

APPENDIX 3

Historic development of the Tower of London landscape

A3. HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWER OF LONDON LANDSCAPE

INTRODUCTION

- 3.1. This appendix introduces the history of gardening at the Tower making reference to trees in particular. A broad outline of the key historic phases that have influenced the landscape development at the Tower is provided followed by a more detailed analysis of a number of areas. This appendix is largely based upon a paper prepared by Jane Spooner of HRP who has analysed documentary, illustrative and cartographic evidence for gardens and tree planting at the Tower. LUC has prepared a map regression study to illustrate and expand upon the assessment. A summary of the key issues is provided at the end of the appendix.
- 3.2. Tree planting and gardening has been recorded at the Tower of London from the mid-13th century until the present day. Archaeological pollen analysis (and to a lesser extent plant remains) of material recovered from the moat excavations during 1995-7 provides evidence for the existence of trees in the Tower environs. Pollen from species such as oak, birch, pine and alder in medieval and post-medieval levels is likely to have been wind-borne and thus not necessarily representative of trees in the castle or its vicinity. Pollen from species such as lime/linden, elm, beech, ash, yew, walnut, spruce and juniper, by contrast, is most likely to have come from trees growing (and perhaps planted deliberately) there. Preserved juniper seeds were also found in a post-medieval soil layer, suggesting that they might have been used for flavouring gin².

OUTLINE HISTORY

- 3.3. Three basic periods of landscape influence can be recognised in the Towers history.

The Medieval Fortress from 1078 to the mid 17th century

- 3.4. During this period the Tower was primarily a fortress, the emphasis being on defence with open ground, curtain walls and towers, the moat and clear open sight-lines. Trees were not seen as part of the Towers image during this period although there were fruit trees planted on Tower Hill and there are references to the Privy Gardens.

Mid 17th century to early 19th century

- 3.5. During this period the Tower lost its function as a principle Royal residence, but maintained its customs and ceremonies and remained outwardly and symbolically a fortress. Nevertheless, some tree planting appears to have been undertaken within the Tower precincts in this period. A map dated 1681 (Figure A3.4) shows tree planting in the North East Garden; a map dated 1717 (Figure A3.5) shows an avenue of trees along the east side of Tower Green; a map dated 1726 (Figure A3.6) records

² see Keevill 2004, 134-9 and 182-5 for environmental evidence for trees

a development of the military style of planting with the avenue retained and five further straight lines of trees.

The 19th Century – present day

- 3.6. The third phase of influence was from 1852 when, after the death of the Duke of Wellington, Prince Albert encouraged public appreciation of the Tower as a national monument and the process of 'presenting' the Tower to the visiting public was pursued with greater determination. Figure A3.7 which shows the 1873 Ordnance Survey map shows a far greater number of trees which reflect the move to enhance the visual amenity of the Tower which was by then enclosed on three sides by planting and there was planting inside the inner ward, some of which dated to the earlier phase described above.
- 3.7. Seventeen trees were lost during or as a result of the 1987 storm, a reduction of 25% of the total population, bringing home the need to map for the long term if trees were to continue to be present at the Tower. The landscape we see today, though containing spatial and landform vestiges of earlier phases, has been much influenced by the second half of the 19th century, and most of the present tree planting pattern originates from this time with some later additions/replacements.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS BY AREA

- 3.8. The detailed analysis which follows is based upon eight key areas as illustrated in Figure A3.1.
1. Tower Hill and Little Tower Hill
 2. The Privy Garden and Wardrobe Garden
 3. The North East Garden
 4. Tower Green
 5. The Inmost Ward and Eastern Inner Ward
 6. Water Lane
 7. The Wharf
 8. The Moat and Bowling Green

I. Tower Hill and Little Tower Hill

- 3.9. In March 1262, Henry III gave instructions for planting 'cailhou' pear trees in a walled enclosure outside the castle, but inside the city wall's³. This orchard was known as 'The King's Garden'. It is likely that this garden lay on the north side of the Tower Moat on a property later to be known as the 'Nine Gardens', which remained at least until 1597, when they were depicted in the Haiward and Gascoyne's survey of that date⁴. The Nine Gardens lay to the west of the Roman City wall, which connected to

³ *Calendar of the Close Rolls of Henry III 1261-1267* (London 1936) p30

⁴ J Ashbee, *A medieval garden at the Tower of London*, unpublished lecture, undated. The Haiward and Gascoyne survey is now known from 18th century copies, held at the Society of Antiquaries, and the National Archives respectively.

the 13th century postern gate (now excavated and exposed to view as visitors arrive at the Tower from the Tube Station.) To the east of the wall lay the City's ditch, and an enclosed field, dotted with trees. In the 1597 survey, Tower Hill is depicted as simply an empty expanse of land with paths crossing it. Little Tower Hill, labelled as East Smithfield, is the same. In 1607 the Lieutenant of the Tower Sir William Waad moved 2000 loads of rubbish and earth to convert the site of the Nine Gardens into a garden once again with a brick wall, and a Banqueting House at the end of it. By 1620 when a condition report was made of the Tower it was noted that the City ditch surrounding it had been filled with earth, and ordinary yards and gardens clustered around it⁵. Lemprière's survey of the Tower, of 1717 (Figure A3.5), shows the area north of the postern subsumed within the environs of Little Tower Hill, depicted as a large expanse of earthwork and green field. The former 'Nine Gardens' are encroached upon by a large expanse of buildings, alleys and courtyards. However, the 1717 map (Figure A3.5) does show a neat row of trees lining the ridge of the north moat to the west of the postern. Great Tower Hill has been transformed into what appears to be a municipal park, with a great ovoid pathway / roadway encircled by dense tree growth, and a lawn in its centre⁶. The area to the north of the moat is now occupied by a major road and, partially, by Trinity Square public gardens on the site of Great Tower Hill. Trinity Square Gardens were established by the latter half of the 19th century, and are shown on both the 1873 and 1893 Ordnance Survey maps (Figures A3.7 and A3.8) of the Tower and its Liberties.

- 3.10. The sloping outer surroundings of the moat appear to have been a simple earth feature, as shown on Haiward and Gascoyne's 1597 survey (Figure A3.2). It seems clear that the outer edge of the moat was a simple earth bank until Sir Bernard de Gomme built the revetment wall into it from 1670-83⁷. Initially the revetment seems to have been left standing proud of the bank behind it, but this gap was soon filled in to achieve a level closer to that on the rest of Tower Hill surrounding the moat. Paintings still show the area behind the wall as a barely-managed slope into the 1840s⁸. The ground was soon transformed into a quasi-municipal formal garden as the Tower's defensive role declined. The 1873 and 1893 Ordnance Survey maps (Figures A3.7 and A3.8) show heavy tree plantations, criss-crossed with paths and seats ringing the outer edge of the moat. Later 19th-century photographs show the west and north-west gardens in full bloom. The gardens were regularly re-planted and despite the majority of the Tower environs on the west side now being paved in stone the gardens on the slopes above the De Gomme wall (in the location of Little Tower Hill) are still frequently replanted.
- 3.11. In summary, Tower Hill and Little Tower Hill have transformed over the centuries from being the site of a 13th century king's orchard, extent unknown, to a series of functional household gardens within the Tower Liberties by the later years of Elizabeth Tudor's reign. In the 17th century, Lieutenant Waad once more reclaimed the land for high status recreational use, with his Banqueting House as a pleasant site from which no doubt to view the castle whilst entertaining. It didn't take long for the

⁵ H M Colvin, *History of the King's Works 1485-1660*. Vol III (London, 1975), pp 273-4

⁶ Survey of 1717 by Clement Lemprière, *The National Archives, Works 31 / 24*

⁷ Parnell, G. 'The Tower of London', (London, 1993), p76

⁸ George Bryant Champion's painting of the north moat, Keevill, 2004. *Archaeological Excavations in the Moat, HM Tower of London 1995-9 Historic Royal Palaces/Oxford Archaeology Monograph*, fig 144

clutter of ordinary folk to encroach, and by the 18th century, much of the 'Nine Gardens' area was subsumed by the roadways and alleys of the City. Great Tower Hill became an area of recreation, though of course the last executions took place there after the failed Jacobite rebellion of 1745. By the 19th century, the recreational landscape character of the area was well established, with Trinity Square Gardens and the garden on Little Tower Hill being adjoined by tree plantations and pathways, with seating. The landscaping of Tower Hill took its final form during the Tower Environs Scheme project, completed in 2003. A sweeping vista of the western aspect of the Tower was opened up, and the sloping gardens above the west and northern revetment walls were replanted.

2. The 'Privy' and 'Wardrobe' Garden

- 3.12. Another Royal garden, this time within the Castle walls, first appears in documents of 1266 with an order to buy plants, and to repair a wall around 'The King's Garden in the Tower of London'⁹. It seems that this garden was repaired during the preparations for the newly acceded Edward I's arrival at the Tower between 1272-4¹⁰. It is most likely that this King's Garden is that located at the south east corner of the castle, and which can be seen in the 1597 Haiward and Gascoyne survey, labelled as 'The Privy Garden'. This occupies a triangle between the Lanthorn Tower, the Cradle, Salt and Well Towers. The documents for some of Henry III's other palaces and castles, such as Clarendon palace and Windsor castle, leave no doubt that a common place for such gardens would be immediately adjacent to the King's or Queen's chambers. This begins to throw attention on one particular corner of the Tower of London, the south-east corner, next to the round Lanthorn Tower in which Queen Eleanor of Provence probably lived when staying at the castle.¹¹ Though there are only sporadic accounts for the rest of the Middle Ages, the documentation of Henry Tudor's works to the castle in the late-15th and early-16th century confirm that the royal garden was indeed close to the Lanthorn Tower. Most compelling is the construction of a tall staircase within the garden rising to the "round tower where the Lord King is accustomed to sleep". Henry also built himself an extension to the palace in the form of a wooden gallery along a stretch of the castle wall and providing a view over the gardens on either side intersecting them in the fashionable continental style. The garden to the north of the gallery was larger than that to the south and was referred to as the Wardrobe Garden and the accounts also make reference to the 'Queen's Garden'¹². The gardens were obviously among the principal attractions of this sector in the castle¹³. By Henry VIII's reign, the large garden north of the gallery was called the King's, or Great Garden and that to the south as the Queen's, or Privy, Garden. Access between the two was achieved through a gate 8 ft by 11 ft underneath Henry VII's Gallery. Nearby there was also a 'Laundress's' garden, separated from the privy garden by a locked door. Accounts describe what might have been a small Banqueting House in the Gallery overlooking

⁹ *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls of Henry III, 1260-1267* (London 1961) p197

¹⁰ PRO SCI 7/46

¹¹ S Thurley, 'Royal Lodgings at the Tower of London. 1216-1327', *Architectural History* 38 (1995), pp 36-57.

¹² G, Parnell, *The Tower of London*. London, 1993), p55 and H M Colvin, *History of the King's Works 1485-1660*. Vol III (London, 1975), p 266

¹³ Ashbee, *op cit*.

the Privy garden. In 1532, a year of preparations for Anne Boleyn's coronation, timber and stone bridges, one with six ornamental vanes, were constructed in the Great and Privy gardens, probably for Henry and Anne to walk over during their brief stay before the ceremony. Later accounts describing these gardens suggest that they were divided up by low brick walls on which decorative posts and rails might be placed, in typical Tudor palace garden style¹⁴. The 'Agas' map of London, made in the mid-16th century, shows abundant tree foliage peeping over the top of the castle walls in the location of the Privy Garden¹⁵. It could be said that the royal ornamental gardens reached their apogee during Henry VIII's reign, but by the end of Elizabeth's they had fallen into disrepair, reflecting the end of royal residence at the Tower.

- 3.13. In 1663 a royal warrant was issued for the construction of a new military storehouse (the New Armouries) on the site of the 'the void peece of ground....commonly knowne or called by the name of the wardrobe Garden'¹⁶. This shows that its use as a garden had lapsed and permission was given for the construction of a storehouse on its site, this building is the last marker of the location of the royal gardens. A map of the Tower made in 1681-2 (Figure A3.4) proposing improvements to the site show that the Privy Garden area had by then lost its function as royal pleasure garden¹⁷. It was to be occupied by stables, storage areas, and gun platforms. Holcroft Blood's birds' eye view of the Tower, made in 1688, shows the triangle lined by buildings, but with no reference to a garden¹⁸. The Privy Garden area has remained a mostly functional and rather unprepossessing area. It is currently occupied by car parking spaces, the Yeoman Warder's club, toilets, and storage space. Two plane trees and a small patch of lawn with cannon decorate the area which is mostly inaccessible to the visiting public. A small garden is maintained in this area by the Yeomen warders and their families. In the area of the old Wardrobe garden, there is now a fairly recent plantation of trees in the cobbles in front of the New Armouries. Historic photographs show that in the late 19th century, much larger trees were planted here.

3. The North-East Garden

- 3.14. The north-east garden is visible on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676, and the 1681-2 'Dartmouth' map of the Tower¹⁹ (Figure A3.4). In the latter, it is indicated as two plots marked 'Gardens' which are adjacent to buildings marked 'The Clerk of Ordinance and 'The King's Store Keeper' in the inner ward between the Martin Tower and the Constable Tower, in front of the north storehouse. There appears to be a line of trees along the edge of the plots on three sides with the east side free of trees. In a survey of 1726 (Figure A3.6) a line of trees is shown planted extending from the western edge of this garden to the chapel in the west in front of the grand storehouse²⁰. These north-east gardens may have been the private domain of two senior Tower officials – a rare privilege which didn't last for long. Their absence

¹⁴ Keay, A. 'The Elizabethan Tower of London', (London Topographical Society, 2001), p47

¹⁵ The Agas map of London, The Guildhall Library, Corporation of London

¹⁶ Royal warrant dated January 1663, Parnell, *The Tower of London* (Batsford, London 1993) p64

¹⁷ The map was made to accompany a report on recommended changes to the Tower, made for Charles II. It is owned by the Royal Armouries.

¹⁸ View owned by the Royal Armouries

¹⁹ The 1681-2 'Dartmouth' map is owned by the Royal Armouries Library at the Tower of London

²⁰ PRO Y8562/3

from the plans of 1688 and 1717 (Figure A3.5) suggest that they may have been removed to make way for a wider parade ground or open space in the Inner Ward.

4. Tower Green

- 3.15. The area known as Tower Green today has a complex history. It occupies the western expanse of the Inner Ward, and was first incorporated within the castle boundaries in the end of the 12th century during the expansion of the fortress by William Longchamp²¹. The area was extended northwards by Henry III enclosing the fortress with a curtain wall in the 1230's, and the ancient chapel of St Peter ad Vincula was brought within the precincts of the Tower. During the previous decade, his regents had begun the construction of the Bloody Tower gate into the Inner Ward. As today, a steep recessed slope cut into the hill and led from the Bloody Tower up to the Coldharbour Gate. A retaining wall maintained the c.1.83 m higher Tower Green in position²². Cartographic and archaeological evidence indicates the presence of two garden spaces on Tower Green from at least the 16th century. The area immediately around St Peter ad Vincula, and stretching right across the north of the Inner Ward was occupied by a cemetery for the chapel's parishioners, which remained from the Middle Ages until at least 1862. The term 'Tower Green' has historically been rather a moveable feast, and covers a much larger area than today, including the northern 'Parade Ground', or Broadwalk.

The Lieutenant's Garden and Upper Garden

- 3.16. In 1532 the Bloody Tower was referred to as the Garden Tower – the earliest suggestion that one of Tower Green's gardens – the Lieutenant's Garden- was in its vicinity.²³ The Lieutenant's Garden is indicated on John Ogilby's 1672 survey of the Tower as an ornamental walled garden divided into four sections by pathways meeting in a circular space at the centre²⁴. This garden is also shown on the Haiward and Gascoyne 1597 survey as a walled garden with trees in the southern section of the lawn. This was probably the garden that Sir Walter Raleigh, imprisoned in the Bloody Tower from 1603-1616, used as an exercise ground and tried to grow tobacco in²⁵. As the Bloody Tower was extended and refurbished as high status accommodation in Edward III's reign (1327-77), it is likely that the Lieutenant's Garden had its origins in the 1360's. In this decade, Edward III built a series of lavishly appointed houses and apartments for the Constable, on the site of the current 1540's Queen's House²⁶. Traces of these earlier buildings remain in the cellars, and it is likely that the Bloody Tower, with its new luxurious interior and adjacent garden was part of this extension.
- 3.17. Early in the 17th century, the Lieutenant's Garden was extended northwards, again hard against the retaining wall of the Bloody Tower passageway slope. Under the direction of Lieutenant Waad, a new wall was built to the west of the new Upper

²¹ Geoffrey Parnell, 'Observations on Tower Green', *The London Archaeologist*, Vol.3,no,12, 1979, p320

²² G. Parnell, 1979, p323

²³ H M Colvin, *History of the King's Works 1485-1660*. Vol III (London, 1975), p 267

²⁴ Map of the Tower as surveyed by John Ogilby 1672, Royal Armouries A10/170

²⁵ P. Walker, 'Sir Walter Raleigh at the Tower', *The Tower of London, Its Buildings and Institutions*, HMSO, 1978, p97

²⁶ P. Curnow, 'The Bloody Tower', *The Tower of London, its Buildings and Institutions*, HMSO, 1978,p 59.

Garden whilst the old garden wall was raised to ensure security²⁷. The new wall is most clearly seen in Wenceslaus Hollar's Bird's Eye view of London made shortly after 1666²⁸. A section of the 'Upper' garden west wall foundations were recently excavated during resurfacing works on Tower Green²⁹. Ultraviolet examination of the Dartmouth 1681-2 map (Figure A3.4) revealed the features of the Upper Garden, concealed by a later patched amendment to the map³⁰. It shows a central lawned area, with a line of trees along the west wall, and a pathway around the perimeter. A Royal Warrant dated 13th July 1682 recommends the pulling down of the brick walls around the Bowling Green and Garden [Upper garden and Lieutenant's Garden] and replacing the whole area with a paved 'Parade Place'³¹. This work was carried out by 1685, when bills for the paving work were settled³².

The Parade Place

- 3.18. In the 18th century, the hard outlines of the military Parade Place in the western Inner Ward were softened by an avenue of trees, planted parallel to the Bloody Tower passageway retaining wall. These trees are represented in numerous plans and topographical drawings dating from Lemprière's map of 1717 (Figure A3.5) up until the early 20th century. Ordnance Survey maps of 1873 (Figure A3.7), 1893 (Figure A3.8) and 1901 demonstrate that the Victorians incorporated the previous century's tree avenue within their own scheme.
- 3.19. As the military function of the Parade Place was overtaken by the modern northern Parade Ground or Broadwalk, the Victorian's 'Tower Green' reflected a more picturesque and comfortable approach to landscaping. The pathway from the Queen's House to the old porch of St Peter's was lined with trees to give shade in 1857³³. This was timed with Anthony Salvin's celebrated restoration of the Beauchamp Tower, following the recommendations of the Prince Consort who felt that the 're-medievalisation' of the Tower should be carried out by a single architect³⁴. This early introduction of a Neo-Gothic, Romantic aesthetic into the landscape of the whole site was rigorously supported by Lord del Ros, the Lieutenant-Governor of the time. The Parade Place paving was replaced with irregular cobblestones (the remainder of which were conserved *in situ* in 2006 by Historic Royal Palaces), and benches for tourists were installed on Tower Green. Queen Victoria contributed to the Romantic character of Tower Green by commanding in 1861 that the traditional site of Anne Boleyn's execution be marked by a memorial tablet³⁵. A line of trees were planted along the south front of St Peter's in the late 19th / early 20th century, and can be seen for the first time on the Ordnance Survey map of 1901.
- 3.20. Early photographs show that the landscape of Tower Green was 'softened' for the last time by 1927. The 19th century random cobbling to the north and south of the

²⁷ H M Colvin, *History of the King's Works 1485-1660*. Vol III (London, 1975), p 274

²⁸ Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Society of Antiquaries*

²⁹ Pre-Construct Archaeology Report, ToL 103, forthcoming

³⁰ G. Parnell, 1979, p323

³¹ WO55 396, cf G. Parnell, 1979, p323

³² G. Parnell, 1979, p326

³³ Colonel Milman's Tower records (HRPA, 1876), p84

³⁴ G. Parnell, 1993, p98

³⁵ PRO Works 14

western Inner Ward was removed and replaced with grassed lawns, which remain to this day. Fragments of earlier landscaping schemes survive, including the cobbling in front of the Beauchamp Tower and parts of the old pathway to St Peter's. The overgrown trees on the Green are either markers or survivors of the 18th and 19th century planting schemes.

The Parade Ground, or Broadwalk

- 3.21. Very little landscaping or planting has taken place in the north of the Inner Ward, and this part of the castle has long been associated with military parading and weapon manufacture and display. Henry VIII's Ordnance stores dominated the area from the 16th century until the construction of the Grand Storehouse in 1692³⁶. This burnt down in 1841, and was replaced within four years by the current Waterloo Barracks, built to house 1000 men. The classical south façade of the Grand Storehouse was shaded by a line of trees, visible in an 18th century engraving, which were not reinstated after the conflagration of 1841³⁷. The Duke of Wellington, Constable of the Tower from 1826-1853, was an enthusiastic promoter of the military at the Tower. Until it was removed in 1863, Wellington's statue was the only ornament of the Parade Ground, which now is framed by a collection of guns. Photographs from the 1860's show that the soldiers stationed at the Tower marched upon coarse hoggin until it was later replaced by tarmac³⁸. The 1901 Ordnance Survey map indicates a curved line of five trees between the Coldharbour steps and the northwest corner of the White Tower. One of these trees still survives.

5. The Inmost Ward and the Eastern Inner Ward

The Inmost Ward

- 3.22. The area in front of the White Tower, today known as the South Lawn, is in fact the Inmost Ward of the castle. It was here in the most heavily defended part of the Fortress that Royal Residence was catered for. The plainness of the south lawn today belies the busy landscape of the medieval and Tudor periods. The Great Hall, the Coldharbour gate, the palace kitchens, Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII's royal apartments, the Tudor Jewel House and the Norman forebuilding, massive 17th century Ordnance Stores and a 19th century Main Guard building have all been replaced by a lawn, overgrown remnants of a possible 19th century tree planting scheme, and ravens' cages. Gardens and planting in the South lawn area has a rather limited history.
- 3.23. In 1717 the Carriage Storehouse was built along the south elevation of the White Tower³⁹. A map of 1754 shows a long unremarkable lawn and pathway occupying the space between the Norman building and the Carriage Storehouse, called the 'Surveyor General's garden'⁴⁰. It had one tree and a few shrubs in it. The Carriage Storehouse, and by extension the Surveyor General's garden, were demolished in

³⁶ Impey and Parnell, 2000, p65

³⁷ De la Cure's engraving of the Execution of the Highlanders of 1743, The Guildhall Library

³⁸ G Keevil, 'The Tower of London,: Analysis of Surface Finishes', unpublished report, 2006, p24

³⁹ PRO WO52/98, fol.138r

⁴⁰ Basement map, 1754, PRO Works 31/99

1825, to be replaced by the Horse Armoury building, which was in turn removed in 1883-5⁴¹.

- 3.24. It is hard to say exactly when the two large trees in the south lawn were planted, but they are likely to date from the late 19th century. A photograph from 1895 shows a row of young trees in front of the south elevation of the White Tower⁴². They may have been planted shortly after the demolition of the buildings around the White Tower, which were removed by Salvin's successor, John Taylor, as part of the neo-Gothic 'remedievalisation' of the Tower in 1879 and 1883-5. The Ordnance Survey map of 1901 shows a series of lawns criss-crossed by paths on the south lawn area. Two led to the Main Guard building, which was demolished by a bomb in 1940. A plethora of historic photographs illustrate this rather attractive arrangement, which allowed public access across an area now roped off from the visitor. Excavations investigating the Roman riverside wall were carried out in 1975-6, and the current 'landscape' of the lawn probably dates from just after this period⁴³.

The Eastern Inner Ward

- 3.25. As demonstrated on the Haiward and Gascoyne map of 1597, this area was once dominated by the Tudor apartments of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and overlooked the confines of the Wardrobe, or King's, garden. However, after the demolition of the royal apartments in the 17th century, and the construction of a series of ordnance storehouses, a wide courtyard was opened up in the eastern Inner Ward⁴⁴. Roadways and paths were built between the Wharf, the White Tower, and the northern Inner Ward, allowing easy access between the weapon and gun stores, and transportation by river. The Ordnance Survey map of 1893 (Figure A3.8) shows a road leading from the wharf, over the eastern drawbridge, under Queen Elizabeth's arch and through into the eastern inner ward. It is lined with trees. These can be seen in abundance in 19th century photographs of the area⁴⁵.

The Eastern Courtyard

- 3.26. The Great Court was built just to the east of the White Tower, probably not earlier than the 14th century and is shown on Haiward and Gascoyne's 1597 survey. It consisted of a long, low range up to 16 m wide and ran along the entirety of the White Tower's east face and incorporated the Wardrobe Tower in its south end. There was a narrow, open courtyard between the Tower and the building⁴⁶. It is not known if it was planted with trees or shrubbery. In 1716, the Great Court became home to the Ordnance Survey. Its eastern façade was lined with a handsome row of trees, shown in historic photographs, numerous drawings and the Ordnance Survey map of 1873 (Figure A3.7). The building's destruction at the hands of John Taylor took place in 1879, but the trees remained, and survivors are shown in the 1893 Ordnance Survey map (Figure A3.8). They form a coherent link with the roadway-lining trees near Queen Elizabeth's arch. The two trees now adjacent to the round

⁴¹ R. Harris, White Tower lift archaeological feasibility study, unpublished report, 2007, p3-4

⁴² G. Parnell, *The Tower of London Past and Present*, 1998, p112

⁴³ G. Parnell, 1993, p15

⁴⁴ G. Parnell, 1993, p64-65

⁴⁵ Parnell, 1998, p26

⁴⁶ Parnell 1993, p107

turret of the White Tower mark the end of this line. The line may date to the 1850's or even earlier. The east side of the White Tower is now open to view, fronted by a lawn with the line of the Roman city wall picked out in concrete and gravel.

6. Water Lane

- 3.27. The 1597 survey shows that originally the part of Water Lane which lies between the Lanthorn and Salt Towers was taken up by the Privy Garden. In the late 19th century a group of trees was planted at the eastern end of Water Lane and a view by Charles Tomkins of about 1800 shows two trees planted opposite to the Wakefield Tower.⁴⁷ Numerous historic photographs survive showing large trees in Water Lane to the east of the Wakefield Tower. They stood opposite the entrance to the Record Office, which was demolished by John Taylor in 1885⁴⁸. There is currently a group of plane trees and a small lawn either side of the Salt Tower. Further to the west on the outer face of the inner curtain wall the stumps of several trees or shrubs indicate a historic precedent for the removal of trees when they threatened to damage the built fabric and buried archaeology.

7. The Wharf

- 3.28. Since its construction in the 13th and 14th centuries, the Wharf has been an important industrial mooring for ships transporting weapons and other military goods to and from the Tower. Although an engraving of 1751 indicates a line of trees on the wharf to the east of St Thomas's Tower, they were not really a significant feature until the 19th century. The Ordnance Survey map of 1873 (Figure A3.7) shows a single row of trees on the outer edge of the Wharf from St Katherine's, ending at a point parallel with the eastern drawbridge. A row continues on the west side of St Thomas's Tower, close to the revetment wall. The wharf was finally cleared of Ordnance buildings in the 1860's, and a drill battery was added to the east end of the wharf in 1860, to guard against the threat of French invasion⁴⁹. Historic photographs from the 1880's show neat rows of sapling sized trees, the layout for which is clearly shown on the 1893 Ordnance Survey map⁵⁰ (Figure A3.8). Many of these trees, massively overgrown, still remain, but sadly no longer reflect the neat, public esplanade character planned for in the 19th century. The double row originally planted on the lawn closest to the moat revetment wall at the east end of the wharf is in particularly poor shape. In 2003 their roots caused the collapse of a section of wharf/moat wall. One of the London planes was therefore removed to facilitate reconstruction of the wall, and the remaining adjacent trees were cut down in March 2005.

8. The Moat and Bowling Green

- 3.29. In 1845, the Duke of Wellington, Constable of the Tower, had the 13th century moat drained, and the ditch in-filled. The moat became one of the few green spaces in the City of London, and was used to graze livestock. Historic photographs show that

⁴⁷ View owned by the British Museum (Pennant IX.125)

⁴⁸ Parnell, 1993, p107

⁴⁹ Parnell, 1998, p58

⁵⁰ Parnell, 1998, p58-60

during World War Two, when food was in short supply, a series of allotments were planted in the moat. These were removed when the War ended⁵¹.

- 3.30. A small section of drained moat north of the Byward Tower Causeway has been adopted by the Tower Community, and the smooth lawn is used for playing bowls by Yeomen Warders and their families. Historic photographs show small trees planted around the lawns flanking the Middle Tower main entrance, whereas today these areas are paved to the north, and lawned to the south.

KEY ISSUES

- 3.31. It is clear that trees have been part of the Tower landscape during various stages of its development and use. The key issues arising from the assessment of the historic landscape are:
- At present the trees essentially follow a 19th century aesthetic rather than a more lengthy historical association.
 - The existing trees have been allowed to grow unchecked and are now much larger than was originally intended. A programme of proper management needs to be introduced.
 - The spaces that they occupy and the vistas they create or obscure need to be weighed up against the significance of the ancient monument as a whole to determine in each instance whether they compromise or complement it.
 - Some trees still act as markers of the sites of the original medieval gardens and courtyards. In particular this is evident on Tower Green and possibly also within the eastern side of the inner ward. This is something which needs to be maintained and where possible enhanced while at the same time introducing a programme to minimise the risk to both the built and the archaeological heritage.

⁵¹ Parnell, 1998, p98

