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THE PERSISTENCE OF OLDER TRADITIONS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GARDENING

Mark Laird has already published the seminal work on the design of flower gardens and shrubberies in the second half of the eighteenth century, The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds 1720–1800 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). This paper re-examines his central thesis that garden design was led by the introduction of new exotic species and by the adoption of graduated planting as a means of showing off these plants. It emphasizes instead the persistence of medieval gardening traditions which were not compatible with exotics or graduated planting.

FIRST, AN ENGLISH TRADITION FOR PLANTING WOODS AROUND HOUSES

Ancient tradition, rather oddly, had it that a house should have woodland round it. In the sixteenth century William Harrison remarked that in many parts of the country a man could ride for ten or twenty miles and find very few trees, save ‘where the inhabitants have planted a few elms, oaks, hazels or ashes about their dwellings for defence from the rough winds’,¹ and by the mid-seventeenth century their potential ‘for delight and pleasure’ had been recognized.² Indeed, the record for such planting in England is remarkably consistent.³ One might then ask what sort of woods these were to be and there can be no doubt that coppice played a much bigger role near the house than any other kind of woodland. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Stephen Switzer was to urge that ‘if this House is without Coppices and Woods at a reasonable Distance ... I would advise the Fencing in and sowing a Wood or Coppice of twenty or thirty Acres more or less’,⁴ and by about 1710 all the woods of the influential pleasure ground at Heythrop, including Kite Grove and the Wilderness, were coppice, described in 1789 as ‘very good’.⁵

So often, all one has to go on for the look of this coppice is a throw-away remark: ‘There is a pretty garden belonging to it w[i]th a good deal of underwood’,⁶ as a tourist commented of Compton Place, Eastbourne, in 1735 after Charles Bridgeman had worked there. How interesting it would be to know in more detail what this pleasure ground coppice was and how it was managed – for example, if cut on a fourteen-year rotation, would it be grazed? What planting was allowable there, and how was coppice tied in to the more polished parts of the pleasure ground?⁷ Switzer had recommended that instead of the clipping required for a wilderness ‘a Scythe fix’d into a Pole or Handle will ... retrench the Extravagances of Nature in a more expeditious and less expensive Method’, citing as examples Oakley Wood at Cirencester, and Wray Wood at Castle Howard.⁸ This suggests a long rotation with some annual pruning, perhaps like the pleasure ground woods at Heythrop, 17 acres of which near the House were ‘not to be cut as Underwood’.⁹

Elsewhere, we get a hint from John Parnell’s rather Switzer-like account of the Leasowes, with its ‘little enclosures of coppice or other woodlands – where at the same time flowering shrubs may be Introduced’.¹⁰ His account is broadened by references in *Ashmeads House, Chalford, Gloucestershire GL6 8JL, UK*

William Shenstone's correspondence with that avid gardener Lady Luxborough of the Barrells, who developed coppice as a contrast to their new shrubberies. These references revolve around Lady Luxborough's complaints that Shenstone never came to see her. So on the 4 June 1749 he missed 'my Coppice in Spring; where we had even this year great variety of cowslips, primroses, ragged-robins, wild hyacinths both white and blue, violets &c. &c'. In the following year (14 March 1749–50):

he [Thomas Smith, the artist] is against planting the Service-Walk bank with flowers, or doing any thing to it; thinking its roughness is a good contrast to divide the Shrubbery from the Coppice, which is also a kind of shrubbery

and a month later (25 April 1750) she wrote:

there is ... not variety enough in the Shrubbery to invite you as yet; but there will be ere Long. The Coppice has the advantage at present; for Nature has embroidered it thick with all kinds of wild flowers.¹¹

From this correspondence, it seems that both shrubbery and coppice could have wild flowers in them, but coppice could have few or no planted ones. This seems a small distinction, yet Lady Luxborough thought it clear enough to separate the two with a walk, and there was probably a further difference in the way the two were managed: that shrubs were pruned or trimmed and graduated in the way described by Laird, while coppice was not. This distinction is confirmed in Repton's Red Book for Claybury (1791), where he proposed that:

a sort of gradation may be made betwixt the dressed walk and the wood by the choice and arrangement of the plants, excluding as we approach the forest all foreign shrubs or flowers, and only introducing those of English growth which have been improved by culture, such as double blossomed thorns and brambles etc. till we enter the thick covert of the wood.

This form of gardening remained popular throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, the poet laureate Henry Pye promoting the natural effect of 'tangled coppices, where a few roses and lilacs may be scattered', and adding that if he had:

a small piece of ground in the metropolis, like the gardens of Chesterfield, Devonshire, or Burlington House, however much I might offend the admirer of elegance, I would make it a rough tangled coppice, filled with hazel, hawthorn, and dog roses, without a single evergreen, or garden shrub, to break the illusion.¹²

SECOND, THE ORCHARD, WHICH EVOLVED, THROUGH THE WILDERNESS, INTO SHRUBBERY

The old word that one might most expect to find used to describe garden coppice, with its tangle of stools and naturally occurring flowers is, perhaps, wilderness. In fact, coppice was never described in those terms, and wilderness sprang from a second gardening tradition.

So far as Switzer was concerned, in his day the wilderness was a formal garden,¹³ and its style derived not from coppice but from the orchard.¹⁴ The very word 'Orchard' reinforces a pre-lapsarian vision of gardens as places of spontaneous abundance to gratify every sense, taste above all – a pleasure to be found in accounts of gardens that long pre-date Brown. So Kalanders' garden at the beginning of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* was 'both

field, garden and orchard ... cunningly set with trees of the most taste-pleasing fruits'; at Kenilworth Queen Elizabeth I could stroll through the orchards biting off apple blossoms candied on the tree by her confectioners, and tasting of 'delicious strawberries, cherries and other fruits even from their stalks'.¹⁵

There can be little doubt even in the eighteenth century that the words 'orchard' and 'garden' had strongly overlapping meanings.¹⁶ The orchard was a favoured place for walking and was planted near the house; the orchard too, while even in the sixteenth century associated with fruit growing, derived from the Latin *hortus* meaning 'garden'.¹⁷ So John Parkinson recommended plants for the orchard that do not bear fruit,¹⁸ and William Lawson's paeon to the orchard in 1623 ('a chief part of earthly happiness ... the honest delight of one wearied with the work of his lawful calling?') is really a paeon to the garden ('What more delightsome then an infinite variety of sweet smelling flowers: decking with sundry colours, the green mantle of the earth'). An orchard restricted to fruit would have been 'bare ... and but half good, so long as it wants those comely Ornaments that should give beauty to all our labours, and make much for the honest delight of the owner and his friends'. So Lawson suggested roses, woodbine, cowslips various, primrose, violet, rosemary and eglantine; his orchard included 'walks set with great wood', knots, and space set aside for bowling and for archery, and a maze which, 'well framed a man's height, may perhaps make your friend wander in gathering of Berries, till he cannot recover himself without your help', as well as for fishing.¹⁹

Looking at Lord Petre's plant lists, it is clear that he valued fruit-bearing trees for their beauty, as Joseph Spence did later – in 1748 the grove in his garden at Byfleet had cherries, plums, almonds, apricots, and peaches growing with his laburnums, honeysuckles, lilacs, and other ornamentals, and he recommended that they might 'be scattered in the S[outhern] margin of a grove, from one to four or five deep, at proper intervals, where no convenience for an orchard'.²⁰ In Julie's garden, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's St Preux was pleased 'to find, in *ce desert artificiel*, fine ripe fruit, even if the trees are scattered and unimpressive'.²¹ It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many wildernesses were developed on places that had previously been known as orchards.²² Indeed, as the word 'wilderness' became more popular in the early seventeenth century, it may have been applied to 'orchards' without any change of use or planting (Figure 1).

Just as the traditions of the orchard were inherited by the wilderness, so they were probably inherited in turn by the shrubbery.²³ However, while we, with the distance of time, may see one form evolving to another, it is clear that for Shenstone and Lady Luxborough the shrubbery was something new and, following Laird, we would tend to say that that novelty consisted in the use of exotics planted by height in tiers. However, if we classify shrubberies by function, the planting of exotics becomes only one of the four major forms, the others being the ornamental walk, the screen and the maze.

The last of these, the mazy shrubbery,²⁴ will introduce a third gardening tradition and so merits discussion here. It consisted of a series of grass paths that weaved their way through island beds, conveying the visitor from one intensively worked high-point to another through a scene of apparent disorder. This was Hamilton's design around the Temple of Bacchus itself, and designs of the kind risked criticism as meaningless and self-indulgent, so William Shenstone described parcelling 'a lawn into knots of shrubberies or invest[ing] a mountain with a garb of roses' as 'like dressing a giant in a sarsenet gown, or a saracen's head in a brussels night-cap'.²⁵ William Mason agreed:

Nor will she [Beauty], led by Fashion's lure, select,
For objects interpos'd, the pigmy race
Of shrubs, or scatter with unmeaning hand



Figure 1. One of the shrubberies in the Brownian pleasure ground at Langley, Buckinghamshire, still has an apple tree growing in it. It is regrowing from the stump and would be hard to date, but nonetheless it is a rare survival. Photo: Amanda Outen

Their offspring o'er the lawn, scorning to patch
 With many a meagre and disjointed tuft
 Its sober surface.²⁶

THIRD, THE GROVE BROUGHT SHREDDING INTO THE PLEASURE GROUND

Shredding is as ancient a practice as coppicing, and has the advantage of letting light into the understorey.²⁷ Cassandra Willoughby saw at Wrest that:

y^e Par-Terre is very large & ends wth High Trees w^{ch} meet at Top & are Cut so as to make so many Arches & to run up y^e bodys of y^e Trees are planted Honeysuckles & Sweet brire²⁸

and in fact shreds can be seen in numerous eighteenth-century garden pictures,²⁹ for the practice has more uses than that in a pleasure ground. It can provide strong verticals for a composition, as was found in the frequent comparisons between trees and cathedrals;³⁰ it can be used as one might use the pillars of a portico to break a view into vignettes; and it can be used to create garden groves.³¹ So Julie developed her *Elysée* from an old orchard surrounded by woods in a space that Switzer might have commended,³² encouraging flowering shrubs to grow freely among the fruit trees, and climbing plants to spread up and through them like garlands, planting fragrant herbs and flowers in the turf, and letting moss cover the paths. Such groves were the stuff of Paradise, as Admiral Anson reported of Tinian and Juan-Fernandez, 'gently sloping clearings, covered with

fine clover, scattered with different kinds of flowers, and bordered by woods of fine large trees, several of which bear excellent fruit'.³³

The word 'grove' itself is ancient,³⁴ and medieval groves of a kind did survive into the eighteenth century.³⁵ Nonetheless, it seems unlikely that the grove of parkland and pleasure ground was directly copied from anything in English nature. Brown's most partisan contemporaries may have sought to characterize the grove as a natural occurrence,³⁶ but Thomas Whately himself observed that 'a fine open grove is unusual, except in a park or a garden'.³⁷ Although one can readily imagine them working separately, open groves were often combined with the mazy shrubberies already mentioned. Charles Bridgeman may have been the first to mix them at Richmond in the 1730s. Madame du Bocage described the effect twenty years later when the planting was coming to maturity:

the numerous and pleasant thickets present to the view a place of considerable extent, called the Forest; where, the better to imitate nature, art has, without any order, planted great trees, some of them erect, some of them crooked, one half withered away, another surrounded with shrubs.³⁸

John Parnell had passed through 'fine old forest-trees scattered irregularly, and amidst them some plots of flowers' at Southcote's Wooburn,³⁹ and these must have been influential, but his rival, Shenstone, was doing something similar in Virgil's Grove at the Leasowes:

The whole scene is opaque and gloomy, consisting of a small deep valley or dingle, the sides of which are enclosed with irregular tufts of hazel and other underwood; and the whole over-shadowed with lofty trees rising out of the bottom of the dingle, through mossy banks, enamelled with primroses, and a variety of wild wood flowers.⁴⁰

Chambers was among the earliest to describe the effect,⁴¹ and Brown undoubtedly loved these garden groves: Petworth must have had one of his earliest examples and Horace Walpole relished the paradox that 'the modern style' garden consisted of 'oaks two hundred years old'.⁴² However, Arthur Young described the pleasure ground at Woburn in the same terms,⁴³ and Whately described something very like it in the walk to the cottage at Claremont, which:

though destitute of many natural advantages and eminent for none ... is yet the finest part of the garden; for a grove is there planted, in a gently curved direction, all along the side of the hill, and on the edge of a wood, which rises above it. ... The intervals winding here like a glade, and widening there into broader openings, differ in extent, in figure, and direction; but all the groups, the lines, and the intervals are collected together into large general clumps, each of which is at the same time both compact and free, identical and various. The whole is a place wherein to tarry with secure delight or saunter with perpetual amusement.⁴⁴

There was a grove at Chatsworth, where Horace Walpole mentioned the 'oaks and rocks' taken into the pleasure ground around 1760,⁴⁵ and another at Blenheim, where many of the old oaks survive. There is an account of the style of shrub planting which, rather than being graduated, was made up of 'a large proportion of exotics of various heights' the smaller of which were put together in clumps and had 'the appearance of a rich underwood'.⁴⁶

FOURTH, THE IMPORTANCE OF ANIMALS

The eighteenth-century pleasure grounds, then, extended several roots into an existing silvicultural tradition, but several more drew from animal life. Indeed, four classes of

animals were kept or encouraged in pleasure grounds: wild birds, smaller mammals (hares in particular), grazing animals (usually sheep), and exotic animals and birds. Wild birds were much more remarked on in gardens than they were in parkland and this attitude predates the eighteenth century. So William Lawson thought of a brood of nightingales, a robin red-breast, a 'silly' wren, black-bird and throstle as 'one chief grace that adorns an Orchard',⁴⁷ and Robert Laneham's pleasures at Kenilworth included 'Too heer such natuarll melodioous music, and tunez of birds'.⁴⁸

English gardens in fact were known abroad for their bird-song,⁴⁹ and Lord Temple had his 'nightingale Bench' in the Elysian Fields at Stowe, sitting on it long enough after sunset to give himself 'a slight feverish Cold',⁵⁰ while William Shenstone talked to his friend the poet Richard Jago of 'planting hollies, pyracanthas, and other berry-bearing greens, to attract those Blackbirds'.⁵¹ This liking for wild birds predates Rousseau's description of Julie's garden ('here', as she told St Preux, 'they are our masters',⁵² humans were their guests), and Joseph Heeley was scarcely aware of an inconsistency in the pleasure he took in the gardens and birds at Enville in 1777:

I trod on soft moss-grown carpets, listening to birds that seemed by their sweeter modulations, to be sensible of their happy situation – wherever I turned, nature looked pleased with her silky dress. – I thought she hovered on every parterre, on every group of trees, and on every smooth-shorn lawn.⁵³

The inconsistency that is there (that one might particularly go to the polished garden to hear the wild birds) suggests a degree of freedom in the garden that may be further explained if entire landscapes were graduated, so that wild creatures went unmolested and were allowed to be most plentiful in pleasure grounds, were controlled in parkland, but were not game for the shooters until beyond the pale. This would explain John Byng's angry grief outside Blenheim's kitchen garden:

What shock'd me much, was to hear the firing of guns, and to see a set of Jacobins arm'd against the national guards, – the birds; – O fye! – What, for a few cherries, destroy all the songsters? And here will they come to perish.⁵⁴

We may be familiar enough with menageries, aviaries and pheasant gardens, but more influential on the general planting style of the pleasure ground were those animals that were allowed to graze over the whole pleasure ground. Above all hares, which were regarded as garden pests, like rabbits, rats and mice,⁵⁵ but were also petted and loved,⁵⁶ and in the eighteenth century were to be found in Wray Wood at Castle Howard;⁵⁷ within the Barrier at Fonthill, where William Beckford would encourage them to eat out of his hand;⁵⁸ in 1776 even the sophisticated and highly finished gardens of Blicking and Bulstrode had hares in their pleasure grounds;⁵⁹ and John Loveday had noted 'hare in abundance ab^t y^e woody Garden' at Ingestre by 1732.⁶⁰ Even in the nineteenth century they remained an enlivening incident on the lawn outside the library at Stourhead: 'you see every morning a hundred pheasants, intermixed with hares, playing their gambols with a confidence and familiarity that is delightful ... there is no satiety, and you fancy yourself in a better world'.⁶¹

Hares are amongst the most voracious of feeders and some gardeners today are reluctant to treat them as serious improvements to a garden, even though an eighteenth-century garden with hares in it cannot have had the same licence in planting design as a modern restoration without.⁶² As Lady Hertford wrote of her Shepherd's Hut to Lady Luxborough in 1748: 'there are Sweet-Williams, Narcissus's, Rose-Campions, and such Flowers as the Hares will not eat, in little Borders, round the Foot of every Tree'.⁶³

FIFTH, AND ALONGSIDE THESE ANIMALS THERE WAS ALSO A TRADITION FOR GRAZING IN THE PLEASURE GROUND

Thus far this paper has joined Mark Laird's sustained attack on the commonly held idea that in the second half of the eighteenth century the country house was set down 'in a grass-field'.⁶⁴ However, the importance of the grass field and the truth in our inherited assumptions needs to be reasserted. Besides the hares, pleasure grounds of the second half of the eighteenth century were generally grazed by sheep, being useful close-mowers, as well as ornaments in themselves,⁶⁵ suitably Claudian, and with the pastoral signatures of Arcadian nature and the Golden Age. As often as not, the difficulties attendant on this kind of management provide the best evidence for the practice. So Switzer having suggested keeping sheep in the main walks of the pleasure ground 'who will serve instead of mowers', then proposed:

little gates ... fix'd wherever you enter the quarters, to keep them from going in there; and on top of the terraces that surround the building ... a little grillade of iron, or a low pallsadoe of wood, to keep them from coming up too near to the house.⁶⁶

It seems that this way of mixing pasture and pleasure ground was still a novelty when, in 1750, Anne Temple reported his aunt's anguish to Richard Grenville, 'I went to my Lady Cobham yesterday and she began in a violent manner about the Sheep being put into the garden [at Stowe] ... she told Brown she had cry'd all night and never slept a wink about it.'⁶⁷ It is hard to say how sympathetic Brown would have been: his pleasure grounds at Burton Constable,⁶⁸ and Chatsworth were also grazed by sheep,⁶⁹ and by 1763 Joseph Spence was to take it as read that the lawns around Old Wardour would be grazed:

The sunk fence, as in Mr Brown's plan ... only continued in a little farther at each end should be sufficient to secure the woods from whatever is to feed on the lawns about the house; and these lawns should be assisted, wherever they may want assistance, and should be kept in all the best verdure they can.⁷⁰

Grazing was taken for granted by William Mason in Book II of *The English Garden*, where he proposed using children to adorn the garden with 'the fresh rose/ Of Innocence' and provide a 'living fence' to shepherd the sheep. These lads were to be appropriately clothed 'In such a russet garb as best befits/ Their pastoral office'.⁷¹ Netting was an alternative to children, shrubberies might be fenced, and both Robinson and Parnell saw nets around the shrubs near the Temple of Bacchus at Painshill,⁷² but several accounts make it clear that such an arrangement could not have protected a 'layered' theatrical design from the sheep, because all the trees tall enough to have carried the net would have been planted along the spine of the bed. Still stronger and more permanent fences could be used – in Repton's early Red Book for Brondesbury (14 March 1789), he wrote about the 'home-inclosure' rather than the pleasure ground and his sketch of the view 'as it will appear from the Dining room window' shows that he intended to put the shrubberies on the north-west side of the house inside post and rail so that the pleasure ground lawn could be grazed freely.⁷³

William Mason recommended the 'rustic balustrade', and though not an elegant solution to the challenge of turf management in a pleasure ground,⁷⁴ it was also adopted by William Emes,⁷⁵ and we see similar fences at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, not when his design was first planted, but added at a time when grazing pleasure grounds had become an acceptable practice.⁷⁶ Repton appears to have regarded post and rail as so common or garden a device that he did not comment directly on it, yet, as his illustration shows, it was not compatible with graded planting.⁷⁷

SIXTH COMES THE MEDIEVAL TRADITION OF EMBROIDERY OR ENAMELLING

The medieval tradition of ‘flowery meadows’⁷⁸ took grass management a stage further still, allowing a similar texture of floriferous grass in the pleasure ground as in the adjacent parkland (but with more vulnerable garden plants in the former). Enamelling, or embroidering as it was also known,⁷⁹ drew from the love of wild flowers, and the simple pleasures of innocence and childhood: ‘Retire ye Wise! Retire from towns,/ To flow’ry lawns and verdant downs;/ Shun Dissipation’s charms.’⁸⁰ The association between flowery lawns and innocence is a commonplace of eighteenth-century literature, licensing the ingénue Lydia Melford to her rhapsody on the Clifton Downs:

the ground enamelled with daisies, and primroses, and cowslips; all the trees bursting into leaves, and the hedges already clothed with their vernal livery; the mountains covered with flocks of sheep, and tender bleating wanton lambkins playing, frisking, and skipping from side to side; the groves resound with the notes of blackbird, thrush, and linnet; and all night long sweet Philomel pours forth her ravishingly delightful song.⁸¹

It seems perfectly likely that there was an unbroken range of planting mixes, from the embroidery of a hay meadow with wild flowers growing ‘naturally’ in the grass, through wild flower seed and plants deliberately added to the grass, to the introduction of exotics (*qua* plants from abroad), though there is no evidence of eighteenth-century introductions used in enamelling. Thus, at the Leasowes in 1749 Shenstone planted primroses and some (presumably more exotic) gifts from Lady Luxborough along the stream in Virgil’s Grove. This he described as ‘embroidery’, later referring to paeonies as his greatest success here. Even if the paeonies were then regarded as native they were certainly not local to Halesowen.⁸²

Sir William Chambers gave two accounts of this use of flowers in grassland. The first is in his description of spring gardens (in China of course):

The ground, and verges of the thickets and shrubberies, are adorned with wild hyacinths, wall-flowers, daffodils, violets, primroses, polianthus’s, crocus’s, daisies, snow-drops, and various species of the iris; with such other flowers as appear in the months of March and April.⁸³

His fuller account however comes in his description of open groves (he uses the phrase in its secondary sense to mean openings in woodland, rather than woodland without an understorey):

the grass; which, by reason of its shady situation, retains a constant verdure; and, in the spring, is adorned with a great variety of early flowers, such as violets, crocus’s, polianthus’s and primroses; hyacinths, cowslips, snow-drops, daffodils and daisies.⁸⁴

Influential as Chambers may have been in Europe, much earlier authors such as Giovanni Boccaccio,⁸⁵ Geoffrey Chaucer,⁸⁶ John Milton,⁸⁷ Philip Sidney,⁸⁸ Edmund Spenser,⁸⁹ and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) had a greater impact on eighteenth-century English design. From Spenser’s Garden of Adonis to Rousseau’s Elysée the imagery of these writers was rooted in medieval literature.

In applied horticulture, too, there are accounts of enamelling that long predate Chambers – it is implicit in Robert Castell’s account of Pliny the Younger’s ‘prata florida’ at Tuscum.⁹⁰ Peter Aram and John James (1720 and 1731, respectively)⁹¹ and Philip Miller (1731) all promoted something close to it:

at the foot of them [the shrubs] at the side of the Walks may be planted Primroses, Violets, Daffodils, and many other sorts of Wood Flowers, not in a strait line, but rather to appear accidental as in a natural Wood.⁹²

In more general terms, Oliver Goldsmith also advocated the practice (regarding it as a recent development that had ousted other forms of grass management): ‘spontaneous flowers take place of the finished parterre, and the enamelled meadow of the shaven green’.⁹³

Outside the literature, one great eighteenth-century source for the continuing popularity of enamelling and the use of wild flowers was Wooburn Farm.⁹⁴ Southcote’s planting, particularly with climbers on the trees, is very close to what one might imagine of the work of William Pitt and Thomas Wright at Stoke Park from 1746,⁹⁵ Richard Woods at Audley End in 1780,⁹⁶ or Joseph Spence.⁹⁷ In the light of descriptions of Wooburn Farm, other groves where we know there was herbaceous planting might make further examples of enamelling (in particular William Kent’s grove at Carlton House with its periwinkle, scabious, iris, etc.),⁹⁸ but also the Countess of Hertford’s garden at Percy Lodge (Riskins), with enamelling very much in the style advised by Miller: ‘The Rains have given us the strongest Verdure I ever saw, our Lawns and meadows are enamelled with a profusion of daisies and cowslips.’⁹⁹

While the majority of the plants that Chambers recommended were natives, there were obvious exceptions, such as his ‘polianthus’s’ and his ‘wall-flowers’. To be sure of a good form, the one must have been dibbled in through the turf, and the last, whether *Cheiranthus cheiri* or *Matthiola incana*, must have been added on an annual basis.¹⁰⁰ Finally, with enamelling at its most lavish, we have two further possibilities, first plunging pots of exotics into the turf, as William Mason recommended at Nuneham (‘if your Lordship was to sink an orange tub here & there, or Myrtle, covering it with turf, it might do well in those places; I think I saw this done at Lady Dashwood’s, w^{ch} had a good effect’);¹⁰¹ second, the extreme form of Chamomile lawn and its variants (i.e. a grassless lawn), advocated by John Claudius Loudon for colour, texture and economy:

In almost every case, where lawn is not fed by sheep, it should not be formed of mere grasses; which require continual mowing, and present one dull, vapid, surface of uniform green. They should be composed of primroses, violets, common and garden daisy, camomile, *graphallium*, *doicum*, *hieracium pilosella* and especially white clover. Any three of these species, or the whole of them judiciously mixed, would form a variegated carpet of gay flowers, from April to December, the effect of which, compared to mown lawn, would be as gaiety to gloom, or insipidity to expression – All the expence of mowing would be avoided, and all the smoothness necessary for lawn preserved, in connexion with such a variety of roughnesses as would give the whole a natural appearance. Lawns of this kind exist in nature, and have occupied the pastoral poet. The beauty they would add to artificial scenery is beyond description – the economy in yearly management by no means inconsiderable.¹⁰²

Gardening of this kind, to ornament the grass, is a medieval tradition rather than an eighteenth-century invention, and of course depends neither on new imports nor on graduated planting.

SEVENTH, AND LAST, THE PARTERRE

Good Gardening concerns itself only (or chiefly) with the disposition of the foreground. This it ornaments in order to set off the distant Landscape to advantage. It ornaments it

with the most beautiful objects, such as Tufts of Roses &c & such shrubs & trees as will produce the quickest effect.¹⁰³

The parterre, designed to yield a ‘Prospect from your House’,¹⁰⁴ may be regarded as the most purely horticultural of these traditions, and though it may seem surprising, even Brown retained parterres (on the terraces at Chilham Castle, for example, and at Chatsworth,¹⁰⁵ and famously at Hampton Court where George III suggested that Brown should make changes but he ‘had the good sense to decline “out of respect to himself and his profession”’).¹⁰⁶ What changed was that the parterre was now reduced to a foreground, the focus of the view was to be more distant. This was Kent’s plan for Rousham, as the steward there understood it;¹⁰⁷ and this was Joseph Spence’s advice.¹⁰⁸

There is some evidence that it was felt appropriate for such foregrounds to be essentially floral and herbaceous, rather than evergreen. So the evergreens at Croome are almost always planted on earthworks and the earthworks (and hence the evergreens) almost always have a role in concealing views, while, where the two estate plans show beds but no plants survive, there are also no conspicuous earthworks. On the east side of the lake in the pleasure ground, for example, the absence of evergreens and of earthworks allows for the assumption that it was planted with flowering material, providing a view towards the house, akin to that from the Temple Green-house.¹⁰⁹ The island shrubberies outside the dining-room window at Berrington gesture at a further quality of this kind of planting. They were first mapped in 1887,¹¹⁰ and do not have a straightforward relationship with the windows or with the Claudian view at point blank, to the south across the water, but thicken up to the east, that is towards Long Wood, where from the windows of the house the rising ground is conspicuous. What their distribution suggests is a degree of deliberate, ungraduated confusion, which is how William Mavor read the design at Blenheim: ‘Full in the front, the palace towers sublime .../ Low at it’s feet, the verdant carpet lies,/ Shrubs, trees, and flowers, in fair confusion rise.’¹¹¹ William Mason himself pursued this idea, when he suggested that ‘Tufts of flowering Shrubbs’ might provide a good gardener’s foreground to replace Claude’s ‘heaps of Rubbish, trunks of felld Trees, scattered stones, Broken Columns, Nettles, Briars, & large Mallow leaves’ (Plate II).¹¹²

These seven examples of the horticultural and agricultural tradition provide a context for the eighteenth-century pleasure ground, which will be continued in two further *homages* to Mark Laird, which will look at the different forms of the eighteenth-century pleasure ground within which these traditions found expression.

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¹ William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 275.

² Walter Blith, *The English Improver or A New Survey of Husbandry* (London: J. Wright, 1649), p. 123.

³ Humphry Repton on occasion complained as vociferously about houses surrounded by trees as he did about houses naked in the grass; for example, Humphry Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice ...* (1816), republished in John Claudius Loudon, *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (London and Edinburgh: Longman & Co. and A. & C. Black, 1840), p. 432. Keith Thomas, who has collected a good deal of material about

such planting, has commented that it seems impossible to tell when it began, but it could be found in ancient Rome; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World. Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 204.

⁴ Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica, Or the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener’s Recreation*, 3 vols (London: D. Browne, 1718), I, pp. xxxvi, 272.

⁵ Besides 22 acres in Kite Grove, there were over 50 acres of coppice in the pleasure ground and wilderness. There was a fourteen-year coppice cycle and each wood was divided into a number of cuts – Kite Grove, for example, had two and Foxbery had five. Arundel Castle MS TP129.

⁶ *Tour in England* (1735). British Library, Add. MS 15776, f. 215.

⁷ There is another good eighteenth-century example on the north-west side of the gardens at Sherborne; Peter E. Martin, 'Intimations of the new gardening: Alexander Pope's reaction to the "uncommon" landscape at Sherborne', *Garden History*, 4(1) (1976), p. 69.

⁸ Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, I, pp. xxxvi, 272–3.

⁹ 1790 *Heythrop Survey Oxon*. Arundel Castle MS TP130.

¹⁰ John Parnell, *Journal of a Tour thro' England and Wales* (1770). London School of Economics Coll. Misc. 38, Vol. III, f. 97. Switzer advised that at each corner of the fields of the *ferme ornée* were to be little pieces of 'Wood in the form of a labyrinth'; Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, Vol. III (London: D. Browne, 1742), appx p. 10.

¹¹ *Lady Luxborough Letters Written by Lady Luxborough to William Shenstone* (Dublin, 1776), pp. 89, 172, 174.

¹² Henry James Pye, 'Some observations on gardening', in *Sketches on Various Subjects; Moral, Literary, and Political* (London: J. Bell, 1796), pp. 120–3.

¹³ The royal wildernesses at Theobalds and Nonsuch were both described at the end of the sixteenth century with no reference to wildness; Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 2 vols (London, 1732–35), I, p. 33, n. 3; Baron Waldstein, *The Diary of Baron Waldstein* [written 1600], trans. G. W. Groos (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981), p. 159. Philip Miller had also found wildernesses to be regular designs: *Gardener's Dictionary*, 2 vols (London, 1731), s.v. 'Wilderness'.

¹⁴ Though they share their etymology, the seventeenth century 'wildness' may have had a confused relationship with 'wilderness', the first meant unkempt, savage and dangerous, while, on the other hand, 'wilderness' was a translation from the New Testament Greek *ἐρημία* meaning a place of desolation and solitude, via the Latin as *desertum*. Both meanings were in Watson's mind when he wrote of Nonsuch: 'The wilderness ... is, in fact, neither wild nor deserted.'

¹⁵ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (London: Nichols & Son, 1823), cited by Mavis Batey, 'Basing House Tudor garden', *Garden History*, 15(2) (1987), pp. 100–1.

¹⁶ John Harvey drew attention to the ornamental design of orchards several times in his *Mediaeval Gardens* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1981), pp. 4, 136. Also Prudence Leith-Ross, 'Fruit planted around a new bowling green at John Evelyn's garden at Sayes Court, Deptford, Kent in 1684/5', *Garden History*, 31(1) (2003), 29–33.

¹⁷ *Hortus* in turn derives from the Greek *ὄρχατος*, meaning a row of trees and later an orchard.

¹⁸ In his *Paradisi in sole Paradisus terrestris*

(London, 1629), John Parkinson recommended Service trees, Bays 'and others of that high sort' as protection for the rest of the trees.

¹⁹ William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* [1623], ed. Eleanor Rohde (London, 1927 repr. from 3rd edn), pp. x, 12, 61–4.

²⁰ R. W. King, 'Joseph Spence of Byfleet – I', *Garden History*, 6(3) (1978), pp. 38–64 (pp. 44, 55); Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations and Characters of Books and Men* [1758], ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), I, p. 414, item 1090. Obviously, one could not bury fruit in a layered display and hope to be able to harvest it.

²¹ Cited in Christopher Thacker, "O Tinian! O Juan-Fernandez!": Rousseau's "Elysee" and Anson's desert islands', *Garden History*, 5(2) (1977), p. 41.

²² Jan Woudstra has told me that the Tudor orchard at Hampton Court, still recorded as an orchard on the 1651 Parliamentary Survey, later became the wilderness. The wilderness at Kensington was planted from 1701 in the Old Ground 'that part of Kensington garden that formerly was an old Orchard'; David Jacques and Arend Jan van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (London: Christopher Helm, 1988), p. 84. The Mulberry Gardens at St James's also evolved into a wilderness, as described by Pepys (20 May 1654); F. A. Roach, *Cultivated Fruits of Britain, Their Origin and History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 218.

²³ Repton only wrote about shrubberies, but wildernesses remained just about current in Brown's day; John Rutter and Daniel Carter, *Modern Eden or the Gardener's Universal Guide* (London: J. Cooke, 1767), p. 214.

²⁴ So, Jabez Fisher described the shrubbery at Hagley as 'full of mazes and intricacies'; *An American Quaker in the British Isles: The Travel Journals of Jabez Maud Fisher, 1775–1779*, ed. Kenneth Morgan (New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1992), p. 260. Also Thomas Mawe and John Abercrombie, *The Universal Gardener and Botanist* (London; 1797), s.v. 'PLEASURE-GARDEN, or Pleasure-ground'; and *Eden or, A Compleat Body of Gardening*, ed. John Hill (London: T. Osborne, 1757), p. 612.

²⁵ William Shenstone, 'Unconnected thoughts on Gardening', in *The Works*, 2 vols (London: Dodsley, 1769), II, p. 138.

²⁶ William Mason, *The English Garden: A Poem* (York: J. Todd, 1783), bk III, ll. 232–7.

²⁷ Shredding is the practice of sheering off a tree's side-branches. Nowadays, one might talk of crown-lifting, a treatment that Laird gave the trees at Painshill before installing the shrubbery on Wood Hill.

²⁸ *Diary of Cassandra Willoughby 1670–1735*. Shakespeare Birthplace Records Office, DR 18/20/21/1.

²⁹ For example, Cinzia Maria Sicca, 'Lord Burlington at Chiswick: architecture and

landscape', *Garden History*, 9(1) (1982), pp. 44–6. The new shrubberies shown by Thomas Robins the Elder at Woodside were also planted under shreds; Laird, *Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, pl. 19.

³⁰ 'Here aged trees Cathedral walks compose'; Alexander Pope, *Imitations of English Poets Cowley*, 'The Garden', l. 13. Pope's idea that avenues could be planted to resemble cathedrals was widely discussed – Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*, p. 10; Edward Jesse, *Gleanings in Natural History*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1832–35), I (1832), p. 336 – and had become commonplace a century later; see, in particular, Sir James Hall, *Essay on the Origin History and Principles of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1813), ch. 4.

³¹ See Mawe and Abercrombie, *The Universal Gardener and Botanist*, s.v. 'PLEASURE-GARDEN, or Pleasure-ground'. There is an elaborate account of various types of grove in Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La Theorie et la pratique du jardinage* (Paris, 1709), trans. John James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening ...* (London: George James and Maurice Atkins, 1712).

³² Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, I, p. 335.

³³ Thacker, 'O Tinian! O Juan-Fernandez!' Anson's voyage had a great impact on ideas about gardening, as in Matt Bramble's account of Bonhill (6 September) in Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* [1771] (London: Penguin, 2008 edn).

³⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites references to groves from the thirteenth century.

³⁵ The best introduction to such linear plantings is probably John Phibbs, 'Groves and belts', *Garden History* 19(2) (1991), pp. 175–86.

³⁶ Richard Jago, *Edgehill, or the Rural Prospect Delineated and Moralised* (London, 1767), p. 29.

³⁷ Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening ...* (London: T. Payne, 1770), pp. 229–30.

³⁸ Madame du Bocage, *Lettres sur l'Angleterre* (1765); published as *Letters Concerning England, Holland and Italy*, Vol. I. (London: E. & C. Dilly, 1770), p. 49 (to her sister, 16 May 1750).

³⁹ Fiona Cowell, 'Richard Woods', PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 2005, p. 67, cited by Anne Rowe (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), p. 122.

⁴⁰ William Shenstone, *The Works*, 2 vols (London: Dodsley, 1769), II, pp. 295ff.

⁴¹ Sir William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: Dodsley, 1773), pp. 29, 96–8, 129–30. The ingredients of this style (large trees in grass with 'some of the largest growing Flowers ... which will add greatly to the Variety, if they have

but Air enough to grow', had already been recommended by Miller, *Gardener's Dictionary*, s.v. 'Bosquet'.

⁴² Isabel Chase, *Horace Walpole: Gardenist, An Edition of Walpole's 'The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening'* [printed 1771, published 1780] (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), p. 36.

⁴³ '[Woburn] winding through the woods we came to the Duchess's shrubbery, containing 16 acres, of land beautifully laid out in the modern taste, with many most glorious oaks in it'; Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*, 4 vols [1770] (London: W. Strahan, 1771), I, pp. 40–1.

⁴⁴ Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ 'Horace Walpole's *Journal of Visits*', *Walpole Society*, 16 (1928), p. 65.

⁴⁶ Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, 3 vols [1794] (London: J. Mawman, 1810), I, pp. 319–21ff. Also William Gilpin, *Tour through Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1772), Bodleian MS Eng. Misc. e.488(1), Vol. I, ff. 23–4; *idem*, *Tour to the Lakes* (1772), Bodleian MS Eng. Misc., f. 180, Vol. I, ff. 3, 4.

⁴⁷ Gervase Markham, *Maison Rustique, Or, The Countrey Farme Compyled in the French Tongue by Charles Stevens, and John Librault ... and translated into English by Richard Surfleet ... now newly Reviewed, Corrected, and Augmented ... and the Husbandrie of France, Italie, and Spaine, reconciled and made to agree with ours here in England* (London, 1616), p. 657; William Lawson, *A new orchard and garden* [1623], ed. Eleanor Rohde, repr. from 3rd edn (London, 1927), p. 65.

⁴⁸ Nichols, *Progresses*, p. 476.

⁴⁹ 'Let us call birds into these delightful places [English gardens]: their concerts will draw people and encourage a taste for sentiment far more than will marble and bronze'; Terence M. Russell and Ann-Marie Thornton, *Gardens and Landscapes in the Encyclopaedie of Diderot and d'Alembert*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, c.1999), I, p. 366. John Sales and Philip White have both pointed out to me that since the natural habitat of songbirds is the woodland edge, one might expect to find them around a woodland garden, rather than in open parkland.

⁵⁰ Temple to Pitt (24 September 1765). Kew PRO30/8/62, f. 103.

⁵¹ Marjorie Williams (ed.), *The Letters of William Shenstone* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939), p. 400 (to Richard Jago, 16 June 1754).

⁵² Thacker, 'O Tinian! O Juan-Fernandez!', p. 47. Also Mason, *English Garden*, pp. 200–1, where William Burgh mentioned the importance of the wild, rather than domesticated or exotic, birds in Alcander's garden, and acknowledged Rousseau's influence.

⁵³ Joseph Heely, *Letter on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowes* [1777] (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 83.

⁵⁴ C. Bruyn Andrews, *The Torrington*

Diaries, 4 vols (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1938), III, pp. 132, 159, 161–2 (5–6 July 1792).

⁵⁵ See the entry for January under ‘Pleasure Garden and Wilderness’ in Philip Miller, *The Gardener’s Kalendar* (London, 1760), p. 26.

⁵⁶ William Marshall, *Planting and Rural Ornament* [1785] (London: G. & W. Nichol, 1803), pp. 257–8.

⁵⁷ ‘The Inside of [the natural gardner’s] Wood is fill’d with Hares, Pheasants, the Statues of rural and Sylvan Deities all cut out in Wood, while he contrives likewise that living Hares and Pheasants shall abound’; Switzer, *Ichonographia Rustica*, II, p. 201.

⁵⁸ William Borlase also knew one that ‘took bread out of my hand ... lay down under a chair in the parlour ... went out into the garden now and then, and after regaling itself with the herbage, returned into the house’; William Borlase, *The Natural History of Cornwall* (Oxford: W. Jackson, 1758), p. 289.

⁵⁹ Revd William Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands of Scotland*, 2 vols [1776] (London: R. Blamire, 1789), II, pp. 187–9; Laird, *Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 223.

At Blickling, the park-keeper looked after the hares, which filled ‘What they call the Gardens ... a piece of ground of aboute 80 acres cut into Vistos of shady walks’; cited by John Phibbs, *Landscape Survey of Blickling Park*. Report for the National Trust (1981), refs 37, 63.

⁶⁰ John Edward Taylor Loveday (ed.), *Diary of a Tour in 1732 through parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland made by John Loveday of Caversham* (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 10.

⁶¹ Richard Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy through several parts of Wales, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire in a Series of Letters* (London: Sherwood, Nerly & Jones, 1811), pp. 24–5.

⁶² Hares were so fond of laburnums, according to Thomas Hamilton, that he ‘set a great many of them, to keep them from my other Trees’, adding that ‘The Quick Beam [Rowan], and this Tree in a Row planted Alternately has a very Good effect’; Thomas Hamilton (6th Earl of Haddington), *Forest Trees: Some directions about Raising Forest Trees* [c.1735], ed. M. L. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 26.

⁶³ Thomas Hull, *Select letters between the late Duchess of Somerset, Lady Luxborough and others*, 2 vols (London: J. Dodsley, 1778), I, p. 68 (from Percy Lodge, 15 May 1748).

⁶⁴ Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803); republished in *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.*, ed. John Claudius Loudon (London: Longman & Co., and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1840), p. 202. Repton must have been remembering Horace Walpole’s comment that ‘In other places the total banishment of all particular neatness

immediately about the house, which is frequently left gazing by itself in the middle of a park, is a defect’; Chase, *Horace Walpole*, p. 31.

⁶⁵ When the Hertfords bought Riskins in 1739, Lady Hertford could still write of the sound of sheep-bells, delighted by ‘the cheap manner’ in which they kept the turf; *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford, and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the years 1738 and 1741*, ed. William Bingley, 3 vols (London: Richard Phillips, 1805), I, pp. 171, 222 (17 April 1740 to the Countess of Pomfret); ‘a flock of sheep ... graze the lawns fine; and whilst these are feeding, their shepherd cleans away any weeds that spring up in the gravel, and removes dry leaves or broken branches that would litter the walks’.

⁶⁶ Stephen Switzer, *The Practical Kitchen Gardiner* (London: Thomas Woodward, 1727), p. 424.

⁶⁷ Anne Temple to Richard Grenville (afterwards Earl Temple), 1750 BL Add. MS 57806, f. 76.

⁶⁸ Minute 22 from Brown’s visit to Burton Constable on 4 September 1773 suggests that there were unfenced shrubberies in the lawn (parkland) east of the house; cited by Elizabeth Hall ‘“Mr Brown’s directions”: Capability Brown’s landscaping at Burton Constable (1767–82)’, *Garden History*, 23(2) (1995), p. 156. These shrubberies amongst the clumps are shown in George Lambert’s painting (used to illustrate the same article).

⁶⁹ In 1769, Sam Furness and his boy were paid ‘for tending sheep in the Gardens’, Chatsworth House Archives, C22, n.p.; cited by Tom Williamson, ‘Chatsworth, Derbyshire’, *Garden History*, 29(1) (2001), p. 86. Also John Banatt and Tom Williamson, *Chatsworth: A Landscape History* (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2005), p. 120.

⁷⁰ R. W. King, ‘Joseph Spence of Byflect – IV’, *Garden History*, 8(3) (1980), p. 77 (29 July 1763).

⁷¹ Mason, *English Garden*, bk II (3rd 1778 edn), ll. 417ff.; see also Brough’s commentary, which also advocates using children (p. 350).

⁷² John Parnell: ‘Here [the Temple of Bacchus] you come into a large lawn ... but every hundred yards the path leads you through clumps of shrubs, flowers etc. fenced from the sheep by the network’; cited by James Sambrook, ‘Painshill park in the 1760s’, *Garden History*, 8(1) (1980), pp. 94, 101.

⁷³ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Brandsbury (March 1789), kept at Dunbarton Oaks.

⁷⁴ Mason, *English Garden*, ll. 349–52.

⁷⁵ See the detailed account of 6 November 1782 in Keith Goodway, ‘William Emes and the flower garden at Sandon, Staffordshire’, *Garden History*, 24(1) (1996), p. 26.

⁷⁶ J. C. Barrow showed a fence between the shrubs and the grass at Strawberry Hill

in 1789; Laird, *Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 171. Note that fences do not necessarily mean grazing. Laird sees the fencing at Strawberry Hill as a response to the legginess of the maturing shrubbery, and a genuflection to the discovery of Herculaneum.

⁷⁷ Repton's ideas for grazing the pleasure ground were refined in a number of his later Red Books.

⁷⁸ Chambers, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, p. 97.

⁷⁹ Joseph Addison: 'The verdure of the Grass, the Embroidery of the Flow'rs and the Glist'ring of the Dew must be painted strong on his [the Poet's] Imagination'; in J. Dykes Campbell, *Some Portions of Essays contributed to the Spectator by Mr Joseph Addison* (Glasgow, 1864); cited by Mavis Batey, 'The Magdalen Meadows and the Pleasures of Imagination', *Garden History*, 9(2) (1981), p. 113. Also Addison's famous passage: 'if the natural Embroidery of the Meadows were helpt and improved by some small Additions of Art ... a Man might make a pretty Landskip of his own Possessions'; Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 414 (25 June 1712).

⁸⁰ *Caledonian Mercury* (1790); cited by John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), p. 118.

⁸¹ Smollett, *Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (Lydia Melford, 2 April).

⁸² Williams, *Letters of William Shenstone*, p. 187 (to Lady Luxborough, 7 April 1749); p. 193 (to Lady Luxborough, 14 May 1749); p. 199 (to Lady Luxborough, 6 June 1749). For the status of *Paeonia mascula*, see Marjorie Jenkins, 'Medicines and spices, with special reference to mediaeval accounts compiled by MJ from notes by the late Nancy Jenkins, F.P.S.', *Garden History*, 4(3) (1976); and John H. Harvey, 'Fritillary and martagon – wild or garden', *Garden History*, 24(1) (1996), pp. 33–4.

⁸³ Chambers, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, pp. 26–7. However, his choice of flowers was not just English, but mediaeval – rose, lily, violet, primrose, daffodil, peony and hollyhock were grown for ornament long before the Tudors; John H. Harvey, 'Vegetables for the Middle Ages', *Garden History*, 12(2) (1984), p. 92.

⁸⁴ Chambers, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, pp. 96–8.

⁸⁵ Boccaccio's description of grass in *The Decameron* (1358) is said to have inspired Sandro Botticelli's painting *Primavera* (c.1482) and to have been based on the Villa Palmieri in Florence.

⁸⁶ The bust of Flora in Mason's Garden at Nuneham was inscribed with lines from *The Romaunt of the Rose* in Chaucer's translation; cited by Mavis Batey, 'Two romantic picturesque flower gardens', *Garden History*, 22(2) (1994), p. 198.

⁸⁷ Switzer quoted with approval Milton's

description of Adam and Eve grazing on the fruits around them as they 'sate reclined/ On the soft Downy Bank damask'd with Flow'rs ...' (*Paradise Lost*, bk 4, l. 299), quoted in Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, I, p. 51.

⁸⁸ For example, in 'Astrophil and Stella', 8th song, William A. Ringler, Jr, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), p. 217.

⁸⁹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen*, bk II (1590 and following), repr (Ware: Wordsworth, 1999), Canto 50.

⁹⁰ Robert Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London: Robert Castell, dated 1728; published posthumously 1729), p. 97.

⁹¹ Aram's proposal for formal designs planted with bulbs through the turf itself followed an existing tradition that Hans Vredeman de Vries illustrated in his *Hortorum viridariumque elegantes et multiplicis formae* (Antwerp: Phillip Galle, 1583), as Liz Whittle has pointed out to me. Also Jan Woudstra and James Hitchmough, 'The enamelled mead: history and practice of exotic perennials grown in grassy swards', *Landscape Research*, 25(1) (2000), pp. 34–5.

⁹² Miller, *Gardener's Dictionary*, s.v. 'Wilderness'.

⁹³ Oliver Goldsmith, 'The Citizen of the World', Letter XXXI, in *The Public Ledger* (18 April 1760).

⁹⁴ The comments on Wooburn Farm are derived from R. W. King, 'The "Ferme ornée"; Philip Southcote and Wooburn Farm', *Garden History*, 2(3) (1974), pp. 27–60.

⁹⁵ The attribution to Wright or Pitt is unclear, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the wood walks were made by Pitt from 1746 – Michael Symes, 'William Pitt the Elder: the Gran Mago of landscape gardening', *Garden History*, 24(1) (1996), p. 133 – and modified by Wright ten or twenty years later, hence the title of his drawing 'Plan of the Wood Walks at Stoke with Design'd alterations'; David Lambert and Stewart Harding, 'Thomas Wright at Stoke Park', *Garden History*, 17(1) (1989), p. 76.

⁹⁶ Woods worked after Brown at Audley End but more or less at the same time as Brown at Wardour and elsewhere; Fiona Cowell, 'Richard Woods (?1716–1793): a preliminary account', *Garden History*, 15(1) (1987), pp. 44–50.

⁹⁷ King, 'Joseph Spence of Byfleet', pp. 81–4.

⁹⁸ For the Carlton House grove, see David Coombs, 'The garden at Carlton House of Frederick Prince of Wales and Augusta Princess Dowager of Wales', *Garden History*, 25(2) (1997), p. 172.

⁹⁹ Hull, *Select Letters*, I, p. 68 (Countess of Hertford to Lady Luxborough, Percy Lodge [i.e. Riskins, Colnbrook], 15 May 1748).

¹⁰⁰ For *Cheiranthus cheiri*, introduced from Spain, see John H. Harvey, 'Garden plants of Moorish Spain: a fresh look', *Garden History*, 20(1) (1992), p. 82. For *Matthiola incana*, see Mark Laird and John H. Harvey, 'A Cloth of

tissue of divers colours"; the English flower border, 1660–1735', *Garden History*, 21(2) (1993), p. 183.

¹⁰¹ E. H. Harcourt (ed.), *Harcourt Papers*, Vol. VII (1880–1905), pp. 33–4. Mason to Lord Nuneham (26 September 1772).

¹⁰² John Claudius Loudon, *A Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, 1806), p. 316.

¹⁰³ Revd William Gilpin, 'Remarks on *Trees*; and their several *combinations*; (relative chiefly to Picturesque beauty;) illustrated by y^e *Scenes of New-forest* in Hampshire: in three books', Book III of *New Forest in Hampshire* (c.1781). Bodleian MS Eng. misc. e.500 ff.615^v–16^v (William Mason's commentary).

¹⁰⁴ Leonard Meager, *The English Gardener* ... (London, 1683), p. 137.

¹⁰⁵ Banatt and Williamson, *Chatsworth*, pp. 95, 97.

¹⁰⁶ Cited by Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown*, revd (London: Faber & Faber, 1984), p. 123.

¹⁰⁷ Ulrich Muller, 'Rousham: the Steward's letters', *Garden History*, 25(2) (1997), p. 186 (15 February 1740/41).

¹⁰⁸ Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations and Characters of Books and Men*, I, p. 413, item 1087.

¹⁰⁹ In fact, views out from orangeries or greenhouses over flowerbeds are common in Brown's work, and can be found at Compton Verney and Newton, for example.

¹¹⁰ Herefordshire Record Office, 1887 Sales Particulars.

¹¹¹ Revd William Mavor Blenheim, *A poem. To which is added, A Blenheim Guide* (London: T. Cadell, 1787), p. 21.

¹¹² Gilpin, 'Remarks on *Trees*', ff. 615^v–616^v (William Mason's commentary).