

JOHN PHIBBS

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY GARDEN

This paper introduces the two ideas that eighteenth-century pleasure grounds can be characterized by their structural type and that these distinct types were in part determined by constraints that recurred throughout Britain.

It is relatively easy to characterize gardens by their style, the words ‘parterre’, ‘kitchen garden’, ‘herbaceous border’, and ‘plantsman’s garden’ each evoke a set of ideas within which the garden can be found. Pleasure grounds can also be divided into forms. Five are suggested here, but it is most likely that there will be others – the intention is not to be comprehensive, but without some sort of typology it is difficult to ask what a particular garden is for, since the easiest way to answer such a question is to ask why it takes the particular form it does. In the first article of three on the subject of eighteenth-century pleasure grounds,¹ the argument was made that a pleasure ground might consist of elements of coppicing and shredding, grove, orchard, and parterre (as well as the new shrubberies of which Mark Laird has written²), and had lawns the look and character of which might be varied by constant mowing (*boulingrin*), by grazing, or by enamelling. This second article, then, looks at the different forms of garden within which these management systems might operate.

THE GARDEN ARM

The simplest form of garden was the walk or ‘garden arm’, described by Stephen Switzer in 1718.³ Complaining of fishponds that, ‘it’s ten to one but they are in some cunning Hole or other where ’tis impossible to see them’, he proposed that ‘there should be Walks planted to and round them: And if they can’t be contained within the Limits of the Garden, or in View of the House; yet One wou’d carry some Arm of the Garden to view them’.⁴ However, the idea is much older. Paula Henderson has noted it in Sir Francis Bacon’s water gardens at Gorehambury and elsewhere.⁵ It was a Chinese effect, as Joseph Spence had discovered:

They go from one of the Valleys to another, not by formal strait Walks as in *Europe*; but by various Turnings and Windings, adorn’d on the Sides with little Pavilions and charming Grottos. ... These Paths too are irregular; and sometimes wind along the Banks of the Water, and at others run out wide from them.⁶

The garden that is based on a walk springs from the natural paths beloved of Switzer and Joseph Addison, and the style was adopted by Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown. The Terrace at Burton Pynsent, Somerset, for example, runs from the house to Brown’s Tuscan column. It was decorated with a number of ‘follies’, including Pan’s House, Blackbird Haunt, French’s Seat, Sheep House and the arch, had a number of internal scenes along *Ashmeads House, Chalford, Gloucestershire GL6 8JL, UK*

its length, and overlooked Sedgemoor, a vast and frequently flooded plain that at times still looks like an inland sea (Figure 1).⁷

THE WALK AROUND A FIELD

Where the garden is an enclosed space, then in its simplest form the garden arm becomes a gravel path around the edge of a paddock, ‘a walk around a field’,⁸ very much within the tradition of the *ferme ornée*. This simple style had its advantages, the most striking of which was that it avoided ‘useless’ mowing. It relied heavily on ribbons of shrubbery of one kind or another, was probably mown, and was very much associated with Brown.⁹ However, it also had its ‘inconveniences and defects’ as a garden style:

its approach to the several points is always circuitous, and they are thereby often thrown to a distance from the house, and from each other; there is no access to them across the open exposure; the way must constantly be the same, the *view* all along is into one opening ... this species of garden ... reduces almost to a sameness all the places it is applied to; the subject seems exhausted; no walk round a field can now be very different from several others already existing.

Sagacious as these observations of Thomas Whately’s may have been, Brown’s walks around a field – Wrautam Hill at Combe Abbey, King John’s Walk at Cowdray, and Cadland, for example – remain fine pieces of design. Whately also pointed to three means by which the tedious sameness of the gravel walk might be relieved: first, the paddock itself ‘may exhibit scenes not unworthy of the most elegant garden’; second, and there is a good example at Hestercombe, one might take the walk across the paddock;¹⁰ while the third, and most obvious, solution was the ‘string of pearls’.



Figure 1. The land falls steeply from the terrace at Burton Pynsent, and the eye is carried over French’s Pond to the indefinite horizon of Sedgemoor. Photo: Nick Owen

STRING-OF-PEARLS DESIGN

Whately therefore proposed that the walk might be embellished for ‘scenery, variety, and character’, as Parnell found at Wooburn Farm,¹¹ particularly:

by taking in, at certain intervals, an additional breadth, sufficient only for a little scene to interrupt the uniformity of the progress. The walk is then a communication, not between points of view, through all which it remains unaltered; but between the several parts of a garden, in each of which it is occasionally lost.¹²

This was the circuit walk, with its ‘various spots’,¹³ or ‘diversions’,¹⁴ the outdoor rooms, buildings and structures that Robert Adam offered at approximately 100-yard intervals along the three-mile Long Walk at Kedleston (Figure 2).¹⁵ William Gilpin noted that William Chambers and John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, treated Kew in the same way in the 1760s: ‘These gardens ... consist of a beautiful winding walk, with a variety of recesses & under-parts, round a large area’.¹⁶ The style is noticeable in Brown’s early designs: on his 1752 plan for Petworth, for example, he proposed a series of garden enclosures. Though each was to have a different use, all had similarly regular outlines (rectangle for the aloe garden and the bay garden more or less an oval), and there need be little doubt that the gardens themselves were to be organized in a regular fashion, ‘designed somewhat in the parterre way’.¹⁷

These walks around a field can be categorized as tessellated design, for there is no limit to the number of fields and walks that one might have – Kedleston had two, but Wotton had at least four. However, tessellated design has its disadvantages. First, there are short-comings of scale: a structure that is small enough to suit being seen beside the walk is not going to be big enough to command attention in views from the more distant parts of the landscape.¹⁸ Earlier designers had tended to cluster buildings (banqueting houses, dovecotes, orangeries, summerhouses) and gardens around the house, but the distribution of buildings around the walks would always be a constraint on their design. To some extent this problem might be mitigated by architectural tricks – making two or more buildings look like a single larger one from a distance, bringing a number of buildings into one *coup d’oeuil* as a jumble, or designing buildings that look quite different from different angles – solutions recommended by Gilpin¹⁹ and approved by Chambers.²⁰

Second there is a problem of monotony,²¹ one might expect tessellated landscapes to provide variety because each field can be given its own character, but the grandest variable available to landscape design is that of scale, and the similar size of the fields gives Wotton and Kedleston the look of endlessly replicating organic structures seen under a microscope. Whately remained sceptical for this reason:

though the enclosures should furnish a succession of scenes, all beautiful, and even contrasted to each other, yet the walk will introduce a similarity between them. This species of garden, therefore, seems proper only for a place of a very moderate extent; if it be stretched out to a great length, and not mixed with other characters, its sameness hurts that variety, which it is its peculiar merit to discover.²²

And it is true that the more episodic a walk is made in order to vary it, the more it will tend towards the tradition of a pleasure ground divided into separate rooms that Brown had inherited and that Horace Walpole, at least, was trying to get away from.²³

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, however, there were practical benefits to ‘string-of-pearls’ design. The enclosures could be linked by a path and fenced off from the paddock while it was grazed or when there were too many hares and rabbits about. One could then mow the small area of turf within an enclosure to a *boulingrin* finish and

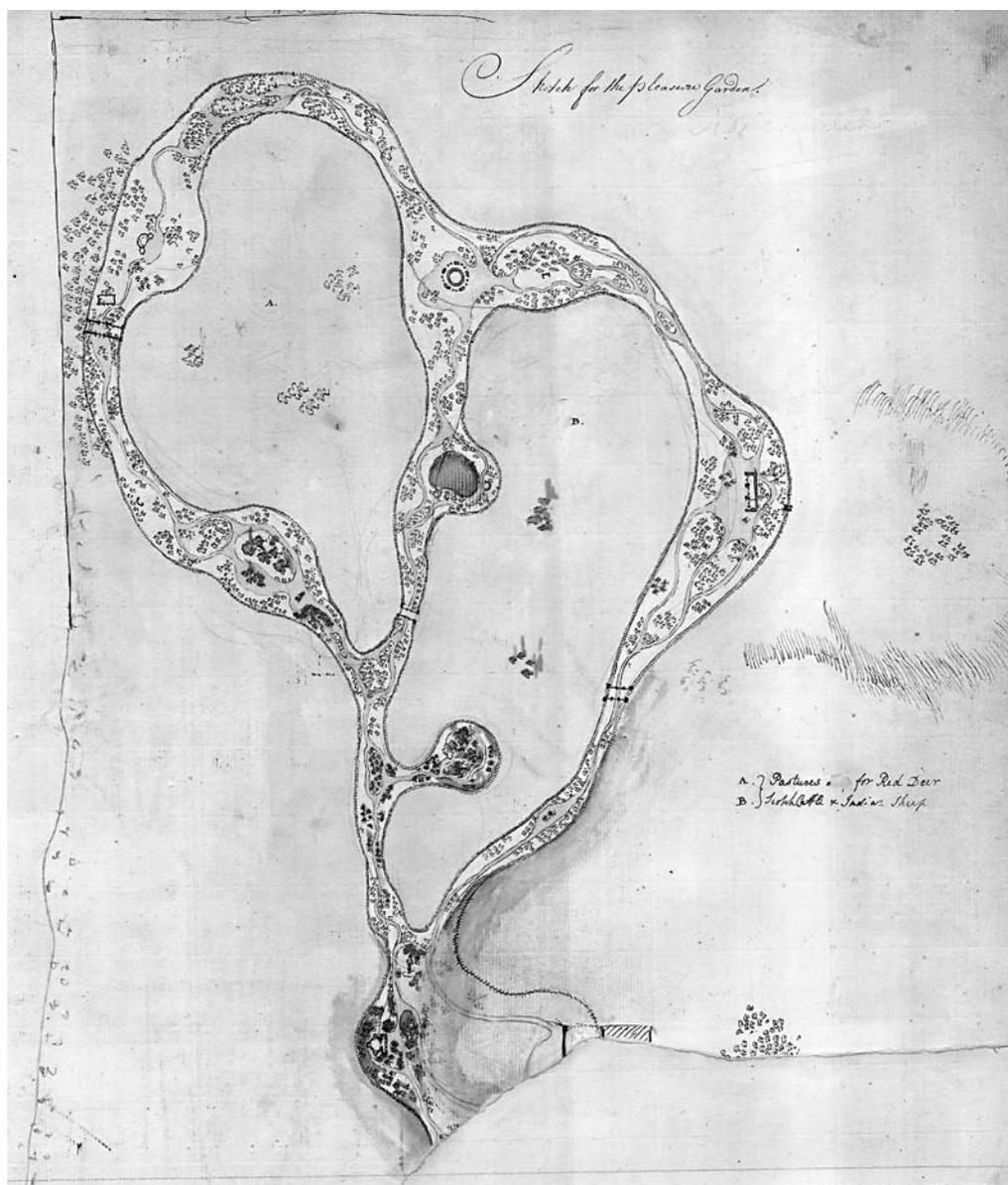


Figure 2. It is scarcely conceivable that Robert Adam's 'Sketch for a pleasure ground' (1759) at Kedleston should not share its origins with the pleasure ground at Wotton, so similar are the two designs. Courtesy: The National Trust

grow flowers effectively in the graduated style while sheep were in the rest of the pleasure ground, and the fences themselves concealed by the enclosing shrubberies. One could have specialist gardens, as at Bulstrode,²⁴ Burton Constable,²⁵ Goodwood,²⁶ or Petworth; or one might have two plots for biennials to provide a mass of flowers in one or other every year as William Hanbury advised.²⁷ Equally one could prepare individual gardens for the times when the family was there to enjoy them, so countering Switzer's condemnation of flowers because owners would come in the summer and autumn when 'the Beauty of flowers is gone, and Borders are like Graves, and rather a Blemish than a Beauty to our finest Gardens'.²⁸ Finally, enclosures could be reserved for cut flowers for the house.²⁹

THE LOOP

Many pleasure grounds were made up of a mixture of these three components, and some could be described as all three at once: Blenheim has two garden arms (one running to the cascade, another to the walled garden) and a walk across the field,³⁰ so almost making a walk around a field, and both embellished with diversions. However, there were additional forms that might be seen as countering the shortcomings of the string of pearls, and the simplest of these was the loop. This can be seen at its most straightforward at Swynnerton and Weston Park. The pleasure ground at Swynnerton runs out on the west side of the house and a gravel walk about 9 feet wide loops through it ('A broad dry walk near the house is indispensable to the comfort of every gentleman's habitation'³¹). The first section of this walk doubled as a drive, which still runs out into the parkland and down to the lake. The pleasure ground itself is essentially wooded, but the cover is varied (evergreens, a fine grove of sweet chestnuts, a small open lawn, at least one view out into the parkland, and room for a modest seat or two) (Figure 3).

The loop at Weston is similar: this runs to an inconsequential looking seat (Pendrill's Cave) and its purpose seems to have been to give views across the parkland.³² Such wooded pleasure grounds would tend to be dominated by grove and coppice gardening; doing away with the field in the middle allows one more freedom, both in the line of the walks and in the placing of the 'diversions'.



Figure 3. The loop design at Swynnerton is deceptively simple: it incorporates not only a terrace and a straight walk, but also this subtly landscaped quarry, presumably cut for the construction of the house. Photo: author

THE INTEGRATED PLEASURE GROUND

Loop designs therefore lead on directly to ‘integrated pleasure grounds’ in which numerous different functions are brought together in a single design. These are the most successful designs of the landscape movement, and they would include the gardens that are most treasured today, such as Painshill, Stourhead, and Studley Royal. Amongst surviving pleasure grounds in this style that are attributed to Brown, the finest small-scale example is Eywood, with its beautifully interconnected buildings and structures, and *primus inter pares* amongst the great houses is the rocky Hill at Himley (Figure 4).

GRADATION

These more sophisticated forms of garden could have no single route for visitors, and so there was less room for a carefully organized succession of effects, but they could be given a still more all-embracing order by gradation, and this was taken for granted by Gilpin: ‘As y^e Garden, or pleasure-ground, as it is commonly called, approaches nearer y^e house, than the park, it has of course a higher polish. Here lawns are shorn, instead of being fed with cattle.’³³ One expression of gradation is the practice of concealing ‘faults’ near the house: an idea that can be found in every commentator, and that introduces



Figure 4. The tunnel to the walled garden at Eywood. The house is in ruins but the pleasure ground is full of wonders. Photo: author

Whately's definition of gardening.³⁴ Undoubtedly this was a difficult step for designers to take, and in retrospect, it may have been a mistake. It led to a good deal of removal of yards, barns, etc., around the house, and made it possible to impose a uniform 'polite' taste. But 'polite' taste is also restricting, particularly when attended by concealment and deceit. When it was unthinkingly adopted by Repton's generation,³⁵ it licensed the tedium of Brownization, which consisted in brief of making all smooth and uniform, and by insensible changes, bland and dull.

HOUSE AND PLEASURE GROUND

The gradation of the components of a pleasure ground was only one of the possible constraints on its design. There were a number of others, the most obvious of which is the physical relationship between house and pleasure ground. In Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff's bird's-eye views from the beginning of the century, house and garden are united and make a single point of focus.³⁶ A generation later the two were separated and the emphasis was put on the pleasure ground (as at Stourhead, Studley Royal, Hackfall, Hawkstone, Mount Edgcumbe, and Painshill); but in the Brownian landscape, the house was returned to the centre of the composition and any pleasure grounds around it were concealed and usually appear as part of its woody backdrop.³⁷

The practice of moving pleasure grounds away from the house had been noticed,³⁸ and was regarded as an extravagance. To 'shew her taste in laying out ground', Mrs Baynard:

seized into her own hand a farm of two hundred acres, about a mile from the house, which she parcelled out into walks and shrubberies, having a great bason in the middle, into which she poured a whole stream that turned two mills, and afforded the best trout in the country ... in a word, the ground which formerly payed him one hundred and fifty pounds a year, now cost him two hundred pounds a year to keep it in tolerable order.

Despite the expense (one which Mr Bramble tasked himself to contain),³⁹ these 'surprise' gardens have a long history, with medieval precursors such as the Tudor Pleasaunce at Kenilworth, Elizabeth of Bohemia's pleasaunce at Combe Abbey, and, still earlier, the Plantagenet Rosamund's Bower at Blenheim. Gervase Markham had recommended them,⁴⁰ and the tradition was reinvigorated by the hill-top garden that is John Milton's Eden.⁴¹ Switzer adopted them:

little gardens will look as well a mile or two off, as just by the house ... and will, in truth, be much more surprising, the further they are from the place where one would expect to find gardens⁴²

suggesting that these gardens should be made at 'the intersections of your walks', rather as happened in the Bush Wood avenues at Wanstead. However, they are usually found on hill-tops (the bowling greens at John Vanbrugh's Claremont, at Lulworth,⁴³ and at Fonthill,⁴⁴ Conygar Hill at Dunster Castle, and the walled Mount, isolated in the park at Helmingham), or in woods (Charles Bridgeman's Spring Wood at Hackwood; Nun's Wood at St Osyth's). These two *desiderata* of prospect and isolation came together at the Temple of Bacchus at Painshill (from c.1760), invisible from the house and with views largely confined to the flowers and shrubberies, save from the portico of the temple itself; and, above all, at Hafod (where from 1795–96 the agriculturist James Anderson laid out Mariamne's Garden with its fusion of nature and horticulture).⁴⁵

Later in the century, Edward Young still thought of a garden as a place apart from the world,⁴⁶ and after his time these 'surprise' gardens were taken up by the Picturesque movement.⁴⁷

Brown himself enjoyed the motif of the ancient distant garden: in the old castle garden at Amptill, Ring Hill at Audley End, the Mausoleum at Bowood, Queen Mary's Bower at Chatsworth,⁴⁸ Warren Hill at Peper Harow, Temple Copse at Wilton, Round Hill at Wycombe Abbey and elsewhere, but the pleasure ground in the Rookery at Dynefwr is a particularly convincing example.⁴⁹ This had been a quarry and is distinguished in the field by plantings of box and rhododendron, and by its uneven 'riant' topography – one of the quarry's faces survives, still unimproved. Its reworking as a pleasure ground began before Brown's visit, and it is now a complex mix of dilapidated walls, small lawns and glades providing at least two Brownian, improved, lawns and three composed views out, across the Mill Pond, to Far Deer Park and to the Castle, the last painted by Paul Sandby.⁵⁰

These pleasure grounds were all of the flower garden type, though they were not entirely enclosed (they had at least one grand view), and, so far as one can tell, the exotic planting was dominated by hardy shrubs rather than the complex herbaceous plantings of the flower garden at Nuneham.

THE STABLES TRIANGLE

Three further points on the arrangement of the pleasure garden. A great deal was made by Repton of the triangle that should exist between the house, stables and kitchen garden. According to his notion, the stables had to provide horses to the house whenever required; the walled garden had to be convenient for supplying the house, and finally, and this is the point that Repton always stressed, the muck from the stables was always taken to the walled garden.⁵¹ Encouragement to use manure in kitchen gardens and orchards is to be found in every hand-book,⁵² though there is something nonsensical about it, as Hanbury pointed out:

the advantage of having his garden near the stables will be very inconsiderable, since very little from them is to be brought immediately into it; as the dung for this garden should be carted out, and laid to rot in a concealed place many months before it is used.

Thomas Hale was still more forceful: 'Dung, which our common Directors order to be carry'd by Loads into the Nursery, should in general be banish'd from thence entirely.'⁵³ Horse muck, in particular, has to be well composted before it is applied because it has such a high proportion of weed seeds. The walled garden might be double dug and dunged with well-rotted compost on a four-year rotation, but there would have to have been large middens between the house and kitchen garden. One might add that once the pleasure grounds themselves had been furnished with perennials, shrubs and trees, they could only have been fertilized by mulching.

The one component that might need fresh manure, as Hanbury conceded, was 'the spot designed for the hotbeds'.⁵⁴ However, to return briefly to muck production, if one assumes at least thirty horses or so stabled at night on an earl's estate,⁵⁵ each stabled horse will produce in the region of 2 tons of muck per annum, or over 60 tons in total – enough to heat an inordinate acreage of not very efficient hot-beds (oak bark was actually preferred because it gave a more even, more reliable heat).⁵⁶

Where the stables triangle did operate then, one should look for large middens between the stable and the kitchen garden, with ready access to the farm (which could cart away the surplus manure). However deeply rooted was the mucky link between kitchen garden and stables, one may fairly say that it did not make an inviolable rule of eighteenth-century design. Indeed, other arguments may have been stronger: Thomas Davis agreed with the point made by Repton in his Red Book for Longleat that the stables and offices should not be too far away because 'the horses are badly looked after

where the groom has to walk 3–400 yds and twice an evening in the rain'.⁵⁷

The stables themselves required nearby paddocks of around 20 acres.⁵⁸ They would have needed fresh water, just as much as the house,⁵⁹ and these requirements did have an impact on design. So it is reasonable to suppose that before Samuel Lapidge got to Burley-on-the-Hill, the great Stable Court on the north side of the house was used for feeding horses (Repton in his Red Book, after Lapidge had opened this court out to the park, specified the need for new paddocks near the stables). Even when at grass horses are best kept near a house: they are at hand to be ridden; they keep the turf in good condition, and their points are on show.

THE KITCHEN GARDEN

The kitchen garden was as essential as the stables, but whereas the stables might be regarded as an appendage of the house, the kitchen garden was the most elaborate and expensive of the 'diversions' of the pleasure ground – 'always interesting in the spring by its blossoms and early vegetation, and in autumn by its fruits'⁶⁰ and uniting 'the utmost simplicity with the greatest neatness: none of the productions affect finery. If it is pleasing to behold their orderly situations, and their modest beauties; how delightful to consider the advantages they yield!'.⁶¹ Inevitably, therefore, and wherever possible, it was made the destination and climax of the circuit walk.

Walled gardens are pleasant places to be, it is not only the protection that they afford in bad weather, and the wonderful warmth they hold in on good days at the start and end of the gardening year,⁶² but also there is an aesthetic pleasure in a well-ordered onion bed,⁶³ and besides vegetables, it was often here that the cut flowers for the house were grown.⁶⁴ The Duchess of Devonshire after all was just as prepared to wear a kitchen garden as a shrubbery on her head when, 'very early in spring, when those vegetables were small, and extremely dear, she came in a head-dress ornamented with real carrots and turnips'.⁶⁵

It is true that eighteenth-century authorities advised that the kitchen garden was to be 'detached entirely from the pleasure-ground' and 'as much out of view of the habitation as possible',⁶⁶ that it should be removed, 'to a great distance from the dwelling house'.⁶⁷ Even Hanbury, having related the location of the kitchen gardens to the stables 'for the conveniency of dung', then advised that the stables had to be at a distance from the house.⁶⁸ Equally, it is true that in Brown's designs kitchen gardens were generally hidden (often behind the stables or farm, as at Ashburnham) or fitted in between the sight-lines from the house (as at Croome, where Repton called the arrangement 'most natural and commodious',⁶⁹ and at Howsham where the screening around the kitchen garden framed the views from the south and east fronts of the house).⁷⁰ However, the conclusion so often drawn from this evidence that the kitchen garden was somehow despised, as a necessary but embarrassing appendage of the country house, is utterly mistaken.

An alternative reading emerges from Brown's removal of the kitchen garden at Longleat to Horningsham Common. As part of his second, 1762, contract, he linked it to the house by the scenic 'Ride or drive ... of a sufficient width for Carriages',⁷¹ described by John Parnell:

this Shrubby [ends?] at the outside of the Piece of fine Natural wood which I thought had better been lett into the Park till I perceived ... Embosomd in it. The Best Conceald and best situated fruitery and Kitchen garden I think I Ever saw.⁷²

In short, the kitchen garden was not hidden from the house so as to conceal it from visitors, but it was reserved as a surprise. It remained in the firm embrace of the ornamental

network, and one should expect nothing else if one of the greatest pleasures of the country estate was the contemplation of its abundance. Hence, the Duke of Ancaster's enthusiasm to show his kitchen garden to the unwilling John Byng at Grimsthorpe – 'where is the Kitchen Garden?' 'Oh, that we will Walk to see. '– But, now, after a two Hours survey of the House, my civility began to Halt ... So I would not go there: Why Then Bring forth the Horses, said his Grace (from some Hovel)'.⁷³ In fact there is no doubt that despite his reputation for moving them away,⁷⁴ Brown preferred the kitchen gardens to be close to the house where this was practically and horticulturally possible.⁷⁵ This was also Repton's opinion, as expressed throughout his career.⁷⁶

The screen planting that attended kitchen gardens, besides providing shelter to break the force of the wind before it tumbled over the wall, made it appear 'a great clump' like Southcote's round kitchen garden at Wooburn Farm.⁷⁷ By this means, it could be incorporated into the cell-like structure of the pleasure ground. So Repton could advertise the kitchen garden as another set of garden rooms: 'We show our friends and visitors the neat mown walk and shrubberies as they would be introduced into a drawing room, but the Kitchen Garden like the common living apartments is for the Constant use and amusement of the family.'⁷⁸ In the screen planting itself, eighteenth-century designers endeavoured to make their pleasure grounds look like natural woodland from the outside, both to conceal their whimsical eccentricities and 'to defend the grounds from the cold quarters'.⁷⁹ Alcander's flower garden was concealed in coppice,⁸⁰ and this tradition was maintained by John Claudius Loudon when he proposed setting his pit garden in a copse: 'If the plantation (i.e. the copse) were surrounded by a hedge or other fence, and the entrance to the path were through a gap in this fence, the deception would be the more complete.'⁸¹

THE PURPOSE OF THE HOUSE

In 1785 William Marshall listed the four main types of house (the principal residence, the villa, the hunting box, and the ornamental cottage).⁸² While all and any forms of pleasure ground might be found in a principal residence, each of the other types did affect the style of the pleasure ground, its size, and the scale of the components relative to each other. Villas can be defined in a number of ways,⁸³ but they are essentially places whose immediate estate is not adequate to support the house,⁸⁴ and by the time they were established as a form in their own right in the early nineteenth century their pleasure grounds had three basic forms.⁸⁵ The first, where a number of houses shared a common space, may have its origins in the city squares of the eighteenth century, but should still be regarded as a nineteenth-century arrangement, and is not relevant here. The second echoed in miniature the layout of the principal residence. However, the third, incorporating components regarded by Loudon and others in the early nineteenth century as distinctive, will illustrate the particular character of the villa, which made up something like one-quarter of the outputs of both Brown and Repton.

First, there will also have been, to serve the house cow and run the agricultural side of the villa, a dairy or small-scale set of farm buildings⁸⁶ (and above all a stable, and provision for making and keeping hay), as well as a kitchen garden, to serve the house. The villa kitchen garden had no particular size. Some were large, some small.⁸⁷ According to early nineteenth-century authorities, the kitchen garden should lie at the end of the pleasure ground in Brownian style; however, in practice it was often attached to the offices of the house. One would also expect there to have been a shrubbery relatively more extensive than that of a country house. Shrubs might be used, as at Syon Hill, to conceal the house and park from the approach, the neighbours, and the main road,⁸⁸

they were the principal constituent of the pleasure ground;⁸⁹ and were also planted in the circumambient walks, which, given the small size of the villas grounds, were often walks around a field,⁹⁰ as much criticized by Marshall.

The eighteenth-century villa will also have had a flower garden, and this might be either a parterre (perhaps only a series of studs scattered about the lawn, close to the house), or a surprise, possibly some way from the house. Such gardens are often found in larger houses as well and do not typify the villa, but they will tend to be larger, relative to the size of the holding, than would be expected of a country house.⁹¹ The coppice and grove might be established in existing woodland, if there happened to be any on the site, but in general are less common.

‘To shew and to improve that variety should be principally attended to, in a place, such as a sporting seat, which is frequented only in autumn.’⁹² Wakefield Lodge was a sporting seat, and the simplicity of its setting, and the kitchen gardens, adjacent to the house both suggest a no-nonsense design of the kind that Fortesque’s agent Hilliard referred to on 23 June 1771:

This age ... has confounded all order and regularity indiscriminately. The Palace and Mansion house are levelled with the Lodge or mere hunting seat. The latter is certain in taste if left to nature with the herds grazing at the door but I humbly conceive the magnificence and elegance of the artist’s hand in the former not only justifies but demands some appearance of regularity.⁹³

In his advice for Culford, Repton in his Red Book insisted that ‘near a sporting seat the plantations must be thick, as covers for game; and while they are young a fence cannot be avoided’. Clearly there should be no pleasure ground to prevent one from hunting from the front door of a sporting seat, and Repton would allow hedges, arable and coppice within view of the house – the pleasure ground would be of secondary significance, and at Wakefield Lodge it did duty as a pheasantry.

The fashion for cottages became widespread c.1800, and parts of the country, such as Steephill on the Isle of Wight, were famous for them. Among the first, however, was Queen Charlotte’s cottage in the woods at Kew (1772). Essentially one would expect cottages to have relatively large gardens and little else, though Marshall was to comment that in the ornamental cottage ‘ostentation and show should be cautiously avoided; even elegance should not be attempted’,⁹⁴ in short, as with the sporting seat, one would expect plantations of American introductions to be avoided.

The first two of this set of three articles have tried to widen the definition of the eighteenth-century pleasure ground by accommodating, first, the gardening traditions from which it sprang; and, second (herein), a typology of pleasure grounds, with some of the constraints that determined their design. There is an assumption that both these factors will have affected planting design, which is addressed in the third of these articles.

REFERENCES

¹ John Phibbs ‘The persistence of older traditions in eighteenth-century gardens’, *Garden History*, 37/2 (2009), pp. 174–88.

² Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden English Pleasure Grounds 1720–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

³ Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia rustica, Or the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener’s Recreation*, 3 vols (London: D. Browne, 1718).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 346–7. The serpentine walk at Heythrop was itself a garden arm linking the house and the water, and ornamented along the way, as the surviving yews and laurels indicate.

⁵ Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 133.

⁶ Joseph Spence, *A Particular Account of the Emperor of China’s Gardens near Pekin: in a letter from F. Attiret. ... Translated from*

the French, by Sir Harry Beaumont (London: R. Dodsley, 1752), letter sent on 1 November 1742, pp. 8–10.

⁷ The terraces at Farnborough and Rievaulx have a similar character, with an open walk up and a closed, wooded, return.

⁸ ‘a field surrounded by a gravel walk is to a degree bordered by a garden’; Thomas Whately, *Observations On Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Descriptions* (London: T. Payne, 1770), p. 206.

⁹ ‘Mr Brown seems to have *set the fashion*, and ... one invariable plan of embellishment prevails; namely, that of stripping the near ground, entirely naked, or almost so, and surrounding it with a wavy border of shrubs, and a gravel walk; leaving the area, whether large or small, one naked sheet of greensward’; William Marshall, *On Planting and Rural Ornament*, 2 vols [1785] (London: G. & W. Nichol, 1803), I, p. 281.

¹⁰ Whately, *Observations On Modern Gardening*, pp. 168, 208.

¹¹ See John Parnell’s account of Wooburn Farm (22 August 1763) in John Parnell, ‘1763 Tour’ (The Folger Shakespeare Library MS Ma. 11), f. 159; cited in James Sambrook, ‘Wooburn Farm in the 1760s’, *Garden History*, 7/2 (1979), pp. 83–5.

¹² Whately, *Observations On Modern Gardening*, p. 209.

¹³ ‘the various spots are little detached landscapes, different resting-places for you on your walks’; R. L. Girardin, Vic^e d’Ermenonville, *De la Composition des Paysages* (Paris and Geneva, 1777); trans. by Daniel Malthus as *An Essay on Landscape* (London, 1783), pp. 65–6.

¹⁴ Mary Rose Blacker, *Flora Domestica. A History of Flower Arranging 1500–1930* (London: The National Trust, 2000), p. 70.

¹⁵ Adam also worked at Osterley, where there is a similar sequence of small buildings and diversions along the walk. So John Dalrymple described a walk of William Kent’s, which ‘careless and undesigned as it seemed, continually led to some building or place of repose, or lake with an island in it, joined to the land by a CHINESE bridge’; Sir John Dalrymple, *An Essay on Landscape Gardening* (c.1759), ed. Bolton Corney (Greenwich: W. Richardson, 1823), pp. 17–18.

¹⁶ William Gilpin notebook (22 May 1769), Bodleian MS Eng. Misc. c.522, f. 73.

¹⁷ Thomas Mawe and John Abercrombie, *The Universal Gardener and Botanist* (London: G. & J. Robinson, 1797), s.v. ‘PLEASURE-GARDEN, or Pleasure-ground’, pp. 141–4.

¹⁸ It is noteworthy that at Osterley, where Adam designed buildings and may have set them out as well, each is screened off from long views across the park, and this avoids the problem of scale. At the other extreme, John Vanbrugh’s park buildings, designed at full size, often appear too big for their settings.

¹⁹ [Revd William Gilpin], *A Dialogue upon*

the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire (London: B. Seeley, 1748), pp. 6–27.

²⁰ ‘Where towns, castles, towers, or any other considerable objects are in sight, they artfully contrive to have them seen from as many points, and in as many directions as possible’; Sir William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: Dodsley, 1773), pp. 22–3.

²¹ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Wembley (c.1792): ‘I conceive that true taste will especially avoid that extravagant thirst after novelty, which introduces buildings of every age and time into the same inclosure, and that dull monotony which has induced some to repeat exactly the same buildings in many parts of the park, as if they were in possession of only one single design, and that had been executed by Brown.’

²² Whately, *Observations On Modern Gardening*, p. 210.

²³ Sir William Temple had suggested that the various compartments of the garden should be ‘like one of the rooms out of which you step into another’; Sir William Temple, *The Works of Sir William Temple*, 4 vols (London: J. Brotherton, 1770), III, p. 223.

²⁴ For example, Mrs Lybbe Powys described the wild flower garden at Bulstrode in 1769: ‘The Duchess has every English plant in a separate garden by themselves’; Emily J. Climenson (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon. AD 1756 to 1808* (London: Longmans, 1899), p. 120.

²⁵ Burton Constable had wild flower gardens (made 1763–69). It is discussed, along with other examples of the eighteenth-century wild flower garden, in a superb article by Elizabeth Hall, ‘The plant collections of an eighteenth-century virtuoso’, *Garden History*, 14/1 (1986), pp. 13–14.

²⁶ For Goodwood, see John Hill, *Idea of a Botanical Garden in England* (London: R. Baldwin, 1758), p. 14.

²⁷ William Hanbury, *A Complete Body of Planting and Gardening*, 2 vols (London, 1769), I, p. 281.

²⁸ Switzer, *Ichnographia rustica*, I, p. xxxix.

²⁹ For an excellent account of the flower garden, see John Trusler, *Elements of Modern Gardening; or, the Art of Laying Out of Pleasure Grounds, Ornamenting Farms, and Embellishing the Views Round about Our Houses* (London: R. Baldwin, 1784), pp. 64ff.

³⁰ ‘On each side of this lawn y^e garden spreads in y^e form of a crescent. The chasm between y^e 2 horns is completed by a walk, w^h runs across y^e park, & joins y^e 2 extremities of y^e garden’; William Gilpin, ‘Tour through Cumberland and Westmoreland’ (1772), Bodleian MS Eng. Misc. e.488(1), I, ff. 22–3.

³¹ Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, 3 vols [1794] (London: J. Mawman, 1810), II, pp. 133–4.

³² The route of the loop looks Brownian, though there has been more recent planting and the original views are no longer clearly defined.

³³ 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', Bk II of 'Trees in Combination' (c.1781), Bodleian MS Eng. Misc. e.499, f. 235.

³⁴ 'The business of a gardener is to select and to apply whatever is great, elegant, or characteristic in any of them; to discover and to shew all the advantages of the place upon which he is employed; to supply its defects, to correct its faults, and to improve its beauties'; Whately, *Observations On Modern Gardening*, p. 1.

³⁵ See, for example, the criticism of his predecessor at Brandesbury in his Red Book (14 March 1789), who acted 'without consulting the Genius of the Place, or considering the first principle of Landscape Gardening which directs "to conceal the defects & display the beauties of Nature".

³⁶ So Robert Castell placed the orchard and kitchen garden 'Nearer the *Villa* than the *Vivarium*, and adjoining to the Walls of the Farm-yard'; Robert Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London: R. Castell, dated 1728; published posthumously 1729), p. 74.

³⁷ By the time of Brown's death, it was assumed that 'With respect to the situation [the pleasure ground] must ... be immediately contiguous to the main house, whether high or low situated'; Mawe and Abercrombie, *Universal Gardener, s.v.* 'PLEASURE-GARDEN, or Pleasure-ground'.

³⁸ Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon* (London, 1806); repr. in John Claudius Loudon (ed.), *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (London: Longman & Co. and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1840), pp. 363ff.

³⁹ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* [1771] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2008). Matt Bramble, 30 September and 26 October.

⁴⁰ Gervase Markham, *Maison Rustique, Or, The Country 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. 334.

⁴¹ John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1667), Bk IV, ll. 140–8.

⁴² Switzer, *Ichnographia rustica*, III, p. 89.

⁴³ The Lulworth bowling green is apparently referred to in an inventory of 1678; Dorset County Record Office, D/WLC/E99.

⁴⁴ The gardens in the Rookery at Fonhill are shown on a plan of 1670 and were painted by Arthur Devis; both plan and picture are kept at the house.

⁴⁵ James Anderson, *Essays Relating to Agriculture and Rural Affairs* (Edinburgh: John Bell, 1784).

⁴⁶ 'reflection, and peace ... are the natural growth of a garden'; Edward Young, *The Centaur not fabulous in six letters to a friend on the Life in Vogue* [1755] (Dublin: G. & A. Ewing, 1764), p. 59.

⁴⁷ See, for example, the discussion of pit gardens in John Claudius Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (London: Longmans etc., 1838), p. 167.

⁴⁸ John Barnatt and Tom Williamson, *Chatsworth: A Landscape History* (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2005), p. 116.

⁴⁹ First mentioned in the 'Brown minutes' currently in the possession of Lord Dynefwr.

⁵⁰ In Brown's day the pleasure ground was accessed by a drive that followed the contour below the garden – a walk was also laid out and survives, but this seems to post-date Brown; The National Trust, Dynefwr Papers, Dyn.C.2.

⁵¹ For a typical account, see his Red Book for Burton Park (March 1798): 'it might be more convenient to place the stables nearer the house, yet as the kitchen garden ought not to be removed, there is such a natural connection between the two objects that they cannot with propriety be very distant from each other'. However, it can be found in a more sophisticated form in his Red Book for Scrivelsby (10 October 1790): 'the two objects of convenience and beauty are both promoted by placing the Kitchen Garden in the spot I've marked out for it, the former by its proximity to the house, the Stables for dung, the pond for water, and the farmyard for the disposal of vegetable offal'.

⁵² For example, *The Country Gentleman's Companion ... By a Country Gentleman, from his own experience* (London: T. Trye, 1753), I, p. 128: 'In MARCH Now carry Dung into the Orchards and Gardens.'

⁵³ John Hill (ed.), *Eden or, A compleat body of Gardening* (London: T. Osborne, 1757), p. 249.

⁵⁴ Hanbury, *Complete Body of Planting and Gardening*, II, p. 689.

⁵⁵ John Hibbs 'The Englishness of Lancelot "Capability" Brown', *Garden History*, 31/2 (2003), p. 137, n. 64.

⁵⁶ Hill, *Eden*, p. 274. Bark had been introduced for tanning c.1712; Michael McGarvie and John H. Harvey, 'The Revd George Harbin and his memoirs of gardening 1716–1723', *Garden History*, 11/1 (1983), p. 28.

⁵⁷ 'Extracts from Mr Repton's Observations on Longleat' by T[homas] Davis, steward of Longleat, kept at Longleat.

⁵⁸ For a good example of an arrangement of paddocks, the north front of the new castle at Wardour faces its own extensive pleasure ground, with the walled garden and stables spread around the perimeter, and Woods's

design shows paddocks, very much in the style of a *ferme ornée*; Fiona Cowell, 'Richard Woods (?1716–93): a preliminary account, Part II', *Garden History*, 15/1 (1987), pp. 19–54 (p. 22).

⁵⁹ 'Below each Stable let there be a fair Fish-Pond, for watering the Horses, when they are breath'd about the Lawns'; Timothy Nourse, *Campania Foelix; or, a Discourse of the Benefits and Improvements of Husbandry* (London: Thomas Bennet, 1700), p. 329.

⁶⁰ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Cobham (December 1790).

⁶¹ Hervey, cited by Charles Marshall, *An Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of Gardening* (London: F. & C. Rivington, 1796), p. 5.

⁶² See, *inter alia*, Repton's Red Book for Woburn (January 1805), printed in *Fragments on the Theory and Practice ...* (London, 1816); repr. in Loudon, *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture*, pp. 550–1: 'there are many days in winter when a warm, dry, but secluded walk ... would be preferred'.

⁶³ 'A narrow flower-bed and gravel walk next to a straight wall, better straight than serpentine'; Revd Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men Collected from Conversation*, ed. James K. Osborn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), I, p. 409, Item 1072.

⁶⁴ Lawson argued in 1617 that it was as inappropriate that 'the garden flowers should, or can be without herbs good for the kitchen' as it was that 'the kitchen garden [should] want flowers'; William Lawson, *The Countrie Housewife's Garden* (London, 1617).

⁶⁵ 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), p. 164.

⁶⁶ Mawe and Abercrombie, *Universal Gardener, s.v.* 'Kitchen-Garden'. Before Brown's time, Sir Thomas Hanmer had also recommended that the kitchen garden should be well away from the house; Ruth Duthie, 'The planting plans of some seventeenth-century flower gardens', *Garden History*, 18/2 (1990), p. 85.

⁶⁷ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Hill Hall (December 1791); also Repton, *Sketches*, repr. in Loudon, *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture*, p. 84.

⁶⁸ Hanbury, *Complete Body of Planting and Gardening*, I, p. 69.

⁶⁹ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Woburn (January 1805).

⁷⁰ Wotton's walled garden could be incorporated into the circuit layout and was overlooked by the office wing of the house. Heythrop, inevitably, is the earliest kitchen garden that I know to have been built out of sight of the house and at the far end of the pleasure ground. An alcove was built within its walls, however, so as to allow the

gentry to stop on their walks and admire the achievements of the garden staff. Chatsworth's kitchen garden was also moved away from the house early in the eighteenth century; Barnatt and Williamson, *Chatsworth*, p. 78.

⁷¹ Timothy Mowl, 'Rococo and later landscaping at Longleat', *Garden History*, 23/1 (1995), p. 62.

⁷² 'Journal of a Tour thro' England and Wales' (1769) (London School of Economics (LSE) Coll. Misc. 38), II, ff. 76–7. Plantations to screen the kitchen garden, which had already been built, were included in Brown's contract at Trentham. At Holkham, the kitchen gardens were built from 1781 to 1786, and though they cost about £10,000, they were screened with planting in the first year; Tom Williamson, *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park. Garden Design in Norfolk, England, c.1680–1840*. BAR British Series No. 268 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1998), p. 102.

⁷³ C. Bruyn Andrews, *The Torrington Diaries*, 4 vols (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1938), IV, p. 127 (6 June 1789).

⁷⁴ Loudon, *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture*, p. 550.

⁷⁵ Hanbury, *Complete Body of Planting and Gardening*, II, pp. 688–9.

⁷⁶ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Cobham (December 1790). Henry Pye agreed: 'It is surely better for a person of moderate fortune to have his kitchen garden (always a busy and interesting scene) near his house, which may be rendered no unpleasant walk by flowers in the borders, with the addition of a small piece of pleasure ground highly ornamented, and perfectly kept'; Henry James Pye, 'Some Observations on Gardening', in *Sketches on Various Subjects; Moral, Literary, and Political ...* (London: J. Bell, 1796), p. 120. Ninety per cent of the Brown landscapes I have seen have walled gardens within 200 yards of the house, and for the most part these were incorporated within the pleasure ground.

⁷⁷ Parnell, 'Journal of a Tour'. Mark Laird has suggested further examples – Richard Woods's design for Goldsborough; Debden Hall in the 1790s view; Audley End; and, of course Hartwell, where the Flower Garden was laid out in the slip of the kitchen garden. Also Laird, *Flowering of the Landscape Garden English Pleasure Grounds*, pls 178, 1990.

⁷⁸ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Hill Hall (December 1791).

⁷⁹ John Rutter and Daniel Carter, *Modern Eden or the Gardener's Universal Guide* (London: J. Cooke, 1767), pp. 205–6.

⁸⁰ 'Try we they candor farther: higher art,/ And more luxurious, haply too more vain,/ Adorns yon southern coppice'; William Mason, *The English Garden A Poem* (York: J. Todd, 1783), Bk IV, ll. 493–5.

⁸¹ Loudon, *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, p. 167.

⁸² Marshall, *On Planting and Rural Ornament*, I, pp. 267–85. After the 1774

Building Act had identified four different rates of houses by size and grade of materials, if not before, the eighteenth century had embraced the idea that one could characterize house types.

⁸³ For a very good introduction to the nineteenth-century suburban villa, see T. R. Slater, 'Family, society, and the ornamental villa on the fringes of English county towns', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4/2 (1978), pp. 129–44.

⁸⁴ Hence, that grandest of eighteenth-century houses, Wanstead, was classified as a villa; John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London, 1822), p. 1232.

⁸⁵ For a more detailed study of the villa garden, drawn particularly from the early nineteenth century, see Debois Landscape Survey Group, 'The Villa Garden' [Internal Report] (English Heritage, 1993).

⁸⁶ A villa (or second-rate garden) was expressly, and rightly, distinguished by Loudon from a park (or first-rate) in that it has no farm; Loudon, *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, p. 548.

⁸⁷ 'a few acres chiefly in grass, but with a small kitchen garden and shrubbery'; *Gardeners' Magazine*, 3 (1828), p. 361.

⁸⁸ 'there should be a little dressed ground for shrubs and flowers in front'; *ibid.*, 5 (1829),

p. 36.

⁸⁹ 'squares of turf, on which should be beds of flowers and shrubs'; John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (London: Longman, 1833).

⁹⁰ 'meadow behind, surrounded by a planting walk of trees and shrubs, in a belt within the outer fence'; *Gardeners' Magazine*, 5 (1829), p. 36.

⁹¹ For villa flower gardens, see, for example, Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*, p. 793; and *Gardener's Magazine*, 11 (1835), p. 613.

⁹² Whately, *Observations On Modern Gardening*, p. 252.

⁹³ Robin Fausset, 'The creation of the gardens at Castle Hill, South Molton, Devon', *Garden History*, 13/2 (1985), pp. 102–25 (p. 122). Marshall seems to have been of the same opinion as Hilliard; he thought that a hunting box should have a 'masculine' style; Marshall, *On Planting and Rural Ornament*, I, p. 285.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 279ff. There are designs for 'summer retreats' in Thomas Rawlins Thomas Rawlins, *Familiar Architecture; or Original Designs of Houses for Gentlemen and Tradesmen; Parsonages; Summer Retreats; Banqueting-Rooms; and Churches* (London, 1768).