

King Alfred's Castle:

Or, How To Memorialise the Yorkshire Petition of 1769.

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King Alfred's Castle, constructed for the Yorkshire merchant Jeremiah Dixon in the summer of 1769, is an important example of the politicisation of the landscape in a contested decade. This is the first detailed study of the Gothic folly, which situates this mercantile intervention into landscape gardening within its provincial and national contexts.

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Visiting Chapel Allerton, a village two miles north of Leeds in 1767, the Reverend Joseph Ismay reported that, "This village may, I think, be called the Montpelier [sic] of Yorkshire" and "The New House of Jeremiah Dixon Esq. on black Moor" was one of the "most noted Buildings" in the area.¹ One year later, John Spencer of Cannon Hall, formerly in the West Riding and now in South Yorkshire, recorded in his diary for 27 October 1768, "went to see Sir James Ibbotsons Pictures, and Mr. Dixon's Improvements at Gledhow".² A year after Spencer's visit Dixon would make another addition to his landscape, a Gothic folly on Tunnel How Hill, locally known as King Alfred's Castle, two miles from his main estate at Gledhow Hall.

This article has three aims. Firstly, it will document Jeremiah Dixon's landscaping programme, situating his work within the broader context of other merchant garden enthusiasts. Secondly, the current tentative scholarly attribution of the design of King Alfred's Castle to the architect John Carr will be challenged in order to highlight the collaborative nature of landscape and architectural projects in the eighteenth century. Thirdly, it will situate King Alfred's Castle within the political, social and cultural contexts of the year of its construction to suggest that Jeremiah Dixon leapt into the world of aspirational political architecture usually reserved for the aristocracy using a deliberately ruined Gothic folly to impose national political concerns on a provincial landscape. This forgotten structure represents a direct, specific and topical intervention into the major political debate of the summer of 1769: the liberty of the English freeholder.

‘VERY MUCH VALUED FOR HIS PRIVATE VIRTUES’: JEREMIAH DIXON AND THE
LANDSCAPE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LEEDS.

Jeremiah Dixon of Gledhow Hall was not, unfortunately, the well-documented surveyor and astronomer who created the Mason-Dixie Line in North America.³ None of Dixon’s papers recording his architectural and landscaping work survive. Nevertheless, a picture of the man starts to emerge. Born in 1726,⁴ Jeremiah Dixon was a diligent servant to the city corporation in Leeds, acting as an Assistant to the Corporation from June 1748,⁵ Overseer of the Poor Rates in 1752,⁶ a churchwarden at St John’s Briggate,⁷ High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1758,⁸ before being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1773.⁹ When Dixon died in June 1782 the *Leeds Intelligencer* reported that:

his family sensibly feel, and sincerely lament the loss of so able and affectionate a head; as also his numerous friends and acquaintances by whom he was much valued for his private virtues and extensive literary abilities.¹⁰

It is possible to reconstruct Dixon’s literary interests through subscription lists, which suggest that he was a keen, and respected botanist, actively sourcing and propagating rare plants.¹¹ From his treatment in nineteenth-century municipal histories of Leeds, it was as a gardener rather than a literary figure or active civic politician that Dixon was remembered:

In the years 1766 and 1767 Mr. Dixon made considerable additions to the old house of Gledhow, and during the remainder of his life continued to adorn it with beautiful plantations. Having first introduced the Aphreously pine into the neighbourhood, it is usually known by the name of the Gledhow Pine.¹²

The earliest surviving image of the Gledhow estate is J.M.W. Turner’s painting of 1816, commissioned from the artist by Jeremiah’s son John.¹³ Gledhow is painted from the southeast, the Brownian parkscape proclaiming the Dixons’ increasing separation from the commercial heart of Leeds.¹⁴ Gledhow Hall is also depicted in a heavily stylised fashion in plate twelve of Thomas Jefferys’s 1772 map of Yorkshire.¹⁵ Dixon’s estate is marked by separate clumps of trees both north and

south of Gledhow Lane. The area to the north of Gledhow Lane, accessed by a bridge with the initials 'JD' and the date 1768,¹⁶ was used as a kitchen garden. Jefferys's map does not, however, show the lake clearly visible in Turner's painting.

Thomas Jeffery's map shows a multitude of small gentry houses, all of which, we can assume, were surrounded by some form of designed landscape.¹⁷ Turner's painting of Gledhow, and nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps, suggest the familiar variables of trees, grass and water as used by Lancelot Brown, or one of his followers. There is an irregular belt of trees, containing sinuous carriage rides, marking the edge of the estate. Jeffery's map contains a serpentine stream, replaced by a lake on later maps. The sweeping areas of grass are interspersed with clumps of mixed woodland. It is likely that Gledhow was the collaborative work of Jeremiah Dixon and Thomas White.¹⁸

White had been employed in 1762 as one of Brown's foremen at Temple Newsam, Lord Irwin's estate on the outskirts of Leeds,¹⁹ and in a similar capacity from 1765 at Harewood House, the seat of Edwin Lascelles, MP for Yorkshire, less than ten miles from Dixon's estate at Gledhow Hall.²⁰ As an independent designer White also executed several designs between 1765 and 1770 for the estates of lesser gentry throughout the West Riding of Yorkshire, including work at Hawksworth, the seat of Walter Ramsden Beaumont ten miles to the north west of Leeds;²¹ Armley, on the outskirts of Leeds, where the client was most likely Sir John Ingleby;²² Goldsborough, the seat of Daniel Lascelles;²³ Copgrove, the estate of Henry Duncombe, just over twenty miles from Leeds; and for William Weddell, member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, at Newby Hall.²⁴ The landscape designer may have enjoyed some form of professional relationship with the architect John Carr, who was involved in nineteen of the thirty-two estates in northern England that White is known to have produced designs for.²⁵

But, as Jefferys's map of 1772 illustrates, King Alfred's Castle was separate from Dixon's main estate at Gledhow. Dixon's gothic folly stood, as the Chapel Allerton enclosure award of 1813 makes clear on, "that Allotment or Parcel of Land situate on Tunnelhaw Hill ... containing ... fifteen acres one Rood and ten Perches".²⁶ The structure was in place by 1769, as documented in the inscription tablet, which read:

To the Memory of

Alfred the Great
The Wise, the Pious and Magnanimous
The Friend of
Science, Virtue, Law, and Liberty
This Monument
Jeremiah Dixon of Allerton
Gledhow caused to be erected.
A.D. MDCCLXIX.²⁷

King Alfred's Castle was consigned to demolition on 21 May 1946. The minutes of the Leeds City Council Parks Committee reveal that:

There was a desire on the part of certain members who regarded King Alfred's Castle as a land mark to preserve the building which it is reported would cost £50, in view however of the statement that it is in a dangerous condition the Committee agreed to have the same removed cost in which case is also £50.²⁸

The structure had been in ruins from at least the 1870s. H.T. Simpson observed that Tunnel How Hill was, "evidently once the site of some formidable fortress" but that now, "their [sic] exists merely the vestiges of former plantations and terraces, and the remains of a monument, only about one hundred years old".²⁹ Earlier accounts were similarly vague, stating, for example, that near the village of Meanwood, "is a conspicuous eminence, called Tunnel-Haw-Hill, on which is erected an arch, in commemoration of Alfred the Great".³⁰ By 1891, however, a guidebook to Leeds suggested, "the famous Tunnel Hall Hill, the 'Teneriffe' of Thoresby", with its, "tower or 'hall' (now in ruins) on the summit", as a suitable excursion.³¹ The folly convinced early municipal historians. Ryley's *History of the Town and Parish of Leeds* noted that:

the Caster, upon this Haw or Hill, was used for the purpose of making observations is more than probable; it being the most conveniently situated of any other place in these parts for the spying out of an enemy, commanding a free prospect of all the country round.³²

Ryley's description suggests a more substantial structure than the commemorative arch recorded in the *Leeds Directory*. Surviving images show a symmetrical structure with quatrefoil windows flanking a pointed entrance arch, with the inscription tablet mounted above the keystone. Ashlar quoins contrast with the rough stone. These elements provide a visual resemblance between King Alfred's Castle, and the earlier corner towers of Stainborough Castle,³³ which the Gilpin-esque Richard Warner dismissed in 1801 as, "heavy and tasteless".³⁴ King Alfred's Castle was, however, completed in a deliberately ruined state. The mock-ruin recalls the Temple of Modern Virtue at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire.³⁵

BY CARR OR BY MYLNE? QUESTIONS OF ATTRIBUTION.

The architectural historian, Brian Wragg, suggested that King Alfred's Castle might have been the work of John Carr, based on the architect's association with Dixon through work on his townhouse in Boar Lane,³⁶ and Gledhow Hall.³⁷

Less familiar Gothic structures which might well be efforts of the Yorkshireman are King Arthur's Castle, Leeds [sic] ... erected in 1787 by Jeremiah Dixon who on two occasions employed Carr.³⁸

An alternative source of inspiration, taking into account the social and political circles in which Dixon moved, is the architect Robert Mylne; best known for Blackfriars Bridge. Mylne, like Carr, had experience working for the provincial merchant elite, especially around Bristol, but unlike Carr, used Gothic extensively. Dixon may have drawn inspiration from Mylne's work for the wealthy Bristol sugar merchant Thomas Farr at Blaise Castle, where he produced a triangular Gothic prospect tower overlooking the Bristol Channel.³⁹ Whilst we do not know whether Dixon ever visited Bristol, we do know that Mylne was corresponding with, and producing designs for, a number of Dixon's friends and peers. On 22 January 1767 Mylne records sending, "Mr Wedderburn a Plan & Elevation for a Summer House in Scotland".⁴⁰ In March 1768 he send Wedderburn drawings for a stable block,⁴¹ and in January 1772 recorded that he, "Attended Mr Wedderburn, Discourse on Drawings for Lincoln's Inn".⁴² This Mr Wedderburn was Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Chancellor in 1793 and later the first earl of Rosslyn. Dixon wrote to the Marquis of Rockingham in

December 1769 from Lincoln's Inn Fields to inform him that he was, "laid up at M^r. Wedderburn's by the Gout in my knees, feet, & right hand".⁴³

On 30 April 1767, after returning to London from a trip to Yorkshire, Mylne recorded in his diary that he, "Sent Mr Dring valuation of Drawings & Sorting them".⁴⁴ It is likely that this Mr Dring is Jerom Dring, Rockingham's political agent in York. Dring certainly knew Dixon as he reminded Rockingham of a visit they had paid to him at Wentworth Woodhouse in September 1769.⁴⁵ Dixon also mentioned Dring to Rockingham with reference to the Yorkshire Petition in October 1769.⁴⁶ Mary Dixon, Jeremiah's daughter-in-law, also wrote to Mylne in the most cordial terms in 1797.⁴⁷ This evidence is, however, circumstantial. But by looking at Robert Mylne as an alternative to John Carr this article suggests that architectural and garden historians need not always think in terms of a single attribution, but that we should focus much more on the political, friendship and kinship networks out of which buildings emerge.⁴⁸

JEREMIAH DIXON AND THE YORKSHIRE PETITION.

King Alfred was a long way from a local hero, and the design of the folly suggests that it was not used as a banqueting house like earlier Yorkshire examples such as Stainborough Castle. Dixon's decision to commemorate the ninth-century king was the product of a combination of local geography and national political crisis. The Yorkshire Petition of 1769 came at the end of a decade of political unrest in which both English identities and English history were contested.⁴⁹ With the most valuable privileges of Englishmen, especially that of choosing their own representatives in parliament, under threat from a set of arbitrary and despotic ministers, there was a collective search for the origin of this uniquely English institution. Parliament's origins were located in the reign of Alfred, and the Anglo-Saxon king took centre stage in a decade of political ferment.⁵⁰

The Yorkshire Petition was one of a number of petitions produced in response to the expulsion of John Wilkes from the House of Commons. Wilkes, returning from exile on the Continent, had stood for election in Middlesex in 1768 and was duly returned as Member of Parliament for the county. The Duke of Grafton's administration, however, managed to expel Wilkes from parliament by 219 votes to 137 in February 1769.⁵¹ The electors of Middlesex promptly returned Wilkes three

further times. Yet on 15 April the decision of the electors of Middlesex was overturned in the Commons, and Wilkes' rival and Grafton's puppet, Colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell was awarded the seat. The Ministry's actions produced a howl of protest in response to the perceived threat to the right of the English Freeholder to choose his own parliamentary representative. As Dixon wrote to Rockingham in December 1769,

The constitutional redress that the late measures call aloud for in every impartial breast, and the essential necessity there is of not silently submitting to the deprivation of one of our dearest privileges as Englishmen, are so apparent.⁵²

The Yorkshire Petition was one such way of not silently submitting to ministerial deprivations.⁵³ Writing to David Garrick, Burke anchored the Yorkshire Petition within the noble constitutional traditions of English history.

Say what you will of the Passions and Characters of Shakespeare. Our Petition shall start against your Ode; and 'Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights' sound as well as all his Magic and his Pathos. Yorkshire has begun to move, and its progress will be, I trust, great and powerful and like a Giant refreshd with Wine.⁵⁴

Scholars like John Brewer have seen Wilkism, and by extension the petitioning movement, as producing a focussed radicalism embodying a fundamental change in the nature of traditional English politics. The summer of '69 was, therefore, "parent to the popular sensibility that underlay later anti-aristocratic and reform politics".⁵⁵ But if we look at the language used by the main political actors, in Yorkshire at least, it becomes clear that the Yorkshire Petition was couched very firmly in terms amenable to Rockingham and his supporters.⁵⁶

The key theme throughout was that of the English constitution. After praising the "constitutional zeal" of their two Members, Sir George Savile and Edwin Lascelles as early as July, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of Yorkshire identified what they felt to be at stake with the barring of Wilkes:

You have always in your parliamentary Character supported the Power of Election in your Electors, and thereby indicated their Liberty as inseparable from your own and have supported that Connection of Interest between the Representative Body and the Freeholders on which our most happy Constitution chiefly depends.⁵⁷

This connection of interest, men like Jeremiah Dixon felt, was being threatened by the increased power of the Crown.⁵⁸ This was the first commandment of the Rockingham Whigs, and Dixon swore allegiance as early as 1763:

I have long wish'd this winter for the happiness of paying my devoirs to your Lordship in person, that I might the more zealously testifye the high regard & opinion I have always entertain'd of your Lordship's judgement & conduct both in private & publick life, but most particularly so in the present unhappy state of Political affairs, wherein those worthy few whose love to their Country prevails over private interest, whose superior discernment of present evils and of still greater to be expected is not clouded by a servile attachment to Ministerial power, and whose steadiness & integrity to condemn measures so apparently bad, notwithstanding the frowns of any one, is not to be shaken, deserve admiration.⁵⁹

Dixon expressed his independence from a servile attachment to ministerial power through his role in the petitioning movement and through architecture. At the close of September, Dring wrote to Rockingham observing that

The confining of our Petition to the simple point of the Right of Election is so popular that people who want to oppose will scarce dare to do it. Mr Dixon w^d tell your Lordship of Lord Irwin's Terror on that Head; wishing to oppose but not daring from the fear of popular resentment.⁶⁰

This popularity did not, however, translate easily into signatures. Frank O'Gorman believes that the petition was, "a staggering tribute to the efficiency of Rockingham's political machine".⁶¹ Yet, the collection of signatures throughout Yorkshire was not as simple as scholars have previously suggested. A week after celebrating the popularity

of the Petition Dring wrote once more to Rockingham confiding his fears that, “the Yorkshire Petition [is] a Subject of Ridicule rather than of Weight & Terror”.⁶² Dixon wrote two days earlier to Rockingham warning that, “it wo^d be a Misfortune and much to be lamented that a Measure so well supported at York & so essential to the Welfare & privileges of this Country sho^d fall short of its requisite importance”.⁶³ Supporters of the petition were fighting a rearguard action on the ground, as Thomas Barston’s account from Leeds suggests:

I am of opinion that the expenses of Attendance where the Freeholders show so cool an Inclination to Signing the petition as to refuse to go a hundred yards for that purpose (which I have frequently found to be the case) will by much outrun the subscription for the purpose. I have applied to Mr Dixon to go with me about this Town.⁶⁴

Dixon, however, refused as Dring had nominated him as one of the ten local dignitaries to carry the petition to London.⁶⁵ These accounts suggest that there was a fundamental disconnect between men like Dixon with their idealised view of the concerns of the English freeholder, and the sentiments of actual freeholders in Yorkshire.

Dixon, sensing frustration with the progress of the petition and the superficial interest of the freeholders of Yorkshire expressed himself in architecture. In breaking with the provincial classicism of his Carr-designed house Dixon made a leap into the type of aspirational political architecture reserved only for landed magnates. Dixon clearly chose his site carefully. His architectural response to this national crisis was rooted in his understanding of local transport routes. Adjacent to the main road heading out to Harewood House, the home of Edwin Lascelles, King Alfred’s Castle would have acted as a prompt to the polite classes on their way to pay homage to one of Yorkshire’s most important political personages to remember the ancient origins of the English constitution. The ruined outline of King Alfred’s Castle suggested that long cherished traditions were in danger and scolded Yorkshire’s political classes for their limited engagement with the petitioning movement. This political statement was clearly visible, for Thomas Pride’s *The Traveller’s Companion* of 1789 cited “Alfred Castle” as a navigational aid.⁶⁶

This action of a merchant inscribing meaning on a landscape in such a visible way was, in itself, exceptional. At a time when Dixon felt the foundations of the English constitution to be imperilled his choice of King Alfred was, however, far from exceptional. By 1769 Alfred the Great had been popularly established as the founder of the English constitution. At a time when Parliament seemed in the eyes of many to have ridden roughshod over the laws of the land it was in the figure of Alfred that the constitutional values of common law, regular parliaments, trial by jury, effective local administration and the King in Parliament were personified. For David Hume, Alfred, “like a wise man ... contented himself with reforming, extending, and executing the institutions, which he found previously established”.⁶⁷ A very neat fit with the Rockingham Whigs who ‘regarded themselves as the sole vehicles of constitutional recuperation’.⁶⁸

Moreover, this interplay between the local and the national is reinforced by the appearances made by Alfred in the newspaper press. Dixon was not alone in framing his response to the Anglo-Saxon past and Alfred’s reign in architectural terms. “An Old Surveyor” writing to the *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty* in the summer of ’69 describing “that old venerable Gothic fabric, commonly called Magna Charta, which was founded in the days of Alfred, or Edward the Confessor, as a bulwark of our liberties” believed that the structure had passed the point of no return. The problem for our surveyor was that “a most prodigious weight has been added (by design) of late years, to one side of the said fabric; which has in a great measure destroyed that equilibrium, which ought to be carefully preserved in buildings of this kind”. The only solution he could foresee was:

To take it quite down, and such materials as are found to be sound and good, selected out (by skilful persons, who have given singular proofs of their abilities) to be again employed in framing a new pile, and the shattered corrupted parts thereof to be totally destroyed.⁶⁹

A Christmas carol called ‘Liberty Hall’ set this association to music:

There are many fine toasts, but the best of ‘em all
Is the toast of the times; that is Liberty-hall.
That fine British building by Alfred was fram’d,

Its grand corner-stone Magna Charta is name'd;
Independency came at Integrity's call,
And form'd the front-pillars of Liberty-Hall.

Jeremiah Dixon would have agreed with Burke's view that the Yorkshire Petition was, "so interesting and important a point of publick Liberty".⁷⁰ King Alfred's Castle, standing like a proud bastion of the ancient constitution on Tunnel How Hill, was Dixon's way of inscribing a visual mnemonic into the new landscape of English liberty as symbolised by the Yorkshire Petition of 1769.

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During the long gestation of this article I have presented elements of this research at the University of Oxford's Architectural History Seminar (June 2011), The Garden History Society's New Research in Garden History symposium (July 2011), the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies annual conference (January 2012) and the Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of York (November 2011 and December 2012).

Note re Sheffield Archives and WWM.

Note that in quotations the spelling remains as in the original.

1. Joseph Ismay, 'A Visit to Chapel Allerton and Harewood in 1767', *Publications of The Thoresby Society*, Vol. 33 (1945), p. 338.

2. Diary of John Spencer, 1768, Sheffield Archives, Spencer Stanhope Muniments: SpSt/60633/21, Sheffield Archives. I am grateful to Jane Furse of the Wentworth Castle Heritage Trust for alerting me to Spencer's diary. This is the only account I have found of Gledhow Hall under Dixon's ownership.

3. Scholars have, however, confused the merchant and the surveyor. See Thomas .D. Cope, 'Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon', *The Scientific Monthly*, 62:6 (1946), p. 553. Cope rectified his misattribution in two later articles: 'Jeremiah Dixon?', *The Scientific Monthly*, 65:1 (1947), p. 88; and Thomas D. Cope and H.W.

Robinson, 'Charles Mason, Jeremiah Dixon and the Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 9:1 (1951), 55-78.

4. Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, Clan Chiefs, Scottish Feudal Barons*, 107th edn., 3 vols. (Stokesley: Burke's Peerage and Gentry, 2003), vol. 1, p. 1152.

5. James Wardell, *The Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds* (London; Leeds, 1846), p. clxxi.

6. Dixon's signature as an Overseer of the Rates: West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS) Leeds: LO/RB/29, Leeds Corporation Rate Book, 1752.

7. Terry Friedman, 'Church Architecture in Leeds 1700-1799', *The Publications of The Thoresby Society*, Vol. 7 (1997), pp. 53-53.

8. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete; or, An attempt to illustrate the districts described in those words by Bede; and supposed to embrace the lower portions of Airedale and Wharfedale, together with the entire vale of Calder, in the county of York* (Leeds and Wakefield, 1816), p. 57

9. Jeremiah Dixon's election roll, Royal Society Archives: EC/1773/29. Dixon was proposed by John Smeaton, Benjamin Wilson, John Caverhill, Samuel Harper, Joseph Priestley and Sir George Savile.

10. *Leeds Intelligencer* no. 1465 (Tuesday, 11 June 1782).

11. Dixon imported cones from Switzerland to grow the *pinus cembra*. See, Anon., 'Art. X. A Description of the Genus Pinus', *Annual Review and History of Literature*, 2 (1803), p. 882. Dixon was also listed as a subscriber to the 1776 edition of John Evelyn's *Silva*. See Alexander Hunter (ed.), John Evelyn, *Silva: or, A discourse on forest-trees, and the propagation of timber in His Majesty's dominions ...* (York, 1776).

12. Whitaker (see n. 8), *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 131. Edward Parsons repeated Thomas Whitaker's tribute verbatim in *The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial and Miscellaneous History of Leeds ...* (Leeds and London, 1834), p. 199 as did Richard Vickerman Taylor in his *Biographia Leodiensis ...* (Leeds and London, 1865), p. 182.

13. Turner's work was sold as lot 126 at Sotheby's Early British Drawings, Watercolours and Portrait Miniatures Sale, 9 July 2009, for £181,500. Three further Turner drawings of Gledhow c.1812-1815 are contained within his 'Devonshire

Rivers no. 3, and Wharfedale' Sketchbook (Finberg CXXXIV) in the Turner Collection, Tate Britain, London.

14. Turner's painting was engraved by George Cooke for Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete*. Stephen Daniels has suggested that Turner's *Leeds* (1816, Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven, Connecticut), was originally meant to be engraved for Whitaker's history but that "the contrast between Whitaker's appraisal of modern Leeds in his text and Turner's in his picture may have been sufficient for Whitaker to reject [it]". See Stephen Daniels, 'The Implications of Industry: Turner and Leeds', in Simon Pugh (ed.), *Reading Landscape: Country – City – Capital* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 70.

15. 'Plate XII: Environs of Bradford, Halifax, Harewood, (North of) Huddersfield, Leeds, Otley, Skipton and (West of) Wakefield'. Thomas Jefferys, *The County of York: Survey'd in MDCCLXVII, VIII, IX and MDCCLXX* (London, 1772).

16. English Heritage's National Heritage List for England states: "Footbridge. Dated 1768. Coursed rubble with later ashlar parapet. Single elliptical arch with keystone inscribed 'JD 1768'. Built for access to land on other side of road from Gledhow Hall ... including the home farm on Lidgett Lane" [<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk>, accessed 12 Jun. 2011].

17. Guidebooks referred to "the numerous pleasant seats of Merchants and wealthy Trades-people". See, John Ryley, *A History of the Town and Parish of Leeds. Compiled from Various Authors. To which are added, A History of Kirkstall Abbey and a Leeds Directory* (Leeds [?], 1797). An anonymous author could, in 1813, write of nearby Wharfedale's "verdant valley ... bedecked with numbers of Gentlemen's Seats and their Elysian Environs". See Anon., *Wharfedale: Or, A Description of the Several Delightful Features of the Extensive, Splendid and Fascinating Valley...* (Otley, 1813), p. 79.

18. For further details of White's career and clients, see: Deborah Turnbull, 'Thomas White (1739-1811): Eighteenth-Century Landscape Designer and Arboriculturalist', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Huddersfield, 1990).

19. Turnbull (see n. 18), p. 79.

20. David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1990), p. 87.

21. Turnbull (see n. 18), 'Thomas White', p. 484.

22. Turnbull (see n. 18), 'Thomas White', p. 439.
23. Turnbull (see n. 18), 'Thomas White', p. 471.
24. Turnbull (see n. 18), 'Thomas White', p. 498.
25. Turnbull (see n. 18), 'Thomas White', p. 91.
26. Chapel Allerton Enclosure Award (1813), p. 21, WYAS Leeds: RDP68/103.
27. Simon Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 28 (1999), p. 286.
28. Parks Committee Minutes (17 Apr. 1944 – 20 Jul. 1948), 'Meeting Held at the Civic Hall at 2.30pm on Tuesday, the 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1946', WYAS, Leeds: LC/PKS/2/7.
29. Henry T. Simpson, *Archaeologia Adelensis, or a History of the Parish of Adel, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Being an Attempt to Delineate its Past and Present Associations. Archaeological, Topographical and Scriptural* (London, 1879), p. 56.
30. Anon., *Directory, General and Commercial, of the Town & Borough of Leeds, for 1817* (Leeds, 1817), p. 46. This description was copied verbatim for the rest of the nineteenth-century in George Measom's railway guidebooks. See, for example, George Measom, *The Official Illustrated Guide to the North-Western Railway (Including the Chester and Holyhead Line), and All their Branches: Including Descriptions of the Most Important Manufactories in the Large Towns on the Lines* (London, 1859), p. 402.
31. Harry Speight, *Through Airedale From Goole to Malham, with Illustrations and Map* (Leeds, 1891), p. 66-8.
32. Ryley (see n. 17), *History of ... Leeds*, p. 58.
33. Patrick Eyres, 'Jacobite Patronage: Lord Strafford, James Gibbs, Wentworth Castle, and the Politics of Dissent', in Susan Kellerman and Karen Lynch (eds.), *With Abundance and Variety: Yorkshire Gardens and Gardeners Across Five Centuries* (York: Yorkshire Gardens Trust, 2009), pp. 63-92: illustration of Stainborough Castle, p. ?.
34. Richard Warner, *A Tour Through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland* (Bath, 1802), p. 234.
35. For comment see, Jonathan Lamb, 'The Medium of Publicity and the Garden at Stowe', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59:1 (1996), p. 62.

36. Dixon sold his Boar Lane property to Thomas Lee Jnr for £4500 in 1763. See, Derek Linstrum, *West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture* (London: Lund Humphries, 1978), pp. 97, 373; Maurice W. Beresford, 'East End, West End. The Face of Leeds during Urbanisation, 1684-1847', *Proceedings of The Thoresby Society*, vol. 60/61 (1985/6), p. 125; and Giles Worsley (ed.), Brian Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York* (York: Oblong, 2000), p. 170.

37. The inclusion of Gledhow Hall within Carr's oeuvre is on stylistic grounds alone: "[Gledhow Hall] was constructed soon after 1766 for Jeremiah Dixon and is attributed to John Carr. Two storeys, ashlar with a hipped roof behind a balustrated parapet. The w[est] front has a central door with a Gibbs surround and pediment between a pair of two-storey canted bays, all suggestive of Carr's style"; Susan Wrathmell, *Leeds* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 243. See also Linstrum (see n. 36), *West Yorkshire*, p. 80, 373; Beresford (see n. 36), 'East End, West End', p. 119; Wragg (see n. 36), *John Carr*, p. 150.

38. Brian Wragg, 'John Carr: Gothic Revivalist', *Studies in Architectural History*, vol. 2 (1956), p. 16.

39. Mylne's diary entry for 9 January 1766 records: "Sent finished Drawings of house to Mr Farr...D[esign] of a Castle & Letters on both"; see Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A) Archives: MyFam\12A, Diaries of Robert Mylne, vol. II (1765-1769). For further discussion of the Blaise Castle Estate see, Nigel Temple, *John Nash & The Village Picturesque With Special Reference to the Reptons and Nash at the Blaise Castle Estate, Bristol* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979), pp. 43-46; and David Lambert, 'The Prospect of Trade: Merchant Gardeners of Bristol in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Encounters in Garden Art, 1550-1850* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 127-129.

40. Diaries of Robert Mylne (see n. 39).

41. Diaries of Robert Mylne (see n. 39).

42. Mylne visited Wedderburn on three separate occasions (29 January, 1 and 22 February) in early 1772 to discuss building projects; R.I.B.A. Archives: MyFam\12B, Diaries of Robert Mylne, vol. III (1770-1774).

43. Jeremiah Dixon to Rockingham (26 Dec. 1769), Sheffield Archives: Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (hereafter WWM) R/1/1255.

44. Diaries of Robert Mylne (see n. 39).

45. Jerom Dring to Rockingham (25 September 1769): "...my waiting on you at Wentworth with Mr Dixon cou'd have serv'd no other purpose than paying the Duty w<sup>ch</sup> I owe there"; Sheffield Archives: WWM/MF20/R10-7. Of the letters from Dring to Rockingham in 1769, Jeremiah Dixon is mentioned in no less than a third – WWM/MF20/R10-7 (25 September 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-11 (9 October 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-12-1 (22 November 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-14 (undated [Nov. 1769]).

46. Jeremiah Dixon to Rockingham (7 Oct., 1769): "M<sup>r</sup>. Dring I know forwarded the petitions round the County to the most proper persons he co'd think of", WWM/MF20/R10-9.

47. Mary Dixon to Robert Mylne (23 Nov. 1797): "If the Lakes sh<sup>d</sup> ever tempt you in a rare moment of leisure Mr Dixon & myself sh<sup>d</sup> be most happy to claim the renewal of our acquaintance by offering you a hearty welcome to the banks of Windermere", R.I.B.A Archives: MyFam\5\40.

48. A third architect involved with the Dixon family was Thomas Atkinson of York. Atkinson, who made the funeral monument to Jeremiah Dixon and his father John in 1782 also designed the gothic front and gate-house for the Archbishop of York's Palace at Bishopthorpe between 1763 and 1769. See Margaret Pullan, *The Monuments of the Parish Church of St Peter-at-Leeds* (Leeds: Maney Publishers for the Thoresby Society, 2007), p. 67.

49. George Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). For significant expansions on Rudé's study, see John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); and Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

50. See, for example, *A History and Defence of Magna Charta ... To which is added, An Essay on Parliaments* (London, 1769), pp. iv-v, 243-246;

51. Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774*, p. 67.

52. Jeremiah Dixon to Rockingham (26 December 1769), WWM/R/1/1255.

53. Rockingham, however, came to petitioning late, and it was only in September that he decided that: "the only adequate Constitutional Mode must be Petitioning the Crown for the dissolution of the present parl[iament]", Rockingham [Draft] to Sir George Savile (27 September 1769), WWM/R1/1234.

54. Edmund Burke to David Garrick (18 September 1769), Lucy S. Sutherland (ed.), *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke: July 1769 – June 1774*, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958-1978), vol. ii., p. 84.

55. Thomas R. Knox, 'Popular Politics and Provincial Radicalism: Newcastle upon Tyne, 1769-1785', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 11:3 (1979), p. 224.

56. A draft of the petition, sent by Dring to Rockingham, stated, it was the duty of the subject to petition the King, "whenever any Ill-advised Measure threatens to impact that equal state of Legal Liberty", and, "that Measure which has nominated a Representative to the County of Middlesex in opposition to the Votes of a great Majority of the Freeholders, hath in our apprehensions that Tendency", Draft of Yorkshire Petition, WWM/MF20/R10-16a.

57. High Sheriff and Grand Jury of Yorkshire to their Representatives (14 July 1769), WWM/R1/1210.

58. Rockingham to Edmund Burke (29 June 1769): "*Might it not set forth - that the great and continual increase of the power and influence of the Crown in the course of this century (if the Crown should unfortunately be led by weak – wicked and arbitrary ministers and surrounded by evil counsellors) would operate most dangerously to the Constitution*", Sutherland (see n. 54), *Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, vol. ii., p. 38.

59. Jeremiah Dixon to Rockingham (22 January 1763), WWM/R1/360.

60. Jerom Dring to Rockingham (25 September 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-7.

61. Frank O’Gorman, *The Rise of Party in England: The Rockingham Whigs 1760-1782* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), p. 250.

62. Jerom Dring to Rockingham (9 October 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-11.

63. Jeremiah Dixon to Rockingham (7 October 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-9.

64. Thomas Barston Jnr to Rockingham (17 October 1769), WWM/MF20/R10-10.

65. Jerom Dring to Rockingham (9 October 1769): "I must beg to resume the Subject of the Carriers of the Petition ... I beg leave to mention Mr Dixon as one both he expects, as you will see by the inclosed letter, and also as he is going to London on another account", WWM/MF20/R10-11.

66. Thomas Pride, *The Traveller's companion; or new itinerary of England and Wales, with part of Scotland; Arranged in the Manner of Copper-Plates, Being*

*an accurate and comprehensive view of the principal roads in Great Britain, Taken from Actual Surveys; Wherein every Object worthy of Notice is pointed out; Illustrated by two maps: to which are annexed, the circuits of the judges, The Ports from whence the Packets Sail and a copious index, Where the Market Days of each Town are particularized* (London, 1789), p.156

67. David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the accession of Henry VII ...*, 2 vols. (London, 1762), vol. i., p. 66.

68. O’Gorman (see n. 61), *The Rise of Party in England*, p. 229.

69. *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, no. 53 (1-3 Aug. 1769).

70. Burke to Rockingham (2 July 1769), Sutherland (see n. 54), *Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, vol. ii., p. 40.