

## APPENDIX "J"

Essay. ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF KEELE by C.J. HARRISON  
(1986)

## LANDSCAPES AND GARDENS AT KEELE, 1700-1900

KEITH GOODWAY

### *Introduction*

The changes which took place on the Sneyd estate at Keele during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mirrored the changing fashions in landscaping and gardening. Unlike other estates in Staffordshire, such as Trentham, Shugborough, Sandon and Ingestre which were at times at the forefront of fashion, Keele often lagged behind. Nevertheless, it is possible at Keele to follow the major developments in taste, many of which left features that can still be recognised to-day, although modified and blurred with time.

The natural landscaping of the mid-eighteenth century; the picturesque style of the early nineteenth century; high Victorian horticulture and the sporting interest of the late nineteenth century, all have left recognisable traces in the present landscape. The estate archives for much of this time are remarkably complete and enable the story of the estate over this period of two hundred years to be told in considerable detail. It shows the way in which an old, but untitled family, little known nationally but well-respected in county society, developed an estate which was notable, although not in the first rank, in both size and income. At times the Sneyds called in professional designers, but often they directed the alterations themselves, gaining great satisfaction through their own personal involvement in the development of the estate.<sup>1</sup>

### *A Genius for making Improvements*

In 1741 Ralph Sneyd inherited the estate on the death of his brother Dryden. Ralph was to hold the estate for over fifty years and during this period he altered and partly rebuilt the Hall, established a walled garden and landscaped the park. This period of active development contrasts with the earlier years of the century when, because the estate had been managed for minors for long periods, the demesne lands had been leased out and even Keele Hall itself left unoccupied or let for some years.

Ralph inherited a house originally built about 1580 nearly a mile away from the village, on a south-facing site sheltered from the north and east by high ridges. In 1734 it had a park of 118 acres in a demesne which extended in total to 191 acres.<sup>2</sup> A stream ran across the estate from north-west to south-east through a series of fish ponds, including Quarry Leasow Pool, Dog Kennel Pool, Little House Pool, Garden Pool and Bath Pool. There were other ponds on the demesne including Spring Pool and Stable Pool. The ponds mostly held carp and tench, but Spring Pool contained trout as it does to-day (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

One of the few developments that had taken place on the estate earlier in the century had been the building of a Pavilion in 1723 on the highest point



was to make the lower pool more visible from the house and to give the appearance of a serpentine river.<sup>60</sup> It was a wet year and Breck wrote later of uncommon rain and Land-Floods:

all your pools flowed over the Damms in the greatest Torrents I ever remember which took out so many Fish we had the men employ'd in collecting them out of the Brooks below all day Sunday.<sup>61</sup>

But Breck was able to send Col. Walter a good account of the grounds:

You have great plenty of garden things, a very full crop of grapes some of which are ripe but the Gardiner says they will keep till you come. The Cherries tho' they were very full of Bloom are but few and those unkindly. The new planted Yews and Laurels before the wet sett in were very unpromising but I think most of them especially the latter will recover. The Roses are very full of Buds and are beginning to blow tho' at present not very promising to be healthful. The new Plantations have made great shoots and the Forest Trees have a beautiful foliage which I think are now safe from any blight (Fig.6).<sup>62</sup>



FIGURE 6. This sketch, dated 1828, shows the southeast front of Keele Hall from the lake. The lawn within the ha-ha has a number of circular flower beds and shrubs scattered across it in gardenesque style. The year after this sketch was made Ralph succeeded his father and launched his extensive landscaping campaign.

In 1814 two public footpaths which crossed the estate were diverted. Previously they had run close to Keele Hall. The new routes took them further away from the Hall. Later diversions, in 1834 and 1840, took this process even further, so that no public rights of way ran anywhere within sight of the Hall. This allowed the routes of the drives from Newcastle and Keele village to the Hall, which previously had followed the public rights of

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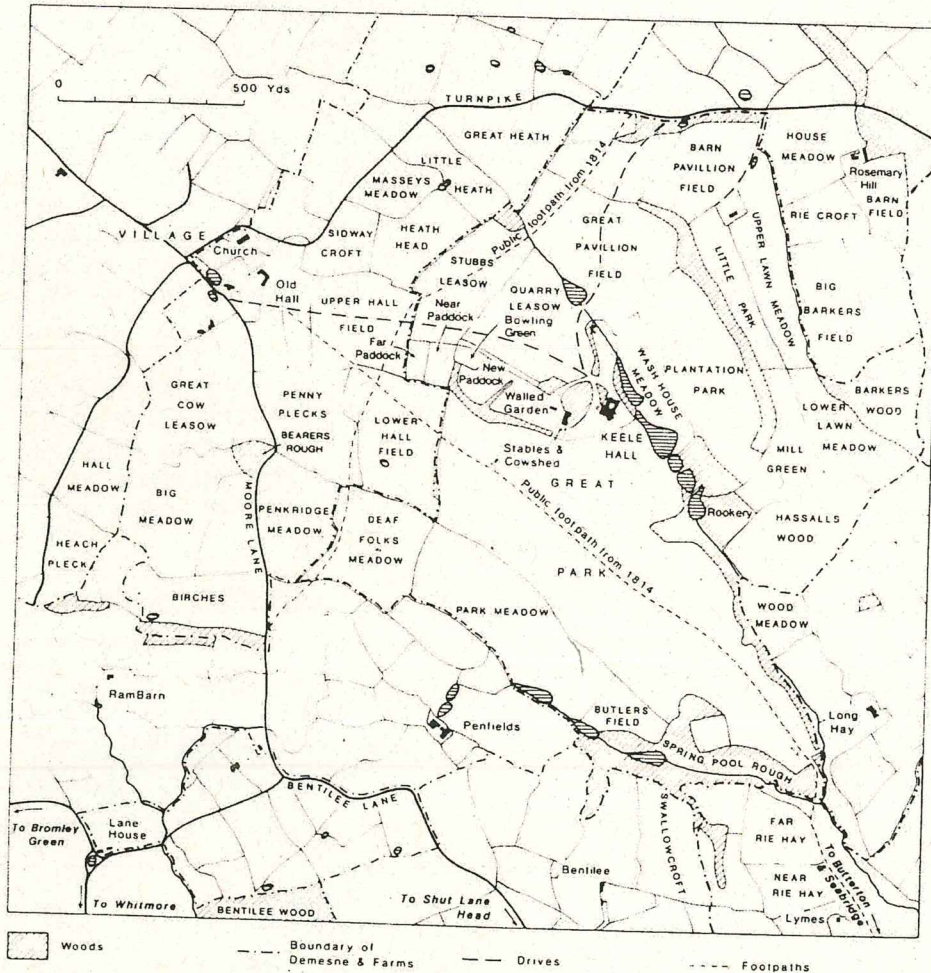


FIGURE 7. The Demesne and adjacent farms in 1829. *INDICATES THE RIGHT OF WAY CLAIMED. DATA CLOUD 1840.*

*The Picturesque Gentleman*

Colonel Walter Sneyd died in June 1829 and was succeeded by his son Ralph who immediately launched an extensive landscaping campaign that was to continue for many years. Within three months of his father's death he was writing to a friend:

It is just about that time that Gilpin is to come to me to direct certain plantings and etc. which I wish to lose no time in executing and I must not on any account miss his visit.<sup>64</sup>

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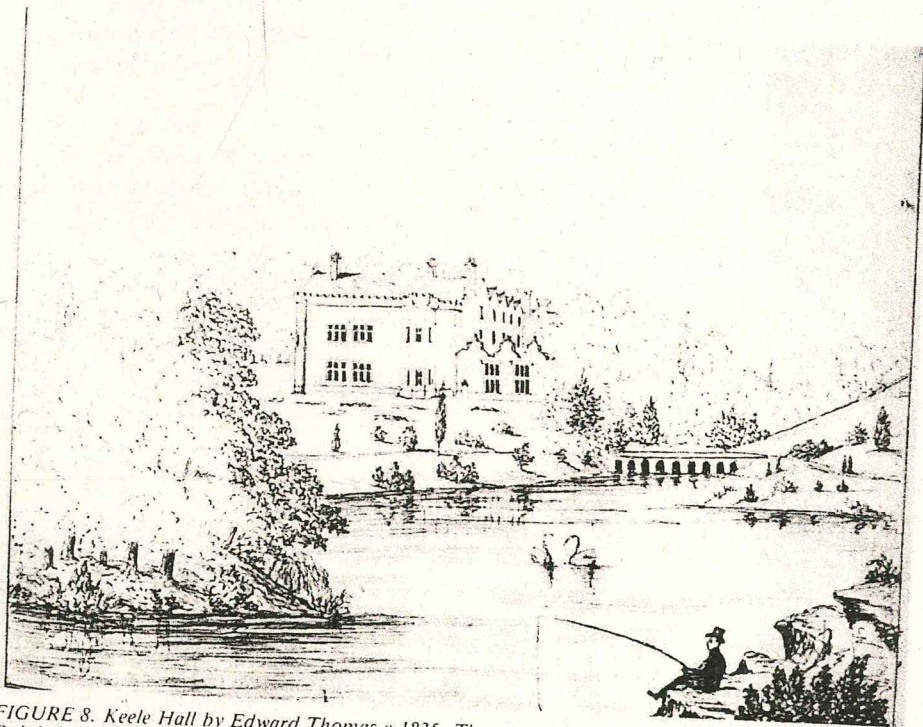


FIGURE 8. Keele Hall by Edward Thomas c.1835. The same view as in Figure 6, but seven years later. Ralph Sneyd has thrown the two lakes into one, picturesque crags have been built up in the foreground, and a viaduct built across the head of the lake. The soil excavated from the upper lake has been thrown up in a 'mountain' on the right hand bank and trees planted on it (By courtesy of the William Salt Library).

The 'strike' seems not to have stopped the work for long. The stone viaduct across the head of the main lake was built at this time and probably the similar viaduct across the entrance to the old quarry in the woodland behind the present site of the University Library. It is likely that the stone for the Elizabethan Keele Hall had been cut from this quarry and although some more stone was cut from it in 1833 it was probably abandoned soon afterwards and made picturesque, with the viaduct carrying a path which led in one direction to a curved tunnel linking two sections of the quarry and in the other direction to steps leading up and out of it and connecting with a network of gravel paths through the woods.

The farm buildings had to be demolished in 1833 to make way for the new stables. The Home Farm was built to take their place, complete with a house for the Bailiff, in Wilmore Field where previously there had only been a field barn.<sup>81</sup> This meant that the cow sheds which previously had been only 200 yards from the Hall and almost within sight of the drawing room windows, were now nearly half a mile away and on the far side of Pavilion Hill.

Ralph also concerned himself with the approaches to the estate, moving not only private roads within the park but also the public roads outside.

From the bottom of the last ascent between Newcastle and my gate I have thrown the turnpike road about a hundred or 150 yards more to

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the right, thus taking it round instead of over the hill and leaving the whole of the left bank for plantations. This will be fenced by a wall of rough masonry and I am building a lodge of my own designing - which I intend should be pretty - uncommon and in good keeping with the house.<sup>82</sup>

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The entrance lodge may have been based on ideas provided by Ralph, but they were given architectural form by Mr Trubshaw, one of a family of architects from Rugeley.<sup>83</sup> At the same time the line of the entrance drive inside the park was altered to improve the approach to the house itself.<sup>84</sup> Ralph also built a lodge (now Drive Lodge) on the drive from the village in 1833. This lodge was then at the entrance to the park, because the present grass triangle, opposite the church, was still occupied by Old Hall Farm.

As well as improving the two existing drives to the Hall, Ralph planned a new and impressive approach from the south, through the new stable courtyard. He began in 1832 by planting an avenue of Sweet Chestnuts from the stables 200 yards down to the then existing public right of way from Keele to Butterson which had run across the park since 1814. In 1837 a new right of way was surveyed although it was not opened, as Lymes Road, until 1840.<sup>85</sup> This was nearly half a mile below the stables and thus even further from the Hall. The intention was obvious; to keep the public out of the park. He extended the avenue as a drive to meet the new road, and for 300 yards beyond it. Lymes Lodge was built in 1845 at the junction between the drive and Lymes Road.<sup>86</sup> Ralph's object in making the new entrance was clear:

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... to effecting the first of all my desiderata to my place, a road from Trentham which will avoid that foul smithy Newcastle and bring me 2 miles nearer to the South and which will be moreover the prettiest approach imaginable.<sup>87</sup>

There was also perhaps a more practical reason for this attempt to make the main entrance from the south. In 1837 the Grand Junction Railway was opened from Warrington to Birmingham and soon formed part of the main line system from London to the North-West. The station at Whitmore was only three miles from Keele and the new entrance provided the shortest and most attractive route from the Hall to the station. Although Stoke station on the North Staffordshire Railway opened in 1848, Whitmore was still recommended for many years as the station for visitors to Keele.<sup>88</sup>

In 1842 Ralph Sneyd called in William Andrews Nesfield, one of the most successful landscape designers of the mid-nineteenth century. Nesfield prepared plans for the planting of an arboretum on the ridge near the old quarry (between the present-day Harrowby House and the Geology Department).<sup>89</sup> It is not clear whether, in fact, the arboretum was planted, for, apart from a Lucombe oak and fern-leaved beech, there are no unusual trees in this area today and none of the detailed descriptions of the grounds in gardening periodicals later in the nineteenth century mention it. On the other hand, it is probable that Nesfield's proposals for alterations to the Bowling Green (where Sneyd House now stands) were carried out, as late



View from the Hall, Keele, showing the approach to the house from the south.

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nineteenth-century photographs of this area do show an Italianate garden in his style. Nesfield also advised about changes around Keele Hall. Ralph noted:

I cannot write at any length, for I have Nesfield here for a very few hours, at a great many guineas an hour - and I am deeply engaged in the management of the very unmanageable ground in front of my house - and I am wilful and like my own way.<sup>90</sup>

Nesfield recommended that a terrace should be formed on the south-east front of the hall, overlooking the lake and it is probable that the present terrace, with segmental stone seats surmounted by urns at either end, was designed by him, although it is astonishing that it survived the rebuilding of the hall a few years later.<sup>91</sup> Nesfield also suggested 'making the most of the south-west front in a botanical sense', and although the present sunken parterre and fountain in this position are in his style, there is no other evidence to show whether this layout dates from this period, or whether it was created after the rebuilding of the hall.

Nesfield's charges are spelled out in a printed sheet he issued for the interest of prospective clients.

In consequence of Mr Nesfield being frequently requested to explain his Terms for professional services in Landscape Gardening he deems it expedient to state them in detail thus

For personal attendance a Visit 5 Guineas per diem  
 For Time on a journey 5 G's per Diem exclusive of travelling expenses  
 For ground Plans, Sections, Reports, Working Drawings, Tracings, Landscape or other sketches to illustrate proposed Improvements, and special appointments in London for conferences according to the Time occupied at the rate of 5 G's per Diem.

In some cases it is necessary by way of avoiding a prolonged visit on the part of Mr Nesfield to take with him or send his Assistant to survey, take Levels, transfer Designs to Ground or Instruct Gardeners or Clerks of Works in carrying out proposed operations, for which the charge is One Guinea per Diem, exclusive of travelling expenses by second class and also his Time on a Journey.<sup>92</sup>

In 1847 the turnpike road through Keele village was rerouted to ease its gradient and remove sharp bends. This brought it round the south and west sides of the church, where it was sunk in a shallow cutting.<sup>93</sup> The opportunity was taken to demolish Old Hall Farm, adding some of its land to the park and extending the drive by 300 yards to a new entrance lodge close to the centre of the village.

Andrew Thompson, the new and very active agent appointed in 1848 was responsible for the other changes in the years that followed. Penfields, Long Hay and Rosemary Hill farmhouses were demolished, their sites planted with trees and much of their land added to the park and Home Farm.<sup>94</sup> In 1850 Richard Armstrong, an architect from London, designed an ice house which was built under the east end of the terrace by Keele Hall, just above the lake.<sup>95</sup> This remained until Horwood Refectory was extended in the 1960s.

By 1855 the setting for Keele Hall was complete, with lakes, plantations, parkland, stables, drives and lodges, but the house itself was hardly worthy

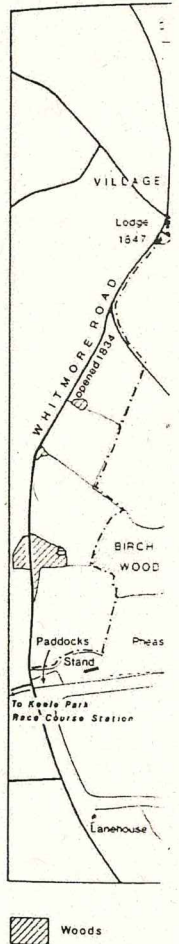


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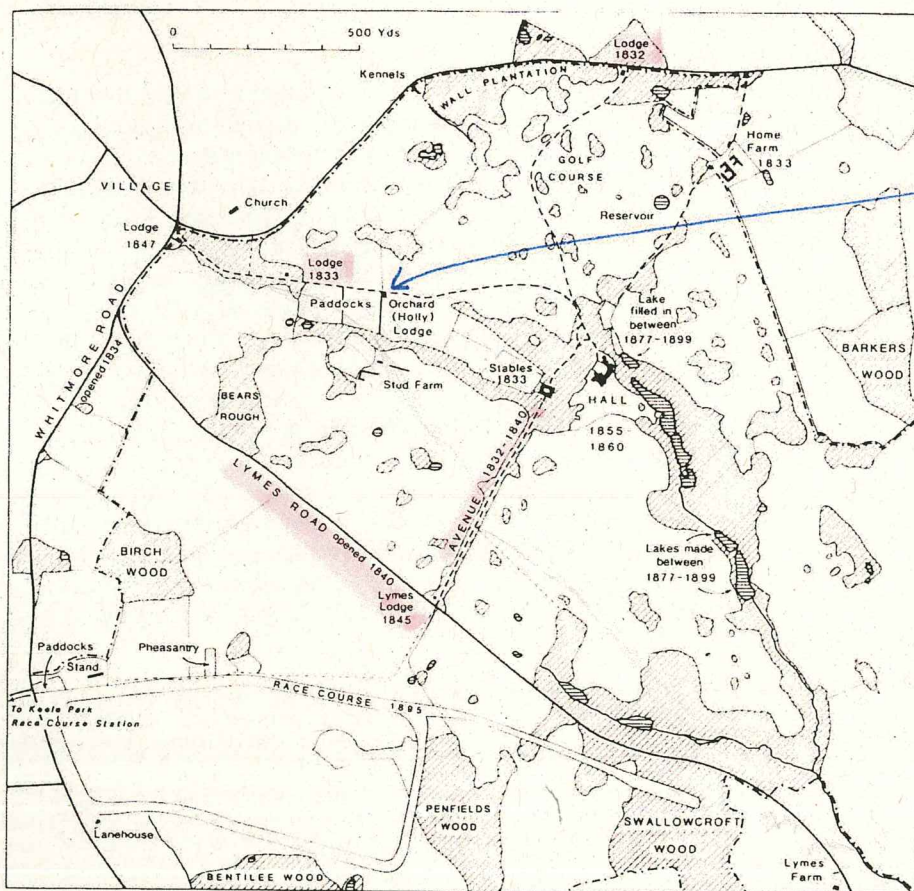


FIGURE 9. Keele Park in 1870, with alterations made to it up to 1900.

of this setting. Built nearly 300 years earlier, partially rebuilt and altered at various times since then, it was in poor condition and did not meet mid-Victorian standards of convenience, comfort or style.

In 1855, as work started on demolishing the old Hall, Ralph wrote:

I have now so developed the Place, that a House more in correspondence with it has become a positive want in my picture. I have for 24 years made it my chief amusement to work at this picture, and to leave it incomplete in so essential an item is flatly impossible.<sup>46</sup>

He employed Anthony Salvin as architect, and just as Ralph had played an active part in the landscaping, so he insisted on making major changes to Salvin's plans. It is also characteristic of Ralph that the new Hall was built on the site of the old and bore a marked resemblance to it, although it was

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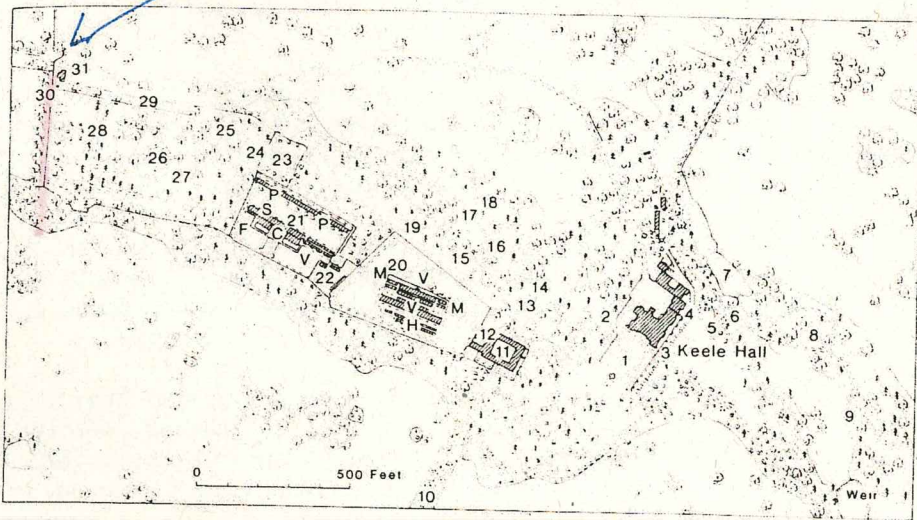


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FIGURE 11. The Pleasure Grounds and Kitchen Gardens at Keele in 1877. Features in brackets are no longer in existence.  
1. Formal garden (restored in 1985) and fountain; 2. 'High rugged rock', high perpendicular, built from blocks of rock in 1832; 3. Terrace, designed by Nesfield in 1844; 4. [Ice-house, built in 1849]; 5. White Well, re-roofed in 1887; 6. Viaduct at head of lake, built in 1832; 7. [Site of lake, filled in between 1877 and 1898]; 8. 'Mountain', built up in 1831 with soil excavated to deepen lake; 9. Crags built up from blocks of rock in 1832; 11. Stable courtyard built 1833-34, designed by Blore; 12. Gardener's house, now music department; 13. Gorge leading to stables, cut in 1834; 14. Bridge over gorge; 15. [Thatched summer-house in quarry]; 16. Tunnel leading to quarry; 17. Quarry, converted to picturesque fernery; 18. Viaduct across entrance to quarry, built 1834. [Arches from Hulton Abbey erected on viaduct 1883, removed 1952]; 19. Ancient avenue of Chestnut [and Firs]; 20. Lower garden, walls built in 1764 V [Vineries], H [Heated pits], M [Houses for Pineapples, Melons and Cucumbers]; 21. [Lower garden made by 1856]; C [Conservatory], S [Show house], F [Fig house], P [Peach house]; 22. [Coke yard]; 23. [Italian garden, on site of eighteenth-century bowling green]; 24. [Brass gates]; 25. [Small circular garden, surrounded by thick trimmed Holly hedge, with niches for statues and marble busts on tall pedestals]; 26. [Rosary]; 27. [Ribbon borders]; 28. Avenue of Deodars, planted in 1851; 29. Holly hedge, probably planted in 1769; 30. Glass gates and summer-house; 31. Holly lodge, formerly Orchard lodge, built in 1860.

When Ralph Sneyd first employed Hill, he told him: 'I am particularly anxious to have good Grapes, as they are the only fruit I eat.' Hill provided him with grapes all round the year. By 1872 there were ten vineries in which were grown fifteen varieties of grapes. Hill also became a very successful exhibitor at the shows held in London by the Royal Horticultural Society, the Royal Botanical Society and the Crystal Palace Company. In the ten years from 1853 he won, at these shows, 61 first prizes, 26 second prizes and 21 third prizes for grapes.<sup>100</sup>

By 1856 a second walled garden, the upper, had been built to the west of the original or lower kitchen garden. The buildings of Lindsay Hall now stand on the site of the upper garden, some of whose walls remain. The head gardener's house, in one corner of the stable courtyard (now the Music Department) looked out across the lower garden (Fig. 10). In this garden, as well as vineries there was a peach house, which also contained nectarines, and forcing houses for melons, pineapples and cucumbers. There were heated pits where early potatoes, kidney beans and carrots were raised, while on the walls of the garden were pears, currants and morello cherries and more peaches and nectarines (Fig. 11).



these still survive. The now-picturesque old quarry had climbing roses growing up deodars and herbaceous plants such as *Viola cornuta* and London Pride in the rockwork. Separating this wooded area, with its network of paths, from a terrace walk above the lower walled garden was an ancient avenue of pollarded Sweet Chestnuts, with some limbs supported by chains, and others protected from decay by sheets of lead. Some of these Chestnuts still stand forming possibly the oldest designed feature on the estate, as this was probably the original avenue from the village to the Elizabethan Hall (Fig. 17).

The third section of the pleasure grounds was perhaps the most surprising, for it was to the west of the upper walled garden and extended nearly half a mile from Keele Hall. It covered the area where the Larchwood now stands. It was sheltered on the north side by a massive holly hedge, one of the features of Keele which most impressed horticultural journalists in the nineteenth century, both because of its size and because of the amount of labour needed to keep it nicely clipped and trimmed. Estimates of its size vary; the most reliable suggests that it was 200 yards long, 25 feet high and 18 feet thick (Fig. 18). In 1871 it was thought to be about one hundred years old and in 1769 there is a record of 'planting Hollies about Stubb's Croft and down north side of great park' which could refer to this hedge.<sup>101</sup> A gravel walk along the sheltered, southern side of the hedge led through a holly arch to the Glass Gates, a large pair of wrought iron gates, set in imposing stone piers, glazed to shelter the visitor from the winds, but allowing a view across the park to the distant Welsh mountains (Fig. 19). Set into the holly hedge, just within the gates, was a summer house lined with Minton tiles. Both gates

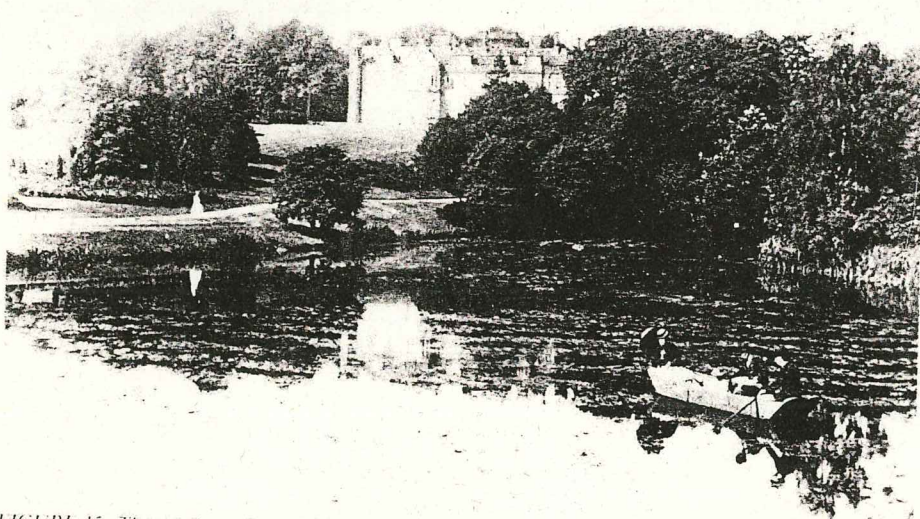


FIGURE 15. The southeast front of Keele Hall from the lake. By late Victorian times, trees and shrubs had been planted in large clumps on the lawn below the hall. The puit was supplied by John Pemberton of Liverpool in September 1850 and cost £5 10s. 6d.



FIGURE 16. T. Keele sandstone 1962. The origi



FIGURE 17. T. garden. The lin. Fir trees have t Keele village to



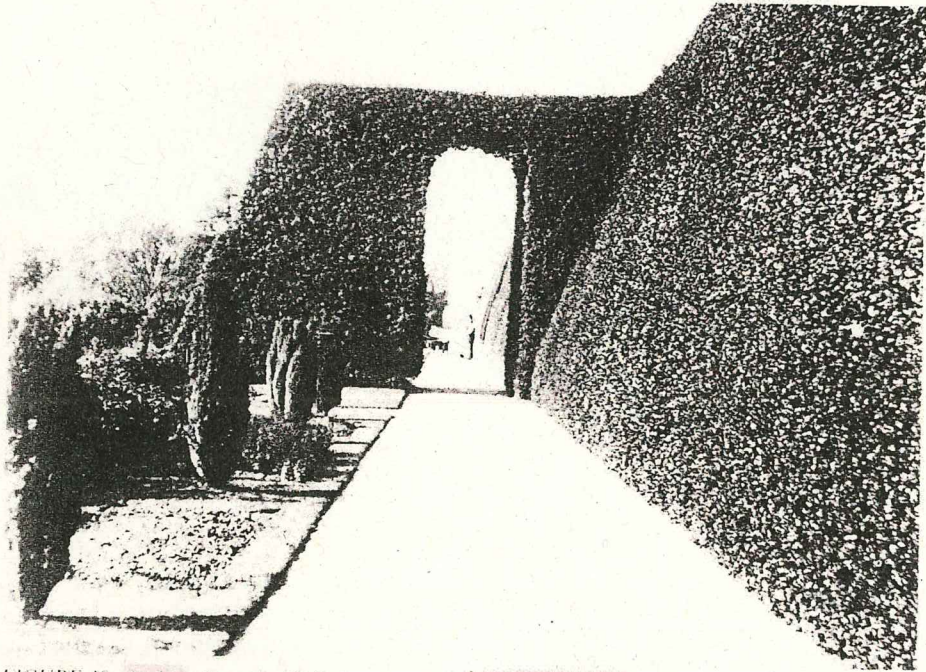
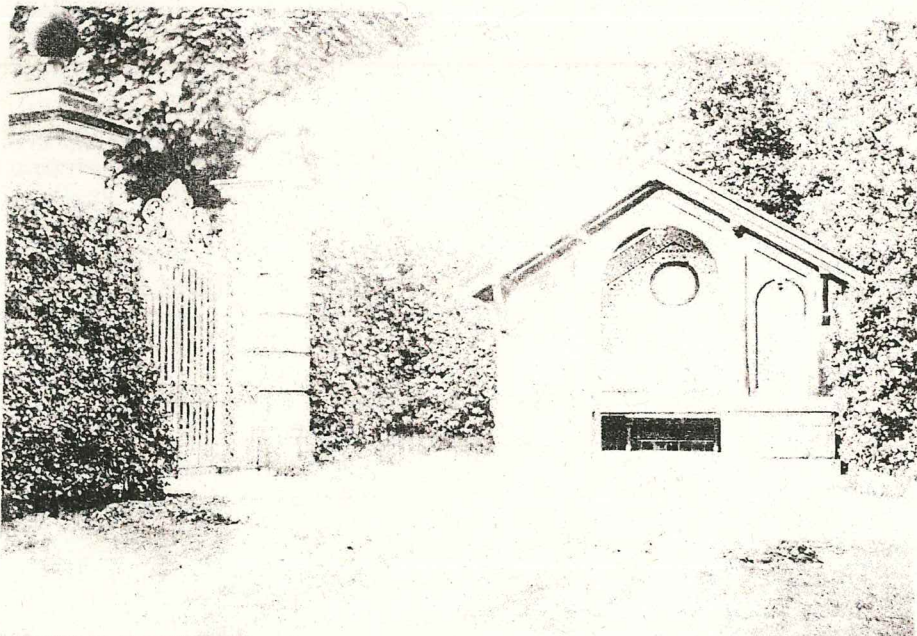


FIGURE 18. A view along the Holly hedge towards the glass gates. The pleasure gardens, on the left, were sheltered by the hedge from the north wind. The hedge, probably planted in 1769, still stands, separating Larchwood gardens from a car park.



'PATH' beyond  
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FIGURE 19. The glass gates and summerhouse at the end of the Holly hedge. The glazing of the gates gave shelter from the wind sweeping in from the open parkland beyond. The summerhouse is decorated inside with Minton tiles. Both summerhouse and gates still stand, although the gates are in poor condition.



FIGURE 20. In the foreground, where this photograph was taken, the Lobelia erinus is on the left and right.

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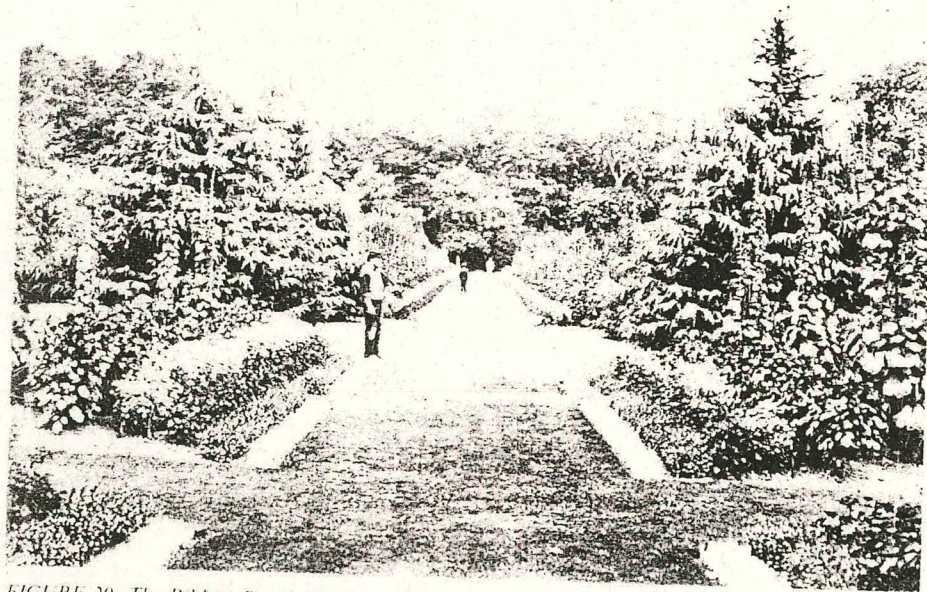


FIGURE 20. The Ribbon Borders, 160 yards long, ran east-west across the lower part of the pleasure ground, where Larchwood now stands. The planting scheme is described in a number of accounts, but this photograph appears to correspond with a description of 1871, with Hollyhocks and Red Hot Pokers at the back, then rows of purple Zelinda Dahlias, Double White Everfew, Stella Nosegay Pelargoniums, Lobelia erinus speciosa and with Cerastium at the front. The borders have now gone, but the Deodars, on left and right are now mature trees.

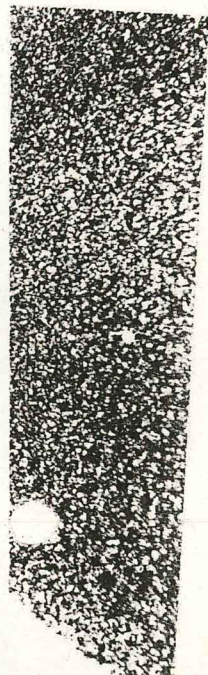
*THIS VIEW TRANSECTS THE LINE OF WALK CLAIMED.*

and summer house still stand, although the former are in a poor condition and have lost their glass.

Running parallel with the holly hedge and 200 feet to the south of it was a turf walk 160 yards long, with ribbon borders on either side of it (Fig. 20). This was crossed by an avenue of deodars, planted here in 1851 and now mature trees. In the centre of these pleasure grounds was a circular rosary with a conically trained yew in the centre. Elsewhere were orchards with pyramidally trained pears and apples, flower beds with Asters, Lavender, Honeysuckle and old-fashioned Roses such as Moss, Cabbage and Old Provence and a small circular garden, surrounded by a trimmed holly hedge with niches for statues and marble busts on tall pedestals. Most of this was swept away between the wars and larches were planted on the site.

Ralph Sneyd enjoyed his landscaping. In 1862 he wrote:

I am in such beauty that I am drawn like a double tooth. My beauty indeed entails some inconvenience, for people flock from all quarters to see the red Rhododendrons which are a perfect conflagration (I really never saw a more splendid sight) and I am headed by beards and crinolines on every gravel walk (Fig. 21).<sup>102</sup>



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A race course was built to the south of the Hall, on the site where Penfields farm had once stood. The Chestnut drive down from the stables, past Lymes Lodge, became the approach to it for house parties. For other visitors a private station was built on the Newcastle to Market Drayton railway line. The first meeting on this steeplechase course was held in May 1895.<sup>109</sup> A start was made on laying out a straight mile, but this was not completed, it is said because the Boer War intervened. The remains of this straight mile were still clearly visible until the motorway was constructed along it in the 1960s. Race meetings were only held at Keele for about ten years and the grandstand was moved to Uttoxeter race course about 1911. Colonel Ralph, as one might expect, also bred race horses. A stud farm (now Paddocks Farm) was built in the park and two paddocks made beside the drive to the village, just beyond the glass gates. A drive, separating the paddocks, led between banks of rhododendrons and holly to the stud farm.

The lakes were developed for trout fishing. A hatchery, now gone, was built at the head of the top lake to make use of the pure spring water which had once supplied the house. The fry were moved to raising tanks, of which the brick bases remain in the woodland below the third lake. The fish were then released into the lowest lake and as they grew were moved up lake by lake until, as full grown specimens, they were placed in the top lake for Colonel Ralph to catch.<sup>110</sup>

Game birds were raised, originally in a pheasantry near the race course, later in pens by the cottages at Gateside Corner, where there were kennels as well. A nine hole golf course was laid out on the field which now leads up to the Observatory and the professional lived in Newcastle Lodge.

There were numerous house parties through the 1890s to enjoy the sport provided, but this hectic activity did not last. As John Wallis, head gardener from Hill's death in 1878 until 1899 said:

Mr Ralph Sneyd never appeared to regard Keele with much affection as a residence and eventually the place was leased to the Grand Duke Michael of Russia.<sup>111</sup>

There was then a golden Edwardian afternoon during the years 1901-1910 when the Grand Duke was at Keele. During this time the grounds were well maintained as a brilliant backcloth to country-house life, the high point of which was a week-end visit from Edward VII in 1901.

After 1910 a succession of tenants leased the Hall. Colonel Ralph Sneyd lived until 1949 but although he visited Keele from time to time he never lived there again. Generations of Sneyds had lavished care, time and resources on the landscape and gardens of Keele and had gained great enjoyment from this work. Now, through the neglect of one generation, the grounds drifted gently into decay.

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| 30. | S.2957, 12 Sept. 1768   | 69. | S[R:                                    |
| 31. | John Harvey, <i>Early Nurseryman</i> (1974), pp.74, 94; John Harvey, 'Prices of Roses in the Eighteenth Century', <i>The Rose Annual 1979</i> (1979), pp.161-3. I am grateful to Mr. W. Bedson for allowing me to see and reproduce this catalogue. | 70. | SC9                                     |
| 32. | <i>Survey of London</i> , xli (1983), 58  | 71. | S[R:                                    |
| 33. | S.1457, 17 Oct. 1775  | 72. | S[R:                                    |
| 34. | S.2957, 27 July 1781, 26 April 1788   | 73. | SC9                                     |
| 35. | S.2957, 28 Jan. 1778  | 74. | SC2                                     |
| 36. | S.2957, 20 March 1774, 31 Dec. 1784   | 75. | SC9                                     |
| 37. | S.2957, 31 Dec. 1770, 23 Dec. 1790, 15 July 1783  | 76. | SC4                                     |
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| 40. | S.2957, 20 Oct. 1785  | 79. | SC9                                     |
| 41. | Wedgwood papers, 2589-3, 25 Jan. 1790   | 80. | S.1-                                    |
| 42. | <i>The Military Forces of Staffordshire in the nineteenth century</i> ( <i>Staffs. Advertiser</i> , 1901, reprinted 1984), p.7  | 81. | S14                                     |
| 43. | S.1457, 28 Aug. 1796  | 82. | S[R                                     |
| 44. | S.1457, 21 Oct. [17]94  | 83. | S.1-                                    |
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| 46. | S.1457, 19 June 1798  | 85. | S.1-                                    |
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| 49. | S.1457, 21 Oct. 1798; S.2003, 1 Nov. 1798   | 88. | Vic                                     |
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| 51. | S.1457, 5 Nov. 1798   | 90. | S[F                                     |
| 52. | S.1457, 18 Nov. 1798  | 91. | S.2                                     |
| 53. | J.H. Harvey, 'Two early nurseries: Knowsley, Lancs. and Knutsford, Cheshire', <i>Journal of the Chester Arch. Soc.</i> , 1976, pp.66-83   | 92. | S80                                     |
| 54. | Cheshire Record Office, DDX/363/6-8   | 93. | Stu<br>thi                              |
| 55. | W.J. Bean, <i>Trees and Shrubs Hardy in the British Isles</i> , iii (1976), 742   | 94. | S.2                                     |
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| 57. | Barbara & Hensleigh Wedgwood, <i>The Wedgwood Circle, 1730-1897</i> (1980), p.144   | 96. | S[I                                     |
| 58. | <i>Staffordshire Advertiser</i> , 13 Oct. 1810. I am indebted to Mr. Rodney Hampson for this reference.   | 97. | SC                                      |
| 59. | Wedgwood papers, 2594-3; 2597-3   | 98. | Ge                                      |
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| 61. | S.1457, 8 Aug. 1799   |     |   |
| 62. | S.1457, 19 July 1799  |     |   |
| 63. | Staffs. Record Office, Q.S. Papers, Highway Diversions; Epiphany 1814(2), Sept.1834(2), Epiphany 1840(2)  |     |   |



64. SC9/141, 19 Sept. 1829, R.S. to Lord Dover
65. M. Hadfield, R. Harding & L. Highton. *British Gardeners* (1980), p.134. I am also grateful to Mrs Mavis Batey for her comments on Gilpin.
66. SC9/144, 8 Nov. 1829, R.S. to Lord Dover
67. SC19/180, 1 Sept. 1832, W.S. Gilpin to Ralph Sneyd
68. SC4/174, 23 Sept. 1832, R.S. to Marchioness of Bute
69. S[RS/HWV] 49, 5 Oct. 1834, R.S. to H.W. Vincent
70. SC9/167, 8 Sept. 1831, R.S. to Lord Dover
71. S[RS/HWV] 58, 18 Nov. 1835, R.S. to H.W. Vincent
72. S[RS/HWV] 34, 21 May 1831, R.S. to H.W. Vincent
73. SC9/150, 18 April 1830, R.S. to Lord Dover
74. SC20/191, 15 April 1831, Lord Mahon to R.S.
75. SC9/145, 7 Dec. 1829, R.S. to Lord Dover
76. SC4/194, 18 Dec. 1829, R.S. to Marchioness of Bute
77. SC4/217, 2 Oct. 1831, R.S. to Marchioness of Bute
78. S[RS/HWV] 34, 21 May 1831, R.S. to H.W. Vincent. Elsewhere Ralph also refers disparagingly to Kent's designs for the landscape of Keele. There is no sign in the archives that William Kent worked at Keele, and it is very unlikely that he did so, as he died in 1748 before extensive landscaping had started.
79. SC9/176, 21 Aug. 1832, R.S. to Lord Dover
80. S.1459, 12 July 1834, Samuel Peake to R.S.
81. S1459, 20 June 1833; 4 June 1834, Samuel Peake to R.S.
82. S[RS/HWV] 43, 30 Aug. 1832, R.S. to H.W. Vincent
83. S.1459, 18 Oct. 1832, Samuel Peake to R.S.
84. S[RS/HWV] 43, 30 Aug. 1832, R.S. to H.W. Vincent
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93. *Staffordshire Advertiser* 19 June 1847. I am grateful to Mr. Rodney Hampson for this reference.
94. S.2238
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96. S[RS/HWV] 299, 11 Jan. 1855, R.S. to H.W. Vincent
97. SC9/240, 11 Sept. 1856, R.S. to Lady Dover
98. *Gardener's Chronicle* (1876) i, p.213
99. *Cottage Gardener*, xvii (1856), 106-108 *J. Horticulture & Cottage Gardener*, xxx (1863), 234-237, 274-276; *Gardener's Chronicle*, (1871) 1452-1453; *Gardener's Chronicle* (1872) 109-111; *Gardener's Chronicle* (1883) ii, 720-722; *Gardener's Chronicle* (1893) i, 9, 10-11, 17, 19; *Gardener's Chronicle* (1916) i, 330-331. I am grateful to Mr. Ray Desmond for giving me these references in advance of the publication of his *Bibliography of British Gardens* (1984). Much of the description that follows is drawn from these accounts.

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small area in the village centre, by 1828-30 the Sneyd family owned the whole parish and by 1845 their control was complete, save for the vicarial glebe of some 21 acres, and even the gift of that was in their hands.<sup>7</sup> Keele formed part of the Staffordshire estate of the Sneyds, which, concentrated in the north of the county, seems to have grown markedly over the century. In 1828-30, it covered some 6,484 acres and besides the Keele property was located predominantly at Chesterton, Bradwell, Chatterley, Tunstall, Bucknall, Abbey Hulton and Cold Norton.<sup>8</sup> J. Bateman's revision of the Sneyd entry in the *Return of owners of land in England and Wales* would suggest that by 1872-73 the estate had increased to 9,232 acres, making it one of the largest in the county.<sup>9</sup> An estate of such size placed the Sneyds firmly in the landowning category of greater gentry and bequeathed to them considerable economic and social power within north Staffordshire.<sup>10</sup>

As a consequence of the concentration of landownership at Keele, the parish displayed the major landscape features associated with 'closed' status. For example, it contained the principal seat of the Sneyd family, Keele Hall. This was surrounded by a demesne which expanded in area throughout the century. Around 1790, the demesne of a home farm and parkland was recorded at 375 acres; it had grown to 416 acres by 1828-30 and by 1871 its area amounted to 592 acres, an increase of 58 per cent over the period.<sup>11</sup> Although farm sizes on the estate in the Keele area were not large in absolute terms, they were well above the average for the region and the county. In 1870 the average area of holdings over 20 acres in Staffordshire was about 105 acres: on the Keele part of the estate the comparable figure in 1828-30 was 124 acres, which had risen to 143 acres by 1871.<sup>12</sup> Finally, located in the parish on the western border of the parkland was the village of Keele itself. Keele possessed, seemingly, all the key attributes of a model 'closed' parish.

The purpose of this study is to examine the development of a single, major component of that 'closed' landscape, the village itself in the period between 1830 and 1870. It attempts, by analysing in detail the village plan, the building pattern and the demographic and socio-economic structure, to assess not only the impact of absolute landlord control on that settlement but also the methods adopted by the landlord to achieve change, providing some indication of the processes by which Keele became 'closed'.

### THE VILLAGE PLAN

Keele has been described as a planned rural estate village in both contemporary and present-day accounts, its creation being dated from the mid-nineteenth century and being linked directly to the rebuilding of Keele Hall undertaken in the 1850s.<sup>13</sup> Thus, W. Rothwell, a reliable agricultural commentator, could note in 1856 that 'there is no village in England where the cottages are more comfortable, more convenient, more substantial or in better taste than in the village of Keele'.<sup>14</sup> An opportunity to examine this view is presented by the existence of three surveys of the village carried out at 20-year intervals from 1828-30 to 1869, from which its varying form can be determined.

In 1828- the village an irregular lack of order Nantwich to the north of the village and southwards towards Nantwich road system.

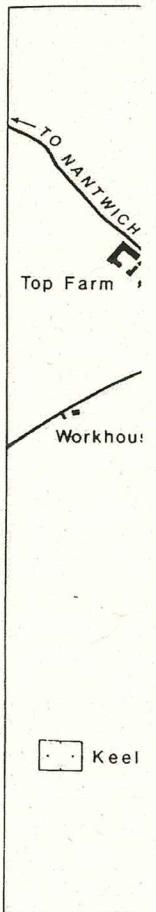


FIGURE 1. Keele

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In 1828-30 little evidence of distinct form can be detected in the layout of the village (Fig. 1)<sup>15</sup> Settlement in the main was distributed along the roads in an irregular and linear fashion and, as the road network was circuitous, the lack of order in the village plan was emphasised. Thus, the main Newcastle-Nantwich turnpike pursued a winding course through the village, entering to the north of the church, turning sharply to the right in the centre and running outwards straight in front of Top Farm. The main road from Whitmore ran southeastwards into Keele, creating a major junction with the Newcastle-Nantwich turnpike, while the village centre was occupied by a rectangular road system from which a path led northwards to Silverdale.

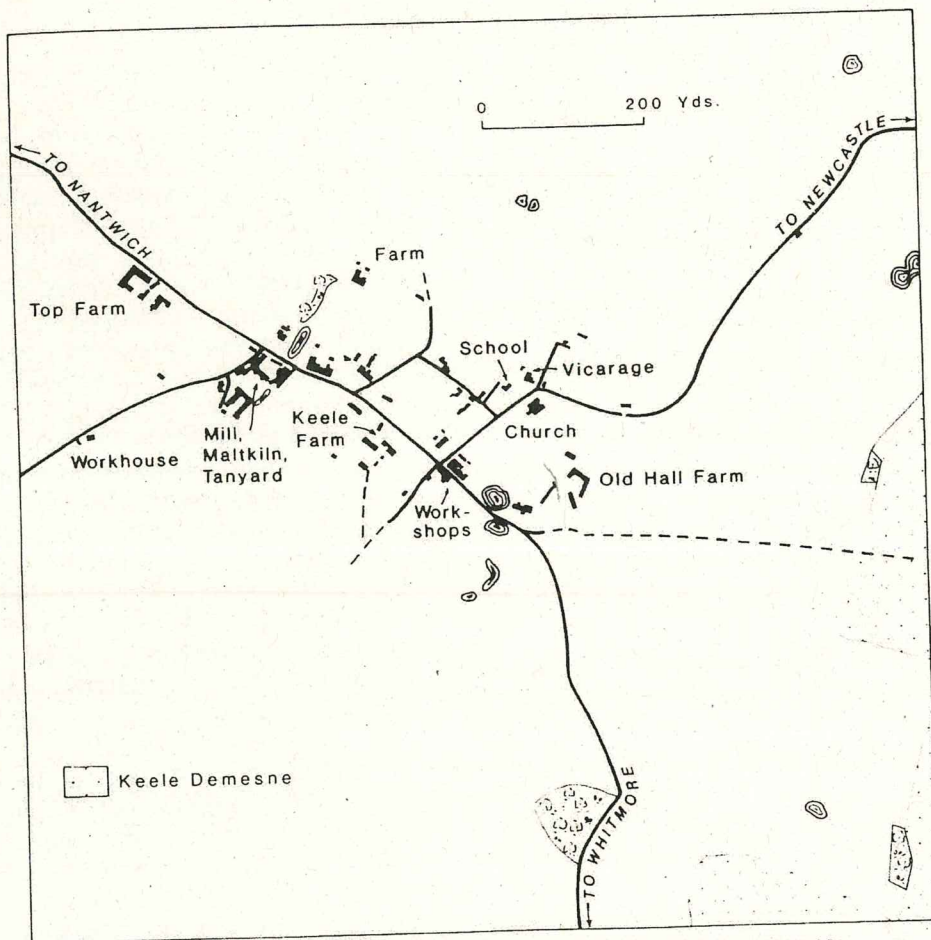


FIGURE 1. Keele village, 1828-30 (Source: K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., Plans of estates, 1828-30).

Little attempt had been made to segregate functions within the village. Although the 1828-30 survey reveals the predominantly agricultural base of the village, it also indicates that these activities were not separately grouped. Thus the four farms, the small agricultural processing complex with a mill, maltkiln and tanyard, a maltster and a tanner being resident in the village,



and the agricultural workshops, housing a blacksmith and wheelwright, were scattered throughout the settlement.<sup>16</sup> A similarly dispersed and irregular pattern characterised the majority of the 47 house and cottage properties in the village, resulting in the mixing of residential and agricultural functions, most developed at the processing complex where the mill, maltkiln and tanyard were interspersed with a number of cottages.

Only the three institutional buildings of the village possessed distinct locations. The workhouse, which at that time functioned as such for Keele parish, was segregated, distant from the main body of the village, while the church and school, together with the vicarage, formed a separate group on the edge of the village. Although revealing the near absolute control of land in the village by the Sneyds, the 1828-30 survey gives little indication of a planned or ordered settlement.

A skeletal plan of 1849 demonstrates that changes in the village layout had occurred from 1828-30 (Fig.2).<sup>17</sup> Most significantly, major alterations had been made to the road system. The main Newcastle-Nantwich turnpike now

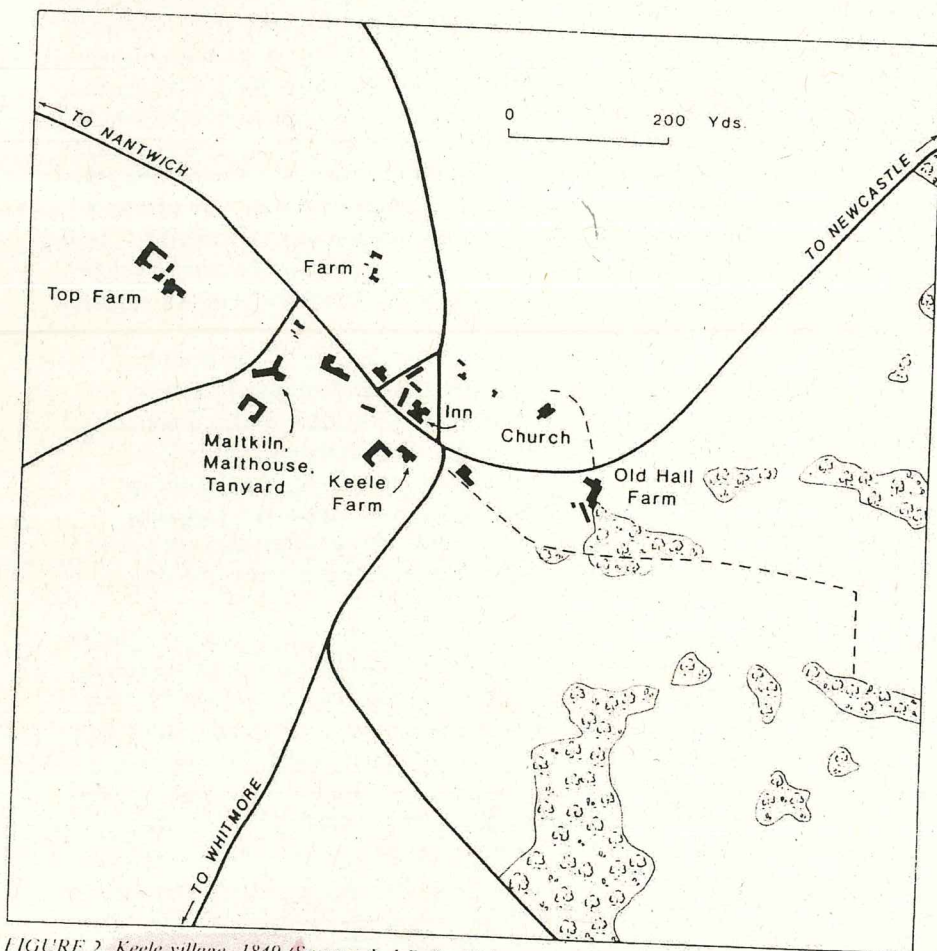


FIGURE 2. Keele village, 1849 (Source: L.J.R.O., Tithe map, Keele parish, 1849).

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passed well to the south of the church and followed a more direct and more northerly course through the village, passing well to the fore of Top Farm. The road from Whitmore had been moved to enter the village from the southwest, while in the centre of Keele a triangular road pattern had been established, with a road route to Silverdale in existence.

These road changes seem to date from the 1840s. The course of the Whitmore road was altered in 1840, a consequence of the expansion of the parkland surrounding Keele Hall,<sup>18</sup> while the more extensive project, the new line of the Newcastle-Nantwich turnpike, came slightly later. Discussions among the trustees of the turnpike for the diversion of the road through Keele were taking place in 1845;<sup>19</sup> work began in 1846 and was complete by 1847. As the *Staffordshire Advertiser* reported,

'By the formation of almost a new line of road, commencing at the south extremity of the village and terminating near the toll-gate at the northern extremity, a straight and almost level line of road about a mile in length has been obtained in place of a crooked up and down road, which, particularly near the church, was dangerous to horses and vehicles by the abruptness of the turns and the sharpness of the descent. About £1,800 has been expended in the alteration, and there is but one opinion as to the judiciousness of the outlay'.<sup>20</sup>

*from 11.25*

Besides facilitating traffic flow, the new course of the Newcastle-Nantwich turnpike formed the basis of subsequent building development in Keele, as most buildings in the village were located along the roads.

Despite the new road system, the settlement pattern in 1849 was not markedly different from that of 1828-30. Although the 1849 plan lacks completeness, in conjunction with an estate rental of 1848,<sup>21</sup> it allows a reconstruction of village buildings to be made for that date. The agricultural base of the village was little altered: four farms, the processing complex, but without reference to a mill, and the workshops, all with unchanged locations. The institutional grouping of the church, school and vicarage remained on the village margins but the workhouse had by then lost its parish function and now formed part of the housing stock. The houses and cottages were still dispersed.

Nevertheless, there had been some changes in the village arising from cottage removals, dating from 1846. Two cottages had been demolished, the occupants of which were now housed in the workhouse, to accommodate the new turnpike road. A further two cottages had been pulled down to provide the site of a new inn, the Sneyd Arms, located at the junction of the Whitmore and Newcastle-Nantwich roads, while another had been removed to permit an extension to the vicarage. Overall, the number of houses and cottages fell to 41 by 1849 out of a total of 51 buildings in the village. Although the settlement pattern may have retained its 1828-30 basis, the village had become smaller, there being a 14 per cent reduction in the total number of buildings (Table 1).

A much altered village plan is evident by 1869 (Fig.3).<sup>22</sup> While the road network varied little from that of 1849, the settlement pattern had undergone



consequence of the expansion of the Keele park. In addition, the removal of properties provided the opportunity to eradicate certain functions and to lessen functional mixing within the village. The pulling down of the maltkiln and tanyard not only extinguished those activities but left that part of the village largely one of cottages.

TABLE I

*Number of buildings in Keele village, 1828-30 to 1869*

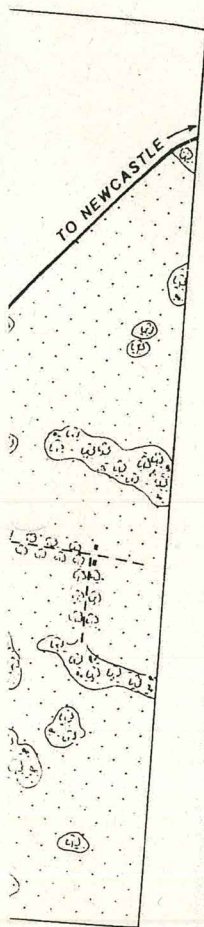
Date	Institutional buildings	Farms	Agriculturally based workshops	Cottage and house properties	Total
1828-30	3	4	5	47	59
1849	2	4	5	41	51
1869	3	2	2	37	44

Sources: K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., Plans of estates, 1828-30; S.2080; S.2238; S.2249; L.J.R.O., Tithe map, Keele parish, 1849.

A few new buildings in new locations were added to the village by 1869. These were mainly of an institutional nature, the school, post office and estate lodge, but did include a large house, the Villa, to be let to middle-class tenants.<sup>24</sup> All these new buildings were sited close to the Newcastle-Nantwich road, emphasising the importance of that route in the village plan. Although the remaining buildings in Keele may have been enlarged or redeveloped, there was no change in site. The Hawthorns, converted from a farm to the estate agent's house and offices, including a stable, accommodation for a groom and a cow shed,<sup>25</sup> the vicarage, Top Farm and Keele Farm had all been greatly extended but retained the same locations as in 1828-30. Similarly, the single most numerous group of buildings in the village in 1869, the cottages, had been subject to much redevelopment but, although many were referred to as new cottages in estate rentals,<sup>26</sup> they were all on sites that had been occupied by cottages in 1828-30 and in 1849. No new land in the village had been devoted to the building of new cottages.

As a result of these processes, a degree of segregation can be detected in the 1869 settlement pattern. The village could be broadly divided into a centre, predominantly of cottage properties, where the majority of the population lived, with the facilities to serve the needs of that community, and a periphery of four clusters of substantial buildings, the church and vicarage, the agent's house and offices at the Hawthorns and the two remaining village farms, from which the villagers were administered and partly employed. The random distribution of properties, functions and social groups evident in the village in 1828-30 had been subjected to careful rationalisation by 1869.

Although an estate village, these three surveys reveal clearly that Keele was not planned on any formal lines and that its layout was not solely a product of the 1850s. Instead, they demonstrate that the village plan underwent change over the whole period from 1828-30 to 1869. At the same time they indicate that the settlement pattern of Keele in 1869 exhibited considerable



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continuity of site, if not of buildings, from 1828-30. Settlement locations identified in 1869 had in the main all been used as such in 1828-30, the provision of buildings on previously unbuilt-on land being rare in the village. The overall change in settlement pattern was largely achieved by a process of selective demolition and redevelopment. It was at this level that the village was consciously planned by the landlord, producing by 1869 an order that had been absent in 1828-30.

### THE PATTERN OF BUILDING

Changes to the village plan may be better understood by examining when properties were built or rebuilt. Such an analysis provides the opportunity to assess the impact of such building on house styles and the quality of housing within the village. A building record for the whole of the Sneyd estate is contained in varying detail in the estate accounts for the period. Building provision may be expressed in two ways: firstly, in terms of expenditure so that the intensity of and trends in activity at Keele may be gauged and compared with the estate in general; and, secondly, by dating specific developments within the village.

Building expenditure comprises all building provision - repairs, extensions, new buildings - as no distinction is consistently made in the accounts in this period between these items. However, outlay on Keele Hall, its associated buildings and on churches on the estate has been excluded so that expenditure represents only building activity on tenanted property. Up to 1861 one can relate building expenses to specific places on the Sneyd estate, revealing that Keele village was not the only part of the Sneyd estate that experienced redevelopment. Indeed, investment in the village must be seen against the background of a general estate policy of renovation and re-building.

Before 1840, building expenditure was small, amounting to a mere £1,270 on the whole estate between 1831 and 1837. An estate memorandum of 1840 recorded that a total sum of £1,684 had been spent on farm repairs and roads on the Keele estate from 1829 to 1840, an annual average of only £140.<sup>27</sup> A preference for purchasing land rather than redevelopment was evident in estate policies at this time.<sup>28</sup> From the 1840s there occurred a change in emphasis with investment being more geared to estate improvement and by 1845 an extensive programme of building was in existence which continued to 1870.<sup>29</sup> Although levels of expenditure fluctuated considerably over the period, reaching a peak in 1854, total building outlay on tenanted property between 1845 and 1870, save for three years for which data are unavailable, amounted to a massive £99,656, an average of £4,333 a year. For the 21 years between 1845 and 1870 where we have rental receipts from farms, cottages and houses, we can see that this rate of expenditure represented 32 per cent of rental income, an exceptionally high level of activity, rendering building investment as perhaps the major element of estate management in this period (Fig.4). The restructuring of Keele village, also beginning in the mid-1840s, therefore formed just part of the estate's general building programme. Although the amount spent on the village was considerable, it represented

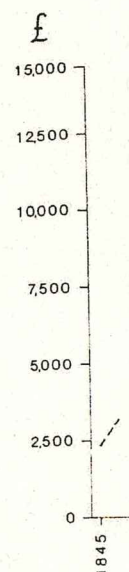


FIGURE 4. *Revised*  
(Source: K.U.L.)

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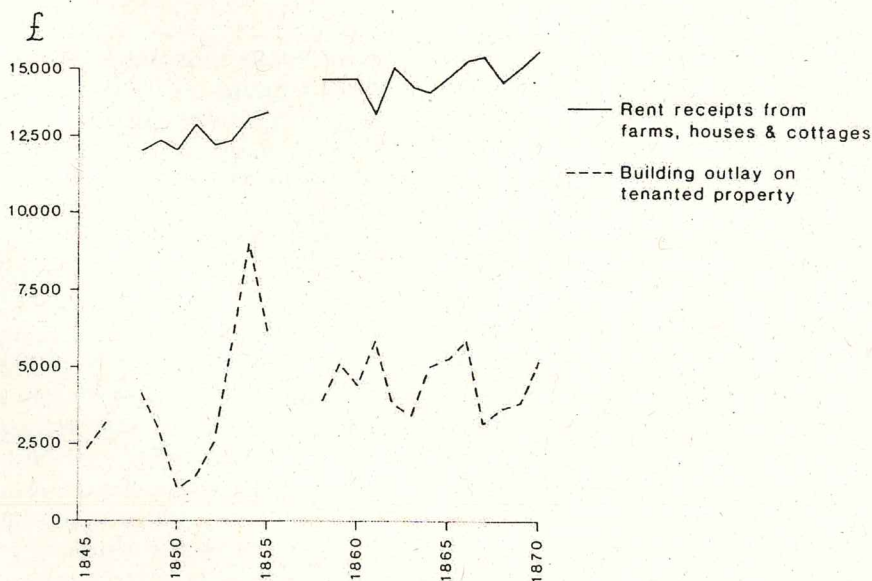


FIGURE 4. Rental receipts and building expenditure on tenanted property, Sneyd estate, 1845-70 (Source: K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2075; 2080-2103 *passim*; estate accounts, 1858-69).

only a small proportion of total expenditure. Between 1848 and 1861, estate accounts, which are available for twelve of the years, reveal that of all building outlay on tenanted property on the estate, some £57,630, the village of Keele absorbed only £6,300, being just eleven per cent of the total.

This level of investment may be transformed into landscape terms by detailing the building developments contained in the estate accounts. Although activity was continuous over the whole period to 1870, the main changes in village buildings were concentrated between 1847 and 1862. After realignment of the turnpike in 1847, outlay is recorded to 1850 for creating new cross roads in the centre of Keele, levelling ground to accommodate the new height of the turnpike road and stocking with trees and shrubs the course of the former road. The first new building in the village was the inn begun in 1847.<sup>30</sup> Two inns had been in existence in the village from 1828-30, the Sneyd Arms and the Sneyd's Crest.<sup>31</sup> With the completion of the new inn, both the tenant and the name of the Sneyd Arms was transferred to it, its former building being subsequently renovated as a cottage.<sup>32</sup>

The building of 'new' cottages is first noted in 1849, when a group of five is mentioned, but cottage redevelopment formed a constant item of expenditure from 1849 to the 1860s. Thus, the construction of a further four 'new' cottages is recorded in 1851, and those east of the Villa, which had housed the old Sneyd Arms, were rebuilt in 1850 to form a terraced group of three, while the block of cottages immediately west of the post office, which had been in existence in 1828-30, was renovated between 1858 and 1860. A clearer indication of cottage redevelopment perhaps can be obtained from an examination of their rent trends between 1849 and 1864.<sup>33</sup> Of the 34 rents of cottage properties that can be identified in Keele village in 1849, twelve



disappeared from 1851 to 1861 because the cottages were described as being demolished. However, at least ten rents are recorded in 1864 for cottages that came into existence after 1850.

Demolition of property can also be traced from the accounts. By 1851 Old Hall Farm and the workshops and cottages, containing the second inn, the Sneyd's Crest, at the junction of the Whitmore and Newcastle-Nantwich roads had disappeared. In their place, Keele lodge emerged that year, as did the Villa. Extensions to existing buildings represented a further element of outlay, and the conversion in 1850 of a farm to the agent's house, the Hawthorns, produced a regular provision of necessary offices in the early 1850s. At the same time, similar work was undertaken at the vicarage, which was in its finished form by 1856.

A further outburst of building in the village can be dated from 1858. By that year, the post office and its linked reading room were completed and the building of the new school begun, which was largely finished by 1860. This new building was accompanied by further demolition: in 1859 and 1860 the old school was pulled down and in 1859-61 the maltkiln, malthouse and tanyard were removed.

Although additional buildings to the village farms were provided throughout the 1850s, only one farmhouse was rebuilt, that of Keele Farm, taking place at the end of the main period of building activity in 1862. The final major change in the built landscape of the village was the rebuilding of the church. Work on replacing the existing towered structure, itself a rebuilding dating from 1790,<sup>34</sup> began in 1868 and was complete in 1870. Estate outlay for further construction and development in Keele was reduced greatly after 1870,<sup>35</sup> few buildings being added after that date, and the village form remained largely the same until the end of the nineteenth century.

The general redevelopment of the village was associated with the introduction of new building styles and materials. Evidence is slight on house types before 1847, the 1828-30 survey containing no such information. However, a survey of the Keele estate of 1772-75 does include details of farmhouses within the parish at large.<sup>36</sup> Of the eight farmhouses for which descriptions exist and which ranged in size from two to four bays, only one was a brick building covered with tiles, while another was partly stone and brick with a thatched roof. The building style common to the remaining six farmhouses was that of timber buildings with brick infilling and thatch roofings. Given the dominance of this style amongst the farmhouses of the parish, one may suppose that the village cottages were constructed on similar lines. This view is supported by an ink and wash drawing of the village by Charlotte Sneyd,<sup>37</sup> undated but entitled *old Keele village*, displaying low thatched cottages (Fig. 5). Indeed, reference to thatching cottages in the village continued until 1854.<sup>38</sup>

With the instigation of the new building programme from the mid-1840s, there was a move not only to different building materials but also to greater regularity in the form of structures, producing a transformation in the appearance of Keele village. With the exception of the inn, lodge and church, which were either wholly or partially built of stone, all buildings from 1849 were predominantly brick, using for roofing material tile instead of thatch.



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the estate or the estate's tenant farmers for employment. Although this social group represented a major element in the enumeration district in 1841, with 41 per cent of household heads, its proportion expanded between 1851 and 1861 to 63 per cent, a level at which it remained in 1871. The policy pursued by the estate was to develop as the largest social group within the village one that, although basic to the running of the estate and its farms, was nevertheless dependent and deferential.

TABLE 3

*Social structure in Keele village enumeration district, 1841-71*

Class	Percentage of household heads			
	1841	1851	1861	1871
1. Professional	5	3	3	4
2. Intermediate	11	11	12	12
3. Skilled	43	37	22	19
4. Partly Skilled	41	49	63	62
5. Unskilled	0	0	0	3
Total number of households	61	62	68	68

Sources: as for Table 2.

While the changes in the social structure of the village represented an attack on the independence of its inhabitants, the estate had little desire to foster total dependence. The proportion of household heads that could be classed as unskilled was negligible between 1841 and 1871. There was no encouragement for tenants who could offer no useful service to the estate and might eventually call on it to support them. Indeed, the workhouse had been disbanded and converted into part of the village's housing stock. The social engineering undertaken by the estate, particularly in the decade 1851-61, in the village of Keele was as dramatic as any of the changes to the built landscape.

### MECHANISMS OF CHANGE

The extent of landownership and commitment of individual owners may be identified as the dominant factors in the redevelopment of a 'closed' village. As the greater part of Keele parish belonged to the Sneyd family at the end of the eighteenth century, the late reorganisation of the village, not beginning until the 1840s, appears surprising. However, although dominant in the parish, the Sneyds did not possess absolute control of the village, small but significant elements belonging to other landowners. These lands were purchased when available, the mill and tanyard thus passing to the estate in 1826, and it was not until 1841 when a group of cottage properties and the malkiln were obtained that complete ownership of the village was achieved.<sup>54</sup> The physical and social restructuring of Keele village was then

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initiated in the mid-1840s by Ralph Sneyd, who had inherited the estate in 1829, and as the programme was largely complete by 1870, a few months before he died, the new settlement was predominantly his creation.<sup>55</sup> As Rothwell reported in 1856, 'Mr Sneyd does the thing without consulting anyone except his agent and architect as to the best mode of doing it'.<sup>56</sup>

Changes in the village reflected Ralph Sneyd's attitudes and politics. Disenchanted with public and political matters, Sneyd had devoted himself to the life of a 'true English gentleman', with an intense commitment to the landscaping of his park and estate at Keele.<sup>57</sup> Despite the fact that revenues from industrial and urban sources formed an increasing part of his total income, from one per cent in the 1830s to 60 per cent in the 1870s, he disliked both the landscape expression of such new forms of wealth and the new social orders and skills that industrialisation produced. He believed in a Tory society based on landownership and the development of traditional and hierarchical communities.<sup>58</sup> The changes in both the physical and social structure of Keele village were clearly a response to Sneyd's attitudes to rural life.

For the practical implementation of his policies and their public acceptance, Sneyd relied on his appointees to administer the permanent institutions of both estate and village. At the head of this structure were the estate agent and the vicar, but there existed an extended line of control, as can be illustrated in a minute drawn up for Sneyd by the estate agent in 1844 detailing the duties of a proposed farm bailiff:

'To note the condition of the land and buildings; and the management of the tenants, with especial reference to the necessary repairs of the farm buildings and cottages and the erection of new buildings:...stopping up old and unnecessary roads and the formation of new ones on more favourable levels.'<sup>59</sup>

Much depended on the men who held these positions. In appointing Andrew Thompson in 1849, Sneyd secured the services of an outstanding, nationally-known, estate agent who remained in that post until his death in 1869.<sup>60</sup> Thompson was clearly aware of the nature of the estate interest and had little difficulty in the practical application of Sneyd's design. Thus, in appointing new farm tenants, Thompson sought well-off farmers, who not only could afford to pursue advanced farming systems but who also would endorse estate policies,<sup>61</sup> an important factor as farms with their use of agricultural labour represented the largest source of employment in the village. By the end of 1856, Thompson could report to Sneyd that 'we have got the farms into good size and occupied by good men'.<sup>62</sup>

Sneyd was less successful in his appointment of a vicar, the Rev. Henry Sutcliffe, who had come to Keele in the 1840s and was still there in 1870.<sup>63</sup> Sutcliffe did not always adopt the estate interest in the process of village redevelopment and in several cases he actively opposed the extension of estate control. Details of two of these cases have survived, the building of the new school and the building of the reading room. Both were institutions through which Sneyd's authority would be extended, and they provide insights into the way in which estate dominance of the village was achieved.



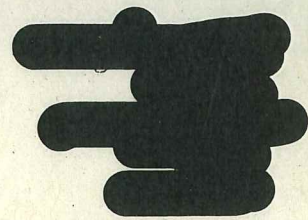
11. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2205, Book of reference...to the manors and estates belonging to Walter Sneyd, c.1794; Plans of estates...1828-30; S.2249, Reference to plan of the Keele estate, 1871. Woodland located on farms away from the demesne has not been included in these calculations.
12. K.U.L., Sneyd, Mss., Plans of estates...1828-30; S.2249, Reference...Keele estate, 1871; B.P.P., *Agricultural returns, 1870* lxxviii (1870). It is not possible to give farm sizes solely for Keele parish, as many of its farms stretched into neighbouring parishes and farm size has been calculated for Keele and the related parts of the parishes of Trentham, Swynnerton, Wolstanton and Whitmore.
13. W. Rothwell, 'Farming in Staffordshire', *Agricultural Gazette*, 24 Nov. 1856, pp.778-79; P.J.W. Higson, *Development of Keele village, 1848-1870* (Keele, 1978), pp.13-14; J.M. Kolbert, *The Sneyds and Keele Hall* (1967), pp.6-8 and *The Sneyds, squires of Keele* (1976), pp.17-19.
14. Rothwell, *op.cit.*, p.779. He was an estate agent by profession and had published a detailed account of Lancashire farming: *Report of the agriculture of the county of Lancaster* (1850).
15. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., Plans of estates...1828-30. Throughout the present study, unless otherwise stated, the area of the village has been taken as that shown in Figures 1-3.
16. *White's directory of Staffordshire* (1834), p.644.
17. L.J.R.O., Tithe map, Keele parish, 1849.
18. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.1459, Letters, S. Peake to R. Sneyd, 20 May and 28 June 1840.
19. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.1465, Letters, S. Peake to R. Sneyd, 23 July 1845.
20. *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 19 June 1847.
21. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2080, Estate account and rental, 1848.
22. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2238, Plan of the Keele estate...the property of Ralph Sneyd, 1869.
23. *Censuses*, 1841-1871.
24. Public Record Office [P.R.O.], RG/10, 2834, Enumerators' returns to the 1871 census, Keele village enumeration district.
25. *Ibid.*
26. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2086, Ledger, rents and accounts, 1848-64.
27. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2055, Rentals, 1831-37; S.2050, Estate memorandum, 1840.
28. R.W. Sturgess, 'Landowners, mining and urban development in nineteenth-century Staffordshire', in J.T. Ward and R.G. Wilson (eds.), *Land and Industry* (1971), p.194; as an example, see K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2055, Rental for 1836.
29. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2075, Abstracts of building expenditure, Keele estate, 1845-46; S.2080, 2081, 2084, 2089, 2093, 2096, 2101, 2103, 2123, Estate accounts, 1848-55 and 1870; S.2090, Annual abstract of accounts, 1850-55, 61, 64, 67, 70; Estate accounts, 1858-69 (microfilm copy); S.1465, Letters, S. Peake to R. Sneyd, 10 and 23 July 1845.
30. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.1465, Letters, S. Peake to R. Sneyd, 25 July 1847.
31. *White's directory of Staffordshire* (1834), p.644. The Sneyd's Crest was alternatively known as the Black Lion: K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2055, Rental for 1837; S.2080, Estate account, 1848.
32. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2080, 2081, 2084, Estate accounts, 1848-50.
33. K.U.L., Sneyd Mss., S.2086, Ledger, rents and accounts, 1848-64.
34. *Gentleman's Magazine Library: English topography, part XI* (1899), pp.81-87. A sepia drawing exists of the old church from the southwest by J. Buckler, dated 1840: William Salt Library, V.48.
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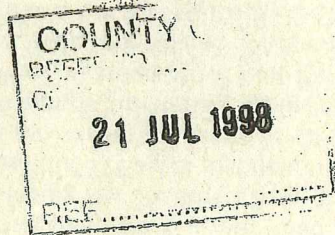
# Keele Parish Council

Chairman: ~~Dr. S. Naylor~~ Dr. E. S. S. S.

Clerk: Ms. L. Scott  
Telephone (01782) 710890  
14th July 1998



Mr. John Gregory  
Director of Central Services  
PO Box 11  
County Buildings  
Martin Street  
Stafford  
ST16 2LH



Dr /  
OTS  
CT

Dear Mr. Gregory,

**Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 - Alleged Public Footpath  
between A525 Keele Road and Lymes Road, Keele**

I write in response to your letter of 1st June 1998 and enclose evidence to show that although there was a footpath in this location in 1814, in 1840 this footpath was replaced by Two Mile Lane. The evidence is provided by extracts from the "History of Keele". The footpath shown on the map provided, which is not an approved definitive map, has not existed since it was stopped in 1840 by active Quarter Session.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Linda Scott".

Linda Scott  
**Clerk to Keele Parish Council**