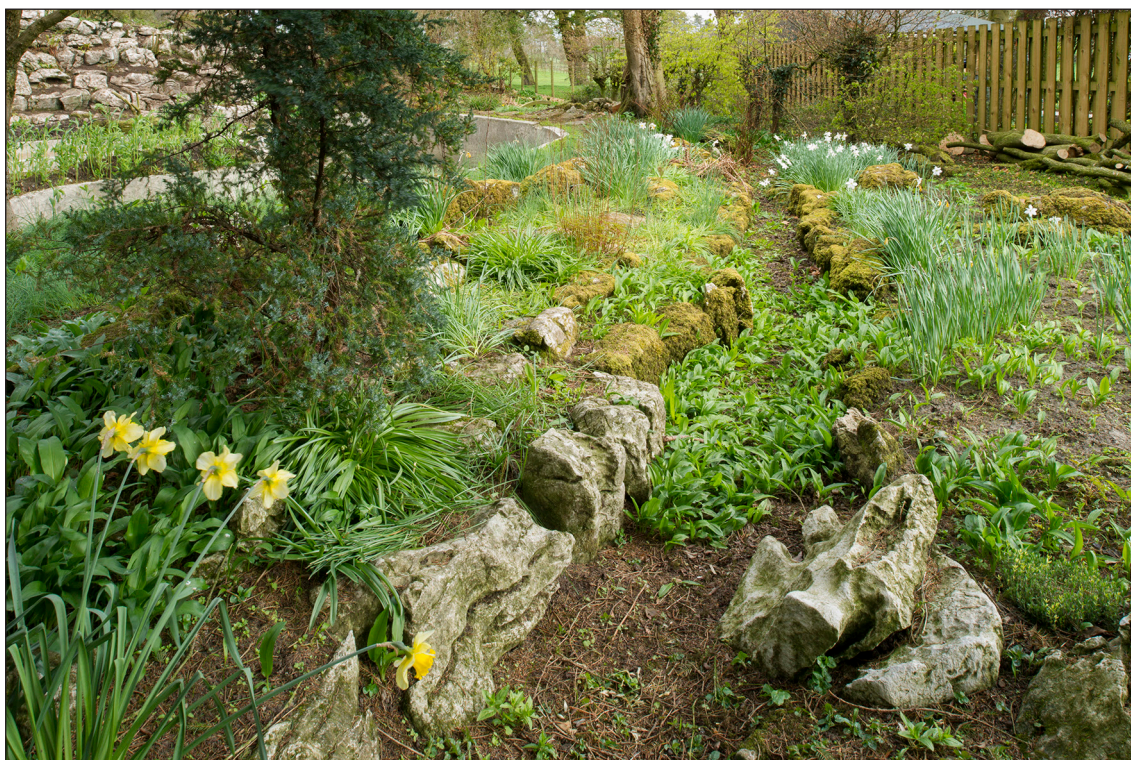


Figure 31: The limestone-edged planting beds, with further limestone blocks distributed within them, looking south. DP169002 © Historic England/ Alun Bull, 28th April 2015.

North-west of the pond: Farrer’s ‘mountain-mass’ and ‘glacial boulders’

Immediately north-west of the pond are two large age-worn, earth-fast limestone boulders deeply embedded in the ground. Farrer calls these the ‘old glacial boulders’ and referred to them repeatedly as a route marker in his 1909 descriptive tour of the ‘Old Garden’. A hemlock spruce planted between the rounded boulders appears to survive.¹¹¹ Adjoining the southern edge of these boulders is a small limestone-edged bed, housing what is probably a *Magnolia Kobus* tree also surviving from Farrer’s planting regime.¹¹²

Beside the boulders is Farrer grandly named ‘mountain-mass’:¹¹³ a fairly large mound (c.1.5m high), with a steep stone-built south-eastern (sunny) face and a more

gentle sloping, earthen scarp to the north-west (shady) (see Figure 27). By his own admission, this is more of a 'weedy pudding'¹¹⁴ than a mountain, but Farrer always preferred to conjure the magnificent. Growing on the mound are a yew tree, a conifer and a tall palm tree, the latter of which is clearly identifiable on photographs of the garden taken during or soon after Farrer's lifetime.¹¹⁵ In 1909 Farrer relates how he had to dismantle and rebuild one side of the mountain-mass with a different soil in order to create more successful (but less visually pleasing) area for plants.¹¹⁶

Somewhere between the 'mountain' and the limestone-edged marshy beds to its south is the location of Farrer's 'water-logged' ravine',¹¹⁷ but his extravagant yet inexact descriptions mean that its precise location remains elusive.

Irrigation system

There are several places in the garden where pipework protrudes from the ground: near the west steps (where two taps are visible), at the base of the southern blocked steps, and against the modern north-east fence line (see Figures 14 and 16). These are thought to relate to an irrigation system which Farrer had lain below the surface of the terraced banks – and perhaps elsewhere in the rock garden - to allow controlled watering of his plant collections.

No plans or descriptions of the pipework within the Ingleborough rock garden are known, but Farrer did publish general recommendations for the use of below-surface irrigation systems. In his 1919 work, whilst making suggestions for how one should go about making a rock-garden and harnessing or creating a moraine-garden Farrer recommends '...a perforated water-pipe, if possible, running about twelve inches below the surface' to be installed in a moraine, further stating that 'There is no limit to the possibilities of a well-made moraine, watered from beneath.'¹¹⁸

Traces of the southern approach road to Ingleborough Hall

As briefly mentioned above, surviving traces of the former approach road to Ingleborough Hall, leading from 'Old Road' (B6480) to the south-east of the hall, progress towards the south-east corner of the rock garden and then skirt around its western edge before being lost under modern landscaping for the property 'Shamba'. The former route of the drive is clearly depicted on the Ordnance Survey map published in 1910 (see Figure 9). The line of the driveway is still extant as a metalled track leading north from stone gateposts at the roadside before continuing as a flat-topped embanked earthwork ascending through the pasture fields until it meets the edge of the rock garden.

A pair of simple stone gateposts [1], spaced 2.5m apart, marks the position of the driveway where it entered the gardens, at the south-east corner of the rock garden. The stones measure 0.33m x 0.18m and stand to 1.45m high with tops shaped by chamfers along the two narrow edges. A well preserved length of clipped beech hedge [14] stretches north-west for over 12m from near the north-east gatepost, a remnant of a more extensive hedge line which roughly followed the line now taken by the modern property boundary to the east (Figure 32). At the west end of the rock

garden the point where the driveway began to curve north towards the hall is evident from the broad scarp cut across the foot of the quarried crescent [15].

The route of this approach to the hall from the south is shown on a number of historic Ordnance Survey maps. The earliest representation is on the 6-inch map of 1851,¹¹⁹ at which point the road or track may have existed as a route to Archdeacons Croft as well as to Ingleborough Hall. Subsequent maps from 1896 and 1910 show a more formalised drive clearly relating to the hall only.¹²⁰



Figure 32: Remnant stretch of the old beech hedge line (left) and the northern end of the two stone gateposts, looking north. © Historic England/ Rebecca Pullen, 29th April 2015.

Botanical survivals in the garden

The beech hedge beside the driveway, the large copper beech tree towards the south-east end of the high terrace, the palm tree growing at the west edge of the ‘mountain mass’, the large and rare *Carpinus* tree [16] near to the southern end of the pond (see Figure 30), a number of well-established yew and conifer trees dotted across the garden, and the presence of mature Magnolias and Acers represent some of the plants that have endured in the garden from Farrer’s day to the present.

The beech hedge, copper beech and yew trees are clearly of some age and were probably already in place when Farrer took over this part of the hall’s garden from his parents, whereas the more exotic specimens are more likely Farrer’s additions.

The palm tree is recognisable (albeit then considerably shorter) in photographs of the garden thought to have been taken in the years shortly before or after Farrer's death.¹²¹ The Hemlock Spruce planted between the two 'glacial-boulders' and the *Magnolia Korbis* located close to it – both described by Farrer in 1909¹²² – also appear to have endured to the present. No doubt many other examples of survivals could be drawn given expert time and analysis.

DISCUSSION

Coherence and integrity

The rock garden's prime associative relationship – in terms of historical significance and coherence – is with Ingleborough Hall and its grounds. Whilst the rock garden would never have been visible from the hall, its historical setting and connection with the estate can still be easily imagined, even though subsequent changes in land ownership and property divisions mean that the remains of Farrer's private rock garden are now contained within the grounds of the modern property 'Shamba'.

The original layout of the rock garden, or rather what it developed into between its conception in 1894 and Farrer's death in 1920, appears to be closely reflected in its present state. Through his written descriptions of the rock garden, Farrer makes plain the fact that his private garden was ever evolving: he makes regular off-hand remarks as to the need to 'make anew', 'dig over' or 'remake immediately' various planting arrangements and structural components. Although the overall design of the garden was fairly fixed by the presence of the quarried slope and the pond placed within its bay, the specifics of the less major structures and of the planting arrangements no doubt changed constantly throughout his lifetime.

'I have had to make the whole of this garden anew and anew. Even now, after more than ten years, there is a very great deal yet that needs to be properly and thoroughly done before the garden could be called even decently well-made or successful'.¹²³

The major alterations during Farrer's lifetime - evidenced in the garden or in contemporary sources - are the total remaking of the pond in 1908, the subsequent alteration of the top of the pond wall to create a narrow breach for water outflow, inserting of a drainage pipe and remaking of a southern section of pond wall, and switching the placement of stones within the lower levels of the rockery from vertical to horizontal.

The structural main changes in the garden since that time are the emptying and general age-related deterioration of the pond structure, the recent addition of a small brick-edged pond at the south-east end, and the apparent absence of the scree from the great moraine – through this may just be lightly covered by moss and soil. It is also possible (though by no means confirmed) that the rock garden may have previously extended slightly further at its eastern edge, where a grassy slope and a gravel path now extend (*see* Figure 10).

In addition to the coherent historical shape and broad structural content of the garden, many of the existing trees and shrubs seem to largely reflect the planting design as it was, although individual specimens have matured over the past century and many of the smaller and more delicate of Farrer's plants which could not have survived the time lapse without propagation and renewal are unsurprisingly, no longer present. Any future planting and management of the garden would benefit

from a detailed botanical appraisal of the remaining plants by a horticultural specialist. For example, if the *Carpinus* tree is as rare as has been proposed then, given the tree's advanced age, a scheme of careful propagation might be advisable, particularly if further conflict between it and the structural integrity of the pond cannot be remedied.

The archaeological measured survey described above has offered some insight into the possible significance of the design features of the rock garden; but, given the inherently dynamic nature of gardens, the likelihood that some change in elements of the physical form and of the flora (planted and self-germinated) has taken place since Farrer's day means that the interpretation of the survey, however useful, cannot be wholly conclusive. During the research associated with this survey, Leonie Pattison, archivist at RBGE highlighted the existence in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection* of a ledger for plants sold and shipped by the Craven Nursery between about 1914 and 1920,¹²⁴ and a catalogue from 1921 listing 'New and Rare Alpines and Shrubs' which was to be distributed to members of the 'late Mr Reginald Farrer's Plant Club'.¹²⁵ These documents may provide additional insights to those researching the planting scheme of the garden, by identifying species grown and favoured at the Craven Nursery. The present owners, in partnership with horticulturalist Peter Foley and John Sanderson of Cumbria Gardens and his colleagues,¹²⁶ have been researching the horticultural information about Farrer's private rock garden and have sourced many of the individual plants known to have been grown by Farrer at Ingleborough. Background information and research support has also been provided by members of the Yorkshire Gardens Trust.

As well as an encouraging coherent reflection of Farrer's design still being identifiable in the garden today, there is also a surprising survival of smaller structural elements, sometimes ex-situ – such as stone drain caps, which may be refitted or used to inform the design of replacements.

Condition

The current condition of the pond structure is clearly a concern; at present it is unable to hold water and is suffering from surface frost-damage in several places. At the time of visit for the Clapham village conservation area appraisal in 2010, the concrete surfaces of the pond were mossy¹²⁷ and it is possible that subsequent power-washing has caused further surface weakness. The pressure of roots of the large *Carpinus* tree close to the southern end of the pond is also an issue, the tree being an extremely rare, possibly unique, example for this country. It is possible that some form of unobtrusive revetment may be required to support the wall from within the pond; it may also be advisable to propagate from the rare tree in case more drastic remedies are ultimately required. The outlet pipe in the base of the pond is also likely to require refurbishment in order to enable occasional full-drainage for maintenance purposes - a task that Farrer saw as necessary, and had the output pipe inserted for that reason.¹²⁸

The cascade stream, designed to feed water into the pond and to provide a naturalistic visual and acoustic feature, also needs some attention where expanding

tree root systems have caused shifting and cracking of the concrete channel; and of course, it is not connected to any water source. Likewise, the short concrete channel forming the overflow outlet at the south end of the pond is coming apart in places and no longer feeds directly into a soak-away or manhole; this will need to be addressed if water is returned to the pond.

The area of Farrer's great moraine is also not in the best condition - the surface of the scree appears to be concealed beneath a thin covering of moss and soil; however, no intrusive investigation has been undertaken to confirm this.

It has not been possible to assess the condition of the doubtless intricate piped irrigation system beneath the main crescent, other than in the few places where it momentarily runs above ground. In these instances the metalwork seems in good order. Geophysical survey might reveal more of the layout, but a thorough assessment, beyond what is needed for any present purpose, would probably require intrusive investigation, planned and undertaken with due care and attention.

All other physical elements of the garden appear to be in reasonable order and, as previously stated, closely resemble the designs described by Farrer in his written accounts of the garden.

Conclusions

This survey and assessment of the extant garden features provides the first known detailed record of the structural elements of the site, and should help to inform any proposals for the future management and conservation of the garden. The measured survey, photographic record, on-site analysis and background research have demonstrated several instances of phased modifications within the garden, as well as identifying an encouraging number of structural and indeed botanical survivals from Farrer's day. Given the garden's evident historical importance - through its associations with Reginald Farrer and its place in the history of British rock gardening - it is hoped that this short report may also provide the basis for more detailed and expert-led botanical and horticultural appraisal of the garden design and planting instigated here by Reginald Farrer.

The relative lack of (published) knowledge about the layout, development and function of various elements within the garden has been partially addressed by this investigation. Nonetheless, these aspects could be yet further enhanced by detailed documentary research and, perhaps, by further on-site recording, such as investigation and mapping of the original network of drainage pipes believed to underlie much of the main arcing bank of the rock garden (this was deemed to be too intrusive and time-consuming to be undertaken at the time of survey).

ENDNOTES

- 1 Ottewill 1989, 55.
- 2 Morgan 2004.
- 3 Although apparently sold in 1947 when the estate and hall were acquired by a local authority, the area encompassing the rock garden is not depicted as a separate holding on Ordnance Survey maps until the 1979 edition: Ordnance Survey 1956; Ordnance Survey 1979; Eyres 2010, 9.
- 4 National Heritage List for England (NHLE): 1132400.
- 5 Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority 2010; 2011.
- 6 For general biographic accounts of Farrer's life see: Mason 1991; Shulman 2002; Morgan 2004.
- 7 Elliott 1991, 30-1.
- 8 Farrer 1908, 1-19.
- 9 In 1918 the Fine Art Society put on an exhibition of over 200 water-colours painted by Farrer during his travels, see Stearn 1991a, 7.
- 10 Plants with the commemorative epithet *farreri* or *farreriana*, see Stearn 1991b.
- 11 Shulman 2002.
- 12 Eyres 2010, 7.
- 13 Application for listed building consent C/18/101H/LB, received by YDNPA on 25 February 2015.
- 14 Pullen 2015.
- 15 For general biographic accounts of Farrer's life see: Mason 1991; Shulman 2002; Morgan 2004.
- 16 For more details of the intellectual ideals Farrer favoured and influential company he kept, see Shulman 2002.
- 17 Batey 1989, 163-4; Ottewill 1989, 55.
- 18 Batey 1989, 163-4; Ottewill 1989, 55.
- 19 Shulman 2002, 23.
- 20 McLean, 1991; Tachibana et al 2004, 382-7.
- 21 Plants with the commemorative epithet *farreri* or *farreriana*, see Stearn 1991b.
- 22 Shulman 2002, 23.
- 23 Shulman 2002, 101-2.
- 24 Tachibana et al 2004, 383.
- 25 Allan 1973, 95-7; Ottewill 1989, 55.
- 26 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1000243, the gardens at Myddleton House are designated at Grade II on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.
- 27 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1000348, the grounds of Brockhurst (also known as Ashurst Lodge) are designated at Grade II* on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.

- 28 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1001212, the gardens at Highdown are designated at Grade II* on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens; McLean 1991, 18.
- 29 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1000650, the woodland garden at Lamellen is designated at Grade II on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.
- 30 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1000514, the park and arboretum at Werrington Park are designated at Grade II on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.
- 31 Allan 1973, 105; Cumbleton 2011, 2.
- 32 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1001589, the grounds of Parcevall Hall are designated at Grade II on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.
- 33 Tupholme 2015.
- 34 National Heritage List for England (NHLE) 1000374, the grounds of Scampston Hall are designated at Grade II* on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.
- 35 Lyte 2000.
- 36 Lyte 2000; Lacey 2008.
- 37 Farrer 1919, xxxv-xxxvi.
- 38 For example, within the landscape park at Grantley Hall in North Yorkshire there is a Japanese rock garden constructed in 1910 and a small concrete pond with an island, also 20th-century in origin; existing records for the hall's gardens allude to an undefined connection with Farrer (Parks and Gardens UK website: Landscape park and gardens at Grantley Hall, record no. 1497). Likewise, Farrer reportedly had some indeterminate connection with the rock garden at Aysgarth in North Yorkshire, constructed 1906-1916 by Backhouse and Sons of York (Parks and Gardens UK website: Aysgarth Rockery, record no. 194).
- 39 Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE) 2011, Catalogue of the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*.
- 40 Farrer 1909, specifically chapters X, XI and XII.
- 41 Farrer 1908; Farrer 1919.
- 42 Cox 1927; Mason 1991; Shulman 2002; Morgan 2004.
- 43 Farrer 1908, 'A glen in the Old Garden' opposite p18; Farrer 1909, 'By the entrance to the Old Garden' opposite p194; 'Looking up, over the Great Moraine, to the restored pool in the Old Garden' opposite p219.
- 44 GB 235 RJF/2/2/2, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE).
- 45 GB 235 RJF/2/2/5, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE).
- 46 With grateful thanks to Leonie Paterson, Archivist at RBGE, for helpfully providing digital scanned images of the photographs, information and assistance.
- 47 Farrer 1908, 15.
- 48 Cox 1927.
- 49 National Heritage List for England (NHLE): 1132400.
- 50 National Heritage List for England (NHLE): 1132399 and 1132401.

- 51 Centre for the Conservation of Historic Parks and Gardens (CCHPG) 1995, site recommendation entry for Ingleborough Hall, Clapham, North Yorkshire.
- 52 Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority 2010, p44-8.
- 53 Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority 2011.
- 54 Shulman 2002, 23.
- 55 Farrer 1909; Stearn 1991b, 54: Farrer's repeatedly mentions the/my manager, in relation to the Craven Nursery, throughout his book *In a Yorkshire Garden*; also, a letter head from 1921 names G Redman as the nursery's manager (reproduced as Figure 14 in Stearn 1991b, 54).
- 56 Farrer 1908, 10-13; 1909 43-6, 175-6. Comparing Farrer's descriptions of the location of the Craven Nursery with the 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps published in 1909, a plot in an equivalent position and depicted with four rows of glasshouses at its west end is located on the site now occupied by the modern property named 'Honeywood', at SD 7445 6939.
- 57 GB235 RJF/2/4/2, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE): the box contains seven different medals for horticulture.
- 58 McLean 1991, 16-17.
- 59 Farrer 1909, 43.
- 60 GB235 RJF/2/2/5, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE).
- 61 Farrer 1909, 143: Farrer's description of the pond in the Craven Nursery's rock garden.
- 62 Farrer 1908, 11-16.
- 63 Farrer 1909, 162, 167-87.
- 64 Farrer 1909, 151.
- 65 Farrer 1909, chapter XIII.
- 66 British Geological Society (BGS), Geology of Britain Viewer, online resource accessed 20/05/2015.
- 67 Farrer 1909, chapters X, XI and XII.
- 68 Farrer 1908, 'A glen in the Old Garden' opposite p18; Farrer 1909, 'By the entrance to the Old Garden' opposite p194; 'Looking up, over the Great Moraine, to the restored pool in the Old Garden' opposite p219; Cox 1927, 'The water garden' p243; 'A portion of the rock garden' p244.
- 69 Farrer 1909, 188.
- 70 Farrer 1909, 190-1.
- 71 Farrer 1908, 10.
- 72 Farrer 1909, 188.
- 73 Farrer 1909, 244-5.
- 74 Farrer 1909, 194.
- 75 Farrer 1908, 10.
- 76 Farrer 1908, 10.
- 77 Farrer 1909, chapter XII.

- 78 Farrer 1909, 209-11; 215-16.
- 79 Pers comm: Mrs Irina Bowes to Rebecca Pullen on 10th June 2015.
- 80 Farrer 1909, 244.
- 81 Farrer 1909, 244.
- 82 GB235 RJF/2/2/6, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE). At the time of this study this photograph was described as showing the Craven Nursery, but it is probably mislabelled and actually appears to show a view in the rock garden at Ingleborough Hall.
- 83 Farrer 1909, 244.
- 84 Farrer 1909, 231.
- 85 Farrer 1909, 211.
- 86 Farrer 1909, 219, 226-7 and 236.
- 87 Farrer 1909, 217.
- 88 Farrer 1909, 233.
- 89 Application for listed building consent C/18/101H/LB, received by YDNPA on 25 February 2015.
- 90 Farrer 1909, 217.
- 91 Farrer 1909, 216: Farrer describes the stone block as 'calliard', but this type of stone is more commonly known as ganister - a fine-grained and highly siliceous sandstone.
- 92 The plaque is now on a wooden board behind glass, supported on a wooden post and protected by a small canopy; it reads: In loving Memory | of | Reginald John Farrer, eldest son of | James Anson and Elizabeth Farrer of Ingleborough | Born Febr. 17th 1880. Died at Nyitadu, Upper Burma | Oct. 17th 1920, Buried at Kaunglanghpi Upper Burma | He died for love and duty, in search of rare plants [.]
- 93 Farrer 1909, 194.
- 94 Farrer 1908, photograph opposite p218; GB235 RJF/2/2/5, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE); Cox 1927.
- 95 Farrer 1909, 194.
- 96 Farrer 1909, 215-16.
- 97 Definition of spalling, from English Heritage 2012, 289: 'Deterioration in the form of falling slabs, scales or fragments, often from a generally sound surface. In concrete, spalling is the end result of cracking or delamination, and can be caused by a range of phenomena, notably corrosion of rebars, salt action, sulphate attack or frost'.
- 98 Farrer 1919, p xxxviii-xl.
- 99 Application for listed building consent C/18/101H/LB, received by YDNPA on 25 February 2015.
- 100 Farrer 1909, 196, 218-221 and 224.
- 101 Farrer 1909, 194-5.
- 102 Farrer 1919, xxxix.
- 103 Farrer 1909, 196.
- 104 Farrer 1909, 235.
- 105 Brent 1991, 33-4.

- 106 Farrer 1909, 219-21.
- 107 Farrer 1909, 224.
- 108 Farrer 1909, opposite p218: photograph entitled 'Looking up, over the Great Moraine, to the restored pool in the Old Garden.'
- 109 Farrer 1909, 207.
- 110 Farrer 1919, xxxviii-xl.
- 111 Farrer 1909, 206.
- 112 Farrer 1909, 206.
- 113 Farrer 1908, 11.
- 114 Farrer 1909, 196.
- 115 GB235 RJF/2/2/5, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE); Cox 1927, p243 photographic illustration entitled 'The Water Garden'.
- 116 Farrer 1909, 204.
- 117 Farrer 1909, 211-13.
- 118 Farrer 1919, xxxv-xxxvi.
- 119 Ordnance Survey 1851.
- 120 Ordnance Survey 1896; 1910.
- 121 GB235 RJF/2/2/5, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE); Cox 1927, p243 photographic illustration entitled 'The Water Garden'.
- 122 Farrer 1909, 206.
- 123 Farrer 1909, 196.
- 124 GB235 RJF/2/4/1/2, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE).
- 125 GB235 RJF/2/4/1/1, in the *Reginald J. Farrer Collection*, Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE).
- 126 Pers. comm. Peter Foley, horticulturalist, April 2015.
- 127 Pers. comm. Gaby Rose, Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority, July 2015.
- 128 Farrer 1919, xxxix.

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*Reginald J. Farrer Collection - GB235 RJF**:

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GB235 RJF/2/2/5 - 1xA4 folder of loose photographs: some modern copies, of Farrer, his family, Ingleborough, and people, plants and locations in China (folder includes photographs of the rock garden within the Craven Nursery).

GB235 RJF/2/2/6 - 1xA3 folder of loose photographs: some modern copies, of Farrer, his family, Ingleborough, and people, plants and locations in China.

GB235 RJF/2/4/1/1 - Items relating to Craven Nursery: wooden box relating to the Craven Nursery and Farrer's Plant Club. The contents of the box have been left as they were and include receipts, letters, plant lists and a metal key ring?

GB235 RJF/2/4/1/2 - Items relating to Craven Nursery: Ledger. The ledger records plants dispatched, and covers 1914-1921.

**The full GB235 RJF catalogue is available online, see RBGE 2011 below.*

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APPENDIX: ASSOCIATED MONUMENT AND EVENT RECORDS

National and local heritage asset records:

Historic environment record entries (NHLE, HER and NRHE) relating to the Ingleborough estate			
Database	Record type	Identifier	Description
NHLE	Listed Building, Grade II*	1132400	Ingleborough Hall
NHLE	Listed Building, Grade II	1132399	Servants' tunnels in the grounds of Ingleborough Hall
NHLE	Listed Building, Grade II	1132401	Ice house in the grounds of Ingleborough Hall
NRHE	Monument	589884	Ingleborough Hall
NRHE	Monument	1595794	Reginald Farrer's rock garden
NRHE	Event	1595819	Historic England: Reginald Farrer's rock garden, measured survey (2015)
YDNP HER	Monument	MYD 24242	Ingleborough Hall
YDNP HER	Monument	MYD 34614	Ingleborough Hall - ice house
YDNP HER	Monument	MYD 34620	Ingleborough Hall - tunnels
YDNP HER	Monument	MYD 53448	Ingleborough Hall - estate (refers to extant iron fence/paling)
YDNP HER	Monument	MYD 57607	Ingleborough Hall - designed gardens

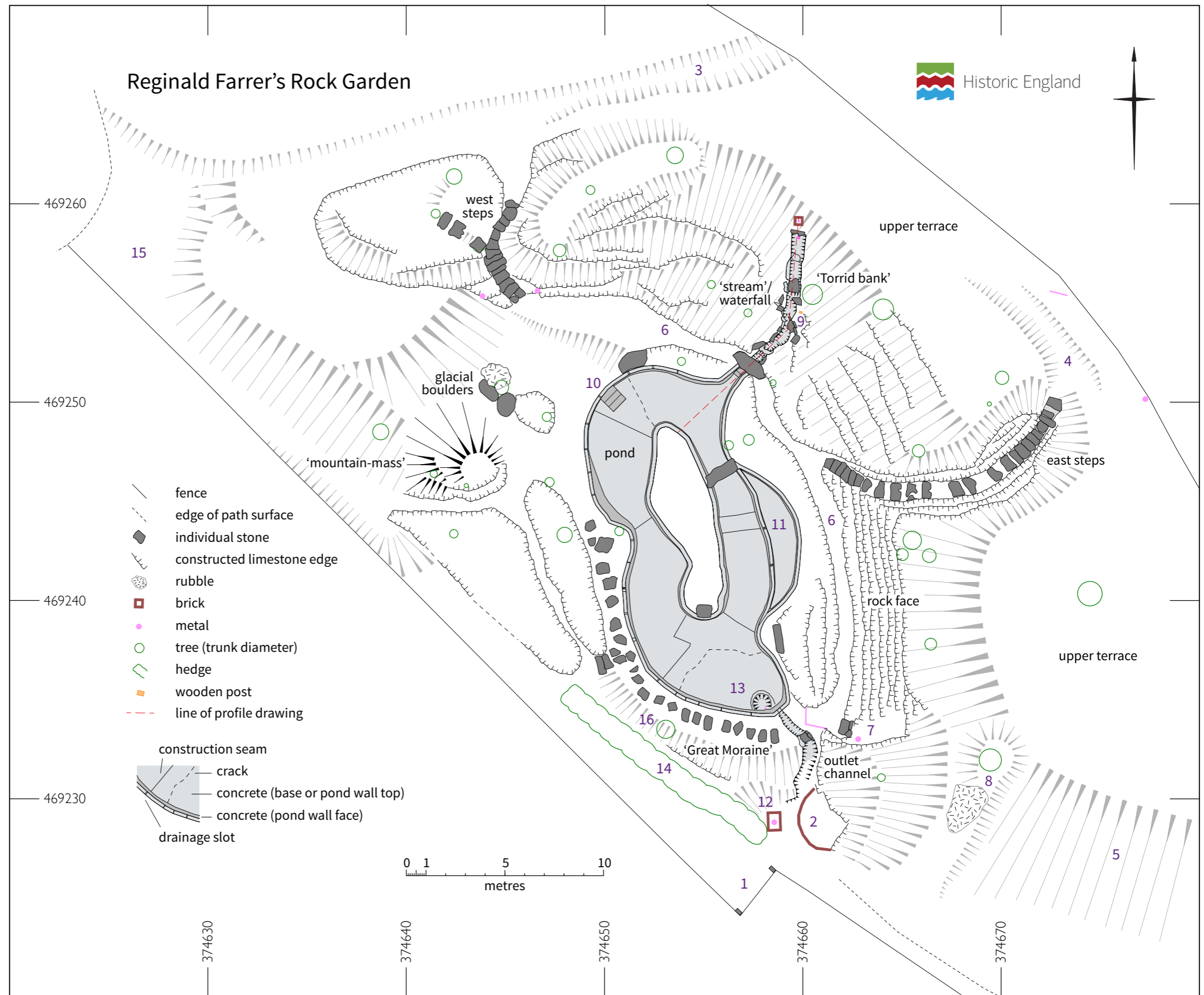


Figure 33: Analytical measured survey of Reginald Farrer's rock garden, Clapham, North Yorkshire, 2015; reduced to 1:200 from the original survey scale of 1:100. Key areas and individual features mentioned in the text are numbered 1-16 or are otherwise indicated.

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