

Capability BROWN

Royal Gardener

The Business of Place-Making
in Northern Europe



Edited by Jonathan Finch & Jan Woudstra

Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe

Edited by
Jonathan Finch & Jan Woudstra

WHITE ROSE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Universities of Leeds, Sheffield & York

Published by
White Rose University Press
(Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and York)
University of York,
Heslington, York, UK, YO10 5DD
<https://universitypress.whiterose.ac.uk>

Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe
Text © The Authors 2020

First published 2020

Cover Illustration: *Harewood House from the south*, J.M.W. Turner, 1798. Reproduced by courtesy of the Harewood House Trust.

Cover designed by Tom Grady, WRUP

ISBN (Hardback): 978-1-912482-24-5

ISBN (PDF): 978-1-912482-25-2

ISBN (EPUB): 978-1-912482-26-9

ISBN (MOBI): 978-1-912482-27-6

DOI (volume): <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown>

Reuse statement: Apart from exceptions, where specific copyright statements are given, this work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0). To view a copy of this licence, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, California, 94042, USA. This licence allows for sharing and adapting any part of the work for personal and non-commercial use, providing author attribution is clearly stated.

Example citation: Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), 2020. *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown>. CC BY-NC 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0>

To access this work freely online via the White Rose University Press website, please scan this QR code or visit <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown>.



Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Author Biographies	vii
Chapter 1: Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown: An Eighteenth-Century Life <i>Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra</i>	1
Chapter 2: Lancelot Brown, His Majesty’s Chief Gardener at Hampton Court <i>David Jacques</i>	17
Chapter 3: John Spyers – Lancelot Brown’s Surveyor at Hampton Court <i>Sebastian Edwards</i>	33
Chapter 4: Seeing an Eden from a Desert: Topographical Views of Kew and Richmond Gardens in the 1760s <i>Matthew Storey</i>	49
Chapter 5: The Brown Business <i>Tom Williamson</i>	61
Chapter 6: Place-Making: Capability Brown and the Landscaping of Harewood House, West Yorkshire <i>Jonathan Finch</i>	75
Chapter 7: Lancelot Brown’s Legacy of Landscape Practice: Samuel Lapidge ‘Who Knows My Accounts and the Nature of Them’ <i>Jan Woudstra</i>	89
Chapter 8: Nathaniel Richmond (c. 1719–84), ‘scholar of Brown’? <i>David Brown</i>	105
Chapter 9: The Greenings of Brentford End, Royal Gardeners <i>Val Bott</i>	119
Chapter 10: ‘Chaises, grotto, fishing, all in perfection’: The Social Context of Brown’s Landscape Designs <i>Kate Felus</i>	137
Chapter 11: The English Garden in Germany: Some Late Eighteenth-Century Concepts of the Landscape Garden <i>Michael Rohde</i>	151

Chapter 12: Lancelot Brown and the Notion of the Landscape Garden in the Netherlands: Illustrated with Het Loo Palace	
<i>Jan Woudstra and Willem Zieleman</i>	165
Chapter 13: Brown Invisible in France? The French Perception and Reception of Eighteenth-Century British Gardens	
<i>Laurent Châtel and Monique Mosser</i>	181
Chapter 14: Capability Brown, Royal Gardener and Placemaker in Northern Europe	
<i>Jan Woudstra and Jonathan Finch</i>	199
Select Bibliography	205
Index	215

Acknowledgements

The editors would like to thank a number of people and institutions without whom this volume would not have been possible. Historic Royal Palaces hosted and co-organised the conference 'Capability Brown Royal Gardener – the Man and His Business: Past, Present and Future' at Hampton Court in June 2016, and it was from the discussions around those papers that this volume emerged as an idea. The University of Sheffield and the University of York were also involved in the organisation of the conference and have taken the volume forward with the help and support of the White Rose University Press. Tom Grady and Kate Petherbridge from WRUP deserve special thanks. David Jacques and Kate Felus also went beyond the role of contributors to help with the volume as a whole, and Jo Tozer copy-edited the draft into a consistent document. Any errors remain the responsibility of the editors.



LAUNCELOT BROWN Esq.

of Fenstanton, Hunts.

"Capability Brown"

B.1716. D.1783.

Author Biographies

Val Bott MBE, independent museums consultant, based in Brentford, London, UK.

David Brown, freelance landscape architect, based in Aldborough, Norfolk, UK.

Laurent Châtel, Professor of British Art, Culture and Visual Studies at Lille Université, France.

Sebastian Edwards, Deputy Chief Curator and Head of Collections, Historic Royal Palaces, based at Hampton Court Palace, Surrey, UK.

Kate Felus, independent garden historian who runs a landscape consultancy business in West Sussex.

Jonathan Finch, Professor of Archaeology at the Department of Archaeology, University of York, UK.

David Jacques, landscape historian, conservationist and independent researcher, based in Staffordshire, UK.

Monique Mosser, Historian of French Art, created a course in the conservation of historic gardens, École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Versailles, France, now emeritus.

Michael Rohde, Director of Gardens, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam, Germany; Professor in Garden Conservation, Technical University Berlin, Germany.

Matthew Storey, Curator (Collections), with Historic Royal Palaces, based at Hampton Court Palace, Surrey, UK.

Tom Williamson, Professor of History, School of History, University of East Anglia, UK, where he leads the Landscape History Research Group.

Jan Woudstra, Reader in Landscape History and Theory at the Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Sheffield, UK.

Willem Zieleman, Head Gardener and Gardens Advisor of the Royal Palace of Het Loo, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands.

Frontispiece (page vi): *Capability Brown*, Nathaniel Dance (later Sir Nathaniel Holland, Bt) oil on canvas, c. 1773. © National Portrait Gallery, London. Reproduced with permission.

CHAPTER I

Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown: An Eighteenth-Century Life

Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra

Early Years

Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown (1716–83), Britain’s most famous gardener and designer, was undeniably a man of his times. His life spanned a period of unprecedented social and economic change, which saw increased investment in the transformation of the English rural landscape: a landscape within which most people lived and earned a living, and a landscape whose ownership determined the political constitution of the country. Yet it was a landscape in flux, with new industrial centres changing how and where people lived and worked, creating new forms of wealth from networks that spanned the globe. Brown’s life work was to realise a landscape style attuned to the needs of the social and economic elite, who had consolidated their hold on the levers of power after the political settlements of the late-seventeenth century. Brown’s landscapes embodied the aspirations and ideals of those who benefited most from the evolving modern world: landscapes that embodied balance and harmony through the elegance and comfort of beauty.

When Brown was born in Northumberland around 1716, the first stirrings of the modern landscape movement were already being articulated. During the first few years of the eighteenth century most of the literature published on gardens in Britain was either translations or reprints of earlier works.¹ One of the most significant was John James’s *The Theory and Practice of Gardening*, published in 1712, as a translation of Dézallier d’Argenville’s work (1709), which celebrated André le Nôtre’s formal garden style, associated with the French court.² However, the move away from such formalism began with Stephen Switzer’s *The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener’s Recreation*, published in 1715, which was the foundation for his great work *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718).³ Switzer trained at the Brompton nursery under George London and Henry Wise, as did the designer Charles Bridgeman (d. 1738), whose landscapes popularised the new move towards a greater naturalism, and

¹ Blanche, H. (1975). *British botanical and horticultural literature before 1800* (Vol. 2, p. 415). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

² James, J. (1712). *The theory and practice of gardening*. London; Dézallier d’Argenville, A. J. (1709). *La theorie et la pratique du jardinage*. Paris.

³ Switzer, S. (1718). *The nobleman, gentleman and gardener’s recreation*. London; Switzer, S. (1718). *Ichnographia Rustica*. London.

How to cite this book chapter:

Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. 2020. Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown: An Eighteenth-Century Life. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 1–15. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.a>. CC BY-NC 4.0



Figure 1.1: *Estate buildings, Kirkhale, Northumberland.* Brown started his career as an apprentice to the head gardener of Kirkhale, Northumberland, where his father had been a land agent. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2008, CC BY-NC 4.0.

who worked with Alexander Pope, the century's greatest man of letters, on his influential garden and house at Twickenham, and at Marble Hill, Richmond.

Yet Brown's family lived in Kirkhale, in Northumberland, a fairly typical small rural community, over 300 miles to the north, far from the glittering metropolitan world. His father, who died in 1720 when Brown was only four, was a farmer and land agent to the local lord, Sir William Loraine, yet the young Brown was educated at the local school in Cambo – possibly through the good offices of Loraine. Clearly an important family on the estate, Brown's elder brother John became the estate surveyor and married Sir William's daughter, whilst another brother, George, became a mason and architect in neighbouring Wallington, and also married into a local gentry family. Brown started as an apprentice to the head gardener at Kirkhale, where he may also have learned estate management under the tutelage of Loraine, who was a keen improver (Figure 1.1). Brown moved on at the end of the 1730s – probably to Lincolnshire, where it has been suggested he learned engineering and water management, before he appeared in Oxfordshire, from where he was recruited by Lord Cobham to work at the famous gardens of Stowe (Bucks) in 1741.⁴

Brown arrived at Stowe, the epicentre of political and aesthetic change that was transforming designed landscapes, only two years after leaving his home in Kirkhale, suggesting that the distance between a local northern estate and metropolitan society might not have been so far in the mid-eighteenth century. At Wallington, for example, Brown's brother George was mentored by Daniel Garrett, who had been Lord Burlington's clerk of works and was a colleague of William Kent.⁵ Networks of patronage and the growing sense of social mobility amongst the educated and aspirational professional class could open routes to success that had hitherto been

⁴ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 29). London: Country Life.

⁵ See Hill, R. (2012). As God intended. Review in *London Review of Books*, 34(1). Review of Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1716–1783*. London: Chatto and Windus.



Figure 1.2: *Stowe, Bucks.* One of the largest innovations at Stowe in c. 1747 was the creation of the Grecian Valley, which had originally been intended to become a lake. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2014, CC BY-NC 4.0.

dependent on the vagaries of court patronage. Lord Cobham's showpiece was already well-established as a landscape of political theatre, with its Temples of Modern and of Ancient Virtue, and the gothic Temple of Liberty all providing a scathing satire on Sir Robert Walpole's political hegemony, which was to collapse the following year, in 1742. The opening out of the political landscape thereafter was to some extent pre-figured by William Kent's landscape vision at Stowe, where he had softened Bridgeman's structural geometry and formalism into a looser, more theatrical style (Figure 1.2).

It is worth briefly comparing Bridgeman and Kent with Brown, as his immediate predecessors. Bridgeman and Kent worked successively at Stowe, where Brown took his first important post, so they undoubtedly loomed large in his professional development and landscape ideas. Bridgeman had worked for London and Wise, and drew strongly on their interpretation of the continental styles popularised by Le Nôtre. Bridgeman's designs integrated informal or naturalistic elements within the framework of geometric formalism, which led Horace Walpole to declare that Bridgeman was responsible for the 'dawn of modern taste' in garden design.⁶ The key innovation for Walpole was the opening out of the garden to the wider landscape through the use of the ha-ha, which brought greater potential and scope to design and a sense of the Picturesque, as conceived by the seventeenth-century artists Claude and Poussin, amongst others, whose work had been popularised by collectors on the Grand Tour. Bridgeman followed in the footsteps of London and Wise, not just in the professional sense of having worked at the Brompton nursery, which itself should never be underestimated as a *loci genius* for the English landscape style, but also in that he succeeded Wise as royal gardener from 1728 to 1738.⁷ Bridgeman's role at court recognised his position as the foremost designer of his day, as it did latterly for Brown.

⁶ Walpole, H. (n.d.). The history of modern gardening. In Walpole, H. *Anecdotes of painting* (Vol. 4, p. 263). London: Ward Lock.

⁷ Wise had been royal gardener for the first twenty-eight years of the eighteenth century; see Willis, P. (2002). *Charles Bridgeman and the English landscape garden* (pp. 5–8). Newcastle upon Tyne: Elysium.

Like Brown, Kent had risen from inauspicious origins. Talent-spotted as a coach-painter from Bridlington on the North Yorkshire coast, a group of aristocrats sponsored his sabbatical in Italy, where Kent met the 3rd Earl of Burlington, who became his principal patron on their return to England in 1719. Unlike Brown, Kent's education focused on painting and art, and with Burlington's encouragement he emerged as a talented interior designer and architect in the 1730s, before turning his hand to landscapes, again with influential backing, this time from his long-time friend Alexander Pope. Kent's landscape style developed from an artistic and theatrical foundation, and he worked by providing perspective views of his proposed landscapes rather than the more traditional plans. It was Kent who Walpole famously said 'leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden': Kent extended Bridgeman's sense of naturalism and asymmetry beyond the confines of a geometric frame.⁸

In 1734 Sir Thomas Robinson wrote to his father-in-law, the 3rd Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard in North Yorkshire, that 'the new taste in gardening just arisen ... after Mr Kent's notion of gardening' was to 'lay them out, and work without level or line'. The desire was for far greater diversity and variety in the design, a rejection of symmetry and as a result 'it has the appearance of beautiful nature ... one would imagine art had no part in the finishing'.⁹ It is perhaps significant in the context of understanding the importance of the court circle to the development of eighteenth-century landscape taste to realise that the commotion Robinson was reporting, the ripples of which would stimulate landscape work across the country, emanated from Kent's reworking of the garden attached to Carlton House for Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had bought it from Lord Burlington in 1732.

Both Bridgeman and Kent can be seen to have laid propitious foundations for Brown. Not only did they initiate the break from geometric formal gardens which remained so popular on the Continent, but they also provided a career path, as royal gardener, and as the socially and critically celebrated landscape designer. Both Bridgeman and Kent were celebrated by their clients for their artistic vision and taste, and for ushering in modern taste. Yet Bridgeman died relatively young, in his late forties, and Kent only designed landscapes from the 1730s to his death in 1748, a decade after Bridgeman. Thus, arguably, the potential of these two designers was never fully realised within the landscape, and when their great patron Lord Cobham also died, a year after Kent in 1749, the scene was set for Lancelot 'Capability' Brown to take up the mantle of landscape design.¹⁰

Rise to Dominance

Brown's rise to dominance over the following decades was unprecedented. His reach across the country cannot be denied; he probably worked at well over 200 sites, from Alnwick in Northumberland to Ugbrooke in Devon, and, as a result, over the course of his career his name became inextricably linked to the taste for modern landscapes and what had become the dominant aesthetic of the Beautiful.¹¹ By the time he moved to Hammersmith to establish his own practice in the autumn of 1751, perhaps on the advice of the architect Henry Holland and perhaps to target royal patronage, he had already caught the eye of important commentators including Walpole, and had already coined the name 'Capability'. Over the 1750s Brown secured major commissions at Ashridge (1754, Herts), Burghley House (1754, Lincs), Madingley (1756, Cambs), Longleat (1757, Wilts), Wrest Park (1758, Beds), and Burton Constable (before 1760, East Yorks). When Brown visited the site of what would become Harewood House (West Yorks) in 1758 he was in high demand, and the head gardener at Castle Howard wrote to the steward at Harewood asking excitedly if he could forward even 'a few random Pencil Strokes of Mr Brown's Designs for your Place', such was the widespread anticipation caused by a single visit.¹²

⁸ Williamson, T. (1995). *Polite landscapes. Gardens and society in eighteenth-century England* (pp. 58–61). Stroud: Alan Sutton.

⁹ Historical Manuscripts Commission. (1897). *Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VI: The manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle, preserved at Castle Howard* (p. 143). London: HMSO.

¹⁰ Burlington died soon after in 1753.

¹¹ Gregory, J., Spooner, S. & Williamson, T. (2013). *Lancelot 'Capability' Brown: A research impact review* (Research Report 50) (pp. 7–9). London: English Heritage.

¹² Quoted in Finch, this volume. The landscape at Castle Howard was not extensively remodelled in the late-eighteenth century and is one of the few remaining large landscapes which retain a formal structure, although it has been altered over the years. Nearby Bramham is perhaps the best example.

Brown's timing was fortuitous. The economy was improving as the British global economy gathered pace and by the 1740s much of the new wealth which had accumulated within the elite was being invested in land and building. In 1739, it was noted that:

Every Man now, be his fortune what it will, is to be *doing something at his Place*, as the fashionable Phrase is; and you hardly meet with any Body, who, after the first Compliments, does not inform you, that he is *in Mortar and moving of Earth*; the modest terms for Building and Gardening. *One large Room, a Serpentine River, and a Wood*, are become the most absolute Necessaries of Life, without which a Gentleman of the smallest Fortune thinks he makes no Figure in his Country.¹³
[original emphasis]

Analysis of country house building and alterations to houses shows high rates of investment in building from the late-seventeenth century into the first quarter of the eighteenth, and after a pause in the 1730s a steady rise to a peak in the 1770s.¹⁴ As new builds or the substantial rebuilding of houses, almost all of these schemes would have included a reworking of the surrounding landscape and an opportunity for Brown and his team over the key period of growth from the 1750s to the 1770s.

Brown's surviving financial accounts corroborate the evidence from building accounts and show that his income grew steadily between 1755 and 1765, but that it reached its highest peaks in the following decade, at the equivalent of around £55 million per annum in 1768 and 1773.¹⁵ Brown's success was, in no small part, sustained by his business model: he provided a rapid initial site assessment, often verbally after an hour or so around the site on horseback, in which he would sketch out the 'great capabilities' of the place, and then he could provide a detailed plan of the proposed improvements, which, if approved, would be carried out by trusted subcontractors and teams of workers – the 'capability men' – sometimes in combination with the client's own estate workforce.¹⁶ Brown was thus able to extend his reach across the country as a whole, and could support major concurrent projects – a logistical feat that other designers failed to manage.

Brown notably left no written treatise on his approach to landscape design, but, in a paragraph he wrote to accompany a plan he sent to France at the height of his fame in 1775, he extolled his 'ideas on Gardening and Place-Making':

when [it is] rightly understood will supply all the elegance and all the comforts which Mankind wants in the Country and (I will add) if right, be exactly fit for the owner, the Poet and the Painter. To produce these effects there wants a good plan, good execution, a perfect knowledge of the country and the objects in it, whether natural or artificial, and infinite delicacy in the planting etc., so much Beauty depending on the size of the trees and the colour of their leaves to produce the effect of light and shade so very essential to the perfecting a good plan: as also the hideing what is disagreeable and shewing what is beautiful, getting shade from the large trees and sweets from the smaller sorts of shrubs etc.¹⁷

The statement reveals his intention to appeal to the arbiters of taste – the landowners, poets and artists – but significantly it goes on to state that its execution needed to be delivered through the skills of the improver, the surveyor, the steward, the estate manager: skills which Brown had acquired in his youth, in combination with an aesthetic understanding of the landscape itself.

Brown's combination of skills enabled him to place emphasis on the larger scale, on the placement and mass of trees and foliage in clumps and belts, with interest and variety given through light and shade, height, and scale – all illuminated and animated by the play of light on water in the midst. It was the co-ordination of the natural and artificial elements, with as little apparent effort as possible, that perfected nature. It was concord

¹³ Anon. (1739). Common sense. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 9, 640.

¹⁴ Wilson, R. & Mackley, A. (2000). *Creating paradise: The building of the English country house* (pp. 199–323). London: Hambledon.

¹⁵ Floud, R. (2016). Capable entrepreneur? Lancelot Brown and his finances. *Occasional Papers from the RHS Library*, 14, 19–41 (p. 27, fig. 4).

¹⁶ See Brown, Finch, Williamson, and Woudstra in this volume.

¹⁷ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 157) (Rev. ed.). London: Faber and Faber.

and harmony brought together by taste, and the effect was captured in an anonymous poem published in 1767 and dedicated to Charles Ingram, 9th Viscount Irvine, who had employed Brown at Temple Newsam near Leeds two years before:

Sweet waving hills, with woods and verdure crown'd
 And winding vales, where murmuring streams resound:
 Slopes fring'd with oaks which gradual die away,
 And all around romantic scenes display.
 Delighted still along the park we rove,
 Vary'd with hill and dale, with wood and grove:
 O'er velvet lawns what noble prospects rise¹⁸

This extract captures the characteristic elements of Brown's landscapes – the topography, the trees, the lawns, the water – and, importantly, the impact of their dynamic relationships which were experienced (resound/delighted) as the narrator and their companion 'rove' around the park, enjoying the display of romantic scenes, which later in the poem are compared to the painterly visions of Salvator Rosa (1615–73) and Claude Lorrain (1600–82).

The textual or literary metaphor returns in one of the most frequently quoted passages about Brown's approach to landscape, from a letter by the writer and philanthropist Hannah More (1745–1833), who spent two hours with Brown in the gardens at Hampton Court receiving 'a very agreeable lecture from him in his art' during a particularly clement spell of weather in December 1782. Brown expounded his approach in literary metaphors – explaining how he would mark spots with a comma, more decided turns with a colon, or an interruption with a parenthesis.¹⁹

Whether or not this was his working practice, it at least demonstrates the importance of the narrative, in the sense of a punctuated flow or movement, through a Brown landscape. Given this link to narrative, to flow, and to the holistic vision of landscape, it is perhaps unfortunate that Brown's landscapes are often characterised as the simple orchestration of key elements – the perimeter belt, irregular clumps of trees, meandering rides or walks, swathes of grass, and an expanse of water in the middle distance. Yet it was when they worked together that these elements realised an imagined or nostalgic landscape for his patrons, even if the constituent parts were familiar from the earlier works of Bridgeman and Kent. Brown's landscapes were the expression of cosmopolitan taste, a classical education, a Grand Tour and a familiarity with fine art, all translated, domesticated, into the English landscape.

The relationship between society and the landscapes it creates has always been complex, but never more so than in the eighteenth century. The majority of the population was still employed in agricultural occupations, and would be for another 100 years, yet in many areas of the country the working landscape was being transformed, with the remnants of medieval open-field systems enclosed into new fieldscapes of modern farms with compact holdings laid out in large regular fields. Amongst the ruling elite, the narrative of 'improvement' had become a national project set against the need for greater self-sufficiency in the face of wars and revolutions in continental Europe, and a political desire to modernise both the economy and society. It was within this broader context that the largest landowners, secure in their position as the ruling class after the political settlements of the late-seventeenth century, created landscapes around their houses and seats, to express and legitimate their power, and it is worth remembering that Brown was often referred to as an 'improver' – both because he employed many of the technical skills associated with agricultural improvement, such as drainage and extensive tree planting, and because his aim was to improve the accidents of nature. The eighteenth-century concept of nature in this diverges substantially from that of the twenty-first century, and at the time included existing features of landform, trees, and even avenues. These would be improved: shaped and planted not only for beauty but also to provide interest and variety. Of course, there was also the formation of bodies of water, but by envisaging this within the context of wider agricultural improvement it is clear that these were not

¹⁸ Anon. (1767). *Rise and progress of the present taste in planting parks, pleasure grounds, gardens &c.: From Henry the Eighth to King George the Third* (p. 29). London.

¹⁹ Roberts, W. (Ed.) (1834). *Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs Hannah More* (Vol. 1, p. 155). New York: Harper.

only ornamental landscapes but also functional. The design of park and countryside could be appreciated as a whole. It has recently been argued that this holistic perspective of the landscape should be interpreted as part of neo-classicism more broadly, to include Brownian landscapes alongside art and architecture, particularly as Brown designed many classical buildings and conceived of his parks as 'art'. This explains why Brown sought purity and clarity in his designs, and avoided the iconography represented in the copious ornamentation in gardens of previous generations.²⁰

It has been argued that the naturalistic style of Brown's landscape was a response to the enclosure movement, which was not only extending the area under cultivation at the end of the eighteenth century but rationalising its form into large, 'improved' rectilinear fields.²¹ However, Brown's landscapes were as reliant on drainage, grazing, and planting as the working landscape and since the owner likely owned, invested, and intervened in the wider surrounding estate landscape a more complex set of relationships seems to be at work. More compelling must be the ideology that bound together the upper reaches of society – a belief in the right to rule, an engagement with the new capitalistic enterprises that were opened up by global commerce, and a set of aesthetic preferences that demonstrated their taste and education. By capturing these aspirations, Brown secured his position as one of the most influential landscape designers of the eighteenth century, when Britain was changing radically from an agrarian to an industrial nation and was asserting itself as a global power at a time when Europe was periodically convulsed by war and revolution. His creations came to define the 'polite' in a rural context at a critical time which saw the newly invigorated landed elite invest in landscape design on an ambitious scale.

There were key markers of Brown's success. First was his appointment as royal gardener in 1764. He had already been in practice for more than twenty years, working primarily with reliable foremen to execute work in various parts of the country. In 1762 he had taken on Samuel Lapidge as a pupil, but the demands of the new job required immediate assistance, employing John Spyers as a draughtsman. The job came with a house (Wilderness House) in the gardens at Hampton Court, and he took further premises on Hampton Court Green, a short walk away, where his offices were based. His new position had been gained as a result of recommendations from the nobility, who had lobbied for him, but in doing so he displaced the incumbent, Robert Greening, and evoked envy within the Office of Works that administered the management of the king's projects. His appointment as a royal gardener had confirmed his status as the leading gardener, and, besides his duties, he had the privilege of continuing his own business. Although the constitutional power of the crown was limited, particularly compared to France, for example, the royal imprimatur was still a lucrative badge of honour and opened access to a wide range of the richest patrons connected with the court. Perhaps the most telling indication of the value attached to royal patronage was Brown's successor Humphry Repton's subsequent frustration at not being admitted into the rarefied circles of court in the early-nineteenth century, as he sought to emulate Brown.

The second marker was Brown's purchase of the 1,000-acre Fenstanton manor, Huntingdonshire, a few years later in 1767. The purchase is usually interpreted as confirmation of Brown's wealth and as cementing his gentry status as a landowner. He paid a reduced rate for the manor, as he negotiated the purchase from the Earl of Northampton, who owed him money for the ambitious landscaping scheme at Castle Ashby. However, Floud has recently argued that the purchase was less about signalling social status, which Brown already had, and more about securing a proportion of his wealth in a stable form of investment.²² Both his appointment as royal gardener and his purchase of Fenstanton had the advantage of bringing in a regular annual income: the equivalent of around £1 million per annum from the manor, and £54 million for his time as royal gardener. These streams of income and those from government bonds helped to ease the cash flow over the ebb and flow of private commissions, which might take decades to complete.

²⁰ Hunt, J. D. (2016). Brown and neo-classicism. *Garden History*, 44 (Suppl. 1), 18–27.

²¹ Bermingham, A. (1986). *Landscape and ideology: The English rustic tradition, 1740–1860*. London: Thames and Hudson.

²² Floud, R. (2016). Capable entrepreneur? Lancelot Brown and his finances *Occasional Papers from the RHS Library*, 14, 19–41 (pp. 34–36); (2019). *An economic history of the English garden*. London: Allen Lane (p. 101).

Legacy

Brown died suddenly after collapsing on the doorstep of his daughter Bridget Holland's house in London after returning home from Lord Coventry's on the 6th February 1783 (Figure 1.3). Horace Walpole noted in his diary, 'His great and fine genius stood unrivalled ... Those who knew him best, or practiced near him, were not able to determine whether the quickness of his eye, or its correctness, were most to be admired'.²³ Brown was in some ways the personification of 'polite society' – he had used his ambition and education to rise from unremarkable origins in rural Northumberland; he sought out and retained patronage at the very highest level, to become the friend and acquaintance of royalty and key figures in government and amongst the landed elite. Two of his sons went to Eton; one became an MP and another rose to become an admiral in the navy. Brown himself became a landowner and High Sheriff of Huntingdonshire, and Floud has calculated that he made payments amounting to around £36 million in today's value, to his wife, children, and wider family in anticipation of their legacies before his death.²⁴



Figure 1.3: *Croome Court, Worcs.* Brown designed both the house and the landscape at Croome Court for his friend Lord Coventry, who coined Brown's sobriquet. Brown died suddenly in London having returned from a visit to his friend in February 1783. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2009, CC BY-NC 4.0.

²³ Quoted in Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 200).

²⁴ Floud, R. (2016). Capable entrepreneur? Lancelot Brown and his finances (pp. 38–39).

His obituary recorded his obvious intelligence, his amiability, and his ability to provide solutions for design problems, both quickly and efficiently:

His great and fine genius stood unrivalled, and it was the peculiar felicity of it was allowed by all ranks and degrees of society in this country, and by many noble and great personages in other countries. Those who knew him best, or practiced near him, were not able to determine whether the quickness of his eye, or its correctness, were most to be admired. It was comprehensive and elegant, and it may be said never to have failed him. Such, however, was the effect of his genius, that when he was the happiest man, he will least be remembered, so closely did he copy nature, that his works will be mistaken [for it]. His truth, his integrity, and his good humour, were very effectual, and will hold a place in the memory of his friends, more likely to continue, though not less to be esteemed.²⁵

His position as a national celebrity had been recognised from the 1770s. In September 1770, for example, the *Public Advertiser* reported his appointment to remodel St. James's Park in London, and referred to him as 'Mr Brown, the Engineer, commonly called Capability Brown', but two years later the same paper described him as 'Mr Capability Brown, the great Arbiter of British Taste'.²⁶ From the 1770s, and particularly in the decade after his death, his name had become a popular by-word for the naturalistic English landscape style. For example, in Charles Dibdin's *Hannah Hewit: Or, the Female Crusoe*, first published in 1792, the shipwrecked heroine sets about fashioning a garden around her tropical hut:

To be sure, no pleasure ground was ever laid out by capability-Brown with more grandeur or stocked with more beautiful shrubbery, than the splendid expanse both behind and before my house...²⁷

However, Brown was no stranger to criticism during his lifetime, and his popularity at court brought him into conflict with the designer Sir William Chambers, who coveted Brown's royal position and launched a series of attacks on what he considered to be Brown's lack of imagination and education due, largely, to his lowly, common status. Chambers sneered at Brown as the 'petty architect' and the 'peasant' who had 'emerged from the melon grounds to take the periwig, and turn professors' and characterised Brown's work as 'gardens differing very little from common fields, so closely is vulgar nature copied in most of them; ... these compositions rather appear the offspring of chance than design; and a stranger is often at a loss to know whether he is walking in a common meadow, or in a pleasure ground'.²⁸ Brown and the large-landowning, improving patrons he served had been attacked by Goldsmith in his poem *The Deserted Village*, published in 1770, which identified emparking by the *nouveaux riche* as the cause of settlement desertion, whilst Brown was directly targeted in Cowper's poem *The Task*, published two years after his death in 1785, which referred to Brown pejoratively as the 'omnipotent magician' who could make a lake into a lawn, '[w]oods vanish, hills subside, and vallies rise'.²⁹ During his lifetime Brown's powerful allies in government and at court rallied to his defence, but after his death the ubiquity of Brownian landscapes – especially those created by his imitators – and their predictable character, led to a growing chorus of criticism and inevitable backlash, which became the 'Picturesque Controversy' led by Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight.

The idea of the Picturesque is deeply rooted in relationships between image or representation of landscape and the physical landscape, but it gained new meaning and new importance in the late-eighteenth century. Brown had readily embraced his own sense of those relationships and created points within the landscape where framed views were presented, but overall it was the informal presentation of the landscape, the 'place-making', that differentiated Bridgeman, Kent, and, latterly and most significantly, Brown from the earlier continental orthodoxy of geometric, structured, formal gardens. It could be argued therefore that Brown was the

²⁵ Anon., 'Thursday morning, Feb.6, 1783, about nine o'clock, died Lancelot Brown', *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 8 February 1783.

²⁶ Anon., 'Mr Brown, the engineer, commonly called Capability Brown', *Public Advertiser*, 6 September 1770, Issue 11126; Anon., 'Mr Capability Brown, the great arbiter of British taste', 9 September 1772, Issue 11097. When Brown surveyed the finished lake at Blenheim, he allegedly remarked 'Thames! Thames! thou wilt never forgive me this!'

²⁷ Dibdin, C. (1796). *Hannah Hewit: Or, the female Crusoe* (Vol. 3, p. 68). London.

²⁸ Chambers, W. (1773). *A dissertation on oriental gardening* (p. 13). London.

²⁹ Cowper, W. (1785). *The Task, a poem, in six books* (III) (p. 775). See also: Marshall, W. G. (1987). The presence of 'The Word' in Cowper's *The Task*. *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 27(3), 475–87.

necessary precursor of the Picturesque, in which it was the painter's eye, the image, which framed the landscape and was bound to artistic rules and conventions. At the heart of Price and Payne Knight's critique was a rejection of Burke and Brown's Beautiful, with smooth and elegant curvilinear lines, and a shift towards the rough, irregular, asymmetrical landscapes of the sublime. The Picturesque critique of Brown was personalised and sharp. Knight's didactic poem *The Landscape*, published in 1794, referred to Brown as the 'Thin, meagre genius of the bare and bald', whilst Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* drove the assault home, critiquing, amongst other aspects of the Brownian landscape, the bare banks of his 'naked canals' or lakes where 'nothing detains the eye a moment'.³⁰ Price advocated the supremacy of the painter's eye, though he defined a painter widely as 'any man (artist or not) of a liberal mind, with a strong feeling for nature as well as art, who has been in the habit of comparing both together'. A painter, he argued, would look on clumps, belts, 'made water', and 'the eternal smoothness and sameness of a finished place' of the improver with 'indifference, if not with disgust'.³¹

It would be fair to say that the assault on Brown was based on a peculiarly broad and ill-defined perception of his work and did not allow for the fact that Brown's style evolved over his career. The target was the repetitious, predictable, and ubiquitous landscapes that followed Brown's style. Brown's posthumous champion in the controversy was Humphry Repton (1752–1818), the landscape gardener, who, when he set up in business aged 36 in 1788, declared that 'the work of Kent, Brown and Richmond have been the places of my worship'. Repton defended Brown in a published letter which was later appended to *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1794) and in doing so opened himself to the same misrepresentative and personal attack which had been launched on Brown. However, Repton's measured and ameliorative response, which argued rationally for the distinction between the landscape and the image, and the necessity of working with the former rather than the latter as a landscape gardener, arguably won the day in the longer term. But Price and Knight presaged the coming of the gothic and a new definition of a national vision for landscape that, drawing on Gilpin, embraced the romantic and the ruined remnants of the medieval past, and interest in or celebration of Brown's work dwindled. However, it is clear that Repton kept Brown's ideas in the public eye at the very end of the eighteenth century, and the landscape gardener J. C. Loudon's publication of Repton's collected works in the mid-nineteenth century not only brought Repton's landscape style to a new audience, but the widely translated texts belatedly spread Brown's legacy across continental Europe, where English gardens were a feature of many nineteenth-century designs, albeit seen through the eyes of Repton. However, there were those that continued to perpetuate the Picturesque critique of Brown, such as the founder of American landscape design and advocate of the Gothic Revival, Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–52), whose *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841) quoted extensively from Knight and added that Brown had 'once disgraced half the finest places in England with his tame bald pieces of artificial water, and round, formal, clumps of trees'.³²

It is often asserted that the modern revival of Brown's reputation began with Dorothy Stroud's biography, first published in 1950.³³ However, Stroud's book had been stalled by the outbreak of war in 1939, and published references to Capability Brown pick up significantly over the 1940s, before Stroud's biography was published. Brown's vision of rural England was recruited to support morale on the home front, as it was seen to capture the nostalgic essence of Englishness: Brown's imagined landscape of England around the country houses was a powerful tool. However, the post-war period saw the loss of many country houses and their landscapes due to death duties and those that survived were at risk as government and planners set about building the new modern Britain exemplified by the 1951 Festival of Britain.³⁴

Today, Brown is the only individual to be recognised with a blue plaque (an historical marker) as a 'landscape architect' on his former residence at Hampton Court Palace, where he lived whilst royal gardener to George I (Figure 1.4). In the afterglow of 'Brown 300' (2016), a year-long celebration of Brown's contribution to the English landscape in 2016, he is once again celebrated as the main proponent of the 'English landscape garden', yet what that entailed, and the extent and nature of his influence, continues to be fiercely debated, particularly within a wider European context. Brown's legacy remains contested even after the celebration of

³⁰ Knight, R. P. (1794). *The landscape: A didactic poem in three books* (Vol. I, p. 284). London; Price, U. (1796). *An essay on the picturesque* (p. 251). London.

³¹ Price, U. *An essay on the picturesque* (p. 9).

³² Downing, A. J. (1841). *A treatise on the theory and practice of landscape gardening, adapted to North America: With a view to the improvement of country residences* (p. 279). New York and London.

³³ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown*.

³⁴ Cornforth, J. (1974). *Country houses in Britain – Can they survive?* London: Country Life.



Figure 1.4: *Wilderness House*. Brown is the only 'landscape architect' to be recognised with a 'blue plaque' as a commemorative historical marker. It is on Wilderness House, his former residence at Hampton Court Palace. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2016, CC BY-NC 4.0.

his 300th anniversary, which saw an unprecedented amount of research and public engagement into his life and sites. There are those who consider him to have been the genius of landscape design at a time when the practice and politics of landscape was at its height. And there are those who argue that his vision of place-making drew heavily on elements and ideas that other designers had already experimented with, in reaction to formal landscape designs, and that it was his business success that made him stand out. However, Brown undoubtedly changed perceptions of what became an English landscape style and he was personally synonymous with it and its reiteration. Brown was undeniably a celebrity of his day, feted by the influencers of national taste, indeed considered to be the chief arbiter of taste, and the designer of choice for those with the resources to implement his schemes over estates and parkland. In capturing or crafting the requirements of the ruling landed class at an historical moment when they were arguably at their greatest power, Brown and his landscapes have a lot to tell us about social relationships within the changing rural landscape and the articulation of power in the late-eighteenth century, when the nation was in the ascendancy as a global power.

This book addresses three main areas which have been neglected in studies of Brown and the eighteenth-century landscape: his role as royal gardener, his working methods and contemporaries, and his impact abroad. His position as royal gardener brought him prestige and clients to develop his reputation, crucially placing him within the world of nurserymen and landscape designers, many of whom lived and worked around Hampton Court Palace, where Brown was based. His business practice of recruiting and retaining a well-paid circle of workmen, draughtsmen, and designers allowed him to manage a huge number of projects and a substantial financial turnover, which in turn allowed him to work in a manner and to an extent that no contemporary could match. It also brings together a number of perspectives from across Northern Europe, as far as Catherine the Great's St. Petersburg in Russia, where she was one of the first to remodel her landscapes to reflect the new 'English' style with which Brown's name became synonymous. This book therefore draws on historical studies, art history, and archaeology to increase our understanding of Brown, his business, and his legacy.

Chapter Structure

In the next chapter, David Jacques provides a compelling account of Brown's career as His Majesty's Chief Gardener at Hampton Court. Brown had failed to secure the post of His Majesty's Chief Gardener at Kensington Gardens in 1757; however, by 1764 the king had been forced to accept George Grenville as Prime Minister. He knew Brown from his work at Stowe and placed him at Hampton Court. Brown's arrival at Hampton Court was not universally welcomed, and various difficulties were put in his way. Support from the Treasury and professional rivalries led to extremely poor relations between Chambers and Brown. Chambers had the Board of Works admonish Brown in 1770 for supposed neglect, and followed that up with his book, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772), in which he referred to Brown amongst 'Peasants [who] emerge from the melon grounds'. However, the two sparring partners learned to desist and Brown remained Chief Gardener until his death. Brown is sometimes credited, on the basis of his proposal plans, with designing the gardens at the Queen's House (later Buckingham Palace) and re-designing St. James's Park. This was not carried out, but he was commissioned to re-form Richmond Gardens, owned by the king as his personal property, in 1764.

Remaining at Hampton Court and within the circle of court patronage, Sebastian Edwards provides a portrait of John Spyers of Hampton Court. Spyers was one of Brown's two lieutenants when he arrived at Hampton Court. He was a prolific surveyor, helping Brown improve dozens of landscapes, who would be largely overlooked were it not for his exceptional achievement of creating 100 drawings of his home and workplace, Hampton Court, and their improbable sale to Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia. Unlike his business partner Lapidge, he left little mark on other landscapes and we have to scour accounts, legal papers, and his own drawings to attempt a biography. The creation of a Hampton Court album appears to have been an act of artistic self-improvement, rather than a survey commissioned for Brown. The accompanying album of designs for garden buildings and landscape capriccio views provide valuable insights into the working practice in Brown's office, but also begs questions about the complementary roles of designer and draughtsman – an area still poorly understood. The album's sale at the time of Brown's death through the intermediary of gardener James Meader (who also worked for one of Brown's great clients) indicates the sale was opportunist. Following Brown's demise, and encouraged by artists in his family, Spyers abandoned gardening and set up as a topographical artist. Exhibiting at the Royal Academy and publishing etchings of Hampton Court helped to attract a local clientele of gentlemen house-owners and even the king himself, as revealed by recent discoveries.

Matthew Storey interrogates topographical views of the royal gardens at Kew and Richmond, made at the time of their development in the 1760s and 1770s, as historical sources. The features of the two royal gardens have almost entirely been lost through subsequent alterations of the site that is now the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Storey examines the extent to which the original appearance of the gardens can be understood through visual sources, including maps, topographical prints, and paintings, and whether the views can tell us about the very different ways the gardens could be perceived at the time. Chambers published his *Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry* [sic] in 1763, after designing a series of buildings in Kew Gardens. He claimed that 'what was once a Desert is now an Eden', but the views he published may have presented an intended, rather than an attained, Eden. Many of the topographical views of Kew present Chambers's buildings in a mature landscape. Yet this was a garden that had rapidly developed on land described by Chambers as having 'so many disadvantages it was not easy to produce anything even tolerable in gardening'. By mapping views by a range of artists, including Richard Wilson, onto plans of the landscape Storey evaluates the extent to which the artists drew what they actually saw, or rather created a narrative about the garden. In contrast, far fewer views of Brown's work at Richmond Gardens survive or were made. The views we have focus on the river landscape and the view across the water to Brown's existing landscape at Syon House. This view was already celebrated by artists before Brown started work, and suggests the aesthetic he was working within. Analysis of the evidence of views and plans of Richmond Gardens can help us to understand Brown's intentions and work carried out in this royal garden.

Moving away from the metropole and Brown's position at court, Tom Williamson maps out the Brown business model and his role as an improver. Brown was the head of a complex business which could supply clients with a whole design 'package' embracing far more than the just the landscape parks which we normally associate with his name. This might include – in a surprising number of cases – a new or improved house. It frequently involved the creation of menageries, gardens, and pleasure grounds, the construction of stables, outbuildings, and ice houses, and the provision of kitchen gardens and even of such mundane features as

drying yards. The activities of his team usually, on heavier land, included the installation of complex land drainage schemes. Our traditional focus on the 'landscape park' has arguably led us to underestimate the importance of these other 'improvements', but without an appreciation of their significance, the character of his parkland landscapes cannot itself be fully appreciated. This chapter describes the nature and organisation of Brown's business, and the careers of some of its principal members, before examining what precisely it supplied. It draws comparisons with similar providers of 'taste' in the 1760s and 1770s – the Adam brothers, Chippendale, Wedgwood – and addresses the significance, in social and ideological terms, of neo-classical ideas applied to domestic design.

Jonathan Finch presents a detailed case study of how Brown managed sites at a distance from his base in the metropole. Brown worked and consulted across the country, building his reputation and business model as he went. One of his most successful landscapes in Yorkshire was created around the newly commissioned Harewood House in West Yorkshire, a site he first visited in 1758 before construction had begun. The design took full advantage of the local topography and retains much that is quintessentially Brown, particularly the lake, which initially proved so troublesome to establish. However, the detailed examination of accounts and letters reveals how other designers were also involved at the site, as were some of Brown's associates and foremen. The two greatest challenges that the situation of the new house presented were the 'hill' on the north front, which had to be 'scrapped back', and to the south, where Gawthorpe Hall stood for around four years after the new house was completed, between the new house and Brown's lake. Excavations on the site of the medieval hall have revealed how the house was removed and landscaped to connect the new house and water. Understanding the development of the landscape at Harewood, from before Brown's visit to Repton's interventions in the early-nineteenth century, places Brown within complex networks of patronage and employment as well as demonstrating the enormous logistical challenges that landscape designers had to overcome to realise their visions.

Jan Woudstra explores Brown's legacy on landscape practice through the case study of Chiswick House and how it was managed by Samuel Lapidge after Brown's death. In doing so Woudstra provides a detailed exposition of how Brown's business operated at site or commission level, since, although there is now a general understanding of how Brown worked, there is little information on how exactly his practice was run, where decisions were taken and by whom, and how work was proposed and executed. There are also limited examples where the relationships between client, agent, designer, foreman, and suppliers have been studied. To enable us to extract some answers to these questions and increase our understanding about the question of authorship, it is necessary to look in depth at specific cases. Chiswick House illustrates how a small contract was run immediately after Brown's demise and would presumably have been run before it. Detailed accounts of work executed for the 5th Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick immediately after Brown's death are revealing of the practice as it continued under Samuel Lapidge, assisted by William Ireland. Contracts, drawings, inventories, bills, and vouchers covering the period 1784–85 provide a basis for analysis that illuminates the manner of working, the general practice of Brown's office, and attributions. Lapidge emerges as an important figure and Woudstra looks at his origins; his early work for Brown; how he – and not Spyers – became Brown's most trusted associate; and finally at Brown's injunction to him to finish the contracts and his attempt to perpetuate the business, though with limited success.

David Brown profiles Nathaniel Richmond, another star within Brown's circle of trusted associates who, according to Elizabeth Montagu, was 'Mr. Brown's best élève', whilst Repton mourned his death and ranked him alongside William Kent and Brown. Had Richmond not died within a year of Brown, he would arguably have been his natural successor in the south of England, and yet he is now virtually unknown. Between 1740 and 1790, the improvement of gardens, parks, and estates became a rapidly expanding business employing an increasing number of people. The cohort of improvers born in the first decades of the century, including Brown, Woods, Emes, Richardson, Richmond, Donn, Sanderson, Mickle, and White, would power this expansion. Richmond's story could, in many ways, be the story of any of them. Richmond was born c. 1719 and died 'in his 65th year' in February 1784 as a result of an infection following an accident during a site visit. By 1749 he was living at Tardebigge, on the Hewell Grange estate, where both he and Brown would later work separately, and he supplied forest trees to Walter Gough of Perry Hall. In 1754 he received payments from Brown, recorded in Brown's bank account with Drummonds, and lived in Rickmansworth, adjacent to Moor Park. Richmond then established a nursery on the Portman Estate in Marylebone in 1759. For the next twenty years or so he ran a very successful improvement business working on parks and pleasure grounds both for the 'big city bourgeois' and for aristocratic clients. David Brown analyses several surviving eighteenth-century

bank ledgers for the period 1760–84 as the central plank of his research to identify further clients of Richmond as well as revealing payments to some of his contemporaries.

In contrast to Woudstra and Brown, Val Bott explores a well-established family of nurserymen – the Greenings of Brentford End, who enjoyed royal and aristocratic patronage from the 1720s into the 1760s, but who were ousted by Brown. Thomas Greening the Elder had established a nursery in Isleworth by about 1710, and he also took on garden works for aristocratic clients, winning a royal patent for his method of grafting elms in 1724. Collectively the Greenings worked for the royal family at Kew, Richmond, Hampton Court, Kensington, and St. James's Park from the 1720s to the 1760s, far longer than Brown. Thomas's eldest son, also Thomas, was groomed to be his father's successor and worked with his brother, Robert, who in about 1750 was commissioned to re-design Wimpole Park, work that was largely undone by Brown in the 1760s. In 1753, however, Robert became head gardener of the royal pleasure grounds at Kew for an annual fee of 300 guineas plus the use of fifty-four acres of farmland there. The second son, John, was gardener to the Duke of Newcastle at Clarendon in the 1730s and 1740s. He obtained the royal contract for Kensington Gardens in 1758, despite rival support for Brown and largely because of the support of the Duke of Newcastle, then Prime Minister. However, John was ousted from Hampton Court in favour of Brown in 1764 through the influence of the Grenvilles of Stowe. Using correspondence and contracts, deeds, wills, and contemporaries' descriptions, Bott's chapter provides the first detailed family biography of the Greenings, exploring their reputations and styles of work, family relationships, and networks of business and friendship.

Kate Felus argues that there is no better way to understand and interpret Brown's work than to know how his clients used his designs. While recently there has been much research on the practical nuts and bolts behind Brown's working practice, and that of his contemporaries and 'imitators', there is still a tendency to see his works theoretically, in terms of aesthetics. A visit to a Brownian landscape today often entails a drive through parkland where the only signs of life are the grazing sheep. This is a long way from the state of things during the eighteenth century. Brown's designs were created to be used and enjoyed, and were frequently teeming with life. To a great extent, form followed function. Brown was, of course, a water engineer *par excellence*, and there are several examples of boats being built for lakes, just as the lake was being created, suggesting that the pleasure of boating was a major reason for the creation of the water body. Felus discusses a number of common contemporary uses within Brown designs, including boating, carriage driving, and dining, and how understanding those uses can help us interpret the landscapes today.

Brown's impact in continental Europe is examined through case studies from Germany, the Netherlands, and France. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century Britain had drawn much of its landscape inspiration from Europe, and Brown and his contemporaries are often cited as making a decisive break with the European tradition of formal gardens to create the naturalistic English landscape style. This was then exported back to Europe, with early enthusiastic supporters such as Catherine the Great in Russia, as the *jardin anglais*. However, what was meant by the term and whose ideas it captured has not been critically examined. Repton was certainly a key conduit for spreading the idea of a Brownian landscape.

Michael Rohde highlights Brown's influence on the development of the landscape garden in Germany. In spite of criticism of his homogenous designs, both in England and Germany, Brown affected the so-called 'classical landscape garden' during the late-eighteenth century, while the later compartmentalisation of the Reptonian style remained popular into the nineteenth century. The landscape gardener Friedrich Ludwig Sckell, who visited England from 1773 to the end of 1776, and met both Brown and Chambers, studied landscapes such as Blenheim, Stowe, Stourhead, and Kew before designing some of the most important parks in Germany. Later he wrote his treatise *Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst* [Contributions to Creative Garden Art] (1825), which was published in instalments by his English admirer John Claudius Loudon. Another traveller, Prince Pückler-Muskau, who studied Brown's improvements at Blenheim and Longleat, was impressed by his natural style and creation of lakes. In his own gardens at Muskau and Branitz he shared these classical principles, as well as the spatial zoning of Repton. Eduard Petzold, who became the garden director at Muskau to Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, continued these 'landscape' principles but developed his own form and aesthetics concerning planting. Thus there were three very distinct types of landscape gardens in Germany, clearly showing their roots. Rohde then looks at the case of Peter Joseph Lenné, the nineteenth-century general director of the Prussian royal gardens, whose work is still visible at Charlottenhof and Sanssouci at Potsdam. By the early-twentieth century most parks had become overgrown and required extensive clearance. In his 1927 study on the landscape garden in Germany, the art historian Franz Halbaum was one of the first to highlight the

work of the garden director Georg Potente in Potsdam-Sanssouci as exemplary. Today it is still possible to see the pioneering garden conservation methodologies developed then, particularly in Charlottenhof.

Jan Woudstra and Willem Zieleman explore the notion of the English garden in the Netherlands, observing how actual examples were often developed from the *bosquet à l'angloise*, a Batty Langley-type wildernesses with serpentine paths and graduated shrub planting. By looking at the case study of Het Loo Palace, Apeldoorn, various stages of the development of the *jardin anglais* can be observed, with some of the main impetus being provided by German and French designers. The large scale of English Brownian landscapes was not appropriate to the intricate scale of the Dutch landscape, and it was Brown's concepts mediated through Humphry Repton that came to represent the principal English influence, both by being adopted by some of the main designers and by actual examples of gardens designed by Repton's son John Adey. By the late-nineteenth century the Dutch landscape designer Leonard Springer relaunched and popularised the Brownian style as the 'landscape style', and the 'English garden' and the 'landscape garden'. This led to new interpretations of the origins of the style and was adopted into the predominant phyto-geographical and ecological narratives of post-war reconstruction, becoming a starting point for modern landscape architecture.

Laurent Châtel and Monique Mosser emphasise the fact that, though there were several phases of anglomania in France during the eighteenth century, particularly in the 1750s and 1770s, Brown's name only infrequently occurs within the examples of the *jardin anglais* established in France during this period. In fact, Châtel and Mosser observe how there are very few mentions of Brown's name during his lifetime, despite the fact that there are some early examples of Brownian transformations of gardens. After 1784 he was incorporated in French historiographies as a marker of the evolution of the English garden within the sequence between William Kent and Humphry Repton, while others accused Brown of a corruption of taste within the Picturesque debate. The evidence of Brown's legacy in France was not so much documentary as in the examples of Brownian gardens that survive and the ways his style has been adapted.

The idea for this book was generated at a conference held at Hampton Court Palace in 2016, which was a collaboration between Historic Royal Palaces and the Universities of East Anglia, Sheffield and York. Since then it has grown and developed in response to the ongoing research into Brown and his times. It is the first volume to be produced on Brown since the celebration of his tercentenary in 2016 and since the bicentenary of Humphry Repton, Brown's successor in the art and science of landscape architecture, in 2018. Both events reignited and reorientated interest in designed landscapes over the critical period of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries and the debates around their merit and significance, both then and now. These debates now spread across archaeology, art history, history, design, philosophy, and literary studies – and engage with issues from green spaces and well-being to gender and class. As such the history of designed landscapes is now firmly established as an integral part of cross-disciplinary research into the legacy of the past on our lives and how we live now.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

CHAPTER 2

Lancelot Brown, His Majesty's Chief Gardener at Hampton Court

David Jacques

Lancelot Brown's career as His Majesty's Chief Gardener at Hampton Court has been less researched than his contracting business. This chapter looks at Lancelot Brown in that capacity and resolves most of the numerous confusions surrounding his involvement at other royal properties.

How the Royal Gardens Were Run

When Brown took up his post at Hampton Court in 1764, the Board of Works was, even by the government standards of the day, notoriously riddled with placemen who added nothing to the effectiveness of the institution but cost a great deal. The four senior posts were that of Surveyor-General, Surveyor of Gardens and Waters, Surveyor of the King's Private Roads, and Paymaster. These placeholders were mostly Members of Parliament enjoying their positions as sinecures. Thomas Worsley (1710–78), Surveyor-General, happened to be an amateur architect and conscientiously took an interest in the work of the Board, though this was not demanded of him. His successor in 1778, Colonel Whitshed Keene (1731–1822), reverted to type. Below the senior posts, the Comptroller of Works and the Chief Gardeners were required to be experienced professionals. The first Surveyor of Gardens and Waters, in 1715, John Vanbrugh, had carried out his duties, but his successors treated the post as a sinecure worth £500. At the point when Brown took up post, his nominal supervisor was Charles Sloane Cadogan (1728–1807), the Whig MP for Cambridge until 1776, when he succeeded as 3rd Baron Cadogan. His sinecures had begun with Keeper of the Privy Purse to Prince Edward in 1756; he advanced to Surveyor of Gardens and Waters from 1764 to 1769 on an increased salary of £800;¹ finally he was Master of the Mint from 1769 to 1784. Cadogan was succeeded as Surveyor of Gardens and Waters in 1769 by William Varey (1711–93), of Ixworth Abbey, Suffolk, about whom very little is known.²

The Paymaster was George Augustus Selwyn (1719–91), of Matson, Gloucestershire. He became a Tory MP in 1747 and acquired a number of sinecures, being appointed to the post of Paymaster of the Works in 1755.

¹ The National Archives (TNA), WORK 6/8, ff 219–221 & 223.

² TNA, WORK 6/8, ff 242–244 & 252.

How to cite this book chapter:

Jacques, D. 2020. Lancelot Brown, His Majesty's Chief Gardener at Hampton Court. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 17–31. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.b>. CC BY-NC 4.0

Famous as a wit and man of letters, and for his fascination for the macabre, his workload consisted mainly of dining with the officers at the public expense.³ The abuses of public finance came under scrutiny by the Rockingham Whigs, in particular Edmund Burke, whose speech, ‘On The Plan For Economical Reform’, in 1780 was highly influential. Sinecures were abolished by the Civil Establishment Act 1782 and the Office of Works was placed under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain. The Office was also reorganised: the post of Surveyor-General (Keene) and Comptroller were amalgamated in the person of Sir William Chambers, whilst the Surveyorship of Gardens and Waters (Varey), the Surveyorship of the King’s Private Roads and the Paymaster (Selwyn) were abolished.

Brown Seeking Royal Patronage

After Thomas Greening junior died in 1757, his brother Robert composed a letter to Lord Hardwicke, hoping that he would mention him favourably to the Duke of Newcastle, the Prime Minister at the time.⁴ He added that he had heard ‘that Mr. Brown was an applicant’. That was indeed the case, for in March 1758 fourteen of Lancelot Brown’s clients, including the Duke of Northumberland and the Lords Temple, Egremont, Ancaster, Exeter, and Hertford (at Syon, Wotton, Petworth, Grimsthorpe, Burghley, and Croome, respectively), put forward the well-known petition:

We whose Names are underwritten, being well-wishers of Mr. Browne, whose Abilities and Merit we are fully acquainted with, do most earnestly request the Duke of Newcastle to promote his speedy appointment to the care of Kensington Gardens agreeable to his Grace’s very obliging promises in this respect...⁵

However, the Greenings prevailed and Robert and his brother John were appointed to the post (see Chapter 9), leaving Brown to ponder how he could secure a royal appointment whilst the Duke, and then Lord Bute, had their own favourites.

George III purchased Buckingham House, now Buckingham Palace, in 1761 as a property for his queen, renaming it ‘The Queen’s House’, and remodelling began in early 1762 under the direction of two recent appointees, William Chambers, Architect to the Board of Works, and William Robinson, Secretary to the Board, as Clerk of Works. Brown hoped for a private commission in the gardens. A survey of the old gardens exists, as do two unsigned and undated designs, probably prepared in or around 1762.⁶ The flowing curves of the paths, the heavy peripheral planting and the specimen trees in the grassland suggest Brown’s hand (Figure 2.1). These plans have sometimes led to the assumption that the Queen’s House gardens were by Brown, but the implemented layout was in fact quite different.

Brown was not given care of the gardens either – that task went to Thomas Robinson from 1762. He was being promoted by his elder brother William, the Secretary to the Board of Works, and other members of it. Although John Hill, the botanist and favourite of Lord Bute, had displaced John Greening at Kensington Gardens and St. James’s Palace, he was never issued a warrant. In the confusion when Hill abandoned his post in 1763, Robinson was put in charge of these gardens as well, and was later to establish that *de facto* he had been looking after Kensington and St. James’s as from January 1763, and he was officially made Chief Gardener there in 1766.⁷ Robinson received quarterly payments for the Queen’s House gardens until 1777, when he was prevailed upon to accept the post of Chief Gardener at an annual salary.⁸ One interesting aspect of his ‘scheme’ was that he managed a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep that he moved back and forth between the Queen’s House and Kensington Gardens.

Cahier XX of Georges-Louis le Rouge’s *Jardins Anglo-Chinois* (1788), which is confirmed by Richard Horwood’s *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1794), shows a much simpler design of a *ferme ornée*, and it is this that tallies with the archive (Figure 2.2). It had merely a perimeter belt with more wavering paths than those on Brown’s plan, and a sunken fence enclosed a paddock, which was twenty-five of the

³ His correspondence was later published. Jesse, J. H. (1843). *George Selwyn and his contemporaries*. London: Richard Bentley.

⁴ British Library, Add. 35595 f 80: Robert Greening to the Earl of Hardwicke, 3 September 1757.

⁵ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (pp. 121–122). London: Faber and Faber.

⁶ Royal Library, Windsor, RL 29592, RL 29593 & RL 29594.

⁷ TNA, WORK 4/13, 7 March 1766.

⁸ TNA, WORK 6/8, ff 263–236, 10 March 1777.



Figure 2.1: *Buckingham Palace gardens*, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (attributed), c. 1762. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

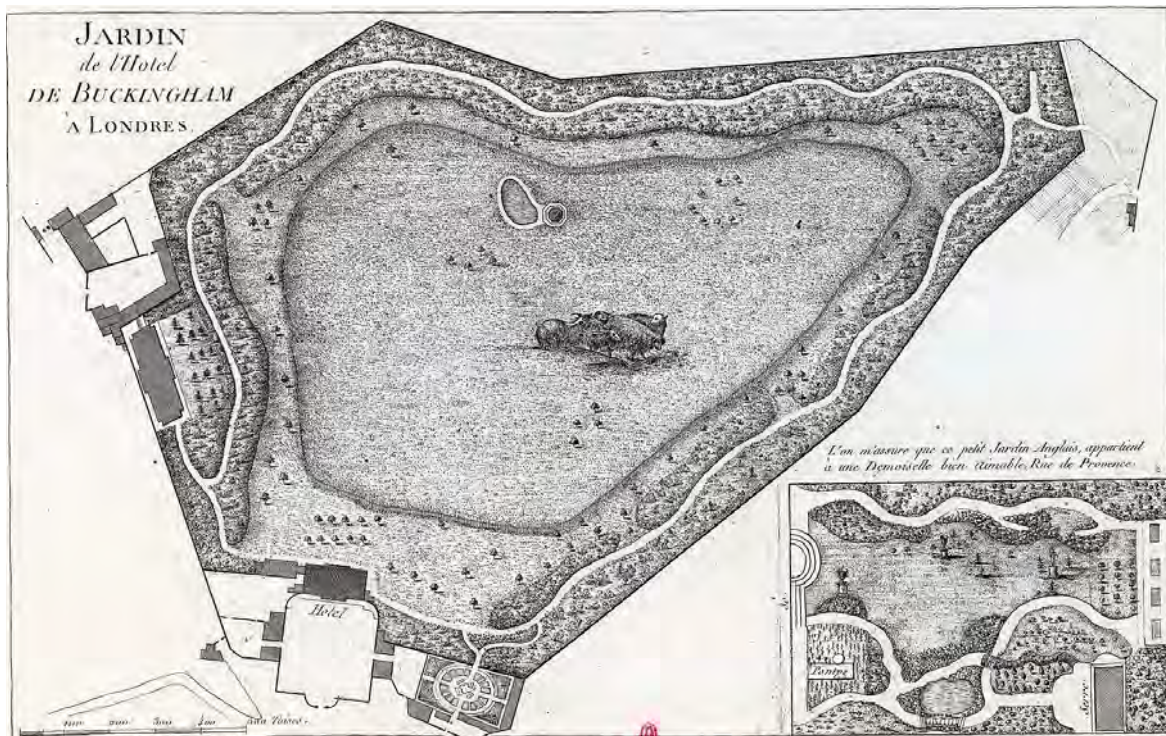


Figure 2.2: 'Jardin de l'Hotel de Buckingham à Londres', in *Jardins Anglo-Chinois à la Mode* (plate XX), Georges-Louis le Rouge, 1788. Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 2.3: A rough sketch for the alterations proposed in Richmond Garden, &c., Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown (attributed), c. 1764. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

forty-five acres.⁹ The paddock was where the queen kept her Kashmiri goats. An oval flower garden with a central quatrefoil pool was made close to the house.

This *ferme ornée* layout shows marked similarities to the plan of Kew Gardens. The expansion of those gardens had been initiated by Prince Frederick (d. 1751), with John Dillman as head gardener. In 1753 Robert Greening (d. 1758) took over from Dillman in the making of Kew Gardens, including a sunken fence around two paddocks and an oval flower garden with a central quatrefoil pool.¹⁰ William Chambers became involved in 1757, when appointed drawing master to Prince George and designed a medley of *fabriques*, most famously the eclectic pagoda, erected during the early 1760s. Chambers published his *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views... of Kew* dated 1763 and included a detailed plan of the gardens. Chambers referred to Bute as the ‘director’, and implied that he was responsible for the layout of Kew Gardens under Frederick’s widow, Princess Augusta.¹¹

Bute continued in high favour and was Prime Minister from May 1762 to April 1763, after which he withdrew from court. It seems likely that before leaving office he had determined that the layout of the Queen’s House garden would follow the general design for Kew. Although it is possible that Chambers provided the layout at the Queen’s House, the similarity to that for Kew, accomplished before Chambers was involved, makes this less likely. Although not successful at the Queen’s House, Brown was commissioned at Richmond Gardens. A scheme to include the Old Deer Park to the north and east of Kew, dated 10th December 1764, was prepared (Figure 2.3).¹² Terms between Brown and the King must have been arrived at (although no contract has come to light), as in January 1765 Brown transferred his foreman at Chatsworth, Michael Milican, to Richmond: ‘I intend employing you in his Majesty’s work at Richmond.’¹³ A few weeks later Milican wrote to his wife, still at Chatsworth: ‘I am now settled as Foreman in his Majesty’s works at Richmond where the worke will last for many years.’

The alterations by Brown were certainly under way in early 1765. Merlin’s Cave, designed by William Kent in 1735, was demolished that year and the lead from its roof sold. Brown remarked to a Treasury official in 1766: ‘I would have waited on you my self but Tuesdays & Saturdays are the Days I am expected at Richmond.’¹⁴

⁹ TNA, WORK 6/08, f 263.

¹⁰ Desmond, R. (1995). *The history of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* (p. 33). Kew: Harvill Press with Royal Botanic Gardens.

¹¹ Desmond, R. (1995). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (pp. 57–58).

¹² Kept at the Royal Botanic Garden, Kew.

¹³ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 126).

¹⁴ TNA, T 1/448/187–188.

Brown's surviving account book, starting December 1764, contains a sheet for 'His Majesty the King'. This indicated quarterly payments by George III of £500 from March 1765 until January 1777.¹⁵ The payments were delivered by Sir William Bretton, George Mathias, or some other member of the king's household.¹⁶ Bretton was in fact Keeper of the Privy Purse, 1763–73, so these payments to Brown were private expenditure, and no doubt for Richmond Gardens. As they had no vote for improvement from Parliament, they would thus have been improved at George III's own expense.

Chambers was meanwhile planning a new palace at Richmond. A drawing of the 'North front of a villa for a particular situation near London' was exhibited in 1762, before a model was made and presented to the king in 1765.¹⁷ Seeing Brown's work being implemented at considerable cost, whilst his own architectural dream languished, must have been irritating for Chambers. In October 1765 the Board of Works minuted that 'great alteration & improvements are making in Richmond Gardens by Mr Launcelot Browne', and queried whether the allowance to Thomas Greening's successor, John Haverfield, should not be abated 'his having nothing to do for the present, with that part of the Garden where the alterations are making'.¹⁸

Chief Gardener at Hampton Court

Shortly before the Richmond contract Brown was at last appointed one of the Royal Gardeners. After Bute's dismissal in April 1763, George III had to resort to George Grenville (1712–70), whom he personally disliked, to be Prime Minister. Grenville was younger brother to Earl Temple, a nephew of Viscount Cobham, of Stowe, and one of the new breed of Whig 'boy patriots'. Significantly, given the importance of aristocratic patronage at court, Brown would have been known to Grenville from his days at Stowe. They crossed paths at Shortgrove, Essex, in June 1764, and Grenville must have promised Brown a warrant to replace John Greening at Hampton Court. The possibility of future alterations at Windsor was apparently in Brown's mind, for he felt emboldened to write that 'I should be very happy to have the garden at Windsor Castle included in the Warrant', which would 'give me a better pretension my having the place to be employed'.¹⁹ When word reached John Greening, he affected to be greatly surprised at 'this unexpected affair', and wrote to a friend that Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, 'told me ... He went to the King and told him he was excessively sorry to hear that I was to be turned out to make way for Brown'.²⁰ The die had been cast, though, and Greening's warrant was revoked in favour of Brown.²¹ Greening had also been Master Labourer and Scavenger at Hampton Court and to the King's Private Roads. That position went to Robert Lowe, nephew to George Lowe, upon whose death in 1758 Greening had been appointed at Hampton Court.²² Perhaps as compensation Greening was appointed as house-keeper of the Customs House, a largely honorary position that in 1766 provided a salary of £385.

Warrants required the Treasury to provide specified allowances to the Office of Works to be passed on to the Chief Gardener. As elsewhere, the allowance for Hampton Court was £15 per acre. The fifty-seven acres of gardens at the palace, and seventeen acres at the Lower Wilderness, totalling nearly seventy-four acres (Figure 2.4), representing a sum of £1,107-6s-0d. There were also two allowances carried on from predecessors. Lowe had successfully petitioned for another £100 in 1741 for raising pineapples,²³ and the requirement on Greening in 1758 to provide 'forced fruit' was worth another £100.

An associated 'scheme', derived from that prepared by Henry Wise in Queen Anne's reign, set out the treatment of each area and responsibilities in finding the associated tools and the replacement of dead plants at his own cost.²⁴ Meanwhile, architectural officers in the Works were responsible for all 'hard' structures in the gardens under the Office of Works's care, including greenhouses, walls, drains, and the laying of paths, which were separately identified in the Paymaster's accounts. Checking that standards were being maintained was

¹⁵ Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1716–1783* (p. 161). London: Chatto and Windus.

¹⁶ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 122).

¹⁷ Harris, J. (1970). *Sir William Chambers* (p. 243). London: Zwemmer.

¹⁸ TNA, WORK 4/13, 11 October 1765.

¹⁹ British Library, Add MS 57822–57828, fol. 155; Brown to Grenville, 22 June 1764.

²⁰ British Library, Add MS 32960, f 50; John Greening to J. Twells, 23 June 1764.

²¹ TNA, WORK 6/8, fol.228; Warrant, 16 July 1764.

²² TNA, WORK 4/13, 11 January 1765.

²³ TNA, WORK 6/13, p. 41, 17 June 1741.

²⁴ TNA, WORK 6/8, ff 230 & 231.

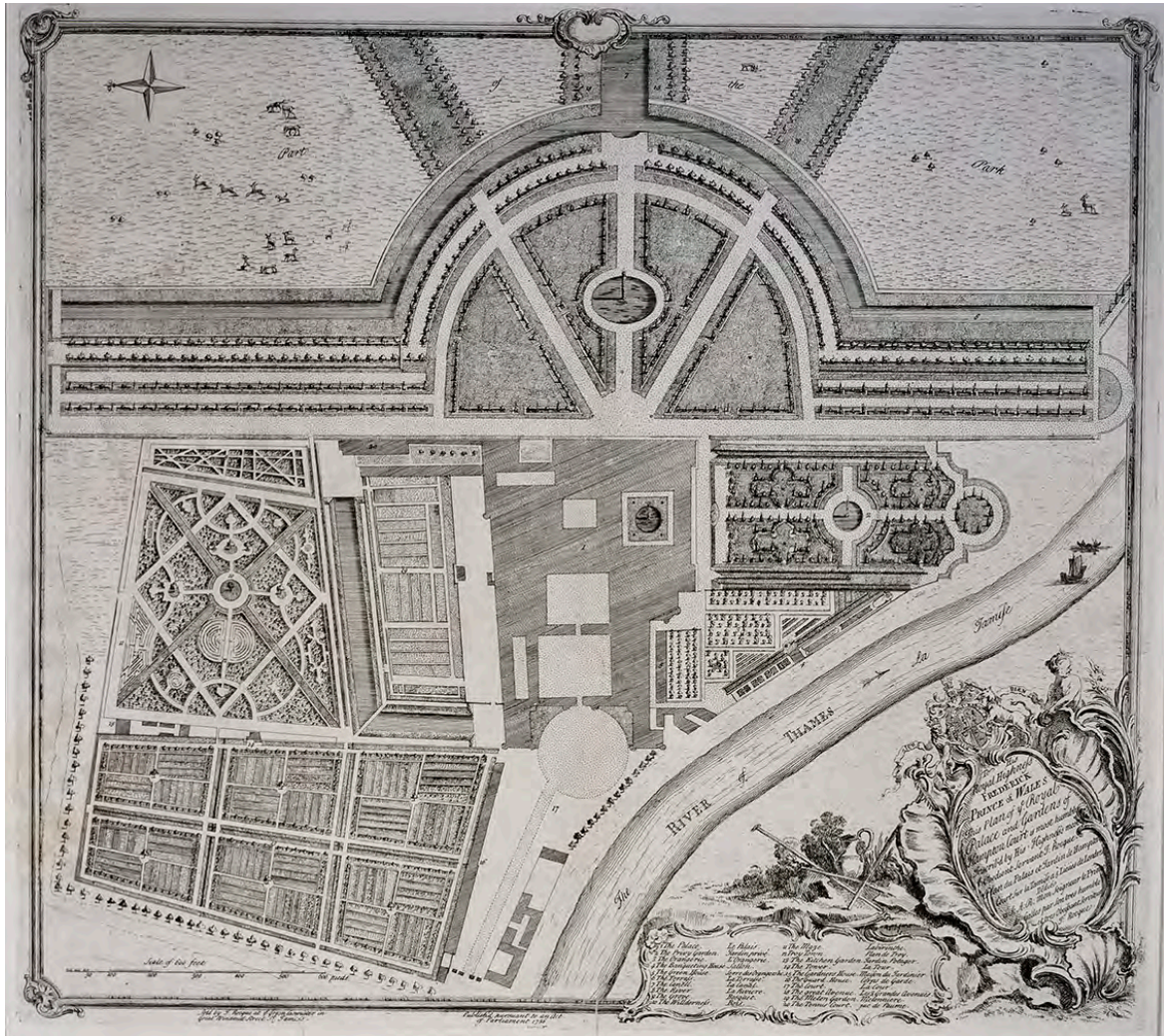


Figure 2.4: Plan of the palace and gardens of Hampton Court dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707–51), John Rocque, 1736. © Historic Royal Palaces.

nominally the job of the Surveyor of Gardens and Waters, though supervision was light, so in effect the Chief Gardener operated autonomously. One significant benefit was the occupation of Wilderness House, built in William III's reign on a wedge of ground between the Wilderness and the kitchen garden as the Master Gardener's residence (see Figure 1.4).

The garden attached to the Treasury, today the garden of 10 Downing Street adjacent to Horse Guards Parade, had been taken out of St. James's Park in 1736 (Figure 2.5), and was looked after by the gardener at St. James's for £40 per annum. When the gardener died in 1753 George Lowe had been awarded the keeping.²⁵

Greening too was given a specific warrant for this garden, and so Brown carried on looking after it, but, receiving no payment, he wrote to the Treasury in November 1766:

Mr Brown presents his best respects to Mr: Lownds and begs the favour of him to enform him in what manner he is to be paid for Keeping the Treasury Garden & the Kitchen Garden at Windsor.²⁶

The following day Brown bumped into Greening, who had been at the Treasury Garden. Brown wrote that Greening, 'the Person who had the Place I now have ... told me to my great Surprise that he had been at the

²⁵ TNA, WORK 6/13, p. 76; warrant of 22 February 1753.

²⁶ TNA, WORK 6/13, p. 99; warrant of 4 December 1758; TNA, T 1/455/412–413.

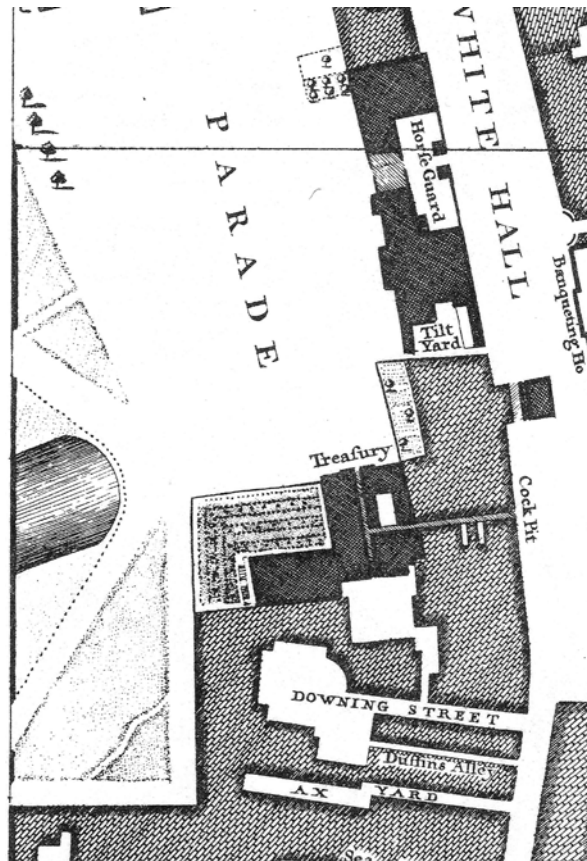


Figure 2.5: Detail from *A Plan of the Cities of London*, John Rocque, 1746, showing the Treasury garden. Copyright David Jacques, CC BY-NC 4.0.

Treasury Garden to do something for Lady Dalkeith, I only answerd that is very od[d] indeed ...²⁷ Over a year later Brown had still not received any payment, though he had been paying his own men for three and half years.²⁸ The Office of Works insisted that Brown had never had a warrant for Treasury Garden, as Greening had, and it was not until 1768 that Brown eventually received his warrant.²⁹ Brown had been told that the kitchen garden at Windsor was also part of his duties, and so he had been laying out money there too. The Board of Works pointed out that there was no warrant for Brown there either, though they did admit that: 'Tis true that Mr Low, and Mr Greening ... had some allowance made them there, which was particularly ordered by the Board of Treasury.'³⁰ It is unclear whether Brown was reimbursed, but he was certainly not given a warrant as there was already one for the incumbent, John Kent.³¹

Brown in the Office of Works, 1766

Brown was not received with unalloyed joy at the Office of Works. Although the ageing Henry Flitcroft, Comptroller of the Works, would probably have been sympathetic, others were not. Thomas Worsley, the Surveyor-General, and William Chambers, Architect of the Works, themselves put in place by the influence of Lord Bute, probably viewed Brown as a creature of the new Whigs who might well be ousted in the future by a Tory-inclined king. Chambers was a man of principle, or, since our virtues are mostly but vices in disguise,³² he could

²⁷ TNA, T 1/448/187–188.

²⁸ TNA, T 1/468/330–331; letter of 15 February 1768.

²⁹ TNA, WORK 6/13, p. 233; warrant of 14 June 1768, backdated to 16 July 1764.

³⁰ TNA, T 1/468/330–331, 15 February 1768.

³¹ TNA, WORK 8/08, ff 49–53.

³² FitzGibbon, C. (trans.) (1957). *The maxims of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld* (p. 31). London: Allan Wingate.

be arrogant and confrontational. Having trained at the *École des Arts* in Paris and also having visited Rome, he perceived himself as a true professional with an international understanding of his art. Robert Adam wrote to his brother John about Chambers in 1755: 'He despises others as much as he admires his own talents which he shows with a slow and dignified air, conveying an idea of great wisdom...'³³ At the Board of Works, however, Chambers always pedantically took the official line and proved to be an instinctive administrator.

In his relations with Brown, Chambers presumed an automatic superiority, and despised what he considered were Brown's simplistic ideas of nature peddled by one who had never been properly trained. Furthermore, Brown had been straying into architecture. Chambers discovered that they were actually in competition when both were asked to provide designs for Peper Harow, Surrey, by Lord Middleton in about 1763.³⁴ When Brown was successful, the wariness turned into intense jealousy. Brown only took up his duties at Hampton Court after undertaking some of his tours in December 1764 and January 1765. Perhaps this, as much as the tensions with the architects, was why the Board of Works took eight months to acknowledge their new colleague:

Rec'd the Kings Warrt appointing Lancelot Browne Chief Gardiner at Hampton Court (in the room of Jno Greening) at £1107:6:0 Per Ann: & 100£ Per Ann for raising Pine Apples & an additional 100£ Per Ann for forced Fruits.³⁵

These last-mentioned duties required purpose-made hothouses and bell glasses. Brown evidently also felt responsibility for the orange tree collection in the Upper Orangery. He needed, he soon told the Board of Works, repairs to hothouses, costed at about £500, and 'Garden pots, Bell Glasses, & Orange Tubs' at about £160.³⁶ Getting nowhere, he addressed a memorandum directly to the Treasury Lords. This letter was referred back to the Board of Works for a report, and in October it informed the Treasury that 'repairs &c. wanting in Hampton Court Gardens, will amount altogether to the sum of £664:3:6d'.³⁷ It evidently advised against the pots, bell glasses, and tubs, and the Board may in some senses have been right, as the previous Chief Gardener should have made good. The next month the Treasury issued a fiat 'for performing all the Repairs for the Master Gardiner at Hampton Court', but not authorising 'the additional Articles of Garden pots, Bell Glasses, & Orange Tubs'.³⁸ However, in November, Brown provided a detailed explanation to the Treasury about the necessity for the pots and bell glasses for fulfilling the king's wishes.³⁹ At last, in June 1766, the Treasury issued another fiat 'for supplying His Majestys Gardens at Hampton Court with some Garden pots, Bell Glasses & Orange Tubs'.⁴⁰ Although generally content with Wilderness House, the cellars suffered from damp, so in June 1769 Brown made an application to have a cellar and a kitchen added onto the house. The next month: 'Recd also their Lordships Fiat for repairs & Alterations at the house of the Master Gardener at Hampton Court'.⁴¹

The Great Vine and Other Fruit

The Hampton Court gardens were renowned for their fruit, against walls and inside hothouses, in the Melon Ground and in the Kitchen Garden.⁴² Brown was assisted by Robert Lowe, nephew of his predecessor, who had effectively run the gardens in George Lowe's last illness. Robert, describing himself as 'used to fruit work', had petitioned unsuccessfully in 1758 to be given the place of his uncle who had 'bred him up and was a father to him'.⁴³ Brown inherited scores of orange trees, dating from William III's time, and passed them on to his successors in good order. One garden writer of the next century remarked that '[t]he largest collection in Britain is that at Hampton Court Palace, where two large apartments on the ground-floor, having only large glass

³³ Fleming, J. (1962). *Robert Adam and his circle in Edinburgh and Rome* (p. 160). London: John Murray.

³⁴ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 236).

³⁵ TNA, WORK 4/13, 1 March 1765.

³⁶ TNA, T 1/451/420–421 & WORK 4/13, 25 November 1765.

³⁷ TNA, WORK 4/13, 18 October 1765.

³⁸ TNA, WORK 4/13, 22 November 1765.

³⁹ TNA, T 1/451, fol. 420–421, 16 November 1765.

⁴⁰ TNA, WORK 4/13, 6 June 1766.

⁴¹ TNA, WORK 4/14, 14 July 1769 & 19 January 1770.

⁴² Woudstra, J. (2016). Fruit cultivation in the royal gardens of Hampton Court Palace (1530–1842). *Garden History*, 4(4/2), Autumn 2016, forthcoming.

⁴³ British Library, Additional MS 33055, f 270; quoted by Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 123).

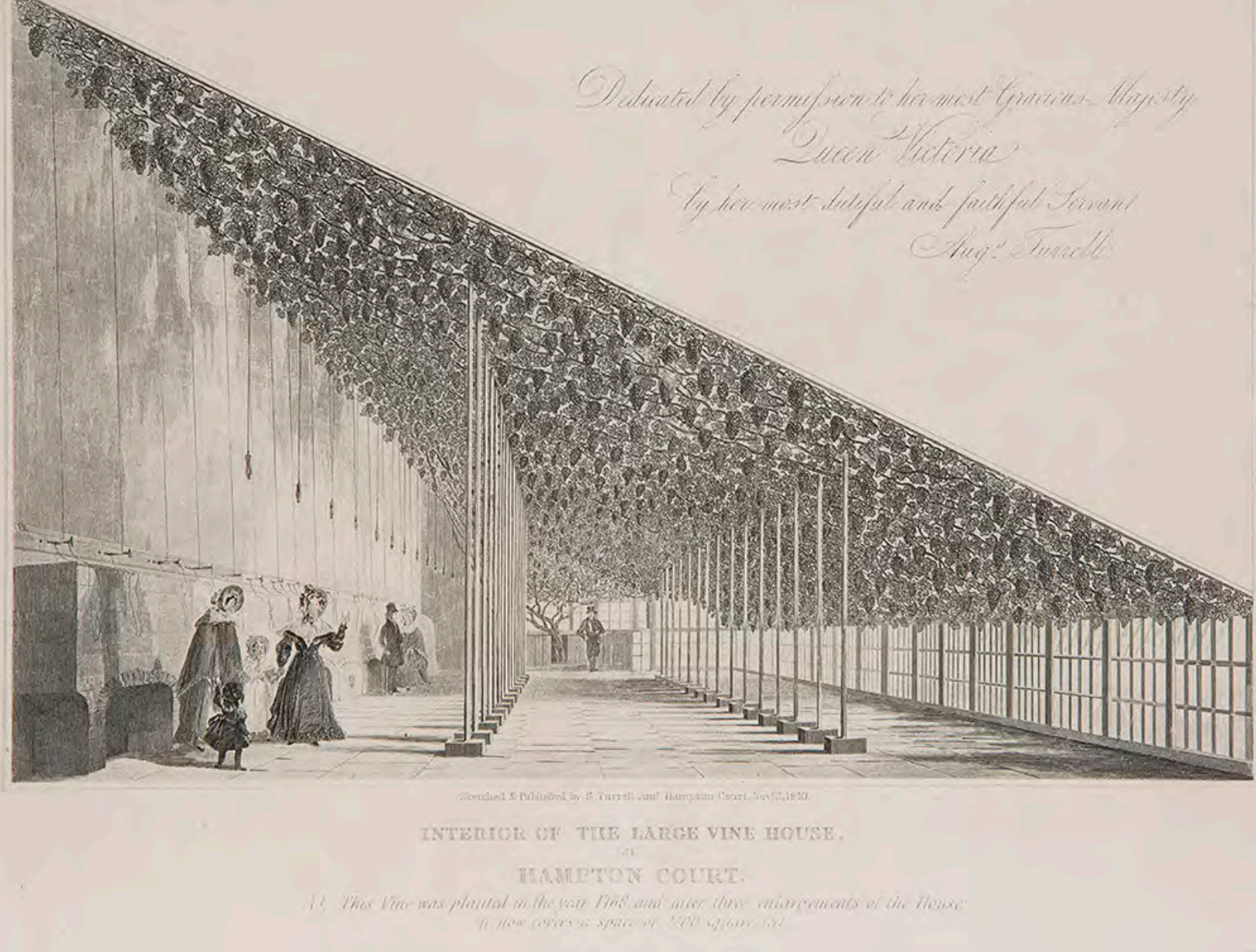


Figure 2.6: *Interior of the Large Vine House at Hampton Court*, S. Turrell, 1840. © Historic Royal Palaces.

windows in front, are filled with magnificent specimens.⁴⁴ Brown also produced pineapples, as had George Lowe and Greening before him, as well as the ‘forced fruit’, principally strawberries, for the king’s table.

Brown ran down the keeping of the last of Queen Mary’s exotics, making them share their ‘glass case’ with what became the Great Vine. In 1819 a George Lowe (surely a descendant), the gardener at Valentines, Essex, read a paper to the Horticultural Society of London about a large Black Hamburg vine in his care, about which William Gilpin included a lengthy passage in his *Forest Scenery*.⁴⁵ Lowe noted that the famous vine at Hampton Court was grown from a cutting from that at Valentines. Many years later the date was stated to have been 1768.⁴⁶ The single vine at Hampton Court was probably planted about then, and probably by Robert Lowe. It was manured so well that it gradually took over the whole hothouse, which had to be extended in 1800 and again in 1825, and its extensive branchwork became an object of curiosity (Figure 2.6).

Thomas Haverfield, Brown’s successor, provided information to Daniel Lysons:

⁴⁴ M’Intosh, C. (1853). *The book of the garden* (Vol. II, p. 700). London: William Blackwood and Sons.

⁴⁵ Gilpin, W. (1791). *Forest scenery* (Vol. I, pp. 149–150).

⁴⁶ *Notes & Queries*, Vinery at Hampton Court, ii. 506, 24 November 1855.

Twenty years after the Hampton Court vine was planted it was said to have produced 2,200 bunches, which weighed on an average a pound each. The stem was already 13 in. in girth, and the main branch 114 ft. long.⁴⁷

In 1813 a tourist was informed that the vine was forty-three years old and had borne 2,278 bunches the year before.⁴⁸

The Reprimand

Chambers became the Office of Works Comptroller in 1769 in place of Flitcroft, and started making formal inspections, visiting Hampton Court on the 21st July 1770. No doubt surveying the gardens under Brown's care with a hyper-critical eye, he found them to be 'in ruinous condition', and, as a Principal Officer of the Works, felt it was his duty to see that Brown met the obligations stated in his contract. It was first decided to write 'a private notice less disagreeable than public admonition'.⁴⁹ Brown ignored this letter 'because I know both the Authors meaning, & his Conduct on that Subject'. Finding this so after three months, Chambers had the Secretary to the Board, William Robinson, inform Brown that:

I am Order'd by the said Principal Officers of his Majesty's Works to require that you do forthwith put every part of the said Royal Gardens into proper Order in all particulars according to the Tenor of your Contract.⁵⁰

This drew a long response from Brown, written in astonishment and sorrow, but not in contrition:

Sir, I recd. your Letter, & must acknowledge to you that I have lived long enough not to wonder at anything, therefore it did not surprise me. I believe I am the first King's Gardiner that the Board of Works ever interfered with ... I believe if any Body had a Right to have censured my Conduct it was the Surveyor of the Gardens, ... but you, Sir, have only done your duty, You will be so good as to inform the Gentlemen of the Board of Works That Pique I pity, That the Insolence of Office I Despise, That Ideal Power I laugh at, & That real Power I will ever disarm by doing my Duty. I am
Sir your obedient Servant
Launcelot Brown.⁵¹

As Brown had 'disputed the authority of the Board of Works and treated our proceedings as the effects of arrogated Power and Insolence of Office', Chambers felt that matters needed to be taken to a higher level. A representation to the Treasury Lords, signed by Chambers and all the architectural officers, urged them to act.⁵² It was also pointed out that since the Lower Wilderness had been laid into the House Park, its acreage should be removed from the calculations on Brown's allowance. The Treasury Lords 'Ordered a Letter to be wrote to Mr Brown directing him to take care that the said gardens be kept in good repair and condition'.⁵³ With that, the matter was no more heard of.

The actual state of the gardens under Brown may be discerned from John Spyers's drawings (see Figure 3.3). The images of the Fountain Garden, the Privy Garden, and the Wilderness suggest that the hedges were in good order, but he had let the clipped greens grow out, allowing tufted tops on the yews.⁵⁴ But, remembering the campaign against clipping initiated by Joseph Addison and Alexander Pope, no-one at that time would argue for the greens to be subjected to the shears and scissors.

⁴⁷ Lysons, D. (1800). *An historical account of those parishes in the county of Middlesex, which are not described in the environs of London* (p. 72). London: T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies.

⁴⁸ British Library, Add MS 6341, f 2v.

⁴⁹ TNA, T 1/475, ff 252–253, 16 November 1770.

⁵⁰ TNA, WORK 1/4, f 86v, Robinson to Brown, 26 October 1770.

⁵¹ TNA, WORK 1/5, f 87r, Brown to Robinson, 5 November 1770.

⁵² TNA, T 1/475/252–253, 20 November 1770.

⁵³ TNA, WORK 4/14, 7 December 1770.

⁵⁴ Dedinken, M. & Jacques, D. (2016). *The Hampton Court albums of Catherine the Great* (Album I, nos. 7647–7674). London: Fontanka.

St. James's Park

St. James's Park was in the care of its Ranger, George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford. It had received little attention over the years despite the large numbers of the public that used it. By long-standing arrangement between the Board of Works and the Ranger, the latter was paid £80 for 'The Sweeping and Cleaning of the Mall, and the Rolling, Keeping and Cleaning that Walk or any other Walks in the said Park'.⁵⁵ In 1770 the Treasury received a petition 'from the Principal Inhabitants of Westminster in the neighbourhood of St. James's Park complaining of a Nuisance from that part of the park formerly called the Decoy'.⁵⁶ The Treasury referred the matter to the Board of Works, which, with amazing alacrity, reported on this matter 'and other alterations & repairs necessary to be done in the said Park and in the Front Court of the Queens Palace amounting in the whole to £7894'.⁵⁷ This was a huge sum, partly because of the extensive drainage culverts, but the Treasury Lords had no difficulty in issuing a fiat for the work. It was assumed by the newspapers that Brown would be the person to carry it out: 'Mr. Brown, the Engineer, commonly called Capability Brown, is to have the new modelling St. James's Park'.⁵⁸ This announcement gave a second reason for the changes:

The principal Point intended is to give a full View of Whitehall to the Queen's Palace, and also of Westminster Abbey, to effect which almost all the Trees on that Side will be taken away.

Brown even devised a plan, very possibly at this time (Figure 2.7).⁵⁹ However, the Board had no intention of giving the work to Brown. The reprimand mentioned above may have been for the purest motives, but it was also a convenient device to undermine Brown's credibility with the Treasury Lords and to clear the way for the Board's own candidate for undertaking the works in the park – Thomas Robinson. In order for him to commence work, the Board of Works requested the Treasury to authorise an imprest of £2,000 in October 1770.⁶⁰ Work got under way and in December the bills were coming in, including £850 from Robinson.⁶¹ Further imprests were authorised, most of it for Robinson's bills, and the books were approved in 1775.⁶²

As with Brown's plan, The Mall and Birdcage Walk were retained, and the decoy with much planting around was eliminated. In other respects the new design was very different; in particular, the canal was retained, instead of being made a serpentine (Figure 2.8).

The problem of maintenance soon raised its head. Robinson pointed out that 490 English elm which he had planted just four years before were not being pruned, secured to tree stakes or watered, as they should have been.⁶³ However sympathetic the Board might have been, this was not their responsibility and they had no leverage, except in one small respect. They paid the Ranger £80 per annum for keeping the paths. The Board thus wrote to Lord Orford a few weeks later informing him that 'frequent complaints have been made to them relative to the present very bad Condition of the Gravel, in the Mall & the two side Walks'.⁶⁴

Bad Feeling and the Paper War

Brown may have felt resentment at the way he had been treated by his colleagues. In a surprising display of tit-for-tat he demanded that Chambers quit a half-acre kitchen garden area, part of the Royal Garden, off Tennis Court Lane. This provoked a pained memorial to the Treasury Lords pleading that, since he had no other ground at Hampton Court on which to grow fruit and vegetables during his stays at Hampton Court, it

⁵⁵ TNA, WORK 6/8, ff 209–210, 7 February 1763.

⁵⁶ TNA, WORK 4/14, 4 May 1770.

⁵⁷ TNA, WORK 4/14, 18 May 1770.

⁵⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 6 September 1770.

⁵⁹ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (plate 54a).

⁶⁰ TNA, WORK, 4/13, 12 October 1770.

⁶¹ TNA, WORK 4/13, 21 December 1770.

⁶² TNA, WORK 4/13, 27 October 1775.

⁶³ TNA, WORK 1/5, f 19r, 14 May 1779.

⁶⁴ TNA, WORK 1/5, f 20r, 23 July 1779.

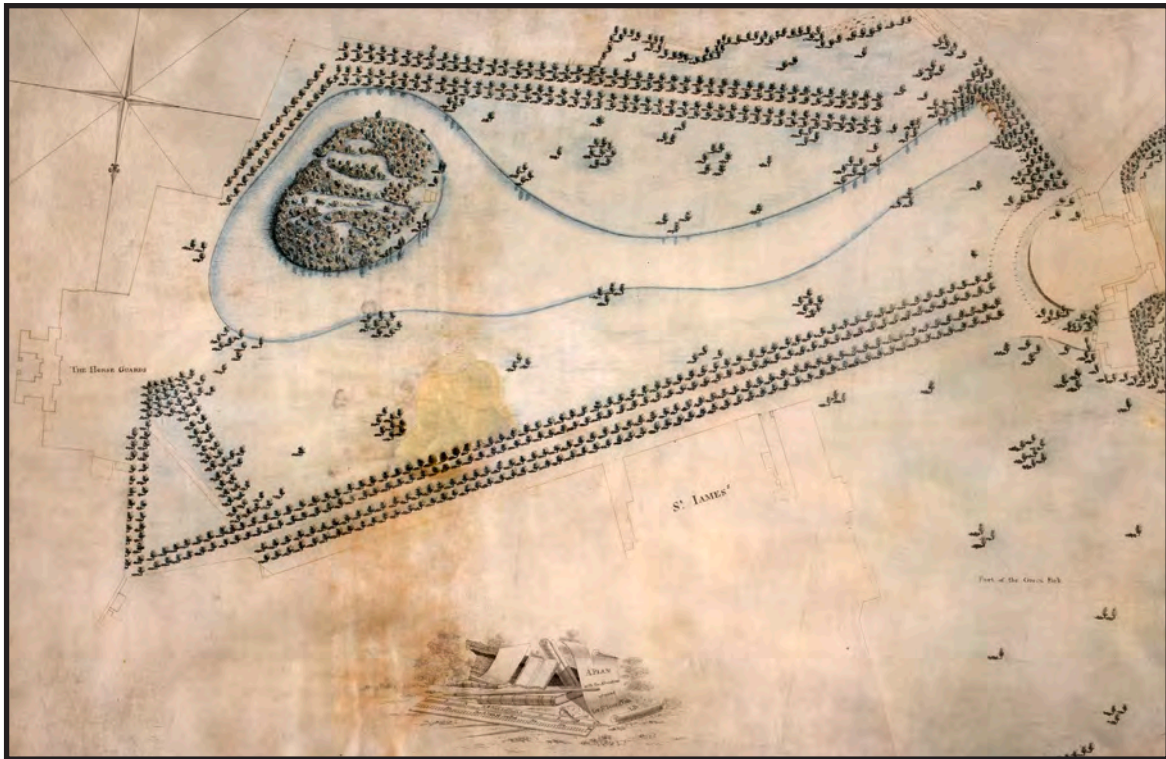


Figure 2.7: *A Plan with the Alterations proposed for St. James's Park*, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1770. Source: Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Figure 2.8: *A View of the Encampment of the Guards in St. James's Park*, Thomas Davies, 1780. Copyright The British Library Board; Maps K.Top.26.7.d.3. Reproduced with permission.



A View of the Encampment of the Guards in St. James's Park taken from the Queens House the 3 of July 1780 by Tho: Davies Capt: Roy: Reg: of Artillery

was a great convenience to him, as it had been to Flitcroft before him.⁶⁵ Chambers appears to have kept this garden on, finally being required, but not by Brown, to hand over the keys in 1783.⁶⁶

Brown had compensations. One was being asked in 1770 to design Clive of India's new house at Claremont, and to reform the grounds there. Another was the discovery that the Board had omitted to inform him that John Greening had been appointed to maintain the Maestricht Garden at Windsor, and that he, Brown, had a right to the same. Although the Maestricht Garden had been abandoned in the 1730s, somehow the warrants maintained the fiction of its continued care – or maybe it was the fruit garden adjacent that was meant. Brown must have quickly repaired relations with the Treasury Lords, for he applied to them for the £30 allowance and they, despite delay from the Board, directed that it should be paid.⁶⁷

At the same time Brown applied to the Treasury for the Board to be instructed over 'some Forcing frames may be put in Order, and a new Stove made for raising Pine Aples and to fit up part of the Old one for raising Strawberries and Cherrys'.⁶⁸ After the usual delay from the Board, the Treasury instructed it to carry out repairs 'to the Glass cases and forcing frames as desired by Mr Brown'.⁶⁹ Brown returned to the matter of the new pine house and repairs to the old one in 1777.⁷⁰ The Treasury eventually sent a warrant to the Board to require them to build one.⁷¹

Meanwhile, Chambers had sat down to compose his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*. He no doubt had a different conception of ornamental gardening from Brown, but it was his high-handed attack on the gardening profession that struck most readers. For example:

Is it not singular then, that an Art which a considerable part of our enjoyments is so universally connected, should have no regular professors in our quarter of the world? Upon the continent it is a collateral branch of the Architect's employment; ... in this island, it is abandoned to kitchen gardeners, well skilled in the culture of sallads, but little acquainted with the principles of Ornamental Gardening. It cannot be expected that men, uneducated, and doomed by their condition to waste the vigour of life in hard labour, should ever go far in so refined, so difficult a pursuit.⁷²

Such comments were interpreted by some as a personal attack on Brown. Further comments such as 'peasants emerge from the melon grounds to take the periwig, and turn professors' could easily be interpreted as spiteful reminders of Brown's modest origins.⁷³ The *Dissertation* was thought by some 'to avert his royal Majestie's attachment from the plan on which his garden at Richmond has been improved'.⁷⁴ Others thought it stemmed from the frustration of Brown obtaining the commission at Claremont.⁷⁵ Horace Walpole asserted that it was 'more extravagant than the worst Chinese paper, and ... written in wild revenge against Brown'.⁷⁶

If Chambers could be made to seem ridiculous then the artistic credibility of the Tory Court appointees would be undermined. The *Dissertation* provided an ideal opportunity for the Whigs, and so, spurred on by Walpole, William Mason wrote a mock-heroic reply. *An Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, Knight* appeared in January 1773 just as London was filling up for the winter season. A short preface composed in irony reminded readers of the purpose of the *Dissertation*:

It is the author's professed aim in extolling the taste of the Chinese, to condemn that mean and paltry manner that Kent introduced; which Southcote, Hamilton and Brown followed, and which, to our

⁶⁵ TNA, T 1/482/86–87, 7 June 1771.

⁶⁶ TNA, WORK 1/5, f 57v, April 1783.

⁶⁷ TNA, WORK 4/14, 8 & 15 November 1771 & 28 February 1772.

⁶⁸ TNA, WORK 4/14, 7 February 1772.

⁶⁹ TNA, WORK, 4/15, 12 February 1773.

⁷⁰ TNA, WORK 4/15, 27 June 1777.

⁷¹ TNA, WORK 4/15, 10 December 1779.

⁷² Chambers, W. (1772). *A dissertation on oriental gardening* (p. iii). London: W. Griffin & others.

⁷³ Chambers, W. (1772). *Dissertation* (p. 13).

⁷⁴ *Monthly Review*, XLVII, August 1772, 137; cited in Harris, J. *Chambers* (p. 158).

⁷⁵ Walpole, H. (1876). *Anecdotes of painting in England... with additions by the Rev. James Dalloway* (3 Vols, III, p. 106), edited by R. Wornum. London: Chatto & Windus.

⁷⁶ Walpole, H. (1955). *Correspondence* (Vol. 34). New Haven: Yale. Walpole to William Mason, 25 May 1772.

national disgrace, is called the English style of gardening. He proves ... that Nature herself is incapable of pleasing, without the assistance of Art, and that too of the most luxuriant kind.

In one passage Chambers was invited to Richmond Gardens so that readers could imagine what he would have done:

[line 53] Come then, prolific Art, and with thee bring
 The charms that rise from thy exhaustless spring;
 To Richmond come, for see, untutor'd Brown
 Destroys those wonders which were once thy own.
 Lo, from his melon-ground the peasant slave
 Has rudely rush'd, and levell'd Merlin's Cave;
 Knock'd down the waxen Wizzard, seiz'd his wand,
 Transformed to lawn what late was Fairy land;
 And marr'd, with impious hand, each sweet design
 Of Stephen Duck, and good Queen Caroline.
 Haste, bid yon livelong Terras re-ascend,
 Replace each vista, straighten every bend;
 Shut out the Thames; shall that ignoble thing
 Approach the presence of great Ocean's King?
 No! let Barbaric glories feast his eyes,
 August Pagodas round his palace rise,
 And finish'd Richmond open to his view,
 A work to wonder at, perhaps a Kew.

The *Heroic Epistle* was undeniably funny and became one of the century's most popular poems.

Chambers maintained a critical eye on Brown, and reported to Worsley, the Surveyor, in 1774 that 'Master Brown has now put padlocks upon the Wilderness at Hampton Court where he breeds turkeys and Pea fowls'. Turkeys were a popular meat at this time, but padlocking the Wilderness would be overreaching his authority unless he had been doing so at the request of George III. Chambers was contemplating another reprimand and, as he thought it was his 'duty' to do so, took the matter up with the king, without much response. He recollected that he and his colleagues 'were so ill supported when last we endeavoured to make him do his duty, that there is no encouragement for a Second Attempt'.⁷⁷ Chambers looked for opportunities to reprimand Brown again, and in 1779 returned to one of his favourite themes:

the planting Trees close to the External Walls of the Palace has been very prejudicial to the same. They desire therefore that you would cause them to be removed & not permit any Trees in future to be planted nearer than three feet from the Walls nor any Climbers creepers or other plants to be nail'd to the Walls on any Account.⁷⁸

Chambers's appointment to the Surveyorship in 1782 might have been problematic for Brown, though as he now answered to the Lord Chamberlain he may in practice have been insulated from further attacks. By this time the sparring between these two adversaries had died down after the madness of the *Dissertation* and the *Heroic Epistle*. Brown died unexpectedly in February 1783. His successor at Hampton Court was Thomas Haverfield, a son of John, who seems to have led a quieter life altogether.

Although Brown had yearned for an official position, it gave him much trouble in the form of the confrontational William Chambers and the Robinson brothers. He received absolutely no favours from the Board of Works, and had to fight for allowances, warrants, and the Board's architectural work on the gardens, such as hothouses. He was pointedly passed over for alterations at the Queen's House and St. James's Park by someone of much less capacity. Nevertheless, he was secure in Wilderness House, thanks to the benevolent attitude of

⁷⁷ British Library, Add.MS, 41135, f 39, Sir William Chambers to Thomas Worsley, 13 September 1774, information from Todd Longstaffe-Gowan.

⁷⁸ TNA, WORK 1/5, f 30v, 23 July 1779.

many Treasury Lords who were his clients outside the walls of Hampton Court. His position as Chief Gardener to His Majesty may not have brought the rewards that he may have hoped for, but it bestowed some status, the house served as a family home, and he had a base for his extensive contracting business.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>

CHAPTER 3

John Spyers – Lancelot Brown’s Surveyor at Hampton Court

Sebastian Edwards¹

The discovery and subsequent exhibition of 150 drawings relating to Lancelot Brown’s tenure as Chief Gardener to King George III at Hampton Court, as well as new research into Brown’s practice, has greatly enhanced our knowledge about his impact and working methods. Nevertheless, it has also left the lives of Brown’s two right-hand men, John Spyers and Samuel Lapidge, largely obscured by their master’s long shadow.² When John Spyers came to write his will in 1770, he referred to himself as ‘Surveyor of Hampton Court’.³ This and a handful of references in correspondence and accounts for Brown’s landscape commissions provide the scant evidence of Spyers’s key position in Brown’s office. Spyers’s biography remains so partial that he would almost certainly be forgotten were it not for his extraordinary albums, one of 100 views of Hampton Court and another of fifty other drawings, created in and around 1778, and their unlikely purchase six years later by the empress Catherine the Great, and now held by the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.⁴ Spyers appears to have lacked the business acumen of Brown, or even his office colleague Lapidge, and did not leave a detailed record. Thus it is not possible to form a clear picture of his career, but it is possible to create a biographical sketch of his life, which neatly divides up his known career into four parts. Firstly, his early years working in the family nursery business, when he learned his profession as a surveyor; then his time working as surveyor

¹ I would like to thank Dr David Jacques, who originally researched much of the new information used in this chapter for Historic Royal Palaces, in preparation for the exhibition of John Spyers’s drawings, *The Empress and the Gardener*, at Hampton Court in 2016 and made several helpful comments. My colleague Tom Drysdale also made helpful suggestions regarding the attribution of further Spyers images.

² Gregory, J., Spooner, S. & Williamson, T. (2013). *Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown: A research impact review* (Research Report 50) (pp. 7–9). London: English Heritage; *The Empress and the Gardener* Exhibition was held by Historic Royal Palaces at Hampton Court Palace, 27 April to 4 September 2016. A catalogue of Spyers’s drawings made at Hampton court was published on behalf of the State Hermitage Museum by the Hermitage Foundation UK: Dedinkin M. & Jacques, D. (2016). *The Hampton Court albums of Catherine the Great*. London: Fontanka; For Lapidge, see Woudstra in this volume.

³ The National Archives (TNA) PROB/11/1318/201, proved 24 January 1799.

⁴ The Hampton Court albums of John Spyers are in the Drawings collection in the Department of Western Art, the State Hermitage Museum; catalogue numbers OR 7585–7684 and OR 7685–7733. All are reproduced in Dedinkin and Jacques, *Hampton Court albums*.

How to cite this book chapter:

Edwards, S. 2020. John Spyers – Lancelot Brown’s Surveyor at Hampton Court. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 33–47. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.c>. CC BY-NC 4.0

in Brown's office; his years under Brown, when he created his unique topographical record of Hampton Court; and finally his evolution in later life from surveyor into what could be characterised as a 'gentleman artist', and a man of not inconsiderable means.

Brown's and Spyers's careers were defined by the cultural and social worlds of late eighteenth-century Britain, and also by royal patronage from the young King George III (r. 1760–1820). The king's personal interests were famously varied, but he was essentially very conservative in his tastes and cautious – though never mean – in spending the Civil List, his allocation of public funds. From the start he patronised young architects such as Robert Adam and William Chambers, the artist Thomas Gainsborough and the composer Johann Christian Bach. Though fierce rivals, Brown and Chambers were both involved in schemes to create modern palaces and gardens in London and at Richmond, but neither scheme resulted in the creation of a wholly new palace. Instead, as mental illness began to dog his life and thwart his dreams, George III turned his attention to his ancient royal homes, most especially Windsor Castle but also Hampton Court. He had rejected the latter as a home but continued to maintain and keep it ready for royal occupation, such as when the Dutch Stadholder, William V of Orange, lived in exile at Hampton Court between 1795 and 1802.⁵

Whilst encouraging some of the great minds of the Enlightenment, especially through the new learned societies and academies, George III ended his days leaving a pasteboard gothic palace as an abandoned project at Kew, rather than the classical idyll that Brown and Chambers had been working on and envisaging in Richmond Gardens. Spyers's world, spent working on Brown's contracts, was equally rooted in England's past. Yet, as he turned towards art to make a living, he looked for business from a new, more mobile and moneyed class. As someone who aspired to better himself just like his master, Spyers appears to have ended his days very comfortably off.

Spyers's family origins, like several of Brown's key associates, were in the burgeoning nursery and market garden businesses to the west of London. As the topographical writer Daniel Lysons enthused, 'Mr. Nettleship of Twickenham [a kinsman who took over the Spyers's business] has sixteen acres. He cultivates about fifty acres for fruit of various sorts, in that Parish and Isleworth.'⁶ The Spyers family (sometimes spelled 'Spiers') were nurserymen in Twickenham from the early-eighteenth century, when John Spyers's father, Christopher, appears in local church records as a rate payer for 'Coles Land' in 1729.⁷ John was born around 1731, the second child of his father's second marriage. Christopher Spyers already had royal connections, supplying Frederick, Prince of Wales, for his garden at Carlton House, St. James's, in 1734.⁸ After his death in 1737, the business passed to his brothers Joshua (d. 1768) and Thomas (d. 1772), who continued to prosper from the trade.⁹ John, as a junior member of the business, appears to have trained as a surveyor and draughtsman, as was usual at the time. There were other notable nurseries competing for business from the manors and villas along the Thames: the Greenings at Brentford (see Chapter 9), William Cox, father and son of Kew, who had a stock of 30,000 plants in 1730, George Masters at Strand on the Green, and the Mason family at Isleworth, with 115,000 plants in stock at that time.¹⁰

Another mention of the Spyers name in connection with a notable estate was when Joshua's nursery provided Horace Walpole with trees for his newly established garden at Strawberry Hill (Figure 3.1). In August 1748 Walpole claimed that 'My present and sole occupation is planting, in which I have made great progress, and talked very learnedly with the nurserymen, except that now and then a lettuce run to seed overturns all my botany, as I have more than once taken it for a curious West Indian flowering shrub'. At this early date Walpole's garden occupied only a few acres, and other nurseries also supplied him, so the auspices of having

⁵ Thurley, S. (2003). *Hampton Court, a social and architectural history* (p. 337). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

⁶ Lysons, D. (1796). Market gardens in London. In *The environs of London* (Volume 4, Counties of Herts, Essex and Kent) (pp. 573–576). London.

⁷ Church rates information on the Spyers family published on the Twickenham Museum website: <http://www.twickenham-museum.org.uk>, accessed 13 September 2016. According to Samuel Lewis, *A plan of Twickenham...*, published in 1784 (reprinted as the frontispiece to Edward Ironsides, *The history and antiquities of Twickenham*), Cole had a house just north of the Spyers home, along the London Road, and the later Spyers–Nettleship nursery occupied land east of this residence, on the road to Richmond.

⁸ Coombs, D. (1997). The garden at Carlton House of Frederick Prince of Wales and Augusta Princess Dowager of Wales. *Garden History*, 25(2), 173.

⁹ London Metropolitan Archives. Copyhold transactions in the Syon Manor Court Books, ACC 1379/40–61.

¹⁰ Urwin, A. C. B. (1982). *Commercial nurseries and market gardens* (pp. 2–3). Twickenham: London Borough of Twickenham Local History Society.



Approach to Strawberry-Hill.

F. T. K.

Figure 3.1: *Approach to Strawberry Hill*, John Spyers (attributed), after 1792. From Horace Walpole's extra-illustrated copy of *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole*, 1784. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

such a client may yet to have been apparent. More significantly, in 1747 a 'Mr. Spyers' was paid £2-2-0d for a survey and plan of Walpole's small estate.¹¹ This might have involved the young John, then about nineteen years old, assisting in his uncle's nursery as a surveyor. The trail then goes cold but, judging from later events, John is likely to have honed his skills and built up a local reputation as a surveyor and draughtsman for customers of the Spyers nursery.

Brown's practice began to flourish from the early 1750s, and he soon needed assistants, one of which was Robert Robinson. He, however, had moved to Scotland by 1760, and so Brown recruited new members to his practice and the first reference to Spyers working for him comes in 1761, on the 7th Earl of Northampton's estate at Castle Ashby. Brown was paid £50 for 'a great General Plan', that is, a design in preparation, plus works, in 1763.¹² For more than twenty years until Brown's death, it is known that Spyers worked on at least thirty houses and estates, mostly documented in Brown's private account book, bank records, and occasional mentions in correspondence from the clients. However, it is likely that Spyers worked on many further

¹¹ Katz, S. R. (2008). Horace Walpole's landscape at Strawberry Hill. *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 28(1), 16.

¹² Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 107).



Figure 3.2: *Blenheim Park*, John Spyers (attributed), c. 1763. View across the lake to Woodstock with proposals for a new park wall. © Courtesy of Blenheim Palace.

jobs as Brown's surveyor and draughtsman.¹³ During their first decade together there is direct evidence for just five jobs involving Spyers, but in 1764 they worked together on one of the most significant commissions, Blenheim, where he drew up a presentation survey of the existing estate.¹⁴ Though not always an essential tool of Brown's working practice, particularly if an estate survey already existed, carefully prepared new surveys would have been an important part of the contract of work. The job at Blenheim resulted in what may well be the earliest and certainly the largest topographical drawing by Spyers. The plan that Brown and his assistants then prepared was an impressive souvenir with which Brown and his client could expound on his new landscape to friends and neighbours.

A panoramic view of the village of Woodstock from the park at Blenheim shows an unrealised proposal to build a new gothic boundary wall abutting the town (Figure 3.2).¹⁵ It has been suggested that the drawing is by Brown with assistance from Spyers in recording the architecture, but it is quite probable that the draughtsmanship is entirely by Spyers, guided by Brown's invention. The penmanship of the drawing is consistent throughout and compares closely with Spyers's known topographical drawings. Such a large drawing – it is around 1.5 m long – would have required a great deal of painstaking work and is more likely to be the work of an assistant, given Brown's rapacious output at this time and his own limited ability as a draughtsman. It was normal practice for an architect, and indeed a garden designer, to take credit for and even sign the works made in his office, making it difficult to distinguish between the work of Brown and that of his many assistants.

Shortly afterwards Brown was appointed to the prestigious and remunerative post of gardener to the king at Hampton Court. He was also asked by the king to design alterations to Richmond Gardens, intended as the setting for the new palace on which Chambers was working. Brown had already been working since 1757 at Syon Park across the river.¹⁶ Both Brown and Spyers moved with their families to Hampton Court, for what

¹³ e.g. Phibbs, J. (2013). A list of landscapes that have been attributed to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. *Garden History*, *XLI*(2), 244–277; Gregory, J., Spooner, S., & Williamson, T. (2013). *Lancelot Brown: A research impact review*.

¹⁴ Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown 1716–1783* (p. 146, n 3). London: Chatto and Windus. The 1763 estate survey drawn by Spyers is in the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal: catalogue number DR 1985:0416.

¹⁵ Sold at Bonhams, London, Old Master Paintings, 1 July 2015 (lot 5); online catalogue <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/22644/lot/5>, accessed 27 September 2016.

¹⁶ Sumner, C. (2016). A river runs through: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown at Syon and Kew. *London Landscapes – Newsletter of London's Parks and Gardens [Trust]*, *42*(Spring 2016), 18–23; Meader, J. (1779). *The planter's guide; or, pleasure-gardener's companion, [etc.]*. London. This is dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland and credits Meader as the duke's gardener. However, to date no references to his work at Syon have been discovered in the Duke of Northumberland's archives at Alnwick.

may have been Brown's busiest period. Brown's post included the use of the large Head Gardener's residence, Wilderness House, and Spyers was granted a palace apartment (Figure 3.3). Spyers is mentioned on various occasions as living somewhere at Hampton Court, and his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* mentions his death in an apartment there in 1798, although no lodging list for the palace has survived to confirm its whereabouts.¹⁷ This move would have brought Spyers into daily contact with the palace and its household, which he would subsequently record in numerous drawings.

Remarkably little is known about Spyers's practice working with Brown. That Wilderness House itself was not used for Brown's busy office appears to be evidenced by the substantial works he requested not long after becoming gardener, when in 1769 he had a large additional room built, complaining that:

The Offices are very bad, the Kitchen very offensive and the rooms very small & uncomfortable to one who at times am afflicted with an Asthma. I care not how plain, nor how common it is done, provided I can get the space to breathe in.¹⁸

The new building was intended as a kitchen with a twenty-five-foot room over it – perhaps planned as a new office – but he subsequently changed his mind and specified a dining room and cellar, converting his brew house to provide a new kitchen instead. Brown's place of work may have been in one of the Office of Works houses on Hampton Court Green – probably the building known as 'The Paper House', next to the former home of Sir Christopher Wren, architect and royal surveyor – which he had been allotted and might have served as a garden office.¹⁹ On the other hand, Brown let all or some part of this house, so the question of his workplace is unresolved.

Spyers, it seems, may have worked as an associate, rather than as an employee. Examination of Brown's bank account at Drummonds revealed regular payments to Spyers, which are likely to include money for disbursements, but, unlike Samuel Lapidge, he does not appear to have been entrusted with a managerial role, such as paying the foremen.²⁰ In fact, Lapidge, who was responsible for finances within the practice, paid large sums to John Spyers and his wife Elizabeth.²¹

The 1770s saw Brown working with Spyers across England including major contracts at Sheffield Place (Sussex), Longford Castle (Wilts), and his unfulfilled project for Belvoir Castle (Rutland), which are recorded with eighteen other commissions in Brown's personal account book, along with several others mentioned in other clients' papers.²² Brown aspired to the life of a gentleman and by the 1770s; reaping the rewards of his appointment and commissions, he could afford to separate his domestic and business accommodation at Hampton Court, and acquired the small manor of Fenstanton in Huntingdonshire. Naturally, it was Spyers who surveyed his master's new estate in 1777 and elegantly inscribed it with a sophisticated Arcadian vignette, revealing some artistic ability – a skill which Brown only occasionally employed.²³ Spyers himself had inherited a house together with land from his uncle Joshua a few years before, which he entailed to his wife Elizabeth and five children in his will, made in 1771.²⁴ The house was situated in the middle of nearby Twickenham and was a substantial detached dwelling (now known as Grosvenor House), of a comparable size to Wilderness House. Brown and Spyers continued to collaborate on several commissions, but they had begun to tail off in both scale and number from the early 1770s. This probably meant less work for Spyers, and this, as well as his improved circumstances, perhaps influenced the next direction in his career. It seems likely that Spyers now began his series of topographical drawings of Hampton Court and its environs as a personal project of self-improvement.

¹⁷ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 84, 1155. Obituary, 31 December 1798.

¹⁸ TNA, Work 6/18, 8 March 1769.

¹⁹ TNA, Work 4/15, 2 & 16 June 1769, 14 July 1769, 1 September 1769, 27 October 1769, 19 January 1770. Work 6/18, 8 March 1769, 1 September 1769.

²⁰ Brown, D. (2016). People, places and payments. *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library* 14, 12.

²¹ Royal Bank of Scotland Archive: Drummonds Bank Private Account Ledgers, DR/427/98. I am grateful to David Brown for supplying this reference.

²² Lindley Library: Royal Horticultural Society, London: Lancelot Brown Account Book, 1759–83 [MS 998 BRO BRO]. Available online at <https://www.rhs.org.uk/education-learning/libraries-at-rhs/collections/library-online/capability-brown-account-book>, accessed 27 September 2016; Historic Royal Palaces archive: Jacques, D. Report on John Spyers' Watercolours, unpublished.

²³ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 109; fig. 18a).

²⁴ TNA, PROB/11/1318/201, proved 24 January 1799.



Figure 3.3: Wilderness House in *View of the 'Wilderness Garden', Hampton Court*, John Spyers. The building on the left is the new Dining Room added by Brown. Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Pavel Demidov. Reproduced with permission.

Four of the Hampton Court watercolours are dated 1778, though – to judge by the range of competence and technique shown in the drawings – he may actually have produced them over a period of several years. He was not a naturally gifted artist and his disconcertingly elongated figures probably betray his lack of formal artistic training. It has been suggested that in mid-career the most likely place for his professional training as a draughtsman was close to home, probably under the tutelage of his older brother-in-law, Jacob Bonneau (1717–86), who was an artist and drawing master.²⁵ Bonneau was a versatile engraver who had worked with other surveyors such as John Rocque, and he had even exhibited his own landscape drawings, including at the newly founded Royal Academy. He may also have been employed as drawing master in the household of dowager Princess of Wales, the future king's mother, for his exhibits included views of her home at Cliveden (Berkshire) and nearby Hedsor, a former residence which was bought by her Lord Chamberlain, Lord Boston.²⁶

The evidence of the Hampton Court album, with its 100 views, suggests that Spyers had an intimate knowledge of the gardens, although he did not stray into the kitchen garden, and that he knew the two adjoining parks, Hampton Court and Bushy Park, exceedingly well (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). Recent conservation work at the Hermitage Museum has revealed detailed preparatory sketches in pencil pasted beneath some of the finished drawings in the album, suggesting that Spyers drew them first in the field, then worked them up at home, later adding his figures and other human interest.²⁷ The album opens with over fifty views of the two parks, making this by far Spyers's most extensive study as an artist, and continues with twenty-four views of the formal gardens over which Brown presided; with these Spyers appears to have aimed to provide a detailed record, often from several viewpoints. Although not wholly artistically satisfying, the album can be regarded as an example of the contemporary conceit of making a visual journey through this landscape, which Brown and Spyers must have trod many times, creating an artistic visualisation of approaching a country house or palace on a carriage ride.

Of little interest to contemporaries, but of great value to historians today, are Spyers's several views of Brown's working areas, such as the dilapidated Melon Ground, where Brown demanded repairs to the frames and the pineapple-, strawberry-, and cherry-houses (Figure 3.6).²⁸

The inclusion of such prosaic views, of places rarely visited by their royal owners, would support the idea that the series was begun without any particular intention. Together, they are of considerable interest to scholars as a unique eighteenth-century record of the palace and its environs. The album also includes eighteen competent perspectives of the palace's architecture, rendered using pencil, ink, and watercolour. It has been suggested that he used a *camera obscura* to achieve such orthogonal accuracy in his architectural views, an idea supported by the fact that his views correspond extremely closely with early photographs of the palace, made using similar optics.²⁹ Whilst he expended much effort on several large, folio-sized watercolours of classic views of the palace, which were also drawn by far more talented artists of his day, he included the household offices and courtyards, which had not previously interested artists. These now provide a unique visual record of the spaces before they were heavily altered and restored in the Victorian period.

In this light, the views can also be regarded as an expression of Spyers's aspiration to be recognised as a landscape artist. In some of his simplest drawings, he employs hackneyed artistic conventions, such framing with drawn vignettes, or using a sepia-coloured wash, adding a sense of timelessness to the view. However, other drawings with trees and shrubs placed in the foreground are more sophisticated and confidently executed, showing much more flair. Presumably this improvement was due to the tutelage of Bonneau or others, and Brown himself may have encouraged Spyers in this direction through his contacts at the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, and in a circle of collectors around Hampton Court.³⁰ Another successful aspect

²⁵ Jacques, D. Report on John Spyers' watercolours; Hounslow Library: Parish Registers, All Saints Isleworth. Spyers' marriage to Elizabeth Bonneau, 1754; Graves, A. (1905). *The Royal Academy of Arts: A complete dictionary of contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904* (p. 237). London: H. Graves and Co. Ltd.

²⁶ Bonneau is mentioned as a 'tutor in drawing to some of the Royal Family' in an obituary to a family relation, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1831, p. 374.

²⁷ Dedinkin, M. & Jacques, D. (2016). *Hampton Court albums* (pp. 19–21).

²⁸ TNA, Work 4/14, 7 February 1772.

²⁹ I am grateful to Alden Gregory of Historic Royal Palaces for this observation, available online at Historic Royal Palaces Curators' blog: <http://blog.hrp.org.uk/curators/the-draughtsman-and-the-photographer-john-spyers-and-francis-frith-at-hampton-court-palace>, accessed 29 September 2016.

³⁰ Brown, J. (2011). *The Omnipotent Magician* (pp. 142–144, 156). London: Chatto and Windus.



Figure 3.4: *Diana Fountain, Bushy Park*, John Spyers. Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Pavel Demidov. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 3.5: *View of the Pavillions, Hampton Court Park*, John Spyers, with an artist, possibly Spyers, at work. Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Pavel Demidov. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 3.6: *The North West View of the Royal Palace at Hampton Court*, John Spyers. This view shows the working areas of the palace grounds, rarely depicted by other artists, where Brown complained of dilapidated frames and soft fruit houses. Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Pavel Demidov. Reproduced with permission.

of these drawings is how Spyers displays his nurseryman's knowledge by adopting a clear, stylistic shorthand for drawing different species of trees, which makes them easy to distinguish.

After six years this album, together with another with fifty images on a variety of themes, was bought by Catherine the Great in 1783 for 1,000 roubles.³¹ The empress's Scottish gardener in St. Petersburg and former gardener at Syon, James Meader, had acted as intermediary.³² It is unclear what the empress thought she was buying; if she expected watercolours or designs of Brown landscapes she would have been disappointed, for Spyers's views were of the unimproved Hampton Court. Given their inconsistent quality and the extensive range of subjects it is probable that Spyers compiled the folios from a body of existing work created over a period of years, before seizing the opportunity to sell them around the time of Brown's death.

It seems likely that the albums were not specially commissioned but were bound together in preparation for sale, and this was especially so with the smaller album. It comprised a conveniently round number of fifty drawings including diverse material from the draughtsman's office, including rather naively drawn picturesque – in its original sense – landscapes after Italian and Dutch models, and romantic views of medieval ruins. These may have shared their inspiration with the new landscape style promoted by Brown, but they would have been singularly unimpressive amongst Catherine's superb collection of European drawings. This album also includes several poor copies of heads in red chalk, taken from a contemporary Italian publication after Raphael's designs.³³ These would have been standard practice for any student of art at the time, and they betray more Spyers's ambition as a fine artist than his ability as a draughtsman.

This second album does, however, provide valuable insight into the daily workings of Brown's drawing office, for which little detail has come to light. Most telling are five carefully rendered architectural drawings for garden buildings and bridges. These were probably rejected designs made for Brown's clients, and prepared by Spyers in the course of his work. The draughtsmanship in their landscape detail compares very closely with his views of Hampton Court, and there is little reason to doubt their authorship. A recent discovery of an exact copy of one of the designs for a neo-classical bridge further illuminates this aspect of Brown's practice.³⁴ The version found in an English collection is signed by Brown, and dated 1775, although it is clearly in the same hand as the Russian drawing. This carefully measured elevation, which sets the bridge over a typical Brown-style lake, edged with mixed trees, is accompanied by a previously unknown plan. When considered with their provenance, which links them to the Duke of Northumberland, this strongly suggests that it was an unexecuted scheme, perhaps for Brown's new lake at Syon Park, for which Robert Adam also submitted a design (Figure 3.7).

No evidence has yet come to light that Spyers ever received training as an architect, although Brown's account book confirms that he was entrusted with drafting records of buildings as well as landscapes.³⁵ It seems likely that these would have been presentation copies made after Brown's own invention or one of his associated architects. As unwanted designs it could have been easy enough for Spyers to scoop them up with his own drawings to impress the empress, especially after Brown's demise. As shown elsewhere in this volume, although Brown was a naturally talented designer, he came to rely on a network of established architects and 'pupils', such as Lapidge, who had received more formal training than either he or Spyers.³⁶ However, more detailed research and analysis is needed to unravel the authorship of Brown's office drawings as a corpus.

After Brown's death in 1783, Lapidge took over his outstanding landscape business, and Spyers's career as a surveyor seems to have come to an end. He reappears in a new life as what can be characterised as a 'gentleman artist'. With substantial property in Twickenham, some of which he may have let, and with the empress's money, he was probably free to do as he chose. The first inkling of his activities as an artist in his own right was his exhibition of a design for a grotto at the Royal Academy in 1780, following in the footsteps of his brother-in-law,

³¹ Cross, A. (2007). *By the banks of the Neva* (pp. 271, 282). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³² Dedinkin, M. & Jacques, D. (2016). *Hampton Court albums* (pp. 9–18).

³³ Fianza, Paolo after Raffaello Sanzio, 1757–66 *Teste Scelte di Personaggi Illustri in Lettere ...*, Rome. I am grateful to Martin Clayton, Royal Collection Trust, for helping identify the source of Spyers's copies.

³⁴ The drawings are in a private collection and originally belonged to the Rev. Thomas Percy, a relation of the first Duke of Northumberland, who employed Brown at Syon and Alnwick. Information kindly provided by Dr Susan Darling, London Parks and Garden Trust.

³⁵ Brown, D. (2016). People, places and payments (p. 12). David Brown cites Spyers taking 'General Plans of the Place & the front & Plans of the different Storys ...' at Cardiff Castle in 1777.

³⁶ See Chapter 7 in this volume: Woudstra, J. Lancelot Brown's legacy of landscape practice: Samuel Lapidge 'Who knows my accounts and the nature of them'.



Figure 3.7: *Design for a neo-classical bridge over a lake or river*, John Spyers (attributed). This may be a rejected design for a new bridge over Brown’s lake at Syon Park. Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Pavel Demidov. Reproduced with permission.

Bonneau. Two further exhibits followed, all shown under the misnomer of ‘James Spyers, painter of Hampton Court.’³⁷ Why he should have adopted the name of his late uncle James is a mystery: perhaps a clerical error in the catalogues, or an attempt by John Spyers to conceal his former profession. From this period on Spyers drew a number of modest-sized views of villas and houses in the local environs of Twickenham, Richmond, and Isleworth, which were issued as aquatints by two prolific printmakers, Francis Jukes, and J(ohn) Wells.

These views, such as that of Sir Edward Walpole’s House at Isleworth (Figure 3.8), follow the conventional formula of Spyers’s Hampton Court drawings. He appears to have found a niche in an increasingly crowded market of topographical printmakers, which appealed to the local gentry and city men who flocked to build and create gardens along the banks of the Thames. Spyers was following the fashion set by better-known publishers such as R. and J. Dodsley, who had published the earliest books of suburban views made by Samuel Wale in 1761, but he also seized the commercial potential of the newly invented technique of aquatint, which his printmaker Jukes had improved upon whilst working for a far greater topographical artist, Paul Sandby.³⁸ In 1786 Spyers and Jukes published six architectural views of Hampton Court, an enterprise which may have been planned at the time of the sale of his drawings.³⁹ He was never again to make prints of such a well-known, and potentially profitable subject. However, he did go on to publish at least sixteen local views between 1784 and 1796, some of which were later republished in Daniel Lyson’s *Environs of London* (1795) and elsewhere.⁴⁰ The majority of these were printed by Jukes, about the same time as the Hampton Court set in the mid-1780s,

³⁷ Graves, A. (1905). *Royal Academy* (Vol. VII, p. 255).

³⁸ Clayton, T. (1991). *The English print 1688–1802* (pp. 176, 214). London and New Haven: Yale University Press; Bonehill, J. & Skinner, S. (2009). Grand secrets: Sandby’s materials and techniques. In J. Bonehill & S. Daniels (Eds.), *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (pp. 65–71). London: Royal Academy of Arts.

³⁹ Dedinkin, M. & Jacques, D. (2016) *Hampton Court albums* (p. 11).

⁴⁰ Lysons, D. (1792). *The environs of London [etc]*. London: Strahan, for T. Cadell.



Figure 3.8: *A View of Sir Edward Walpole's House at Isleworth*, drawn by John Spyers, aquatint etching by J. Wells, 1784. This was the home of Horace Walpole's wayward brother, who died the year it was made. © British Library. Public Domain.

when they must have held out hope of some commercial success. Besides these published prints, a further thirty or so watercolours and ink drawings survive which are signed or can be reasonably attributed to Spyers, because of his distinctive style and choice of subject. None of these are preparatory drawings for known aquatints, suggesting that either the designs for his published prints were kept together and later lost or they remain to be discovered. These individual drawings are more diverse in subject and design than the aquatints of local houses, and they include two views made at Strawberry Hill, the Royal Observatory at Richmond (Figure 3.10), and a scattering of more distant places including a waterfall at Stourhead.⁴¹ Spyers rarely signed his drawings, and it is quite possible that there are more to be identified.

One of the largest collections of Spyers's later work, amounting to about thirteen attributed drawings and aquatints, is to be found in George III's topographical collection, and came from the vast gathering of books and images assembled by the royal librarian Sir Frederick Barnard, now in the British Library. It includes an unusual view of the pond on the common at Twickenham, close to Spyers's family home (Figure 3.9). Whilst Spyers's prints and drawings of mostly minor houses and places may never have caught the king's attention amid such a large and distinguished library, they are a reminder of both Spyers's ambitions and his professional proximity to the king through his employment by Brown. No doubt this would have afforded him access to draw in what were still largely private parks.

⁴¹ Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University Drawings, *Chapel in the wood* 49.3678 and *Approach to Strawberry Hill* 49.3582. Available at <http://images.library.yale.edu/walpoleweb/default.asp>, accessed 29 September 2016; British Museum Drawing, *Waterfall at Stourhead* 1960,0716.20, misattributed to James Spyers, available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=746850&partId=1&searchText=stourhead+waterfall&page=1, accessed 29 September 2016. British Library, King's Topographical Collection Drawing, *Richmond Observatory Maps* K.Top.41.16.r, available at <http://george3.splrarebooks.com/collection/view/The-Royal-Observatory-in-Richmond-Garden>, accessed 29 September 2016.



Figure 3.9: [Twickenham Common], John Spyers (attributed), 1780–95? Copyright The British Library Board; Maps K.Top.124 Supp.fol.39. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 3.10: *The Royal Observatory in Richmond Gardens*, John Spyers (attributed), 1778–90? © British Library. Public Domain.



J. Spyers Del.

VIEW OF THE PORTICO FRONT OF BRICKLEY LODGE, IN NEEDWOOD FOREST.

10.

Figure 3.11: *Byrkley Lodge* in Needwood Forest, Staffordshire, John Spyers, 1786. View of the Portico Front. Copyright William Salt Library. Reproduced with permission.

These royal drawings include one intriguing postscript to Spyers's life as both surveyor and artist: a group of four views of Byrkley (or 'Brickley') Lodge, a hunting park in Staffordshire (Figure 3.11), which was owned by one of Brown's clients, the Earl of Donegall, as well as another of his nearby properties, Hopwas Hayes. Lord Donegall's house was Fisherwick Hall, which Brown had rebuilt and landscaped from 1768.⁴² These Byrkley and Hopwas drawings exist in another set, dated 1786, held by the William Salt Library, Stafford, together with six drawings by Spyers of Fisherwick itself. The William Salt Library versions are almost identical to the group in the King's Library, right down to their inscriptions and early numbering. Although there is no obvious reason for the duplicate set, it must surely indicate a lasting relationship between Spyers and Lord Donegall: perhaps even the possibility that Spyers did occasionally continue to work as a surveyor in his own right, to justify the return journey to Staffordshire long after working there with Brown.

Spyers still remains perhaps the most shadowy figure in Brown's circle, but he is beginning to be revealed through the rediscovery of his albums of drawings in the Hermitage Museum, the identification here of a larger body of his work as an independent artist, and the proliferation of new research into the men and women behind Brown. Given his long association with Brown, Spyers must have had a hand in many more estate surveys and general plans than have been recorded so far, and more evidence may emerge. Like his younger colleague, Lapidge, some of their master's ambition for self-advancement seems to have rubbed off on Spyers. In his own modest way Spyers is a good example of a minor figure of the Georgian Enlightenment, eager to improve himself and able to accomplish diverse skills to take advantage of the opportunities of the age.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

⁴² British Library, King's Topographical Collection Drawings, K.Top.38.49.a-d; 38.53, available at <http://george3.splrarebooks.com/collection/search/search&XID=a853e9358431bf6628dc9228715961d27c56d00a&keywords=brickley>, accessed 29 September 2016 and William Salt Library, Staffordshire County Council Drawings SV-IV.197 to 202; and SV-IV.86 to 89; and SV_IV.346, available at <http://www.search.staffspasttrack.org.uk/Search.aspx?PageIndex=1&SortOrder=2&KeyWord=spyers> and <http://www.search.staffspasttrack.org.uk/Details.aspx?ResourceID=9384&PageIndex=1&KeyWord=brickley&SortOrder=2>, accessed 29 September 2016.

CHAPTER 4

Seeing an Eden from a Desert: Topographical Views of Kew and Richmond Gardens in the 1760s

Matthew Storey

What can contemporary visual representations of eighteenth-century Kew and Richmond Gardens tell us about what the gardens looked like, the design intentions of the makers, and the experience of the historical visitor? From late 1764 Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown re-designed Richmond Gardens, a site directly adjacent to Kew Gardens. In the eighteenth century these two royal gardens had separate and distinct topographies, but now respectively form the western and eastern parts of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Investigation of a range of visual sources, including maps, topographical prints, and paintings, show not only the physical development of these landscapes, but also how these images were adapted to represent the gardens in specific ways. The changing design and appearance of the gardens reflect the changing debates on garden design, and the rivalries of their makers.

Eighteenth-century landscape gardens can now be experienced at a level of maturity that was never possible when they were first landscaped and planted. As trees have grown and matured, these gardens have taken on an appearance that their creators could only have imagined. However, analysis of topographical views shows the extent to which artists represented these new landscapes as completed visual experiences. The views represent the design intentions of their makers, as much as their actual appearance.

Kew and Richmond Gardens developed and expanded separately from 1718 onwards, when George II and Queen Caroline, when Prince and Princess of Wales, leased Ormonde Lodge, renaming it Richmond Lodge.¹ Thomas Richardson’s 1771 survey, represented in several versions, including a version on vellum from George III’s topographical collection now in the British Library, shows the two separate gardens together on the same plan (Figure 4.1).² Most traces of them have now been obscured or obliterated entirely by the later development of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Kew Gardens, to the east, had developed since Frederick Prince of Wales leased a house in Kew in 1731, expanding it considerably with the purchase and lease of adjacent land, especially between 1749 and 1750.³ The royal association is essential to understand the gardens, with Frederick’s widow, Princess Augusta,

¹ Desmond, R. (2007). *The history of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* (2nd edition, p. 4). Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: Kew Publishing.

² British Library, shelfmark K.Top.41.16.k.2 TAB.

³ Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 24).

How to cite this book chapter:

Storey, M. 2020. Seeing an Eden from a Desert: Topographical Views of Kew and Richmond Gardens in the 1760s. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 49–59. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.d> CC BY-NC 4.0

continuing his work after his death in 1751, with the assistance of her close friend and advisor John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, and her son, George III. Between 1757 and 1763 the architect William Chambers designed a series of garden buildings, including the famous pagoda. Kew is best understood as a pleasure garden, with the buildings arranged to give a series of views across the site, enclosed gardens, and buildings along a path. The path wound round a formal lawn in front of the palace, a lake, and two larger meadows.

William Chambers's 1763 publication of his work at Kew, *Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry* [sic], includes the following statement about the grounds:

The gardens of Kew are not very large. ... Originally the ground was one continued dead flat: the soil was in general barren, and without either wood or water. With so many disadvantages it was not easy to produce any thing even tolerable in gardening; but princely munificence, guided by a director, equally skilled in cultivating the earth, and in the politer arts, overcame all difficulties. What was once a Desart is now an Eden.⁴

The provider of the princely munificence was Princess Augusta, while the director was Lord Bute. Augusta's son, George III, financed the publication of the volume, while Chambers presented Bute with the manuscript original of it, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The creation of an 'Eden from a desert' was therefore an expression of noble and royal patronage and knowledge, and the associations of royal patronage with a successful landscape are important to understand how the gardens were presented.

The adjacent Richmond Gardens had been landscaped from the 1720s by Charles Bridgeman, for Queen Caroline. From 1729 William Kent was engaged to design a series of garden buildings. The layout of the gardens is recorded in John Rocque's plan, published in *Vitruvius Britannicus Volume the Fourth* in 1739, while a subsequent version of 1748 shows more of the buildings. The design was determined by the existing field system, with areas of formal wilderness intersected by paths, avenues of trees, and open fields. The garden relied on buildings for interest, and there is a good visual record of the structures designed by Kent, such as the Hermitage or Merlin's cave, from Rocque's plans and other published views. *Vitruvius Britannicus Volume the Fourth* showed the view of Richmond Lodge from its entrance on the river terrace, and reflects the way many would have experienced the gardens, as the river terrace was an important public route. The design of the garden, with buildings, ponds, and small clearings surrounded by dense planting connected by small paths or avenues of trees, perhaps did not lend itself to wide topographical views within the gardens. Certainly none seem to have survived from this period. Interestingly, none also survive from the later phase of the garden's development when Lancelot 'Capability' Brown worked on them from 1765, with all views focusing on the river. In contrast, Kew Gardens was the subject of several series of topographical images in the 1760s, which in addition to showing how the gardens developed, also show how a single landscape can be perceived and represented in fundamentally different ways.

It has been noted that eighteenth-century landscape gardens are often represented in paintings, prints, or drawings as a series of views, as this reflects their design as a series of impressions. This contrasts with the depiction of earlier formal garden designs, which could be represented in their entirety with an aerial view.⁵ A series of images of a single landscape suggests a narrative of movement and a journey through a space. The images of Kew made in the 1760s consistently suggest narratives of movement, and of how the gardens should be understood, instead of showing how they actually looked.

The problems of using contemporary topographical images to accurately access how the landscape at Kew appeared can be shown by the comparison of two images painted at the same time by the same artist. The Swiss artist Johan Jacob Schalch was commissioned to paint a series of five views of the rapidly developing Kew Gardens by Princess Augusta in 1759. Two paintings, now in the Royal Collection, show a view across the lake to a chinoiserie building known as the House of Confucius. One shows the view by daylight; the other painting shows the same view by moonlight (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). The painting is as much about the dramatic impact of the full moon shining through the clouds and backlighting the scene as it is about what the gardens actually looked like. Closer comparison, including comparing this view to plans of Kew, shows that, although the placement of the features within the landscape is identical and accurate, the trees in the moonlit scene are substantially larger than in the daylight scene. The group of trees behind the bridge in particular is increased in size to create a dark mass to enhance the tonal contrast with the adjacent area depicting the full moon. As the trees obviously did not grow overnight, the accurate depiction of the planting has been subordinated to the demands of the meaning of the image.

⁴ Chambers, W. (1763). *Plans, elevations and perspective views of the gardens and buildings at Kew in Surry* (p. 2). London: J Haberkorn.

⁵ Remington, V. (2015). *Painting paradise: The art of the garden* (p. 164). London: Royal Collection Trust.



Figure 4.2: *The Gardens at Kew*, Johan Jacob Schalch c. 1760. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.



Figure 4.3: *The Gardens at Kew by Moonlight*, Johan Jacob Schalch c. 1760. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

This contrast between the gardens by day and by night also appears in contemporary poetry, which gives an insight into how the gardens were perceived. George Ritso's entirely uncritical poem 'Kew Gardens' from 1763 describes the dawn unveiling the garden. As Ritso describes it:

What Muse is wanting, if *Augusta* smile?
 Soon as *Aurora* paints the purple Dawn,
 And sows with orient Pearl the lucid Lawn;
 With new-born Beauties smiles the brightening Sky;
 The sick'ning stars retreat; the shadows fly;
 the whole Creation as to Life restor'd,
 With various Voices praise their common Lord⁶

The Kew revealed by the dawn, and greeted by all creation, is closely linked to Princess Augusta, and her ownership and patronage of the gardens. Elsewhere in the introduction to the poem, and in the poem itself, the virtues of the patron and the garden she created are closely linked. The poem suggests that the meaning of the garden is very different by night and day, with the light of day compared to the enlightened patronage of Augusta.

Schalch is the only artist to depict Kew as a place being created. Other artists show visitors enjoying a finished garden, or shepherds with sheep or groundsmen with scythes working to maintain it. His view *The White House, Kew* of about 1760 in the Royal Collection shows a labourer with a horse and cart walking past other labourers working on trenches.⁷ As such it is an anomaly in relation to other views, and suggests the garden at this time could be seen as a work in progress, rather than the finished work of the designer and patron.

The difficulties in establishing what images of Kew Gardens are telling us can be explored by analysing a watercolour made by an unknown, and probably amateur, artist in the Royal Collection (Figure 4.4). It shows the view from the mound of the Temple of Victory looking south towards the Ruined Arch, with the Alhambra, Pagoda, and Mosque in the background. Different authors have had different opinions about what this view shows. John Harris writing on William Chambers claimed that it naively shows the gardens with newly planted, immature, trees. Harris comments that it 'was neither engraved nor published – possibly precisely because of the rather awkward appearance of the newly planted trees, which render it of such interest to us'.⁸ Ray Desmond, writing on the history of Kew, claimed that it showed the garden after the early 1780s, when the ha-ha had been filled in and 'cattle were now confined to the bottom field by an ugly fence'.⁹ The *View of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque* in Chambers's 1763 publication shows the same ditch further along the garden, appearing shallow and with a fence. This suggests that the fence was already there, and that Harris was correct in supposing that the view reveals the experience of visiting the gardens not reflected in the sophisticated images of professional artists. Plotting this view on contemporary plans of the gardens shows that the foreground of the image was in fact a very small area of ground between the Temple of Victory and the Ruined Arch, which was very sparsely planted with trees in the 1760s.

Despite topographical views which suggest that Kew Gardens was a work in progress in the 1760s, mature elements of the landscape did exist during the major period of development of the late 1750s and early 1760s. In particular, the gardens incorporated existing trees into the design. Richardson's plan of 1771 shows that elements of the former field system remained in the southern part of the garden. This reflected the way that the garden had been gradually expanded through purchase or lease of adjacent property. The lines of trees along the boundary demarcations of the former fields were partially retained in the unified garden, and would have introduced mature elements into it. Similarly, analysis of a series of plans across the eighteenth century show consistent features across time. A survey of the area made in about 1730, just before it became a royal residence, shows not only the field system, but some of the trees growing at the time.¹⁰ In particular, three trees are shown growing in the fields. Comparison of the position of these trees with later maps show that these three trees were

⁶ Ritso, G. (1763). *Kew Gardens: A poem* (p. 3). London: M. Lewis.

⁷ Johan Jacob Schalch (1723–89) *The White House, Kew*, c. 1760, oil on canvas, The Royal Collection (RCIN 403515).

⁸ Harris, J. & Snodin, M. (Eds.) (1996). *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III* (p. 64). New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with The Courtauld Gallery, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

⁹ Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 75).

¹⁰ 'A plan or survey of the lands and premises belonging to Nath[anie]ll St. Andre Esqr. and the Rt. Honble the Lady Elizabeth Diana his wife lying at and about Kew in the County of Surrey and let to the Honble [-] Pelham Esqr by the lease annex'd', National Archives, Kew, ref. MF 1/64 and reproduced in Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 19).



Figure 4.4: *A View of the Pagoda, the Mosque, Alambra, & Ruins from the Temple of Victory [Kew]*, after? Joshua Kirby. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

retained as the gardens developed, and are one of the two groups of three trees seen on the island in the lake. The view across the water either to the palace or from the pagoda on the other side, with the trees on the island punctuating the scene, was one of the key views across the gardens. Chambers included the views from both sides of the lake in his 1763 publication.

Chambers's choice of images for his publication was designed to create a series of impressions of the gardens that reflected his involvement in them, and also his own theories of garden design. Chambers's adherence to a style of gardening indebted to the example of William Kent, which he would have been familiar with working at Carlton House, lent itself to representation in a series of views. As John Harris noted, Kew was designed as an 'inward-looking garden' composed around a series of vistas looking across the garden, much like Kent's Carlton House garden.¹¹ In his revised 1773 edition of *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, Chambers expresses his views on gardening through the device of describing Chinese Gardens:

The usual method of distributing Gardens in China, is to contrive a great variety of scenes, to be seen from certain points of view; at which are placed seats or buildings, adapted to the different purposes of mental or sensual enjoyments. The perfection of their Gardens consists in the number and diversity of these scenes; and in the artful combination of their parts; which they endeavour to appear to the best advantage, but also to unite in forming an elegant and striking whole.¹²

The views selected by Chambers, with a combination of long views across the gardens and details showing his architectural contributions, demonstrate that they were deliberately selected to reflect his design ideas through a selection of 'diverse scenes' within an 'elegant and striking whole'. Chambers's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* is not a treatise on gardening but a deliberate attack on Capability Brown and his style of gardening. Chambers describes landscape gardening that too closely resembled nature, by which he certainly means the

¹¹ Harris, J. (1970). *Sir William Chambers: Knight of the Polar Star* (Studies in Architecture IX) (p. 35). University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press; Harris, J. & Snodin, M. (Eds.) (1996). *Sir William Chambers* (p. 59).

¹² Chambers, W. (1773). *A dissertation on oriental gardening* (2nd edition, pp. 21–22). London: W. Griffin.

style practised by Brown and his circle, as 'insipid and vulgar'.¹³ It is tempting to see Chambers's publications as an attempt to spread information about his own work at Kew, as Capability Brown was fast gaining royal favour and about to embark on developing the adjacent Richmond Gardens.

There are problems assessing Brown's work at Richmond, especially as his full plans, made for George III, were not executed. The plan of 1764, now in the archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, shows a scheme that would have encompassed Queen Caroline's gardens to the north, with the large area of the old deer park to the south. Two features are worth noting. Firstly, in this plan Brown would have retained a rectangular pond that was part of Caroline's earlier garden, perhaps because of a pragmatic choice to use existing features. Secondly, that the plan is based around a large rectangular space in the area of the existing royal residence of Richmond Lodge, which would have been replaced with a new palace designed by William Chambers. Brown's plans accommodate the palace with a characteristic sense of creating spectacular and memorable settings for houses within landscapes. It is easy to imagine the visual impact of approaching the palace from the north had this scheme been developed. Visitors would have entered the garden and followed a serpentine road, and would have traversed a wooded area before the view of the palace would have dramatically opened up as the trees cleared.

Perhaps because George III was also developing Buckingham House and Windsor, the full scheme was not executed.¹⁴ The new palace was abandoned after the foundations were begun. Only the north part of Brown's plan, over Caroline's gardens, was developed, and Richardson's 1771 plan, compared with Rocque's view, gives a good indication of its appearance after Brown's work. Although Brown, as we would expect, banished straight lines by suppressing evidence of the older field system, his pragmatism allowed existing elements to remain. In particular, he retained the woodland planted by Bridgeman, which would have been maturing, and the paths within it. Brown worked to vary the much-commented-on flatness of the site by excavating a depression at the north-east of the site in 1773, which modern-day visitors to Kew will now know as the Rhododendron Dell. Most significantly, Brown removed the river terrace constructed by Caroline, after an Act of Parliament of 1766 allowed George III to close the road, providing a towpath was maintained.¹⁵ This allowed Brown, with the aid of a ha-ha, to connect the gardens with the river. This area, where the gardens meet the river, is the only part of Brown's work at Richmond to have been recorded in topographical views, with J. J. Boydell publishing an aquatint after J. Farington in his *History of the Principal Rivers of Great Britain*, Vol. 2, in 1796. Significantly, it is the view across the river to Syon House, within its own Capability Brown-designed landscape, that is recorded. This is frustrating if we want to understand what Brown's work looked like, but indicative of what was valued in the gardens, and of the limitations of taste in eighteenth-century view-making.

Chris Sumner and Susan Darling have written on the relationship between Richmond and Syon, with the changes to the terrace enabling two modern landscapes to be seen either side of the river.¹⁶ George III himself had emphasised this relationship in a drawing dated to before Brown's work, now in the Royal Collection (Figure 4.5). Syon House is viewed across the river, through mature trees. Taking the angle at which Syon House is seen as a guide, it appears that the view is taken from within the deer park south of the formal part of Richmond Gardens, but very near to the divide between them. The drawing is often dated to about 1760. Views of designed landscapes at this time are usually, if not always, centred on a house or built feature. This conformed both to the desire of a patron to have his house depicted to show wealth, but also because an appreciation of wild landscapes without the influence of man had yet to be widely accepted.

John Spyers provides one of the few such views of a Capability Brown landscape amongst his 1786 watercolours of Fisherwick (Staffs). Brown's employee placed the house at the centre of his images, apart from one, of the north and east fronts of Fisherwick, where the house is shown to the side to allow a curved stretch of water to occupy the foreground. Similarly, when Richard Wilson painted Croome Court (Worcs) in about 1758–59, a house and landscape designed by Brown in the 1750s, he depicted the house across the gently curved water, with figures in the foreground.¹⁷ There is a compositional similarity to Wilson's views of Syon from Richmond Gardens. Existing in three versions – two day views, and one by evening light – these paintings are dated to the

¹³ Chambers, W. (1773). *Dissertation* (pp. viii–ix).

¹⁴ Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (pp. 68–69).

¹⁵ Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 67).

¹⁶ Sumner, C. (2016). A river runs through: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown at Syon and Kew. *London Landscapes – Newsletter of London's Parks and Gardens [Trust]*, 42(Spring 2016), 18–23 (p. 22).

¹⁷ Richard Wilson (1713/14–82), *Croome Court, Worcestershire, 1758–59*, oil on canvas, Richard Wilson Online reference P83. Available at <http://www.richardwilsononline.ac.uk>, accessed 9 November 2016.



Figure 4.5: *Syon House*, George III, King Of The United Kingdom, c. 1758–60. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

early 1760s, crucially before Brown's intervention at Richmond but after his work at Syon.¹⁸ Wilson's paintings do not suggest a break between the gardens and the river, although other views indicate a wall existed between the gardens and the river terrace. This shows that the pictorial formula of gently sloping grass to curved water with the house on the opposite bank was seen as characteristic of a Brownian landscape. Brown's use and control of water through his landscapes is one of the most distinctive and successful elements of his style. He is especially noted for the control of rivers to create lakes, with gentle curves that lead the eye, while obscuring their beginnings and ends.¹⁹ While this painting shows us only a frustratingly small part of Richmond Gardens, it does give us an important insight into the idealised form contemporary visitors perceived or imagined this site to have. The Thames formed the essential body of water missing within Richmond Gardens, and it united two separate landscapes into an ideal whole.

This analysis of what was visually desirable in this site also suggests that Brown's partial landscape at Richmond may have been recognised as incomplete when it was first created in the 1770s, according to contemporary aesthetic tastes, without the necessary house for it to frame, or to be seen from. If Chambers's palace had been built, surrounded by Brown's complete landscape, it is tempting to think more artists would have depicted this view from the Syon side of the river. Brown's work at Richmond was not universally admired, and

¹⁸ Wilson painted four views of this scene. Two are now private collections, one is in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, and one is in Old Westbury Gardens, New York. Richard Wilson Online catalogue numbers P88, P88A, P88C and P88D. Available at <http://www.richardwilsononline.ac.uk>, accessed 9 November 2016.

¹⁹ Hussey, C. Introduction. In Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (pp. 17–18).



Figure 4.6: A View of the Lake and Island at Kew, seen from the Lawn with the Bridge, the Temples of Arethusa and Victory and the Great Pagoda, Paul Sandby after William Marlow. From the book *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry*, by Sir William Chambers, 1763. © Historic Royal Palaces.

his intervention in this part of the landscape at Kew was mocked in 1774, when ‘On GARDENS and the FALSE TASTE thereof particularly of KEW and RICHMOND’ appeared in *The London Magazine*:

Richmond gardens now declare the hand that spoils them; nor is there a person who can recollect the beauty of the lengthened terrace but censures the innovator – Mr. Capability Brown.²⁰

In the same piece the author praises aspects of Kew Gardens, closely associating them with their royal creators, with a crude innuendo at Lord Bute’s expense. It was widely suggested that the widowed Princess Augusta and Lord Bute’s relationship was sexual:

The exotic ground in Kew gardens is the only princely thing about this country. It was established at the expence of his majesty’s mother and is the only remaining memorandum to her memory except the erection of Lord Bute called the Chinese Pagoda. The first is visited by all men of taste the last is equally beheld by the prince and the fool.

The only beauty of this garden is the first view of the lawn with the Pagoda at the end which though the termination hath not the effect of conclusion, (for the hill of Richmond is seen to rise gradually and nobly behind it) gives a dignity and an extent to the gardens very unexpected. The trees in general are beautiful and seem to rejoice in the soil.²¹

Two images of this celebrated view in Kew Gardens made in the 1760s underline how seductive, but unreliable, views can be when attempting to establish what gardens looked like, instead of how they were understood. Paul Sandby’s print after a watercolour by William Marlow was produced to illustrate William Chambers’s 1763 publication (Figure 4.6), a book about the architecture and design of the gardens.

²⁰ *The London Magazine*, August 1774, p. 360.

²¹ *The London Magazine*, August 1774, pp. 359–360.



Figure 4.7: *Kew Gardens: The Pagoda and Bridge*, Richard Wilson, 1762. Source: Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Unusually, Marlow's preparatory sketch survives in the British Museum. Comparing this view to the finished watercolour and to the print made after it shows that Marlow deliberately cleaned up and altered the image. Two small huts visible on the island were removed in the finished image to present an idealised view of the gardens. Similarly, the Temple of Victory was brought into the right-hand side of the image, and the spatial relationships between the temples, trees, and distant pagoda were modified to suit the proportions of the image.

Richard Wilson had depicted the garden from the same viewpoint in about 1761–62 (Figure 4.7). The scene is suffused with an evening sunlight, although, as often seen in Wilson's works, it seems to have more in common with the sun of the Roman *campagna* than of Surrey. Comparing Wilson's painting with Sandby and Marlow's published views, inconsistencies between the two images emerge. More of the surface of the island and the far bank are visible, suggesting Wilson's view is painted from a higher vantage point. This is also indicated by the relationship between the trees on the island and the pagoda, with the pagoda appearing on a level with the trees in Wilson's view but below the level of the trees in Sandy and Marlow's image. This makes the pagoda appear larger than it should from this position, and again suggests that Wilson's view seems to be taken from a high vantage point. As Marlow's sketch was probably made on the spot, his view is more likely to be accurate. Considering how flat the land was in this part of the gardens, and indeed across the gardens as a whole, Wilson's view must build in artistic licence. Wilson's figures also appear disproportionately large in the foreground. However, both images use manipulations to achieve an idealised view of the gardens. As with all views of Richmond and Kew Gardens which modify the gardens, each in their way convey and render permanent Chambers's statement about the gardens that, with royal taste and patronage, 'What was once a Desert is now an Eden.'²²

Views made by artists of the gardens and written opinions expressed in the press and publications defined the experience of these gardens for people who had not visited them. They form an essential source for the modern historian, especially where original topographies and plantings are lost. Rivalries were viciously played out in these media. Chambers's *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* was quickly satirised by William Mason's *An Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*. At first published anonymously, some thought Brown was the author. When a visitor, Colonel Barré, saw the book in Brown's house, assuming this proved his host's authorship, he declared 'This is too much! – too much indeed!', requiring Brown to reply 'Upon my honour, Sir, I did not write it.'²³ With Chambers, Brown and their contemporaries seeking limited royal and architectural patronage, style, and the dissemination of it through visual and textual media, was an important way of playing out their commercial rivalry.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

²² Chambers, W. (1763). *Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views* (p. 2).

²³ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 153).

CHAPTER 5

The Brown Business

Tom Williamson¹

Lancelot Brown is popularly viewed as an innovative genius who invented a new kind of ‘naturalistic’ setting for the residences of the rich. He swept away gardens enclosed by walls and hedges, avenues, and all forms of geometric planting, and in their place he created ‘landscape parks’, comprising wide prospects of turf, irregularly scattered with trees and clumps of woodland, and surrounded in whole or part by a perimeter woodland belt. The boundary between the mown lawns around the house, and this wider parkland landscape, was dissolved by the use of the sunken fence or ha-ha and, wherever topography and money permitted, a lake of serpentine or irregular form would be placed in the middle distance of the view from the windows.² As most readers will be well aware, of course, we must be careful not to exaggerate the extent to which all this was new. Purely geometric styles of garden design had, in fact, been in retreat for many decades before Brown began his career as an independent designer in 1749.³ Through the 1720s Charles Bridgeman and others had created simplified geometric landscapes which already, at some places, included lakes of irregular form. In the 1730s William Kent designed serpentine gardens as distinct spaces within such simplified formal frameworks, ornamented with classical buildings and scattered clumps, at Holkham, Stowe, and elsewhere.⁴ During the 1740s and 1750s these gardens in turn became progressively more cluttered, both with elaborate and often exotic planting, and with a whole host of weird and wonderful structures – Chinese temples, gothic ruins, mosques, Turkish tents – to create what some historians refer to as the ‘rococo garden’.⁵ As early as 1739, the year that Brown moved south from Northumberland, one contributor to *The World* lampooned the contemporary obsession with ‘moving earth’, and the way that ‘a Serpentine River and a Wood are become the absolute Necessities of Life, without which a gentleman of the smallest fortune thinks he makes no Figure in the country’.⁶

¹ Although written by the author, this chapter draws heavily on the innovative and important research of David Brown.

² Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown*; Hyams, E. (1971). *Capability Brown and Humphry Repton*. London: Dent; Hinde, T. (1986) *Capability Brown: The story of a master gardener*. London: Norton and Co; Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown*. London: Chatto and Windus; Mayer, L. (2011). *Capability Brown and the English landscape garden*. Princes Risborough: Shire; Shields, S. (2016). *Moving Heaven and Earth: Capability Brown’s gift of landscape*. London: Unicorn Publishing.

³ Jacques, D. (1983). *Georgian gardens: The reign of nature*. London: Batsford.

⁴ Hunt, J. D. (1987). *William Kent, landscape garden designer: An assessment and catalogue of his designs*. London: Zwemmer.

⁵ Mowl, T. (1999). *An insular rococo: Architecture, politics and society in Ireland and England, 1710–70*. London: Reaktion; Symes, M. (2012). *The picturesque and the later Georgian garden*. Bristol: Redcliffe Press.

⁶ Richardson, T. (2007). *The Arcadian friends: Inventing the English landscape garden* (p. 125). London: Bantam.

How to cite this book chapter:

Williamson, T. 2020. The Brown Business. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 61–74. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.e>. CC BY-NC 4.0

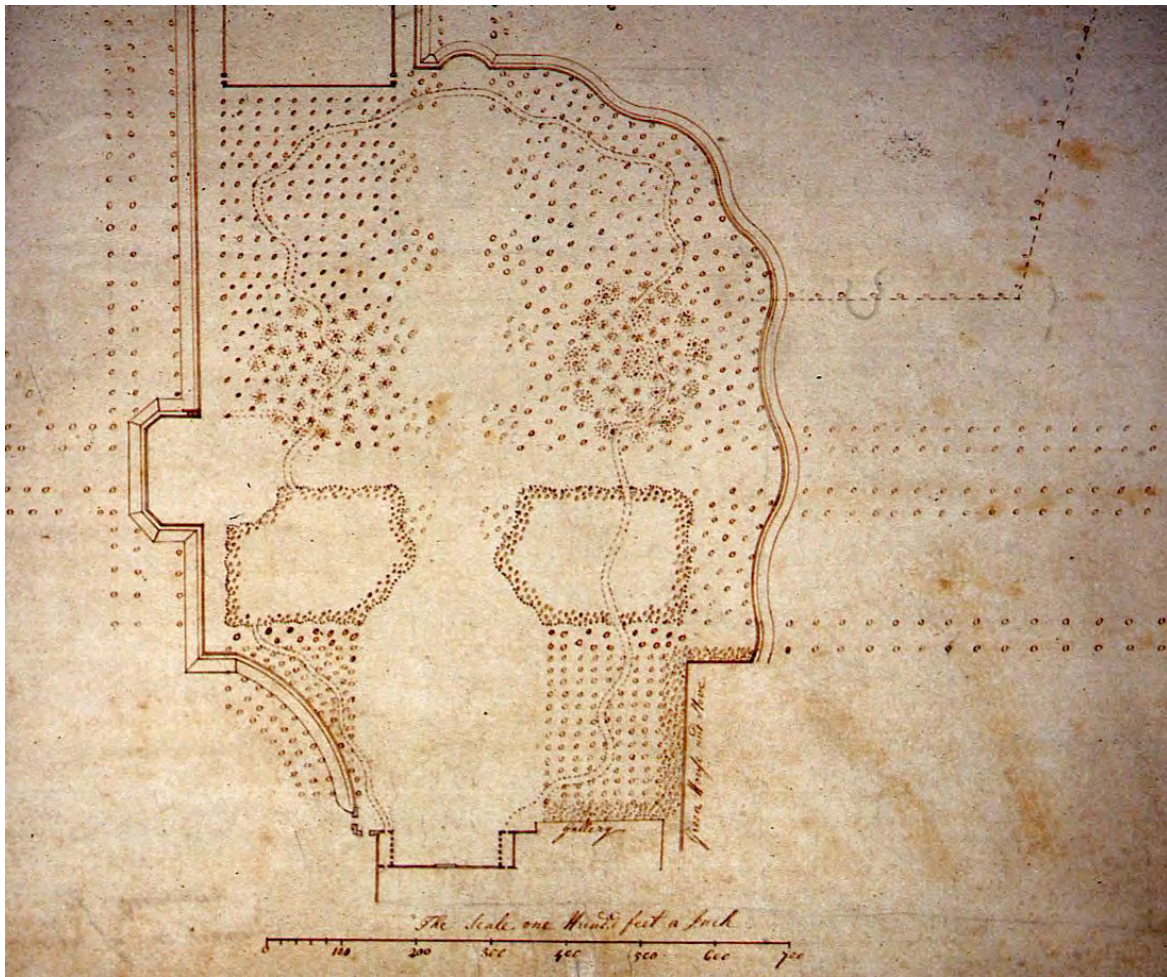


Figure 5.1: *Design for the pleasure ground at Badminton, Gloucestershire, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, c. 1752.* This differs little from other contemporary gardens laid out in a broadly rococo style. Note, in particular, the rather stiff sinuosity of the ha-ha, and the survival of regular geometric planting in the wider landscape. Copyright David Brown, CC BY-NC 4.0.

Serpentine landscaping was not new when Brown began to practise; the application of this aesthetic to the entire landscape around the house was novel, as was the complete rejection of all geometry. Yet Brown's style did not appear suddenly, or fully formed. His early works, at places like Badminton in Gloucestershire (1752) or Ingestre in Staffordshire (1756), differed little if at all from other gardens laid out at the time in a broadly rococo style (Figure 5.1). They displayed a rather mannered irregularity and continued to co-exist with geometric features. Indeed, most of his energies were directed towards gardens and pleasure grounds in the immediate vicinity of the house, rather than at the wider landscape. At Moor Park in Hertfordshire, for example, where he worked in the mid-1750s, he extensively modified Bridgeman's monumental landscape to create an extensive, 'naturalistic' pleasure ground to the east of the mansion. Yet he did little if anything in the wider parkland, which continued to be filled with a dense mesh of avenues.⁷ Brown's style was developing rapidly by this time, however, and by the end of the decade one of its key features was firmly in place: the recurrent, almost formulaic arrangement of a mansion looking down across a smooth slope of turf to a serpentine area of water (Figure 5.2). Brown was now designing on a grander scale, moreover, paying particular attention to drives and approaches. Avenues and other geometric features were ruthlessly removed, unless his clients

⁷ MacNair, A. D. M., Rowe, A. & Williamson, T. (2015). *Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire: Society and landscape in the eighteenth century* (pp. 181–182). Hatfield: Hertfordshire University Press.



Figure 5.2: *Kimberley Hall, Norfolk*, showing Brown's classic design feature of an expanse of smooth turf extending uninterrupted from house to water. Photo copyright Tom Williamson, CC BY-NC 4.0.

insisted on their retention, and the number of ornamental buildings was reduced. By the early 1760s all the elements of his style were firmly in place. Natural landforms – their outlines suitably smoothed by excavation and earth movement – were the key feature, their shape and disposition accentuated by planting and by the use of water:⁸ one of the purposes of Brown's lakes was, arguably, to emphasise the shape of the land, the subtlety and complexity of the contours, and contemporary illustrations make it clear that the sides of his water bodies were kept scrupulously clear of marginal vegetation. His landscapes were essays in serpentine simplicity, almost minimalist in conception.

Of particular significance were the numerous carefully tended grass rides, and gravelled drives, which threaded through the parkland, often running in and out of the perimeter belts (Figure 5.3). Earlier styles of 'naturalistic' garden had privileged particular views and prospects, and they had employed features and buildings to convey messages, ideas, and emotions. In Brown's designs the landscape itself – the massing of trees, the disposition of water and the shapes of landforms – was the message, and, while they often included important viewpoints, they were mainly intended to be experienced on the move, along the rides and drives, on horseback or in a carriage, and thus as a continuum. Thomas Whately's description, written in the late 1760s, of the approach to Caversham in Berkshire, laid out by Brown a few years before, captures this concept well. It continues for nearly 1,000 words and has an almost filmic quality:

⁸ Williams, R. (1983). Making places: Garden-mastery and English Brown. *Journal of Garden History*, 3, 382–385.



Figure 5.3: *A Plan for Langley Park, Norfolk*, Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, 1765. Brown fashioned clumps, rides, and walks through the remnants of an ancient wood in the north-western section of the park. Photo copyright Tom Williamson, CC BY-NC 4.0.

... the road passes between the groups [of trees], under a light and lofty arch of ash; and then opens upon a glade, broken on the left only by a single tree; and on the right by several beeches standing so close together as to be but one in appearance; this glade is bounded by a beautiful grove, which in one part spreads a perfect gloom, but in others divides into different clusters, which leave openings for the gleams of light to pour in ...⁹

There were obvious connections between the way that the landscape was experienced on the move, and the manner in which Brown’s designs prioritised smooth rather than rugged landforms. Brown would doubtless have approved of Burke’s definition of beauty in his *Philosophical Enquiry* of 1756:

Most people must have observed the sort of sense they have had, on being swiftly drawn in an easy coach, on a smooth turf, with gradual ascents and declivities. This will give a better idea of the beautiful, and point out its probable cause better than almost any thing else.¹⁰

A landscape created by Brown was thus a continuous if varied whole. It was less like a series of static pictures than the words and punctuation in a sentence, a sense neatly encapsulated in the famous conversation which Brown had with Hannah More in 1782:

⁹ Whately, T. (1770). *Observations on modern gardening* (p. 148). London.

¹⁰ Burke, E. (1756). *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and the beautiful* (p. 155). London.

He told me he compared his art to literary composition. ‘Now *there*’, said he, pointing his finger, ‘I make a comma, and *there*’, pointing to another spot, ‘where a more decided turn is proper, I make a colon; at another part, where an interruption is desirable to break the view, a parenthesis; now a full stop, and then I begin another subject.’¹¹

Brown may have employed this analogy often, for an article in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* for 1780, describing how the planting of a single willow had been Brown’s sole contribution to the grounds of Garrick’s villa in Hampton, noted: ‘This single addition Brown compared to punctuation, and not without some felicity of phrase, called it a dot, the presence and operation of which, as it were, made sense of the rest’.

At the heart of Brown’s designs lay a fundamental paradox, of which all were aware and accepted. While they purported to be ‘natural’ landscapes, Brown’s parks were artificial, even engineered, creations. Large areas of earth were moved, especially to obliterate traces of formal gardens, smooth the slope between house and water, open up distant views or reduce the gradient on drives and rides. Lakes in particular were unnatural, alien impositions, for outside of a few limited areas few water bodies of any size actually existed in lowland England at the start of Brown’s career. The dams required to pond back the water of natural watercourse – few of his lakes were actually excavated to any significant extent – were often complex pieces of engineering, and included tunnels and spillways to allow the lake to be emptied and to control the egress of water. At Petworth in 1756 Brown was bound to ‘make a proper plug and Trough to draw down the Water, as likewise a Grate for the discharge of waste water’; his contract for Bowood in Wiltshire in 1763 noted that there should be ‘Plugs, Grates and wastes for the discharge of floods’.¹²

Brown was not of course the only designer working in England in the middle and later decades of the eighteenth century, creating landscapes along these general lines. He must have been responsible for significantly fewer than a tenth, and probably fewer than a twentieth, of the landscape parks which existed by the time of his death in 1783. A number of other individuals, such as Nathaniel Richmond, Richard Woods, Thomas White, John Davenport, and Samuel Driver, operated successful and wide-ranging businesses. Woods, for example, is known to have undertaken at least forty-five commissions, mainly in the area around London and in Yorkshire, and on at least one occasion – at Wardour in Wiltshire in the early 1760s – was chosen by a client in preference to Brown.¹³ Richmond, discussed elsewhere in this volume by David Brown, is known to have designed at least thirty gardens and landscapes.¹⁴ Driver, although a less successful individual, was a Kentish nurseryman who prepared designs for places as far afield as Adlestrop in Gloucestershire in the early 1760s, Belhus in Essex in 1764, and Hillington in Norfolk in 1773.¹⁵ In addition to such regional or national practices, innumerable provincial land surveyors and nurserymen were also at work, providing designs for the local gentry. All were, by the 1760s, providing designs which were, for the most part, in what we would see as a broadly ‘Brownian’ mode.

It is often assumed that Brown invented this style and that other practitioners were mere ‘imitators’. Yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to show that Brown, at any point on his stylistic journey, was noticeably ahead of the stylistic curve. His designs for places like Badminton or Ingestre appear no different from the plans prepared by contemporaries like the Greening brothers or Francis Richardson in the early or mid-1750s; his more developed style of the 1760s seems much the same as that practised by men like Driver, Woods, or Richmond. Rather than seeing this form of landscaping as something invented by one individual, it is perhaps more useful to consider it simply as the style of the times. It had no single ‘inventor’. Like all great artistic movements, the ‘landscape’ style was a collaborative affair. The style presumably came to be associated so closely with Brown because he was its most commercially successful practitioner. This in turn may have been because he was also the most artistically accomplished, but at least as significant were business acumen and luck. While working at Stowe Brown made a number of influential contacts, for Viscount Temple’s social circle, ‘Cobham’s Cubs’, comprised a group of young, wealthy but disaffected Whigs who were destined to become men of influence: the young Pitts, Grenvilles, and Lyttletons all became members of the ruling elite during the period of Brown’s career. But equally important were the organisational skills he honed at Stowe, in his role as clerk of works.

¹¹ Roberts, W. (1836). *Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs Hannah More* (p. 237). London.

¹² West Sussex Record Office, PHA/6623; Bowood archives, contact with Lancelot Brown, August 1762.

¹³ Cowell, F. (2009). *Richard Woods (1715–1793): Master of the pleasure garden*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

¹⁴ Brown, D. (2000). *Nathaniel Richmond (1724–1784): ‘Gentleman improver’*. Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of East Anglia).

¹⁵ Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England* (pp. 118–119). London: Reaktion Books.

For Brown was, above all, a master of organisation and a consummate businessman. His bank accounts show that, by the late 1750s, he was already running a complex organisation. As David Brown has shown, the large sums of money coming into his account from clients soon went out again in the form of payments to a range of individuals, some of whom were regular associates, but others subcontractors who provided contract labour, expertise, or materials on an irregular basis. Many of these people already had successful careers, as gardeners, architects or surveyors, before coming to work with Brown.¹⁶ Some stayed with him for many years: men like Samuel Lapidge, who joined him in 1767 and who continued his business after his death in 1783; Jonathan Midgeley, who received payments from Brown from 1760 until 1778; or Benjamin Read, described as 'Mr Brown's Head servant' at Cole Green in Hertfordshire in 1756, who received payments from Brown from 1755 until 1774 and who worked at (among other places) Wootton in Buckinghamshire, Croome in Worcestershire, and Blenheim in Oxfordshire.¹⁷ Similar was Adam Mickle, whom Brown probably met at Badminton (where he was head gardener) in 1752, who had joined Brown by 1757 and who worked with him until 1765 and then, after a three-year pause (and now accompanied by his son, Adam junior) again from 1768 until 1779. Several of these individuals, including Nathaniel Richmond, Robert Robinson, and Thomas White, collaborated with Brown for a few years and then went on to make their own reputations as designers, Richmond mainly in the south-east of England, the others in Scotland and the north. White for example worked with Brown from 1759 until July 1765, at Chillington in Staffordshire, Glentworth in Lincolnshire, and Temple Newsam and Sandbeck in Yorkshire; he and his son then went on to landscape more than 200 estates, almost all in Yorkshire and Scotland. He was immensely successful in financial terms; his estates at Consett in County Durham eventually extending over an area of nearly 800 acres.¹⁸ A number of Brown's collaborators, such as Cornelius Dickinson, come and go from his accounts over the decades, each time being paid relatively small sums and presumably supplying some specialist service or advice – in this case, perhaps, relating to the construction of lakes. Brown dealt with clients, carefully considered the 'capabilities' of sites, and sketched out ideas for their improvement. But his maps and plans were drawn up by others and the execution of his designs, and often their modification in the face of practical problems – particular aspects of planting, the precise profile of a slope or the line of a lake edge – must have been worked out on the ground by this talented cadre of 'Capability Men'. In some senses, Brown became a brand; he was the Norman Foster of his age, a man above detail.

Amongst Brown's many talents was his ability to converse in a suitably witty and interesting manner with potential clients: as Chatham famously observed, 'you cannot take any other advice so intelligent or more honest'.¹⁹ However, his easy manner did not always go down well: in October 1756 Spencer Cowper advised his brother, who was employing him at Cole Green in Hertfordshire: 'As to Brown's Sauciness, I believe you have nothing to combat it with, but Patience'.²⁰ Once the commission was secured, the site assessed, and the plan for improvement made, he made only sporadic visits, to check on progress, deal with clients, and smooth over any issues that arose during the execution of the works. Lady Shelburne of Bowood in Wiltshire typically recorded how, in August 1765, 'Mr Browne the Gardener came here to dinner ... staid and spent the evening and giving directions to his Man'.²¹

A major element in Brown's success was perhaps the flexibility of his business. Different contracts might be organised in different ways. In some cases estate labour was used to implement some, or all, of a design; in others, local workmen were directly recruited and directed by one of Brown's associates. While money for particular projects often passed from clients, to contractors, through Brown's hands, it sometimes went directly, as at Chatsworth, where Michael Milliken was paid directly by the Duke for 'earth moving'. His name first appears in the estate accounts in 1760, when he received £313 in twelve separate payments; in 1761 he received a further

¹⁶ Brown, D. (2001). Lancelot Brown and his associates. *Garden History* 29(1), 2–11; Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men* (pp. 135–151).

¹⁷ Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men* (pp. 150); Brown's account book, RHS Lindley Library; Jacques, D. (1983). *Georgian gardens* (p. 81); Leiper, H. (2012). Mr Lancelot Brown and his Hertfordshire clients. In Spring, D. *Hertfordshire garden history, a miscellany, II: Gardens pleasant, groves delicious* (pp. 92–120, p. 97). Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

¹⁸ Turnbull, D. (1990). *Thomas White (1739–1811): Eighteenth-century landscape designer and arboriculturist*. Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of Hull).

¹⁹ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 125).

²⁰ Leiper, H. (2012). Mr Lancelot Brown and his Hertfordshire clients (p. 107).

²¹ Bowood House archives.

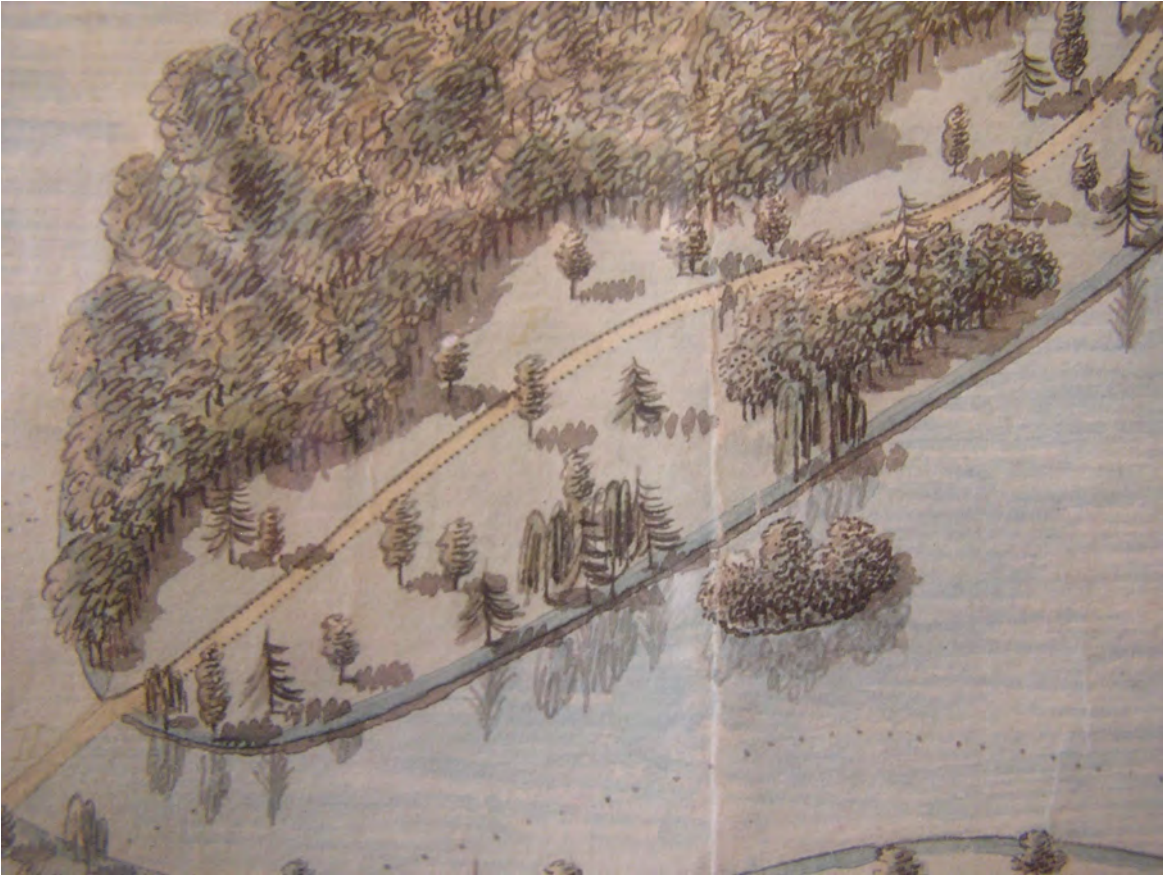


Figure 5.4: A detail from Brown's second design for Kimberley in Norfolk, 1778, showing the planting by the lake. It is typical of many Brown plans in showing a mix of deciduous trees such as weeping willows, and some exotic or coniferous planting. Photo copyright Tom Williamson, CC BY-NC 4.0.

£637; from December 1761 to October 1762, £635; and from November 1762 to November 1763 no less than £710. The final payment – of £715, made for the period 1763–65 – is described as ‘cash paid to Mr Millican on Mr Brown's account’: this is the only direct reference to Brown himself in the estate records.²² It seems likely that some of the cases where Brown's collaborators repeatedly appear, and disappear, from his own account may be explained by variations over time in the method by which they were paid.

What, precisely, did Brown and his team supply to clients? First and foremost, they provided the familiar, extensive, and manicured parklands, sparsely populated with ornamental buildings but well endowed with rides and drives, and planted in a manner which was perhaps more ornamental – ‘garden-like’ – than we usually assume, time having removed the conifers and weeping willows, leaving only the longer-lived indigenous or naturalised broadleaves – oak, beech, sweet chestnut, lime – and a few cedars (Figure 5.4). It was in part because of the increasingly ornamental character of their planting that the proportion of parks containing deer (their original *raison d'être*) declined steadily through the middle and later decades of the century. Brown also provided pleasure grounds, shrubberies, and flower gardens, for, in spite of what critics were beginning to assert even before the eighteenth century was over, he never really left the mansion standing ‘solitary and unconnected’ in a vast sea of grass. At Lowther (1771) amongst other places Brown's plan marks the ‘site for the flower garden’; at Kimberley in 1778 the main feature of the design was a long, narrow ribbon of pleasure ground which extended all the way from the house to the lake; at one of his final commissions, Heveningham

²² Chatsworth archives C22, unpaginated; C21, pp. 46–47, 211–215.

in Suffolk (1782), a visitor in 1784 described a flower garden immediately to the east of the house.²³ Failure to supply an area for the display of flowers and shrubs would indeed have been odd, given that this was a period in which new plants from America and elsewhere – the consequence of Britain's expanding trading connections and new empire – were eagerly acquired by the wealthy.²⁴

But Brown and his team provided a lot more than parks and gardens. They also supplied architectural services. From 1771 Brown worked with Henry Holland (his son-in-law from 1773), but even at Stowe he had operated in an architectural capacity, with his design for the Temple of Concord and Victory raising him up 'into some degree of estimation as an architect'²⁵ During his career he provided designs for rebuilding, extending, or modernising around twenty country houses, including Lowther in Cumberland (1762), Redgrave in Suffolk (1763), Broadlands in Hampshire (1765), Peper Harrow in Sussex (1765), Fisherwick in Staffordshire (c. 1768), Temple Newsam in Yorkshire (1767), Claremont in Surrey (1770), Benham Park in Berkshire (c. 1772) (Figure 5.6), Trentham in Staffordshire (c. 1773), Tixall in Staffordshire (c. 1773), Brocklesby in Lincolnshire (1773), Cardiff Castle (1777), Cadland in Hampshire (1777), Berrington in Herefordshire (1778), and Nuneham Courtenay in Oxfordshire (1780). He and his team also happily provided new stables, ice houses, and services buildings for clients – at Kimberley in Norfolk his plan even shows a new 'drying yard' for the washing. He supplied menageries (places where collections of exotic animals were kept and displayed) and numerous kitchen gardens. And, as well as providing lakes, Brown frequently installed systems of land drainage, ensuring that the area in the immediate vicinity of the mansion, the sweep of turf between it and the lake, and the various rides and paths threading through the park, were all kept suitably dry. Brown was, to use his own words, a 'place-maker', supplying his customers with 'all the elegance and all the comforts that Mankind wants in the Country'.²⁶

All this said, it was the sweeping landscape of the park, complete with clumps, lake, and network of rides and drives, which was Brown's most distinctive contribution. What explains the popularity of this 'naturalistic' style? This is a matter over which scholars have, of course, long argued. To some, the explanation is to be sought in the realm of abstract aesthetics, and to such people the landscape park is simply the culmination of an inexorable development towards simpler, more 'naturalistic' landscapes which had begun in the 1720s with Bridgeman and which continued through the 1730s with the work of Kent and others – an idea already being promulgated within Brown's own lifetime.²⁷ To others, Brown's landscapes were expressions of philosophical or political ideas: the informal, serpentine lines of the landscape park combined 'art' and 'nature' and reflected the balanced constitution of the nation, which incorporated the principals of both democracy and monarchy.²⁸ The 'landscape' style thus emphasised the superiority of the British people, growing in pride and self-confidence as they acquired their first empire, over less fortunate nations like France, where serried rows of trees, rigid parterres, and disciplined topiary reflected the rule of absolutist monarchs. While these suggestions have much to recommend them, the popularity of the landscape park probably owed more to a number of important social, economic, and architectural developments.

Following the political upheavals of the seventeenth century, the first half of the eighteenth was a period of internal peace and stability, steady economic growth, and increasing social complexity.²⁹ Rather than being deeply divided by religion or ideology the upper strata of society began to coalesce into a single group – 'polite society', to adopt Mark Girouard's term – defined by a shared enthusiasm for fashionable consumption and relaxed social encounters, in which less attention than before was paid to nuances of social rank, or to formal etiquette. The 'polite' were made up not only of great landowners and local gentry but also included financiers, merchants, and wealthy businessmen, their numbers and importance developing apace as the nation's economy

²³ Scarfe, N. (Ed.). (1988). *A Frenchman's year in Suffolk: French impressions of Suffolk life in 1784* (p. 141). Woodbridge: Boydell.

²⁴ Laird, M. (1999). *The flowering of the English landscape garden: English pleasure grounds 1720–1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

²⁵ *Public Advertiser*, 9 September 1772.

²⁶ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 157).

²⁷ Walpole, H. (1780). *The history of the modern taste in gardening*. London; Bending, S. (1994). H. Walpole and eighteenth-century garden history. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57, 209–226.

²⁸ Lange, B. P. (1998). The English garden and patriotic discourse. In H. J. Diller et al. *Englishness (Anglistic & Englischunterricht 46 and 47)*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press.

²⁹ Langford, P. (1989). *A polite and commercial people* (pp. 59–121). Oxford: Oxford University Press; Hancock, D. (1995). *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community 1735–1785*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

increased in size and grew more complex. In Girouard's words, 'polite society' was made up of the people 'who owned and ran the country'. Such individuals, whether at country house gatherings or at urban assemblies – especially at Bath – interacted in an affable manner. Keen to display their wit, their appreciation of the latest styles of clothes and other consumer goods, and their knowledge of art and culture, they conversed on easy terms and avoided overt signs of religious or other 'enthusiasm'.³⁰

Elite residences were designed for entertaining, as much as for everyday living, and Girouard has emphasised how these new forms of social interaction made novel demands on domestic space. In the early-eighteenth century even the grandest houses usually had only two principal entertaining rooms, the hall and the saloon, arranged in a line occupying the central part of the building and with their presence signalled externally by pediment or portico. Private suites of rooms, *enfilades*, led off from these, likewise arranged as linear sequences. This organisation of internal space was mirrored in the layout of the surrounding landscape, for the central axis of hall and saloon was continued as the central walk in the garden, and often extended beyond this as an avenue running through parkland or over adjacent countryside. From the late 1730s, however, the most fashionable houses began to be provided with more extensive suites of entertaining rooms, which were laid out on a circuit, and this arrangement was becoming normal by the late 1750s, especially in newly built mansions. When the house was used for entertaining, guests could drift easily from one room to the next, alternately taking tea, playing cards, and dancing.³¹

These changes had implications for the design of the landscape surrounding the mansion. As people no longer thought of, or experienced, the inside of the house as a series of linear axes, the avenues and vistas that continued these into the grounds (and beyond) fell from favour. Externally, people became more accustomed to seeing the house not as an elevation at the end of an avenue but as a series of views, experienced from a succession of angles. Moreover, the ways in which internal space was used for entertaining was replicated outside. Just as visitors made a circuit of the reception rooms inside the house, they made a circuit of the pleasure grounds – threaded with casually serpentine paths – and a more extended one of the park, stopping at points along the rides or drives to enjoy the prospect or to take tea in a temple or other building. In short, changes in social behaviour had both a direct and, through developments in domestic planning, an indirect impact on the layout of the grounds of the country house.

The rise of 'polite society' was predicated, as noted, on the emergence of a more economically diverse and commercial society – on the development, in William Blackstone's words, of the British as a 'polite and commercial people'.³² But, from the 1750s, just as Brown began to work as an independent designer, economic activity shifted up a gear: the second half of the eighteenth century was a period of rapid population growth, industrial revolution and agricultural modernisation, a great age of 'improvement'.³³ Indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate the significance of the fact that the period of Brown's career coincides precisely with this take-off into the modern world. As economic and demographic growth accelerated, new fault lines opened between the 'polite' and the increasingly impoverished members of local societies.³⁴ The clearance of farms and cottages, and the closure or diversion of roads and footpaths, which often occurred when parks were created, as well as the planting of peripheral belts, served to create insulated areas for the entertainment of the polite, places for boating on lakes, riding across the turf, and the careful preservation and shooting of game (Figure 5.5).³⁵ At the larger and more famous residences the visitors might include people with whom the owner was not even acquainted. Lybbe Powys described in 1760 how, in the park at Edgecombe in Devon, she arrived at a 'little temple', which had been 'fixed upon by a party of gentlemen and ladies, who came that day on a scheme of pleasure to Mount Edgecombe, as a place to enjoy in the most rural manner the cold collation they brought

³⁰ Girouard, M. (1978). *Life in the English country house* (pp. 189–195). London and New Haven: Yale University Press; Girouard, M. (1990). *The English town: A history of urban life* (pp. 76–77). London and New Haven: Yale University Press.

³¹ Girouard, M. (1978). *Life in the English country house* (pp. 194–203).

³² Blackstone, W. (1765). *Commentaries on the laws of England* (Vol. 3, p. 326). London.

³³ Overton, M. (1996). *Agricultural revolution in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Pomeranz, K. (2001). *The great divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Williamson, T. (2002). *The transformation of rural England: Farming and the landscape 1700–1870*. Exeter: Exeter University Press.

³⁴ Langford, P. (1989). *A polite and commercial people* (pp. 435–459); Snell, K. (1986). *Annals of the labouring poor: Social change and agrarian England 1660–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³⁵ Felus, K. (2006). Boats and boating in the designed landscape, 1720–1820. *Garden History*, 34(1), 22–46; Munsche, P. B. (1981). *Gentlemen and poachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

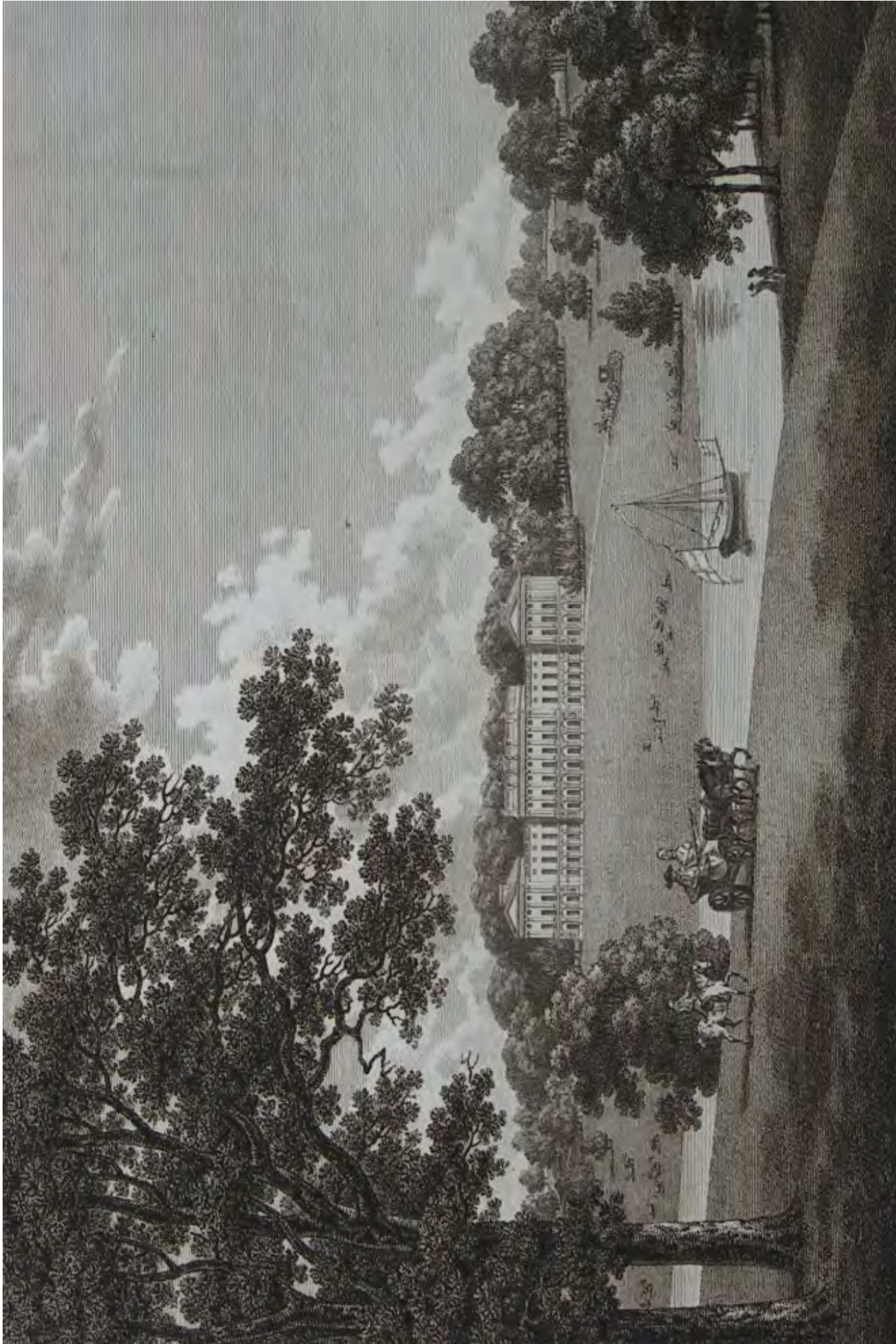


Figure 5.5: Heveningham Hall in Suffolk, from *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*, William Watts, 1779–86. A carriage approaches the hall on a gravelled drive and another runs across the smooth turf, whilst a boat sails on the lake. Photo copyright Tom Williamson, CC BY-NC 4.0.

with them.³⁶ Holkham in Norfolk, where Brown or one of his team remodelled the pleasure grounds in the 1760s, was open on 'every Tuesday, but no other day. No persons will be admitted that do not tell their names.'³⁷ In 1788 a visitor described how he:

Went what they call the home circuit, with some of the ladies and gentlemen. This is a little tour to see the grounds, different vistas etc. Rode on horseback.³⁸

Although the perimeter belts did not form an impermeable barrier, and planting and other forms of landscaping often spilled out into the surrounding countryside, it is clear that, in this increasingly polarised world, the park was a private space or, at least, one to which access was controlled, and reserved to those of appropriate status. A local poet in Bedale, North Yorkshire, recounted, in the late-eighteenth century, the changes wrought to the landscape in his lifetime, highlighting how the owner of the local house, The Rand, had removed neighbouring rights of way:

And now them roads are done away
And one made in their room
Quite to the east, of wide display,
Where you may go and come,
Quite unobserved from the Rand,
The trees do them seclude
If modern times, do call such grand
Its from a gloomy mood³⁹

Separation of the 'polite' from the wider mass of the agricultural population, farmers and labourers, was signalled in other ways by the 'landscape' style. Its triumph saw the culmination of a process which had been continuing throughout the eighteenth century. Not only were enclosed formal gardens swept away from the walls of the country house by Brown and his contemporary designers, but also a range of productive or semi-productive facilities, such as orchards, fish ponds, dovecotes, barns, and farm yards. At the start of the century even the owner of a great house like Chatsworth might be happy look out across a rabbit warren. By the 1760s, such things were seen as uncouth by members of a group now more interested in fashionable *consumption* than domestic production. The warren at Chatsworth was the first thing to be targeted for removal when Brown began to work there in the late 1750s.⁴⁰

It was noted above how changes in domestic planning influenced the rise of the 'natural' style of landscape design. Developments in architectural *style* were also probably important in its genesis. At around the time that Brown's mature style was developing, the long-standing dominance of Palladianism was beginning to be challenged, as a more accurate knowledge of classical architecture began to be disseminated as a result of excavations at places like Herculaneum and Pompeii, and of archaeological expeditions to Greece.⁴¹ English architects such as Nicholas Revett and, in particular, Robert Adam, began to provide designs for country houses which were more closely based on Greek and Roman precedents, and which were informed by a more general taste for simplicity in form and outline which was derived from these.⁴² More importantly, 'neo-classicism' also embraced aspects of interior design, for the light, delicate painted scheme uncovered by excavations, at Herculaneum especially, were now adopted by Adam and others, as a model for the interior design of country houses. The new taste also influenced the design of a range of consumer goods, from the pottery produced by Josiah Wedgwood, decorated with figures in classical dress, florets, urns, and the like, to the elegant furniture of Thomas Chippendale.⁴³

³⁶ Climenson, E. J. (Ed.). (1899). *Passages from the diaries of Mrs Phillip Lybbe Powys, 1756–1808* (p. 39). London.

³⁷ Goodwyn, E. A. (1972). *Selections from Norwich newspapers, 1760–1790* (p. 15). Ipswich: East Anglian Magazine.

³⁸ Cozens-Hardy, B. (1950). *The diary of Sylas Neville 1767–1788* (p. 379). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³⁹ Lewis, L. (Ed.). (1990). *Hird's annals of Bedale* (stanzas 675–676). Northallerton: North Yorkshire County Council.

⁴⁰ Chatsworth House archives, AS/1062 and 1063.

⁴¹ Irwin, D. (1997). *Neoclassicism*. London: Phaidon; Honour, H. (1977). *Neo-classicism*. London: Penguin.

⁴² Fleming, J. (1962). *Robert Adam and his circle in Edinburgh and Rome*. London: John Murray; Beard, G. (1992). *The work of Robert Adam*. London: Bloomsbury.

⁴³ Gilbert, C. (1978). *The life and works of Thomas Chippendale*. London: Studio Vista; Reilly, R. (1992). *Josiah Wedgwood 1730–1795*. London: Macmillan.



Figure 5.6: *Benham Park near Newbury, Berkshire, viewed from the south.* Built in the late 1770s, this neo-classical composition by Brown and Holland appears in perfect harmony with its minimalist landscape. The upper floor is a nineteenth-century addition. Photo copyright Tom Williamson, CC BY-NC 4.0.

Brown and his business could hardly have been immune from this major shift in taste. Many of Brown's landscapes complemented houses which were built or remodelled by Adam or other neo-classical architects. By the late 1760s, moreover, at Claremont, he and Henry Holland were producing an architectural design which was more neo-classical than Palladian in inspiration, and by the 1770s places like Benham Park in Berkshire or Berrington in Herefordshire were wholly neo-classical in style. It is easy to see how the simplicity, almost minimalism, of Brown's landscapes echoed the principals of the new architecture, emphasising as it did planes and distinct, continuous outlines, in contrast to the fussiness and detail of the rococo: a landscape designed by Brown made a perfect setting for a neo-classical house (Figure 5.6). Brown would surely have shared Adam's enthusiasm for the simple and the 'pure', his rejection of 'superfluous ornament', and above all his belief that architectural forms were to be derived from nature's beauties, distilled through examination and abstraction. For Brown, landscaping was a matter not of ephemeral fashion or whim but of systematic observation and the application of appropriate enhancements. In his own words:

Place-making, and a good English Garden, depend intirely upon Principle and have very little to do with Fashion, for it is a word that in my opinion disgraces Science wherever it is found.⁴⁴

There were wider implications in all this, for neo-classicism was not simply about harking back to antiquity. At its core was the idea that the forms of ancient Greece and Rome were to be improved upon, not just

⁴⁴ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 157).

slavishly copied, in this age of science and industry.⁴⁵ Right across Europe the new taste was closely allied with the spirit of the Enlightenment. In Hugh Honour's words, 'Neoclassicism, in its most vital expressions ... sought to bring about – whether by patient scientific advance or by purgative return *à la* Rousseau to primitive simplicity and purity – a new and better world governed by the immutable laws of reason and equity ...'⁴⁶ In England, similarly, the style appealed to those with an enthusiasm for modernisation. Yet at the same time it offered a measure of reassurance, for to contemporaries the classical past appeared not only rational but also *stable*. Neo-classicism, to quote Hilary Young, was popular because it offered a 'fusion of modernity with Classicism, a combination that allowed the middle and upper classes to feel at ease with the march of progress.'⁴⁷

Neo-classicism was thus indissolubly linked with the concept of 'improvement', a term widely employed by contemporaries for a wide range of changes to the physical environment. The reclamation of marginal land, the adoption of new farming methods, the creation of fashionable town centres for the entertainment of the 'polite', the establishment of plantations, and the construction of new mansions and the creation of fashionable landscapes in which to set them, could all be so described.⁴⁸ The term was also applied to the many improvements in transport infrastructure which occurred during Brown's lifetime, and which underpinned economic expansion. Over 300 Turnpike Acts were passed between 1750 and 1760 alone, affecting some 10,000 miles of road, and the canal network began to develop in earnest with the construction of the Bridgewater Canal, connecting the Duke of Bridgewater's coal mines at Worsley with Manchester, between 1759 and 1761 – precisely the same years in which the Duke's grounds at Ashridge in Hertfordshire were being landscaped by Brown.⁴⁹ Common to all these activities was the belief that the world could be transformed by scientific observation and the application of will and capital: the present state of things was not God-given and immutable, but provisional, and capable of change. It is easy to see how Brown, with his highly commercialised business and his famous moniker, formed part of this wider spirit of modernisation.

Indeed, it is useful to consider some aspects of Brown's activities as versions of contemporary 'improvements' applied, as it were, on a domestic scale. Water control, so important in Brown's landscapes, was a central feature of the period. Apart from the importance of canals in underpinning economic growth, agricultural land drainage was being adopted on an ever-increasing scale and most industry was powered by water, involving the construction of often complex systems of reservoirs and leats.⁵⁰ Brown's lakes, serpentine rivers, and extensive drainage schemes fit into a wider pattern. Also striking are the relationships between the numerous rides and drives which threaded through the Brownian park, and contemporary improvements in road transport. The rapid increase in road traffic resulting from turnpiking led to popular demands for shorter routes, and thus to a marked upsurge in bridge construction.⁵¹ Bridges were a pleasing and topical novelty, and it is no coincidence that they feature in so many of Brown's parks, with the approach drive often brought, usually gratuitously, across a suitably widened river (as at Chatsworth), a narrow lake (as at Shortgrove in Essex), or one arm of a larger lake (as at Bowood). More importantly, as the condition of the main public roads got better, there were significant improvements in the design of carriages, especially in methods of suspension. They also encouraged the development. The 1740s, 50s, and 60s saw the appearance of new types of small, light pleasure vehicle: the landau – a four-wheeled carriage with a two-part hood that could be thrown back so that passengers might enjoy the open air; the curricle – a light two-wheeled carriage; and the phaeton – a light open-topped vehicle on which the seats were raised high above the ground, and which was known for its ability to negotiate sharp bends, the sports car of its age.⁵² Now that major roads were less likely to be pitted with potholes, driving could be an enjoyable leisure activity: few people in 1700 would have thought of driving for fun. The drives and rides in Brown's parks thus reflected new attitudes towards travel in horse-drawn vehicles, and the new forms of such

⁴⁵ Honour, H. (1977). *Neo-classicism* (pp. 101–114); Forty, A. (1986). *Objects of desire: Design and society since 1750* (p. 24). London: Thames and Hudson.

⁴⁶ Honour, H. (1977). *Neo-classicism* (p. 13).

⁴⁷ Young, H. (1995). *The genius of Wedgwood* (p. 13). London: Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁴⁸ Tarlow, S. (2007). *The archaeology of improvement in Britain, 1750–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁹ Cossons, N. (1987). *The BP book of industrial archaeology* (pp. 254–258). Newton Abbot: David and Charles; Bogart, D. (2005). Did turnpike trusts increase transportation investment in eighteenth-century England? *The Journal of Economic History*, 65(2), 439–468; Albert, W. (1972). *The turnpike road system in England 1663–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁰ Williamson, T. (2002). *The transformation of rural England* (pp. 85–91).

⁵¹ Cossons, N. (1987). *The BP book of industrial archaeology* (pp. 244–245).

⁵² Ingram, A. (1977). *Horse-drawn vehicles since 1760*. Blandford: Blandford Press.

vehicles which were now available to the rich and fashionable. Indeed, it is hard to see how Brown's style, so dependent on movement, could have developed without them.

Brown was an artistic genius: even the most sceptical of historians cannot fail to be moved by the sheer magnificence of landscapes like Bowood or Chatsworth. But his personal success probably owed at least as much to luck, organisational skills, hard work, and business acumen. It remains unclear whether he was in any meaningful sense the 'inventor' of the style we now identify so closely with him. But, either way, the character of that style – like that of all fashions in landscape design – is best understood within a range of specific social, economic, and architectural contexts, as well as in terms of changing modes of business organisation. In the final analysis, the landscape park was a commodity, and its success was a consequence of the appeal it held for wealthy customers at a crucial period in Britain's history.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

CHAPTER 6

Place-Making: Capability Brown and the Landscaping of Harewood House, West Yorkshire

Jonathan Finch¹

Harewood House, north of Leeds in West Yorkshire (Figure 6.1), is surrounded by one of the key landscapes where Capability Brown is celebrated as the designer: ‘Boasting 1000 acres of “Capability” Brown designed landscape, Harewood represents one of his most important designs ... [w]ith soft, rolling hills and mature, established tree lines, visitors can experience the idyllic, picturesque views “Capability” Brown imagined for Harewood in the 1760s.’² Brown’s involvement at Harewood lasted for nearly twenty-five years, from his first visit in 1758 before the house was even built to his final payment from Edwin Lascelles in 1781, but the extent and nature of his engagement varied considerably over that period. This study will, for the first time, evaluate Brown’s role at Harewood in the context of how the new landscape evolved over the late-eighteenth century. In doing so it will shed new light on the wider context of how designed landscapes were created and how designs were realised on the ground; it will explore the work practices behind the creation of a large new country seat and park, overlaying an older, medieval landscape. In doing so it reveals the contributions of various designers, not just Brown, who were involved in the creation of this grand new park, using the detailed documentation and recent archaeological excavations. By doing this within the context of the eighteenth-century development of the landscape it provides a more detailed insight into Brown’s contribution than has been possible at other sites where documentation is less comprehensive. It thus enables a deeper understanding of Brown’s practice and of his legacy. This chapter will critically examine the assumption that he was the predominant designer at Harewood, and will argue that the nature of Brown’s success was more complex than traditional historiography has allowed.

Henry Lascelles (1690–1753), who had made his considerable fortune in the Atlantic slave trade, bought the estate of Gawthorpe and Harewood in 1739, at which time Gawthorpe Hall, the medieval manor house, was its centrepiece (Figure 6.2). The manor house was probably built in the fourteenth century by the Gascoigne family, who then substantially remodelled it in the late 1470s. The estate and the house were both enlarged

¹ Rebecca Burton at the Harewood House Trust, Gail Falkingham, Tom Williamson and Jan Woudstra have all helped in the creation of this chapter.

² Harewood website <http://harewood.org/explore/capability-brown-300-festival-2016>, accessed 25 October 2017.

How to cite this book chapter:

Finch, J. 2020. Place-Making: Capability Brown and the Landscaping of Harewood House, West Yorkshire. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 75–87. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.f>. CC BY-NC 4.0



Figure 6.1: *Harewood House from the south, having entered the park by Lofthouse Gates.* Harewood House in West Yorkshire is celebrated for its landscape setting that was transformed from the late-eighteenth century and which involved many of the important designers of the day including Capability Brown and Humphry Repton. Photo copyright Jonathan Finch, 2019, CC BY-NC 4.0.

in the early-seventeenth century by the Wentworth family, who inherited it through marriage in the 1570s. After the execution of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, at the outbreak of the Civil War, it was sold, and eventually bought by the Lascelles family, who still live on the estate today. Henry Lascelles installed his son Edwin as lord of the manor from about 1748, but the transformation of the landscape began in earnest after Henry's death in 1753. The 'New House at Gawthorpe', named Harewood House, was built by John Carr of York between 1758 and 1771, a period that coincided with Brown's rise from first establishing his own practice as a landscape designer or 'place-maker' in 1751 to being lauded as 'the great Arbiter of British Taste' by 1772.³ As such it can be used as a measure of his status, his methods, and his contribution to landscape design.

The earliest representation of the landscape is a late seventeenth-century plan of Gawthorpe, made for John Boulter, who inherited the estate in 1697. It shows the manor house, with its compact formal gardens, canal, and fish pond, amidst a landscape of enclosures and woodland. By the time Jonathan Teal made his survey a century later in 1796, the landscape had been transformed into a park, with clumps, belts, rides and a serpentine lake, overlooked by the palatial Harewood House built on a new site, raised up above the lake. The process by which the landscape of Gawthorpe was erased to create the modern landscape of Harewood is, however, far from clear.

³ *Public Advertiser*, 9 September 1772.

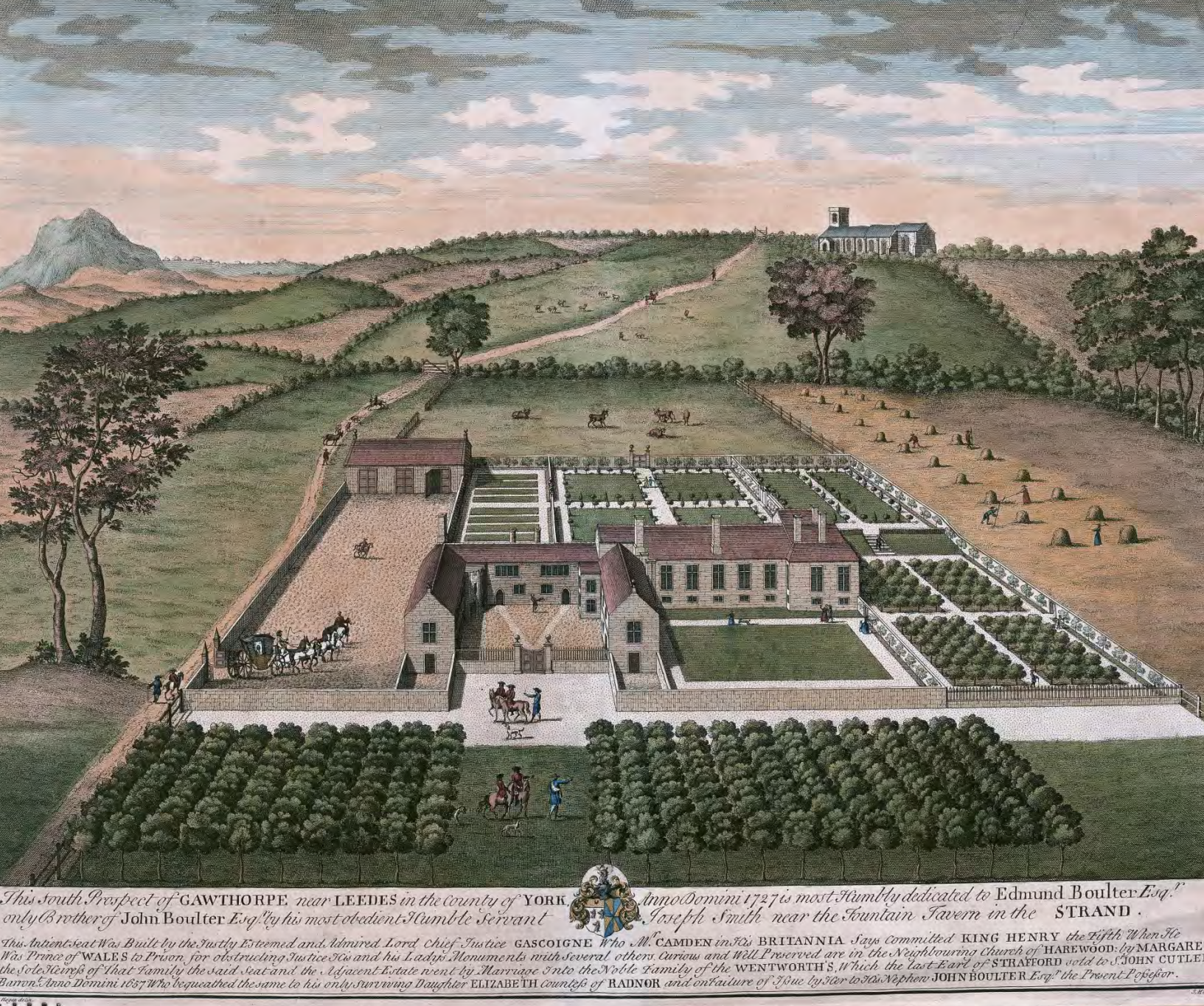


Figure 6.2: South Prospect of Gawthorpe near Leedes in the County of York, Willem van Hagen, 1727. Gawthorpe Hall, was the late medieval focus of the Harewood landscape and home to the Gascoigne family for thirteen generations. Reproduced by courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and Harewood House Trust.

Gawthorpe

The landscape depicted on the estate plan of c. 1698 (Figure 6.3) bears the marks of its gradual evolution. Areas of medieval open field still existed, although the general character, typical of the West Riding, was of small piecemeal enclosures. A good number of trees and pieces of woodland were interspersed amongst the fields. For example, in 1657 Oak Close, near to the hall itself, had 140 oaks ‘for fierwood’, probably pollarded within wood-pasture, and twenty ash trees.⁴ Commons were extensive with ‘Weardley Moore’ to the west and the contiguous Harewood, East Keswick, and Rigton commons to the east. Harewood common is shown with a number of enclosures or ‘intakes’ which were described as ‘new’ in the 1650s.

⁴ WYAS HAR/Surveys/10a Survey of Trees at Gawthorpe, Harewood and Weardley 10 January 1657; see Williamson, T., Barnes, G. & Pillatt, T. (2017). *Trees in England: Management and disease since 1600*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.



Figure 6.3: Detail from *Gawthorpe Estate plan* c. 1698. The earliest representation of Gawthorpe. It shows the hall in the midst of an enclosed landscape, its fish pond to the west and the parish church to the north. Reproduced by courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and Harewood House Trust.

The house itself was surrounded by modest formal gardens and orchards, all of about three acres, surrounded by a high stone wall. The licence to crenellate Gawthorpe Hall, granted to the Gascoignes in 1480 after a phase of substantial remodelling, included the emparking of around 2,000 acres of land. It was disparked at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, but was described in 1656 as ‘in former tymes stored with Deere, a Parklike place it is’, and field names such as ‘High Park’ survived to indicate its extent.⁵ To the south-west of the house was the ‘Great Stanke or Pond’, reportedly well stocked with trout, roach, gudgeon, and eels, and fed by a small tributary of the Wharfe, which also powered a watermill.

The house and gardens shown on the late seventeenth-century plan accord to a high degree with the two best images of the house and landscape, which were produced in the 1720s, one from the south (Figure 6.2), the other from the north, and likely represent what the Lascelles purchased in 1739 (Figure 6.4). The west of the manorial complex was occupied by a cobbled service or stable yard, on the north side a kitchen or herb garden, next to a larger formal garden of gravel paths and clipped shrubs, whilst along the eastern side of the buildings a similar formal compartment was terraced with steps down into the orchard gardens. A large lawn or bowling green occupied the south front of the hall’s classically proportioned extension, described as the ‘new building’ in 1656, with a three-sided courtyard in front of the medieval hall range.⁶

Such was the continuity of the landscape between the late-seventeenth century and when the Lascelles arrived at the end of the 1730s that the first survey of tenants and land for the new owners simply used the

⁵ WYL250/2/Sur/12a Survey of Harewood, 10 November 1656.

⁶ WYL250/2/Sur/12a Survey of Harewood, 10 November 1656.

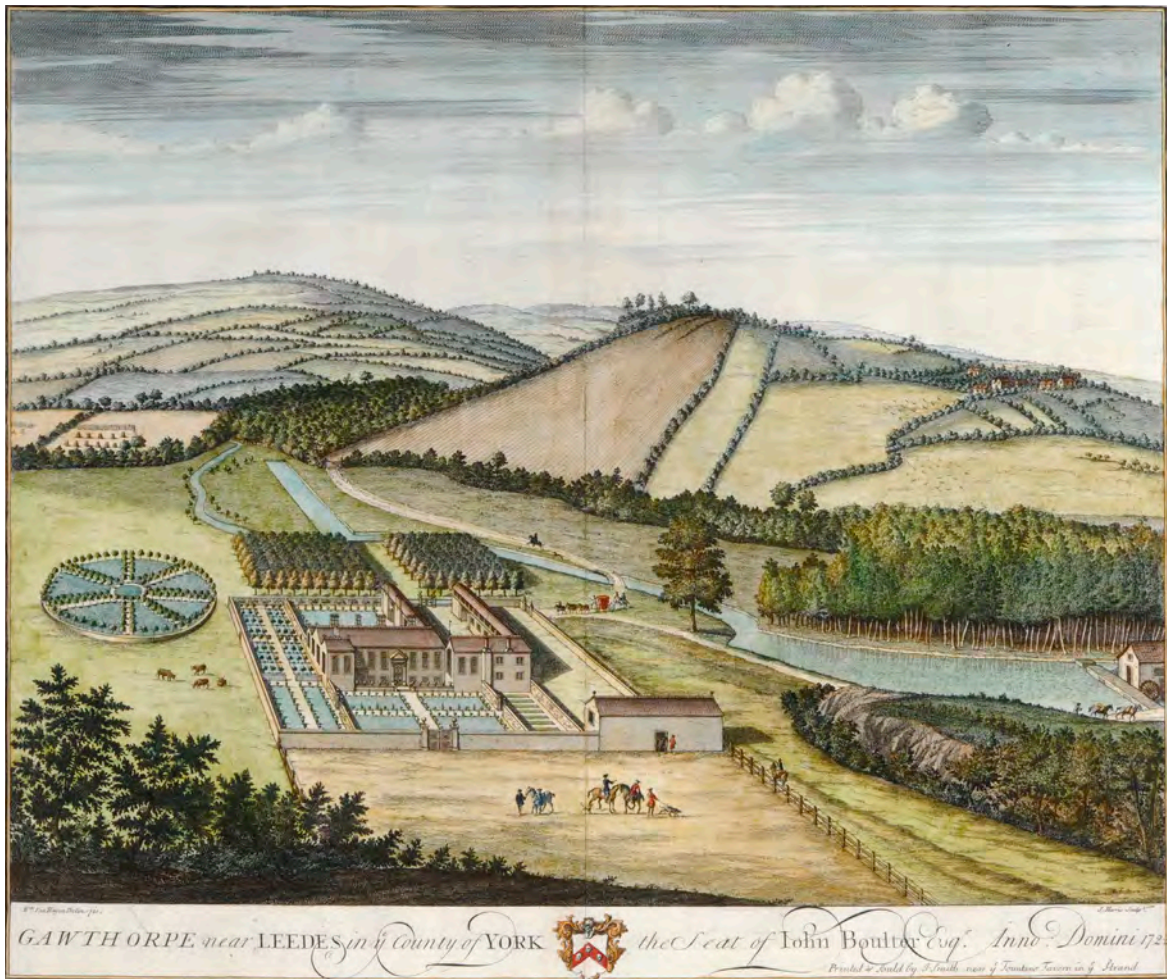


Figure 6.4: *Gawthorpe near Leedes in ye County of York*, Willem van Hagen, 1722. The earlier of the pair of prints from the 1720s shows Gawthorpe from the north, with the stable yard and terraced formal gardens, the watermill at the head of the fish pond (far right), and an ornamental canal axially aligned with the hall. Reproduced by courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and Harewood House Trust.

late seventeenth-century plan and its numbering system.⁷ It seems clear, therefore, that the major transformation of the landscape began after the arrival of the Lascelles in 1739, with the most significant changes implemented after Edwin Lascelles inherited in 1753. The initial phase of Lascelles ownership up to 1753 saw attempts to adapt the manor house and landscape to the needs of its new owners, rather than a fundamental change. In 1749 Francis Richardson (d. 1761) was paid £16-16s for six days attendance and for a 'fair design of the plantations &c about Gawthorp House'.⁸ Little is known of Richardson, who worked in the north and was a contemporary of the Greenings.⁹ Having worked at Worksop in 1738, he worked extensively at Welbeck Abbey (Notts) for the Countess of Oxford between 1745 and 1752, and latterly at Cannon Hall, near Barnsley just thirty miles south of Gawthorpe, for John Spencer. Richardson had a preference for the contemporary late geometric style, integrating some informality within an essentially traditional, geometric framework, but

⁷ WYL250/3/Sur/13b Survey of Harewood, c. 1738–39.

⁸ WYL 250/3/Estate Accounts/225 Cash Book 8 August 1749.

⁹ Jacques, D. (1983). *Georgian gardens: The reign of nature* (p. 72). London: Batsford; Williamson, T. & Brown, D. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England* (pp. 115–116). London: Reaktion Books; For the Greenings see Bott, this volume.

by 1759 he had responded to changing tastes and proposed clumps, belts, and a sinuous lake at Atherton in Lancashire.¹⁰

His plans for Gawthorpe do not survive, but work started on a ha-ha in 1751, and over 1,000 fir trees were purchased in March 1753.¹¹ Work had also begun on the kitchen garden and hothouses in 1750 and two years later the hot house was glazed and stocked with pineapples, including 100 brought from Newburgh Priory in North Yorkshire.¹² The combination of ha-ha, walled kitchen garden, and plantations suggests that a new set of landscape aesthetics was being implemented, with the productive element removed to a discreet distance and views opened up across the wider landscape. In many ways these were very similar characteristics to those found in the landscapes Brown designed in the early stages of his career. It is not clear if Richardson had any input over the second half of the decade before his death in 1761, but slope-making and alterations to Gawthorpe Hall itself appear in the accounts.

The apparent hiatus in landscaping during the late 1750s coincides with Edwin Lascelles's decision to embark on building a new house, on a new site, and on a new scale, following the death of his father. The site for the 'New House at Gawthorpe' had been determined by 1755, and the local architect John Carr submitted plans for the house that year, whilst beginning to work on the new stable block. Lascelles continued to actively review all possible architectural options even after Carr had submitted plans; he paid for plans from William Chambers in 1755/6, and then integrated Robert Adam's ideas into Carr's original plans just before work began in early 1759.¹³

It is much harder to discern the same degree of consultation about the landscape from the documentary evidence, although Lascelles was in correspondence with other landowners engaged in similar projects, such as Richard Sykes at Sledmere in the East Riding.¹⁴ There is, however, no record of Richardson providing a plan for the landscape around the new house, but in early 1758 Brown made his first visit to Harewood, for which he was paid £21.¹⁵ Already lauded as 'the famous Mr Brown', Robert Teesdale, the head gardener at Castle Howard, who had been advising about the new kitchen garden, wrote excitedly to Lascelles's steward Samuel Popplewell asking to see 'a few random Pencil Strokes of Mr Brown's Designs for your Place' and later called Brown 'that Great Man'.¹⁶ Brown's account book has undated entries for 'Two General Plans for the House' and 'A General plan for the Ground', which he must have submitted shortly after his visit, demonstrating firstly that the ongoing discussions about the house were not definitively concluded and, secondly, that Brown saw the two elements, the house and the surrounding landscape, as equally important.¹⁷

The timing and purpose of Brown's visit to Harewood in 1758 is critical to the interpretation of the landscape that evolved over the next twenty-five years, as it is bound up in the decision to build a new house in a new location, integrated with a new ornamental landscape and parkland, all in the latest neo-classical taste. It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that, when work started on the house soon after Brown's visit, his opinions were important at least to the relationship between the house and the landscape, and the coherence of the landscape around the house. It must be borne in mind, however, that it was far from unusual to commission and then reject plans even from prominent designers. Christopher Sykes, who took over the Sledmere project from his father, Richard, in 1770, commissioned and rejected plans from both Brown and Thomas White, before incorporating elements of their ideas into his own preferred design.¹⁸

Without the plans, Brown's vision for the 'capabilities' at Harewood must remain conjectural, as must their relationship with the extant historic landscape. However, the payment to Brown for his visit, the fact that Brown

¹⁰ Cowell, F. (2005). *Richard Woods (1715/6–1793): Surveyor, improver and master of the pleasure garden* (pp. 112, 185–187, 191). Norwich: University of East Anglia; Laird, M. (1999). *The flowering of the landscape garden* (pp. 121–124). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; Jacques, D. (2015). *Georgian gardens* (p. 72).

¹¹ WYL250/3/Estate Accounts/225 Cash Book June 1751, April 1752, March 1753.

¹² WYL250/3/Estate Accounts/225 Cash Book June–August 1750; WYL250/3/Estate Accounts/225 Cash Book April–August 1752.

¹³ Wragg, B. (2000). *The life and works of John Carr of York*. York: Oblong.

¹⁴ Mauchline, M. (1992). *Harewood House: One of the treasure houses of Britain* (pp. 23–24). Ashbourne: Moorland Pub. Co.

¹⁵ WYL250/ACC/247, Payment to Brown by Lascelles £21, 12 December 1758; Perhaps worth around £3,000 today – see Floud, R. (2016). Capable Entrepreneur? Lancelot Brown and his finances. *Occasional Papers from the RHS Library*, 14, 19–41.

¹⁶ WYL250/CORR/2, Robert Teesdale to Samuel Popplewell 12 March 1758/9; Mauchline, M. (1992). *Harewood House* (p. 36).

¹⁷ RHS Lindley Library: Lancelot Brown Account Book, 1759–83 [MS 998 BRO BRO]. Available online at <https://www.rhs.org.uk/education-learning/libraries-at-rhs/collections/library-online/capability-brown-account-book>, accessed 27 September 2016, f 118.

¹⁸ Neave, D. & Turnbull, D. (1992). *Landscaped parks and gardens of East Yorkshire* (pp. 65–67). Hull: Georgian Society for East Yorkshire.

produced plans for the house and for the landscape, and, critically, the close relationship between Brown's visit and the start of work all suggest that Brown was well placed to influence the design of the landscape. The uncertainty about Brown's influence on the Harewood landscape is, however, compounded by the fact that, after the single payment in 1758, Brown did not receive regular payments relating to Harewood until 1774. Such a long absence – some sixteen years – during which extensive works were under way, might suggest instead that Brown's vision for the landscape had been rejected by Lascelles. However, a closer examination of events, in the context of what is now known of Brown's networks and working practices, arguably supports the idea that Brown may have maintained a degree of influence over the landscaping *in absentia*, through his network of foremen.

Significantly it was Richard Woods (1715–93), not Brown, who was consulted about the landscape at Harewood after Richardson's death in 1761. Woods appears to have been the preferred successor locally as he also took over similar Richardson commissions at nearby Cannon Hall and Cusworth, where Woods submitted detailed instructions and plans for creating the lakes, in what might be considered a Brownian style.¹⁹ Woods's tenure at Harewood was, however, brief. In mid-March 1764 he staked out a southern approach road to the new house from Lofthouse with Samuel Popplewell.²⁰ In November he was paid £56-14s-0d for surveying and 'setting out the grounds', and his foreman Anthony Sparrow was also paid £12-3s-0d for his wages and his 'journey to Gawthorpe'.²¹ The immediate focus of their attention was probably the northern pleasure grounds, which would shield the house from the new turnpike road and offered views across Wharfedale.²² By early February 1765, Sparrow and his men had begun 'shaving the hill' to the north of the house, whilst Lascelles instructed the gardener on where to get trees for planting from within the estate.²³ By early March Sparrow's gang was 'very busie trenching and planting', but Woods was being elusive and Sparrow told Popplewell he had not heard from him.²⁴ By May the situation had deteriorated irretrievably as Woods struggled to cope with the logistics of his own success and fell out with his foremen. Woods left Harewood abruptly, and ordered Sparrow to join him in Northumberland.²⁵ Sparrow, whose relationship with both Woods and Popplewell had been defined by his drinking, applied to stay at Harewood and, surprisingly, was kept on after assurances that he would reform his behaviour and with Popplewell's assurances that he was capable of executing the landscape plans.²⁶

The choice of Thomas White (1739–1811) to succeed Woods in 1765 marks a return to Brown and his foremen. White had worked for Brown from April 1759 until July 1765, at Chillington (Staffs) and Glentworth (Lincs), as well as Temple Newsam and Sandbeck in Yorkshire.²⁷ Brown prepared a plan of Temple Newsam, ten miles south of Harewood, for Charles Ingram in 1762, and White worked there for Brown, probably as a foreman, in the early 1760s.²⁸ Lascelles had already shown an interest in the improvements at Temple Newsam, and wrote to Popplewell in December 1761 instructing him to 'take the Gardener to Temple Newsam, you will then be able to judge by se'in theirs how it is conducted'.²⁹ White left Brown's direct employ in 1765 and worked immediately at Harewood for Edwin Lascelles.³⁰ Woods's premature departure had left Edwin Lascelles mid-project and his employment of a new designer without his own portfolio would have been an uncharacteristic gamble. The fact that White was in charge at Harewood until Brown's return in the early 1770s suggests that Brown might have played a part in promoting his former employee as someone to execute the improvement of

¹⁹ Cowell, F. (2009). *Richard Woods* (pp. 117, 185–193); Jacques, D. (2015). *Georgian gardens* (p. 83).

²⁰ WYL250/CORR/5 19 March 1764, f 108.

²¹ WYL250/3/247.

²² Cowell, F. (2009). *Richard Woods* (pp. 196–197); Hay, M. (1993). *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood* (p. 26). Unpublished dissertation (MA, University of York).

²³ WYL250/CORR/5 9 February 1765, f 156; WYL250/CORR/5 20 February 1765, f 160; Hay, M. (1993). *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood* (p. 44).

²⁴ WYL250/CORR/5 21 March 1765, f 161.

²⁵ WYL250/CORR/5 1 May 1765, f 166.

²⁶ Cowell, F. (2009). *Richard Woods* (pp. 154–155); WYL250/CORR/5 1 May 1765, f 166; 12 May 1765, f 168.

²⁷ Account of Lancelot Brown at Drummonds Bank, RBS Archives: 1759: £170, 1760: £385, 1761: 585, 1762: £590, 1763: £560, 1764: £350, 1765: £325 LB a/c Drummonds.

²⁸ Jacques suggests that White was 'far more independent than any of Brown's foremen' *Georgian gardens* (p. 87).

²⁹ WYL250/CORR/5 3 December 1761; see also Hay, M. (1993). *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood* (p. 46).

³⁰ Turnbull, D. (1990). *Thomas White (1739–1811): Eighteenth-century landscape designer and arboriculturist* (pp. 5, 80). Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of Hull).

the site in a manner compatible with both Brown and Lascelles's vision of seven years earlier, and in preparation for Brown's return.³¹

Having first visited Harewood in December 1765, White returned in late February and reviewed the resources available in the estate nurseries, 'plumps', and plantations. He concluded that 'a great number of Firs are now wanted' and submitted an order for 3,000 trees to Mr Perfect's nursery in Pontefract, most of which Sparrow had planted by late April.³² White was paid for drawings in November 1766, and a large-scale plan survives at Harewood.³³ It shows the grounds including shrubberies to the east of the house, the northern pleasure grounds, and to the south a large lake. White set about 'contracting' Wood's scheme in the pleasure grounds to save on the costs of mowing, and the accounts show that he was engaged with earth-moving projects, including a ha-ha or sunken fence, and that he also constructed a mount, on which he set out the planting in January 1767.³⁴ By March he had set out an 'open plantation upon the first swell of the ground from the church ... and mark't out several places for odd trees', which like the 'Great Hill' was to be planted chiefly with large trees, firs and shrubs from the estate nursery. Popplewell assured Lascelles that 'you will find a vast deal of Trees has been planted & many of them very large'.³⁵ White provided a further catalogue of evergreens and other plants, which Popplewell estimated would cost 'upwards of £60'; Sparrow was despatched with the waggon to collect them from the nursery in Pontefract, and White returned in April to supervise the planting.³⁶ White was again at Harewood in February the next year searching the nurseries for suitable plants with which to thicken the plantations and, as Lascelles wanted to finish the planting that season, White prepared his final catalogue.³⁷

White's time at Harewood, like that of Woods, was not without its tensions, perhaps as a result of Sparrow's continued presence and disappointment that White, only twenty-seven years old, had been brought in above him. The fact that White wrote directly to Lascelles also appears to have upset Popplewell's sensibilities. Popplewell reported in March 1766, for example, that 'Sparrow does not approve of the sunk fence to the west as Mr White has staked it out', and frequently took the opportunity to contrast Sparrow's 'exceeding careful and diligent' attitude with the intervals between White's visits, although White's vouchers for 1767 indicate that he visited every fortnight in the planting season and one or two days every three weeks in the summer.³⁸ Exactly when White left Harewood is unclear. It may have been in the spring or summer of 1768, when the planting was completed, and demand grew across the county for his services – he undertook three new commissions in the East Riding in 1768/9, at Burton Constable, Houghton Hall, and Welton House. It is perhaps no coincidence that by the end of February 1768 Popplewell reported that Sparrow was 'quite reformed, is becoming exceedingly careful and sober. I'm told he thinks of matrimoney', and then in November Popplewell referred to 'Mr Sparrow', perhaps suggesting an elevation after White's departure.³⁹ There was however another hiatus in landscaping during 1769, which could suggest White left having largely completed his scheme of works, but in early 1770 work began again.

Harewood and Brown

The 1770s marked the final phase in the creation of the new landscape at Harewood. Edwin Lascelles moved into his new house in 1771, having married the year before. But when he moved in the northern lawn and pleasure ground were unfinished and the key aesthetic view – that immediately below the south front of the new house – was yet to be started. Looking south, down the hill, the area where the new lake would be was

³¹ White also filled an interregnum between Brown's first visit and later formal involvement at Burton Constable, Jacques, D. (2015). *Georgian gardens* (p. 88).

³² WYL250/ACC/269 Cash Book 1745–81, f 22; WYL250/CORR/5 1 March 1766.

³³ WYL250/3/269 f 126; Turnbull did not see the plan. It is currently mounted, but inaccessible for reproduction. See Finch, J. 'Thomas White's plan of Gawthorpe, 1766', forthcoming.

³⁴ The location of the mount is unknown. Hay argues it was a raised walk within the northern pleasure grounds, but Cowell suggests it was south of the house. John Jewell in *The tourists companion* (1822) describes an octagon seat in the northern pleasure ground as being 'fixed on a mount' (p. 42). It is not identified on the key to White's plan so may have been inherited from Woods's scheme.

³⁵ WYL250/CORR/5 f 205 7 March 1767; f 207 16 March 1767.

³⁶ WYL250/CORR/5 f 208 No date – but between 1 April and before 13 April 1767.

³⁷ WYL250/CORR/5 f 214 13 February 1768.

³⁸ WYL250/ACC/ 379 SP Bills and Vouchers 1767; Hay, M. (1993). *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood* (p. 51).

³⁹ WYL250/CORR/5 f 216, 27 February 1768; f 218, 16 November 1768.

described in 1767 as ‘swamps & Marshes’, and between the new house and the water stood Gawthorpe Hall.⁴⁰ Brown and his foremen returned to Harewood after a gap of almost fifteen years to construct the lake and put the finishing touches to the grand scheme. The majority of the work for this phase was carried out by two of Brown’s team – Dickinson and Sanderson.⁴¹ Dickinson appears in the records from early 1770, before Brown’s plan of the proposed water in 1772 and the regular payments to Brown that begin in 1774, whereas Sanderson is not mentioned until work on the new lake had begun in earnest from 1776, suggesting he was drafted in specifically to deal with the difficult hydraulic engineering.

Dickinson’s arrival in 1770 is significant because, as one of Brown’s network of trusted and skilled workmen, it demonstrates Brown’s influence on the site before 1772. Popplewell cast his critical eye over the new arrival and found him, unusually, ‘never wanting’ and ‘exceedingly diligent’, though perhaps ‘want[ing] more authority’.⁴² In February 1770 Dickinson and his team of nineteen men were at work from before six o’clock each day, ‘removing of the earth about the building’.⁴³ ‘Moving the hill’ on the north side of the house had been one of the most significant pieces of work undertaken during the landscaping, and had been going on since at least 1765. The Duchess of Northumberland commented in 1771 that the site of the new house was ‘very bad’ because ‘[Mr Lascelles] is forced to take away at immense labour & expence a l[a]rge hill w[hi]ch rises immediately in front of it’.⁴⁴ George Hunter, just one of the men with a gang of labourers involved in the task, was paid nearly £400 for his part in removing the hill over the year 1771/2.⁴⁵ As Hunter and his men dug, Dickinson was busy planting large trees and filling in with small ones, just as White had done, before staking, raising, and ‘dishing’ the earth around their roots, but by 1774 he was setting out ‘the Pattern Lines for the men that are moving the earth’, presumably prescribed by Brown, as the area was shaped and planted.⁴⁶

With the north front nearing completion, attention turned to the south, and the primary task was the demolition of Gawthorpe Hall in order to clear the view to the lake. Work to dismantle the house had begun in April 1770, when the interior was gutted, and the glass was removed in February 1771.⁴⁷ The house was cleared of ‘rubbish’ in February 1773, and then John Muschamp, the estate mason, began the demolition of the buildings themselves later in the spring.⁴⁸ A frustrated Edwin Lascelles demanded that Muschamp be ‘expeditious’, but his final bill for ‘pulling down the Old House’ was not presented until September 1774.⁴⁹

The length of time it took to remove Gawthorpe Hall reflects the extent of the building, its courtyards, and gardens, as well as the monumental size of the medieval structures. Excavations on the site (2009–12) revealed part of the manorial complex and, critically, the earth moving enacted by Brown and his men to erase the site from view.⁵⁰ The manor house was taken down only as far as was absolutely necessary to achieve the carefully graded slope to Brown’s new lake. On the higher north side of the structure one or two courses of stone were left of retaining walls to the gardens and on the north face of the hall itself. However, on the south side the medieval walls, which were up to 1.5 m wide, had been removed to the top of the foundations, level with the cobble courtyard, parts of which also remained *in situ*. Between the two external walls, internal floors and steps remained where they could be accommodated in the gradient, with a single course left on top of the medieval

⁴⁰ Ismay, Rev. J. (1945). A visit to Chapel Allerton and Harewood in 1767. *Transactions of the Thoresby Society*, 37, 333–344 (p. 339).

⁴¹ Stroud (1975, *Capability Brown*) believes ‘Dickinson’ was Cornelius Dickinson; Brown and Williamson (2016, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*) follow Stroud’s lead, but Hay (1993, *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood*) calls him a ‘local man’. There were Dickinsons resident at Harewood throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the estate survey 1796/7, the interestingly named Lancelot Dickinson held the second largest tenanted farm of 209 acres. The ‘Dickinson’ who appears regularly in the correspondence is clearly an experienced landscaper and planter and a close reading of the archive indicates he was connected to Brown, and was therefore most likely to be Cornelius Dickinson. Lynch (2016, *Capability Brown in Yorkshire* in P. Eyres [Ed.] *Yorkshire Capabilities: the Yorkshire landscapes of Capability Brown*. Leeds: New Arcadian Press) has Christopher Sanderson, although he is habitually referred to as Mr Sanderson or just Sanderson in the correspondence.

⁴² WYL250/CORR/5 7 July 1770; 31 March 1770; 29 February 1770.

⁴³ WYL250/CORR/5 29 February 1770; 21 March 1770.

⁴⁴ Lynch, K. (2003). *The tourists: Selected extracts from the accounts of early visitors to Harewood House*. Unpublished.

⁴⁵ WYL250/247 Stewards Cash Book. Perhaps around £30,000 today – see Floud, R. (2016). Capable entrepreneur? Lancelot Brown and his finances. *Occasional Papers from the RHS Library*, 14, 19–41

⁴⁶ WYL250/CORR/5 13 February 1771, f 243; 20 February 1771, f 244; 26 February 1774, f 274.

⁴⁷ WYL HAR 225 Stewards Cash Book 1763–75 unpaginated, 14 April 1770, 21 February 1771.

⁴⁸ WYL250/CORR/5 f 263, 15 February 1773; f 266 31 March 1773.

⁴⁹ WYL250/CORR/4/2/15 8 February 1773; WYL HAR 225 Stewards Cash Book 1763–75 unpaginated, 5 September 1774.

⁵⁰ Finch, J. et al. (forthcoming). *Making the modern: Gawthorpe Hall, Harewood House and creating the English landscape*.

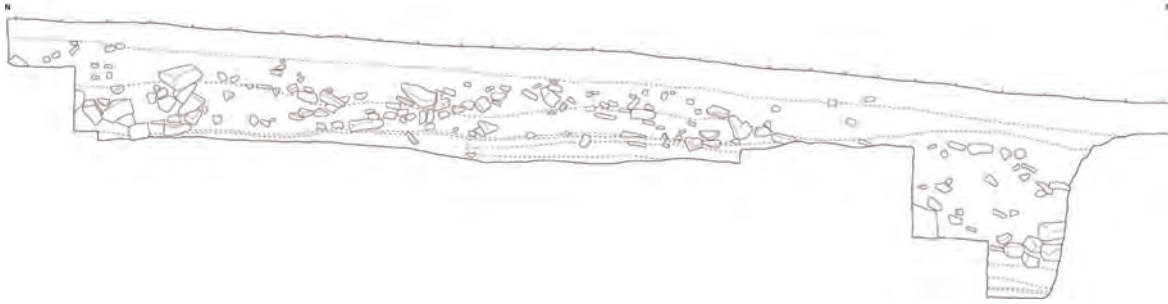


Figure 6.5: A section drawing from the excavation of Gawthorpe Hall showing how voids were filled with large rubble which was levelled off with a demolition layer, over which was a finely graded levelling layer and topsoil. The retaining wall of the garden (far left) was less than 30 cm below the surface. Drawing by Neil Gevaux. Copyright Jonathan Finch CC BY-NC 4.0.

wall footings. Very little worked stone was recovered from the site indicating it was re-used elsewhere on the estate, probably in the village, as the main house itself had been completed.

Once the buildings had been dismantled and removed, the new slope was carefully graded over the former hearths, floors, and foundations. Voids which had been left within the building, such as between the building and the terraced garden for example, were first filled with large pieces of rubble from the demolished building. The whole site was then covered with a demolition layer of rubble pieces, broken bricks, and a considerable amount of plaster or lime, within which was mixed discarded ceramic and glassware. This layer was then levelled off with a layer of finer material, of smaller pieces, again mixed with broken ceramics and glass, over which the final covering of topsoil was applied. The demolition layer was spread right across the site, to a depth of up to 40 cm, whereas the levelling layer was between 10 and 20 cm, suggesting a very carefully planned and expedient process (Figure 6.5). However, the depth at which medieval Gawthorpe was buried was considerably less than recommended by contemporaries and may reflect the urgency of the operation. In June 1773 Dickinson lowered the ground on the south side of the new house, most likely immediately in front of the house itself, where Muschamp laid flagstones in 1775.⁵¹ Once the flags had been laid along the length of the house in 1776, Brown's newly arrived foreman Sanderson, ploughed the south front in advance of sowing, marking the final obliteration of the earlier, medieval manorial complex and its landscape.

The final two works that would complete the southern park were the approach road from Lofthouse Gates, designed by Carr in 1771, and the 'pond' or lake itself. The southern approach from Lofthouse on the Leeds Road was conceived to provide a number of views of the house at different angles and distances. It began with a high and distant view of the house from the gates (see Fig. 6.1) before descending into the woods, crossing the beck at the south-eastern end of the new lake, then emerging for a dramatic view, framed by planting, below the southern front of the house, before making its way up to the east of the house and around to the northern entrance. A similar route had been staked out by Richard Woods in 1764, but in March 1774 Dickinson and his men were 'sinking and stoneing the Coach Road up the west end of the Bridge as Mr Brown set it out' and by May they had 'finished the Ends of the Bridge & the Road thro' the Wood & that part which leads to Lofthouse Gate'.⁵²

The centrepiece of this landscape was, undoubtedly, the expanse of water. Given Brown's reputation for mastering water within a landscape, it is sometimes assumed that the lake was entirely Brown's creation. However, when the late seventeenth-century plan of Gawthorpe is overlaid on the modern landscape it is clear that the northern or upper part of the lake maps closely onto the earlier 'Great Stank' or fish pond, and it is the southern or lower end which was new, wrapping around the southern end of the kitchen gardens and creating a broad expanse of water at the eastern end visible from the new house. It is worth noting that Lascelles had contemplated improving the dam and pond in 1757, a year before Brown's first visit, with John Wooler of

⁵¹ WYL250/CORR/5 7 June 1773, f 269; 17 May 1775.

⁵² WYL250/CORR/5 12 March 1774 f 275; 19 March 1774, f 276; 14 May 1774 f 278.

Whitby producing a detailed design. Originally a military engineer, Wooler had worked on several projects in the north-east including the port of Bridlington and Clifford's Fort on the Tyne.⁵³

Brown's visit in 1758 possibly resulted in Wooler's practical designs being dropped in favour of wider ambitions and something more fashionable. Brown's plan of the water from 1772 makes it clear that this was to be his major contribution, overriding White's plan, and he visited to supervise the initial work on the site of the new lake in 1774, as Popplewell wrote: 'I think Mr Brown will soon be weary of his 3 wheeled cart in that flat ground.'⁵⁴ Dickinson raised the banks to take the new water level, whilst Sanderson and his men were engaged levelling and 'sinking' – or deepening – the area for the new water in April and May 1777. However, Popplewell reported that the new dam head proved problematic immediately: 'The beginning of last week we put down the plug at the Dam Head & you will (if possible) be more surprised than I was when I tell you that the water ran out half as fast as it came in.'⁵⁵ Sanderson opened up the dam and discovered a leak in the clay wall, and in February and March 1778 work was under way sloping the banks and raising the clay wall at the dam head.⁵⁶ Popplewell also reported that, whilst working on the pond, Dickinson had returned several times to the front of the house and 'quickly perceived that the Pond must be widened.'⁵⁷ Popplewell then accompanied Dickinson as he staked out a new line, roughly ninety feet wider than Brown's plan, of which the steward concluded 'I think will look well'. This is important evidence because it clearly shows that Brown's foreman was confident and trusted enough to take the initiative, and had the ability to achieve Brown's overall vision, even when it meant adapting his plans.

By May, however, there was another problem with the water at the dam head, which had 'wrought a hole close to the Plug next the Water just where it was before so large as to bury a horse & has caused the Earth to drop in & part of the gravel walk but has not broken thro' the clay wall.'⁵⁸ How best to resolve the problem and whose labour to use rumbled on and caused considerable friction between Sanderson and Popplewell.⁵⁹ In an effort to solve the problem Lascelles and Popplewell looked again to civil engineers, including Robert Owen, engineer for the Leeds–Liverpool Canal, before settling on James Hudson, who Popplewell reported was 'a very clever, sensible man and [appeared] to know what he is about.'⁶⁰ However, by March 1780 the dam head had failed again and this time James Hudson offered to overhaul the structure, which he thought weak, including a new plug and plug tree, for £200 with a £1,000 bond that it would last for fourteen years.⁶¹ It was thus Hudson's intervention that finally secured the success of Brown's main contribution to the maturing landscape (Figure 6.6).

Once the lake was finished, work ornamenting the grounds continued with John Muschamp the estate mason building a temple in the 'Fir Plomp' by the side of the lake, pictured in an early painting by Nicholas Dall and finishing the walks around the water's edge, whilst Carr designed a Temple of Venus in 1780, that stood on the edge of the plantation above the lake to the south, facing the house as an eye-catcher.⁶² Brown struggled to extract the money he was owed by Lascelles, eventually resorting to calling on him at his London house to press for payment. Lascelles complained that he had 'always said and did insist upon it that the ground was scandalous lay'd & beggarly Sown, and that Several other parts were Slovenly Run over and badly finished' but finally settled Brown's bill in May 1781.⁶³ The last payment to Sanderson was made on the 31st December 1781, and it is interesting to note in the context of the importance now placed on Brown's account book that Popplewell recorded 'it is a matter of indifference to Sanderson whether he receives the money from you or Mr Brown.'⁶⁴

Improvements continued after Brown and Sanderson had left Harewood, particularly in the northern pleasure ground. James Webb, described in the nineteenth century as one of Brown's 'pupils', received Sanderson's

⁵³ Rennison, R. W. (2002). Wooler, John. In, Skempton, A. W. et al. *A biographical dictionary of civil engineers in Great Britain and Ireland* (Vol. 1 1500–1830, pp. 797–798). London: Institute of Civil Engineers.

⁵⁴ WYL250/CORR/5 23 Mary 1774 f 279.

⁵⁵ WYL250/CORR/5 4 June 1777 f 310.

⁵⁶ WYL250/CORR/5 11 February 1778 f 311–312; 7 March 1777 f 313.

⁵⁷ WYL250/CORR/5 8 April 1778 f 317.

⁵⁸ WYL250/CORR/5 10 May 1778 f 317.

⁵⁹ WYL250/CORR/5 18 May 1778 f 319; 20 May 1778 f 319; 23 May 1778 ff 319–320.

⁶⁰ WYL250/CORR/5 3 June 1778 f 321.

⁶¹ WYL250/CORR/5 18 March 1780 f 338; WYL250/SC/4/2/50; WYL250/3/ACC/248.

⁶² WYL250/4/9/7–8 Plans of the temple dated 1780.

⁶³ WYL250/SC/4/2/39 28 March 1778.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Mauchline, M. (1992). *Harewood House* (p. 110).



Figure 6.6: *Harewood House from the south west*, J.M.W. Turner, 1797. Turner was one of the up-and-coming artists who visited Harewood to capture the house within the maturing landscape. In this view, the church is now all but invisible above the tree planting, and all trace of Gawthorpe has been erased from the grassy slope down to Brown's lake. Reproduced by courtesy of the Harewood House Trust.

final payment so was probably one of Sanderson's gang who remained and took charge of the works.⁶⁵ Webb finished the ha-ha on the southern side of the water, dressed the slopes, and made good the ground, before extending the layout of the northern pleasure grounds as far as the church. Adam Mickle, another of Brown's coterie, provided a plan of the plantations around the house and the northern approach road, including the new lodge gates designed by Robert Adam, in 1791.⁶⁶ So, just as it is difficult to identify the beginning of Brown's involvement at Harewood, so too his shadow is cast over its subsequent development, with workmen associated with Brown continuing to develop the grounds after Brown's death. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Humphry Repton – Brown's self-proclaimed successor and advocate – visited Harewood with

⁶⁵ Hay, M. (1993). *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood* (p. 54).

⁶⁶ WYL250/3/43 Estate plans.

a brief to improve the grounds. His main suggestion was a new entrance arch as the centrepiece within the village and a new approach drive from the arch to the east of the park, which, having entered the park from the village and new archway, curved to the south of the house before delivering guests to the north entrance.⁶⁷ However, as was often the case, Repton's plans were not adopted in full, particularly his desire to link the village and the park with a 'skreen' and arch. Instead, Muschamp the estate mason, presumably under direction from Lascelles, set the gate back from the village so as to become, in Repton's words 'unmeaning'.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Capability Brown's engagement at Harewood spanned his professional career and created one of the finest designed landscapes in Yorkshire, yet this study has demonstrated how difficult it can be to identify and isolate Brown's personal contribution to individual sites and to the development of landscape taste more generally in the second half of the eighteenth century. Far from emerging as the pre-eminent figure, Brown is elusive and problematic, one figure amongst many landscape designers, and one man amongst a complex network of surveyors and foremen who realised and adapted his vision. As such it suggests that traditional biographical and aesthetic narratives within historic landscape design might need to be re-assessed.

It can be argued that Brown's first visit to Harewood in 1758 set the framework for the landscape design at Harewood, but it is far from certain. When he returned some sixteen years after his first consultation, he was paid £6,800 over the next eight years to complete the landscape, yet between the visits both locally successful landscape designers and Brown's associates were employed at the site. It was, therefore, perhaps Brown's ability to provide reliable foremen and manage networks of workers to realise his landscapes that earned him as much business as his vision of the capabilities of the site. Woods failed to manage the project through Sparrow, but Brown sustained his professional relationships, even when Edwin Lascelles was critical of the results.

Through the first detailed examination of Harewood it is clear that connections between neighbouring owners with contemporaneous projects were as important as the *curriculum vitae* of the individual landscape designer. Edwin Lascelles's early efforts to improve the landscape drew on projects at nearby Cannon Hall and Cusworth Hall, but he was also corresponding with Yorkshire landowners engaged in landscaping at Sledmere, Newby, and Temple Newsam. The second key aspect to emerge from Harewood is that the succession of designers was underpinned by peripatetic foremen and gang leaders who were expected to negotiate complex relationships on the ground. The fact that Woods's foreman, Anthony Sparrow, stayed on at Harewood to work under White, and that White had worked for Brown at Temple Newsam before taking on Harewood, and that Lascelles considered retaining Sanderson after Brown left, shows that the owner's networks overlaid networks of foremen and associates that also provided links and continuities, beyond those of the designers themselves.

Harewood is significant to understanding Brown's work both because the grounds were created over a formative period of his career, and because the documentation and archaeology reveal much about his working practices. However, as with so many sites, the actual role Brown played is far from straightforward and many other landscape designers contributed to the developing landscape in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It is only by detailed case studies such as this that we can understand the complex manner in which ideas were realised into landscapes, and it is only then that we can re-appraise how and why Brown achieved the success and celebrity that he did. But it will also serve to remind us that we might need to model a new vision of how designed landscapes were realised and developed over this most significant episode in the evolution of the landscape.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

⁶⁷ See Eyres, P. & Lynch, K. (2018). *On the spot: The Yorkshire Red Books of Humphry Repton, landscape gardener* (pp. 73–90). Leeds: New Arcadian Press.

⁶⁸ Finch, J. (2008). Three men in a boat: Biographies and narratives in the historic landscape. *Landscape Research*, 33(5), 511–530.

CHAPTER 7

Lancelot Brown's Legacy of Landscape Practice: Samuel Lapidge 'Who Knows My Accounts and the Nature of Them'

Jan Woudstra¹

Introduction

Since Lancelot Brown's aides were first referred to as 'associates' in 2001, this term has been generally applied to the main gardeners who assisted him to realise his various projects.² This title represented the overdue acknowledgement of their contribution to the realisation of Brown's landscapes and that perhaps one man alone could not have achieved everything, even though this fitted the modern world view that favours 'great men' and heroes. While this latter acknowledgement has helped to redress the balance and increased our knowledge and understanding of Brown's work and that of others, it has also resulted in considering all aides as associates, when in fact they clearly had different tasks within a certain hierarchy. As a result there are still considerable gaps in our understanding of Brown's landscape practice as a business. Our knowledge of the financial arrangements was increased as a result of access to Brown's private ledgers at Drummonds Bank, but there remain many questions about the arrangements of pay and the flow of money, which were clearly sophisticated and complex.³ There also remain questions about how projects were approached, organised, and directed and it appears that a strategy of following the money is not going to provide us with the required understanding, as there are too many missing links.

A different strategy to uncover Brown's organisation and manner of directing work would be by means of case studies of individual sites that have good documentation. Unfortunately, there appear to be limited numbers of instances where records survive to a sufficient level to make this possible. However, a case study of

¹ David Jacques, Val Bott, John Phibbs, David Brown, Tom Williamson, and Steffie Shields all contributed to the text in various helpful ways.

² Brown, D. (2001). Lancelot Brown and his associates. *Garden History*, 29(1), 2–11.

³ Heritage Archives: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown bank accounts. Available online at <https://www.rbs.com/heritage/subjects/lancelot-capability-brown-tercentenary.html>.

How to cite this book chapter:

Woudstra, J. 2020. Lancelot Brown's Legacy of Landscape Practice: Samuel Lapidge 'Who Knows My Accounts and the Nature of Them'. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 89–104. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.g>. CC BY-NC 4.0

the grounds of Chiswick House illustrates how a small contract was run immediately after Brown's death, and would presumably have been run before it. Detailed accounts of work executed at Chiswick are revealing of the practice as it continued under Samuel Lapidge, assisted by William Ireland. Contracts, drawings, inventories, bills, and vouchers covering the period 1784–85 provide a basis for analysis that is illuminating of the manner of working, general practice of Brown's office, and attributions. In order to get to terms with the general organisation, the contemporary titles are utilised here to analyse and explain the structure and hierarchy.

Samuel Lapidge in the Brown Milieu

Samuel, son of William Lapidge, was born on 14th August 1744,⁴ moving to Cassiobury aged four, where his father was a gardener for the Earl of Essex. Together with his brother John, Samuel was predestined to become a gardener, being trained by their father. When the latter was dismissed by Lord Essex in October 1759 after an incident surrounding 'a few runaway Greens &c' taken from the kitchen garden,⁵ he had to seek employment elsewhere. A glowing character reference from Richard Woods stated that 'He will Inform you, that he has two sons (wch at present are continued at Lord Essex) but woud be glad they may be imployd under himself, till he can dispose of one or both of them.'⁶ Lapidge was soon employed by Sir William Lee at Hartwell (Bucks), for whom he continued Richard Woods's planting schemes. John, Samuel's brother, later became a market gardener near Bath, but in 1762, aged seventeen or eighteen, Samuel joined Lancelot Brown as a 'pupil'⁷ and continued to be employed by him until Brown's death in 1783.⁸

Samuel joined a thriving business: 1760 had seen Brown at Chatsworth (Derbys); Alnwick (Northum); Prior Park (Som); Corsham Court (Wilts); Springhill (Worcs); Chillington (Staffs); Aynho (Northants); and Chalfont House (Bucks), amongst other ongoing projects. In 1761 he became involved at Bowood (Wilts); Ugbrooke (Devon); Eaton Hall (Ches), but being in poor health that year he had to rely on James Sanderson, his foreman at Longleat, to give directions at Corsham.⁹ In 1762 various new projects clustered around London: Ditton Park, Gatton Park, and Wycombe (all Bucks), but also Temple Newsam (Yorks) and Holkham (Norf), though the latter was not implemented. The work for each project was generally organised by Brown through a foreman, who would provide regular accounts of progress.

Samuel, who frequently accompanied Brown on his travels,¹⁰ was only a few years older than Brown's own children, of whom there were five, the first a daughter named Bridget, after his wife, born in 1746; the first son, Lancelot, was born two years later. There followed John, Margaret, and Thomas, the latter in 1761, when in September the young Lancelot was sent to Eton. Being dubbed Capey, after his father's nickname, it is perhaps not surprising that he was not interested in following in the profession. It would also have been a daunting challenge to live up to the enormous reputation of his father, which was reported as follows: 'Few persons from so humble a sphere of life have been so much talked about as Mr. Brown.' He had received his nickname as a result of a response to a question by Lord Coventry, of Croome Court, where he was first asked for advice in 1750, 'when, having been shewn the place to which much had been done before, his Lordship asked him how he liked it? *Why, my Lord, the place has its capabilities*.'¹¹

Various anecdotes reported in the press provide evidence of Brown's abilities and skills, not only at a professional level but also in his ability to convince clients of the right decision:

Mr. Capability Brown, the great Arbiter of British Taste, a few Days ago, standing in Blenheim Park, and surveying with infinite Delight the very magnificent Piece of Water which had been suggested by his Fancy, and finished under his Direction, was overheard to say, Thames! Thames! thou wilt never forgive me for this!¹²

⁴ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 103).

⁵ Bucks Studies, D/LE/D/6/1.

⁶ Bucks Studies, D/LE/D/11/61.

⁷ See e.g. Anon., 'Milton Abbey', *Whitehall Evening Post*, 14–17 June 1791.

⁸ Stroud, D. (1986). In Jellicoe, G., Jellicoe, S., Goode, P. & Lancaster, M. (Eds.), *Oxford companion to gardens* (p. 329). Oxford: OUP; Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 103).

⁹ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 87).

¹⁰ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 103).

¹¹ Anon., 'Anecdotes of Mr. Brown, the gardener', *Morning Post*, 30 July 1776.

¹² Anon., 'Country news', *Public Advertiser*, 9 September 1772.

Other anecdotes reveal him as an astute and confident businessman who was aware of, and able to trade on his reputation:

He was sent for by a gentleman in Staffordshire who had more money than land – and upon being shown the ground – *That hill, said Brown, you must clump. That I cannot do, said the gentleman, for it belongs to Mr Jennings; Well, – we must pass over that; this valley must be cleared and floated.* Impossible, returned the other, for that is also Mr. Jennings'. *Your most humble servant, said Brown, taking an abrupt leave, I think Mr. Jennings should have sent for me, not you.*

When Lord Exeter shewed him Burleigh, and had viewed the ground where the water was to be made; his Lordship asked him what the expence would be? – He replied, *The Goddess of Taste will reproach you, my Lord, if you think of expence in so divine a place.* Still he was urged. *It will take several years to do it, I must have two thousand a year for it 'till it is done.* He would hear of no other term, and has been for some time employed on these terms. Brown certainly laughed when he called it a divine place, and it will be one of his word things.¹³

Brown was a gifted student of gardening and architecture and appears to have been largely self-taught, but he would also have benefited from a mentoring or apprentice system while working at Stowe. Such apprentice systems had been run informally in nurseries, such as Brompton Park, London, but there was as yet no formal pupillage system such as that operated in the Office of Works since the late-seventeenth century. That system was reinvigorated by Sir Robert Taylor (1714–88) and by 1770 had become the generally accepted way of training for professional life by means of working as a pupil with an established architect. Brown, who by this stage was an important architect as well as the leading landscape designer, was clearly a pioneer in the pupillage system when he took on Lapidge in 1762. By 1770 such training lasted from three to seven years, but an average of five; there would be drawing lessons in separate schools and, after its establishment in 1768, attendance at Royal Academy lessons, followed by study abroad. Lapidge's training appears to have lasted some seven years and there is no evidence that he went on a trip abroad, for which he presumably did not have the resources. It is not clear what Lapidge's training included, but there are a number of clues. On completion of his pupillage he was referred to as a surveyor, which was a term used interchangeably with architect well into the eighteenth century, though it was often used to describe persons 'of a more practical turn of mind'.¹⁴

Another clue is the general practice within Brown's circle. In 1772 he went into practice with Henry Holland junior, then twenty-seven, whilst also taking on the eighteen-year-old John Soane as an assistant for £60 per year. Soane had undertaken his training in the office of George Dance, commencing in 1768, and was admitted to the Royal Academy Schools in 1771. When he set up in practice by himself in 1784 he took on pupils for £50, but with a growing reputation four years later was charging between 100 and 175 guineas, yet in 1804 he allowed the son of a widowed mother to pay a nominal fee of five shillings. In 1811 a pupil started his studies spending eighteen days producing drawings of the architectural orders, and a day on mouldings. Soon after this he produced a survey of a building and drawings for a current project, while also producing illustrations for lectures. Later activities included practical exercises in checking building accounts, squaring carpenters' dimensions, and recording the progress of current work. He would also spend time detailing a small project.¹⁵

It is not known to what extent Lapidge would have produced architectural as well as landscape drawings, and how much was directly supervised by Brown. It is generally assumed that Brown travelled on horseback by himself, but it is clear that Lapidge often accompanied him to assist with surveys, as these were difficult to accomplish alone. An example is his work at Tottenham Park, Wiltshire, where Brown had started remodelling the gardens in 1764. In early 1765 Charles Bill, the agent of Tottenham Park, reported on the progress of the work to its owner Lord Bruce:

Mr. Brown came here on Sunday to dinner. In the afternoon he took a view of the gardens in a storm of snow. Early this morning, which proved to be tolerably favourable, he allowed lining out and finally settled the serpentine walk, all round the garden, marked such trees as were proposed to be taken away

¹³ Anon., 'Anecdotes of Mr. Brown, the gardener', *Morning Post*, 30 July 1776.

¹⁴ Jenkins, F. (1961). *Architect and patron: A survey of professional relations and practice in England from the sixteenth century to the present day* (pp. 93, 107). London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁵ Jenkins, F. (1961). *Architect and patron* (pp. 94–95).

and gave general directions to Winckles upon everything that occur'd. He thinks it best to keep Howse a fortnight or three weeks longer to get the levelling Business forward. In general he approves of what has been done except for the taking away (of) a few trees in one or two places. If the high bank and trees had been taken down, great would have been the fall indeed, Brown would have excommunicated us all ...¹⁶

While the work of setting out and marking could have been done with local personnel, the text clearly suggests that adjustments were made to devise the desired alignment, and this would have been much quicker together with someone familiar with the practice. However, there is no direct mention of assistance in any of Brown's own records.

After Brown was appointed as Chief Gardener at the Royal Palace at Hampton Court in 1764, he clearly needed more help as his business expanded and he appointed John Spyers (c. 1731–98) specifically as his land surveyor. In fact, Spyers commenced his appointment with a topographical survey of Tottenham Park, and it is possible that Lapidge would also have been involved in his training. Whatever the case, by 1765 Lapidge's development had been sufficient for him to carry out an independent survey at Wrotham Park, Hertfordshire. He may have also carried out a survey of Hanwell, Middlesex, at about the same time.¹⁷ Nevertheless, regular payments to Lapidge do not appear to have started until 1769 and, although a one-off payment was made in 1767, it suggests that his training may not have been considered completed until the latter date.¹⁸

Lapidge was based at Hampton Court, from which both architecture and landscape projects were directed. He continued to undertake surveys, such as one at Grimsthorpe, Lincolnshire, in 1771.¹⁹ However, after 1772 the architectural side of the business was primarily conducted from the Mayfair offices by Holland, and Lapidge appears to have remained at Hampton Court, where his responsibilities continued to include landscape surveys but now extended into responsibility for managing and monitoring Brown's account at Drummonds Bank.²⁰ In 1774 Lapidge surveyed Putney Heath, London,²¹ and clearly made Hampton Court his home, marrying Sarah, the daughter of George Lowe (d. 1758), a previous head gardener there, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, London, on the 8th July 1778, with Margaret and Lancelot Brown junior as witnesses (Figure 7.1). Their first son, Edward, was born in 1779 and baptised on the 21st June, with Lancelot Brown and Robert Lowe, his brother-in-law, as godfathers, being indicative of the close relationship between the Brown family and Lapidge – Brown had, for example, included Lapidge in his will, made on the 26th March 1779.

When Brown died unexpectedly on the 6th February 1783, he was described in an obituary as follows:

His great and fine genius stood unrivalled, and it was the peculiar felicity of it that it was allowed by all ranks and degrees of society in this country, and by many noble and great personages in other countries. Those who knew him best, or practised near him, were not able to determine whether the quickness of his eye, or its correctness, were most to be admired. It was comprehensive and elegant, and perhaps it may be said never to have failed him. Such, however, was the effect of his genius, that when he was the happiest man, he will be least remembered, so closely did he copy nature, that his works will be mistaken. His truth, his integrity, and his good humour, were very effectual, and will hold a place in the memory of his friends, more likely to continue, though not less to be esteemed.²²

Brown's will stipulated that any uncompleted contracts were to be finished by Lapidge 'who knows my accounts and the nature of them' – meaning the financial side of the business and how it was organised. Lapidge was also to be given 100 guineas over and above his wages.²³ However, by not handing over the practice but just

¹⁶ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 101).

¹⁷ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 215).

¹⁸ Phibbs, J. (2013). A list of landscapes that have been attributed to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown'. *Garden History*, 41(2), 259.

¹⁹ Hinde, T. (1986). *Capability Brown: The story of a master gardener* (p. 143). London: Hutchinson.

²⁰ Bank accounts of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown and his executors with Drummonds Bank, 1753–89. Available at <http://www.rbs.com/heritage>, accessed 18 August 2019.

²¹ Lapidge also surveyed Berrington in Shropshire and Sandleford Priory in 1781, and in 1782 Fornham St. Genevieve, Suffolk. Brown's account book at the RHS Lindley Library names Lapidge as surveyor.

²² Anon., 'Thursday morning, Feb.6, 1783, about nine o'clock, died Lancelot Brown', *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 8 February 1783.

²³ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 201): '... I will also that all my contracts which shall remain uncompleted at the time of my decease be faithfully and fully performed and as Mr. Samuel Lapidge of Hampton Court in the County of Middlesex knows my accounts and the nature of them I desire that he may be employed by my Executors hereafter named in settling of my said accounts and for that Business over and above his wages I give the said Samuel Lapidge the sum of one hundred guineas'.



Figure 7.1: *Church of St. George, Hanover Square, London.* In July 1778 Samuel Lapidge married Sarah, daughter of George Lowe (d. 1758), a previous gardener at Hampton Court, in this church, with Margaret and Lancelot Brown junior as witnesses. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2016, CC BY-NC 4.0.

stipulating that work should be finished, and retaining Lapidge as an employee, Brown perhaps acknowledged that Lapidge could not continue the business that he had built up around his personality and his clients, whom he counted as his friends.

By the end of February Lapidge had circulated a note to Brown's clients announcing that he was retained by the latter's will 'to finish his Contracted Works', which included Sandleford, where twenty unemployed weavers were engaged to carry out the proposals, and where Brown had employed a former boxer and reformed alcoholic turned gardener as supervisor. This had worked well while Brown was alive, but the gardener developed mental health problems and Lapidge was called upon 'to come with all speed to take care of this poor creature'²⁴

Holland senior's accounts suggest that other work continued at Kew, Wynnstay, and Nuneham Courtenay, managed by Lapidge with William Ireland as foreman.²⁵ A year and a half later these were largely completed, and Lapidge advertised to confirm his position as the rightful inheritor of the practice and for further work. He continued to be based at Hampton Court, while Mrs Brown had moved to Kensington where she died in 1786:²⁶

²⁴ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 195); Hinde, T. (1986). *Capability Brown: The story of a master gardener* (p. 203).

²⁵ Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1716–1783* (p. 303). London: Chatto and Windus.

²⁶ Anon., 'Mrs Brown, widow of Lancelot Brown, Esq. of Hampton Court, dies at Kensington', *Morning Post*, 5 September 1786.

Hampton-Court, Middlesex, July 6, 1784.

MR. SAMUEL LAPIDGE most respectfully Informs the Nobility and Gentry, that he continues the business of the late Lancelot Brown, Esq. of Hampton Court, whom he served upwards of twenty-one years, and, agreeable to his will, has, since his death, compleated his unfinished works; and now solicits the honour of their employ, on his own account, in the improvement of their seats, &c.

All letters addressed to Mr. Lapidge, at Hampton-Court, Middlesex; or at No. 26, Berkeley-Square, London, will be duly attended to.²⁷

Chiswick

William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire (1748–1811), may have responded to this advert and commenced correspondence with Lapidge about improvements at Chiswick. The 5th Duke's father, also William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire (1720–64), had employed Brown between 1760 and 1765 to make improvements at Chatsworth, with Michael Milliken as foreman, and with labourers directly employed by the estate, so he must have been familiar with the work practices.²⁸ Chiswick's famous classical gardens, created by Richard Boyle, the 3rd Earl of Burlington, from 1715 to his death in 1753, had passed through Charlotte, his only surviving daughter, to her husband the Marquess of Hartington (Figure 7.2). When the latter succeeded as the 4th Duke of Devonshire in 1755, Charlotte was already dead, having died a year after her father. While general maintenance work continued, and further land was acquired, there were no major improvements and when the Duke died in 1764, it was put in trust for the sixteen-year-old heir.

In 1772 the 5th Duke started a process of change by filling in and levelling the formal fish pond and mounds, thus opening views from the house to the river, where the timber Palladian bridge was replaced with a classical bridge, built in Portland stone with Coade stone medallions in 1774 (Figure 7.3). The Duke married Georgiana Spencer (1757–1806) that year, while also having the first child with one of his mistresses. It is probably as a result of his busy and complicated personal arrangements that he had little inclination for further garden improvements, but Chiswick came back into focus in 1778 when his new estate agent, John Heaton, reported that the farm and gardens at Chiswick had been neglected or mismanaged. As a result of this the existing gardener, who also acted as bailiff, John Knowlton, was made redundant and a new gardener, John Teesdale, was appointed, while Mr Auckland became the bailiff. Disuse and lack of care also seems to have affected some of the buildings as both the Bagnio (Cassina) and the 'running water house' (Lord Burlington's Engine House, situated outside the gardens) were demolished that year.²⁹ While the gardens had improved by 1780, there were now 'misunderstandings' between the house steward, gardener, bailiff, and housekeeper, and in a bid to resolve the issue Teesdale was discharged on the basis that he was the most recently employed.³⁰ He was replaced by Mr Reed.

While improvement in the management had become evident, in 1781 one visitor noted that the gardens still felt 'forsaken', with little obvious progress as the formal structure of Burlington's classical garden continued to be maintained.³¹ By 1784 the Duke decided that he required professional help. Brown's former assistant would have been considered a well-qualified candidate, and, as he was based at Hampton Court, he was only a short ride away. During the summer Lapidge responded to a written request from the Duke, visited Chiswick, and provided him with written suggestions for the west side of the gardens and an outline of costs. These included the opening up of the grounds through clearance of vegetation and the removal of iron railings, the creation of a 'stew pond' – probably a lake, a shady walk from the Classical Bridge to Burlington Lane gate, a gravel walk along the side of the park, and a small gravel walk and shrubbery between the house and cascade. However, while the Duke was keen to start the work as soon as possible, he also wanted to keep the cost down, responding that 'I don't reside much at Chiswick, and am desirous at present not to lay out a large sum of money there',

²⁷ Anon., 'Mr Samuel Lapidge', *Morning Post*, 6 July 1784.

²⁸ Williamson, T. (2001). Chatsworth, Derbyshire. *Garden History*, 29(1), 82–90 (pp. 84–85).

²⁹ They were demolished by November 1778: Chatsworth Archives: Accounts c. 1772–78, f 115; John Ferret's account book 1745–60, ff 201, 235.

³⁰ Chatsworth Archives, [memo] May 1780, 'Regulations at Chiswick'.

³¹ Atkinson, G. (Ed.). (1842). *Journals and letters of the late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, etc., an American refugee in England from 1775–1784* (p. 321). New York: C. S. Francis: '1781/ July 28. Went with Mr Arthur Savage on a curiosity walk, to gaze and Chiswick House and gardens; by a card (without which non are admitted) we found an entrance. It is a seat belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, but forsaken by him. ... Walks in Chinese taste, long, straight, and graveled; cut hedges'.



Figure 7.2: *Engraved survey of Chiswick*, John Rocque, 1736. The classical gardens of Chiswick laid out by Lord Burlington during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The area at the bottom of this survey of the grounds is the western perimeter, which was altered by Samuel Lapidge in 1784. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

requesting that the expense be reduced. Further work was considered a possibility in the future and provision might be made to this effect, but this year ‘will be levelling and planting the ground as was intended, and making the gravel walk by the side of the park, and the small gravel walk and shrubery between the new house and the cascade. The walk over the terrace may be either finished or not, which ever you think best.’³² The Duke additionally instructed Lapidge that:

as I am at such a distant present, I shall be glad if you will call upon my agent Mr Heaton to determine with him upon the mode of conducting the work to be done at Chiswick, who will likewise give the necessary orders to the Bailiff & Gardener to assist you in it, with the men who work under them, and will inform you in which parts of the garden I have a right to cut down trees, and where I have not.³³

The restriction on cutting down the trees probably related to those on the land leased from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s and incorporated within the grounds. With these requirements in mind, Lapidge returned

³² Chatsworth Archives L114/35, box 1 Chiswick.

³³ Chatsworth Archives L114/35, box 1 Chiswick.



Figure 7.3: *The Classical Bridge, Chiswick.* In 1774 the Duke of Devonshire replaced the timber Palladian bridge with the Classical Bridge, suggesting his intention for further improvements to the grounds. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2016, CC BY-NC 4.0.

to the site, staking out the proposals ‘to shew His Grace the Walks & Planting &c &c’ and provided a written description of the intended alterations that also explained the reasoning behind the proposals. It was received by Heaton on the 8th of October:

1. To begin at the South West Front of the House and make a Gravel Walk seven feet Wide down to the Head of the Water.
2. To Contract the Gravel Walk from the front Court Gate & bring it into the above Walk in such a manner that it will not be seen, nor the Servants be seen, when they go down it for Water.
3. To fill up with Planting an Angle against the Iron Pallisade and the Present Planting which hides the above Gravel Walk according to the Stakes put in to shew the Line of it. This Planting keeps the Garden more Private than at present, from the Road & Court.
4. To Continue the Gravel Walk over the Head of the Water & lead it upon the Grass Terrace and new making the Level of this Ground to get up the easier &c.
5. To Continue the Gravel Walk over the Grass Terrace and take away certain Parts (if not all) of the two Yew Hedges that may Obstruct the Additional Planting intended to modernise the Accompanyment of this Gravel Walk over the said Terrace, and leading it down, to the Arch Gate Way in the Road opposite the Obelisk in the easiest manner we can from the Terrace- N.B. its likely the Top of the Terrace may be lowerd in Places to make it wider for the Walk & Planting.
6. To Continue the Gravel Walk from the above mention Place to the New Stone Bridge, along the high made Ground, Grubbing up the Trees and underwood, & Leveling the Ground down to a proper Level for the Gravel Walk and also fill up & Make the Ground on each side of it as good a Level as we can, with the Earth to be removed in this Work, and Cart in more, if its thought worth the Expence.
7. To Plant up the Present low back Walks that’s next the Park Pales, & make such judicious openings over it into the Park that may be approved of as Pleasing Views from the Gravel Walk.
8. To Plant up the Ends of the Present Walks under the Terrace, and also the End of the Streight Walk leading from the Obelisk to the new Stone Bridge, and make a new Plantation against that



Figure 7.4: *Proposals plan, Chiswick*, Samuel Lapidge, 1784, covering the area of the western perimeter of the pleasure ground included a specification and plan. The plan included proposals superimposed on the existing layout and was folded in a similar manner and size to other correspondence. Photo Jan Woudstra. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Walk, intirely hideing it as an Avenue and making the face of it, as marked out upon the Ground, which is intended as a very proper line of Planting to be looked against from out of the New Gravel Walk. Fresh Earth may be wanted for the above Plantations & Levels of the Ground. The Quantity of Gravel required for the New Gravel Walk will be about 350 Loads– The Quantity of Earth is quite uncertain, as Expenses may be saved in this Article.³⁴

These proposals must have met with approval, as on 23rd October 1784, Lapidge returned in order to prepare a plan and estimate. He noted that he had been at Chiswick all day and hoped ‘in the Course of the Week to get the Plan & Estimate done for your Inspection & his Graces Information.’³⁵ This may suggest he forwarded a copy to the Duke (Figure 7.4). He also supplied a list of equipment required for constant use in the work that were to be supplied by the estate: ‘8 Wheelbarrows; 3 Pick axes; 3 Mattocks; 1 Hatchet; 1 Bill; a Line & Reel to it & Garden Rake; Turfing Iron & Riser; and small Iron Crow’. This shows the heavy emphasis of the work on

³⁴ Chatsworth Archives L114/35, box 1 Chiswick.

³⁵ Chatsworth Archives L114/35, box 1 Chiswick.

digging and grubbing. It is notable that spades – which would have been required to fill the wheelbarrows, turning the soil and planting – were not included in this list, and must have either been provided by Lapidge or been considered the standard equipment of workmen that they would carry with them from job to job.

It was proposed that gravel and earth might be supplied by Auckland whenever convenient, while the digging and filling would be done by Lapidge's men, estimating that 350 loads of each might be required, while this would also be a post where savings might be made. The note also stated the preconditions and clauses that the two men 'that assist in taking down the Timber Trees, must have no other director but Mr Lapidge, or his Foreman, nor will Mr Lapidge permit any one to meddle in his Business, if they do, he will leave it, 'till that Liberty is disannulled'. Lapidge was informed that the bailiff, Mr Auckland, potentially had two men available, and Reed four. These would be employed and paid for by Lapidge's foreman.

On the 28th October Lapidge sent his plan and estimate for the works at £265-5s-0d, excluding nursery bills, with the affirmation that he had done the utmost in saving on costs. It was confirmed that Reed was to provide four men, which would help to reduce costs, and the work would 'be so managed, to be done by degrees should that be the Duke of Devonshire's Wish, as I shall finish as I go on, & begin at the House'. Ireland, who had been Brown's foreman and had continued with Lapidge, was in charge of the work, and prepared fortnightly statements of expenditure that were forwarded to Heaton, so that he could monitor the expenses. These include lists of names of the workmen and other expenses. As foreman Ireland earned substantially more than the workmen, with a day rate of 3s-6d; he qualified for travel expenses, and was clearly engaged with another job as he was at Chiswick around half the time, although he spent more time there towards the end of the project.

By the 1st November there were eleven workmen, with numbers employed in each fortnight fluctuating between nine and twenty-three as the project demanded, on a day rate of 18d. William Humphrey was present on site more than anyone else and was paid 20d a day, presumably as one of Lapidge's men, acting as chargehand. The number of days on which the various workmen were present during each fortnightly period varied greatly, so presumably many of these were local men, who could be called in as and when required for particular tasks. A total of forty-six workmen participated spending from just half a day to c. 166 days on the thirty-one-week project, with a total number of man-days of around 1,860.³⁶ Between 24th February and 20th March no work took place and the workmen were off site, due to the adverse weather, losing a potential twenty-one working days. It was a year after the Laki eruption in Iceland, when average temperatures everywhere had dropped by about two degrees Celsius.³⁷ In England the frost had continued with little intermission and on the 16th March it was reported:

that from the 18th of October till the present time, which is a period of 149 days, there have been only 26, in which the thermometer has not been one to 18½ degrees below freezing point, which is a more constant succession of cold weather than has been known in this climate.³⁸

These had been far from ideal working conditions, but by the 15th March the weather began to break and by the end of the week the men were able to return across the water, which may mean that they had been at Hampton Court during the frost.³⁹ Tree removal and some of the planting and turfing were contracted out to Thomas and Richard Steel, who between the 12th November 1784 and 19th February 1785 felled 199 trees. These were rated by size, including five trees at 1s; ninety-eight at 1s-6d; ten at 1s-9d; seventy-eight at 2d and eight large ones at 3s.

The work had been organised in such a way that planting progressed as the project advanced; the area near the house was cleared of turf in order to create a planting bed and path, with the turfing iron requiring repairs by the blacksmith the very first day.⁴⁰ The bed (the 'Angle') was then planted with evergreens to provide a screen to increase privacy. This included four spruce firs, four large Portuguese laurels, twenty common laurels, ten laurustinus, one large holly, one evergreen oak, two junipers, six evergreen honeysuckles, and six lilacs supplied by Robertson and Hodgson on the 16th November.⁴¹ At this stage work was progressing at the cascade, with the

³⁶ Chatsworth Archives 114/35, box 1 Chiswick.

³⁷ Year 1700–1799 AD. <http://www.climate4you.com/ClimateAndHistory%201700-1799.htm#1783-1784:%20The%20Laki%20eruption%20in%20Iceland>, accessed 1 May 2016.

³⁸ Anon., 'A meteorological correspondent assures us..', *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 16 March 1785.

³⁹ Chatsworth Archives 114/35, box 1 Chiswick; Voucher, 19 March–2 April; 'Paid for the men crossing the water £0.13s.0d'.

⁴⁰ Chatsworth Archives 114/35, box 1 Chiswick; Blacksmith's Bill 15 Sept. 1784 – 26 May 1785; £3-19s-8d.

⁴¹ Chatsworth Archives 114/35.



Figure 7.5: Detail of *Map of Chiswick*, Peter Potter, 1858. The area covering the western perimeter (to the south west of the pleasure grounds) of the Chiswick estate reveals that Lapidge's design had been executed as proposed. While one of the axes had been retained here, other avenues had been eliminated. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

wall being raised by Matthew Wright, and completed on the 16th November, after which this area was planted primarily with large trees, including twenty planes, six acacias, and twenty limes, and with shrubbery planting including six Swedish junipers, sixteen laurustinus, six lignum vitae, six sweet bays, ten Spanish brooms, twenty broad-leaved phillyrea and six old ones, six myrtle-leaved phillyrea, six guelder roses, twenty lilacs, twenty privets, and ten yews.⁴² These were all supplied by Robert Lowe, Lapidge's brother-in-law, on the 8th December. Further supplies of plants by Greenwood, Hudson, and Barrit on the 15th January, Robertson and Hodgson on the 24th, and more from Greenwood et al. on the 25th indicate the progress, while the later sections were planted with material from George and James Mitchelson on the 14th April and Mess. Ronalds and Sons in April and May 1785 (Figure 7.5).

However, the various nurserymen were not paid for their goods until after the 20th August, once Lapidge himself had been reimbursed. The blacksmith who had been on call regularly during the works, particularly

⁴² Chatsworth Archives 114/35.

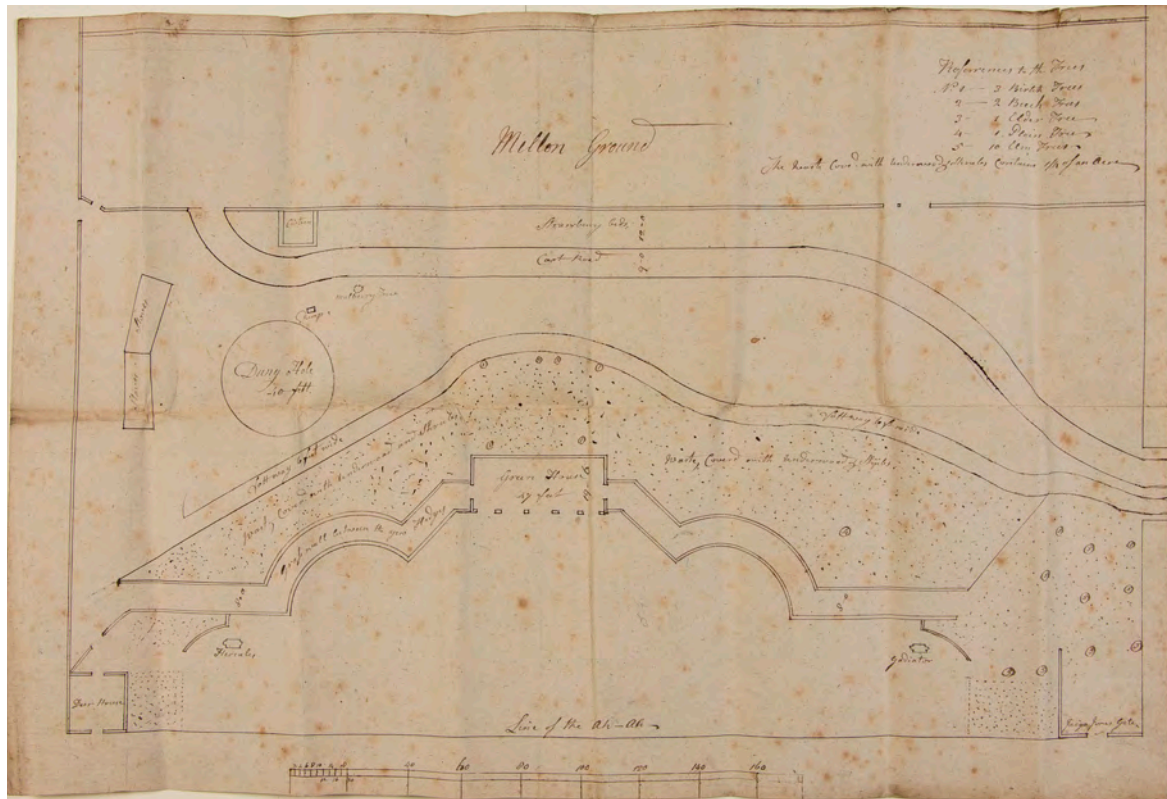


Figure 7.6: *Proposals for improvements in the area of the Arcade at Chiswick*, Samuel Lapidge, c. 1784–85. Following the successful completion of the scheme for the western perimeter of the pleasure ground at Chiswick, Lapidge appears to have been asked to prepare a scheme for the improvements in the area of the arcade. © The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

sharpening and laying pickaxes and repairs to other equipment, also only invoiced at the end of the project. Other expenses related to the job, besides the blacksmith and bricklayer, were for thirty-five bushels of hayseed, sown during the final week of the project and presumably used in areas where it was not essential to achieve an immediate effect with turfing. The men were rewarded with beer whenever another stage in the project was completed. There were also stationery costs for pencils, pens, paper, and sending letters that were included on the fortnightly vouchers. Travel costs were included for Lapidge and Ireland. Lapidge's final account revealed that he had visited the project thirty times, an average of approximately once a week, and that he had spent five days at home producing sketches and estimates, for which he charged £36-15s-0d and £7-10s-0d in travel expenses.⁴³ By the time he produced his final invoice, he had been called to the site a number of additional times, for which he charged £3-2s-0d. The cost of the project without Lapidge's charges was £243-3s-5d, while the total cost amounted to £290-10s-0d, which was paid for by a draft on William Dinne Esq & Co on the 17th of August 1785.⁴⁴

The Duke must have considered the alterations satisfactory as he appears to have engaged Lapidge again for alterations in the arcade area, but, while a drawing survives showing the proposals, any other documentation of this project seems to be missing, presumed lost (Figure 7.6). The project relating to the western perimeter at Chiswick reveals that Lapidge was capable of taking Brown's place in the practice, and continued his manner of working. Similarly, Ireland, who was born in the same year as Lapidge,⁴⁵ seems to have been happy to continue his work with Lapidge on further projects.

⁴³ Chatsworth Archives 114/35.

⁴⁴ Chatsworth 114/35, box 1 'The state of the money distributed in Chiswick Gardens for His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, by me Samuel Lapidge of Hampton Court'.

⁴⁵ John Phibbs suggests this in his blog: <http://www.thebrownadvisor.com.gridhosted.co.uk/2016/03/04/0197-was-william-ireland-a-bedfordshire-man>, accessed 18 August 2019.

Lapidge's Later Career

Lapidge's position as the inheritor of Brown's mantle was by no means uncontested and others claimed to succeed or replace him. One of the first to attempt to acquire Brown's clients was Mr Shields, from Lambeth Terrace, who had 'long cultivated an Intimacy and friendly Correspondence with the great Genius' and had had 'the Opportunity of acquiring and adopting many of his ideas' advertised as early as the 10th February – four days after Brown's death – ascertaining his affiliation with Brown and offering his services:

to that part of the Nobility and Gentry who delight in the Improvements of modern Gardening, and particularly to those who may have their Works left unfinished by that great Master. He will gladly exert himself, to the utmost of his Power, to compleat any such Work in the best Manner he is capable, and will also give Designs to those who are for ever deprived of the further Assistance of the celebrated Mr. Brown.⁴⁶

Brown's former foremen also sought and found work, but none of them appears to have had the charisma to become a leading light in the profession. It was an outsider, Humphry Repton, who in his admiration of Brown's work approached Brown's executors and extracted maps from Lancelot junior, while consulting his architectural drawings that were held by Holland junior.⁴⁷ Holland had also celebrated Brown's qualities:

No man that I ever met with understood so well what was necessary for the habitation of all ranks and degrees of society; no one disposed his offices so well, set his buildings on such good levels, designed such good rooms, or so well provided for the approach, for the drainage, and for the comfort and conveniences of every part of a place he was concerned in. This he did without ever having had one single difference or dispute with any of his employers. He left them pleased, and they remained so as long as he lived ...⁴⁸

His abilities combined not only those of a sensitive designer, with considerable social abilities, but also business skills that included being able to put various people onto tasks for which they had natural skills, and that covered his weaknesses, such as producing drawings, accounting, and running contracts. This was clearly a difficult act to follow, and Repton, who considered himself a gentleman, was not inclined to follow Brown's methods exactly. In looking for a solution he adopted the term 'landscape gardening',⁴⁹ which he thought united the powers of the landscape painter and the practical gardener, with the former conceiving the plan and the latter the ability to execute. Yet Repton did not intend to execute his designs, preferring to present them in an innovative manner, combining text and images, with plans and before and after views, presented bound and covered in maroc – his famous Red Books.

Lapidge and Ireland possessed these separate skills to implement schemes and they were soon employed in various of Repton's designs, including at Chalfont and Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire, where Repton produced Red Books in 1790 and where they worked in 1795.⁵⁰ The next year they were at Burley on the Hill, Rutland for which the Red Book had been produced in 1795. In other places Repton seems to have followed Lapidge, such as at Cobham in 1790, but perhaps Lapidge was paid to produce a survey a year earlier.⁵¹ Besides this contracting for Repton, Lapidge also continued his own projects. In 1789 he worked at Althorp, Northants, while in 1791 he was at Milton Abbey, Dorset, one of Brown's old projects, where his work was reported positively: 'Mr. Lapidge, the pupil of Capability Browne, is creating a vast piece of water, disposing the grounds, and forming a

⁴⁶ Anon., 'Mr Shields being informed...', *Public Advertiser*, 17 February 1783.

⁴⁷ Loudon, J. C. (1840). *The landscape gardening and landscape architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (pp. 30, 266). Loudon: note in Introduction of Humphry Repton, *Sketches and hints on gardening*: 'I must not, in this place omit to acknowledge my obligations to Lancelot Brown, Esq., late member for Huntingdonshire, the son of my predecessor, for having presented me with the maps of the greatest works which his late father had been consulted, both in their original and improved states'.

⁴⁸ Loudon, J. C. (1840). *The landscape gardening and landscape architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (p. 267).

⁴⁹ This term had initially been proposed as 'landskip gardening' by William Shenstone in his essay 'Unconnected thoughts on gardening' (1764).

⁵⁰ Main, J. (1828). Art. I. The Planter's Guide, &c. *The Gardener's Magazine*, 4, 116–117.

⁵¹ The dates for Repton's Red Books are from Daniels, S. (1999). *Humphry Repton: Landscape gardener and the geography of Georgian England*. London: Yale University Press.



Figure 7.7: *The Grove*. In 1796 Samuel Lapidge acquired Grove House, or The Grove, Hampton Wick, a substantial property next to the Thames (seen here centre-right) from his in-laws. Photo copyright Jan Woudstra, 2016, CC BY-NC 4.0.

magnificent approach.⁵² In 1792 he made improvements at Llanarth House, Monmouthshire;⁵³ in 1793 he was at Middleton Hall, Carmarthenshire (now the Welsh Botanic Garden); and in 1795 he was at Chippenham Park, Cambridgeshire, where he worked with William Eames, another of Brown's former foremen.⁵⁴

Soon after, however, there were reported issues. In 1798 Theresa Villiers of Cranbourne Delrow, near Aldenham, Hertfordshire, commented on Lapidge, who had been asked to make proposals for the estate. After calling him 'such an emperor of Quizzes, as our old Lapidge' (he was fifty-four), she considered his appearance 'ludicrous' as he was wearing 'a *Serpentine Wig*, probably made in the shape of some of his Gravel Walks, & of much the same Sandy Colour, such a pose! such a manner!⁵⁵ By this stage he also appears not to have empathised with the desires of, or take any cues from his clients. Villiers continued that she compared him 'to nothing but Suet, talks *six & thirty at least* to the Dozen, & in such a ridiculous way! that, indeed may be attributed to the quantity of Brandy & Port wch he drinks all day long, but within half an hour after his arrival'. From the conversation it was clear that Lapidge had not comprehended the scale of thinking, but in the discussions that followed he 'was very well contented to laugh too at his own wit...'. The situation worsened and a couple of months later Villiers reported:

Lapidge came to us on Wednesday, & we could not get rid of him till this Mornng but now thank my Stars he is not of the House & *Dio volente* will never come into it again – Such a Fool! & such a Vulgar! such a Drunkard! however!! – I really do not think he has one Single Idea belonging to him in Architecture or Gardning, & I believe we shall hardly adopt any one of his Propositions.

⁵² Anon., 'Milton Abbey', *Whitehall Evening Post*, 14–16 June 1791; Anon., 'Milton-Abbey', *General Evening Post*, 14–16 June 1791; Anon., 'Milton Abbey', *Public Advertiser*, 15 June 1791.

⁵³ Loudon, J. C. (1828). *An encyclopaedia of gardening* (p. 1075, para. 7567). London. With thanks to David Jacques for this reference.

⁵⁴ Loudon, J. C. (1828). *An encyclopaedia of gardening* (p. 1072, para. 7551).

⁵⁵ Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, 'Parker of Saltram, Earls of Morley correspondence' transcribed, without dates and references by John Phibbs, on his blog: <http://www.thebrownadvisor.com.gridhosted.co.uk/2016/02/28/0169-who-was-lapidge>, accessed 18 August 2019.



Figure 7.8: *St Mary's Parish Church, Hampton – London.* Copyright Jim Linwood, 2011 CC BY 2.0. URL: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/brighton/6022464340>. Samuel Lapidge (d. 1806) was buried in St. Mary's Parish Church, Hampton; his son Edward completed the new church in September 1831.

Lapidge only left after the arrival of the architect John Nash, who was asked to prepare designs for the house and was then in partnership with Repton.

Some thirty years later James Main believed that Lapidge 'gave up business' in the second half of the 1790s,⁵⁶ however in 1802 he prepared plans for the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, which were not carried out but for which he was paid £384.⁵⁷ Repton followed him there with further proposals in 1805. During the latter period of his career, Lapidge had acquired a substantial property in Hampton Wick from his in-laws in 1796; The Grove or Grove House on the Lower Teddington Road (Figure 7.7). Five years later, in 1801, there was enough property to merit a twenty-two-page will, so it seems that his business had flourished before its later decline.⁵⁸ Lapidge died in 1806, aged sixty-one, and was buried on the 20th April in St. Mary's Parish Church, Hampton;⁵⁹ his wife Sarah followed him in November 1831 (Figure 7.8).⁶⁰ Several of their sons prospered – Edward (1779–1860)

⁵⁶ Main, J. (1828). Art. I. The Planter's Guide, &c (p. 116–117).

⁵⁷ Stroud, D. (1986). In *Oxford companion to gardens* (p. 329). London: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁸ The National Archives, prob 11/1446, 'Will of Samuel Lapidge'.

⁵⁹ <http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1syw5/ChurchyardSurveyStMa/resources/27.htm>, accessed February 2020.

⁶⁰ London Metropolitan Archives: Will: X019/035 445.

as an architect and surveyor,⁶¹ William Frederick (1793–1860) as a Rear Admiral, and Charles Horace (d. 1868) as Commander in the navy.⁶²

Conclusions

This review of Brown's work practices suggests how landscape design was professionalised during the eighteenth century, in line with architectural practice. Brown can be noted as an influential pioneer, adopting a similar pupillage system, with Lapidge, who appears to have been his first and only pupil before his untimely death. In fact, Brown did not distinguish between architectural and landscape practice, which he referred to as 'place-making', while landscape practice alone was referred to as 'work-out-of-doors'. He understood and mastered all aspects of the trade involving buildings and gardens, but even in his own practice a separation in fields of work began to emerge, with the architectural side being run by Holland in Mayfair and the landscape practice by Lapidge from Hampton Court.

Lapidge was not just aware of the accounts but was a skilled organiser, who ensured that Brown was available to meet his clients and was able to organise and fulfil the various contracts. The small contract for improvements at Chiswick House, fulfilled by Lapidge and Ireland soon after Brown's death, is revealing of how projects were run in Brown's office, how they operated, and how they were charged. The logistics of this probably should not be underestimated. These were all skills that Repton did not possess, and he would have been only too delighted to have had the availability of Brown's team for his various projects, even though he perhaps did not acknowledge this. This difference between Brown and Repton was, however, influenced by a changing socio-cultural context; whereas Brown had worked mainly for the nobility, Repton's clients were primarily from the new monied classes, who were more vulnerable to the volatility of the market and would have been more guarded with their resources. For them a Repton Red Book was satisfactory by itself, not only as a status symbol but also a statement of ambition. Thus, despite his financial need, Repton presented landscape gardening as a profession that was suitable for gentlemen, where there was a division between design and implementation. Yet he was frustrated by his lack of reception by clients of Brown's scale, including the lack of generous royal patronage and he never accomplished the recognition he sought. Neither Repton nor Lapidge appears to have had the interpersonal skills to equal Brown's achievements. Brown clearly was a consummate team leader skilled in all aspects of the business, but none of his foremen were quite enough prepared to step in his shoes. They all proved to be trapped in their specialisations, and none were able to emulate his achievements.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

⁶¹ <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16062>, accessed 18 August 2019; he also produced a design for the Royal Botanical Society's Garden in the Inner Circle, Regent's Park in 1839 (not executed).

⁶² Anon., 'Deaths', *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 11 January 1868.

CHAPTER 8

Nathaniel Richmond (c. 1719–84), ‘scholar of Brown’?

David Brown

Horace Walpole visited Lee Priory in Kent on 28th August 1780 and recorded that ‘Mr. Barrett has much improved the place under the direction of Richmond, Scholar of Browne, & has widened a little stream into a pretty River’ (Figure 8.1).¹

Seven years later Elizabeth Montagu visited Ewhurst in Hampshire, and recorded that ‘Mr. Mackreth was not at home, but we took a view of the place, which had been improved by Mr. Brown’s best élève, Mr. Richmond’.² Dorothy Stroud quoted Walpole’s comment in her influential book on Brown in 1950, noting that Richmond did not appear in Brown’s personal account book held at the Lindley Library.³ David Jacques recorded Richmond’s activity at Danson Park (Kent), Shardeloes (Bucks), Saltram (Devon), and at Stanmer (Sussex), but it was not until 1990 that Deborah Turnbull identified him as the Nathaniel Richmond who appeared in Brown’s bank account at Drummonds.⁴ The name of ‘Mr Richmond’ appeared in the accounts for Beeston Hall, Norfolk, during research for a management plan, and it was soon discovered how little was known of him at that time. At Beeston, he was described as ‘one of the gentleman improvers’ by Henry Hulton, whose brother-in-law was Sir Jacob Preston, owner of Beeston Hall and Richmond’s client there (Figure 8.2).⁵

Richmond died in February 1784, in the 65th year of his age, and his obituary in the *Morning Post* of the 30th March 1784 records that he was an ‘eminent improver of parks and gardens’. It continues that he died as a result of an accident during the course of his work: ‘his foot slipped through a grate over an area, which brought on a mortification of the leg, and was the cause of his death’.

Four years later Humphry Repton wrote to his friend Revd. Norton Nicholls at Costessey, near Norwich, on the 26th August 1788 to announce his intention of becoming a professional improver and continued: ‘Mason, Gilpin, Whatley [sic] and Gerardin have been late my breviary, and the works of Kent, Brown and Richmond

¹ Toynbee, P. (1928). Walpole’s journals of visits to country seats. *Walpole Society*, 16, 9–80.

² Blunt, R. (Ed.). (1923). *Mrs. Montagu, ‘Queen of the Blues’: Her letters and friendships from 1762 to 1800*. Vol. II, 1777–1800 (p. 214). London.

³ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (p. 207).

⁴ Jacques, D. (1990). *Georgian gardens: The reign of nature* (p. 85). London: Batsford; Turnbull, D. (1990). *Thomas White (1739–1811): Eighteenth-century landscape designer and arboriculturist* (pp. 30–31). Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of Hull).

⁵ Letter in private collection.

How to cite this book chapter:

Brown, D. 2020. Nathaniel Richmond (c. 1719–84), ‘scholar of Brown’?. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 105–118. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.h>. CC BY-NC 4.0





Figure 8.2: *Beeston Hall, Norfolk*, drawing by Humphry Repton, from *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*, William Watts, 1781, made before Repton commenced his career as a landscape gardener. Copyright and related rights waived under a CC0 licence.

have been the places of my worship'.⁶ It is clear that Richmond was both highly thought of by Walpole, Montagu, and Repton, and widely recognised as a pupil of Brown, as Brown had been of Kent, according to Walpole in 1751: 'one Brown who has set up on a few ideas of Kent and Mr. Southcote'.⁷ In fact, as late as 1779 Walpole commented that Brown 'became the best imitator of Kent, and the most fashionable designer of grounds and gardens'.⁸ This might be construed to be critical of Brown, suggesting him to be a mere copyist rather than a translator, a moderniser, and an 'improver'. However, in Brown's time 'imitation' was not used as the pejorative term most frequently encountered now but was instead considered 'a method of translating looser than paraphrase, in which modern examples and illustrations are used for ancient, and domestick for foreign'.⁹ Similarly,

⁶ Letter to Norton Nicholls, 26 August 1788, Bristol University Library.

⁷ Letter to George Montagu, 22 July 1751, *Horace Walpole's correspondence, Yale edition*, Volume 9 (Yale online 2011), pp. 120–121.

⁸ Toynbee, P. (Ed.). (1926). *Satirical poems ... with notes by Horace Walpole* (p. 41). Oxford. Original published in 1779 and annotated by Horace Walpole in the same year.

⁹ Johnson, S. (1755). *A dictionary of the English Language*. London.

Figure 8.1 (page 106): *Lee Priory, Kent*, John Dixon, 1785, showing Wyatt's gothic enhancements of the house and Richmond's 'river' in the distance (centre), glimpsed between the plantings. Source: Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

in a society accustomed to pupillage and apprenticeship as the normal way in which one learned one's craft, trade, art, or profession, to describe someone as a pupil of someone else implies pedigree. For instance, Joseph Farrington was a pupil of Richard Wilson, and J.M.W. Turner trained under the topographical draughtsman Thomas Malton.¹⁰ What becomes clear for Richmond is that he was already a fully trained surveyor and nurse-ryman by the time he met Brown but nevertheless gained invaluable experience and professional status from his association with Brown.

Little is known of Richmond's life before he appears in Brown's account at Drummonds in 1754. According to his obituary he was most likely to have been born in 1719, or January 1720 at the latest, and is definitely not the Nathanael Richmond baptised in 1732, aged eight, as previously thought.¹¹ The earliest known record of Richmond is as a resident of St. Mary's parish, Warwick, when he married Susannah Neale under licence at Holy Trinity, Stratford-on-Avon, on the 6th February 1745. The Neales were a Warwickshire county family with freehold land in Fenny Compton and Avon Dassett. Susannah's uncle, William Neale, is recorded in Sanderson Miller's diary as riding with Lord Temple, who also held freehold land in Avon Dassett, and Miller to review enclosures.¹² Susannah's father, Matthew, was an apothecary and served as the Gaoler at Warwick during the 1720s.¹³ Her brother, also Matthew and also an apothecary, died in Barbados in 1768, leaving Susannah half of his leasehold estate at Chapel End in Walthamstow.¹⁴

In 1746, Richmond first appears in the accounts at Hewell Grange,¹⁵ the seat of Other Lewis Windsor, 4th Earl of Plymouth (1731–77). It is not clear whether he was directly employed by the estate at that time, but he was certainly supplying trees. However, it seems that he was 'Looking after the garden' between 1747 and December 1749, by which time he appears to have been receiving two shillings a day based on £1-16s for three weeks' work, assuming a six-day week.¹⁶ This would represent an annual rate of approximately £30 p.a. – comparable to Brown's £25 p.a. at Stowe in the same years. It seems most likely that Richmond was 'the Gardener' at Hewell Grange just as Brown was at Stowe.

By the 14th May 1749, when the Richmonds' daughter Sophia was christened at Tardebigge church, adjacent to the Hewell Grange estate in Worcestershire, Richmond was supplying trees to Walter Gough of Perry Hall in Birmingham.¹⁷ He must have already served an apprenticeship as a surveyor as he is recorded as taking an apprentice himself in 1766.¹⁸ He would not have married until he could support a wife and family, making it likely that he was a master surveyor by 1745. It also seems likely that he had a similar 'middling sorts' background to Brown and White, probably attending a grammar school until sixteen before taking an apprenticeship in one of the emerging professions. This speculative timing would have him completing his apprenticeship around 1742.

It is interesting to note that there had been activity at Hewell Grange during the late 1740s, where both Brown and Richmond would work independently later.¹⁹ William Shenstone, poet and improver of his *ferme ornée* at the Leasowes in nearby Halesowen, wrote to his poet friend Richard Jago in January 1754:

Lord Plymouth's piece of water should have been a serpentine river. ... **The park is capable of some considerable beauties.** Lord Plymouth has been once here since, and talks of causing me to come, and design for his environs ...²⁰ [emphasis added]

¹⁰ Finberg, A. J. (1961). *The life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.* (p. 17). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

¹¹ It is now known that Nathanael died the following year in 1733; Brown, D. (2000). *Nathaniel Richmond (1724–1784): 'gentleman improver'* (p. 36). Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of East Anglia).

¹² 22 [July] 1750 'Rode with Lord Cobham, Mr. Townsend, and Neale round Burton Grounds till 10'. Hawkes, W. (Ed.). (2005). *The diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway* (p. 152). Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society in Association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

¹³ Appointment of gaoler, 26 March 1724, Coventry History Centre (PA309/49).

¹⁴ PRO: PROB 11 piece 941.

¹⁵ 16 October 1746 'Pd. Nathl Richmond for 26 young Trees to plant ag^t y^e Garden Walls ... 1-19-', Glamorgan Archives, Account Book 1757–71, D/D PL 944/4, p. 533. Cited in Cousins, M. (2016). The Not-So-Capable Mr Brown? Hewell Grange, Worcestershire. *Garden History*, 44(1), 51–73.

¹⁶ Cousins, M. (2016). The Not-So-Capable Mr Brown?

¹⁷ MS 3145/278/10, 31 January 1749. Birmingham: Archives, Heritage and Photography Service.

¹⁸ PRO IR1/25 Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710–1811; Friday, 17 October 1766.

¹⁹ Glamorgan Record Office D/D PL 944/3–6, Estate rentals and general estate accounts 1737–54.

²⁰ Shenstone, W. (1779). *Letters to particular friends from the year 1739 to 1763* (p. 221). London.

The term ‘capable’ and ‘capability’ fits integrally with the concept of ‘improvement’ so it is not surprising to find these words being used widely. What is perhaps more interesting is the way in which the ‘capability’ brand became so strongly associated with Brown. It is tempting to conclude that Richmond had been working at Hewell Grange in the late 1740s, carrying out tree planting and possibly assisting with widening the river to form a lake adjacent to the new house. The new house was designed by the Smiths of Warwick, commenced in 1712 but still being completed in the 1740s. The estate possessed its own tree nursery during the 1740s, but the accounts suggest that Richmond was also supplying the estate. Whether or not this was material grown on by him within the estate’s nursery is not known. It was not unusual for a gardener, especially the head gardener, to be paid an amount by the estate but be free to pursue their own activities, including growing and selling stock, even to the estate itself. Brown, of course, is the supreme case in point for this: in charge of the royal gardens at Hampton Court but free to pursue an active career across the whole country.

The Hewell Grange estate seems to have drawn on skills from nearby Warwick, where Richmond was previously resident. He must have trained as a surveyor before he moved to Hewell Grange. A Warwick dynasty of surveyors was James Fish, a father and son of the same name, who were active from the 1680s into the 1730s, including James junior’s plan of Charlecote, near Stratford-on-Avon, of 1736. This social and professional Warwickshire network is where Richmond first comes to light. It is highly likely that he would have been known by, and known of, the work of these people and their clients. At some time between 1749 and 1754 Richmond moved from Warwickshire to Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire. Whether the move was direct or whether he was active elsewhere in these years is not known. He may well have been working with Brown earlier than 1754, as Brown’s bank account at Drummonds Bank only recorded detailed payments from 1754, although it had been opened in 1753.

By 1754, when it is known he was receiving payments from Brown, Richmond was trying to establish a family in Rickmansworth.²¹ He was very likely working on nearby Moor Park, supervising the demolition of Bridgeman’s geometric gardens near to the house, and then creating the new informal pleasure ground with major earthworks defining the prospect toward Watford, all on behalf of Brown. Walpole described the effect of the recently completed works in a letter of 1760:

I was not much struck with it, after all the miracles I had heard Brown had performed there. He has undulated the horizon in so many artificial molehills, that it is full as unnatural as if it was drawn with a rule and compasses.²²

However, the work seems to have matured better than his comments suggest, as Thomas Whately visited less than ten years later and praised the ‘rising ground ... divided into three parts, each so distinct and so different, as to have the effect of several hills’, which he then proceeds to describe in some detail, clearly admiring the effect:

They do more than conceal the sharpness of the edge; they convert a deformity into a beauty, and greatly contribute to the embellishment of this most lovely scene; a scene, however, in which the flat is the principal; and yet a more varied, a more beautiful Landskip, can hardly be desired in a garden.²³

Richmond may have worked at other Brown sites in the 1750s, such as Syon Park, for in 1759 he signed a counterpart lease on land in Marylebone from the successful builder and developer William Baker of Syon Hill.²⁴ The land in question contained a nursery and houses adjacent to Lisson Green and on the ‘New Road’, now Marylebone Road and the site of Marylebone Rail Station (Figure 8.3). It was here, assisted by Alexander Cunningham, that Richmond established a base from which he could supply nursery stock and design advice to his landed clients.

²¹ Rickmansworth Parish Records, Herts. R. O. 29 June 1754, baptism of Susanna (third daughter); 19 October 1755, baptism of Charles (first son); 13 February 1757, baptism of Nathaniel (second son); 6 August 1757, burial of Charles (first son); 1 January 1758, burial of Nathaniel (second son); 26 February 1758, baptism of Charlotte (fourth daughter); 6 June 1758, burial of Charlotte (fourth daughter).

²² Walpole to George Montagu, 4 July 1760, in Dover, G. A. E. & Wright, J. (1844). *The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford* (Vol. 4, p. 69) London: R. Bentley.

²³ Whately, T. (1770). *Observations on modern gardening, illustrated by descriptions* (p. 34). London.

²⁴ Referred to in Marylebone Archives Deed 456. Richmond apparently countersigned the existing lease between William Henry Portman and William Baker.

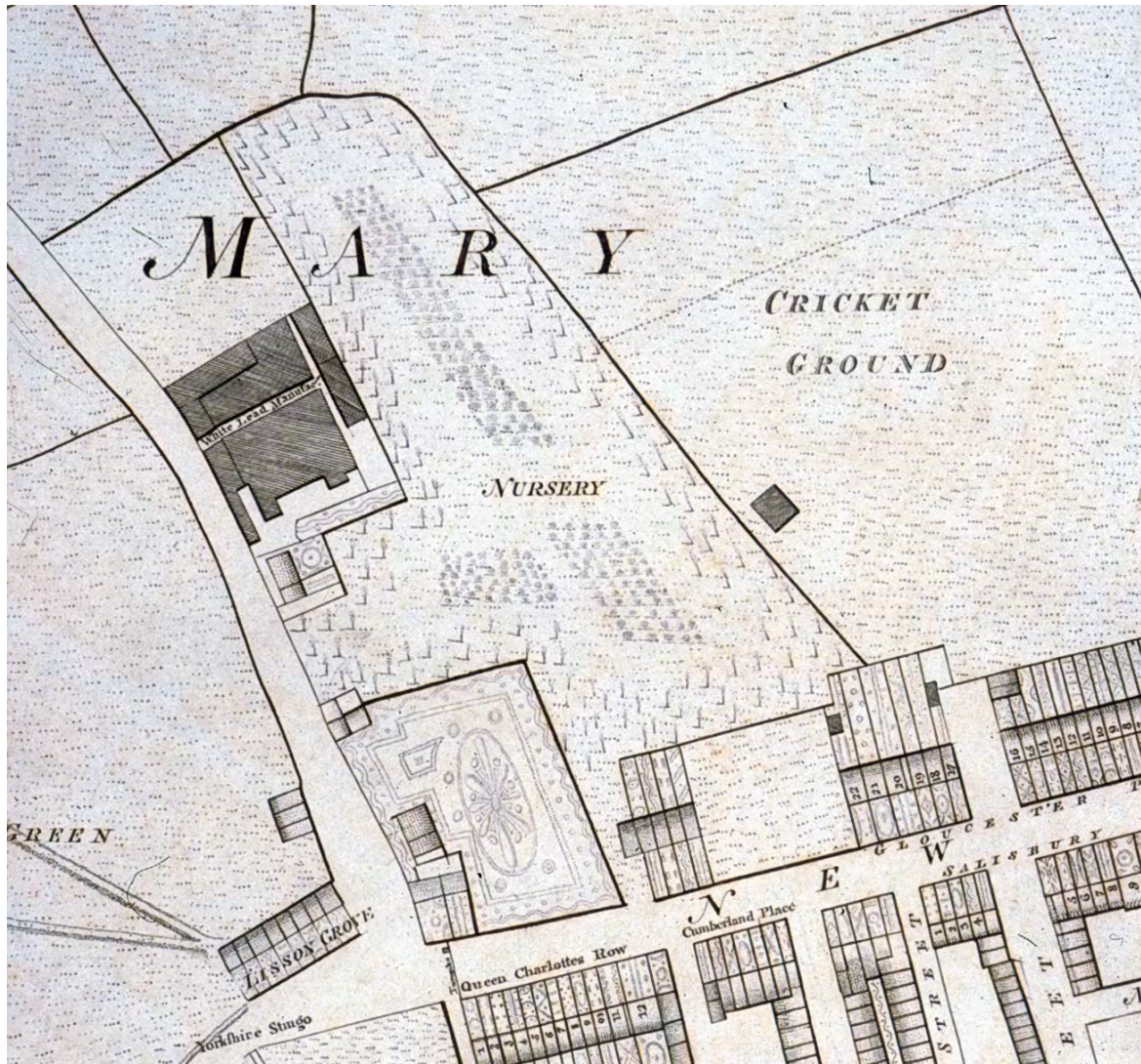


Figure 8.3: Detail from *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster The Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining, Shewing Every House*, Richard Horwood, 1790, showing the nursery, land, and houses Richmond leased in 1759. Photo copyright David Brown, CC BY-NC 4.0.

Although Richmond worked with Brown for five years, he does not appear to have been involved in lake construction for him. However, he was very soon working on three lakes in the early 1760s: at Shardeloes (Bucks),²⁵ Stoke Park (Bucks),²⁶ and Danson Park in Bexley (Kent).²⁷ This suggests that he had experience of lake formation, dams, and controlling water flows before joining Brown, presumably as part of his training as a surveyor. The lake at Shardeloes was being formed in the mid-1750s by naturalising the earlier bason and canal, which had in turn been created in order to form a garden ‘out of a morasse’ for Sir William Drake in the late-seventeenth century.²⁸ Richmond may have been involved in the work on the new lake while at Moor Park, but he certainly finalised the form of the lake in the 1760s.

²⁵ Britton, J. & Brayley, E. W. (1801). *The beauties of England and Wales* (Vol. 1, p. 361). London: Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, etc.: ‘The present mansion is delightfully situated on the brow of the hill, overlooking a broad sheet of water, which was planned by Richmond, and occupies the centre of a narrow valley, covering 35 acres’.

²⁶ Penn, J. (1813). *Account of Stoke Park* (p. 43). London: W. Bulmer.

²⁷ King, R. W. (1980). Joseph Spence of Byfleet (IV). *Garden History*, 8(3), 77–144 (p. 87).

²⁸ Lyons, S. (1806). *Magna Britannia* (Vol. 1, p. 497). London: printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies.

Like Brown, he was not tied to any single contract at any given time. In the 1760s Richmond also naturalised Bridgeman’s geometric woodland blocks and avenues, and created a new serpentine sunk fence to define the new pleasure ground at Shardeloes. By the 1770s it is apparent that Richmond’s practice was taking off and that he could no longer directly supervise all the work that he had secured. By 1765, John Hencher was already working at Shardeloes and was paid regular contract sums by the client alongside continuing smaller consultancy payments to Richmond.²⁹ Hencher (sometimes referred to as Henshaw) worked with Richmond again in the 1770s at Saltram in Devon.³⁰ One of the things Richmond seems to have learned from Brown was to select the best skilled associates to work with. This is the only way in which a good designer could (and can, even today) ensure the standard of the finished work for a client. Of course, a designer’s reputation in the time of Brown relied on the admiration, and discussion, of the completed work. This in turn led to more commissions as word spread. Perhaps one of the more important of Brown’s contributions, as a ‘finishing school’ for his more ambitious associates, was the lesson he provided in how to organise and run a profitable improvement business. Another benefit of working with Brown for a few years was the cachet already attached to his name by the 1760s and the credibility this gave to his former ‘pupils’. It seems that for the spin-off start-ups coming out of the ‘school of Brown’ he was definitely ‘bankability’ Brown. Almost all of Brown’s former assistants traded on his name: William Donn refers to him as ‘my old master’, Thomas White and Robert Robinson are referred to as ‘capability men’, and Richmond’s clients and commentators were clearly aware of his pedigree. It is worth considering here the careers of several of Brown’s other early assistants before and after they worked with him.

William Donn received payments from Brown from 1753 to 1763. He carried out measurements of the building works at Croome Court and seems to have trained as an architect with Brown.³¹ He went on to work as executive architect for Fife House, Whitehall, for Robert Adam and for James Wyatt he worked at Appuldurcombe on the Isle of Wight in the 1770s, as well as carrying out work in his own right as at Estcourt House.³² After leaving Brown in 1763 he briefly teamed up with another Brown associate, James Sanderson, to work on Claydon House (Glos). Sanderson, who worked with Brown from 1754 to 1763, set up a nursery in Caversham and continued to work on Claydon until 1776.³³ Robert Robinson had already executed ‘the designs of Lancelot Brown’ at an unspecified site by 1757, when he advertised his practice and set up independently in Edinburgh and continued to have a very successful career as a ‘capability man’ and architect in Scotland.³⁴ His great competitor in Scotland was another Brown associate, Thomas White. White worked with Brown from 1759 to 1765 at Chillington (Staffs), where he is recorded as ‘gardener’ and it seems likely that he, like Richmond, had already trained as a surveyor. There is a very accomplished survey plan of Chillington of 1761, which is signed by him. White went on to be the most successful improver in the north of England and Scotland. By the time of his death he had an estate of several hundred acres near Consett, Co. Durham, with a new country house, ‘Woodlands’, at its centre. His son, also Thomas, continued the business into the nineteenth century.³⁵

Adam Mickle was the gardener at Badminton in the 1740s, where he would have worked with Kent in the same years that Brown was working with Kent at Stowe.³⁶ Mickle’s son, also Adam, worked with Brown too at Sandbeck (Yorks) and received payments from Brown between 1768 and 1772, between 1774 and 1775, and in 1777. By 1779 father and son were in business together working from their house at Rand Grange, near Bedale in Yorkshire. By April 1780 they were still at Sandbeck, but working in their own right, as it was reported that the Earl of Scarborough ‘has got Mickle there to Brownify the place.’³⁷ By 1781 Mickle junior was working for Lord Grantham at Newby Hall (Yorks), where he carried out major improvements over the next five years. It is very clear from the correspondence that Lancelot Brown was not involved in any way in the work at Newby Hall.³⁸

²⁹ The following analysis is based on Wm Drake’s bank account book, Bucks. RO, D/DR/9/40/3.

³⁰ Saltram Estate Accounts West Devon RO ACC.69/2–12.

³¹ ‘For Journeys and Plans for five years, as also for admeasurements of the work in 1761, & in 1762 some small matters by Donn’. RHS Lindley Library: Lancelot Brown Account Book, 1759–83 [MS 998 BRO BRO]. Available online at <https://www.rhs.org.uk/education-learning/libraries-at-rhs/collections/library-online/capability-brown-account-book>, accessed 27 September 2016.

³² Colvin, H. (2008). *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600–1840* (4th ed.). London: Yale University Press; *Dictionary of Scottish architects*. Available at www.scottisharchitects.org.uk, accessed 19 August 2019.

³³ Donn and Sanderson hold a joint account at Drummonds Bank from 1763 to 1765. From 1766 the account continues for Donn only.

³⁴ *Dictionary of Scottish architects*; Turnbull, D. (1990). *Thomas White (1739–1811): Eighteenth-century landscape designer and arboriculturist* (p. 87).

³⁵ Turnbull, D. (1990). *Thomas White (1739–1811): Eighteenth-century landscape designer and arboriculturist*.

³⁶ Badminton gardener’s account (Adam Mickle), Gloucestershire Archives, D2700/QB3/3/3 (1746)–1757.

³⁷ Nottingham RO: DD/FJ/11/1/3/201–202.

³⁸ Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service: L 30/14/254, L30/15/54/180.

There are other similar stories, for Brown had many assistants. The consistent feature is that many of Brown's assistants had already developed careers as gardeners, masons, carpenters, surveyors, and other improvement disciplines before they were directly employed by him. This should not be surprising, as a crucial part of Brown's success was in choosing the right people to work with. In a cascade system of industrial expansion, Brown's numerous assistants often went on to establish their own businesses and in turn have assistants of their own, who in turn multiplied similarly. In this way, an industry that saw the earliest recorded ornamental nursery sales in the late-seventeenth century could become a sizeable industry sector employing thousands by the 1770s.³⁹

Richmond was only one of many 'improvers' working in the middle years of the eighteenth century, albeit he was one of the most successful. Between 1740 and 1770 there were also many others working in the field of landscape improvement, people not necessarily associated with Brown at all: in these years the number of nurseries expanded rapidly, both numerically and in geographic cover; many nurserymen offered design and construction in addition to plants; some were also surveyors, such as Richard Woods (1715–93), who is known to have improved around fifty sites. Some worked purely as surveyors and improvers, such as Francis Richardson (1698–1762), who lived in Worksop, carried out a number of commissions in the Nottinghamshire Dukeries from 1748 until at least 1756, and worked further afield in Lancashire and Yorkshire until his death in 1762.⁴⁰ There were also gardeners such as William Emes and even architects such as Robert Adam who would design pleasure grounds as well as the buildings within them. There appears to have been a high degree of flexibility for designers to work with both buildings and landscape at this time. Brown, for instance, was also architect at a number of sites and often for the mansion house as well as for garden buildings. Similarly, Cosmo Wallace, who appears to have been a surveyor/clerk of works associated with Adam, prepared a particularly fine proposals drawing for landscape improvements in the contemporary 'Brownian' style at Kimbolton Castle (Cambs), in 1763.⁴¹

Richmond worked within this context of evolving systems of practice. The changes during his working life were not limited to business organisation, however. The character and style of landscape improvement changed gradually between 1740 and 1770. Charles Bridgeman, William Kent, Francis Richardson, Sanderson Miller, and the Greenings were all active during the 1740s and designing in a style that is now sometimes described as 'rococo'. They have in common with Brown's early work an increasingly relaxed and asymmetric geometry whose lines reflected the elegant ripples, shells, and scrolling found in the interior design of the period and elsewhere. Over time, the geometry became so subtle as to be considered 'natural' (within the context of eighteenth-century ideas). Adam, Brown, and Emes were at the forefront of this evolving 'naturalistic' style during the 1750s and 1760s. Improvers would be very aware of what was being done elsewhere, particularly on high-status 'exemplar' sites, through garden tourism, which was becoming popular at the middle and upper levels of society. Ambitious assistants and associates would set up in their own right, further disseminating ideas and techniques, in an ever-expanding marketplace for landscape improvement at all scales and levels of 'polite society'. This would include the town gardens and small parks of the aspirational urban 'middling sorts' as well as the extensive parks and estates of the rural landed.

This expanding marketplace for landscape goods and services is therefore the commercial context within which Richmond launched his independent career in 1759, leasing a nursery at Lisson Green and receiving payment from Sir Kenrick Clayton for work at Marden Park in the same year. Richmond's work at Marden Park became known through an analysis of surviving bank ledgers from the period 1760–84 at Drummonds Bank, now held by the Royal Bank of Scotland Archives, and those for the same period at Hoares Bank. There are a number of other banks for which records still exist and much further work needs to be done to index the location of eighteenth-century client accounts. These rarely accessed accounts represent a rich vein of information and will no doubt include currently unpublished payments to Brown, Richmond, and the other improvers.

Richmond was paid £400 in 1759, roughly equivalent to £90,000 in current value, by Sir Kenrick Clayton and a further £100 in each of the two following years.⁴² An estate survey map of 1761 shows new serpentine drives and what appear to be a series of dressed walks in the grove on the steep slope behind the house.⁴³ The

³⁹ In 1672 Captain Leonard Gurle's Whitechapel Nursery supplied plants including Dutch limes, laurustinus, spruce firs, and various other ornamental shrubs to Ryston Hall near Downham Market, Norfolk. Norfolk RO Mf/Ro 219/1.

⁴⁰ Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England* (p. 115). London: Reaktion Books.

⁴¹ The Norris Museum, St Ives, Cambridgeshire: MAPS/KIMBN/1763(i).

⁴² Account of Sir Kenrick Clayton at Drummonds Bank payments to Mr Richmond: 1759 13 July £100; 5 October £200; 31 August £100; 1760 9 May £100; 1761 21 February £100; 1766 28 July £66.

⁴³ 'A survey of the estates of Sir Kenrick Clayton, Bart, lying in the County of Surrey', by William Chapman. Surrey History Centre K61/3/2.



Figure 8.4: *Hitchin Priory, Herts*, the line of the earlier approach drive, which Richmond replaced, can be seen as a parch-mark in the grass curving towards the house (right). Photo copyright David Brown, CC BY-NC 4.0.

background to a late seventeenth-century portrait of Sir Robert Clayton as Lord Mayor of London shows a bare hillside behind the house with a short single avenue of trees up the slope on axis with the house.⁴⁴

Richmond was already working on Shardeloes, Stoke Park, and Danson Park in 1763. Later in that year Richmond advised Timothy Caswell of Sacombe Park in Hertfordshire,⁴⁵ a park that had been landscaped by Charles Bridgeman for Thomas Rolt in the 1720s with a canal, octagonal bason, and geometrically arranged walks within angular woodland blocks. Dury and Andrews’ map of Hertfordshire, published in 1766, shows the walled garden with its bastion corners, but within a stylised irregular landscape. It seems likely that Richmond had advised on naturalising the geometric layout, removing the formal waters, and rounding the woodland blocks. In 1764, Richmond gave advice to John Seare of Tring Grove, which appears, from later map evidence, to have been a very simple ‘lawn’ with boundary belts.⁴⁶ In the same year he also advised Jenison Shafto, the infamous gambler and horse-racing devotee, on his grounds at Wrattling Park (Cambs),⁴⁷ and began work on Hitchin Priory (Herts). This latter was a larger project, with regular payments to Richmond for journeys and plants that continued until 1771⁴⁸ accompanied by changes to the Priory by Robert Adam with ceilings by Rose & Co. Richmond created a new entrance drive and planted the park with clumps of trees to hide and reveal successive views of the house on approach (Figure 8.4). He widened the River Hiz and created a three-arched bridge in exposed flintwork.

By 1765 Richmond was at work on proposals for John Ward, 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward, at Himley Hall (Staffs), and received seventy guineas through Ward’s account at the Bank of England. Ward was part of the circle of garden enthusiasts that included Sanderson Miller, William Shenstone, and Lord Aylesbury of Hewell Grange, where Richmond had worked in the late 1740s, and presumably became known to Ward. The 2nd Viscount would employ Brown at Himley in 1780 to make a lake to the south of the house, but Richmond’s work was a series of

⁴⁴ Laureys a Castro, *Portrait of Sir Robert Clayton*, c. 1780, Bank of England Collection. Clayton was Lord Mayor of London 1679–80 and one of the founder directors of the Bank of England.

⁴⁵ Account of Timothy Caswall at Drummonds Bank: ‘1763, 8th Dec To Mr Richmond £20’.

⁴⁶ Account of John Seare at Drummonds Bank: ‘1764, 26th Mar To cash paid Mr. Richmond ... £31’.

⁴⁷ Account of Jenison Shafto Esq. at Drummonds Bank: ‘1764, 16th Aug To cash paid Nath. Richmond ... £4’.

⁴⁸ Hertfordshire RO: D/ER F219; Account of John Radcliffe at Hoares Bank, Ledger 81 Fol.345: ‘1770, 15th Feb, To Nath. Richmond, £200-00-00’.



Figure 8.5: Detail from *A Plan for the Alterations proposed at Danson in Kent*, Nathaniel Richmond, c. 1763, showing the curlicue dam detail and planting to cover the level change between the bodies of water. Photo copyright David Brown, CC BY-NC 4.0.

lakes to the north of the house. A rather distressed plan in Dudley Library shows the series of lakes that all possess Richmond's unusual curlicue 'ram's horns' dam wall detail – as at Danson and Shardeloes (Figure 8.5).

Richmond next worked for Richard Cox, army agent and founder of the world's oldest travel agency, possibly at Aspenden Hall (Herts), which he leased as a convenient London retreat, or at his own house in Hampshire, Quarley House, from 1766 to 1768.⁴⁹ The 1803 tithe map for Quarley shows a simple lawn and belts with

⁴⁹ Account of Richard Cox at Drummonds Bank: 1766, 8th Jan Mr. Richmond £26–9; 1767, 22nd Jan Mr. Richmond £39; 1768, 1st Feb To Mr. Richmond ... £56–9.

scattered parkland trees, similar in character to Tring Grove. Another small project was in extending William Pym’s park at The Hasells, near Sandy, Bedfordshire. Richmond spent eleven days there in 1766, for which he charged £17-6s-6d. His usual charge was one guinea per day. For comparison, as already mentioned, Brown’s gardener salary per annum in 1750 at Stowe was £25, demonstrating the elevated status improvers enjoyed over mere gardeners. In 1767, Pym mentions that ‘Colonel Parker told me Mr. Richmond sow’d his Lawn with fifteen bushels of bent seeds and fifteen pounds of Dutch clover to the acre.’⁵⁰ Colonel George Lane Parker was, like Shafto, another horse-racing man, of Woodbury, near Sandy, Bedfordshire, the second son of the Earl of Macclesfield. Both sites are simple small parks, little more than ‘Lawns’ in the contemporary sense. At Hasells Hall Richmond extended the park onto enclosed common ‘waste’ and continued his work there in 1768, supplying fruit trees for the new walled garden. The pleasure ground was wrapped around the walled garden, with a terrace and seat overlooking the lower plain. At Woodbury there was a new walled garden and stables away from the original house and a serpentine ride along the edge of the Greensand ridge from the stables to the house. In the early-nineteenth century a new house was built near the stables and Parker’s Woodbury became separately defined as ‘Old Woodbury’.

Richmond was busy at the dawn of the new decade. Bamber Gascoyne wrote to John Strutt on the 28th February 1770 regarding Richmond’s ‘intentions of visiting Skreens’ so that he could ‘fix the situation of your intended house’ at Terling Place, near Braintree, Essex, designed by the Essex architect John Johnson.⁵¹ Work was still progressing on the new park at Terling in 1781–82, as the Strutt ledgers note: ‘Payments (various) for levelling, new road, and other work including decoy pond and new plantation’, and Richmond received a final payment in May 1783.⁵² Richmond also commenced work on Saltram, Devon, in 1770, for another fancier of bloodstock, John Parker II, later Baron Bovingdon. Parker was married to Theresa Robinson, daughter of Lord Grantham, and brother of Frederick ‘Fritz’ Robinson, mentioned earlier in respect of Mickle. The Parkers and Robinsons were also close friends of the Pelhams of Stanmer, Sussex, where Richmond also worked. In addition to ongoing work at Hitchin Priory and new work at Saltram – which continued until 1774 – Richmond was back at Hewell Grange and also advising Lord Dartrey at Cremorne House at Chelsea.⁵³ A year later he was at Audley End, Essex, designing a new stove house for the walled garden, later demolished to make way for John Hobcraft’s vine house, which remains today.

In the following years Richmond worked on Beeston Hall, Norfolk (1773–78), creating a new lake and demolishing existing walled gardens around the house, and creating a new walled garden some distance away from the house. In 1774 Richmond’s daughter, Mary, married Joseph Rose junior at St. Marylebone.⁵⁴ Rose and his uncle, also Joseph, were the finest Georgian plasterers and worked regularly with Robert Adam. They lived on Queen Anne Street, Marylebone, not far from Richmond’s nursery or the house he moved to in 1780 at 13 Bryanston Street on the Portman Estate. In 1776 Henry Somerset, 5th Duke of Beaufort, employed Richmond to advise him on improvements at Badminton (Glos), and two years later⁵⁵ the Duke wrote to his mother, the Dowager Duchess at Stoke Park, near Bristol:

I have been employ’d all this morning with Mr. Richmond who came here for a few hours to give me his advice in cutting down some trees and set off immediately afterwards for London.⁵⁶

One of the projects under way at Badminton in the 1770s was the creation of a new pleasure ground to the east of the house with a long curving stone-faced ha-ha (Figure 8.6). Richmond had worked for the Dowager Duchess, as administrator to Charles Compton, Earl of Northampton for his daughter and her granddaughter, Lady Elizabeth Compton, at Compton Place near Eastbourne in 1768.⁵⁷ From 1778 to 1782, when she married Henry Cavendish, Richmond worked closely with Lady Elizabeth and Gibbs her agent at Eastbourne, on

⁵⁰ Quoted in James Collett-White, *Hasells Hall* (Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service) as written on 25 August 1767.

⁵¹ Skreens, near Roxwell, Essex, seat of Thomas Berney Bramston, where Richmond may also have worked. Essex R O: T/B 251/7.

⁵² Strutt Ledgers: 1783, ‘21st May N. Richmond, surveyor of grounds ... £32/11/6d’; Account of John Strutt at Hoares Bank, L16 fol.174: ‘2nd Jun, To N. Richmond, £32–11–’.

⁵³ Account of Earl of Plymouth at Hoares Bank: ‘1770, Oct 12th, To Nath. Richmond ... £25-4-00d’. Account of Lord Dartrey at Drummonds Bank: ‘1770, Nov 20th, Nath. Richmond ... £222-17-5’.

⁵⁴ 1774, 15th Dec Mary Richmond married Joseph Rose at St Marylebone. Witnesses: Edward Webster and Joseph Rose Snr.

⁵⁵ Account of Duke of Beaufort at Hoares Bank: ‘1776, 28th Feb £31-10s [Thirty guineas]’; ‘1780, 4th Mar to Dec 21 £53-11s [Fifty one guineas]’; ‘1782, 16th Feb £37-16s [Thirty six guineas]’.

⁵⁶ Badminton Muniments: FmK 1/2/4(36).

⁵⁷ 1768, ‘Paid N. Richmond for an Alteration in the Front of the House at East Bourne which was an inclosed Court and was to be new paved being greatly gone to decay therefore this was done as the cheapest - £50 and £44-16s-0d in full ... £94-16-0’. Compton papers, Chatsworth archives, Box Q, ‘The accounts of the Duchess of Beaufort as Administratrix of Charles, Earl of Northampton, from his death to the time when Lady Elizabeth Compton came of age (includes a Drummonds bank account book 1763–81)’ unsorted.



Figure 8.6: *Richmond's serpentine ha-ha defining the pleasure ground he made at Badminton House.* Photo copyright David Brown, CC BY-NC 4.0.

improvements to the grounds. In February 1780, Robert Gibbs the bailiff of Lady Elizabeth Compton at Compton Place wrote to her at her grandmother's house at Stoke Park, Avon:

I must be at Wilmington next Monday but shall be at home in time to receive Mr. Richmond. Last Thursday I finished the planting on the west side of the house (according to the sketch I sent your Ladyship) I collected everything that was here & fit to plant and did not intend to have anything from London this year as it is now sufficiently thick, but when your Ladyship has seen it mak any action to it that you think proper ...

On the 2nd March 1780, Gibbs wrote again:

Mr. Richmond came here on Monday evening and has ordered some things to be planted to cover the new gate and some Beaches to be planted on the west side of the house. Accord'g to his order and your ladyship's letter I have sent for 50 Laurels 30 Beeches 6 Acacias which I hope will be planted this day week ...⁵⁸

Brown's work at Cadland and Richmond's work at Compton Place can be seen as the natural predecessors of Repton, Nash, and Loudon's villa-scale work. The trend towards smaller villa-scale improvement and the rise in the fashion for a Picturesque 'cottage' aesthetic was one that grew during Repton's working life and was one which Repton promoted. The plans by Nash for Brighton Pavilion gardens of 1816 are directly comparable with Richmond's plans for Compton Place, where the royal family had been regular visitors in the 1780s.⁵⁹

Richmond was once again working in Devon in 1776, this time for the impecunious Sir George Yonge at Escot, and for the wealthy John Walter of Stevenstone.⁶⁰ At some time in his career he also worked at Eggesford in Devon, according to Polwhele in his *History of Devonshire* of 1805, the house had been:

⁵⁸ Compton papers, Chatsworth archives, Box Q, 'The accounts of the Duchess of Beaufort'.

⁵⁹ Reproduced in Hinze, V. (1996). The Re-creation of John Nash's Regency Gardens at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton. *Garden History*, 24(1), 45–53 (p. 48, fig. 2); Correspondence, Compton papers, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

⁶⁰ Account of Sir George Yonge at Drummonds Bank: '1776, 11th Mar, To cash paid Nath. Richmond ... £52–10 [Fifty guineas]'; Account of John Walter at Drummonds Bank. 'Payments to Mr Nathaniel Richmond between 1776–1779 totalling £219-6-0'.

Table 8.1: Details of the thirty-one sites Nathaniel Richmond is known to have worked at between c.1759 and 1784.

	Site	County	Owner/Patron	Date	Evidence
1	Marden Park	Surrey	Sir Kenrick Clayton	1759–61	Payments totalling £600 recorded in KC Drummonds account for these years
2	Stoke Park	Bucks	Thomas Penn	Before 1766	<i>Account of Stoke Park</i> , (1813) John Penn: <i>Lake was originally formed by Richmond</i>
3	Chalfont Park	Bucks	Charles Churchill	Before 1763	James Main in <i>Gardeners Magazine</i>
4	Danson Park	Kent	John Boyd	Before 1763	Joseph Spence refers to <i>Mr Richmond's plan</i>
5	Shardeloes	Bucks	Sir William Drake	1763–69	Payments totalling £2,344 to Richmond and his associate John Hencher (Hoares Bank)
6	Sacombe	Herts	Timothy Caswell	1763	Paid £20, advice, visits
7	Tring Grove	Herts	John Seare	1764	Paid £31, advice, visits
8	Wrattling Park	Camb	Jenison Shafto	1764	Paid £47, advice, visits
9	Hitchin Priory	Herts	John Radcliffe	1764–71	Payment of £200 (Hoares Bank) + bill for journeys (Herts RO)
10	Gorhambury	Herts	James Grimston	1760s	Old Gorhambury, possibly also for 3 rd Viscount for new house after 1773
11	Himley Hall	Staffs	John, Viscount Dudley & Ward	1765	Payment of 70 guineas (JW@Bank of England), plan, lakes
12	Aspenden or Quarley	Herts or Hants	Richard Cox	1766–68	Payments totalling £121–18s (RC@Drummonds)
13	Ewhurst	Hants	Sir Robert Mackreth	After 1763	Elizabeth Montagu correspondence
14	Hasells Hall	Beds	William Pym	1766–68	Estate accounts
15	Compton Palace, Eastbourne	East Sussex	Dowager Duchess of Beaufort Lady Elizabeth Compton	1768 1778–82	Compton papers, Chatsworth, paid £94–16s Correspondence, as above
16	Harleyford	Bucks	William Clayton	1769	Paid £20, advice and visits – no payment to Brown in WC@Drummonds
17	Skreens	Essex	Thomas Berney Bramston	1770	Richmond visits (letter, Bamber Gascoyne to John Strutt)
18	Terling	Essex	John Strutt	1770–83	Visits, payment 1783 of 31 guineas
19	Hewell Grange	Worcs	Earl of Plymouth	1770	Paid 24 guineas, Brown had been here carrying out major works in 1760s
20	Cremorne House, Chelsea	Middlesex	Lord Dartrey	1770	Paid £222-17s-5d (LD@Drummonds)
21	Stanmer	Sussex	Thomas Pelham	Before 1770	Referred to in Saltram correspondence
22	Saltram	Devon	John Parker	1770–74	Paid £162, John Hencher on site
23	Audley End	Essex	Sir John Griffin Griffin	1771	Design for a Stove House
24	Beeston Hall	Norfolk	Sir Jacob Preston	1773–78	Payments in estate accounts, Norfolk RO
25	Escot	Devon	Sir George Yonge	1776	Paid 50 guineas (GY@Drummonds)
26	Eggesford	Devon	Henry Arthur Fellowes	1770s	Polwhele, <i>History of Devon</i> , (1806)
27	Stevenstone	Devon	John Walter	1776–78	Paid £291–6s (JW@Drummonds)
28	Badminton	Glos	5 th Duke of Beaufort	1776–82	Paid 117 guineas (DoB@Hoares): pleasure ground, ha-ha, tree work in park
29	Killerton	Devon	Sir Thomas Acland	1777–82	Paid £20 per visit for several visits of a few days each
30	Lamer	Herts	Charles Garrard Drake	1783	Paid £355-5s-6d, last payment to executor
31	Portman Square, Westminster	Middlesex	The Portman Estate	1780–84	Completed by Henry Hewitt after Richmond's death
	Possible site:				
	Woolverstone, Suffolk	Suffolk	William Berners	After 1776	Repton visits in 1787 on his 'Kent, Brown and Richmond' tour

much increased and improved by the present possessor who has also laid out the grounds about it with much elegance and taste under the direction of the late Mr Richmond; woods well interspersed, considerable plantations and the river Taw contributing much to enrich and beautify the scene.

At the end of his career Richmond was once again working for the Drake family, this time for Charles Garrard Drake, who had inherited Lamer (Herts) through his mother.⁶¹ He died before the works were finished and Repton, in his Red Book for Lamer of 1792, set out that he felt he had been 'called in to compleat the plan suggested by the late Mr Richmond'. In typical Repton style he added:

I have always considered the late Mr. Richmond as the only person since the immortal Brown whose ideas were at all correct on the subject: he understood perfectly how to give the most natural shape to artificial ground, how to dress walks in a pleasure garden, and how to leave or plant picturesque groupes of trees, his lines were generally graceful and easy, but his knowledge of the Art was rather technical and executive, than theoretical; he could stake out the detached parts of a place with much taste, but of the great outline he had so little idea that he never delivered any general plan.

It seems clear that Richmond and Brown were acknowledged as the key innovators in the development of landscape design over their careers. Brown's early work in the 1750s was in what is now recognised as a rococo style similar to that of the Greenings, and developed into something more naturalistic by the early 1760s, as did that of his competitors and contemporaries. The evidence does not support the idea of Brown as the inventor of the style for which he is known but suggests an evolving cultural understanding of an idealised natural landscape, which Brown was at the forefront of delivering and popularising. It was an aesthetic understood and shared by the clients, artists, and designers of the period.

The market sector expanded rapidly over the same period and Brown and his 'pupils' were influential in this expansion. One of the trends in the second half of the eighteenth century was the increased economic and political importance of the 'middling sorts', the aspirational group who had most to gain from 'improvement'. This group was both the emerging marketplace for consumer goods and the suppliers of those goods and services. While Brown's clientele contained the ruling elite of the country, the movers and the shakers at court and in Parliament, Richmond's were from a less politically influential, but often equally wealthy, stratum. City money, banking, and East India Company interests were well represented in Richmond's client list, as was the horse-racing fraternity.

Brown's practice spawned many new improvement businesses, as has been shown, of which Richmond, White, and Mickle were perhaps the most high-end, as were his main competitors, Emes and Woods. The style of these improvers is virtually indistinguishable in the finished landscapes on the ground. The variable appears to be the cachet attached to the various names, and perhaps even more so to their client lists, rather than anything necessarily intrinsic in the finished landscape. The expansion in the number of improvers could only be achieved due to the same expansion of demand in the market for improvement and that expansion was not purely in volume but also in the range of potential clients amongst 'the middling sorts', primarily urban-based and aspirational, with increasing amounts of available money and leisure time to spend on goods and services. The smaller grounds to which improvements were increasingly being directed required a different treatment to the extensive country house park, and the pleasure ground provided a better model for this. It is perhaps in this area that the ideas of Brown, Richmond, Emes, Woods, and all the others would be translated into the urban and suburban parks and gardens of the nineteenth century.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

⁶¹ Account of Charles Garrard Drake at Hoares Bank: '1783, 27th Mar To N. Richmond, £200-16-00'; '29th Aug To N. Richmond, £100; 1784', '10th Jun To Edwd. Webster, £54-9-6 [Richmond's Executor]'.

CHAPTER 9

The Greenings of Brentford End, Royal Gardeners

Val Bott¹

Thomas Greening senior (1684–1757) and his family owned a significant nursery at Brentford End, Isleworth, in the old county of Middlesex, over the course of the eighteenth century. He had four sons: Thomas junior, Robert, John, and Richard – who were all involved in the business of gardening and garden designing at the highest level, as was Thomas Greening junior’s son, Henry Thomas. Robert, the second son, was a near contemporary of Lancelot Brown, being no more than a couple of years older than him, and so provides a useful comparator to Brown’s career. In fact, several members of the family were predecessors of Brown as garden designers, winning a number of royal and aristocratic contracts. The award of royal contracts recognised their expertise and helped them to build an impressive reputation as gardeners, nurserymen, and horticulturalists. Individual family members brought different skills and specialisms to the business, ranging from the cultivation of high-status fruits to the oversight of substantial landscaping schemes, including landscape design and estate management.

Historians frequently mention the Greenings, but often confuse the brothers and the different generations.² This chapter sets out, for the first time, a detailed multi-generational history of the Greenings family in order to clarify who was who and to demonstrate with clarity just how important they were as a dynasty of gardeners in the time of Brown. That so little has hitherto been written about them remains surprising since they were such significant predecessors of Brown and were his main competitors as he established himself in the 1750s. By exploring the family business and connections in detail, this chapter not only delineates one of the most influential families involved in the eighteenth-century garden trade but also provides a rich context and backdrop against which we can better understand the career and aspirations of Brown.

The Greenings’ Nursery

The nursery garden, which was at the heart of the gardening business of the Greening family, lay at Brentford End in Isleworth parish, in what is now west London (Figure 9.1). It stood on the north side of the main route

¹ Val Bott wishes to thank Paige Johnson, who generously shared her research into the Greenings undertaken for her Bristol University MA in Garden History in 2007.

² A family tree based on the research presented here is appended at the end of the chapter – see Figure 9.8.

How to cite this book chapter:

Bott, V. 2020. The Greenings of Brentford End, Royal Gardeners. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 119–135. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.i>. CC BY-NC 4.0

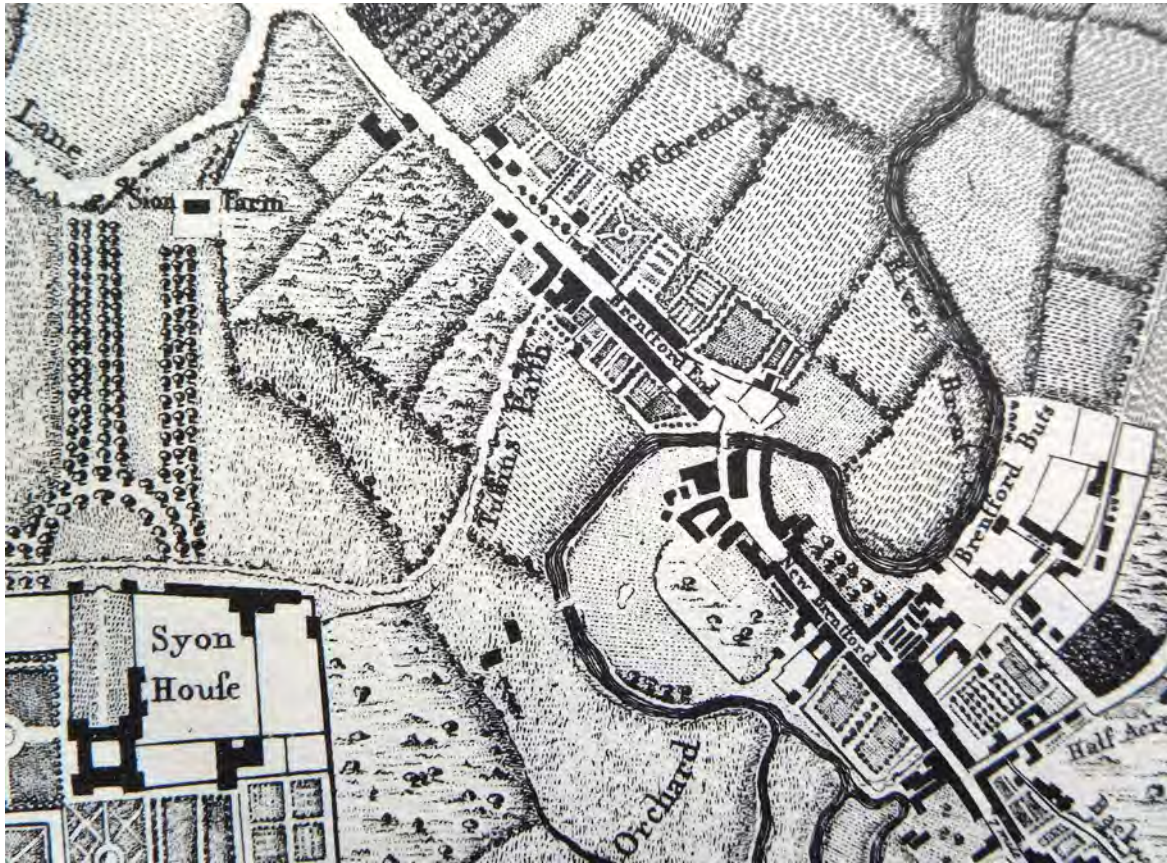


Figure 9.1: Detail from John Rocque's proposal for his map of London dated 1741. This shows the nursery of 'Mr Greening' specifically labelled on the main road out of London to the west, and also its close relationship to Syon House. Photo copyright Val Bott, CC BY-NC 4.0.

out of the capital to the west of England, opposite a footway leading into the Duke of Northumberland's Syon estate (which was landscaped by Brown from in the mid-1750s). By the early-eighteenth century the area was already known for its orchards and nursery gardens, as depicted in detail on John Rocque's map of the *Environs of London*, issued in 1746. The straggle of houses along the road formed a small suburb of the significant market town of Brentford; the busy road and the market crowds ensured that the business would have been noticed and well patronised. The nursery may have existed before the Greenings became its owners, but it was managed by Thomas Greening senior (1684–1757) from at least 1709 and was handed down through the family for several decades. Thomas senior moved in a horticultural circle that included fellow nurseryman, Thomas Fairchild, with whom he shared imported melon seeds in 1740³ and from whom, according to a note by Thomas junior, he rented land,⁴ as well as the botanist, Peter Collinson, who sent him a box of American seeds in 1754.⁵

Visitors to the nursery in the early-eighteenth century admired a range of plants and skills on show. In August 1719 the Reverend George Harbin⁶ visited Thomas Greening senior. He noted the large quantities of apples, pears, dwarf peaches, nectarines, and apricots, all grafted onto Paradise stocks, some of which, Greening told him, he had been growing in pots and tubs for over fourteen years. He removed them from the pots every year

³ Maurice Johnson of Ayscough: letter to his father, 24 March 1740, sending melon seeds other unidentified seeds procured via Fairchild, who was present when Greening opened packages of seeds 'brought into the kingdom for his Majesty', quoted in full in Penn, K. (2008). *A desk-based survey of the archaeology of Ayscough Hall gardens, Spalding* (Report 1618). NAU Archaeology.

⁴ The National Archives (TNA), C108/353, item 15 note of accounts.

⁵ *An account of the first introduction of American seeds into Great Britain by Peter Collinson* 16 Dec 1766, Botanical Library, Natural History Museum, quoted in Roberts, J. (1997). *Royal landscape, the gardens & parks of Windsor*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁶ McGarvie, M. & Harvey, J. H. (1983). The Revd George Harbin and his memoirs of gardening 1716–23. *Garden History*, 11(1), 6–36.

for root pruning, to encourage better blossom the following spring. Harbin also discussed with Greening his vine and his flowering plants, including anemones, ranunculus, and tulips. Another visitor, Richard Bradley, was also impressed with Greening's achievements. In 1731 he wrote about Greening's passion tree with over 300 ripe fruits upon it, saying it was planted in cow dung 'and had, from time to time, the place about it renew'd with the same cooling soil'.⁷ He also described Greening's use of double reed 'hedges', placed on both sides of his espalier fruit trees, to protect them from 'blighting winds' and rain in the winter months.

Thomas Greening Senior

Thomas Greening senior was born at Great Haseley in Oxfordshire in 1684, the son of another Thomas Greening, a yeoman. In 1724⁸ he was described as 'for about 30 years bred up in the art of gardening', suggesting an apprenticeship in the mid-1690s or training alongside his father.⁹ It is not clear when Thomas Greening senior settled at Brentford End, but he was certainly resident by 1709, when his daughter Rachel was baptised at Isleworth Parish Church. Harbin described an established garden in 1719, where the range, quantity, and quality of plants might perhaps be explained by Greening having taken over an existing, established nursery. Whatever its earlier history, this was the place where Thomas senior brought up his family of seven children and trained his four sons, Thomas, Robert, John, and Richard, in horticulture.

The family also had a connection for at least two generations with north-west Herefordshire. In about 1720 Thomas Greening senior was engaged to lay out the grand, formal gardens at Shobdon Court, for William, later 1st Viscount Bateman. Thomas leased a farm at Aymestrey, a village owned by Lord Bateman three miles from his house; this may have been Court Farm, a timber-framed house which still stands.¹⁰ By 1733 Thomas's second son, Robert, was supervising the Shobdon gardens and managing Bateman's garden workers.¹¹ He was living at the farm with his sister Betsey, where they grew barley, oats, rye, French wheat, vetches, and turnips, but the farm was in a remote rural area prone to flooding and they struggled to make it profitable. Nevertheless, the family retained it into the 1740s and, through marriages and friendships, sustained a long connection with Herefordshire, despite its distance from their Brentford End base.

Part of the Herefordshire farm was used as a nursery ground for their elm trees. In 1734 Lord Bateman agreed to the planting of more elms on his estate, stipulating that, when the lease of the farm expired or the Greenings left, he should have half of the trees and they would have the rest.¹² Thomas senior was promoting his method of raising elms by grafting English elm, whose silhouette was favoured, upon Dutch elm root-stock, which not only made the trees easier to establish in a variety of soils but also encouraged speedier growth. In 1724 George I awarded him a royal patent, protecting his method of grafting English elm onto Dutch elm stock for fourteen years.¹³ Thomas senior was rarely at Aymestrey. Robert's letters discouraged his father from making the arduous 150-mile journey, especially in winter, when his health was not robust. He did, however, recommend his father should take the waters at Llandrindod Wells, thirty miles away, when he was expected to visit in October 1733.

From 1722 Thomas senior was responsible for part of Princess Caroline's garden at Richmond Lodge, where Charles Bridgeman, who was the leading designer of Thomas's generation, became Chief Gardener. These were the early years of implementing the princess's plans for enhancing the garden, before the involvement of William Kent in the late 1720s and early 1730s.¹⁴ When the Prince and Princess of Wales (later George II and Queen Caroline) were given the property in 1722, Thomas Greening senior would have been the obvious choice to supervise the gardens since his expertise was well known, his nursery stock substantial and wide-ranging, and he was just a short journey away across the Thames by horse-ferry. Only one other nursery with a

⁷ Bradley, R. (1731). *New improvements of planting and gardening* (p. 100). London: W. Mears.

⁸ British Library, Eg Ch S108.

⁹ London Metropolitan Archives, Ref nos COL/CHD/FR/02/0298-0300 and COL/CHD/FR/02/0218-0223, apprenticeship indentures for two of his brothers.

¹⁰ Herefordshire Record Office, G39/4/8: mortgage quoting history since 1719, 'lands occupied by Thomas Greening now let to Robert Preece for £169 per annum'.

¹¹ TNA, C108/353: 15 letters and a note of accounts 1733–42.

¹² TNA, C108/353: letter 2.

¹³ British Library, Eg Ch S108.

¹⁴ C12/276/11.

substantial stock of trees was to be found nearby, that of Richard Butt of Kew, who supplied trees for the garden at Richmond in 1734.¹⁵ However, the elms used in the avenues and in creating an amphitheatre were probably Greening's, given the family's specialism.

The success of the Greenings' nursery is demonstrated by the number of prestigious clients for whom they provided plants. For example, Lord Foley,¹⁶ a friend of Lord Bateman, purchased fruit trees for Newport House, Herefordshire, in the 1720s and elms and peach trees were supplied to Holkham in Norfolk in 1728. Greening worked on Sir Herbert Mackworth's gardens at The Gnoll in Neath in the 1720s¹⁷ and at Longleat in 1736¹⁸ for Lord Weymouth. Colonel Lord Henry Beauclerk owed the Greenings money for trees, flowering shrubs, and work at Foliejohn, Berkshire, in 1738. After the deaths of Queen Caroline in 1737 and of Bridgeman in 1738, Thomas Greening senior and his son Thomas were jointly appointed as Chief Gardeners at Richmond for an annual fee of £1,142-17s-6d.¹⁹

By Christmas 1738, however, Thomas senior, by then in his mid-fifties, agreed to make over the business to his sons in return for an annual payment of £200. By Lady Day 1739 he had moved to a smaller house with six acres of land called 'The Pightle' in Turnham Green, leased from Lord Burlington. However, he had not retired and continued to manage garden contracts during the 1740s. He worked at Corsham Court, Wiltshire, and for the Duke of Marlborough at Windsor, where he was owed £2,000 by 1744, and was paid a further £3,000 in 1747 and 1748.²⁰ Greening's early association with Marlborough and Windsor is important because one of the duke's royal positions was as Ranger of Windsor Great Park, a role in which he was succeeded by the Duke of Cumberland. The Greenings were engaged at the Great Park for two generations on projects, which, though lesser known, were substantial royal enterprises and provided the Greenings with the prestige of royal and noble contacts.

Thomas senior's first wife, Ann, the mother of all those gardening sons, died in 1733. As part of his new life in Turnham Green Thomas found a second wife, marrying Lucretia Abbott, the propertied widow of a Chiswick carpenter, in 1745. After Thomas senior died in 1757 Lucretia, now widowed for a second time, continued to renew the lease of The Pightle and the house until she died in 1781. Her stepson Robert Greening thought fondly of her, bequeathing her an annuity of £20 a year in the codicil to his will in 1757.²¹

Thomas Greening Junior

After his father left in 1739, Thomas junior moved into the family home at the Brentford End nursery. Though no baptism record has been traced, he was the oldest and the favoured son, something which rankled with his brother Robert, only a few years his junior. In about 1730 Thomas junior married Sarah, the daughter of Henry Marsh, a gentleman gardener with a Hammersmith estate and a friend of his father. Their son Henry Thomas (named after his two grandfathers) was baptised in June 1731. The marriage settlement required by Henry Marsh placed a heavy and continuing burden upon the Greening family. It resulted in half the nursery being settled upon Thomas junior, in what he later described as a ten-year co-partnership agreement with his father. Contracts and profits and losses were to be shared between father and son equally, though, should the royal contract end, Thomas senior would have one third of all profits. Robert was to be paid £100 a year as if he were an employee, an arrangement later changed to a share of the produce and profits.

Thomas junior was henceforth concerned to manage the nursery finances closely. When he received each quarterly payment for the Richmond garden contract he often left his father's share with a relative, William Greening, in Glasshouse Street, London, or sometimes with a Mr Morris in Russell Street, Covent Garden. His

¹⁵ Desmond, R. (2007). *The history of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* (p. 360). Kew: Kew Publishing.

¹⁶ Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest. Available at parksandgardens.org, accessed 30 May 2016; TNA, C108/353, letter 5). Robert Greening wrote to his father, January 1736, 'Lord Foley planning garden work in Worcestershire worth £3,000, Thomas the Elder should speak to Lord Bateman about getting the contract'.

¹⁷ Currie, C. K., Howes, L. and Locock, M. (1996). Fishpond Wood Cascade, The Gnoll, West Glamorgan. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 143, 236–271.

¹⁸ Mowl, T. W. (1995). Rococo and later landscaping at Longleat. *Garden History*, 23, 56–66.

¹⁹ TNA, WORK 6/8 ff 57–62.

²⁰ British Library, Althorp papers, E 11, quoted in Roberts, J. (1997). *Royal landscape, the gardens & parks of Windsor*.

²¹ TNA, PROB 11/836.

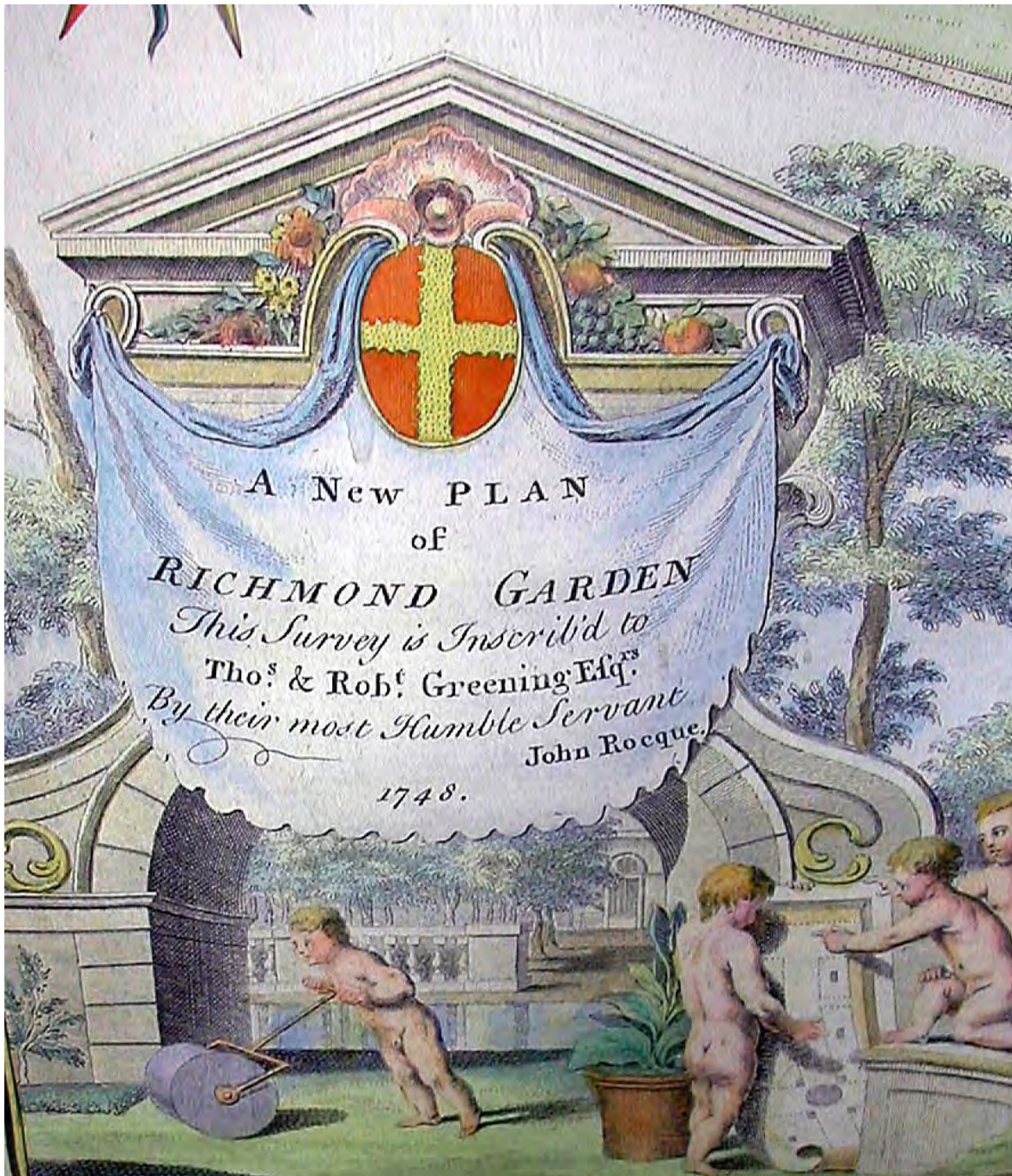


Figure 9.2: Cartouche from *A New Plan of Richmond Garden*, John Rocque, 1748, dedicated to Thomas Greening Junior and his brother Robert. Photo copyright Val Bott, CC BY-NC 4.0.

letters to his father are full of financial anxieties, his need to find loans, and complaints about the way his father kept the accounts. In February 1740 he wrote, 'I pay a great deal more than I iamagined the Whole affair would come to, and this Asure you I am so put to for mony that I dont know which way to go to git any'.²²

²² TNA, C108/353 letter 8.

Thomas senior, it seems, was apt to take away the Nursery Book full of the business accounts from time to time, and when it was returned Thomas junior found unpaid bills within it and sought their payment, only to find – to his embarrassment – that payment had been made to his father and clients had receipts to prove it. Sometimes it was a question of having no cash to deal with overdue sums for supplies and services. For example, in July 1739, Henry Woodman, a nurseryman at nearby Strand on the Green, was amongst the tradespeople pressing for bills to be paid, while in July 1742 Mr Tunstall, the owner of the horse-ferry, called to seek payment for tolls incurred between 1725 and 1737.²³ However, on the death of his father-in-law in 1741, Thomas junior inherited Henry Marsh's substantial property in Hammersmith and Kensington, and his wife received £1,000, her share of her late mother's jointure, so the couple were far from impoverished.

After their father stepped back from the business during the 1740s, Thomas junior and Robert were responsible for managing and maintaining the royal garden at Richmond. This was the time during which the young Lancelot Brown was managing and extending the famed gardens at Stowe for Lord Cobham, gaining experience and influential contacts along the way. The Greening involvement at Richmond was commemorated in John Rocque's handsome 1748 engraving of the site, which was dedicated to them. Rocque probably knew the family. He trained as a gardener, his brother Bartholomew ran garden ground in Fulham, and he labelled the Brentford End nursery with the name 'Mr Greening' on the small map used in the proposal for his monumental map of London and its environs published in 1746 (Figure 9.1). In the published list of subscribers are the names of Thomas Greening Esq, Mr John Greening, and Mr Robert Greening. The royal contract for Richmond meant direct contact with the king, so in July 1739 Thomas junior could report proudly:

The King was at Richmond Saturday last, he talkd much to me of Affairs, and said the Gardens were very fine keep and much beter than any he had or ever saw.²⁴

Despite the joint dedication on Rocque's plan to the two brothers, their relationship was not destined to be harmonious (Figure 9.2). When Thomas junior wished to bring his own son, Henry Thomas, into the business, he 'thought it proper to discharge [Robert]' and took the keys to the Richmond Garden from him in late March 1751.²⁵ He must have known that he was about to be awarded the contract for Kensington Gardens and St. James's Park, confirmed in April 1751, a contract Robert had hoped would be his.²⁶ Thomas junior's behaviour caused such a serious rift between the two brothers that Robert launched a legal case against him.²⁷ Besides the work covered by the contract for managing Kensington, Thomas junior undertook additional commissions there. He was paid for two substantial projects valued at £799-13s-0d in June 1752, and a further £354-5s-0d for gravelling new walks in February 1753.²⁸

Thomas junior's wife, Sarah, died in June 1756 and was buried at Isleworth; her husband was buried beside her in September 1757. Henry Thomas Greening, who dealt with his father's probate, appears to have taken over the business at Brentford End. Thomas junior's death left two royal contracts vacant, that at Richmond and another for Kensington Gardens and St. James's Park, contracts which his brothers, John and Robert, now hoped to take on together.

Robert Greening

The second son of the family, Robert Greening must have been born only a few years after Thomas, though no record has been traced of his baptism. He worked as a boy with his father at Richmond Gardens since he later reminisced that he 'was brought up for gardening business by the late Queen's express order'.²⁹ His open character can be seen in his affectionate and chatty letters to his father which contrast with his brother Thomas's more formal style. He was extremely frustrated at being left at the Aymestry farm in the 1730s, in 'that Country

²³ TNA, C108/353 letter 7; Layton Collection, Ferry Book 1734–37 (Thomas Layton Trust/Hounslow Local Studies Library); TNA, C108/353 letter 13 Ledger 53 f 234.

²⁴ TNA, PROB 11.353 letter 7.

²⁵ TNA, C12/276/11, Petition of Robert Greening, 1751, and response from Thomas Greening the Younger, 1752.

²⁶ TNA, WORK 6/8, ff 97–101, warrant with scheme, 2 April 1751.

²⁷ TNA, C12/276/11.

²⁸ TNA, T1/353, 2, 3a, 3b and 115.

²⁹ British Library: Add Ms 32873 f 534, letter to the Duke of Newcastle, 1757.



Figure 9.3: *Windsor Great Park with Virginia Water, looking north*, Thomas Sandby, c. 1753–60. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

which was design'd only for a Burial place for the Indolent & not the Indoustrious.³⁰ The young man yearned to return to work out of the Brentford Nursery, claiming he could make £200 a year there.³¹

Robert married Ann, a widow and daughter of Priscilla Price of Lucton, who he must have met during his period in Herefordshire. Writing his will in 1750 he described her as his 'dear and affectionate wife'.³² Once his father had moved to Turnham Green and his brother Thomas had taken over the family house, Robert would have needed a home of his own; his will mentioned a recently purchased estate in Lucton and a property in Isleworth.

While Thomas junior fretted about money, Robert was the creative one, designing elegant landscapes in the 1740s and 1750s at Kirtlington, Wimpole, and Virginia Water. Robert still worked with his father and brother, Thomas junior, at Richmond and, on the evidence of the surviving letters, both brothers also spent time in Herefordshire, Thomas until 1741 and Robert until 1742. But Robert was beginning to make a business of his own. The Greenings' work at Windsor shows him emerging, with payments due in 1744 to Mr Greening (presumably his father) but payment in 1748 to Robert Greening and Company for works associated with the creation of a new, large-scale lake at the southern end of Windsor Great Park – Virginia Water (Figure 9.3) – and the planting of Smith's Lawn to its north.³³ The elegant landscape with its lake and irregular clumps of trees was depicted in Thomas Sandby's watercolour of about 1753.³⁴

After the split from his brother in 1751, Robert was working independently and almost certainly with his youngest brother Richard, hence the 'and Company'. Though attributed by some to Thomas, the plans for Kirtlington in Oxfordshire of about 1746 are almost certainly his (Figure 9.4); the small amount of handwriting on the plan closely resembles that of his letters and the design bears a marked resemblance to the plans for Wimpole. The proposals were to provide a setting for Sir James Dashwood's new mansion, designed in 1741, to be built within a clearing in old woodland. Robert's eclectic rococo design provided winding walks between shrubberies and clumps of trees in a manner similar to early plans of Brown's from this period.³⁵ Six pavilions were scattered throughout the pleasure ground, each in a different style. The largest, set in an open central area, overlooked by a large garden seat, appears to have been a circular, domed temple, with columns and steps up to a central door with niches for statues on each side. The grassy area where it stands was bordered with herms and urns on plinths. Another resembles a medieval ruin, a third had rusticated walls and a dark doorway, but no windows and three spires or obelisks on the roof, whilst the final one was an oriental tent with a tasselled

³⁰ TNA, C108/353 letter 13.

³¹ TNA, C108/353 letter 1.

³² TNA, PROB 11/836.

³³ TNA, LR 4/6/31.

³⁴ Thomas Sandby, c. 1753, Royal Collection RL 14640.

³⁵ Robert Greening, design for Kirtlington, Christopher Buxton and Kirtlington Park Ltd; Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England* (pp. 76–78). London: Reaktion Books.



Figure 9.4: Plan of Kirtlington, Robert Greening, c. 1746. © Richard Cragg 2015, courtesy of Christopher Buxton & Kirtlington Park Ltd. Reproduced with kind permission.

canopy. All were designed to be discovered amongst the planting, to provide retreats and refuges for activities such as reading or taking tea. The pleasure grounds were to be divided from the park with a ha-ha, an innovation introduced by Charles Bridgeman at Richmond, where Robert would have seen it.

It is unlikely, however, that any of this was implemented – at the upper edge a note has been added to the plan which reads ‘Greenings plan totally changd by Browne’. In 1751 Dashwood seems to have lost interest and instead commissioned Brown, who had been working for a number of his friends and neighbours, to devise a scheme for his park and gardens. This was an early commission for the young Lancelot and perhaps an obvious choice of alternative designer for Dashwood. Brown had been just fifteen miles away, at Stowe, for the best part of a decade. In 1749 his patron, Lord Cobham, had died and a short while later he left Stowe, moved to Hammersmith, and set up business on his own account.

Whilst disappointed at Kirtlington, at Wimpole Robert not only produced designs for the 1st Earl of Hardwicke but also oversaw their implementation. He was to sweep away the formal seventeenth-century parterres and modify the works of Bridgeman and others dating from the 1720s and 1730s. Mark Laird describes Greening’s achievement at Wimpole as ‘translating William Kent’s vocabulary of parkland clumps into the vocabulary of the pleasure ground.’³⁶ He goes on to suggest that Greening’s designs and planting schemes pointed the way ahead, placing him in advance of Brown, who was destined to work here too, but not until the mid-1760s, by which time Robert Greening was dead.

David Adshead has described in detail Robert Greening’s work at Wimpole.³⁷ Hardwicke knew both the 1st Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Cumberland, either of whom may have recommended Robert Greening to him. Dating from 1751 or 1752, Robert’s designs – two plans for the pleasure ground, one for the kitchen garden, and an ink sketch – together with his instructions, demonstrate his experience, expertise, and professionalism in managing a contract, as well as designing a garden.³⁸ Greening sent instructions to Hardwicke’s agent, John Bird, in September 1752 about excavating and constructing a ha-ha, retaining the best earth for use elsewhere in the garden.³⁹ The earth was to be mixed with that removed from other locations to ensure even growth of the planting. He also sent directions to Mr Moses, Hardwicke’s head gardener, and advised on storing shrubs and flowering plants salvaged for re-use in new locations, keeping them in groups according to their varieties, in the old part of the kitchen garden.⁴⁰ He recommended extremely careful weeding in areas that were to be turfed, especially couch grass and horseradish. Where the turf was to be laid, all traces of the walls of the old kitchen garden were to be removed to at least eighteen inches deep ‘else in Summer the Grass will burn and Shew where each wall was’. His detailed design for the new kitchen garden specified the planting of over 200 varieties of fruit, and required works to be done there ready for spring planting, including obtaining tan or oak bark for moving the pineapple plants.⁴¹

The year 1751, when garden works at Wimpole began, was also the year in which Robert Greening petitioned Hardwicke, who was then the Lord Chancellor, for redress in relation to his brother Thomas’s treatment of him. There is no evidence that the case was resolved, but, after the blow of this family rift, Robert’s appointment as gardener at Princess Augusta’s Kew garden in 1753 must have felt very sweet, especially since it directly adjoined Richmond Garden, which were in Thomas junior’s charge. Robert’s contracts for Kew survive amongst the papers of Sir George Lee, Treasurer to Augusta, Princess of Wales, in the 1750s. Robert took on the care of her pleasure ground in 1753, replacing John Dillman, who retained management of the six-acre kitchen garden, the melon ground, and the orangery. Robert was to be paid 300 guineas a year and was to ‘buy at his own expense a sufficient Flock of Sheep to feed the Lawn’, for which he was to have use of fifty-four acres of farmland.⁴² He was also to care for Augusta’s nine cows.⁴³ On the renewal of the contract in January 1757, the fee rose to 400 guineas a year, taking into account the increase in size of the property, from thirty-five acres in

³⁶ Laird, M. (1999). *The flowering of the landscape garden: English pleasure grounds, 1720–1800* (p. 120). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

³⁷ Adshead, D. (2007). *Wimpole: Architectural drawings and topographical views* (pp. 52–57). Bromley: National Trust.

³⁸ National Trust: WIM/D/456–459, illustrated and described in Adshead, D. *Wimpole*.

³⁹ British Library: Add Ms 35679 ff 73–75; see Adshead, D. *Wimpole*.

⁴⁰ British Library: Add Ms 35679 f 71; see Adshead, D. *Wimpole*.

⁴¹ British Library: Add Ms 35679 f 96; see Adshead, D. *Wimpole*.

⁴² The sheep were depicted in a painting by Johan Jacob Schalch, c. 1759 (Royal Collection RCIN 403517) and an engraving by William Woollett (Historic Royal Palaces HRP 01764).

⁴³ Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies: D/LE/C6/5.



Figure 9.5: *A View of the Palace from a Hill in the middle of the Lawn with the Bridge, the temples of Bellona, of Pan, of Aeolus, & the House of Confucius in the Royal Gardens at Kew*, which depicts The White House. J.S. Mason after William Woollett, 1760s. © Historic Royal Palaces.

1753 to 110 acres in 1757, and the fact that Dillman had resigned in 1756, so that Robert was also now responsible for the kitchen garden in his place.⁴⁴

In 1754 Robert dredged the six-acre lake with its three-acre island, planted the adjacent mound, and levelled the ground beyond the lawn in order to improve the view of the lake from Augusta's residence, The White House (Figure 9.5). The following year he undertook the gravelling of the path leading to Goupy's Chinese Arch and oversaw 'the erection of a large Chinese temple on one column with a neat Chinese chair to go round the same' and 'a small bell temple neatly painted with ornaments fix'd up on the flower garden.'⁴⁵ In 1757 he proposed laying out the former nursery as a ten-acre wilderness, a scheme requiring over 50,000 plants and estimated to cost almost £290.⁴⁶

The creation of these exotic structures, together with his eclectic designs for garden pavilions at Kirtlington and an oriental summer house for Wimpole, may demonstrate the influence of Richard (Dickie) Bateman, brother of the 1st Viscount Bateman.⁴⁷ Robert would have known him in Herefordshire, where Bateman transformed the ancient Shobdon parish church beside the mansion into a gothic fantasy between 1746 and 1758. Bateman bought a seventeenth-century house in Old Windsor with fourteen acres of garden in about 1730.

⁴⁴ Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies: D/LE/C6/15.

⁴⁵ Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 33–34).

⁴⁶ Bodleian Library MS North b.15 f 17r.

⁴⁷ National Trust: WIM/D/456.

Here he added Chinese-gothic extensions and re-designed the garden in a whimsical mixture of Chinese, Indian, and gothic styles. This may have influenced the construction of the Duke of Cumberland's Mandarin Yacht, which adorned Virginia Water, for which the designer remains unknown.

In September 1757, after his brother Thomas's death, Robert sought to take over Thomas's contract for the adjoining Richmond Garden and that for Kensington and St. James's Park with his brother John. That December Robert added a codicil to his will.⁴⁸ In the previous eighteen months, the family had been devastated to lose their father, Thomas senior, as well as Thomas junior and his wife; now Robert wrote that his 'dear, dear Wife is not expected to live' and she was indeed buried in January 1758. The transfer of royal contracts remained unresolved when Robert died soon after in March 1758 and was buried beside his wife at Isleworth.

The loss of so many Greening family members between 1756 and 1760 had a devastating impact. The parish registers for Isleworth do not record the cause of deaths, but, with Thomas junior's wife dying in 1756, Thomas senior and Thomas junior in 1757, Robert and his wife in early 1758, and Richard in 1760, it is possible that serious illness afflicted them. The London bills of mortality show raised numbers of deaths from smallpox in the capital in these years. Not only did the Greenings travel a good deal themselves but Brentford's busy market also brought in great crowds, who could have carried the infection.

John Greening

John Greening's baptism record has also proved elusive, but he was the third of Thomas Greening senior's sons. John Greening's career appears to have been focused on the Esher area of Surrey and specifically the influential garden of the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont. This was yet another place where the Greenings' involvement preceded work by Brown, who later rebuilt the house and reworked the grounds for Clive of India in the 1770s. Back in the 1720s and 1730s, Thomas senior had worked for the Duke of Newcastle⁴⁹ when major changes led by Charles Bridgeman and William Kent were taking place there. It may have been the connection between Bridgeman and Thomas senior at the royal garden in Richmond that brought the Greenings to Esher. In 1747, when he was twenty-two and about to be married to Anne Petty of Esher, John wrote to the Duke rather directly asking him to deliver on his repeated promises to 'do something for him.' He said he had been at the estate for sixteen years (confirming that he had been there as a boy) and implied he would leave if not promoted.⁵⁰

Rocque's handsome engraving of the Claremont Estate, published in 1738, is decorated with vignettes which include 'Mr Greening's House'. Part of this substantial building also provided storage for fruit from the estate; today it is used by sixth-form students of the school which occupies the mansion (Figure 9.6). At this date Thomas junior and Robert were running the Brentford End nursery as well as the Herefordshire farm and, as John was still a boy, Thomas senior, by then a widower, may have stayed there for long periods.

John's own special expertise became the cultivation of luxurious fruits, a skill his master greatly prized, serving exotic items to guests at picnics and sending them as gifts. Because the king adored his peaches, in one particular year Newcastle asked Greening to send 'eight peaches of the red sort every two days as well as six nectarines and six plumbs'. In August 1750 Greening recorded that he had sent out 'between three and four hundred melons this week'. He oversaw six acres of walled garden, containing over 300 each of apple and pear trees, 200 cherries, plum trees and vines, along with melons, quinces, figs, apricots, currants, nectarines, gooseberries, mulberries, and pineapples.⁵¹ There he propagated the *Claremont Nectarine* in 1759 and the *Prolific Strawberry* and managed the longest heated wall in England, at 960 feet with 24 fires.⁵²

By the time the eldest Greening brother, Thomas junior, died in 1757 Newcastle had become Prime Minister so was in a strong position to recommend to the king the name of a successor to manage some of the royal gardens. John is likely to have contacted him directly on this matter, while Robert wrote to the Earl of Hardwicke, his patron at Wimpole, hoping that he would mention the brothers favourably to the Duke: '[I] solicit again

⁴⁸ TNA, PROB 11/836.

⁴⁹ TNA, SP 36/36 f 93: Thomas Greening to Newcastle asking for money to pay his men, October 1735.

⁵⁰ British Library: Add Ms 33066: John Greening to Newcastle 10 August 1747, quoted in Kelch, R. A. (1974). *Newcastle, a Duke without money: Thomas Pelham-Holles 1693–1768*. London: Routledge and K. Paul.

⁵¹ Chessum, S., Rogers, K. & Rowell, C. (2000). *Claremont, Surrey*. Bromley: National Trust.

⁵² Lindley, G. (1831). *Guide to the orchard & kitchen garden* (p. 287). London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green.



Figure 9.6: *White Cottage, Claremont*. Copyright Ian Capper, 2013 CC BY-SA 2.0. URL: www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3655290. Mr Greening's symmetrical house, to the east of the mansion at Claremont. It is used by the school based at Claremont, although the gardens and landscape are managed by the National Trust.

your Lordship's recommendation to His Grace of Newcastle to succeed jointly with my brother John.⁵³ And, aware that George II knew his family well, he was also able to write, 'I have heard that His Majesty has asked what Sons his Old Greening left.'⁵⁴

The decision was slow to come and had not been resolved by March 1758, when Robert died. Several of Lancelot Brown's clients immediately petitioned for these contracts on his behalf:

We whose Names are underwritten, being well-wishers of Mr. Browne, whose Abilities and Merit we are fully acquainted with, do most earnestly request the Duke of Newcastle to promote his speedy appointment to the care of Kensington Gardens agreeable to his Grace's very obliging promises in this respect.⁵⁵

In the event, John took over the gardens at Kew, Kensington, and St. James's after his brother Thomas's death, plus the Richmond contract when Robert died. However, the zenith of John's success came in 1758, when the post of Chief Gardener at Hampton Court became vacant on the death of George Lowe. Brown's name was again put forward, but John Greening also won this contract, worth £1,107-6s-0d a year for almost seventy-four acres, together with that for the Treasury Garden (now the garden of 10 Downing Street). To continue a practice made for his predecessor, John was paid an additional £100 a year '[i]n regard to his extraordinary Charge in raising Pine Apples for His Majesty & the royal family' at Hampton Court. As the surviving member of the family, he consolidated all their positions, and was therefore at the top of his field for almost three years. At about this time he had a fine portrait painted by Soldi, which shows him holding a design for a garden.⁵⁶ He probably moved to live in Wilderness House at Hampton Court, which had some status as the Chief Gardener's House; it would also have been convenient for Esher as well as his other garden work.

⁵³ British Library: Add Ms 35595 f 80: Robert Greening to the Earl of Hardwicke, 3 September 1757.

⁵⁴ British Library: Add Ms 32873 f 534: Robert Greening to Lord Newcastle, 9 September 1757.

⁵⁵ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (pp. 121–122); Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 361).

⁵⁶ At Kentchurch Court, Herefordshire.

On the death of George II and the accession of his grandson, George III, in 1760, John Greening's position was weakened, though he was paid for additional work for the Duke of Cumberland at the Maestricht Garden at Windsor in 1761.⁵⁷ Despite her earlier employment of Robert, Princess Augusta did not particularly favour the Greening family and her friend, the 3rd Earl of Bute, sought appointments for his favourites and advised the new king accordingly. The Surveyor of Works reported to Bute in February 1761 that he had 'notified according to your lordship's order to Mr Greening that he is no longer to have the care of the Kensington Gardens' and John Hill was appointed in his place.⁵⁸ Again at Bute's behest, John Greening was removed from the Kew and Richmond Gardens in 1762 in favour of the Haverfields, father and son, leaving him with only Hampton Court and the Treasury Garden.⁵⁹

In the spring of 1763 George Grenville became Prime Minister. As a nephew of Viscount Cobham of Stowe, he would have long known Lancelot Brown. Soon Brown was promised Hampton Court, and the warrant was issued in the summer of 1764. Press announcements suggested that John Greening had resigned, when he was actually deeply upset by this development. He wrote to his friend, John Twells, Newcastle's steward:

My Lord Halifax told me He thought my case excessively hard, that he would go directly to Mr Grenville: who told Him it was the King's Order, then He went to the King and told him he was excessively sorry to hear that I was to be turned out to make way for Brown, that I had been at great expence to bring the garden to such fine order from such an execreable condition it was in when I came to it.⁶⁰

John continued to oversee the Treasury Garden until 1768, probably through an oversight, as no warrant was issued to Brown until then. He appears to have continued to work for Newcastle and the Pelham family, but may also have helped run the family nursery in Esher. When he died in June 1770 he was buried with his father and siblings at Isleworth.⁶¹

Richard Greening

The youngest son, referred to as 'Dickey' in family letters, spent some time living at the Aymestrey farm with his brother Robert and sister Betsey. Robert wrote to his father in July 1742 that 'it is a very great Concern to me that he has so Small a Share of Education' but felt Richard may do 'as well as the rest of us' if given the opportunity.⁶² He reassured his father that he and Thomas would 'not be wanting in their Brotherly help to him'. We know little of his gardening activities, but most probably he worked with his brother as Robert Greening and Company. When he died Thomas Greening the Elder left his 'bullet gun', inlaid with silver, to Richard, along with the residue of his estate, and made him his executor though Robert and John were not mentioned in the will.⁶³ Robert also made Richard his executor alongside John. It was not long before he too died and was buried at Isleworth in October 1760.

Henry Thomas Greening, later Gott

Henry Thomas Greening was born in 1731, the son of Thomas junior, and was baptised at St. Lawrence, New Brentford, a short walk from the nursery. He married Ann Hooper, from a gentry family in Kington, Herefordshire, at Hampton, Middlesex, in 1761 and they had six children. He already saw himself as a gentleman, having had his portrait painted in 1753 by Soldi (who also portrayed his uncle John), posing with his dog and his hunting gun.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ TNA, AO 1 2464/196.

⁵⁸ Desmond, R. (2007). *Royal Botanic Gardens* (p. 37).

⁵⁹ TNA, WORK 6/13 f 195, quoted in Roberts, J. *Royal landscape*.

⁶⁰ British Library: Additional MS 32960, f 50, John Greening to J. Twells, 23 June 1764.

⁶¹ Johnson, P. (2008). Unseen Hands: The gardeners Greening 1719–1764, unpublished.

⁶² TNA, C108/353 letter 7.

⁶³ TNA, PROB 11/837.

⁶⁴ At Kentchurch Court, Herefordshire.

PARKS, PADDOCKS,

*Pleasure Grounds, Gardens,
Laid out in the Newest & most*

elegant Taste,
by J. Greening,

E S H E R,
Surveyor.

Robt. Hooper & Greenhouses

built on the most approved Plans

Substantial sums, including an annual fee of £870-18s-6d, were paid to Henry Thomas as ‘Mr Greening’ for works for the Duke of Cumberland at Windsor and at Cumberland House between 1762 and 1765.⁶⁵ This included works on China Island, the site of the Duke’s Chinese Pavilion at the western end of Virginia Water, as well as creating a new plantation at Shrubs Hill in 1764, and work around the grotto at the other end of the lake in 1765 including planting shrubs, young trees, and flowers at ‘the Garden by the Cave’.⁶⁶

After his father Thomas junior’s death, Henry Thomas inherited the property left by his grandfather, Henry Marsh, as well as the Brentford End nursery. He appears in the 1767 Isleworth land tax assessment as Thomas Greening, with over 100 acres, some leased from the Syon estate, and four tenements. In November 1763 *The London Chronicle* reported that he had donated a fat ox to the poor of his local community because they were suffering from the severity of the weather and the frozen Thames.

In 1766 Henry Thomas inherited a substantial estate from Mary Gott, a distant relative. This was conditional on his changing his name. He complied, petitioning the House of Lords in November 1768, and in 1769 a map of the new turnpike road marks the Brentford End nursery site as ‘Mr Gotts’. Now he was a gentleman of property. He sold the Sussex estate he had inherited and purchased Newlands Park in Buckinghamshire in 1770; there he indulged a love of horses, acquiring a racehorse called Tyrant and enthusiastically hunting with staghounds.⁶⁷ He went on to become Buckinghamshire County Sheriff and was knighted in 1774. Henry Thomas was buried in Isleworth in 1809, and the following year, his widow, Dame Ann, retired to Little Boston, an elegant house just north of Brentford leased from family friends, the Clitherows of Boston Manor House, where she remained until her death in 1815.

The Esher Greenings

Greenings continued to flourish as gardeners in Esher. An advertisement in *The London Evening Post* for 22nd–25th February 1772 announced that ‘the business of the late John Greening of Esher, Surrey, is now continued in all its branches by his son, John Greening & Co, nurserymen and seedsmen’. Another advertisement, in the *St. James’s Chronicle*, 24th–26th April 1777, announced that ‘Thomas Greening of Esher in Surrey, son of the late Mr John Greening, begs leave to acquaint the nobility, gentry and his friends in general that he intends laying out parks, paddocks, pasture grounds, gardens &c, in the newest and neatest taste. Hot and Green houses built on the most approved schemes’. A later advertisement in the *St. James’s Chronicle*, 16th–18th March 1784, a year after the death of Lancelot Brown, promoted a Thomas Greening, land surveyor, probably the same man.

A fine advertisement for T. Greening’s garden services, including the construction of hothouses and greenhouses, is preserved within the ephemera collection amassed by Sarah Sophia (1744–1818), sister of the celebrated botanist Sir Joseph Banks, and now held in the British Museum (Figure 9.7). Their family owned Spring Grove, a mansion in Isleworth a little further west from the Greenings’ nursery, and the families were in fact distantly related by marriage through the Gott family. The date, 1788, has been written on the engraving by Sarah Sophia and it is conceivable that she met the Thomas Greening in question. One further Thomas Greening was a gardener at Frogmore, Windsor, likely to be yet another connection between the royal family and the Greenings. He was consulted in 1792 by Banks when he was seeking information on the newly identified woolly aphid then causing serious damage to apple trees.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Royal Archives: CP vol 79/14, 30, 62, 78, 90, 105, 112b. ‘Extraordinary Bills for Windsor Great Park’.

⁶⁶ Royal Archives: CP vol 79/30, 46, 62, 90.

⁶⁷ Information from the Lucas-Scudamore family, Kentchurch Court.

⁶⁸ Paper on apple pests read to the Horticultural Society, 4 April 1815.

Conclusion

For much of the eighteenth century the name Greening was woven through the history of the development and maintenance of royal gardens. At the height of their success they were at the pinnacle of their profession, known personally by the king and feted by noble patrons. This position was achieved through a successful family network, a multi-faceted business, and aristocratic and royal patronage that was likely to have been carefully cultivated. Two generations of the family – Thomas senior and to a lesser extent his sons, Thomas junior, Robert, and John – would also have worked with the foremost gardeners of the day, especially Charles Bridgeman and William Kent.

A combination of factors in the late 1750s and early 1760s – a new king, the deaths of a number of key family members and rise of the ambitious Lancelot Brown – curtailed their work and eclipsed their reputation. However, in the early 1760s Henry Thomas Greening appears to have taken up his uncle Robert's mantle and was working for the Duke of Cumberland in Windsor Great Park. Though less well known, the scale of the projects here outstripped those of his mother Queen Caroline at Richmond in the 1720s and 1730s and his brother, Prince Frederic, and sister-in-law Princess Augusta, at Kew from the 1740s. Not enough is yet understood of the Greening involvement and significance in the works at Windsor for Cumberland; the importance of both the Greening family and the scale of the works warrants further study. This aside, their descendants demonstrated that the Greening family name had longevity in association with important gardens. Members of the family were still prominent enough to be consulted by Sir Joseph Banks and employed at Frogmore House, Queen Charlotte's Windsor retreat, in the 1790s. Although overshadowed by the reputation of Brown, the importance of the Greening family in the sphere of garden design and horticulture through the eighteenth century should not be overlooked as it helps to contextualise the ascent of Brown and the professional environment of royal and noble networks which he and the Greenings had to navigate.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

CHAPTER 10

‘Chaises, grotto, fishing, all in perfection’: The Social Context of Brown’s Landscape Designs

Kate Felus¹

A visit to a Brownian landscape today often entails a drive through parkland where the only signs of life are the grazing sheep. They can therefore feel a little sterile. This is at odds with the frequent state of such parks during the eighteenth century, when they were used extensively. While recently there has been much research into the practicalities behind Brown’s working methods, and those of his contemporaries, there is still a tendency to see his works theoretically, in terms of aesthetics. But Brown’s designs were created to be experienced and enjoyed. To a great extent, form followed function and several elements intrinsic to a Brownian design help the modern visitor to understand how they worked and, moreover, why they looked as they did.

One of Brown’s acknowledged skills was as a water engineer and there are examples of boats being built for his lakes, just as they were being created, suggesting that the pleasure of boating was a major reason for the creation of the water body and, moreover, that the scale and shape was also, at least partly, determined by use for boating. Another example is the circulation routes that form a highly structural element in a Brownian landscape. These were created to be experienced in a number of ways. Beyond the visual, the experience was almost visceral and the sensation of speed was an important factor. A third element in the design of the Brownian landscape was the eye-catcher. Often erroneously called ‘follies’, these buildings were far from the displays of extravagant expenditure for no purpose that the term implies. They came in a variety of shapes, sizes, and architectural styles, designed to catch the eye, and frequently included a finely decorated room used for a myriad of purposes; they punctuated vistas and provided both destinations and excuses for stopping points while touring the grounds. This chapter focuses on these three elements: firstly, walks and drives; secondly, water features; and, finally, eye-catchers, as a means to better understanding the social context of the landscape style for which Brown was so renowned. The importance of the use of these three essential ingredients of the designed landscape was succinctly expressed by Brown’s contemporary, Earl Temple of Stowe, in his summary of the ideal occupations of a summer house party: ‘Chaises, grotto, fishing, all in perfection.’² The ‘chaises’

¹ I am grateful to the following people for their help in the preparation of this chapter: David Brown, Jonathan Finch, John Gundill, Karen Lynch, Laura Mayer, John Phibbs, Gary Webb, and Tom Williamson.

² TNA, 30/8/62, f 199.

How to cite this book chapter:

Felus, K. 2020. ‘Chaises, grotto, fishing, all in perfection’: The Social Context of Brown’s Landscape Designs. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 137–150. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.j>. CC BY-NC 4.0

refers to carriage driving, fishing is self-explanatory, and the reference to the grotto relates to the use of this eye-catcher for supping and as the focal point of parties and entertainments.

Circulation routes, walks, drives, and rides were fundamental to the Brownian designed landscape. On plan they appear as sinuous lines, often flowing around the whole site, connecting elements and forming the skeleton of the design, on which the rest of the features are fleshed out. In Brown's plan for Bowood of 1763 an outer circuit and a partial inner circuit can be seen, the former running through the densely planted perimeter belt, the latter along the inner edge of the belt, affording regular glimpses between the trees that lined it, and in places travelling over the open grass. Around the house, smaller paths to be negotiated on foot can also be discerned. The primacy of circulation routes in design terms reflects their importance in terms of *being* in the landscape; for the most simple and basic way to experience a park or pleasure ground was to get outside and take a walk in it. This seems such an obvious fact that it is easy to overlook. A walk in the landscape could be a means to many experiences, both social and solitary. For example, Marchioness Grey, who employed Brown at her estate at Wrest in Bedfordshire, was said never to take a quiet walk on her own in the gardens without a book in her pocket.³

Through the second half of the eighteenth century, women became more liberated in terms of walking, but in the period during which Brown was forging his reputation women were not expected to be striding out across the countryside.⁴ However, clothes were slowly becoming more practical. As their husbands abandoned full-skirted coats, often made of fine fabrics like silk and relatively high-heeled shoes, and instead adopted a variation on country work wear, in a hard-wearing broadcloth of brown or green (just as Brown wears in his portrait by Nathaniel Dance), ladies took to wearing riding habits even when not on horseback.⁵ These country clothes are proudly displayed for posterity in the group portrait of the Wedgwood family, by Stubbs of 1780, in which the famous pottery entrepreneur, his sons, and his eldest daughter all wear such practical garments rather than displaying their finery.⁶ However, while a riding habit had become standard dress for a lady, she might still have worn rather less practical, elegant silk slippers on her feet.⁷ Thus, the well-drained, surfaced paths of the pleasure ground were of fundamental importance to ladies as places of year-round exercise and resort in Brown's period. The importance of the walk as a feature of the pleasure ground – especially to women – is illustrated by the example of Frances Irwin at Temple Newsam, Yorkshire, and her gravel path. While what she termed as 'Brownifications' were taking place in 1766, with workmen, their barrows, and their spades creating a 'woeful dirty pickle' she particularly valued her existing gravel walk, which was 'always a resource and very much made use of'.⁸

Though often experienced in a solitary fashion, perhaps by the lady of the house seeking a breath of fresh air, the width of paths allowed the experience to be a social one, providing space for two or three to walk abreast. One excuse for a party to tour the grounds was to 'contrive improvements'. As David Brown and Tom Williamson have stressed, and as Colman and Garrick had their character Sterling point out in *The Clandestine Marriage* (1765), 'The chief pleasure of the country house is to make improvements...'.⁹ So when the gentleman-architect Sanderson Miller took five hours to tour the gardens at Stowe on foot in 1749, and 'Mr Brown' was in the company, it is likely that the unusual length of their walk was down to the presence of two such notable taste-makers in the group.¹⁰ Moreover, as Lord Cobham, creator of the gardens and Brown's first employer, had died just two months before and the estate had been inherited by his nephew, Richard Grenville (later Earl Temple), the alterations of features in the garden would have been high on the agenda.

³ Godber, J. (1968). *The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park* (p. 27). Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society.

⁴ Martin, J. (2004). *Wives and daughters* (p. 302). London: Hambledon and London.

⁵ Shulman, N. (2014). *Fashion and gardens* (pp. 30–33). London: The Garden Museum.

⁶ The portrait is set outside in a garden, so the clothes reflect that, but it is interesting to contrast this approach to some similar portraits by Arthur Devis of the 1750s. He often portrayed his sitters outside, but fine silk was still very much in evidence.

⁷ The fashion of the riding habit was further adapted a little later to reference a husband's militia uniform. This was famously initiated by Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, during the large encampment at Coxheath, Kent. In this she was followed by a number of fashionable women, including Lady Worsley, who was portrayed in her version of her husband's scarlet South Hampshire Militia uniform by Reynolds in 1776. The painting was commissioned for her stepfather's house of Harewood (Yorks), very soon after Brown had returned to further adapt the lake and not long before Sir Richard Worsley called him in to advise on his own his seat of Appuldurcombe in the Isle of Wight. What is noticeable about Lady Worsley's dress in this portrait is that, while the clothes had become more suitable for striding around a landscape, she still wore elegant silk shoes on her feet. See Rubenhold, H. (2008). *Lady Worsley's whim* (pp. 47–48). London: Chatto and Windus.

⁸ Brown, J. (2012). *Lancelot Brown, the omnipotent magician 1716–1783* (p. 192). London: Chatto and Windus.

⁹ Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England* (p. 189). London: Reaktion Books.

¹⁰ Hawkes, W. (Ed.). (2005). *The diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway* (p. 65). Stratford: Dugdale Society.

Three years later, Brown was engaged in a professional capacity by Admiral Anson when he acquired Moor Park (Herts) in 1752. The process of improvement was initiated with a tour of the grounds by a 'Council of Taste' and their outing was recorded by Anson's wife, Elizabeth. As well as the owners themselves, the party included William Pitt, another one of the Stowe circle and an experienced amateur designer himself.¹¹ Elizabeth Anson described the tour to her sister-in-law, Marchioness Grey, saying that it:

... would have given you great Entertainment. I walked on Horseback & was attended by the Gentlemen on Foot, whilst we surveyed the Garden, as it is called; afterwards they mounted too, to view the Park: – My Lord acted the Part of Owner – Mr. Anson of a good Cousin ... to shew and puff – Pitt of an Enthusiastic Admirer, & Brown of an Artist who scorned to find difficulties in executing any great or beautiful Idea, & made nothing of raising or levelling any spot to the height desired. – This is a short Sketch of what entertained ... me for about four hours...¹²

As well as being the determined aim of a group touring a designed landscape, in reality, so prevalent was the passion for landscape gardening that the discussion of how a design could be altered to improve it was probably a frequent, unplanned by-product of a walk.

That Elizabeth Anson was mounted for the tour of Moor Park – and the reason for the party – meant that they got further afield than the environs of the house. While many women rode, driving a small carriage, often specific to the designed landscape, was a very popular alternative (Figure 10.1). In the 1750s, even before Brown was called in at Sherborne (Dorset), the ladies of the extended family were driving themselves around the park. In 1758, Lady Ilchester, sister-in-law of the mistress of the house, and a friend 'drove about the park in the chariot'. The Ilchesters' own principal seat was Melbury (also Dorset) and accounts of 1768 record the payment for 'a garden chaise and harness for my ladies use'.¹³

To really appreciate the importance of the driven experience in the Brownian landscape it is necessary to understand the everyday experience of horse-drawn travel at the time. The mid-eighteenth century – the decades in which Brown was forging his reputation – coincided with the start of the greatest period of road building in Britain since the Romans, with newly laid out trunk roads known as 'turnpikes' developed particularly from the 1750s. However, cross-country travel was still fraught with hazards and many places were cut off to carriage access during bad weather, leaving their residents to resort to horseback or foot.

Drives within the designed landscape therefore developed as something of an antidote to the bad roads outside the park boundaries. To understand the importance of this concept to the Georgians it is necessary to strip away our twenty-first century perceptions and experiences: in the mid-eighteenth century to accelerate in a carriage from walking pace to a trot at 8 mph was an exhilarating sensation. To do this on the smooth turf of the landscape park was doubly delightful. This combination of stimulation of many senses at once was a theme of the experience of the Georgian park or garden. A truly great design was one that afforded a sensual experience on a variety of levels at the same time, so a carriage drive was about visual appreciation combined with the excitement of *feeling*. Elsewhere in the park, and at another juncture, this might be combined with the delights of food and drink, or music.

In parallel to new road building, carriages were also becoming better sprung, more comfortable, and, crucially, faster. These were well suited to the smooth turf provided by Brown and his contemporaries within newly improved parks. Two topographical views of landscapes improved by Brown, both by Paul Sandby, illustrate this well. The first is a view of Wakefield Lawn (Northants) of 1767. Here a phaeton, the racy sports car of its time, is driven across the smooth sward by a gentleman (perhaps significantly) with a well-dressed lady seated next to him. With its high driving position, large rear wheels, and two horses, this contrasts with the more old-fashioned, sedate, one-horse garden chaise that Mrs Carter Thelwall is driving in her family portrait (Figure 10.1).

The second view, *Riders in an Avenue in the Park... at Luton*, c. 1765, gives a rare piece of visual evidence for a grass drive, shown in contrast with the surfaced approach to the house.¹⁴ Some internal drives might also be surfaced, but grass drives provided a different experience. In the Luton view the grass is mown shorter than the

¹¹ Symes, M. (1996). William Pitt the Elder: The Gran Mago of landscape gardening. *Garden History*, 24(1), 126–136.

¹² Anson, E. (19 May 1752). [Letter to Grey, Admiralty]. Wrest Park (Lucas) Papers, Bedfordshire Archives & Records Service (BARS), L 30/9/3/33.

¹³ Martin, J. (2004). *Wives and daughters* (p. 295–296).

¹⁴ For an image of this view by Sandby of the grass drive at Luton Hoo, see Felus, K. (2016). *The secret life of the Georgian garden* (p. 36). London: I. B. Tauris.



Figure 10.1: *The Reverend Carter Thelwall and his Family*, George Stubbs, 1776, showing the family riding in a one-horse garden chaise. Copyright The Holburne Museum (2018), reprinted with permission.

main sward and is being enjoyed by a couple in a small carriage and a gentleman on horseback. The pleasure of this experience was summed up in Edmund Burke's definition of beauty, which included being 'swiftly drawn in an easy coach over smooth turf...'¹⁵ An 'open-horse carriage' can also be seen gliding over the smooth turf in Watts's view of Heveningham (Figure 5.5).

Beyond the sensation of gliding and the exhilaration of speed, the visual experience was also important and drives were created to give a series of changing scenes and vistas. Moreover, it should be stated that the sight of a carriage moving along such a drive, perhaps disappearing now and again from view, would have lent an animation to the scene to be enjoyed by anyone viewing the landscape from the reverse point, particularly from the house. Drives could be lengthy and remarkably varied. The circuit drive designed by Brown for the 6th Earl of Coventry at Croome (Worcs) was described as: 'delightful ... skirting the entire bounds ... in a wide circuit of ten miles: interspersed by several collateral branches, of pleasing variety, and different distances. ... The principal ride is sheltered and adorned by fine and flourishing trees ... charming prospects open, in passing...'¹⁶ Here Brown took advantage of the long views across the Vale of Evesham, 'borrowing' the landscape from the

¹⁵ Burke, E. (1756). *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and the beautiful* (p. 155). London.

¹⁶ Dean, W. (1824). *An historical and descriptive account of Croome D'Abitot, the seat of the Right Hon. the Earl of Coventry...* (p. 78). Worcester: T. Eaton.

Malverns Hills on one side to the Cotswolds on the other, even today leaving the viewer impressed by the seeming extent of the design. In a carriage this would have been even more impressive, the experience different from that had on foot at a slower speed and a lower vantage point.

This description of Croome mentions 'charming prospects opening in passing'; from such drives features of the landscape appeared and disappeared, then re-arranged themselves. The experience must have been somewhat cinematic in an age where moving pictures were almost inconceivable.¹⁷ In the park at Blenheim Palace (Oxon), where Brown worked in the early 1760s, 'the water, the Palace, the gardens, the Great Bridge, the Pillar, Woodstock, and other near and remote objects, open and shut upon the eye like enchantment'.¹⁸ However, the drives here perhaps became too popular and too animated, for some visitors at least. On his 1792 tour, John Byng visited Blenheim; he found the frenetic activity of tourism here too much for his sensibilities and complained of the one-horse chaises and phaetons hired out to tourists hurtling past him through the park. As an antidote he took himself off to the lake for the quieter pursuit of fishing.¹⁹

One of the most prominent features of the park at Blenheim was Brown's master stroke of a lake. As frequently happened in his designs, this replaced an earlier water feature. Often these were stew ponds, which had been features of parks for centuries. The second half of the eighteenth century saw their decline, their rectilinear appearance at odds with the naturalistic park and their scale often too small for the wide-open spaces and long vistas.²⁰ Until then they had been used for fishing for both productive and leisure purposes. Before their decline, towards the start of the eighteenth century, in his *Discourse of Fish and Fish-ponds*, Roger North described the netting of fish as a leisure activity.²¹ In the middle of the century, even as more naturalistic water features were becoming ever more fashionable, landowners were still inviting guests to witness the annual autumn spectacle of draining the lake to manage the fish stocks, as at Wotton Underwood (Bucks), from where George Grenville wrote to his sister Hester Pitt in October 1769: 'we expect a house full of company next week at the fishing of our Lake'.²²

But this method of fishing was in decline and Currie cites the nineteenth century as the period in which freshwater fish for the table ceased. It is likely that the Brownian-style lake both contributed to the decline of fish farming and was also a symptom of it; the decline may already have been happening but the ever-increasing size of Brownian-style lakes made their management by traditional means impossible. Angling instead became a popular occupation in the landscape park.²³ Earl Temple of Stowe was a keen host and each summer would invite parties to his palatial estate. Temple's house parties were documented by many guests, including Horace Walpole and Lady Mary Coke, who described touring the grounds in a chaise and fishing on the lake.²⁴ Angling was as popular with ladies as well as men. Lady Mary fished with Princess Amelia, daughter of George II. They had probably both been taught to fish as children, as it was commonly thought to encourage patience and discourage an interest in more dissolute pastimes (Figure 10.2). At the beginning of the eighteenth century Roger North wrote: 'Young People love Angling extremely; then there is a Boat, which gives pleasure enough in summer...'. He continued that such activities might 'direct the Minds of a numerous Family to terminate in something not inconvenient, and it may divert them from worse'.²⁵

¹⁷ The nearest thing to moving pictures around this date were the panoramic paintings of the French artist Louis Carrogis (1717–1806), known as Carmontelle, who created scenes on translucent rolls of paper that were slowly scrolled past a light which shone through them. Many of his narrative scenes documented the English style gardens of the French aristocracy in the years immediately before the revolution of 1789. They have been called 'the cinema of the Enlightenment'. See Chatel de Brancion, L. (2008). *Carmontelle's landscape transparencies: Cinema of the Enlightenment*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

¹⁸ Mavor, Revd W. (1787). *Blenheim, a poem: To which is added, a Blenheim guide* (p. 97). London: T. Cadell.

¹⁹ Bruyn Edwards, C. (1954). *The Torrington diaries – A selection from the tours of the Hon. John Byng 1781–1794* (p. 456). London.

²⁰ Currie, C. (1990). Fishponds as garden features, c. 1550–1750. *Garden History*, 18(1), 22–46.

²¹ North, R. (1713). *A discourse of fish and fish-ponds* (p. 72). London.

²² Birdwood, V. (Ed.). (1994). *So dearly loved, so much admired: Letters to Hester Pitt, Lady Chatham, from her relations and friends* (p. 38). London: HMSO.

²³ The catching of fish with rod and line had first been popularised by Isaac Walton in *The compleat angler* of 1653. In 1655 he met Charles Cotton, who was forty years his junior. The latter contributed to widening of the scope of the book and it became a bible for fishermen, a work of reference the influence of which was akin to that of Evelyn's *Sylva*.

²⁴ Home, J. A. (Ed.). (1889) *The letters and journals of Lady Mary Coke* (Vol. 3, p. 252). Edinburgh: David Douglas.

²⁵ North, R. (1713). *A discourse of fish and fish-ponds* (p. 72).



Figure 10.2: *The Grotto and the Temple of Contemplation, Stowe*, J. B. Chatelain, 1752. Source: Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

To interact even more directly with this fundamental element in the landscape, one could get out onto the water, to row or sail. The depictions of boats in engravings and paintings such as Turner's view of Harewood (Figure 6.6) or on plans, such as that for Brown's park at Redgrave in Suffolk,²⁶ was not merely artistic licence; they reflected real experiences and boats were an intrinsic element of the park or pleasure ground. As Humphry Repton wrote a little later, 'a large lake without boats is a dreary waste of water'.²⁷ In the eighteenth century the general population and the land-owning classes in particular had much direct experience of waterborne transport and travel. Many had brothers or cousins in the Royal Navy, as it was a common career for younger sons not destined to inherit an estate. Others had connections with mercantile trade. In London, where many wealthy families spent much of their year, the Thames was still the main thoroughfare of the city, as well as the scene of pageants and festivals. This knowledge and experience had an influence on the variety of craft on lakes in designed landscapes and in their use, as with carriage drives, sensation was key to the experience.²⁸

In Brown's *oeuvre* there are enough examples of boats being constructed at the same time as lakes were being created (or adapted) to be persuasive that better boating was a fundamental reason for this. In 1766, a Bedfordshire newspaper reported: 'the Earl of Bute has lately engaged some Ship-carpenters to build, from the timber of his estate, the model of a first rate man of war, with a view to adorn the extensive canal now making at his Lordship's seat at Luton Hoo'.²⁹ At Stowe a similar vessel was described by Benton Seeley in his guidebook to the garden as: 'a Model Man of War in all her Rigging'. She is seen in the background of an engraving showing the view across the Home Park and Eleven Acre Lake to the Temple of Venus (Figure 10.3). This vessel, one of a number of relatively well-documented craft used on the lakes at Stowe, was consistently mentioned in the estate accounts, where it was known simply as 'the ship'.³⁰

²⁶ Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men* (p. 122).

²⁷ Repton, H. (1794). *Sketches and hints on landscape gardening* (p. 41). London: Bulmer.

²⁸ Felus, K. (2006). Boats and boating in the designed landscape, 1720–1820. *Garden History*, 34(1), 22–46.

²⁹ Blydes, F. A. (Ed.). (1886). *Bedfordshire Notes & Queries* (Vol. 1, p. 47). Bedford: A. Ransom etc.

³⁰ Felus, K. (2006). Boats and boating in the designed landscape.



Figure 10.3: Detail of *The View from the Temple Wood Building, at Stowe*, engraved by J. Couse, after George Bickham, c. 1750s, showing 'a Model Man of War' on Eleven Acre Lake. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Reproduced with permission.

There was also a 'ship' at the Grenville's other estate of Wotton Underwood. Of this vessel no visual clues survive, but it is documented in the accounts. As at Stowe the 'ship' here was one of many craft and clearly distinct from a mere 'boat'. At Wotton, Brown augmented an existing lake, creating a second, impressively larger sheet of water of 40 acres, which gave scope for more exciting waterborne activities. The estate accounts make reference to 'ships canon', the estate map of 1789 plotted a battery and dock, and visitors reported 'a large vessel' moored at one end of 'the amazing sheet of water',³¹ all of which suggests the use of the lake for mock naval battles, known as 'naumachia'.

Naumachia in the English designed landscape seem to have been a phenomenon of the 1750s to 1770s particularly.³² This timing – coinciding directly with Brown's career – raises the question of how many of the water bodies created in this heyday of lake expansion and stream-damming were intended for such use. There are three likely reasons for this fashion for naumachia. Firstly, they were conscious emulations of much larger mock naval battles that took place in classical Rome, the largest of which was staged on Lake Fucino in AD 52 and involved 19,000 combatants. Secondly, they referenced British naval supremacy, perhaps involving an element of re-enactment. Finally, they were perhaps a means of training younger sons destined for naval careers, especially in landlocked counties with no access to the sea on which to learn to sail (Figure 10.4).³³ One such younger son was the 5th Lord Byron, who had enjoyed a naval career before unexpectedly inheriting his estate at Newstead Abbey in Nottinghamshire.³⁴ Here, in 1749, he adapted the monastic fish ponds to become a series of larger lakes and built a fleet of boats, including a twenty-gun schooner and also a pair of miniature

³¹ Felus, K. (2009). The social history of the designed landscape at Wotton. *New Arcadian Journal*, 65/66, 106–107.

³² Cousins, M. & Eyres, P. (1995). Naumachia: The parkland phenomenon of mock naval battle. *New Arcadian Journal*, 39/40, 11–29.

³³ Felus, K. (2016). *The secret life of the Georgian garden* (p. 65).

³⁴ William Byron, also known as 'The Devil Byron' after he killed his cousin in a duel. His brother Vice-Admiral John Byron, known as 'Foulweather Jack', was also in the Royal Navy and was one of the survivors of Admiral Anson's gruelling circumnavigation of 1740–44.



Figure 10.4: Detail from the painted panels in the house at Batchacre, Staffs, unknown artist, c. 1760s. Photo: Clare Hickman, reproduced courtesy of John Wilcox.

forts on the shore. The developments at Newstead are perhaps the earliest examples of the trend of lake expansion for waterborne war games, created – perhaps significantly – at exactly the time that Brown was about to leave Stowe to begin his freelance career. As well as the ‘model man of war’ at Stowe, which was in existence by 1750 (soon after Earl Temple inherited), other early examples include the fleet and fort at Stowe’s rival Buckinghamshire estate of West Wycombe, in existence by the early 1750s, and that at the lost landscape of Batchacre (Staffs) laid out by the retired Admiral Whitworth, c. 1756. While Brown did not work at Newstead, West Wycombe, or Batchacre, these large lakes – and the activities that took place on them – may have influenced him and the desires of his clients.

Naumachia were probably exclusively male preserves, but a pleasure jaunt on a boat might be entertainment for the whole family. Brown’s adaptation, in around 1760, of the formal canals around the outside of the (mainly) 1710s garden at Wrest enabled more interesting boating than had been possible previously. As early as the 1750s there had been both plans for altering the water and for the making of a boat. This was recorded in letters between Marchioness Grey and her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, who had fortuitously married Admiral George Anson; naturally he was consulted on the best sort of vessel for the ‘navigation’. But the boat discussed in 1750 also had to be capable of ornament as it was to be used as a kind of ‘pretty moving summerhouse’ where letters could be read and written.³⁵

Whether this particular boat was indeed built is not known, but the designs for one that was certainly constructed in 1765 have survived.³⁶ By this date Marchioness Grey was the mother of two daughters, Annabel, who was fourteen and Mary, nine. It may have been at least partly to entertain them that the boat was constructed. Annabel wrote a vivid description of its maiden voyage:

³⁵ Felus, K. (2006). Boats and boating in the designed landscape (pp. 35–36).

³⁶ Wrest Park (Lucas) Papers, BARS, L33/125. For illustration see Felus, K. (2006). Boats and boating in the designed landscape (p. 37).

This Ship ... had long lain near the water side an object of Admiration to all ... who were we suppose particularly struck with the swan at one end, & the tiger at the other. Having now received her last finishing, it was determined she should be launched the first fair hour. Accordingly at six o'clock in the evening ... she was let down into the water, colours and streamers flying, music playing ... She came down, literally, Head foremost, & with such a splash ... but recovering instantly, & not sticking in the mud ... she was brought along shore, we embarked under the shade of the Acacias & had a most prosperous voyage. The sun shone ... the water & shores looked more beautiful than ever. ... Having passed every straight & doubled every cape without the least accident, & being arrived at the open sea behind the pavilion, we landed under a clump (which I should have called a Wood) & left the vessel to proceed to its moorings...³⁷

Later, when Mary's own sons were staying with their grandmother at Wrest in the summers of the early 1790s, the Marchioness acquired another new boat, again perhaps to amuse the children. The eldest, nine-year-old Thomas Robinson, wrote to his uncle in September 1790, saying: 'Grandmama has got a great boat which we saw launched on Monday; it was afterwards brought to the bank we all have been aboard of her and fished in her'.³⁸

The activities of boating and fishing often occasioned specific architecture in the landscape. The apogee of this was perhaps Robert Adam's Fishing Pavilion at Kedleston (Derbys) of 1770–72. Here, on the bank of the lake, he combined a fine room for dining, for card games, and from which to dangle a fishing rod, with a cold bath, changing room, and earth closet in the lower storey, flanked by a pair of lake-level boat houses. The pavilion had its own enclosed garden and acted as an eye-catcher from other points in the park. Many such eye-catchers were used for a myriad of different purposes, frequently combined with each other as at Kedleston. Their distant location often meant that they were linked by the circuit drive and became both stopping-off points and destinations. With all the facilities many provided, they were resorts in their own right, places to go and spend time. Although the use of such solidly built eye-catchers declined in Brown's own work as his career progressed, they continued to be much in evidence in the work of other contemporary designers, such as Richard Woods,³⁹ and were still being used by Humphry Repton, whose career as a landscaper began five years after Brown's death.⁴⁰ Although Brown gradually moved away from including these permanent structures, is it not clear how many of his later, more minimal designs might have included a tent, of which no trace remains. They have an almost ghostly presence in many designed landscapes, which belies their significance in terms of design and use; we will return to them later.⁴¹

The continued popularity of the eye-catcher throughout the eighteenth century had much to do with the contrast they provided to the architecture and life of the country house in this period. As Amanda Vickery has observed, the Palladian mansion was well 'suited to the sunshine of the Veneto' but 'ill adapted to the damp of Albion' and its interiors could be cold, impersonal spaces in which to live.⁴² The eye-catcher, on the other hand, provided a more intimate space, on a human scale and encouraged more personal parties of fewer guests. This was again in contrast to the crowded, bustling mansion, full of servants, poor relations, and uninvited guests. Brown's early patron, Lord Coventry, complained that his house at Croome was 'an inn' due to 'the hospitality my ancestors exercised for some generations ... [which] makes it impossible for me to effect any privacy or retirement'.⁴³ It is no coincidence that he erected a number of garden buildings to which he could escape.

The closest eye-catcher to the house was the Rotunda in the Home Shrubbery. It was designed by Brown and 'fitted as an evening apartment', suggesting the drinking of tea and perhaps music, as well as the simple pleasure of taking the view from its panoramic windows, or solitary pursuits such as reading a book.⁴⁴ Other buildings at Croome with rooms for use were designed by Robert Adam. The Temple Greenhouse, with its sunny, south-facing prospect, was a longer walk from the house but always guaranteed warmth due to its hypocaust and was described as a 'summer apartment'. The Earl also created a menagerie for his second wife. Though he

³⁷ Polwarth, Annabel (29 July 1766). [Letter to Talbot, Catherine]. Wrest Park (Lucas) Papers, BARS, L 30/21/2.

³⁸ West Devon Record Office, Morley papers, 1259/1/219.

³⁹ Cowell, F. (2009). *Richard Woods (1715–1793): Master of the pleasure garden*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

⁴⁰ Daniels, S. (2000). *Humphry Repton: Landscape gardening and the geography of Georgian England*. New Haven: Yale.

⁴¹ This is a question which warrants more research.

⁴² Vickery, A. (2010). *Behind closed doors: At home in Georgian England* (p. 147). New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁴³ Dickens, L. & Stanton, M. (Eds.) (1910). *An eighteenth century correspondence* (p. 162). London: John Murray; Lord Coventry, then Lord Deerhurst, to Sanderson Miller, February 1750.

⁴⁴ Dean, W. (1824). *An historical and descriptive account of Croome D'Abitot*.

never realised Adam's ambitious, later plan for a rectangular enclosure of cages with a grand, two-storey dining pavilion, the original menagerie did include a room for taking tea.⁴⁵ With a long circuit of ten miles, there was clearly a need for places to stop, rest, and be refreshed, especially if a party was out for four or five hours, perhaps also 'contriving improvements'.

Adam's unexecuted design for the menagerie at Croome would have included a number of different spaces for different uses within the central pavilion. In this it was typical of other such buildings within landscapes on which Brown worked such as the menagerie at Audley End (Essex). Built in 1774, in the gothic taste, it was a tripartite building with a kitchen, tea room, and 'keeping room', which either housed the smaller song birds in the collection, or provided a room for the keeper. In an enclosure outside larger birds were kept, including gold and silver pheasants, 'exotic fowl', and 'curious pigeons'. An inventory of 1797 noted that, along with equipment and furniture necessary for tea making and drinking, the tea room also contained a writing case and a number of the latest publications on natural history, suggesting the room as a location for relevant and related studies.⁴⁶

At Highclere (Hants), the location of the rotunda, now called the Temple of Diana, is noted on Brown's surviving plan for the improvement of the estate (early 1770s), although it is not known if he was involved in the creation of the building. When the temple was altered in the 1840s, the architect Charles Barry made a plan of its internal layout, which shows that below the upper 'belvedere room' there was a lower storey containing an earth closet, a bedroom, and a kitchen.⁴⁷ Many ornamental buildings in the parks and gardens at which Brown worked included kitchens; whatever else the activities that were enjoyed by an owner and his guests, refreshments were core to the experience. In this they were adding the pleasures of taste to the other levels of sensation offered by the designed landscape. Such buildings where food and drink were served were often equipped with highly fashionable oriental ceramics – appropriate vessels in which and with which to serve tea.⁴⁸ This was by far the most commonly consumed refreshment taken outside and while, at the time in which Brown was working, imports of tea were on the rise, making it more affordable, it was still an exotic drink redolent of the mysteries and attraction of the East.⁴⁹ The taking of tea in the garden in this period is perhaps best depicted by the pair of canvases by Zoffany of the garden of the actor David Garrick, at Hampton (Middx), complete with his newly finished Temple to Shakespeare. In one view a servant appears around the corner of the building carrying a tray of tea, while Garrick's young nephew peeps cheekily around a column (Figure 10.5). In the opposite view, Mr and Mrs Garrick and a guest are seated at a tea table on the lawn with a servant standing behind, while Garrick's brother fishes in the Thames.⁵⁰ The chairs on which the tea party sits are unexpectedly fine for outdoor furniture of the time and it is possible that the artist moved an activity that commonly took place inside the temple outside onto the lawn, in order to depict it more easily and also to illustrate more of the garden.⁵¹ The temple – which survives – is surprisingly capacious inside and could cater for relatively large parties.⁵² It also has good acoustics and, given Garrick's connection with the theatre and the fact that his wife had been a dancer, it is likely that musical parties were held here.

Music in the pleasure ground was another way to please the senses. Sometimes concerts were planned, but often it was spontaneous. Sometimes they took place inside an eye-catcher, but equally could be in the open air. In July 1756, after a walk around the garden at Stowe, Sanderson Miller noted in his diary: 'singing at Grecian temple', a reference to the Temple of Concord and Victory.⁵³ Miller was a member of the Oxford Catch Club, and it is likely that the sort of songs sung would have been these part songs or pastoral folk songs. The Earl of Exeter, at Burghley, was one of Lancelot Brown's longest standing clients, as well as a keen musician and

⁴⁵ Gordon, K. (2000). *Coventrys of Croome* (pp. 124–125). Chichester: Philimore and National Trust.

⁴⁶ Sutherill, M. (1996). The garden buildings at Audley End. *The Georgian Group Journal*, 6, 102–119.

⁴⁷ Mowl, T. (2016). *The historic gardens of Hampshire* (p. 111). London: Stephen Morris.

⁴⁸ For example, the Bowling Green House at Wrest Park; from inventory evidence of 1740 we know that the 'handsome banqueting room' contained all the necessary accoutrements for making and serving tea and coffee. In a closet were two corner cupboards decorated in the Eastern taste 'with Indian Pictures'. They contained: 'A colour'd China Tea Pot and Stand', teacups and saucers, coffee cups, two slop basons, a sugar dish, a milk porringer, a spoon boat and 'Six gilt Silver Tea Spoons in Shagreen Case'.

⁴⁹ Day, I. (2000). *Eat, drink and be merry* (pp. 112–119). London: Philip Wilson.

⁵⁰ There were actually at least two other views of the garden by Zoffany, one with David Garrick sitting under a tree reading or writing. Another depicted the actor's nieces in the view of the river from the opening of the tunnel under the road, which separated the main garden around the house from the lawn and temple next to the Thames. There is also a second version of the view of the Temple to Shakespeare, but without the servant bringing tea.

⁵¹ Green- or grey-painted Windsor chairs were more commonly used outside, as can be seen, for example, in Zoffany's later group portrait of *Thomas Rosoman and His Family* (1781), in which the Temple to Shakespeare appears in the background.

⁵² Today concerts are regularly held at the temple, during which it seats 30–40 people.

⁵³ Hawkes, W. (2005). *The diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway* (p. 242).



Figure 10.5: *The Shakespeare Temple at Hampton House with Mr and Mrs David Garrick*, Johann Zoffany, 1762. Copyright Sotheby's. Reproduced with permission.

an enthusiastic patron of music. When visitor Henry Bates toured the grounds in July 1778, he noted that the party 'stopped at every new opening to a fine prospect and the company sang catches and were in the highest spirits', again suggesting spontaneity.⁵⁴

Other musical instruments that were popularly used in the park and pleasure ground had the advantage of being easily portable, such as the flute (which Miller also played), the oboe, which was thought to be particularly well suited to the open air, and the French horn, as its sound travelled well and the instrument had hunting connotations.⁵⁵ Sometimes musicians, especially playing the latter instrument, were hidden from view to add an air of enchantment. Elizabeth Montagu described how William Pitt, while staying in Kent, had found a captivating scene on his morning's ride and later in the day had taken a party back to the spot, where he 'ordered a tent to be pitched, tea to be prepared and his French horn to breathe music like the unseen genius of the wood'.⁵⁶

This little vignette also demonstrates the flexibility of the tent. It could be raised at a specific spot, literally on a whim. It could be moved around as an owner pleased and, when present in the landscape, had the same effect and

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Jon Culverhouse, archivist at Burghley, for this reference.

⁵⁵ Felus, K. (2016). *The secret life of the Georgian garden* (pp. 181–189).

⁵⁶ Ayling, S. (1976). *The elder Pitt* (p. 106). London: Collins.



Figure 10.6: Detail of *Southill, in Bedfordshire. The Seat of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Torrington*, from *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*, William Watts, 1779–86. Showing a framed canvas tent used for entertainment. Photo copyright Kate Felus, CC BY-NC 4.0.

purpose as more solidly built eye-catchers. Often light-coloured, sometimes striped, they caught the light and stood out against the verdure of the landscape (Figure 10.6).⁵⁷ They were also, as Pitt clearly knew, perfect places to serve refreshments, such as tea.⁵⁸ Tents are, in many ways, the ghosts of the landscape park and garden, their fabric having long-since perished, leaving almost no trace, in contrast to permanent structures, which, even where allowed to fall into ruin, present far more clues as to their past existence.⁵⁹ With tents the only hint as to their presence is often merely a levelled platform or a remnant place name, such as Tent Hill at Highclere.

⁵⁷ A striped tent with no sides (they may have been detachable) and striped poles is shown in the Elysium Garden at Audley End by Tomkins, c. 1788. The painting is still in the house there. It may be the 'tent pleasure Marquee' supplied by Messrs Trotter in August 1783. See Sutherill, M. (1997). The buildings of the Elysium Garden at Audley End. *The Georgian Group Journal*, 7, 94–104 (pp. 100, 104).

⁵⁸ Felus, K. (2016). *The secret life of the Georgian garden* (pp. 48–49).

⁵⁹ The closest survival today is the Chinese Pavilion at Boughton (Northants). Although not a conventional canvas tent, the Chinese Pavilion is a unique survival of an original eighteenth-century demountable building. Unlike many of the other examples known now only from illustrations which were made of canvas, the Boughton Pavilion is constructed of canvas oil cloth and light wooden lattice work. Its precise origin is unknown and the earliest references to it date back to the 1809, but analysis of its fabric suggests that it was made in the late-eighteenth century. It had been repaired many times during its life and is now painted black, although the Regency scheme was probably more colourful. During the nineteenth century the building was kept at Montagu House in London, erected every year in spring and disassembled in the autumn. See Bowden-Smith, R. (1988). *The Chinese Pavilion, Boughton House, Northamptonshire*. Woodbridge: Avenue Books.



Figure 10.7: *Design for illuminations to celebrate the birthday of George III*, Cipriani and Adam, 1763. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Reproduced with permission.

Tents were also frequently used when it came to mass entertainments, as they could be large enough to shelter many people and were easily erected, temporary features in the landscape, as well as being potentially decorative. For the coming-of-age celebrations of William Beckford, staged at Fonthill (Wilts) in 1781, large tents or marquees served as the location for the dinner of the local farmers and ‘substantial tradesmen’, while other elements of the entertainment spread out across the park in front of the house.⁶⁰ One of the great advantages of the open expanses of a Brownian-style lawn was its ability to hold many people for events such as celebrations of victories, birthdays, and the coming of age of the heir to the estate (Figure 10.7). At Stowe Earl Temple regularly entertained in the gardens. The earliest detailed description from his period recounts the events staged to celebrate the victory of Louisburg in 1758 during the Seven Years War. George Grenville described how a bonfire was lit on the high ground, the grotto was illuminated, and fireworks were set off, all accompanied by the ringing of bells. There was a small family party present, but the ‘multitudes in the Garden passed numbering.’⁶¹ If this event was like others then ‘the multitudes’ could have run into thousands of people.

During what Earl Temple termed his ‘fêtes champêtre nocturne’, the Grotto (Figure 10.2, above), at the head of the Alder River in the Elysian Fields, was always the centre of the entertainment, hence the third element of his succinct summary of the ideal summer party: ‘Chaises, grotto, fishing, all in perfection.’⁶² At such times,

⁶⁰ Melville, L. (Ed.). (1910). *The life and letters of William Beckford of Fonthill* (pp. 121–122). London: William Heinemann.

⁶¹ George Grenville to Hester Pitt, undated letter, probably summer 1758, Public Record Office 30/8/34 f 17.

⁶² Earl Temple’s term for night-time entertainments at Stowe: PRO 30/8/61 ff 132–135.

the most prestigious guests were fed and watered in the building, which was illuminated, as was a boat on the lake beyond, on which the musicians were seated. The trees were also hung with strings of lights. In 1778, visitor William Bray described the Grotto as 'faced with flints and pebbles', continuing that this was where 'Lord Temple sometimes sups. On such occasions this grove is illuminated with a great number of lamps; and his Lordship with a benevolence which does him honour, permits the neighbourhood to share the pleasure of the evening with him and his company; the park-gates being thrown open'. A good reason for such an entertainment was a royal visit, such as the two made by Princess Amelia, who was entertained in 1764 and 1770. On the earlier occasion Lady Temple's maid recounted how the weather had prevented a garden entertainment occurring for some days at the start of the visit, but, as soon as the rain cleared up, the host ordered the scene to be prepared. Princess Amelia walked down to the Grotto at half past ten and took in the scene, walked a little in the gardens, then returned to the Grotto to 'an elegant cold supper'. Lady Temple's maid reported: 'nothing was seen but lights and people, nothing was heard but music and fireworks, and nothing was felt but joy and happiness'. She estimated that there were over a thousand people in the gardens to see the illuminations, many presumably also hoping to catch a glimpse of the royal family.⁶³ Stowe was not unusual in this scale of entertainment. Beckford's celebrations in 1781 included 10,000 guests; for the coming of age of Lord Morpeth at Castle Howard (Yorks) in 1794, 12,000 were reported; and, on a typically ducal scale, the park at Chatsworth held 30,000 people for a similar celebration for the Marquess of Hartington in 1811.⁶⁴

In their final chapter of *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men* Brown and Williamson observe that it is impossible to experience these landscapes as our Georgian ancestors would have done, writing: 'there are few places where we can really experience a landscape created by Brown or his fellows in anything like its original condition, or – perhaps more accurately in anything like the form which they intended the landscape to take, when mature'.⁶⁵ Of course, this is true of the visual experience of the space and scale of the landscape, which has changed as trees have grown, woods expanded, or lakes silted over time. But perhaps there are elements of the experience of the landscape available to us that are similar to those of our Georgian ancestors, and perhaps more so than we might at first imagine. Many people have a sense – if somewhat hazy – of what the leisured classes did in the designed landscape in the eighteenth century, though there is seldom enough interpretation to help the modern visitor understand how much they are walking in the footsteps of their forebears. The tradition of entertainment in the designed landscape – a park full of crowds, enjoying food, drink, music, and fireworks is not one that is alien to us in the twenty-first century; today concerts featuring all these elements and known as 'Battle Proms' are regularly staged in summer at some of Brown's most iconic landscapes, including Blenheim, Burghley, and Highclere. The flypast of the Spitfire might be anachronistic, but the music and fireworks are not. Quieter pursuits such as a picnic, or merely a simple walk, are common and easily accomplished. Where we have more difficulty in appreciating what the experience might have been like two to three hundred years ago is in motion in the landscape: riding, driving, and boating. The celebrations of Brown's tercentenary in 2016 occasioned more opportunities to do these things, with carriage drives available at Blenheim and Belvoir (Leics) and the Victorian steam-yacht recommissioned on Brown's lake at Harewood (Yorks). It would be a fitting legacy indeed if these opportunities continued to be open to visitors rather than fading away as time passes once again. This chapter opened with the observation that Brown's landscapes can be sterile, but this need not be the case; it is through living in these landscapes that we keep these works of art vibrant for the future.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

⁶³ Smith, W. J. (1852). *The Grenville papers* (Vol. 2, p. 408). London: John Murray.

⁶⁴ For Castle Howard see Morley papers, West Devon Record Office, 1259/2/217. For Chatsworth, see *Derby Times*, 28 May 1811.

⁶⁵ Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men* (p. 230).

CHAPTER 11

The English Garden in Germany: Some Late Eighteenth-Century Concepts of the Landscape Garden

Michael Rohde

Capability Brown's work in Germany is only acknowledged for Schloss Richmond, Brunswick, for which he was asked to produce a design for Princess Augusta, sister of King George III, yet other gardens associated with the English court that had Brownian landscapes include Gotha and Hohenzieritz.¹ Despite these examples and the German translation of George Parkyn's *Six Designs for Improving and Embellishing Grounds* (1793), which promoted the Brownian style, there was no general take-up of Brownian principles in the creation of English gardens. Instead, Germany saw a whole range of different interpretations, of influences that included the Anglo-Chinese garden and more famously the notion of the 'landscape garden' promoted by Humphry Repton, Brown's self-appointed successor, in the early-nineteenth century. During the second half of the eighteenth century different influences overlapped, with various notions of English gardening being incorporated. Two Germans who travelled to Britain during Brown's lifetime and left accounts included the dilettante Jobst Anton von Hinüber (1718–84)² and the garden designer Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell (1750–1823). They were responsible for pioneering new landscape concepts in Germany, the former preferring Kent's model, the latter being a protagonist of Brownian principles. Instead of duplicating an account that concentrates on just gardens directly associated with Brown, this chapter looks at his reception in Germany and two ways in which the English garden was interpreted during and immediately after Brown's life, highlighting the main trends that purported to represent the English garden.

In German historiography of the past century Lancelot Brown has generally been acknowledged for the introduction of the clump, the belt drive, and serpentine bodies of water, and also for the fact that he re-created the classical landscapes of Capri and Sicily.³ This apt observation appears to have influenced perception from an early stage.

¹ Köhler, M. (2001). The German legacy: Richmond in Braunschweig. *Garden History*, 29(1), 29–35; Köhler, M. (2016). Brownian gardens in Germany. *Garden History*, 44(Suppl. 1), 159–174.

² Rohde, M. (1997). *Parkpfliegewerk Hinüberscher Garten in Hannover-Marienwerder, im Auftrag der Landeshauptstadt Hannover und der Klosterkammer Hannover*. Hannover: University of Hannover.

³ See for example Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Sein Entstehen und seine Einführung in Deutschland durch Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell 1750–1823* (p. 68). Munich: Hugo Schmidt; Hoffmann, A. (1963). Der Landschaftsgarten. In D. Hennebo &

How to cite this book chapter:

Rohde, M. 2020. The English Garden in Germany: Some Late Eighteenth-Century Concepts of the Landscape Garden. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 151–164. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.k>. CC BY-NC 4.0

Jobst Anton von Hinüber and the Posthofgarten in Hanover

Jobst Anton von Hinüber, Electorate Braunschweig-Lüneburg Legation councillor, bailiff of Marienwerder, civil servant (Oberpostkommissar), and chief road engineer (Generalwegbauintendant) of the Electorate of Hanover under George III, was a pioneering landscape improver and a dilettante of the art of gardening. His first Grand Tour to England, in the spring of 1737, led him through the Netherlands and France. Whilst he was again in London in 1763 Hinüber was asked to prepare statutes for a Society for Agriculture in Hanover, using the English Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce as a model. The agricultural society was intended to promote recovery after the Seven Years' War, with Hinüber attracting various influential people from the Electorate of Hanover, including Landdrosten (District Administrator) Otto II von Münchhausen (1716–74), landlord of Schwöbber, Voldagsen, and Nordholz near Hameln. Münchhausen was the author of *Der Hausvater*, a work on husbandry that included sections on agriculture, forestry, and gardening, and was published in six volumes between 1764 and 1773.⁴ In 1764 the Royal British and Electorate of Braunschweig-Lüneburg Agricultural Society [Königlich Großbritannienisch und Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft] was founded.⁵ George III, 'Farmer George', King of Great Britain and Ireland since 1760, supported this society by taking it under royal protection. While in England Hinüber consulted agricultural experts and gardeners, including Bartholomew Rocque, Christopher Baldwin, Philip Miller, and Lord Holderness, in order to improve practices in Hanover, which, like many other parts of Germany at the time, were still fairly basic.⁶

As an acknowledgement of his prominent position, Hinüber was corresponding member of the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce from 1766 onwards, and from 1773 was also an honorary member the Kurbayerische Society for Agriculture. Hinüber's comprehensive library was auctioned in 1817, after the death of his son Gerhard (1752–1815),⁷ and included Du Roi's *Harbkesche wilde Baumzucht* [Harbkesche Tree Cultivation] (1772) and the second edition of Friedrich Kasimir Medicus *Beiträge zur schönen Gartenkunst* [Contributions to Ornamental Garden Art], published in 1783.⁸ In addition, foreign publications or encyclopaedias and guides on the identification of woody plants were included, such as William Aiton's *Hortus Kewensis, or a Catalogue of the Plants in the Royal Garden at Kew* published in 1793, edited by his son William Townsend Aiton, Royal Gardener at Kew and Kensington.⁹

A. Hoffmann (Eds.), *Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst* (Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten, pp. 23–26). Hamburg: Broschek; von Buttler, A. (1989). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Gartenkunst des Klassizismus und der Romantik* (p. 58). Cologne: DuMont.

⁴ von Münchhausen, O. (1764–73). *Der Hausvater* (6 Vols). Hanover. In 1763 Münchhausen presented the 'Entwurf zu vorläufigen Gesetzen für die Patrioten' ['Draft of provisional laws for patriots'] with its respective constitutions; see von Hinüber, H. (1985). *Jobst Anton, Gerhard, Carl Anton Ludwig und Carl Heinrich v. Hinüber, vier Persönlichkeiten aus den Anfängen der Königlichen Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft zu Celle* (pp. 11–14). Celle: Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft. Here, the Münchhausen complete draft of 18 September 1763 and notes of Jobst Anton Hinübers from 22 September 1763 are transcribed.

⁵ von Hinüber, H. (1985). *Jobst Anton, Gerhard, Carl Anton Ludwig und Carl Heinrich v. Hinüber* (pp. 5, 14).

⁶ Otto Ulbricht, I have seen Turnips in the Ealing Fields, ... In Ulbricht, O. (1979). *Sonderdruck aus dem neunzehnten Jahresheft der Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft* (pp. 67–109); Ulbricht, O. (1980). Englische Landwirtschaft in Kurhannover in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. In *Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*. Berlin. After Hinüber's death Albrecht Daniel Thaer (1752–1828) took over the business in the select committee of the so-called 'Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft', which had its seat in Celle until 1878; see Hennebo, D. (1993). 'Thaers Garten', Schicksal eines bürgerlichen Landsitzes. In Dohna, U. *Festschrift: Wieder wandelnd im alten Park. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gartenkunst für Harri Günther zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 229–39). Potsdam: Potsdamer Verlagsbuchhandlung.

⁷ *Verzeichnis* [Catalogue] *Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv* (1817): Catalogue of books of the deceased Hofrath [Gerhard] from Hindenburg of Marienwerder which are to be auctioned for cash at the council of Neustadt together with a considerable collection of pictures/maps. Hanover.

⁸ *Verzeichnis* [Catalogue] (1817), p. 84, Nr. 647/648, p. 105 Nr. 833. Furthermore, Gerhard von Hinüber's library on the art of gardening contained the four-volume work by Blotz, J. F. *Gartenkunst oder ein auf vieljährige Erfahrung gegründeter Unterricht* [Gardening or teaching based on years of experience] (1795–98). Leipzig, *Kurze Theorie der empfindsamen Gartenkunst* [A short theory of sensitive gardening] (1786) Leipzig, Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker, *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde* [Handbook for garden enthusiasts] (1795) Leipzig, C. C. L. Hirschfeld's *Kleine Gartenbibliothek* [A small library of gardening] (1790) Kiel, as well as his *Gartenkalender* [Garden calendar] (1785) Kiel, Carl Wilhelm Hennert's *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Harbke* [Notes from a journey to Harbke] (1792) Berlin and Stettin, and C. L. Denhardt, *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde und Blumenliebhaber* [Handbook for garden and flower enthusiasts] (1808) Leipzig. See: p. 10, Nr. 73; p. 108, Nr. 862; p. 57, Nr. 398; p. 69, Nr. 512; p. 89, Nr. 702; p. 108, Nr. 867; p. 95, Nr. 747; p. 108, Nr. 86).

⁹ *Verzeichnis* [Catalogue] (1817), p. 89, Nr. 701.

In 1760, after Hinüber took an official position in the monastery estate of Marienwerder near Hanover, he created an English-Chinese garden in the so-called Posthof, his parental property opposite the Steintor in Hanover.¹⁰ His first cousin, Carl Heinrich von Hinüber (1723–92), who had been a secretary of the secret cabinet of the German Chancery in London (Geheimer Kabinetts-Sekretär), later a judicial councillor in the German Chancery in London, had already established relationships with England.¹¹ His strong affiliation with England is also confirmed by his founding in 1762 of the ‘Georg’ Freemason’s lodge – after King George III – in Hanover. This lodge was later merged with one of the earliest German lodges, ‘Friedrich’ – after Fredrick Ludwig, Prince of Wales¹² – to form the ‘Friedrich zum weißen Pferde’ [Fredrick on the white horse] lodge, which still exists. Motifs of Freemasonry featuring Enlightenment ideas were frequently included, such as in the gardens in Wilhelmsbad, in Schwetzingen (Merkurtempel), at the Seifersdorfer Tal or in Bückeberg-Baum.¹³

In 1764 Jobst Anton began the improvement and planting of the small garden at Posthof. This included earth moving, creating ponds, with birch log bridges across them; there was walling and a grotto was decorated using coal.¹⁴ In 1785 Christian C. L. Hirschfeld (1742–92), the most important theoretician of the landscape garden in eighteenth-century Germany, described ‘a group of various flowers’ at the entrance of the Posthof garden: ‘The foreign, especially the American trees and shrubs ... [are] cleverly mixed with the native wood species for artistic effect’. Several groups of conifers were planted in front of the house and a Chinese bridge led over several ponds. Hirschfeld referred to ruins which offered a ‘cool place’ near the water, with a ‘small funeral chapel’ located next to it. The edge of the garden featured ‘gentle elevations’, which offered views of the surrounding landscape, the towers of the city and parts of the ‘walls embellished with new tree planting’. Interestingly, the ha-has were referred to as boundaries in the gardens, which replaced ‘a low fence’ or a ‘transparent screen’ with ‘a ditch featuring spikes or planted with thorny shrubs from which there are sweeping view, but no one dares to leap’. The intended effect of the ha-ha was important: ‘Therefore, in many places one no longer believes to be in the garden, but in the landscape itself’.¹⁵

Hinüber’s Second Journey to England, 1766–67

The diaries of the second English tour by Jobst Anton von Hinüber, from September 1766 to March 1767, document interesting English gardening at that time.¹⁶ In 1763 Prince Leopold III Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817) travelled to England together with his architect, Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736–1800), as part of a Grand Tour that also included the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Besides cultural, historical, and economic interests, Franz and Erdmannsdorff studied buildings of Robert and James Adam and Sir William Chambers, and the latest fashions in garden design. The profound influence that this tour of England had can be observed at the gardens of Wörlitz near Dessau, designed between 1769 and 1773, which are comparable with Marienwerder and also adhered to what was referred to as the ‘pictorial’ and ‘sentimental’ principles.¹⁷

¹⁰ In 1643 Rütger Hinüber commissioned the construction of a post court (*Posthof*) with a central building (*Hauptgebäude*) (renewed in 1672) next to the Nikolai graveyard. v. Hinübersche Familienzeitung, Nr. 2, 1904, p. 3: ‘Der erste kin unserm Lande in Englischem Geschmack angelegte Garten verdankte ihm seine Entstehung (auf dem Besitztum bei Hannover, dem sog. Posthofe)’, Nr. 46, 1952; Nr. 60, 1968: ‘Zunächst wandelte er um das Jahr 1760 ein zum Posthof gehörendes Gelände mit großer Sachkenntnis und Liebe zu einem englisch-chinesischen Garten um’, quoted by Kirsch, R. (1988). *Frühe Landschaftsgärten im Niedersächsischen Raum* (p. 160). Published thesis (PhD, University of Göttingen).

¹¹ From 1762 the Electorate of Hanover was governed from London with the involvement of Jobst Anton von Hinüber.

¹² Fredrick Ludwig (1707–51), the eldest son of George II (1683–1760), did not reign. When his grandfather, Elector Georg Ludwig (1660–1727, from 1714 George I, King of Great Britain and Ireland) moved to London with his court in 1714, the then seven-year-old grandson had to remain in Hanover until 1728. After his early death in Hanover, the hope for the return of a ‘German’ ruler evaporated. In England, ‘Prince Friedrich’ was remembered as a supporter of the fine arts.

¹³ See von Buttler, (1989). *A. Der Landschaftsgarten* (pp. 132–232); Hartmann, G. (1981). *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten: Ihre Bedeutung für den frühen Historismus und die Landschaftsmalerei der Romantik*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, cited in Kirsch, R. (1988). *Frühe Landschaftsgärten* (p. 172).

¹⁴ Rohde, M. Baukosten Register des Jobst Anton v. Hinüber (1718–84) über den Posthof zu Hannover um 1751–84. Hinüber family archive, Burgdorf, manuscript 17.

¹⁵ All quotes from: Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1785). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. V, pp. 197–203). Leipzig.

¹⁶ Jobst Anton von Hinüber, ‘Travel diary England 1766/67 with 21 points’. Hinüber family archive, Burgdorf.

¹⁷ See Rode, A. (1801). *Leben des Herrn Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff*. Dessau; reprinted in 1994, Wörlitz: Kettmann.

Hinüber visited various parks and estates in the London area, including the royal parks of Windsor, Oatlands Park, Hampton Court, Kew, and Chiswick, but there is no evidence that he visited other parks normally included on such journeys such as Stourhead, Stowe, Blenheim, Richmond, Kensington, Claremont, Esher Palace, or Strawberry Hill. Hinüber first visited Windsor Park (Berks), which since the 1740s had been improved by Prince William August, Duke of Cumberland (1721–65), the uncle of George III, Thomas Sandby (1723–98), and Henry Flitcroft (1697–1769).¹⁸ Hinüber observed that '[t]he garden, according to the local conditions, is not large, and consists of a planted walk leading around meadows, but which does not reach the boundaries. In the end, the walk leads into a forest that features several trails'. He used the term 'garden' for the area surrounding the house, which he described as 'well-designed and rather large', and distinguished it from the wider park, where he remarked, '[b]ecause of the beautiful view a great number of telescopes and binoculars were supplied'. Hinüber paid particular attention to the types of ha-ha he saw at Windsor and elsewhere, noting one at Clapham which was brick built and 'Another ha-ha located near a meadow featured a broom hedge which was so low that the view was not obstructed by it' (Figure 11.2).¹⁹

The description of a visual axis within Windsor Park is clearly reminiscent of the wide prospect from the bailiff's house to the Glockenberg at Marienwerder: 'The view ends at an obelisk which can be viewed from Lord Lincoln's Garden'. On the way from Beaumont Lodge to Shrub Hills 'we drove to and across the Chinese Bridge, of which a plan exists ... From thence to the Chinese Island where we found a house decorated with charming and noble furniture'. The island lay on an artificially created 'meandering canal which was very wide and 28 feet deep and which was as wide as the Thames in some villages'. This was Virginia Water, probably the largest artificial water in a landscape park, created c. 1750 by Henry Flitcroft, who then was also active in Stourhead.²⁰ Another Chinese bridge also led to the island. However, this bridge featured 'several arches which are closed by nailed boards of timber', and was comparable to Marienwerder, though at a different scale.

Shrubhill was set at 'the greatest height of the park' and from here the Duke had a 'very nice oblong as an observation point which can still be seen from Lincoln's Garden or 'Oldland Park' (Oatlands). It features three towers and was built in a gothic style; the entrance is at the bottom and open to the side are some servants' quarters, while the basement includes the offices', with several 'small observation points or rooms' on the roof. The tower was erected around 1757 and appears to have inspired the so-called Witches Tower (Hexenturm) at Marienwerder, but it was rebuilt by Jeffrey Wyatville in 1827 into 'Fort Belvedere'.²¹ From the original tower Hinüber enjoyed the views over 'extensive moorland ... which can also be found throughout the park', and described the side of the hill towards the park as relatively bleak, in contrast to the 'many foreign trees which were newly planted there and are therefore still small' on the other side of the hill. Furthermore, Hinüber observed several so-called 'eye-catchers', including 'a tower built by the Duke outside of the park area of ... Shrubhill at a great distance, only for the sake of the view'. Hinüber did not construct any buildings outside his park, as he might have for instance east of the river Leine; however, his inscriptions refer to existing viewing points in the distance. He was also interested in technical details and the functionality of the nearby cascade and admired 'a complete and rich Venetian gondola' and another 'Chinese ship' on 'a waterbody closer to the garden'.²²

Hinüber obtained travel guides and guides to individual estates, as well as maps whilst he was in England. He then visited two larger estates near Weybridge: Ham Farm²³ and Oatlands, crossed the three-arched oak Walton Bridge designed by William Etheridge, and went on to Hampton Court and Bushy Park. According to Hinüber, Ham Farm had 'many nice cabinets and very beautiful views and facilities, but it does not appear

¹⁸ Roberts, J. (1997). *Royal landscape: Gardens and parks of Windsor*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

¹⁹ Cited in Ulbricht, O. (1979). *Sonderdruck aus dem neunzehnten Jahresheft der Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft* (p. 90).

²⁰ Rohde, M. (1987). *Gartendenkmalpflege des Landschaftsgartens von Stourhead*. Die Arbeitsweise des National Trust. *Das Gartenamt*, 1, 20–26; Jane Roberts, in Herrmann, L. (1986). *Paul and Thomas Sandby* (p. 151). London: Batsford.

²¹ The tower was drawn by Paul Sandby and reproduced in Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. IV, p. 34) by Chr. Schönberg (reversed and modified). Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1782), p. 253: 'Nr. 8. Gothic Tower from Windsor Park, after Sandby's p. 34' to: Hirschfeld (1785), p. 47: 'A new brilliant work is: *A Collection of one Hundred and Fifty select views in England, Scotland and Ireland, Drawn by P. Sandby Esqu. R.A.* Vol. 2. (1781). London. Besides the abbeys, ancient castles, ruins and several romantic views, the work features various descriptions of estates and scenes from the respective parks'.

²² Jacques, D. (1983). *Georgian gardens: The reign of nature* (p. 65, n. 116). London: Batsford.

²³ Kirsch (1988) assumes he refers to Ham Farm near Weybridge (p. 182). Hinüber writes that the journey led him 'over St. Annes Hill ... to Weybridge where Lord Portmoor had a nice, well-built and well-designed estate'.

to be well-maintained'. Hinüber also documented the 'very beautiful conifers in the wood, such as cluster or pinaster pine ... I have seen a cedar of Lebanon which is about a hundred years old and has extensive branches'. Moreover, Hinüber's interest in dendrology is apparent as he noted a 'Scottish spruce' or a 'red cedar', and that the leaves of the cypress were similar to those of the *Mimosa pudica* or 'sensitive plant'. The same interest in exotics is evident at Marienwerder, where he planted them, for instance, in the garden in front of the bailiff's house and on the park dune.

Oatlands Park, Surrey, belonged to Lord Lincoln, a friend of Horace Walpole (1717–97), author of *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (1771). Hinüber was much taken with Oatlands, describing it as 'gorgeous' and a 'very beautiful park and garden', declaring that he would 'try hard to obtain the plans', demonstrating a desire to study the layout more closely and have a record of it at home in Germany. The house was located on a high terrace, but during Hinüber's visit the garden was being refurbished. A prospect hill had just been raised and intended for a temple after the example of the Vesta temple in Tivoli: 'Here, nature and art are happily united, and there is still work done on this beautiful estate, for instance the construction of a temple on top of a mountain which offered the most beautiful view'. The most notable feature of the gardens was a grotto, which Hinüber described as '[t]he most exquisite and the most unique piece in England, perhaps ... which My Lord has built from various rare stones'. Hinüber provided drawings and vivid descriptions and noted that one of the most important aspects was the ornamentation of the estate: 'We drive through the beautiful garden-like park which also exhibits orchards located close to Waltham Bridge', which Hinüber praised as a 'precious simple suspension bridge built in the Chinese taste', of which he was promised an accurate plan. Hinüber was keen to acquire pictures, views, and plans of much of what he saw in England, including 'descriptions and views' of the formal layout of Hampton Court.

At Kew he admired the Chinese buildings designed by William Chambers c. 1757, such as the pagoda built in 1761, which had 'nine levels connected via a spiral staircase'. He also saw the 'East and West Indian plants' there. From Brentford Hinüber went to Syon House and produced a sketch, noting that '[t]here is a good supply of foreign plants, especially conifers'. He also noted a magnolia from North Carolina which 'showed two big white flowers this year – is evergreen. The Magnolia from South Carolina sheds its leaves, is said to be rare and carries blue flowers'. At Twickenham Park, however, he felt there was need of 'some good improvements' since it contained 'a lot of old wood which had been planted in the owner's childhood' and which was 'badly maintained'. In Whitton Park near Hounslow Hinüber sketched a 'beautiful tower on an artificial hill' (Figure 11.6), whilst a 'Chinese wooden house on another hill' later served as a model for a similar construction at Marienwerder. The wooden Chinese house was surrounded by a garden with heated walls, like a kitchen garden, against which were 'espaliered' orange trees. Hinüber was critical of Chiswick, which he described as not designed 'according to the latest tastes', but he did document the restoration of pathways there.

The Hinüber Park in Hanover-Marienwerder (1767–84)

The Marienwerder monastery near Hanover had been leased to Carl Anton von Hinüber (1694–1760), a cousin of his father, Ernst Andreas Hinüber (1693–1758), by Jobst Anton, in 1727. From 1760 Jobst Anton von Hinüber was clerk of the monastery and also managed the estates there. After the latter's journey to England from 1766 until 1767, and with the permission of King George III, he improved an eighty-five acre area around the monastery after the English fashion, and introduced a model farm of some 400 acres in extent. The English garden was to incorporate an area with sand dunes along the river Leine that created a distinctive feature (Figure 11.1).

Hirschfeld visited the completed park in 1783, a year before the death of Jobst Anton, presenting it as a paradigm of the sentimental garden, which was particularly evident from the fictitious cemetery he designed for the characters of Laurence Sterne's novels *Tristram Shandy* and *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768). From the various inscriptions – which were mostly written in English – it is clear that Hinüber intended to create an 'authentic' English garden. However, he had interpreted this in a pre-Brown fashion as the design included alleys belonging to an earlier era as in the transitional gardens of Cirencester and Chiswick. Hirschfeld transcribed the many verses and the accumulation of sentimental features which at Marienwerder mostly consisted of urns, garden chairs, and simple – 'mostly rustic ... but differently' – constructed huts and bridges. A similar treatment was seen in other early sentimental landscape gardens such as Seifersdorfer



Figure 11.1: A section from the *Plan of the surroundings of the monastery of Marienwerder in 1774*. This is the earliest plan after completion of the Hintuber'schen proposals. The park can be roughly divided into three areas: a) the garden with pond north of the Amtsmannshaus, b) the park on the dune with adjacent views in the adjacent forest area, and c) the outer area with integrated agricultural areas along the river Leine. Source: Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (NHStA), Signatur 12f Ma. W. 4k. Reproduced with permission.

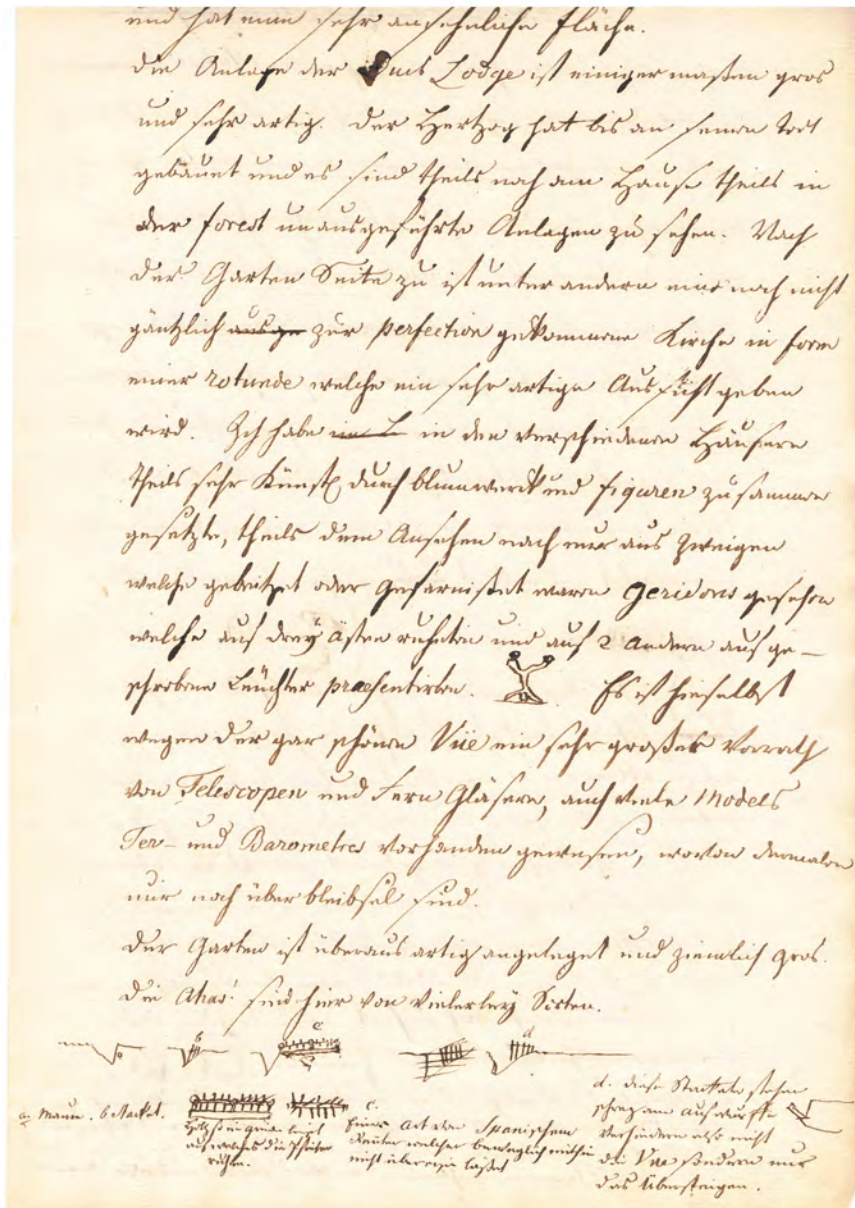


Figure 11.2: Various types of ha-has, from *Reise-Tagebuch England 1766/67 mit 21 Punkten*, Jobst Anton von Hinüber, p. 3. a) Simple, acute-angled ditch with wall to the garden, b) Ditch with sunken fence on the slope towards the garden, c) V-shaped trench with rotatable and spiked iron pins as a new principle ‘these pins which stick out do not obstruct the view but are supposed to prevent trespassing’. Source: Hinübersches Familienarchiv Burgdorf. Reproduced with permission of Hartmut von Hinüber.

Tal, where in 1781 Christina, the wife of Count Hans Moritz Brühl, had built a tomb and lodge of Lorenzo in memory of Laurence Sterne.

In addition, Hinüber integrated existing woods, but also planted many native trees, including poplars, alders, firs, pines, and copper beech, while promoting an individual character to different areas of the park. The garden unfolded from the monastery to the pond, from a densely planted area featuring trees, flowering shrubs, and contrasting conifers to the more natural appearing vegetation along the river Aue. Paddocks and pastures were integrated within existing features, including woodland. A network of paths and benches offered views to the monastery church, park dune, and the general landscape. A belt walk, inspired from one in Windsor Park,

provided a 'planted walk leading around the meadows'.²⁴ Hinüber compared some of the ancient oaks with trees at Zeus' oracle at Dodona, highlighting the connection with antiquity. In certain areas he planted only exotics, including sumac (*Rhus typhina*) at the urn of his late friend Christian von Behr (1714–71), positioned on a river dune at the southern edge of the park. According to Hirschfeld the island in the pond featured 'flowers, beautifully blossoming shrubs and noble exotic trees'. In order to create a contemplative mood, birch trees, weeping willows and sumac were used, emphasising other areas with 'cheerful' planting, such as rose shrubs at a bench near the 'waterfall' at the edge of the dunes.²⁵

Hinüber intended to unite the beautiful with the useful in line with Enlightenment philosophy. Adjoining fields were interconnected with paths as a *ferme ornée* and 'adorned' with crops. It appears that the Leasowes inspired this approach, which is clear from the various inscriptions which show significant parallels between the two gardens. In fact, the large number of inscriptions and simple built features were the most striking characteristic. Additionally, at both estates the order of set viewing points served to articulate a programme and route, as described by Hirschfeld for Hinüber's garden. According to Hirschfeld the motif of the Priory Walk at Marienwerder was similar to the Arcadian pastoral idyll of the Leasowes. Hinüber aimed to increase an understanding of the sense of life and to represent historical, literary, and geographical scenes. An obelisk and a ruin – each built on top of a hill – served as focal points. These had been inspired by English examples at Chiswick House and Holkham Hall, Norfolk. The gothic ruin at Marienwerder was built on top of a dune serving as a replica of the old monastery; Hirschfeld noted that '[r]ecollection of past times and a certain feeling of regret mixed with melancholy are the general effects of the ruins'.²⁶

A hermitage served as a motif of meditative withdrawal, as a theatrical, even grotesque scene. The garden in Hanover-Herrenhausen, designed by Johann Ludwig von Wallmoden (1736–1811) from 1766 onwards and so contemporary to Marienwerder, featured an octagonal hermitage and an ornamental tomb, hidden within 'thick and black firs' and cedars.²⁷ The hermitage at Marienwerder also lay in a dark coniferous forest and both appear to have been designed to create a melancholic mood. Labyrinthine paths evoked different associations; in an open area near a pond surrounded by fields amongst the dunes they led to the seat near the statue of Pan. This scene referenced the ancient *topos* of Arcadia, a Greek pastoral landscape, which Boccaccio reintroduced in his *Ninfae d'Amento* (c. 1340), based on Virgil and Horace, and which became a popular theme for Italian renaissance philosophers and poets.²⁸

Sckell's Trip to England 1773–76 and the Classic Landscape Garden in Germany

Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell (1750–1823), the son a landscape designer, was granted a stipend to travel as part of his training, to study in England. Between 1773 and the end of 1776 he visited gardens and studied the general state of horticulture, returning to Germany to become the first advocate of the English garden style there. Influenced in particular by both Brown and Chambers, he visited and studied Blenheim, Stowe, Stourhead, and Kew, before returning to Germany, where he set a new trend in the creation of parks, which, unlike Marienwerder, followed what he referred to as 'Brown's scenic principle',²⁹ which he elaborated on in his various publications.

From 1789, Sckell worked on parks in Munich, including Nymphenburg (Figure 11.3) and the Englische Garten, for which he eventually assumed control and laid out as a *Volksgarten* [People's garden]. In a memorandum of 1807 he had argued that such gardens should not be dominated by sentimental monuments but should take a middle path between princely magnificence and parkland, omitting the now customary

²⁴ von Hinüber, J. A. 'Reise-Tagebuch England 1766/67 mit 21 Punkten' (Hinübersches Familienarchiv Burgdorf).

²⁵ Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1785). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. V, pp. 204–231 [220–224]). Leipzig.

²⁶ Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1780). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Vol. II, p. 110). Leipzig.

²⁷ Rohde, M. (2006). Der Georgengarten – Geschichte und Gestaltung. In M. von König (Ed.), *Herrenhäuser Gärten* (pp. 219–36 [p. 226]). Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag GmbH; 'Allerunterthänigster Bericht über den ehemaligen gräflichen Wallmodenschen Garten. 28.ten März 1818. Wendland. H.L. Wendland junior'. Nds. Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover Sig. Hann. 92, VII, IV, Nr. 7, Bl. 71–73; Mangourit, M. A. B. (1805). *Voyage en Hanovre, fait dans les années 1803 et 1804*. Paris.

²⁸ Roethlisberger, M. (1983). *Licht von Claude Lorrain: Landschaftsmalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten* (pp. 21–22). Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.

²⁹ Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Sein Entstehen und seine Einführung in Deutschland durch Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell 1750–1823* (p. 102). Munich: Hugo Schmidt.

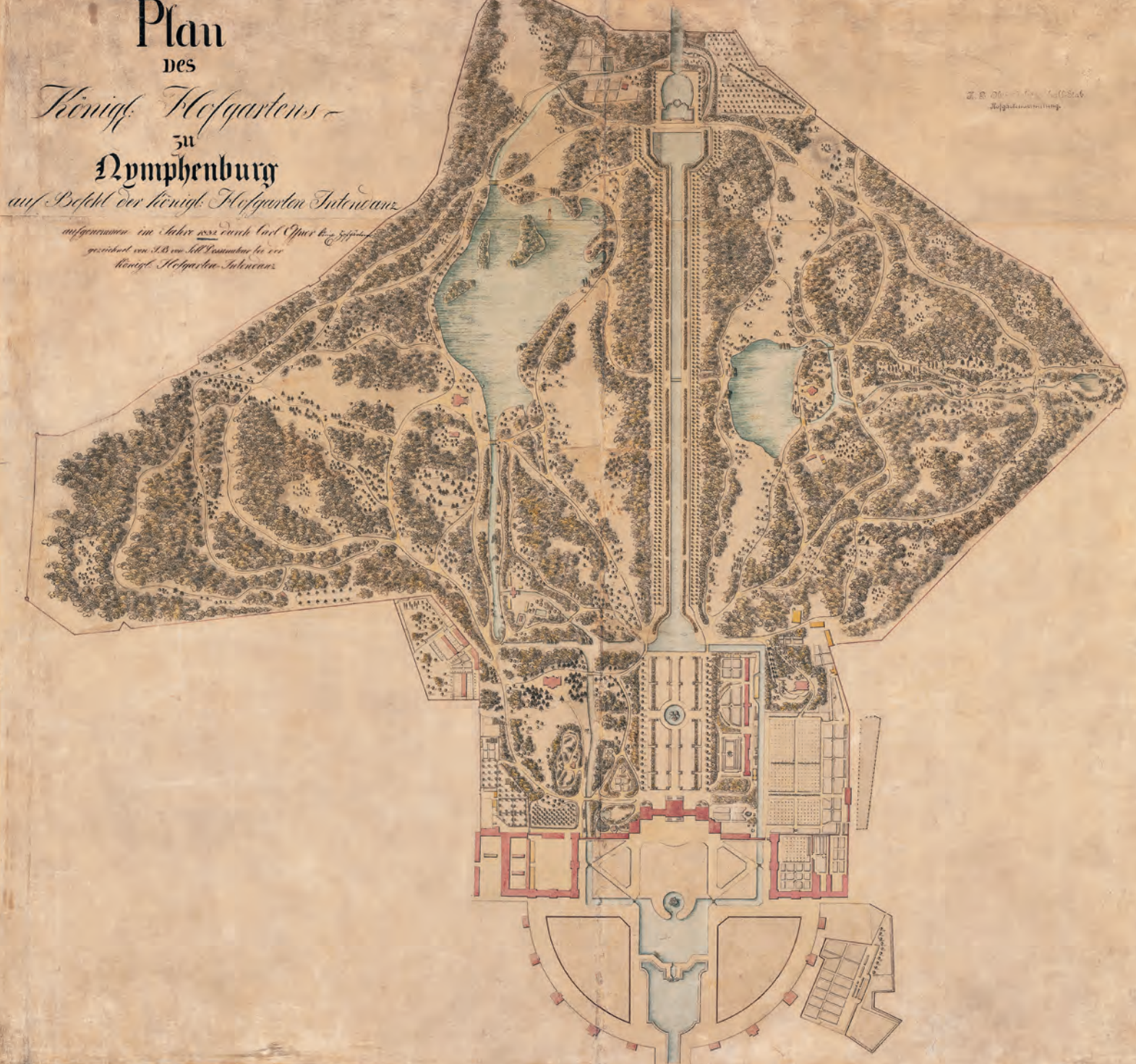


Figure 11.3: Survey of the royal gardens at Nymphenburg, Carl von Effner senior and Johann Baptist von Sell, 1832. These gardens were improved by Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell between 1804 and 1823. © Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung.

ornamentation.³⁰ These parks explored the most beautiful natural forms of classical tranquillity, reduced to the essentials, reflecting Brown's principles.³¹ Sckell's work was characterised by the creation of extensive valleys in otherwise flat countryside with meadows and graduated planting to emphasise the differences in height. He preferred indigenous species, planted in groves or clumps and single tree specimens. Sckell also had taken his

³⁰ Jellicoe, G., Jellicoe, S., Goode, P. & Lancaster, M. (Eds.) (1986). *The Oxford companion to gardens* (p. 504). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³¹ Alfred Hoffmann (1963, Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten, p. 200), sees a special strength of Sckell 'in the ability to reduce the abundance of natural forms in the visual sense to its essentials'. In doing this, Sckell 'has not been outclassed by any other garden artist'.

cue from Brown in considering views and perspectives, and in planting considering the effect of light and shade and the various shades of green of the leaves according to the different seasons. He planned large lakes with subtly planted shorelines, incorporating waterfalls with rocks whenever possible, drawing particular inspiration from Brown: 'At Blenheim, with a little water, a ... powerful current was created, which also brought about an interesting illusion, which was further emphasised by a great ship which was anchored'.³²

In the aftermath of peace in continental Europe Sckell published *Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst* [Contributions to Garden Art] in 1818, which was explicitly inspired by Hirschfeld's earlier works. However, Sckell also drew on his own experience over the last forty years and upon the works and examples from his English contemporary Humphry Repton (1752–1818). Sckell drew particularly attention to what he called Repton's 'zoning principle' in landscape gardens and applied it himself in the planting of trees and shrubs.³³ Sckell was fascinated by Repton's adaptation of Brown's ideas, particularly how Repton differentiated between painting and landscape gardening, and the introduction of formal planting and structure around the house. According to Sckell, a garden should be viewed independently from the park and the landscape, but with an artistic affiliation, which could be seen in Repton's innovative use of his Red Books which featured before and after views of scenes to be improved. Therefore, Sckell considered that Repton had developed a 'formal and functional synthesis' of landscape by practising a 'fluid connection of differently structured, equipped and usable subareas to create a coherent overall work of art'.³⁴ Such was Sckell's absorption of the ideas of both Brown and Repton, making them his own, that he later earned the praise from John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843), who described Sckell as the 'father of landscape-gardening [in Bavaria]'.³⁵ In 1834 Loudon wrote: 'When the natural disadvantages of Nymphenburg, with regard to situation and climate, are considered, it must be allowed to be one of the greatest and the most successful gardening efforts in Germany'.³⁶

Pückler and Lenné: Brown in Nineteenth-Century Germany

During Brown's lifetime there had been an increase in expeditions, archaeological excavations of classical architecture, and distant journeys with accounts fuelling the pursuit of contrast and variety, creating a receptive audience and demand for the new Picturesque approach. The presentation of buildings from the ancient world as well as those encountered as colonial powers extended their reach combined with a new appreciation of medieval architectural history in Europe. Brown's rival for royal patronage, Sir William Chambers (1726–96), had written widely on Chinese styles following two visits in the 1740s and his *Designs for Chinese Buildings* (1757) promoted the 'anglo-chinois' style as seen in his embellishments at the royal gardens in Kew.³⁷

Brown's landscapes began to be criticised even before his death in 1783, but by the 1790s criticism was levelled at the simplicity of his designs by William Gilpin (1724–1804) and Uvedale Price (1747–1829), who instead proposed a 'Picturesque' approach that recognised a sense of the wild and untamed. However, in Germany Brown's classic landscape remained popular largely owing to its continued championing in Repton's publications. Between June 1814 and April 1815, before Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) started construction of his park at Muskau, he had travelled to England to study garden design (Figure 11.4).³⁸ Pückler had been impressed with Brown's improvements at Blenheim and Longleat, where park and landscape merged and where streams became lakes with cascades and islands,³⁹ and in 1821 he even requested that Repton's son and business partner John Adey Repton come to Muskau and provide further advice for the development of the park.

³² von Sckell, F. L. (1825). *Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst* (2nd ed., p. 58). Munich: Hugo Schmidt.

³³ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“: Zeittypische Gestaltungstendenzen bei Peter Joseph Lenné. In F. von Buttlar (Ed.), *Peter Joseph Lenné* (pp. 49–59 [p. 50]). Berlin: Nicolaische.

³⁴ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“ (p. 50).

³⁵ Loudon, J. C. (1828). Foreign Notices. Germany. *Gardener's Magazine*, IV, 494, cited in Woudstra, J. (2002). The Sckell family in England (1770–1830). *Die Gartenkunst*, 14(2), 211–220 (p. 213).

³⁶ Loudon, J. C. (1834). *An encyclopaedia of gardening* (p. 148). London.

³⁷ Clifford, D. (1981). *Geschichte der Gartenkunst* (pp. 356–361). Munich: Prestel; Berrall, J. S. (1969). *Die schönsten Gärten* (pp. 275–276). Düsseldorf/Vienna: Econ Verlag.

³⁸ Bowman, P. J. (2010). *The fortune hunter: A German prince in Regency England* (p. 22). Oxford: Signal.

³⁹ Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, H. (1831). *Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus Deutschland, Holland, England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1826 bis 1829*. Translated by Mrs Sarah Austin (1833) as *Tours in England, Ireland, and France in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard.



Figure 11.4: Map of the Princely Park at Muskau as it partly is, and partly to become. This represents Pückler-Muskau's vision for the estate in 1834. Original: Stiftung "Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau".

Pückler ultimately created two large landscapes, first at Muskau and later at Branitz. He was also commissioned to complete the Babelsberg park in Potsdam, following the notion of the 'classical landscape garden.'⁴⁰ In 1834 he proposed that 'garden landscape art' should strive for 'naturalness' and 'beauty' and – like a picture – this art was intended to present 'nature as a poetic ideal on the small scale.'⁴¹ Pückler was interested in the artistic developments of the end of the eighteenth century – the desire for diversity and exotic features, for flowers and ornamentation – but he concentrated those 'artificial' designs on the flower gardens and pleasure grounds near the main building. The supposed 'naturalness' was intended to be a feature of larger parks, where the fundamental idea was to create a 'concentrated image' from the whole landscape. By practising this in his designs, Pückler was one of the few German garden artists who achieved this symbiosis without degrading the landscape garden to a mere theme in the background. As a contrast, at the same time, 'integrative and independent gardens' were established, laid out using regular or natural forms within parks that competed with the great experience of nature.⁴²

⁴⁰ Hoffmann, A. (1963). Der Landschaftsgarten. In D. Hennebo & A. Hoffmann (Eds.), *Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst* (Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten, p. 186). Hamburg: Broschek; Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten* (p. 58).

⁴¹ Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, H. (1834). *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (p. 18). Stuttgart, reprinted in 1977, Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung.

⁴² Rohde, M. (2016). Pückler hat die Gartenkunst der gebildeten Welt zugänglich gemacht. In N. Von Velsen (Ed.), *Parkomanie. Die Gartenlandschaften des Fürsten Pückler in Muskau, Babelsberg und Branitz, herausgegeben von der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (pp. 55–67, notes pp. 297–298). Munich, London, New York: Prestel.



Figure 11.5: *Design for Charlottenhof*, Peter Joseph Lenné, 1826. The Charlottenhof park within Park Sanssouci was designed by Peter Joseph Lenné for the crown prince and later King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia and laid out by Hermann Sello from the 1820s to 1840s. The classical appearance reminds us of Brown, while the integration of the architectural layout of some of the other areas reveals the influence of the crown prince, who was an admirer of Italian culture. Source: SPSG SN_CP Planslg 3698. Copyright Foundation Prussian Castles and Gardens. Reproduced with permission.

Peter Joseph Lenné (1789–1866) differed from Pückler regarding the spectrum of his tasks as a garden artist. With more than fifty years of experience as an artist, and many completed projects, Lenné always responded to the needs and desires of his clients, whether he was dealing with aristocratic gardens or projects for the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, Lenné worked with great flair, and developed his own approach. His projects ranged from simple landscape gardens to ‘mixed style’ parks with natural and regular forms that included Repton’s ‘principle of zoning’. The garden historian Dieter Hennebo referred to this as a so-called ‘principle of integration’ since themed gardens could also form individual, ornamental sections within the park without necessarily being connected to buildings.⁴³ In contrast to Pückler, Lenné was interested in historicising examples of former garden styles, which soon competed with the experience of the park as a landscape.

However, rather than including many separately themed gardens, Lenné adorned existing buildings with flowerbeds and flowering shrubs, as for example the parterres in front of the New Palace of Sanssouci for Frederick II, or he created new flower gardens or pleasure grounds, as can be seen in Glienicke or the Princess’s Garden [Fürstingarten] in Charlottenburg. Lenné also tried and tested further developments according to the ‘principle of integration’ in Charlottenburg, in collaboration with the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), and above all with Crown Prince Frederick William IV, where he developed ‘a complete work of art of the highest quality characterized by the merging of a spacious landscape park with extensive formal parts

⁴³ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“ (pp. 49–59).

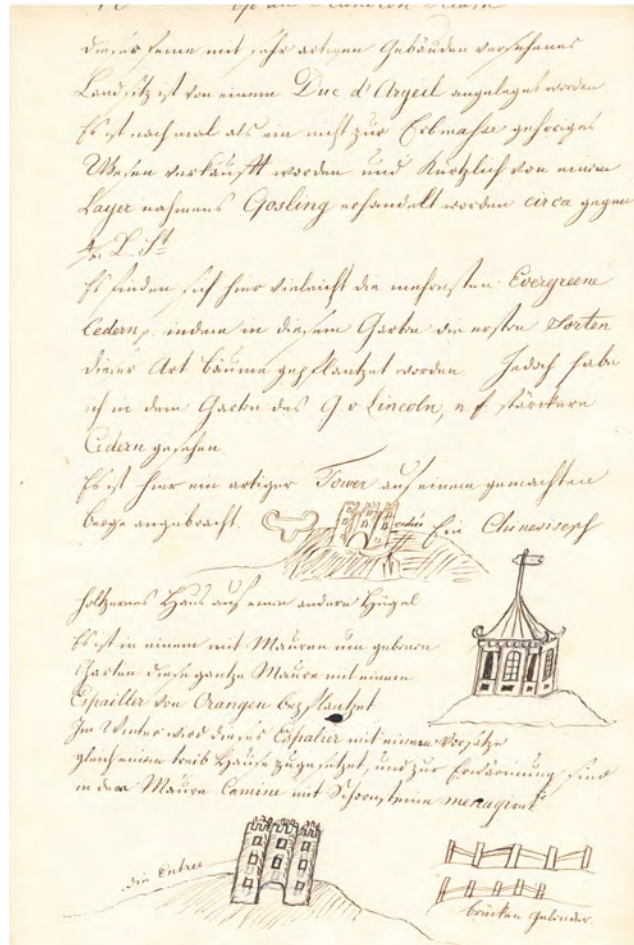


Figure 11.6: Beautiful tower on an artificial hill, Whitton Park near Hounslow, from *Reise-Tagebuch England 1766/67 mit 21 Punkten*, Jobst Anton von Hinüber, p. 19. A Chinese wooden house on another hill later served as a model for a similar construction at Marienwerder. Source: Hinübersches Familienarchiv Burgdorf. Reproduced with permission of Hartmut von Hinüber.

related to the buildings, and the 'autonomous contrasting space' of the Great Hippodrome' (Figure 11.5).⁴⁴ By the middle of the nineteenth century the number of new landscape gardens developed according to Brown's ideas decreased significantly in Germany. One of the exceptions was the work of the landscape gardener Eduard Petzold (1815–91), the long-standing Park and Garden Director of Muskau for Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau, the prince of the Netherlands, who had bought the estate in 1846. Until his death in 1891 Petzold applied the principles of landscape design in the fashion of Brown in his numerous private commissions as well in public green spaces. In doing so he contrasted historical and architectural trends with the principles of landscape design. As with Pückler, Petzold was also interested in pleasure grounds, which he developed according to his own vision and with an increasing palette and within a picturesque arrangement of plants.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“ (p. 56).

⁴⁵ Rohde, M. (1998). *Von Muskau bis Konstantinopel. Eduard Petzold - ein europäischer Gartenkünstler 1815–1891*. Amsterdam, Dresden: Muskauer Schriften. Eduard Petzold completed an exceptionally versatile education and from 1843 he exchanged ideas with Pückler. He wrote more than ten important textbooks, including: *Beiträge zur Landschafts-Gärtnererei* (Weimar, 1849); *Beiträge zur Landschaftsgärtnererei. Zur Farbenlehre der Landschaft* (Jena, 1853); *Die Landschaftsgärtnererei. Ein Handbuch für Gärtner, Architekten, Gutsbesitzer und Freunde der Gartenkunst. Mit Zugrundelegung Repton'scher Principien* (Leipzig, 1862); with Georg Kirchner, *Arboretum Muscaviense. Über die Entstehung und Anlage des Arboretum Sr. Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Friedrich der Niederlande zu Muskau nebst einem beschreibenden Verzeichniss der sämtlichen, in demselben cultivirten Holzarten. Ein Beitrag zur Dendrologie der Deutschen Gärten* (Gotha, 1864); 'Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau in seinen Beziehungen zur bildenden Gartenkunst

This might itself suggest a greater affiliation with Brown's disciple and advocate, Humphry Repton, rather than with the master himself.

Conclusion

The case studies of Hinüber Park and Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell's projects reveal a range of influences from Brown's work beyond those that are usually accredited to him. Sckell's works are probably closest to Brown in that they reflected the beautiful natural forms of classical tranquillity, reduced to the essentials that were so characteristic of his work. Remarkably, this also presents the earliest evidence of Brown influenced work on the European continent. However, Sckell clearly evolved and later associated himself more with Repton's views, which took in notions of the Picturesque, as well as Brownian principles. These were widely published and clearly were the way the English garden was understood during the nineteenth century.

Before then another important influence was that of Englishness more generally, as represented at Marienwerder created by Jobst Anton von Hinüber. He was influenced by a range of other sources that came to represent Enlightenment and thus also agricultural progress, which he filtered particularly through the notion of the *ferme ornée*. In the example of the Leasowes, this relied heavily on classical references, and through inscriptions these also dictated the landscape experience of Marienwerder. This was distinct from the Brownian experience of the landscape, but very much part of the prescribed tourist experience of England, and that represented in the writings of Hirschfeld, the main theoretician of the era in Germany.

The nineteenth century, besides a continued presence of the Sckell family in the south of Germany, saw the rise of Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau as a popular author on matters of garden design that very much relied on Repton's approach as a starting point, despite the fact that he also admired Brown's Blenheim. At his own estate in Muskau he surrounded the house with elaborate flower gardens that were artful and other ornamentation to form a setting for his exuberant lifestyle. In contrast, Peter Joseph Lenné took as his main English influence Repton's 'principle of zoning', in which themed gardens could also form individual, ornamental sections within the park without necessarily being connected to buildings. Depending on the demands of his clients, however, he would contrive parks either in a simple landscape form or in the mixed style, as required. What is clear by this stage, though, is that the main awareness of Brown's work was then created through Repton's publications.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

Deutschlands. Eine biographische Skizze. In Hermann, L. H. *Fürst von Pückler-Muskau* (pp. 1–12) (Berlin, 1871); *Fürst Hermann v. Pückler-Muskau in seinem Wirken in Muskau und Branitz, sowie in seiner Bedeutung für die bildende Gartenkunst Deutschlands. Eine aus persönlichen und brieflichem Verkehr mit dem Fürsten hervorgegangene biographische Skizze* (Leipzig, 1874); *Die Anpflanzung und Behandlung von Alleebäumen* (Berlin, 1878); *Die Landschaftsgärtnerei. Ein Handbuch für Gärtner, Architekten und Freunde der Gartenkunst. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage* (Leipzig, 1888); and *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben. Für die Familie als Handschrift gedruckt* (Dresden, 1890).

Lancelot Brown and the Notion of the Landscape Garden in the Netherlands: Illustrated with Het Loo Palace

Jan Woudstra and Willem Zieleman

Lancelot Brown produced designs for country seats in Germany and the Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium), but there are no such examples in the Northern Netherlands (now the Kingdom of the Netherlands). He appears to have been little known there during his lifetime, with no obvious literary references to him in Dutch publications. Even when his landscapes were visited by Dutch travellers to England there was no reference to Brown. It was not until after the publication of Humphry Repton's *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1794) and *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803) that both Brown and his work became better known and the term 'landscape garden' was popularised. The latter was not a new phrase; it had first been used by the poet William Shenstone (1714–63), as published posthumously in his 'Unconnected thoughts on gardening' (1764) where Brown's style was referred to as 'landskip, or Picturesque-gardening'. The term had not seen general use, however, with Brown himself preferring 'place-making' to describe his work.¹

During the nineteenth century Brown gradually gained a reputation in the Netherlands as one of the originators of the 'English landscape garden', which developed from what was referred to as the '*Engelse tuin*', '*englische Garten*', '*jardin anglais*', or '*jardin anglo-chinois*'. Despite supposed Englishness, these styles were distinct from what was happening in England at the time and had their roots in developments that had commenced in the formal garden. This nuance was not recognised by later observers and standard Dutch historiography has generally used the term 'early landscape style' to distinguish eighteenth-century irregular gardens from the later more Brownian-type open parks.² A recent study of the development during the eighteenth century, however, recognises this misnomer and reclassifies eighteenth-century irregular gardens as the Dutch landscape style, suggesting a distinguishable development.³ Despite its clarity over how concepts evolved in the Netherlands, this study continues the *avant la lettre* use of the term 'landscape garden', and thereby perpetuates the confusion with the Brownian parks. In order to explain this, it is necessary to reassess the concepts from which the new

¹ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown* (pp. 156–157).

² Oldenburger- Ebbers, C. S., Backer, A. M. & Blok, E. (1995). *Gids voor de Nederlandse Tuin- en Landschapsarchitectuur* (pp. 37, 42 determines the early landscape style (c. 1750–c. 1815) and the late landscape style (c. 1815–70)). Rotterdam: De Hef.

³ Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse Landschapsstijl in de Achttiende Eeuw*. Leiden: Sidestone Press.

How to cite this book chapter:

Woudstra, J. and Zieleman, W. 2020. Lancelot Brown and the Notion of the Landscape Garden in the Netherlands: Illustrated with Het Loo Palace. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 165–180. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.I>. CC BY-NC 4.0

developments arose within England. Others, conscious of the problems of distinguishing garden styles with national adjectives, have used the contemporary notion of the 'Picturesque garden.'⁴ This chapter explores changing notions of English influences in the Netherlands, illustrated through the development of the design for one garden: the royal gardens of Het Loo Palace, Apeldoorn. The medieval castle of Het Loo had been acquired by William III in 1684, who built a new palace alongside it on a north–south orientation, with extensive formal gardens and groves. From the eighteenth to the twentieth century these gardens were continuously improved to conform with the latest trends.

English Groves and Picturesque Gardens

By the time Brown was born in 1716 there were a number of horticultural and design developments that were to determine the face of the parks and pleasure grounds in England during the later eighteenth century, which included experimentation in the planting of shrubs and a desire for more open arrangements by designers such as Charles Bridgeman, Stephen Switzer, and William Kent.⁵ By the early-eighteenth century the wildernesses and groves of the formal garden were criticised for the dense planting, with often 'four times' the number of trees required, which led to elongated plants, with 'taper stems' and 'scarcely any heads.'⁶ An alternative manner of planting had been explored by Henry Wise at Kensington Palace in 1704, with shrubs and trees planted with wider spacings in a graduated manner, arranged according to height, creating the shape of a mound.⁷ Such planting soon caught on and was incorporated in designs for groves, alongside planting that observed 'regular irregularity' where no three trees were planted in the same line, but 'in a rural Manner, as if they had receiv'd their Situation from Nature itself.'⁸ This coincided with the introduction of serpentine paths. On the Continent, including the Netherlands, these principles were reiterated in Philip Miller's *The Gardener's Dictionary* (London, 1731), which was first translated into Dutch in 1745. Wildernesses were translated as 'Wild-boschen' (wild woods), while the term '*Engelsch Bosch*' (English woods/groves) was being used soon after, as was '*bosquet a l'angloise*', '*Engelsch werk*', '*Engelsche aanleg*', and also '*slingerbosch*' or '*slingerbosquet*' (serpentine wood).⁹

Het Loo demonstrates how these new ideas of English groves were incorporated as part of incremental change within existing compartments of the garden. The royal gardens next to the new palace had been completed by 1690 for Stadholder William III and his wife Mary. They incorporated what, after their enthronement in England, became the king's wilderness or grove to the west and a smaller wilderness to the east of the walled gardens, which were primarily dedicated to different types of parterres. Beyond the king's wilderness was the old castle, surrounded by a moat, supplied by serpentine streams and an informal fish pond nearby, as shown in a 1699 survey drawn by Claude Desgotz (Figure 12.1).¹⁰ A proposal for the main garden area was made by Pieter de Swart (1709–73), who after his studies with Jacques-François Blondel from 1745 to 1747 was appointed as court architect for Stadholder William IV, sharing the post with an ageing Daniel Marot. De Swart's design for Het Loo, c. 1748, replaced some of the *parterres a l'angloise* within the walled area with further groves, with a new such area incorporating serpentine walks immediately to the north. The path layout of the king's wilderness was proposed to be altered also, with serpentine walks, clearly after the English manner (Figure 12.2).

While these designs do not appear to have been implemented, probably through the untimely death of Stadholder William IV in 1751, they do reveal a general desire for such innovations which from the mid-1760s

⁴ Wiebenson, D. (1978). *The picturesque garden in France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Hunt, J. D. (2004). *The picturesque garden in Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson.

⁵ Woudstra, J. (2013). From *bosquet a l'angloise* to *jardin a l'angloise*; the progression of the mingled manner of planting from its inception to its decline and survival. *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 33 (2), 71–95.

⁶ Miller, P. (1731). *The gardeners' dictionary*. London; under 'Wildernesses'.

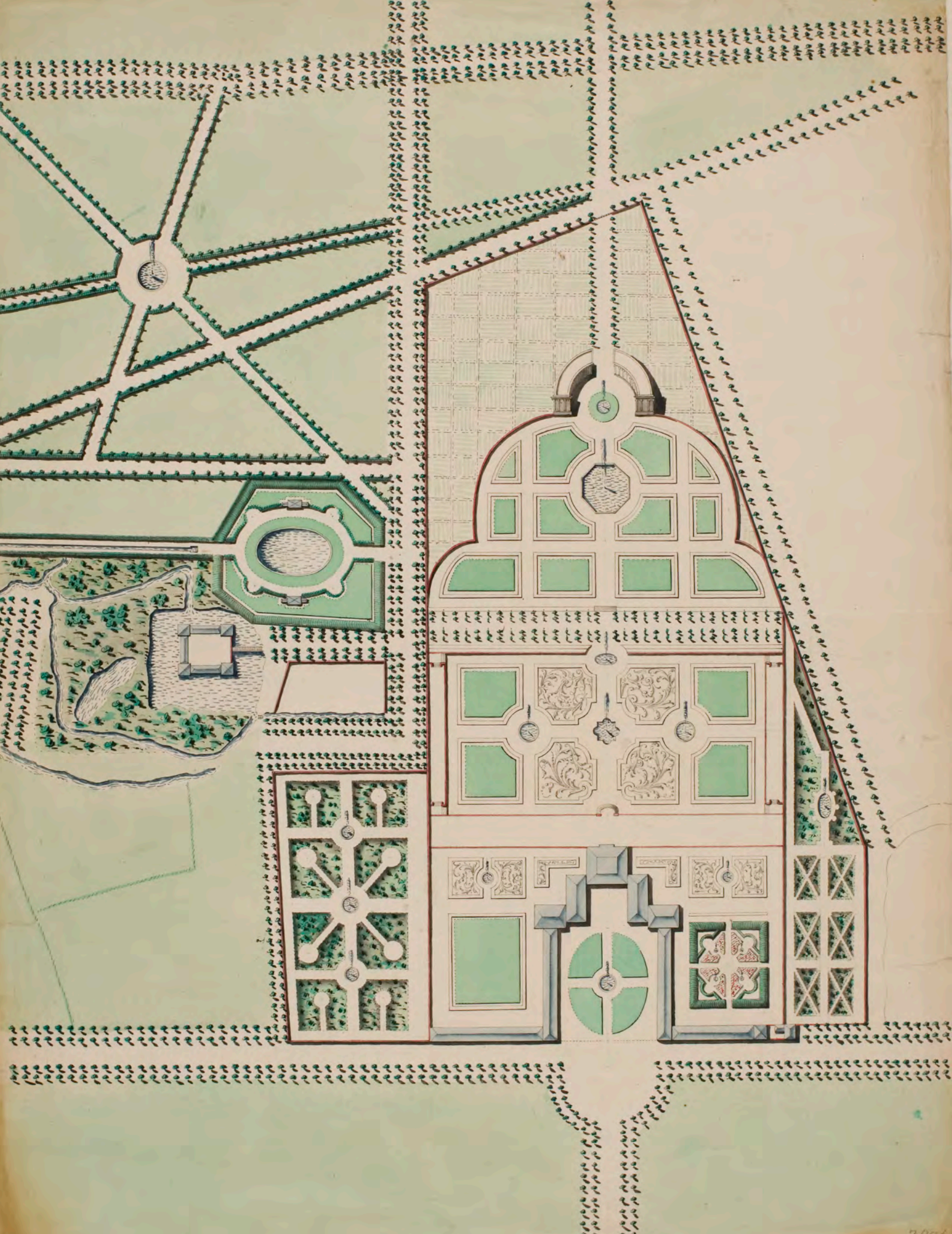
⁷ Switzer, S. (1718). *Ichnographia Rustica* (Vol. 1, p. 83). London.

⁸ Langley, B. (1728). *New principles of gardening* (pp. 186, 202). London.

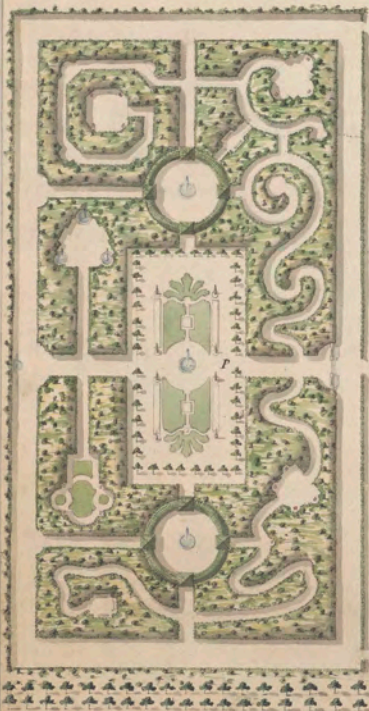
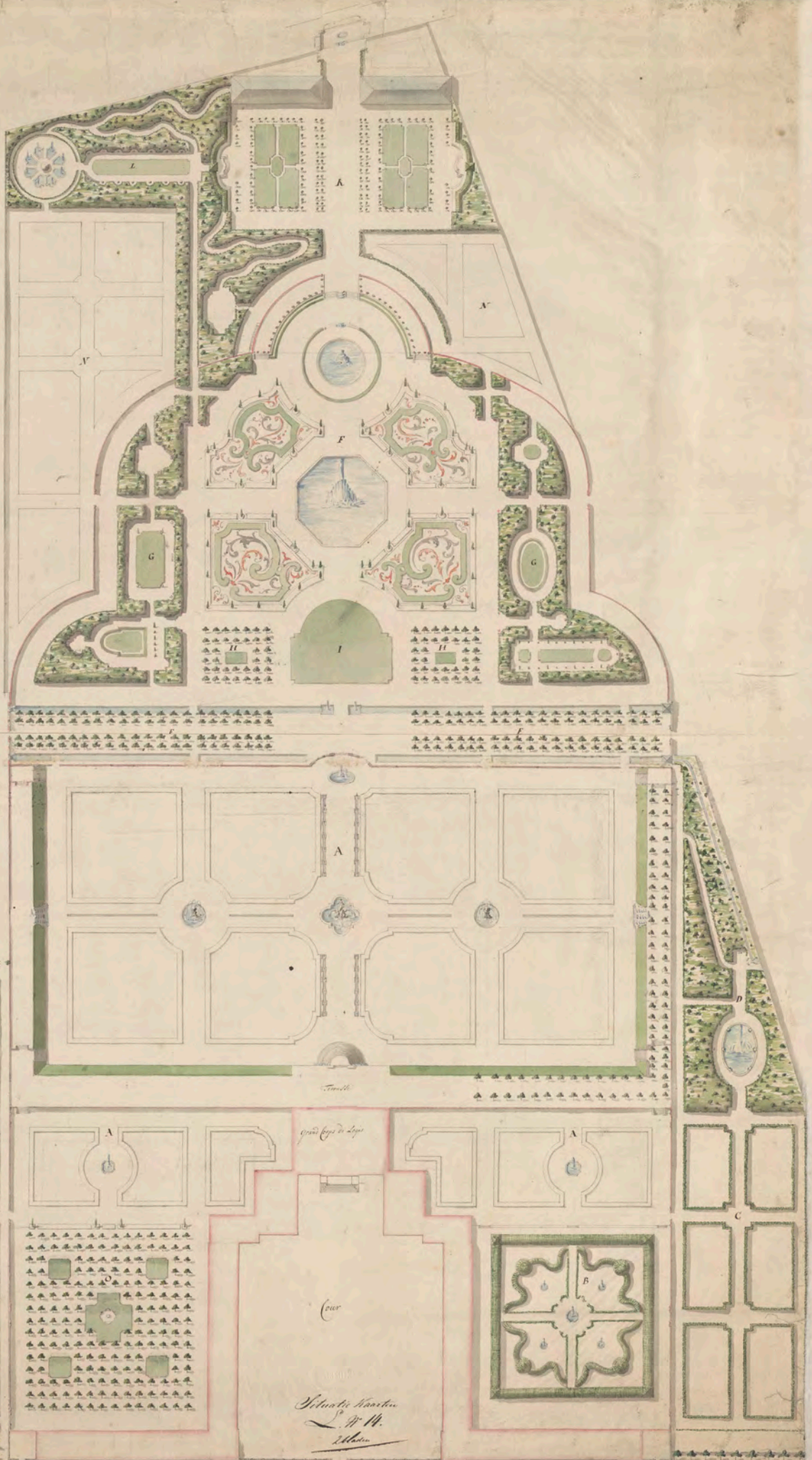
⁹ Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse Landschapsstijl* (p. 38).

¹⁰ Harris, W. (1699). *A description of the King's royal palace and gardens at Loo* (p. 38). London.

Figure 12.1 (page 167): Schematic survey of the layout of the gardens at Het Loo Palace, Claude Desgotz, 1699, with the formal walled gardens with parterres, the queen's wilderness to the right and the king's wilderness to the left; beyond this the old castle with irregular grounds. Source: Hårleman-Tessin Collection, Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Photo: Erik Cornelius / Nationalmuseum. CC BY-SA 4.0.



- A Premier Jardins qui restent sans aucun changement, mais qu'on pourra planter des arbres sur les Terrasses, comme il est marqué par un O.
- B Ancien Cloître
- G Ancien Jardin fruitier
- D Ancien Parquet
- E Ancienne Allée percée au milieu pour donner entrée au Cloître.
- F Second Jardin changé.
- G Deux Parquets avec Salles et Cloîtres
- H Deux Quincennes
- I Parc de Gazon
- K Nouvelle Orangerie avec deux balcons qui servent de terre pour les oranges
- L Gallérie qui conduit à un Salon, au milieu duquel est des Compagnons à eau en terre et au centre un petit espace à couvert, à côté duquel est un Parquet et à l'autre à couvert tout une entrée à un Cloître.
- N Jardins Potagers et fruitiers
- O Quincennes avec quatre Cloîtres et un Salon garnis chacun d'une piece de gazon.
- P Parquet avec une Salle de Billard ou de jeu, au milieu un Retenir, Compagnon, deux de gazon et accompagné de deux Cloîtres. Le reste est tout en Parquet et allées couvertes et découvertes qui conduisent au Plein air.
- 1 Deux balcons Balcons pour des livres
- 2 Deux balcons pour les remises
- 3 grande avenue
- 4 grande Allée.



Situatio horti
L. 14.
1714

were implemented in gardens across the Netherlands, with the German Johann George Michaël (1738–1800) being the leading designer. He was a promising gardener's son turned architect and '*bosch gardenier*' (grove or woodland gardener), who had been enticed to the Netherlands by Jacob Boreel Janszoon, owner of the estate Beeckesteyn, near Velsen, and Dutch ambassador in England (1759 and 1761–62), though there is no evidence for which properties he visited there. Boreel Janszoon also sent Michaël to England to study gardens, but again no evidence of this period survives.¹¹ Being well qualified meant that Michaël was considered for the job as the next court architect when William V succeeded in 1766 after the regency of his mother Maria Louise van Hessen Kassel. However, instead of Michaël, Philip Willem Schonck (1735–1807), who since 1765 had been in charge of the courtly buildings in Breda, prepared a survey for the gardens of Het Loo in 1767, with his appointment later extended to other princely buildings and gardens.¹²

Schonck's background and training are unknown, but a 1773 proposal for the gardens of Het Loo which envisages a landscape style treatment that erases the formal gardens and incorporates the park in a seamless entity, reveals a sophistication that had not been seen in the Netherlands before (Figure 12.3). It has been suggested that this may have been influenced by the designs of Johann Friedrich Sckell, who worked for William V's brother-in-law in Weilburg, and this could well be the case; the sinuously curvaceous walks are more reminiscent of Germanic than English practice (Figure 12.3).¹³ Various shrubberies surround the palace and project into the park to the west, with the old castle being surrounded by an open grove. It seems that this design was before its time and implemented proposals provide evidence of a more piecemeal approach, which meant that existing garden areas were improved with the type of alterations remaining firmly within continental practice. The 1773 proposals for the menagerie near the old castle included geometric serpentine walks, reminiscent of Batty Langley's earlier models.¹⁴ In 1775 Schonck designed two pavilions each topped with a two-storey Chinese pagoda, in line with the contemporary fashion for chinoiserie, located either end of the pool of the menagerie.¹⁵ This suggests more the continental influence of chinoiserie than any Brownian roots.

A 1778 design for the upper garden of Het Loo proposing English lawns and shrubberies reveals how the old structure of the gardens continued to be respected, with the old axes maintained, though Schonck questioned whether this was necessary (Figure 12.4). The area included shrubbery beds intersected by sinuous walks. There were also 'Bouquetten' – graduated beds with perennials and annuals to be surrounded by formal beds which served for the orangery plants in tubs, interspersed with exotic plants. Within the cabinets Chinese seats were proposed. Rather than English or German models, this proposal clearly hints at *jardin anglo-chinois* designs popularised in Georges-Louis le Rouge's *Détails des nouveaux jardins à la mode* (Paris, 1776). It was another three years before the design was finally revised, this time disposing of the historic cross-axis both simplifying and uniting the design, concentrating on shrubbery beds only, filled in a graduated manner with so-called '*Engelsch hout*', English woody plants – a mixture of native and exotic shrubs.¹⁶ All ornamentation included in the earlier proposal had been eliminated in the scheme for this area in 1781,¹⁷ but later additions to the park included the rustic Willemstempel (William's temple) in gothic style in 1786, positioned in the centre of one of the groves to the west of the old castle.¹⁸

¹¹ Oldenburger-Ebbers, C. S. (1991). De tuinarchitectuur van Johann Georg Michaël (1738–1800). *Bulletin KNOB*, 90(3), 73–79.

¹² Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse Landschapsstijl* (p. 200).

¹³ Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse Landschapsstijl* (p. 200); see also Woudstra, J. (2002) 'The Sckell family in England (1770–1830)', *Die Gartenkunst*, 14(2), 211–220.

¹⁴ Langley, B. (1728). *New principles of gardening*.

¹⁵ Van Everdingen-Meyer, L. R. M. (1974). *De Lusthof Het Loo van de Koning-Stadhouder Willem III en zijn Gemalin Mary II Stuart* (p. 70). The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij.

¹⁶ Woudstra, J. (2013). From *bosquet à l'angloise* to *jardin à l'angloise*.

¹⁷ A survey of 1806 reveals that this design was implemented: Collectie Rijksarchief den Haag, RL2676, Maximiliaan de Man, 'Kaart van het Koninklijk Loo', 1806.

¹⁸ Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse Landschapsstijl* (p. 206).

Figure 12.2 (page 168): *Unexecuted proposals for the gardens at Het Loo Palace*, Pieter de Swart, c. 1748, which introduced new groves within the walled gardens and converted the king's wilderness to a slightly more irregular layout, incorporating serpentine walks after the English manner. Source: Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, the Netherlands, no. 4.OSK L14a. Public Domain.

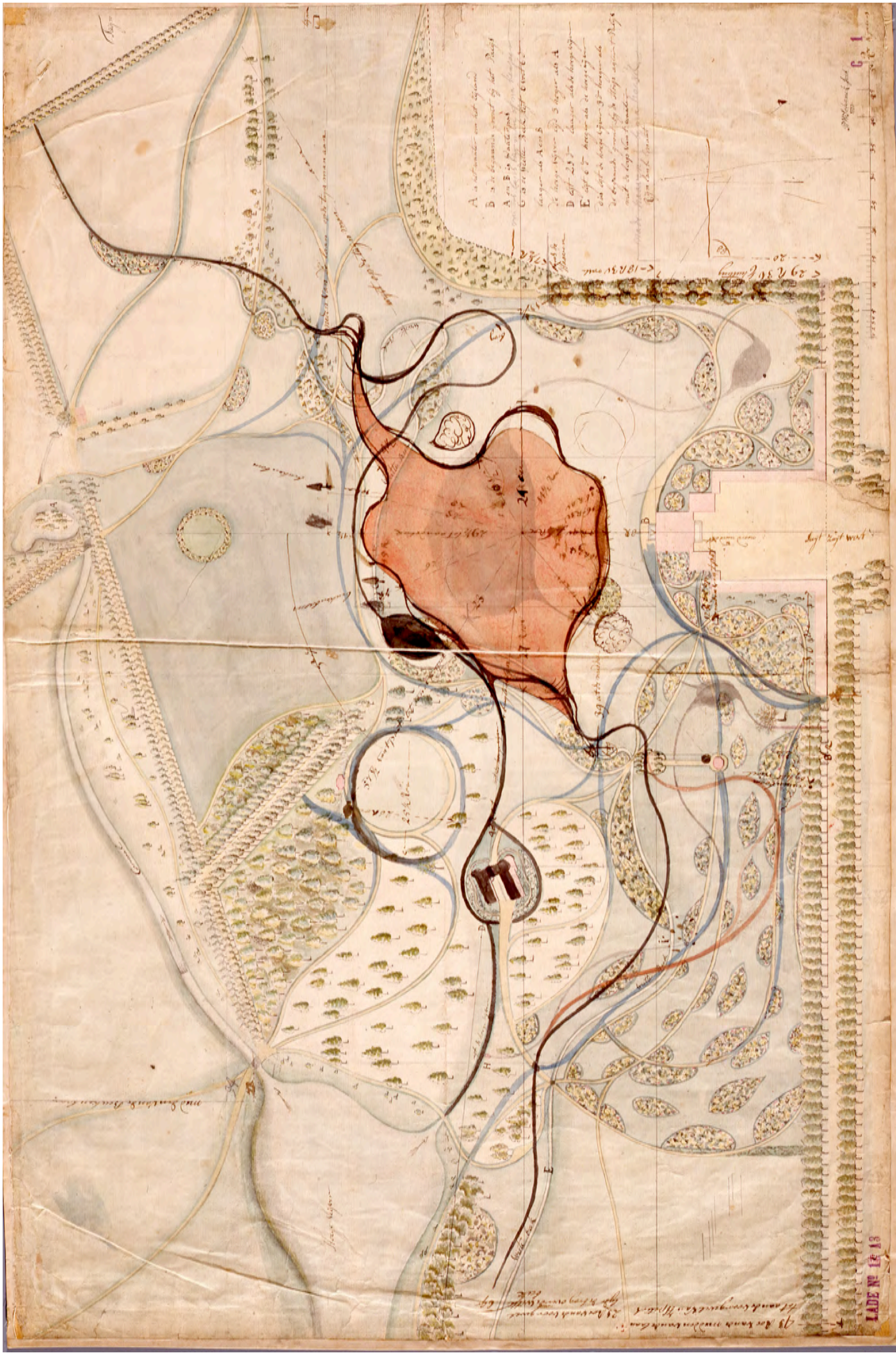


Figure 12.3: Unexecuted proposal for the gardens of Het Loo, Philip Willem Schonck, 1773, which envisaged removal of the seventeenth-century garden walls for the whole area to be incorporated seamlessly with the park, with curvaceous walks reminiscent of Germanic practice. Copyright Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands. Reproduced with permission.

The simplified design may have been in response to the increasing criticism of such English gardens filled with exotic buildings and informal planting. *Avondtydkortingen*, a translation from the French of a series of moral narratives for the youth by Mrs de Genlis, contains a satiric description of such an English garden and its owner:

[A]n English garden, that is to say, that no tree is being pruned here; that in the low narrow alleys the branches scratch your face, and mess up your hair-style; that thistles and thorns grow freely; that there are two or three hills that are referred to as mountains; that there is a pile of building rubble in a corner that symbolises a ruin; and that there is a derelict hut that is untidy and disgusting. Several small wooden bridges cross a green dirty ditch that carries the name of river. So that, if there were only a rock, a temple and a grave tomb, this garden would have contained all the paraphernalia, that would be impossible not to include in a tasteful and well-judged English garden. Also it cannot fail, or this admirable estate, the masterpiece of the inventive spirit of its owner, must considerably have increased his [the owner's] natural conceitedness. He also knows how to serve with confidence all the advantages that coincide with the spirit of an English garden. He argues against all straight avenues, all sorts of harmony, flowerbeds, clipped box plants, and star shaped groves, and repeated these outdated and exhausted remarks already more than ten years, which he, with well-intended attitude presents one thing or another as something innovative, while he imagines that everyone is bound to admire his fine taste and extraordinary inventiveness.¹⁹

It is clear that this was not the Brownian English garden but appeared to be in tune with the work of his competitor William Chambers, who had published *Designs for Chinese Buildings* (London, 1757) with both an English and French text and his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London, 1772) translated into French and German in 1775. These works appear to have added to the confusion about the origin of English groves and gardens, and whether they were in fact Anglo-Chinese. Contemporary Dutch sources remained largely ignorant of the notion of the Brownian garden. For example, while there were plentiful sources that provided both practical information and a new philosophical attitude towards nature, until 1802 there were no practical native works that advocated the new Brownian style. That year saw the publication of two companion volumes, *Depictions of the Most Beautiful, Most Exotic Trees and Shrubs that Can Be Planted and Grown for the Ornamentation of English Groves and Gardens*, by Johan Carl Krauss, and *Magazine of Garden Ornaments*, by garden architect Gijsbert van Laar. Krauss noted recent changes in the attitude towards nature and the difficulties of copying nature and uniting plants from the East and West Indies with those of Europe.²⁰ Van Laar reiterated the belief that the English had learned the latest developments in gardening from the Chinese and this had been applied in the parks of the rich, who had stolen large tracts of land from agriculture. While such land-take would not be feasible in the Netherlands, he argued, it was possible to do this on smaller estates, where these methods help to make them appear larger than they really are.²¹

These remarks on the smaller size of estates should be seen within the context of the French occupation of the Netherlands, during which William V was exiled to Hampton Court in England, and the founding of the Batavian Republic in 1795, which made the Netherlands a vassal state of France. As a result of the occupation the economy was depressed and wealth, and the size of any property, was greatly compromised. Various assets of the former stadholder were sent to Paris, including the menagerie of Het Loo.²² When Napoleon Bonaparte created the Kingdom of Holland in 1806, in order to provide his third brother Louis Napoleon Bonaparte with a position, it was also intended to curtail regional independence. However, instead of being a mere prefect, Louis Bonaparte took his responsibilities seriously and represented the country honourably. Problems occurred in 1809, when he was unable to defend the country from the English army without French aid, as a result of which he was exiled in 1810 and the country reverted to the status of a French imperial province. As king, Louis Bonaparte had led an itinerant existence, while taking over royal properties and improving the various gardens by the German born Johann David Zocher senior (1763–1817), who was appointed as court architect

¹⁹ de Genlis, Mrs (1788). *Kasteel of Zedelyke Verhalen* (pp. 14–15). The Hague.

²⁰ Krauss, J. C. (1802). *Afbeeldingen der Fraaiste, Meest Uitheemsche Boomen en Heesters die tot Versiering van Engelsche Bosschen en Tuinen op onze Grond, kunnen Geplant en Gekweekt worden* (pp. ii–viii). Amsterdam.

²¹ Van Laar, G. (1802). *Magasijn van Tuin-sieraden* (p. ii). Zaltbommel.

²² *Nieuwe Algemene Konst- en Letter-bode, voor Meer- en Min-geoeffenden* 5/156 (1796), 201–202.

in 1807.²³ On arriving in the country Zocher had initially been employed by Michaël. Zocher later married Michaël's daughter and set up independently as an architect and garden designer. His appointment for Louis Bonaparte included work at Huis ten Bosch in 1807, Soestdijk and Amelisweerd in 1808, the Palace at Utrecht, and Welgelegen at Haarlem in 1809, though he was clearly too busy to tackle further work at Het Loo, for which another designer had to be sought.²⁴

Het Loo Palace became one of Bonaparte's country residences,²⁵ and a survey by M. J. de Man of 1806 established the existing situation in advance of any proposed changes. Schonck's 1773 design that proposed a holistic transformation was revived and appears to have been used as a basis for some initial sketches. This was done by the French architect Alexander Dufour (1760–1835), who in 1799 had been embroiled in a debate over the competition of a naval monument proposed in Greenwich, England,²⁶ and later (from 1810 to 1832) worked at Versailles as architect for Louis XVIII. The architect for the palace was Jean-Thomas Thibault (1757–1826), who additionally was a well-known landscape painter and during the empire also restored Huis ten Bosch, The Hague, and turned Amsterdam town hall into a palace.²⁷ While Louis Bonaparte was greatly involved with the gardens, both of these French architects collaborated with Johan Philip Posth (1763–1831), who appears to have taken charge of the work on both buildings and gardens, c. 1808.²⁸ Posth was well experienced and worked in the province of Gelderland between 1791 and 1803, completing various gardens, including those at Verwolde, Ruurlo, Bingerden, and Kell.²⁹ Dufour's design for Het Loo finally removed the formal gardens and with extensive earth moving and planting created an informal layout that placed the palace at its centre, whilst the grounds were greatly extended by land acquisition. Interconnecting sinuous paths, which suggest a continental rather than English inspiration, created a multiplicity of walks. These were enhanced by judiciously positioned shrubberies which disguised the formality of the woodland vegetation that was largely retained. There were various shrubberies in oval or rounded beds that provided a variety of long and short views and focal points. Notably, no lake was created and nearby fish ponds were left in their formal arrangement. This has been said to be because Louis Bonaparte did not like water near his residence, but more likely it was necessary in order to save costs, particularly as it would have required the removal of the foundations of the formal garden.³⁰ Instead of a lake, therefore, there was an extensive lawn, or *pelouse*. The new arrangement was shown on an 1812 survey by Pieter Broekhoven (1757–1834), master gardener at Het Loo, and clearly reveals the French roots of the design (Figure 12.5).

The loss of the formal gardens was lamented by William VI when he returned to the Netherlands in 1814 as sovereign prince. He became King William I of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands a year later and within a few years he was apparently reconciled to the new layout and embarked on a series of gradual improvements that characterised the remainder of the nineteenth century. Changes included the transformation of the fish ponds to an informal bathing pond in 1818–19, with similar treatments to other fish ponds in succeeding years. Other additions included an ornamental farm built for Princess Marianne in 1825 and a rustic pavilion, Bylandt's Rest, named after the superintendent of the royal palaces after he had been found asleep there. A series of views produced in 1837 by Friedrich Textor, the *'Plantagie Meester'*, or head forester in charge of the grounds, recorded the developments in the park and reveal an emphasis on enclosed spaces, rather than wide Brownian-type views.³¹ It reveals a preference for forestry, rather than providing for grazing in extensive open Brownian-type parkland (Figure 12.6).

²³ Dieltjes, E. Zocher, J. D. In *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Available at <http://resources.huuygens.knaw.nl/bwn1780-1830/lemmata/data/Zocher>, accessed 12 November 2013.

²⁴ Oldenburger-Ebbers, C. S., Backer, A. M. & Blok, E. (1995). *Gids voor de Nederlandse Tuin- en Landschapsarchitectuur* (pp. 476–477).

²⁵ Elzenga, E. (1992). *Het Witte Loo: Van Lodewijk Napoleon tot Wilhelmina 1806–1962* (p. 9). Apeldoorn: Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo.

²⁶ He published: Dufour, A. (1800). *A letter to the nobility and gentry composing the committee for raising the naval pillar, or monument, under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence; in answer to the letter of Mr John Flaxman, sculptor, to the committee, on that subject*. London.

²⁷ Curl, J. S. (Ed.). (2006). *A dictionary of architecture and landscape architecture* (p. 773). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁸ Alexander Dufour, 'Plan general des grand et petit parcs du Palais du Loo', Coll. Archives Nationales, Paris, NII, Zuyderzee' No 1, 191x96.

²⁹ van der Does, A. (2016). Aangelegd door zekeren Posth. *Jaarboek Achterhoek en Liemers*, 39, 41–54.

³⁰ Tromp, H. M. J. (1992). Het park van Het Loo: het landschapspark als memorietafel. In E. Elzenga (Ed.), *Het Witte Loo: Van Lodewijk Napoleon tot Wilhelmina 1806–1962* (pp. 15–32, [18–19]). Apeldoorn: Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo.

³¹ Textor, F. (1837). *Twaalf Gezichten in het Park Het Loo: Naar de natuur getekend en opgedragen aan Zijne Excellentie den Heere Opperintendant van Zijner Majesteits Paleizen, enz, enz, J.C. Grave van Bylandt*. Apeldoorn.



Figure 12.5: *Survey*, Pieter Broekhoven, 1812. When Louis Bonaparte became king the French architect Alexander Dufour made proposals to eliminate the old formal gardens with an extensive unifying layout, which was executed by Johan Philip Posth. Dufour appears to have made use of Schonck's 1773 proposals for some initial sketches (Figure 12.3). Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, the Netherlands, 4.VTHR 467. Public Domain.

The Notion of the Landscape Garden and Reception of Brown

The difference between the Brownian approach and general Dutch desire for woodland rather than open parks is perhaps best illustrated by a 1793 publication on the Haarlemmer Hout, the Haarlem Wood, which had been replanted in a regular manner in 1755, with Michaël adding serpentine walks in 1788.³² In his book of 1793 Adriaan Loosjes lamented the stiffness of the Le Nôtre style, which had penetrated the 'pleasure groves' in the Netherlands, and he praised the 'great Hirschfeld' and the 'immortal Kent' for providing another direction, in which nature in its prime should be the only model for Dutch woods/groves and gardens.³³ Christian Cay Hirschfeld had published a five-volume work, *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779–82), which had become a standard work, available in both French and German. Whilst it included references to Bridgeman and Kent, Brown was only mentioned once, and then in a very general sense, even though some of the landscapes he designed were included, such as Alnwick, Luton Hoo, Nuneham, and Worksop.³⁴

³² Oldenburger- Ebbens, C. S., Backer, A. M. & Blok, E. (1995). *Gids voor de Nederlandse Tuin- en Landschapsarchitectuur* (pp. 180–181).

³³ Loosjes, A. (1793). *Het Hout of Boschgedachten in zes Bespiegelingen* (pp. 20–21). Haarlem.

³⁴ Hirschfeld, C. C. (1779–82). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (5 Vols; Vol. 4, p. 8, 'Brown und andre vortreffliche Gartenkünstler...'). Leipzig.



BIJ DE NIEUWE VYVERS.

Figure 12.6: *By de nieuwe vyvers*, Friedrich Textor, 1837. A series of views made of the new garden areas at Het Loo by Friedrich Textor, the head forester, reveals an emphasis on enclosed spaces, rather than wide views associated with Brown. Copyright Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands. Reproduced with permission.

German and French were popular languages with the Dutch elite, which would read both Goethe and Rousseau in their original languages but would be reluctant to read in English, despite the fact that some English literature was eagerly read in translation. James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1726–30), which reflected on countryside, nature, and landscape, was variously translated, and Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770), which included descriptions of places designed by Brown (though not named) such as Moor Park, Claremont, Wotton, and Stowe, was translated into both German and French. Horace Walpole's *Essay on Gardening* (1785), which promoted William Kent as the 'inventor of the new style' of gardening, was translated into French. The informed position on Kent in Hirschfeld could only have been derived from Walpole. Remarkably, while Walpole mentioned Brown, he did not expand on his contribution to gardening, reserving him 'for some abler pen' instead.³⁵

This 'abler pen' came a decade later in the guise of Humphry Repton, who in his *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (London, 1795) commenced with an acknowledgement of Brown's contribution to what

³⁵ Walpole, H., History of the modern taste in gardening. In W. Marshall (1803), *On planting and rural ornament: A practical treatise* (Vol. 1, pp. 197–251 [223, 242]). London.

he referred to for the first time as 'landscape gardening'.³⁶ As a thirteen-year-old, Repton had been sent from Norwich to study in the Netherlands, first for a year in Woudrichem and then for two years in Rotterdam with Zachary Hope (1711–70), the ship owner, in order to learn the business and promote trade relations.³⁷ After Repton abandoned his efforts to be a merchant and set up as a landscape gardener, he gained particular fame for his publications, which were reviewed in the Netherlands, where in 1796 it was noted that the art of garden design had come to occupy a distinct category in British literature. Loosjes, the reviewer, revealed a thorough awareness of the contemporary developments in England, referring to the Picturesque debate with William Gilpin, Richard Payne Knight, and Uvedale Price and their complaint of the Brownian manner, the 'system of clumping and belting'. How Repton had become embroiled in this debate was also explained. Loosjes considered the latter's *Sketches* as an indispensable source in order to comprehend the latest developments in garden art with its new notions regarding the use of perpendicular and horizontal lines, and the revival of avenues. Repton's book was considered well worth translating, Loosjes thought, but this had to be done 'not by a bungler, but by someone who had been to England and had studied the history of the art, particularly the layout of Brown at Blenheim, the Leasowes and Repton's work at Welbeck'. It was clear that, though Brown's work was considered outstanding, he was not viewed as pre-eminent above all others. Other sources which Loosjes considered important in his review included William Marshall's *Planting and Rural Ornament* (London, 1796) and George Mason's *Essay on Design in Gardening* (London, 1768).³⁸

The trend to recognise Brown's contribution, but to do so alongside his contemporaries, is apparent in a Dutch translation from a French account of a *Historic and Literary Journey to England and Scotland* by Amédée Pichot, originally published in 1825. It suggests that there was a growing recognition of Brown alongside Kent, with both referred to as landscape architects, 'architects-paysagistes' or 'landschaps-bouwkundigen', in relation to their work at Claremont.³⁹ However, a concise review of garden art in the mid-nineteenth century by the clergyman T. F. Uilkens praised 'ingenious Kent' but did not refer to Brown, which reveals that his position in garden history was still not properly acknowledged. Uilkens, who promoted agricultural improvement and mainly worked in the northern provinces, perhaps had a slightly restricted view of the world of garden design. He considered Lucas Pieters Roodbaard (1782–1851) to be the practitioner most adept at English style gardens.⁴⁰ While this was true, particularly in Friesland, it was the various generations of the Zoicher family that continued to be the most influential garden designers in the other provinces of the country. Jan David Zoicher junior (1791–1870), who had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, became a well-known architect on his return to the Netherlands and became a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1828, suggesting not only a strong cultural affiliation with England but also extensive knowledge of contemporary design of buildings and landscape gardens. While this may have included examples of Brownian parks, it is more likely that this would have been instances by Repton. A rare instance of a Dutch designer in England was Willem Arentz, a pupil of Michaël, who spent two years in England before returning to the province of Holland and advertising himself in 1793 as surveyor and designer of 'English gardens and estates'. Arentz apparently failed to capitalise on this experience and training since there are no known works by him, suggesting that there was no great demand for Brownian landscapes.⁴¹ Garden designer and nurseryman Hendrik van Lunteren (1780–1848) also reputedly spent a year in England, 'to increase his scientific knowledge of horticulture, and to shape his taste in laying out country seats', but, since his subsequent schemes remained in a continental style, his experience also suggests that the Brownian style failed to establish itself in the Netherlands.⁴²

³⁶ Loudon, J. C. (1839). *The landscape gardening and landscape architecture of the late Humphry Repton* (p. 30). London.

³⁷ Loudon, J. C. (1839). *The landscape gardening and landscape architecture of the late Humphry Repton* (pp. 8–9); Finch, J. (2019). Humphry Repton: Domesticity and Design. *Garden History*, 47(Suppl. 1), 24–38.

³⁸ Loosjes, A. Engelse letterkunde: vierde beschouwing. In *Nieuwe Algemene Konst- en Letter-bode, voor Meer- en Min-geoeffenden* 5/143 (1796), pp. 98–100.

³⁹ Pichot, E. (1826). *Geschied- en Letterkundige Reis naar Engeland en Schotland*, translated by M. Martens (3 Vols, Vol. 1, p. 30). Haarlem.

⁴⁰ Uilkens, Th. F. (1854). *Aanleg van Parken: Bloementuinen* (p. 3). Amsterdam: Weiting & Van der Haart.

⁴¹ Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse Landschapsstijl* (p. 264).

⁴² Kramm, C. (1857). *De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders, Beeldhouwers, Graveurs en Bouwmeesters van den Vroegsten tot op Onzen Tijd* (p. 1023). Amsterdam: Diederichs.

A more famous example is Repton's son, John Adey Repton (1775–1860), who was reported to have designed two sites in the Netherlands, one near Arnhem and one near Utrecht, during the early-nineteenth century.⁴³ This was possibly through connection with the Hope family and may well refer to Sonsbeek and Beverweerd, both owned by the affluent Baron van Heeckeren. Hendrik Jacob Carel Johan van Heeckeren van Enghuizen (1785–1862) married Elisabeth Hope (1794–1860) in 1816, inherited Beverweerd in 1810, and bought Sonsbeek in 1821, the year Repton was reported as being in the Netherlands.⁴⁴ It is clear that, by the mid-nineteenth century, any Brownian influence or legacy on landscape design in the Netherlands was being mediated through Repton's own idiom.

The Modern Legacy

The narrative of landscape design constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century continued to play down Brown's role. A brief history by the architect F. J. Bremmer written in 1886 praised Kent but criticised Brown's contribution, despite the acknowledged popularity of his work at Blenheim, repeating the Picturesque criticisms of his use of clumps and belts.⁴⁵ Leonard A. Springer (1855–1940), then perhaps the most representative designer in the English style in the Netherlands, responded by citing the Anglo-Chinese style as the 'landscape style', initiated by William Temple and popularised by Kent, who had finally initiated the landscape style. Chambers, whom he believed had studied in China for a long time, provided the impetus for further development. With this emphasis, Brown's contribution continued to be unacknowledged in favour of nineteenth-century English designers Joseph Paxton and John Gibson, yet his unfamiliarity with the British scene is clear from the additional naming of the civil servant John Fordyce (d. 1809), Surveyor General to H.M. Land Revenue and initiator behind the development of Regent's Park estate, as one of the leading landscape gardeners. So, when Springer concluded that there were three main influences – the English school, largely following the tradition of Repton; the French school of Barillet-Deschamps; and the German school of Pückler and Schinkel-Lenné – this was with limited knowledge of Brown's contribution.⁴⁶

Springer recognised that there was a considerable difference in scale between British and Dutch gardens, with the exception of Het Loo, for which he explored the history of the making of the gardens. While his understanding of the development of the English garden there was limited, when he was asked to make alterations it was sufficient for him to assess the special qualities of the site. Queen Wilhelmina succeeded in 1898 and, after her marriage to Prince Hendrik of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1901, they decided to make Het Loo their main residence. It needed various changes. In 1907 a large stable block was built to the west of the palace, and a villa to the south-west for the queen's private secretary. This meant that the front of the palace required reorganisation, with Springer designing a *patte d'oie* planted with avenues to connect the various buildings.⁴⁷ Instead of celebrating this strict formality it was disguised by informal planting along the edges (Figure 12.7). The park was substantially enlarged, almost doubling in size from 350 to 650 hectares, with new walks and associated planting all in an informal style that Springer referred to as 'landscape style'.

The Notion of the Landscape Style

As one of the most prolific pioneers in garden history, Springer soon popularised the concept of the landscape style, which became a general notion and has since determined the modern narrative on styles. The landscape style has sometimes been treated as a synonym of the romantic style, while others such as C. L. J. Schaum, a teacher at the Boskoop horticultural school, used it as being distinctive. In 1916 Schaum considered that the term 'landscape style' was influenced by painting, whereas the romantic style had a philosophical and poetical basis, although it was recognised that until Repton this was difficult to clearly distinguish.

⁴³ 'John Adey Repton, Obituary', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 210(1861), pp. 107–110 (p. 108).

⁴⁴ Genealogy online: West-Europese adel. <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/en/west-europese-adel/1155265.php>, accessed 1 May 2016; Rijksmonumentenregister. <https://monumentenregister.cultureelerfgoed.nl/monumenten/528856>, accessed 1 May 2016.

⁴⁵ Bremmer, F. J. (1886). De geschiedenis der tuinbouwkunst *De Opmerker*, 21(30), 240.

⁴⁶ Springer, L. A. (1886). Nog een paar woorden over de geschiedenis der tuinarchitectuur. *De Opmerker*, 21(35), 279–281 (p. 281).

⁴⁷ Springer, L. A. (n.d.). Design for forecourt, Het Loo Palace. Apeldoorn: Paleis Het Loo, no. RL4124.



Figure 12.7: In his design for the forecourt of Het Loo in 1907 the leading Dutch garden architect Leonard Springer introduced a *patte d'oie* of avenues, which shows how the formality of the new avenues was mediated by principles of the landscape style. Note direction of north, as indicated on the plan. Copyright Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands. Reproduced with permission.

Thus, Kent, Brown, Repton, and Pückler-Muskau were considered to have designed landscape gardens, while Chambers, Girardin, Price, and Hirschfeld were representatives of the romantic style. Kent's work at Carlton House, Claremont, and Rousham was well known, but his most important work was at Stowe. Here he met Brown, who became his pupil. Brown's first job was considered to be the digging of the lake at Wakefield Lodge, for the Duke of Grafton, after which 'he soon became the most desirable garden architect of England and was taken into royal service'. Being mainly a practitioner with little talent for drawing and painting, 'his gardens have been devised on the same plan with few variations'. His prime work was the garden at Blenheim. His gardens generally display only one scene that can be viewed from the house and is bordered by a broad road in arbitrary curving alignment and guided by groups of trees and shrubs that provide little shade. Here and there, mainly against the wall, there are seats and pavilions. A garden like this, as can easily be understood, offered too little variation, so that it soon became necessary to continue a step further. It shows how as the historic narrative evolved and sites became better known Brown's contribution was more fully recognised. However, while Schaum believed that Shenstone, Whately, and Gilpin provided new directions, and Brown was clearly talented, though not in drawing and painting, it was Repton who 'provided new rules that remain valid to the present day'.⁴⁸ Thus it is clear that the Picturesque critique by Knight and Price, continued to affect Brown's reputation.

⁴⁸ Schaum, C. L. J. (1916). *Geschiedenis der Tuinkunst* (pp. 119–121). Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink.

Springer was still able to ignore Brown when, in 1936, he discussed Kent and the genesis of the landscape style. He argued that Repton's ideas 'suppressed those of his predecessors' and his design principles and those of his allies were maintained well into the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ Thus, Brown's principles of design went unnoticed, partly because they were never properly recorded. It was only after the publication of Dorothy Stroud's book in 1950 that Brown was included more generally in Dutch historic narratives, as part of a post-war revival of all things English.⁵⁰

The 1974 edition of *Tuinen* [Gardens], the standard work for landscape architecture education, maintained this division of the romantic versus the landscape style, with Kent and Brown's work included in the latter. The modernist criticism launched on their work was that despite theorising on plant grouping there had been no consideration of the spaces created. The landscape style was believed to have been developed from and reflected the English countryside, particularly that along the Thames with its meanders and cut-offs. This was evident in landscape parks in, for example, the shape of the bodies of water, which were reminiscent of a former meander or cut-off in a floodplain, with elongated islands on the inner bend. Lawns would be sculpted like a floodplain lowered in the middle with trees on raised positions; the plant selection would favour deciduous woody plants, with the evergreens, such as holly and box, sourced from ancient woodland. The form of the spaces represented that of pastures in river valleys, which contained some informally positioned trees and informal groups of trees and they were enclosed by woodland edges. As a result of this composition there are large contrasts between the open spaces and the enclosing dense masses of trees.⁵¹ This reinterpretation of the Brownian landscape garden into the predominant phyto-geographical and ecological narrative of post-war reconstruction reveals how the lack of information on Brown's theory ultimately led to the desire to explain it by the concept of the 'landscape style', a name which it had received first a century after it had been conceived.

Conclusion

This exploration of the notion of the Brownian influence in the Netherlands is revealing in that it shows that Brown was neither a source of inspiration for landscape design nor a feature in its historiography. His position was long determined by the negative Picturesque criticism levied posthumously on his work, which was repeated by successive commentators into the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Remarkably, it was Kent and Repton who were hailed as the heroes of the 'English garden', and history has been rewritten variously to what ultimately became an 'English landscape garden' narrative. This meant that earlier trends were reinterpreted as part of this narrative, with the introduction of English-inspired graduated shrub planting into woods or groves with serpentine walks, which had initially occurred in England during the first decade of the eighteenth century but only became more commonplace in the Netherlands after the Dutch translation of Miller's *Dictionary* in 1745. These types of woods were gradually varied in planting style, or opened up to conform to later trends, often with the addition of architectural features in various exotic styles. The term 'early landscape style' is now generally used in the Netherlands to express the eighteenth-century developments, while the 'late landscape style' expresses the nineteenth-century developments.

The instance of the gardens of Het Loo Palace reveals the way these early designs evolved, and that in their conception they had little to do with the notion of a landscape style, but that any ideas involving newer concepts of nature could be easily incorporated through management of vegetation. The new ideas did not emerge directly from England, however, but were mediated through German and French writers and designers. This is evident particularly in how gardens were designed, with a continental style emerging with an emphasis on the experience of walking with wide curvaceous paths that merged into one another, and changing views contrived through strategically positioned planting. In England, Brownian parks were generally at a larger scale, and therefore more open, with a wider range of activities and uses.

It was the garden architect Leonard Springer who in the second half of the nineteenth century consistently adapted the Reptonian concept of the 'landscape garden' to describe what had previously been referred to as the 'English garden'. He also confirmed Repton's dominance as the key English influence. This changed in the

⁴⁹ Springer, L. A. (1936). *Bibliographisch Overzicht van Geschriften, Boek- en Plaatwerken op het Gebied der Tuinkunst* (pp. 51, 55, 69). Wageningen: Veenman.

⁵⁰ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown*.

⁵¹ Van Alff, J. P., Galjaard, B. J., van Koolwijk, J. H. R. & Schipper, J. J. (Eds.) (1974). *Pannekoek & Schipper, Tuinen: Tuin- park- landschap* (pp. 47–52). Amsterdam, Antwerpen: Kosmos.

aftermath of the Second World War, when the first monograph on Brown was published that positioned him as one of the great landscape designers. In the post-war era, during which native and natural values in landscapes were highly esteemed in the Netherlands, a meandering Thames as the prototype for the English landscape park or garden fitted in well as an example for the transformation of landscape and provided a welcome modern idiom. Thus, Brown was described as a re-interpreter of the English landscape, and he became an exemplar for modern landscape designers in the Netherlands. This chapter reveals that though the Dutch had not really valued him before, a full re-evaluation was finally accomplished in the twentieth century.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

Brown Invisible in France? The French Perception and Reception of Eighteenth-Century British Gardens

Laurent Châtel and Monique Mosser

The overall question of Lancelot Brown's reputation in France is vexed, as one is hard pressed to find evidence of his having a high profile, or any profile at all, in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century French writings. Is it possible that the 'famous Mr Brown' was not so famous in France after all? Admittedly, France experienced several waves of anglomania throughout the eighteenth century, with prominent peaks in the 1750s and in the 1770s. The *furor*, or *furor hortensis*, as some have called it, embraced a rage for all things English in the garden.¹ After his stay in England, Voltaire was very much taken with native creativity and it was nourished by his special relationship with William Chambers, as can be ascertained from their exchanges in 1772: 'Sir, it is not enough to love, or have gardens; one must have eyes to see them, and legs to walk in them.'² Although not French, Jean-Jacques Rousseau contributed to shaping French *mentalités*: he spent some time between 1765 and 1767 at Wootton Hall (Staffs) and was no less enthusiastic in 1772 when he thanked the Duchess of Portland for sending him a copy of William Mason's *English Garden*: 'the book on English gardens you have been so kind as to send me ... I do not underestimate its value, since it is esteemed and translated in this country; and besides I am bound to like the subject, having been the first on the Continent to celebrate and transmit these very gardens.'³ Voltaire and Rousseau disputed their claims to be the first spokesmen in French of the so-called English garden, but in fact interest had been widespread through private epistolary networks. Equally, it is worth noting that the circulation of drawings also insured a continuous knowledge of English innovations as evidenced by several instances of artists, landowners, and exiled aristocrats producing visual

¹ 'The *furor hortensis* has seized me, and my acre of ground here affords me more pleasure than kingdoms do to Kings' in Lord Mahon (Ed.), *The letters of the Earl of Chesterfield* (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), 'To the Bishop of Waterford, 1751', Vol. 3, p. 429.

² Letter to William Chambers from Ferney, 1 August 1772 in Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet, *Œuvres complètes* (1877–85), Vol. 48, p. 143: 'Monsieur, ce n'est pas assez d'aimer les jardins, ni d'en avoir; il faut avoir des yeux pour les regarder, et des jambes pour s'y promener'.

³ J. J. Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes*, 'Letters to the Duchess of Portland', letter n° IX: 'le livre des jardins anglais que vous avez bien voulu penser à m'envoyer? Quoique son plus grand prix fût venu pour moi de la main dont je l'aurais reçu, je n'ignore pas celui qu'il a par lui-même, puisqu'il est estimé et traduit dans ce pays; et d'ailleurs j'en dois aimer le sujet, ayant été le premier en terre-ferme à célébrer et faire connaître ces mêmes jardins'. See Cook, A. (2007). Botanical exchanges: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Duchess of Portland. *History of European Ideas*, 33(2), 142–156.

How to cite this book chapter:

Châtel, L. and Mosser, M. 2020. Brown Invisible in France? The French Perception and Reception of Eighteenth-Century British Gardens. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 181–198. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.m>. CC BY-NC 4.0

observer que les mêmes ont échelle et dessous de l'après le pied anglais
qui est le crois d'un ouvrage plus petit que le nôtre

Voir cette vue au
C. 11

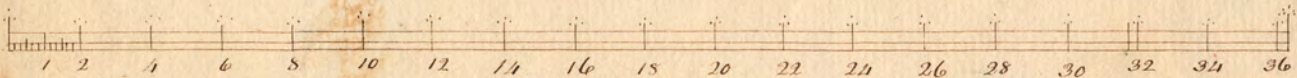
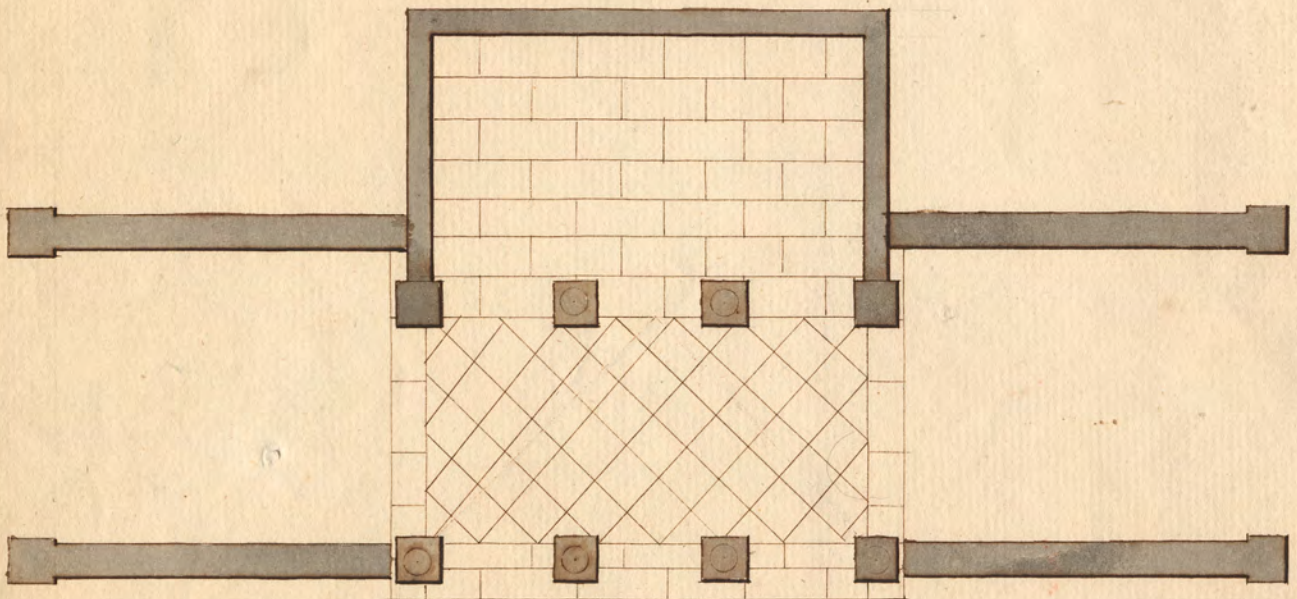
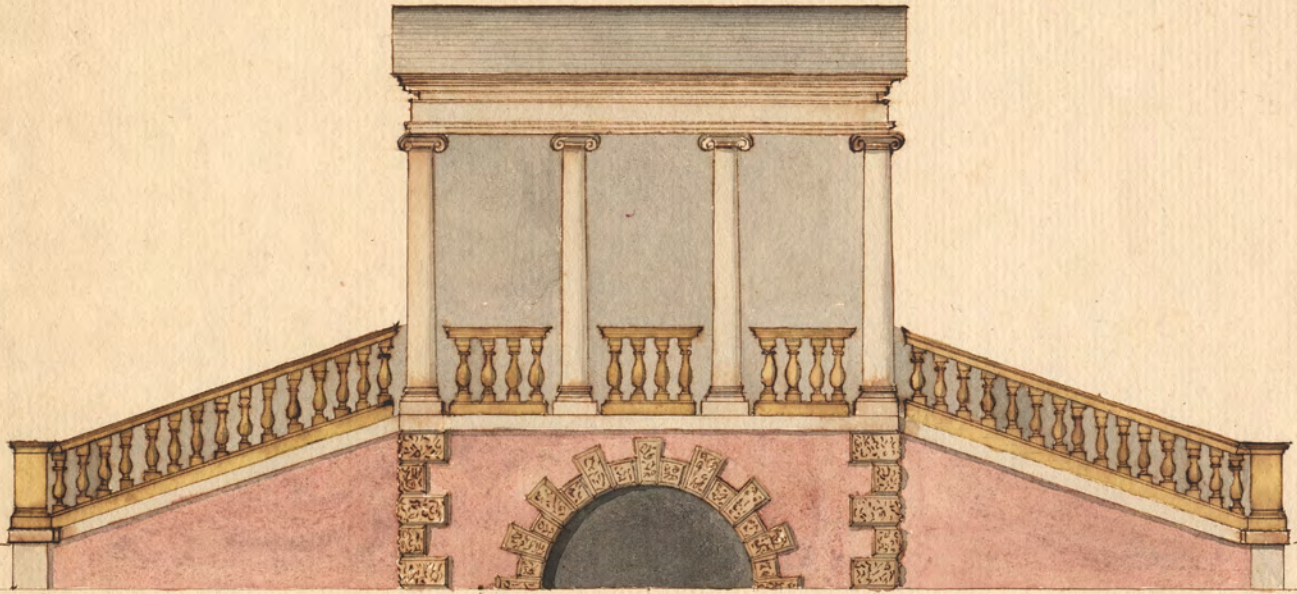




Figure 13.2: *The restored Hagley Bridge today, at Hagley Hall. Photo copyright Laurent Châtel, CC BY-NC 4.0.*

records: Pierre-Jacques Fougereux's drawing trip recording the English gardens in the 1720s;⁴ the Marquis de Marigny's exchanges with Lord Lyttleton (c. 1770s) about the Hagley Bridge, as attested by the drawing sent out to Marigny, on which today's restoration is based (Figures 13.1 and 13.2);⁵ François-Joseph Bélanger's own series of drawings;⁶ and finally Lancelot Turpin de Crissé's drawings of the 1790s.⁷ The fact that English hortulan ideas were well established in France by the 1770s comes out clearly in the following extract from Grimm and Diderot's *Correspondance Littéraire* in 1771:

The French garden and the English garden are formed on two distinct principles. They each have a beauty of their own. When we have done with our petty national arrogance, which only befits children, we will agree that in order to make music one must learn from the Italians and the Germans, and to make gardens one must turn to the English; we will realize that it is not up to one single person to come up with the truth, the good, and the beautiful, as if by some exclusive prerogative, and that one is less of a fool for giving up one's pretensions swiftly.⁸

However, while there is ample evidence of Franco-British cultural exchanges, it is much more difficult to assess which specific British designers had any influence in the making of French gardens (Figure 13.3). The

⁴ Jacques, D. & Rock, T. (2006). Pierre-Jacques Fougereux: A Frenchman's commentary on English gardens of the 1720s. In M. Calder (Ed.), *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century* (pp. 214–235). Berne: Peter Lang.

⁵ Mosser, M. (1973). Monsieur de Marigny et les jardins: Projets inédits de fabriques pour Menars. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 1972, 270–293.

⁶ Barrier, J. (1997). Bélanger et l'Angleterre. In M. Constans (Ed.), *Bagatelle dans ses jardins* (pp. 167–177). Paris: Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris.

⁷ Clark, J. (2013). An amateur artist's sketching tour of late eighteenth-century English gardens. *Garden History*, 41(2) 208–223.

⁸ Tourneux, M. (Ed.). (1879). *Correspondance, littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister*. Paris: Garnier Frères, see Vol. 9 [probably Diderot] 'Juillet 1771. L'Art de former les jardins, Latapie', p. 348: 'Quand nous serons défaits de la petite morgue nationale qui ne sied bien qu'aux enfants, nous conviendrons qu'il faut apprendre des Italiens et des Allemands à faire de la musique, et des Anglais à former des jardins; nous sentirons qu'il n'est pas donné à un seul peuple de rencontrer toujours le vrai, le bon et le beau, comme par privilège exclusif, et que le moins sot est celui qui renonce le plus vite à ses prétentions'.

Figure 13.1 (page 182): *Drawing of Hagley Bridge, c. 1770s, contained in a letter from Lord Lyttelton to Marquis de Marigny. Copyright: Fonds de Ménars – Marquis de Marigny, 25 J 2/6 AD41. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.*

translation of the 'English garden' in France, or across Europe for that matter, boasts a rich historiography,⁹ but previous studies have perhaps too often focused on establishing the very first form as if there were a specific originator or original creation which ignited the rage; John Harris, for instance, contributed to the ongoing debate about the first French *jardin anglais*.¹⁰ Recent work on cultural transfers points to a piecemeal, incremental transition from one style or fashion to another, but also to a plural, co-creative, pan-European transfer – rather than an actual transplantation of forms from one country to another. Looking at garden history through the lens of reception is thus instructive and rewarding as it provides a corrective to ongoing myths and die-hard misconstructions. It is hoped this sketch of 'Brown in France' will provide food for thought for a more extensive study of reception of forms and people in European garden historiography.

'Capability' Brown in France: Reviewing the Facts

Three points may be made at the outset: firstly, overall occurrences of the name of Brown are few and far between; secondly, there were hardly any references before 1784; thirdly, whenever Brown was referred to in the first French 'garden histories' after 1784, he featured as a marker of evolution, not revolution. He was referred to as 'celebrated' but was not identified as a specific 'stage' or 'period' in garden history – he featured alternately as a continuum following on from Kent, a transition to Repton, or lastly, a corruption of taste in the eyes of the Picturesque authors Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price.

The Reception of Brown in Eighteenth-Century France

The first French reference to Brown is oblique – it does not name Brown but clearly refers to him implicitly. It is found in a French guidebook to Stowe by the unknown 'J. de C.', *Les charmes de Stow* (1748); this guide, partly based on writings by William Gilpin, refers to the latest improvements beyond the Gothick Temple, but declares that nothing may be reported as it is as yet incomplete:

[N]ew improvements. ... As I do not know his design, I would not know what to say about it. ... What may be quite certain, judging by the Taste and Magnificence that have already been displayed, these latest embellishments cannot fail to be of the same stamp.¹¹

Brown's name is not mentioned but instead homage is paid to the owner – a phenomenon which may account for Brown's name not necessarily being recorded in travel books and ekphrastic accounts. However, it is worth mentioning that Brown's direct involvement with these particular developments has yet to be ascertained.

One might have considered Thomas Whately to be a conduit for Brown, but he made no mention of him, and as a result the French text produced a year later did not contribute to spreading Brown's style in France.¹² The French translator François-de-Paule Latapie did not add a footnote or commentary either. However, four years later, Antoine-Nicolas Duchesne (1747–1827), Keeper of the Royal Buildings and botanist, did refer to Brown. The first direct reference to Brown is a small but important one as it sheds light on the elusiveness of French transmission. Indeed, in his book, *Sur la formation des jardins par l'auteur des considérations sur le jardinage* [On the Formation of Gardens] of 1775, Duchesne wrote that Whately was the 'first to write about the art of forming gardens, according to Kent & Brown, just as Leblond and Dargenville had put forward the principles

⁹ See Wiebenson, D. (1978). *The picturesque garden in France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Hunt, J. D. (2002). *The picturesque garden in Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson; and Mosser, M. (2011). Reporter le tableau sur le terrain: fabrique et poétique du jardin pittoresque. In C. de Bourgoing (Ed.), *Le Jardin romantique en France* (pp. 32–42). Paris: Musée de la vie romantique.

¹⁰ Harris, J. (2001). L'Idole du Temple: The first French gardener in the Brownian style. *Garden History*, 29(1), 'Lancelot Brown (1716–83) and the landscape park', 36–47.

¹¹ de C., J. (1748). *Les charmes de Stow*. London: 'de nouveaux ornements & auxquels il fait travailler à force. Comme je ne sais point son Plan, je ne saurois rien vous dire là dessus. Ce qu'il y a de bien certain, c'est qu'à en juger par les preuves qu'il a déjà données de son Goût & de sa Magnificence, ces nouveaux embellissements ne peuvent manquer d'être marqués au même coin'.

¹² Whately, T. (1771). *L'Art de former les jardins modernes*. Paris.

of our *Le Nostre* in 1709'.¹³ Such a pithy statement which connects Whately with 'Kent and Brown' is all the more surprising on the part of Duchesne as Whately never in fact referred to Brown. Admittedly, this reference to Brown is made in a footnote, but it reveals that there also was oral transmission: knowledge acquired via books was supplemented and sustained through conversation and discussion. Thus, knowledge acquired *in situ*, orally, percolated down and was evidently mixed up with reminiscences from readings of Whately. At Versailles, Duchesne had clearly heard of Brown via Richard Mique or the abbé Pierre-Charles Nolin (1717–96), director of the Royal Nurseries since 1765. In the autumn of 1776 Duchesne and Nolin were sent on an official mission for Marie-Antoinette, with a view to observing the extent of English achievements *in situ* and notably their way of transplanting trees. In all likelihood, Duchesne would have been introduced to Brown at Hampton Court.¹⁴

The third reference occurs in 1779 and is also an oblique one – it is Carmontelle's definition of Monceau as '*un jardin extraordinaire*', which he sets in opposition to a garden striving to be 'an imitation of a Nation which, in making natural gardens, mows every single piece of turf and spoils nature by displaying the affected art of a gardener without imagination'.¹⁵ The one and only reference to Brown in the French translation of Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* in 1779: 'Brown and other excellent garden artists continued to follow the path of the new taste'¹⁶ – confirmed that Brown 'followed' rather than 'spearheaded' taste, or, as Linda Parshall argued recently, he was 'marginally aware of the recent contributions of Capability Brown'.¹⁷ In 1781, the Prince de Ligne made only a passing remark, all the more enigmatic for its brevity: 'Browne [sic] stood up, produced effects, and put the final touches'.¹⁸ In 1782, Delille made no reference to Brown, but again one may detect an implicit hint and scathing side-remark, as oblique as Carmontelle's, when one reads 'I know that a severe taste has wanted all these Greek and Roman gods from gardens exiled' (Canto IV). In 1784, Brown appeared for all to see in the Duc de Nivernois's translation of Walpole's *History of the Modern Taste*, but it was a brief encounter for the French reader since Walpole declared that Brown, being a living artist, could not fall within the plan of his book and he added:

and did living artists come within my plan, I should be glad to do justice to Mr. Brown; but he may be a gainer, by being reserved for some abler pen.¹⁹

It is striking that, after Brown's death in 1784, his name appeared more frequently, possibly owing to the transmission of the news of his death and subsequent obituaries.

Turning to travel diaries is instructive – although one has to bear in mind that they were often unpublished manuscripts, and, however important retrospectively for later biographers, they do not constitute testimonies of a public reception and promotion of Brown at the time. However, travel diaries may be said to give him a much greater profile. François-Armand Frédéric de La Rochefoucauld (1765–1848), in his *Mélanges sur l'Angleterre*, refers to one 'Le Brun', which most probably is a reference to 'Brown':

¹³ 'Le Traducteur (Latapie) nous instruit que sont Auteur est le premier, qui ait traité par écrit, l'année précédente, l'Art de former les Jardins, suivant la manière de Kent & de Brown, comme Leblond & Dargenville avoient en 1709, exposé les principes de notre *Le Nostre*'. In Duchesne, A.-N. (1775). *Sur la formation des jardins par l'auteur des considérations sur le jardinage* (p. 86). Paris.

¹⁴ Our thanks go to Gabriela Lamy (Trianon) for sharing her work on Duchesne and Nolin's links with British nurseries and gardens; see notably, <https://crcv.revues.org/13374>, accessed 30 August 2019.

¹⁵ 'Ce n'est point un jardin anglais qu'on a voulu faire à Monceau, mais précisément ce qu'on en a dit en faisant la critique, réunir dans un seul tous les temps et tous les lieux. C'est une simple fantaisie, le désir d'avoir un Jardin extraordinaire, un pur amusement, et non le désir d'imiter une Nation qui, en faisant des Jardins naturels, passe le rouleau sur tous les gazons et gâte la nature en y montant partout l'art compassé du jardinier sans imagination...'. Louis Carrogis, known as Carmontelle, *Jardin de Monceau* (Paris, 1779), preface.

¹⁶ 'Brown & d'autres excellents artistes jardiniers firent encore quelques pas dans la carrière du nouveau goût'. In Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1783). *Théorie de l'art des jardins* (1779) (4th section, p. 9). Leipzig. For the English translation, see Parshall, L. B. (Ed. & trans). (2001). Assorted observations on the new garden taste. In *Theory of garden art* (p. 339). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

¹⁷ Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1783). *Theory of garden art* (p. 11).

¹⁸ Vercruyse, J. & Guy, B. (Eds.) (2004). *Coup d'œil sur Beloei: Écrits sur les jardins et l'urbanisme* (p. 524). Paris: Honoré Champion.

¹⁹ Walpole, H. (1849). *History of the modern taste in gardening* [1771], *Anecdotes of painting in England* (Vol. III, chap. XXIII, p. 811), edited by Ralph Wornum. London: Henry G. Bohn.

They say he has such an accurate and quick eye that after his one-hour ride, he could pen the design of a whole park, and after that, he only needed half a day to finish off the outline on the site. It is felt that one cannot trace an English garden on paper, it is the topography that decides it all, and the points of view indicate how to distribute the necessary masses.²⁰

Marc de Bombelles' *Journal* contains eight references to Brown unambiguously presented as 'celebrated' and 'famous': the French visitor realised that 'what the French call *jardin anglais* had nothing to do with the Brownian model and only exhibited a cheap kind of Picturesque, in a straightened frame'; Bombelles saw that Brown worked on a different scale from the French, and remarked that apart from Ermenonville, the *jardin anglais* could not be compared with Brown's designs.²¹ Several insights may be gained from Malesherbes' *Voyage*, written in 1785 – yet again a private account of Brown's legacy: he referred to Brown in relation to Nuneham Courtenay, to his genius for Blenheim and to his being 'the famous Brown' at Bowood, although not always feeling positive about him: 'His park has been much worked upon by the celebrated Brown, at a huge cost especially in earth moving, but the success is mediocre. In the lowest part lies a pool which has taken the shape of a beautiful and large river, its well-shaped contours hiding its beginning and end.'²² Malesherbes also commented on Ingress Park, Chatsworth, Prior Park, Longleat, Sherborne Castle, and Broadlands House but without ever mentioning Brown explicitly. A confirmation of the gradual acceptance of the name of Brown comes with Lady Craven's remark in 1789, when she noted that in France everyone thought Brown to be French: 'Sir George must not be too highly flattered at this, for the French are so fond of monopolizing all that is worth possessing, that Prince Eugene and our Capability Brown, with many others, are claimed by them.'²³ Lady Craven rightly perceived the French habit which consists in assuming any remarkable artist or thinker to be necessarily French.

Brown's appearance in *The English Garden* (1780) was very brief since William Mason sent him out of the poem to a distant future when a prose writer might wax lyrical about him: 'Bards yet unborn, shall pay to Brown that tribute, fittest paid in strains, the beauty of his scenes inspire'. It was the French translator who granted him a greater share of the page in a footnote of *Le Jardin anglais* (1788):

M. Brown deceased lately, is the one who has carried this art to its grandest perfection for taste and intelligence. In England it is very rare that the gardener of the house should also be the one who designs and plants the garden, he is only destined to tend to and care for it.²⁴

Thus, at the end of the day, the eighteenth-century reception was limited and often indirect. The French did not dislike Brown: they simply had not heard much about him despite many options available to them discovering him during trips to England between the end of the Seven Years War and the French Revolution troubles. What remains to be elucidated is why Brown went so unnoticed between 1763 and his death; suggestions are made towards the end of the chapter that will shed some light on resolving this mystery.

²⁰ de La Rochefoucauld, F. A. F. (1945). *Mélanges sur l'Angleterre* (1784) (p. 78). Paris, G. le Prat: 'On dit qu'il avait le coup d'œil si sûr et si prompt, qu'après une heure de promenade à cheval, il concevait le dessin de tout un parc, et qu'après cela, une demi-journée suffisait pour le tracer sur le terrain. On doit sentir qu'il est impossible de tracer un jardin anglais sur du papier, le pays où il est placé décide de tout, et les points de vue indiquent les masses nécessaires pour les faire répartir'. For the English edition, see *A Frenchman in England, 1784, being the Mélanges sur l'Angleterre of F. de la Rochefoucauld. Newly edited from the MS with an introduction by Jean Marchand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933).

²¹ Marc de Bombelles, *Journal de voyage en Grande-Bretagne et en Irlande* (1784), reprinted by Jacques Gury in *Journal* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1989) and *Le Voyage Outre-Manche. Anthologie de voyageurs français de Voltaire à Mac Orlan, 18^e au 20^e siècles* (Paris, Laffont, 1999).

²² De Lamoignon de Malesherbes, C.-G. (2009). *Voyage en Angleterre* (p. 172), edited by M. Crogiez Labarthe. Paris: Éditions Desjonquères: 'Son parc a été fort travaillé par le fameux Brown, avec une dépense très considérable surtout en mouvement de terrain, mais le succès a été médiocre. Dans la partie la plus basse est un étang qui a pris la forme d'une belle et large rivière, dont les contours heureux cachent la naissance et la fin'.

²³ Craven, Lady E. (1789). *A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople: In a series of letters* (p. 16). London.

²⁴ Masson, M. (1788). *Le jardin anglais*.

Nineteenth-Century Reception

Although silent in its first edition of 1776, Jean-Marie Morel's *Théorie des jardins ou l'art des jardins de la nature* contained important references in its second edition published in 1802. He was much taken with Brown, and described in detail the flooding of the valley at Blenheim and the metamorphosis of a ludicrously gigantic, but waterless, bridge into a powerful, well-proportioned bridge spanning a beautiful lake – his 'master-stroke', to use Walpole's term about Kent's brainchild. Morel went on to argue that Brown 'tempered his art', meaning that he was subtle in his use of architecture:

What proves yet again that Brown reasoned his art is that he did not let himself be overcome with 'templomania', with which the English overburden their gardens. Although an architect himself, despite the inviting size of the park at Blenheim, he confined himself to the cascade and to a stone bridge placed at the very end of the river.²⁵

Morel did not go as far as to portray Brown as an inspiration or mentor but he acknowledged there was great elective affinity between them. An estate where he may be said to have distilled a Brownian touch is Guiscard, near Compiègne (Figure 13.4). Morel presented Brown's park-making and management at Blenheim as an endorsement of his own theory, thus arguing that Brown's art proved the relevance of his own theory of dividing designed landscapes into four distinct genres (expounded in Chapter two of his *Théorie*) – the 'land' (or 'pays' in French), the 'park', the 'garden proper', and the 'farm':

Note. That this judicious artist adopted the genre of the 'park' for his composition of the gardens at Blenheim corroborates my motivations for devising a division into genres which can be read further in chapter 2 of this book.

He called Brown 'one of the best artists England has ever produced'. A careful contextual reading of his praise highlights that, in French minds, Brown was immediately perceived as an agent of nature: 'Blenheim, planted in a formal way, has been recomposed since and given back to nature by Brown, one of the best artists England has produced'.²⁶ While this may come across as a compliment, the rhetoric of a Brownian 'return to nature' was progressively understood by subsequent authors in a negative sense as a denial of art and an impoverishment. Brown's signature was self-effacing, and therefore may simply not have been recognised as a significant 'hallmark' or identifiable style abroad.

The second extensive reference to Brown is dated 1803 from Jean-Louis Ferry de Saint-Constant (1755–1830). Interestingly enough, it is not in the hands of a practitioner or theorist but those of a traveller with an interest in gardening and natural history. Indeed, Ferry de Saint-Constant, born in Italy and author of a book on Buffon, devoted a whole chapter to gardens and another one to gardeners in his *London and Englishmen (Londres et les anglais, 1803)*. Blenheim is presented as the 'best laid-out garden in England' and recognised as a Brown landmark ('construit par le célèbre Brown').²⁷ Ferry de Saint-Constant had read Morel and relied on his description of Blenheim: 'As a whole, it unites grandeur and nobility to an elegant simplicity, the character pertaining to a park, the only garden that could be found on the site, and which befitted the importance of the palace and the dignity of the nation whose gift it was'.²⁸ But, immediately after quoting Morel, Ferry de Saint-Constant adopted a critical stance and added: 'A park is not a landscape; thus Blenheim, despite its beauty,

²⁵ Morel, J.-M. (1806). *Théorie des jardins ou l'art des jardins de la nature* (Vol. 1, preface, p. cciv). Paris: 'Ce qui prouve encore, que Brown raisonnait son art, c'est qu'il ne s'est pas laissé subjugué par la manie des fabriques, dont les anglais surchargent leurs jardins. Quoiqu'architecte lui-même, quoiqu'invité par la grande étendue du parc de Blenheim, il s'en est tenu à la cascade et à un pont en pierre, placé à l'extrémité de la rivière'.

²⁶ Morel, J.-M. (1806). *Théorie des jardins* (preface, p. cxxj): 'Blenheim, magnifique château et vaste parc, fut donné par la nation au fameux duc de Marlborough, en reconnaissance de ses services. Le jardin, planté régulièrement a été recomposé depuis et rendu à la Nature par Brown, un des meilleurs artistes qu'ait produit l'Angleterre'.

²⁷ Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 3, p. 189). Paris.

²⁸ Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 3, p. 200): 'Ce jardin, un des mieux traités, réunit dans son ensemble, la grandeur et la noblesse à une élégante simplicité: caractère qui constitue le Parc, seul genre de jardin que comportait le site, qui convenait à l'importance du château et à la dignité de la nation qui en a fait le don'.



Figure 13.4: *Le château de Guiscard*, Constans Bourgeois, in *Description des nouveaux jardins de la France*, Alexandre de Laborde, 1808. Photo copyright Laurent Châtel, CC BY-NC 4.0.

has a sad and darkened character, a trait common to almost all gardens in England.²⁹ In fact, Ferry de Saint-Constans was very critical of the notion that garden art should be an art of ‘landscape making’ and at every turn he took issue with the idea of the garden as an ‘artificial landscape’, claiming that English gardens never could rival nature and natural ‘landscapes’: ‘Brown’s gardens *per se* are in general well done; but his landscapes, i.e. what constitutes the new genre, are monotonous and sad, and they exhibit everywhere the efforts of art.’³⁰

After criticising Kent, he deplored that Brown, who ‘dared walk away from the beaten track and create new rules for himself’, did not live up to expectations of his being ‘the legislator of garden art’ as had been anticipated at first:

People are now beginning to recognize that, as a landscape gardener, he does not deserve the reputation he has had and that his theory is wrong on several fundamental points. Brown trained as a gardener only. He lacked imagination, and a painter’s eye, and formed his style, or rather his design, on the model of a parterre.³¹

²⁹ Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 3, p. 189): ‘Un parc n’est pas un paysage; aussi Blenheim, malgré sa beauté, a-t-il un caractère triste et rembruni, défaut essentiel commun à presque tous les jardins d’Angleterre’.

³⁰ Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 3, p. 200): ‘Les jardins, proprement dits de Brown, sont en général bien faits; mais ses paysages, c’est-à-dire, ce qui constitue le nouveau genre, sont monotones, tristes, et laissent voir partout les efforts de l’art’.

³¹ Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 3, p. 200): ‘On commence cependant à reconnaître qu’il ne mérite pas comme jardinier-paysagiste, la réputation dont il jouit, et que sa théorie est fautive dans plusieurs points fondamentaux. Brown n’avait fait que les études d’un jardinier. N’ayant ni l’imagination, ni l’oeil d’un peintre, il forma son style, ou plutôt son plan, sur le modèle d’un parterre’.

Relying on Uvedale Price for his descriptions and analysis throughout, he quoted long extracts from the *Essay on the Picturesque* – an indication that he was well versed in the more recent literature and was an early historiographer of gardens:

Presumption was this artist's principal trait; he was so well-known for his arrogance that he was nicknamed 'Brown the capable' (*capability* Brown). One day when one of his works was being praised, he exclaimed, 'only Brown and the God of this universe can do such things!'.³²

It is interesting that in apprehending Brown the French misunderstood what 'capability' meant (a talented man as opposed to topographically wise) and designated Brown, literally speaking, with a lower-case 'c' (*capability* Brown), not a capital 'C'.

We have here an interesting case of a secondary or 'second-hand' reception. It is perhaps significant that during this later stage in post-revolutionary France, Brown was perceived by the French not just through personal visits to England, which had become almost impossible between 1793 and 1802, but also through the indirect lens of English authors and critics of Brown, such as Price and Knight, who passed on a retrospective, negative appraisal of Brown. At that stage the knowledge the French gained of Brown was second-hand, filtered information, processed by a generation of British amateurs who examined Brown with hindsight and with a critical eye. Ferry de Saint-Constant had not just been content with reading Morel's newly augmented and updated edition, which on the whole painted a largely positive picture, but had discovered adversaries of those he termed 'the Brownists':

The pitfall in which M. Repton and all the Brownists fall is that they follow patterns. They become maniacs, either because they grow fond of what they have already achieved, or because it is easy to carry on with what has often been practised.³³

Whilst Duchesne had, in 1775, supplemented individual travel and word of mouth with bookish knowledge, by the 1790s we have a very early instance of scholarly knowledge and secondary sources supplementing a 1790s visit to England. It is fascinating to see that as early as 1803 Ferry de Saint-Constans could theorise and systematise Brown into a school or genre ('les Brownistes'); clearly he was aware that there were systematic, formulaic patterns in Brown's designs and that he had attracted followers. He was extremely thorough and clear-sighted in his close reading of sources since he was able to adjudicate between varying judgements: he thus conceded that Knight and Price 'may have overexaggerated Brown's defects' but felt that undeniably 'their principles tend to make gardens more varied and pleasant'.³⁴ With Ferry de Saint-Constans's reception, one holds an important key: Knight and Price annihilated the limited reputation Brown had gained up until then; the indirect impact of the Picturesque authors may have swept Brown under the carpet since he was only mentioned in relation to the criticism levied against him in Britain. A few years later, however, in his *Description des nouveaux jardins de la France*, Alexandre de Laborde portrayed Brown favourably, hinting at his simplicity. Brown had jocularly 'said about the serpentine paths which several individuals made in their gardens, that one could place a foot in zig and another in zag'.³⁵ And yet Amédée Pichot's account in 1825 disparaged Brown for being 'mannerist':

³² Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 2, p. 203): 'La présomption était le caractère principal de cet artiste; il était si connu sous ce rapport qu'on l'appelait *Brown le capable* (*capability* Brown). Un jour qu'on louait devant lui un de ses ouvrages, 'il n'y a, dit-il, que Brown et le Dieu de l'univers qui puissent faire de pareilles choses!'.

³³ Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 2, p. 202): 'L'écueil contre lequel échouent M. Repton et tous les Brownistes, c'est de suivre un système. Ils deviennent *maniéristes*, soit parce qu'ils sont attachés à ce qu'ils ont déjà fait, soit parce qu'il est aisé de faire ce qu'on a souvent pratiqué'.

³⁴ 'M. Knight a soutenu les mêmes opinions dans un poème intitulé *Le Paysage*, accompagné de notes critiques. Tous les deux ont montré beaucoup de talent, de goût et de connaissances; peut-être ont-ils exagéré les défauts de Brown, mais il est incontestable que leurs principes tendent à rendre les jardins plus variés, plus agréables. M. Repton a fait l'apologie de Brown dans une lettre qu'il a adressée à M. Price, et dans son grand ouvrage, dont il a paru depuis peu une magnifique édition. M. Marshall, célèbre agronome, a aussi pris la défense des Brownistes, dans *l'Examen critique des ouvrages de MM. Price et Knight*': Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 2, p. 206).

³⁵ de Laborde, A. (1808). *Description des nouveaux jardins de la France et de ses anciens château* (p. 211). Paris: 'Brown disait plaisamment, des chemins tournants que plusieurs individus faisaient dans leurs jardins qu'on pouvait mettre un pied en zig et l'autre en zag'.

Brown completed several of Kent's designs and, in some villas, made some changes to his ideas with happy results; but being a bit mannerist, Brown carried the hatred of the straight line a stage further than Kent; hence he multiplied a bit too often the zig-zags and labyrinths. The theory of the English garden was explained by Repton with great talent in treatises *ex-professo*, of which I have only read the report made in the *Quarterly Review*. I will retain from this work a sense of anxiety about the future of parks and gardens, which might benefit our landowners.³⁶

This critical approach is echoed by Joseph-Alexis Walsh de Serrant, a French traveller who, despite his enjoyment of Blenheim, an absolute 'must' for French visitors to England, pointed to the social status of Brown and the all-too easy professional aspirations of gardeners:

This one Mr Brown, now famous across England, was once a garden boy; often his masters would scold him, often he would stop what he was doing, and, leaning on the arm of his spade or rake, he was contemplating the countryside, and then drawing lines in the sand which he was the only one to grasp. It was then that he refined over his art: his poetical eye would embrace the country, his young imagination created landscapes, raised hills and made rivers serpentine. ... It is regrettable that Brown was a gardener; for today any man employed in any garden who has held a spade or a rake in his kitchen garden, has thought it apt to leave his sphere and following Brown's example, take up the role of landscape architect.³⁷

After Jean-Marie Morel, the next outstanding figure who praised Lancelot Brown is Narcisse Vergnaud (1794–1848) in his *L'art de créer les jardins* (1835); his account of Brown owed a lot to his admiration of Blenheim, for which he produced three plates, including one beautiful coloured which undoubtedly would have influenced generations of later landscape architects (Figure 13.5). Blenheim had long been a key stage along the French tour of English gardens, but Vergnaud's enthusiasm in 1835 was a very striking and warm tribute:

It seems indeed that such an amount of straight lines all confined to one spot was meant to highlight, in Brown's masterpiece, the genuine grandeur which results from having within a garden a happy use of natural curbs harmoniously echoing the shape of the terrain and the general character of the site. Brown had enough genius to understand how a vast palace with its heavy masses flanked by turrets, and conveniently placed at the heart of a park of three thousand acres planted with already mature trees, could reach the maximum effect: he sketched at one go the principal picture and all the accidental views he could conjure up with such an architectural mass, designing the middle ground within the various topographical accidents and in the groupings of the most beautiful trees.³⁸

³⁶ Pichot, A. (1825). *Voyage historique et littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse* (3 Vols). Paris: 'Brown continua plusieurs plans de Kent et modifia avec bonheur ses idées dans certaines villas; mais un peu *maniériste*, Brown a poussé plus loin que Kent la haine de la ligne droite; aussi multipliait-il peut-être trop les zig-zags et les labyrinthes. La théorie du jardin anglais a été expliquée avec talent par M. Repton dans des traites *ex-professo*, dont je n'ai lu, je l'avoue, que l'analyse dans le *Quarterly Review*. J'emprunterai à cet ouvrage l'expression de quelques craintes sur l'avenir des parcs et des jardins anglais dont nos propriétaires pourront faire leur profit'.

³⁷ Joseph-Alexis Walsh de Serrant, *Lettres sur l'Angleterre, ou voyage en Grande-Bretagne en 1829*, (Paris, 1830); quoted in Gury, J. (1999). *Le voyage Outre-Manche* (p. 504–505). Paris: Laffont: *op.cit.* 'Brown, devenu fameux en Angleterre, avait été garçon jardinier; souvent ses maîtres le grondaient, souvent il suspendait tout à coup son ouvrage; et, s'appuyant sur le manche de sa pelle ou de son râteau, on le voyait regarder les campagnes, et puis dessiner sur le sable des traits que lui seul comprenait. C'était alors qu'il étudiait son art: son œil poétique s'emparait du pays, sa jeune imagination créait des paysages, élevait des collines et faisait serpenter des rivières. ... Il est fâcheux que Brown ait été jardinier; car aujourd'hui tout homme qui est attaché à quelque jardin, qui a tenu la pelle ou le râteau dans un potager, s'est cru en droit de quitter sa sphère, et, à l'exemple de Brown, de s'élancer dans le genre paysagiste'.

³⁸ Vergnaud, N. (1835). *L'art de créer les jardins: contenant les préceptes généraux de cet art; leur application développée sur des vues perspectives, coupes et élévations, par des exemples choisis dans les jardins les plus célèbres de France et d'Angleterre; et le tracé pratique de toute espèce de jardins* (p. 71). Paris: 'Il semble, en effet, que cet amas de lignes droites soit resté là, dans un coin, pour mieux faire apprécier, dans le chef-d'œuvre de Brown, la grandeur véritable qui résulte toujours, pour un jardin, de l'heureux emploi des courbes naturelles en harmonie avec la conformation du terrain et le caractère général du site. Brown eut assez de génie pour comprendre tout l'effet d'un vaste palais avec ses massifs flanqués de tourelles, convenablement situé au milieu d'un parc de trois mille arpens plantés d'arbres déjà fort anciens: il esquaissa d'un seul trait d'ensemble le tableau principal et toutes les vues accidentelles qu'il pouvait produire avec une telle masse de construction, en ménageant les plans intermédiaires dans les divers accidents de terrain et dans les groupes des plus beaux arbres'.

Curiously, as a landscape designer, he thought of Blenheim only in visual terms, pointing to the Picturesque ‘capability’ or ‘potential’ of the site, its capacity to raise pictures: he stated that up on the hills were new *tableaux* worth Claude’s brush as well as ‘accidental vistas’. It is as if his appreciation of Brown was shaped by mid-eighteenth-century expectations and a ‘Picturesque’ frame of mind, with no reference to other senses or perceptions of the place. Vergnaud concluded his description of Blenheim on the ‘immortal genius of Brown’, who shied away from adding ‘a crowd of details then still fashionable’, hinting here at the French lassitude with ‘fabriques’ all squeezed together.

On the strength of Morel and Vergnaud, the great French garden historian Arthur Mangin conveyed an equally enthusiastic French perception of Brown, both in *Les jardins: histoire et description* (1867) and *Histoire des jardins anciens et modernes* (1887). Similarly, Edouard André also took inspiration from Vergnaud and reiterated the fascination for Blenheim in *L’Art des jardins: Traité général de la composition des parcs et jardins* (1879); it is clear in Edouard André’s mind that Brown owed his success to Blenheim:

He then went to Blenheim, threw a dam across the valley, and made a huge lake in eight days, and acquired for himself all of a sudden a huge popularity. Everybody wanted his advice; he became the idol of the day and made a fortune rapidly.³⁹

However, Edouard André adopted a more critical outlook under the influence of John Claudius Loudon, whom he read closely; not only was Loudon translated into French⁴⁰ but Edouard André, being an Anglophile traveling and working in England, would have been very familiar with Loudon’s *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* and the *Gardener’s Magazine*, which he used extensively as a direct source for his treatise. As an illustration of the way passages were directly lifted from Loudon’s *Encyclopaedia* and adapted for André’s purposes, here are two extracts put side-by-side:

[Edouard André:] However, one may address serious criticisms to Brown. He is the one who invented plantations as a *belt*, that is a continuous tree mass which encircled the property, thus forming an interior landscape without letting in outside scenery. Moreover, he has been accused of imagining groups of isolated trees along circular lines in the plains. He called them *clumps*. These clumps are the plague of landscape parks wherever they are to be seen, planted by people who have taken to this pitiful system. Furthermore, Brown always conferred equal contours to his lakes; you could spot his style in a thousand, and the forms he used were stereotyped, just as his compact plantations in sinuous lines were almost regular, revealing only too clearly the gardener and not enough the artist. In a nutshell, one could feel Brown’s roots, inferior to one like Kent or Shenstone, who designed a park as one would paint a landscape on canvas, always more concerned with effect rather than details, with being picturesque rather than pretty and mannered.⁴¹

[J.C. Loudon:] *That Brown must have possessed considerable talents*, the extent of his reputation abundantly proves but that he was imbued with much of that taste for picturesque beauty which distinguished the works of Kent, Hamilton, and Shenstone, we think will hardly be asserted by anyone who has observed attentively such places as are known to be his creations. Whatever be the extent or character of the surface, they are all surrounded by a narrow belt, and the space within is distinguished by numbers of round or oval clumps, and a reach or two of a tame river, generally on different levels.⁴²

This juxtaposition highlights in an illuminating way how André imbibed and interpreted Loudon, thus generating what we might refer to as ‘cultural transfer’; it illustrates the way ideas percolated and were translated

³⁹ André, E. (1879). *L’Art des jardins*. Paris: Masson: ‘Il vint ensuite à Blenheim, jeta une digue au travers d’une vallée, fit ainsi une lac immense en huit jours et s’acquitt, tout d’un coup, une immense popularité. Tout le monde voulut recevoir ses conseils; il devint l’idole du jour et fit une fortune rapide’. This is in fact a translation of Loudon’s *Encyclopaedia*, Part 1, p. 250.

⁴⁰ Loudon, J. C. (1830). *Traité de la composition et de l’exécution des jardins d’ornement, traduit par J. M. Chopin, edited and annotated by M. le chevalier Soulange-Bodin*. Paris.

⁴¹ André, E. (1879). *L’Art des jardins* (p. 75). Paris: Masson: ‘Cependant on peut adresser à Brown de graves reproches. C’est lui qui inventa la plantation en *ceinture*, c’est-à-dire le massif d’arbres continu dans lequel il enserrait toute propriété, ne formant ainsi qu’un paysage *intérieur* sans y faire entrer les scènes d’alentour’.

⁴² Loudon, J. C. (1850). *An encyclopaedia of gardening* (2nd ed.), edited by Mrs Loudon (Part I, chap. 4, p. 250). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

from England over to France. After 1900, a resurgence of the so-called ‘*style à la française*’ swept Brown under new parterres, until British historiography, in the 1950s, with Dorothy Stroud notably, took Brown and raised his reputation up to the standing it maintained in twentieth-century minds and prose.⁴³

An Excessive Focus on Brown? A Need for a Larger Picture

The discrepancy between British high expectations about Brown and the arguably limited French reception can be accounted for by what may be called a British entrenched national garden historiography, which has placed Brown on a high pedestal over the years despite contrary evidence of a more qualified picture of Brown’s place in English garden history between 1784 and 1950. Recent British studies have also contributed to a reassessment of Brown’s exact achievements.⁴⁴ I have argued elsewhere about the benefits of reception in garden history as a ‘corrective’ or safeguard against unduly hagiographical accounts; here is the perfect opportunity, through Brown’s case, to see how French reception corrects the excessive focus on Brown and provides a remapping of British historiography.⁴⁵

The French perception of garden creativity in Britain certainly did not champion Brown as it was shaped early on by names and places before Brown’s arrival. By the 1780s the French had plenty of evidence and material of what an English garden ought to be like and the name of Brown was not a major touchstone.

The first important French entry into English garden creativity can clearly be said to be Thomas Whately’s seminal *Observations* published in 1771 but one should not forget that the French had Girardin to rely on in 1777, which was also read in England using both the French original (as testified by William Burgh’s commentaries on William Mason in 1782) and the English translation (in 1783 by Daniel Malthus). The 1770s clearly constituted a major turning point because seminal texts were published, causing a rise in the French awareness and understanding of gardens: William Chambers’s publication of his *Dissertation* (1772), his exchanges with Voltaire and his trip to France in 1774; Watelet’s *Essai sur les jardins* (1774); Girardin’s *De la composition des paysages* (1777); and George-Louis le Rouge’s plates in his widely circulated *Jardins anglo-chinois* (1776–89) (Figure 13.6). They all had a great impact on a wide French readership. In fact, by the 1790s the French had written their own history and account of what British creativity was all about. Monique Mosser has long argued that William Chambers was influential in crystallising the French reception.⁴⁶ Indeed, Chambers was prominent throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, as the various reprints, uses, and misuses of his works testify.

The dissemination of Chambers’s ideas gained extra strength through his bilingual *Drawings of Buildings* in 1757, Latapie’s retranscription in 1771 of Chambers’s text within the introduction to his translation of Whately, Le Rouge’s 1776 pirated edition and forgery of Chambers (interpolating his own drawings and a fake garden design), Jacques Delille’s reprint in 1782 in his footnotes to *Les Saisons*, the abbé Rozier’s reprint in a 1785 ‘garden entry’ in his *Cours complet d’agriculture* without even acknowledging Chambers’s name, culminating with the wide-reaching distribution in 1772 of his *Dissertation* foregrounding the role of China. Both the French and the English fashioned a collective imaginary or cultural framework of ‘natural gardening’ based on artefacts and ideas related to China but the French were explicit in their acknowledgement of the role of China. The narrative of the genesis of Chinese-related ideas is well documented – although hardly ever accepted by British

⁴³ Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown*.

⁴⁴ See notably Brown, D. & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England*. London: Reaktion Books; Phibbs, J. (2016). *Capability Brown: Designing English landscapes and gardens*. New York: Rizzoli; and Phibbs, J. (2017). *Place-Making: The art of Capability Brown, 1716–1783*. Swindon: Historic England.

⁴⁵ Châtel, L. (2012). ‘Getting a full picture’: Pour une nouvelle histoire des ‘jardins anglais’ des Lumières: perspectives croisées entre conception et réception. In P. Dubois & A. Tadié (Eds.), *Esthétiques de la ville britannique, XVIIIe–XIXe siècles: Hommage à Jacques Carré*. Paris: PUPS. Previous seminal studies were Hunt, J. D. (2004). *The afterlife of the garden*. London: Reaktion Books; and Calder, M. (Ed.) (2006). *Experiencing the garden in the eighteenth century*. Berne: Peter Lang.

⁴⁶ Mosser, M. (1997). La perfection du jardin anglo-chinois. In M. Constans (Ed.), *Bagatelle dans ses jardins* (pp. 135–166) and especially Mosser, M., Barrier, J. & Che Bing Chiu (2004). *Aux jardins de Cathay: L’imaginaire anglo-chinois. William Chambers*. Besançon: Éditions de l’Imprimeur.



Figure 13.6: A New and Accurate Plan of Blenheim, in *Traité des jardins*, N. Vergnaud, 1835. Photo copyright Laurent Châtel, CC BY-NC 4.0.

historiography;⁴⁷ the story often starts and ends in 1749 with Attiret's *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, and the controversy about who had access to Matteo Ripa's prints, while in fact the story ought to engage a much larger narrative of various other 'shocks of recognition' beyond just Attiret, triggered by descriptions, prints, cups, coffers, lacquer, and, above all, the decorative art items which displayed, for all to see, Chinese rocks, trees, and water arrangements in the very spirit of Whately's typology. As the English preferred Brown, the French relished the creative potential unleashed by evocations of China. Such bickering between the French and the English about the right way of naming or not naming the modern garden ('jardin anglais' or 'anglo-chinois') was ideologically motivated: a patriotic camp on the one hand with William Mason and Horace Walpole, defending an English 'invention' of gardening, was pitted against an international camp on the other hand with William Chambers, his French friends, and British aristocratic patrons, who defended a pan-European, cosmopolitan vision of 'modern gardening' – bickering, incidentally, translates in French as 'chinoiser', 'to bicker over something'.⁴⁸ With such a preference for Chambers in French minds, and Chambers being so critical of Brown, it is easy to see why Brown did not take pride of place in French garden historiography.

⁴⁷ Siren, O. (1950). *China and the gardens of Europe*. New York: Ronald; Jacques, D. (1990). On the supposed Chineseness of the English landscape garden. *Garden History*, 18(2), 180–191; Yu Liu (2008). *Seeds of a different Eden: Chinese gardening ideas and a new English*. Columbia: South Carolina Press; Cheng, E. H. (2010). *Britain's Chinese eye: Literature, empire, and aesthetics in nineteenth-century Britain* (Chap. 1). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

⁴⁸ For the argument about divided ideologies, see Châtel, L. (2006). Le jardin 'anglais': représentation, rhétorique et translation de la nation britannique, 1688–1820, art et nation en Grande-Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 13(4), 171–188; for the use of the term of 'modern gardening', see Châtel, L. (2013). Modern moral gardens, nature, National Trust, and



Bois de Boulogne

Bois de Boulogne

Bois de Boulogne

Bois de Boulogne

Plan de Bagatelle

Plan de Bagatelle

Etchak

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 Toises

M^{gr}

A

Terrains

de

Cony

Moreover, one may also adduce another significant issue: size mattered. The impact of Brown in France may have been less important on account of the smaller size of properties in France, before and after the Revolution. This is attested by Duchesne's and Girardin's focus on the size of estates. In 1775, Duchesne clearly stated that new ideas and fashions, which he did not actually call 'English' but 'free', could not be implemented in France because it did not rank so many estates on a large scale:

Which piece of land suits free design. It would be too difficult to hide that the so-called freedom of nature is nothing but human work; a servile and disfigured copy, or even worse, the result of whim. ... Is it not clear for all to see that in Europe, free gardens, so liked by the English, contain many thousands of acres? To be fully convinced one only has to cast an eye on the plan of Lord Cobham's garden at Stowe, the description of which helps give an exact idea of the free genre as much as excellent Whately's principles do.⁴⁹

Finally, the export of Brown himself to France, as it were, was not so necessary as there were many Anglophile gardeners such as François-Joseph Bélanger and a whole diaspora of English and Scottish gardeners and designers who were the vital transmitters and conduits of 'modern gardening' with multiple exchanges and crossings of the Channel for the sake of plants and trees, notably Thomas Blaikie (1750–1838) (Figure 13.7). Recent studies on Blaikie point to his idiosyncratic absorption of British skills and ideas.⁵⁰ The spirit of Brown may well have been translated on French soil here and there, but diluted and mixed up with highly personal, individual stylistic interpretations. Therefore, with or without explicit reference to Brown, Blaikie would have 'naturalised' estates in his own way, as can still be guessed at today, for instance, at Régnière-Ecluse in the Somme.⁵¹ These gardeners and garden enthusiasts could hardly be termed 'English' since, after a few years on the Continent, they had translated their ideas within national idioms and could be said to be as English as Italian or French – all making up, in fact, a pan-European garden creativity: a two-way cross-fertilisation that produced a modern style which it might be difficult to identify as being only English.

Conclusion

What the French reception highlights is that the reputation of Brown may not have translated across the channel. The English garden had some *je ne sais quoi* about it that allowed it to remain elusive enough, and subsume any number of practices, some good, some bad, some liked, some disliked, but without any one man's name standing out as the absolute champion. The signature of the designer mattered less than that of the landowner, especially in travellers' accounts, and it is twentieth-century historiography that has tended to produce a stylistic, teleological narrative with 'attributions', often crediting more Brown 'intent' than there ever was. It is more than likely that Kent had a more enduring impact on French taste for modern gardening than Brown; the actual 'discovery' of Brown coincided with an English denial of Brown in the hands of Chambers, Knight, and Price.

the modernity of eighteenth-century 'English' gardens. In B. Millet (Ed.), *Modernité du XVIIIe siècle – Hommage à Alain Bony*, RSEAA XVII–XVIII (Hors-Série 3), 243–259.

⁴⁹ Duchêne, A.-N. (1775). *Sur la formation des jardins* (p. 85). Paris: 'A quel terrain convient la formation libre. Il y deviendrait trop difficile de dissimuler que cette prétendue liberté de la Nature, n'est qu'un ouvrage humain; une copie servile & défigurée, ou pis encore, l'effet du caprice. ... Ne voyons-nous pas qu'en Europe, les Jardins libres, chéris des Anglois, contiennent plusieurs centaines d'arpens? Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de jeter les yeux sur le Plan du jardin du Lord Cobham à Stoue, dont la description, sert autant que les excellens principes de M. Whateley [sic], à donner une vraie idée du Genre Libre?'

⁵⁰ See Barrier, J. & Mosser, M. (Eds.) (2016). *Journal d'un botaniste-jardinier (1775–1792): Un Écossais en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime. Thomas Blaikie (1750–1838)*. Paris: Klincksieck. The index points to a number of English names mentioned by Blaikie.

⁵¹ See pictures available at http://www.parcsetjardins.fr/picardie/somme/parc_du_ch_teau_de_regniere_ecluse-642.html, as well as <https://regnierecluse.wordpress.com>, both accessed 30 August 2019.

The French skipped over Brown, as it were, and their genealogy easily went from Bridgeman to Kent and onto Repton and Loudon.

Some might argue that the French were bound to condemn Brown to a much poorer reception than he truly deserved. Some might apply what Horace Walpole said about Richard Payne Knight, arguing that the French 'Jacobinically would level the purity of gardens' and 'would as malignantly as Tom Paine or Priestley guillotine Mr Brown'.⁵² However, it is undeniable that, while Le Nôtre enjoyed and still enjoys an international reputation and standing, Brown emerges in French consciousness as one name amongst innumerable references to 'English' styles, names and practices.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

⁵² 'Letter to William Mason, March 22 1796'; see Cunningham, P. (Ed.). (1859). *The letters of H. Walpole* (Vol. IX, p. 463). London: Richard Bentley.

Capability Brown, Royal Gardener and Placemaker in Northern Europe

Jan Woudstra and Jonathan Finch

Being, without doubt, Britain's most celebrated landscape designer, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716–83) is synonymous with the internationally recognised 'English landscape style'. Since his heyday during the second half of the eighteenth century, Brown has been mythologised for his ability to envision the capabilities of both house and landscape for improvement. This myth continues to sustain an international reputation. Critics, however, have, over the same period, complained about his landscapes being bare, smooth, and bald. Later he was accused of destruction, of being the vandal who destroyed the formal garden.¹ His main contemporary opponent was Sir William Chambers, whose thinly veiled criticisms in his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772) not only reflected envy but were politically motivated.² Successive generations have built on these historic arguments and there has been a tendency towards polarised positions of either unquestioning support or ill-considered criticism. The tercentenary celebrations of his birth provided a magnificent opportunity to pause and review aspects of his life and career that were pertinent to deepening our understanding and correcting our perceptions of the man, his work, and his legacy. However, much (but not all) of the review and new work undertaken under the auspices of Brown's tercentenary simply amplified existing positions. Now, in the aftermath of those celebrations, the elusiveness of Brown the man is still very apparent. His hand is distributed across a wide area of the country but diffused by his business system, which saw his team of trusted associates both deliver and extend the reach of 'his' landscape style. It is also apparent that 'his' style was somewhat lost in translation as it crossed, belatedly, to continental Europe over the following century. The new tercentennial work did, however, expose areas where innovation could contribute substantially, and around which this volume has been loosely structured. Three such areas of importance were identified – the significance of Brown's position as royal gardener; the professionalisation of the trade of place-making and within it Brown's *modus operandi*; and, finally, the perception and reception of Brown and his work, and how these evolved over time, both in Britain and abroad.

¹ Law, E. (1891). *A history of Hampton Court Palace* (Vol. III, p.297) London: George Bell.

² Chambers, W. (1772). *A dissertation on oriental gardening*. London.

How to cite this book chapter:

Woudstra, J. and Finch, J. 2020. Capability Brown, Royal Gardener and Placemaker in Northern Europe. In Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 199–204. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.n>. CC BY-NC 4.0

The Royal Gardener

Brown's career as a gardener and the feted position as royal gardener were heavily influenced by contemporary politics, and particularly his relationship with, or rather envy from, William Chambers, the architect and designer of gardens, who also aspired to this royal position. Chambers had taught the royal children and was therefore better placed to receive an offer for the post, and he did manage to delay it for Brown, who, through the interference of the prime minister in 1764, was ultimately placed at Hampton Court Palace, rather than being put in charge of all royal gardens. While Brown did get the opportunity to re-shape Richmond Gardens, owned by the king, other royal commissions passed him by, seemingly in favour of Chambers. Additionally, there were limited resources available for Hampton Court, which was no longer used as a primary royal residence and where the formal and constrained nature of the site and gardens appeared at odds with Brown's vision, but legend has it that he declined to improve the gardens 'out of respect to himself and his profession'.³ While being in service provided Brown with the attendant frustrations, his position as a royal gardener enhanced his status, and put him in an enviable position wherein he was also able to continue carrying out private commissions. On one level the substantial and regular income would have been a considerable bonus to Brown, who was constantly trying to manage an erratic cash flow and a huge network of employees and associates working at sites across the country. On another, his position at Hampton Court placed him socially and physically at the heart of the most affluent and profligate networks in the country, fed by global trade and government sinecures, and manifested in landownership. It is at court that we see a side to Brown which rarely surfaces elsewhere. He was confronted by the acerbic campaign of Chambers to do him down, based on snobbery and professional jealousy, and yet Brown and his supporters readily displaced the Greenings, who had become well-established features of the court-related nursery scene. The views of the royal gardens also reveal the diversity of landscape styles that co-existed in London and under the banner of the royal family, and the fact that Brown was responsible for some – but demurred from changing them or even clipping the topiary, sheds unexpected light on his outlook on landscape and gardens, as well as hinting at how he prioritised his own private commissions, rather than engaging with the prolonged and potentially arduous task of radical change within the court.

The Place-Maker

Brown learned the business of place-making in practice, probably first as an estate steward or land manager, and then particularly at Stowe, where he implemented schemes devised by those regarded as at the top of the profession, and was able to learn from their mistakes, such as a failed attempt to create a lake there, providing the opportunity for a secluded Grecian valley, thus turning a negative into a positive. His ability to do this reveals another of his skills, namely the fact that he was an efficient communicator and good company, able to hold his own and convince others, across a wide social and professional spectrum. He was also a good businessman, organising his affairs in such a way that he worked with a number of foremen, trained or tested by him, who were given responsibility to run parts of the business independently while he travelled the country at certain times of the year, meeting both clients and workmen. During these journeys, work would be commissioned, while the organisation of it would ensure the schedule of works was accommodated within busy nationwide programmes of work with a clear focus on completion. His system sustained his growing business through both lean periods and those of unrivalled success, in a manner that other early contemporaries, such as Richard Woods, could not emulate. It may not be surprising, therefore, that, as his success grew, as his business expanded, as patrons became increasingly familiar with the perception of what a Brown landscape should look like, and as imitations proliferated from the hands of his former associates, so the 'Brownian' landscapes became slightly formulaic.

Brown's vision of place-making included all facets, not just the creation of classical parks but also pleasure grounds, kitchen gardens, and buildings, stable blocks and other outbuildings, menageries, ice houses, and sometimes even the main house itself. Architecture was an important element within Brown's portfolio of skills and also within his vision of landscape in a manner which is often lost amidst modern scholarship of landscape or architecture. In order to fulfil the increasing demand for amenities within the estate, it was important to

³ Law, E. (1891). *A History of Hampton Court Palace* (Vol. III, p. 296) London: George Bell.

articulate spaces for various functions and purposes. While much of this was done by vegetation, with belts and clumps, many of the projects also included re-shaping the land, and therefore extensive earth movement, often associated with the creation of lakes. These and other works were prepared through surveys of various sorts, stipulated on drawings and in contracts, with the workforce being paid weekly, but suppliers only at the end of the commission. Detailed administration – inventories of goods and material, bills, and vouchers – facilitated the smooth running of projects. Within the office there was a clear work division, with shared responsibilities; John Spyers was a draughtsman and surveyor, but Samuel Lapidge was trained in all aspects of the business and was thus destined to be Brown's successor.⁴

A major part in the success of Brown's business was the way in which it was marketed. The acknowledgement in 1750 of Lord Coventry of Croome Court typifying Brown as being someone to recognise the 'capabilities' of a site led to his sobriquet of 'Capability' Brown, which then provided a magisterial marketing ploy, as simple and to the point, clearly distinguishable, setting him apart from his competitors, ultimately recognisable and visionary. Today this name continues to appeal to the imagination, and is as effective now as it was then, with it often being the only name of a British landscape designer people recognise. This is notable because Brown left so little in the way of documentary or published accounts of his practice. He never published a theory or discourse on landscape design, nor did his business model facilitate an accurate record of the sites he had worked at, such was the diversity of teams and methods deployed. Brown left us only plans and bank accounts from which to reconstruct his vision and impact on the landscape. This is in contrast to his would-be successor, Humphry Repton. It is telling in terms of how far the business of place-making had changed between Brown setting up business in 1751 and Repton doing the same in 1788, that Repton marketed himself through illustrated theoretical publications, business cards, which promoted a new name for the profession – that of landscape gardener – and the production of his bespoke 'Red Books' for key sites and commissions, which contained beautifully hand-painted 'before and after' slides to illustrate his proposals. For Repton, his clients had changed, the economic situation had changed, the profession had changed, everything had changed after Brown. Yet it was Repton who defended Brown's reputation from the attacks launched by Price and Knight and it was J. C. Loudon's re-publication of Repton's works in the mid-nineteenth century that spread the English style – still associated with Brown – across Europe and beyond.

European Context

For much of the eighteenth century garden design in continental Europe had continued to be dominated by formality in the style of André le Nôtre, with some Anglo-Chinese style gardens with their sinuous designs appearing over time, but usually within a formal frame. The *jardin anglais* did not really become a major trend until after the 1789 French Revolution, after the dissolution of royal property that was later refashioned to appeal to the people. It was here that the English garden redefined its meaning through its associations with the Enlightenment. The informality in design and lack of clipping was seen as liberating; the lack of a main axis and central position of the main building as a departure from the absolutist regime. Thus the English garden could be interpreted as more egalitarian. Yet until his death in 1783 such associations could and would not have occurred to Brown, who was a practical man, not a philosopher.

While he did produce designs for some sites on the Continent in the Germanic countries and Southern Netherlands (Belgium), Brown concentrated on his work in Britain, even turning down the chance to work in Ireland because, he quipped, he had not finished with England.⁵ It would not have been possible to use his successful *modus operandi* on sites there nor control a workforce, thus he sensibly concentrated his efforts at home. Given his reluctance to engage abroad, the lack of a personal treatise further limited his reputation on the Continent. This is where Chambers triumphed, albeit briefly; his books were translated into French and they promoted the Anglo-Chinese style of garden-making, less sophisticated than Brown's classical landscapes perhaps, but more intricate and easier to translate to the smaller scale of European elite landscapes. Yet by the end of the eighteenth century there were designers in both France and Germany able to design Brownian-style landscapes, often adapting methodologies to fit in with local sensibilities or practices.

⁴ Dedinkin, M. & Jacques, D. (2016). *The Hampton Court albums of Catherine the Great*. London: Fontanka.

⁵ See Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown 1716–1783* (p. 5). London: Chatto and Windus.

During the nineteenth century Brown gradually became included in historiographies, but often only in the sequence of Kent, Brown, and Repton as holding the standard of English landscape gardening. He also occurred within retellings of the Picturesque debate, where he features as an antiquated practitioner, despite the fact that his practices became more and more commonplace, as mediated through Repton. As a result his design principles became the mainstay of landscape design almost imperceptibly and through the offices of others. Brownian principles were applied to landscapes, cemeteries, parks, and gardens, private and public, not only in Europe, but also elsewhere in the world and became the *modus operandi* of the profession until well into the twentieth century. Remarkably, it was only after this wholesale adoption of his principles was challenged in the modernist era that a revival of his reputation began. Dorothy Stroud had begun her biography of Brown at the outbreak of the Second World War, when promoting landscapes that captured an historic sense of Englishness served a national purpose.⁶ It was not published until the end of the Second World War, however, when a more general anglomania spread across Europe, and its publication revived his reputation both at home and abroad. His work was not only appreciated afresh but also became assimilated in post-war landscape design, as open and flowing; it additionally became celebrated as that of a landscape designer who managed to bridge landscape and architecture.⁷ Now, at the beginning of a new fractured era in Anglo-European affairs, Brown's position as a national 'place-maker' may be redrawn, repositioned, and questioned again.

Future Research

Much has been accomplished in the study of Brown since Stroud's biography and in particular over the last twenty-five years, culminating with the wide public engagement generated by the celebration of his tercentenary in 2016. We now have a better, if not substantial, picture of the man, and a clearer narrative of his life and work. We also have a better understanding of the design objectives, uses, and appearance of his landscapes, but these advances have served to illuminate where more work needs to be done.

There is, for example, a clear and urgent need for a critical study of all Brown's known garden plans, with analysis of the palaeography to identify the different hands that produced them, including an online repository for high resolution digital copies, linked to other mapping data, aerial views, and LIDAR images, and eventually to a raft of contemporary documentary sources, such as visitors' accounts and estate records.⁸ This would be a fitting partner to the accounts, the analysis of which has shed so much new light on Brown, his methods and his sites. Such a comprehensive set of accessible documentary records would ignite a new generation of research, tackling new questions.

Similarly, without a greater understanding of the work of Brown's contemporaries it will be impossible to establish Brown's unique characteristics and contribution to landscape design. It is currently very problematic to determine what constituted Brown's particular style, what the various features were, how they were intended to be managed and maintained, and how this changed over his lifetime. These are all issues that are particularly relevant to those involved in the conservation of eighteenth-century parks and gardens, as many now have little original (planting) fabric left. Today we are being confronted with possibly far-reaching environmental change, which presents us with a whole range of additional issues, so it is important to understand the ecology of the parkland landscapes that Brown envisioned as well as their aesthetics.⁹ Their role, as protected historic green spaces, will become increasingly critical to the management and survival of complex ecosystems, particularly in the face of climate change and variability.

The availability of Brown's plans would also enable research into how earlier traditions influenced his designs; we now have a greater understanding of how the aesthetics of his parkland were influenced by medieval parks and wood-pasture. The shrubberies in his designs evolved from early eighteenth-century wilderness planting, with perhaps the innovation being the outline or shape enabling the creation of flowing spaces. Whether Brown adapted his planting and the choice of species to the particular conditions he was working with, or the client he

⁶ Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (p. 7).

⁷ Buruma, I. (1999). *Voltaire's coconuts: Or anglomania in Europe*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

⁸ Only an initial basic listing of Brown's plans exists: Rutherford, S. & Evans, C. (2018). *Capability Brown's plans: A reference catalogue of design plans and surveys drawn by Brown or his office (c. 1750–83)* (Research Report Series 5). Swindon: Historic England.

⁹ See for example, Rotherham, I. & Handley, C. (Eds) (2017). *What did Capability Brown do for ecology? The legacy of biodiversity, landscapes and nature conservation*. Sheffield: Wildtrack.

was working for, is also something that would benefit from further research. Yet it is precisely because we have so little contemporary evidence of this aspect in his parks that additional work is required in order to establish his originality and innovation.

Similarly, further research may give additional evidence on the uses and land uses within parks; the way they were grazed or mown, used for hunting and shooting, for pleasure rides and games, for fishing and boating. All these would have left their evidence in design, management, and appearance. Recent research, including that led by Felus, has revealed various aspects that have previously been neglected, but there remains much to be done in order to understand how and by whom these landscapes were experienced, with a particular emphasis on gendered differences. Also, we know little about the horticultural operations at the places Brown worked, but particularly at Hampton Court Palace. In this instance it would benefit from detailed and contextual case studies from the perspective of the manager and designer, with reference to the needs of the client and an understanding of the challenges of the site.

Armed with these new understandings it is opportune to reintegrate Brown into multi-disciplinary studies of the eighteenth century. More work needs to be done on Brown's place within the world of business to establish how he developed his model of networked associates, where previously family connections had been the dominant bonds of trust, such as with the Greenings. How his model differed from other businesses in his control of cash flow and investments over a period of turbulent and unpredictable financial changes would help shed light on the evolving sense of professionalism evident in Repton's different approach. Roderick Floud has brought to bear the forensic eye of the economic historian, and it is now clear just how expensive Brown's schemes were, posing important questions about how Brown's landscapes were financed, which in turn draws out fundamental questions about the basis and fluidity of late eighteenth-century polite society.¹⁰ Floud argues that the creation of designed landscapes was an important motor for technological innovation, employment, and the national economy more generally, but also that they were embedded within the expanding colonial economy. It would therefore be interesting to place Brown's business model within the context of cultural industries which furnished polite society during the late-eighteenth century, breaking out from a simple consumerist model. Indeed, the manner in which scholars have had to approach Brown as an elusive figurehead might in itself provide a useful model for how to research landscape arts more widely in the period, paying attention to the practical issues of partnerships, contracts, labour gangs, and remote fieldwork.

One of the key issues in determining meaning within Brownian classical landscapes is to explore more critically how they related to the values and aspirations of his clients at a particular historical moment. The link is clearly significant, but we are only at the beginnings, as Williamson has pointed out, of understanding how it related to the wider shaping of aristocratic material worlds and changing perceptions of power and landscape. Brown needs to be contextualised within English influences more generally, and the English landscape style specifically, in relationship to 'improvement' and agricultural practices and what came to be known as the landscape garden more specifically. One of the main avenues that is emerging is the need for an analysis of the making and remaking of these landscapes from the perspective of 'improvement', placing them within the contemporary agricultural and social context, in combination with an exploration of the main sources of funding that enabled owners to afford these landscaping schemes.

Finally, and not least, Brown's influence on the European continent and beyond is still poorly understood as the evidence is far from clear, or substantial, and the chronologies need to be more critically and accurately determined. Much more research is required in order to identify this within sociopolitical and art historical perspectives, in various countries and within specific themes. It is clear that as well as contemporary admiration for Brown, such as from Catherine the Great, and considerable interest from aristocratic and horticultural tourists, there was a much greater adherence to the formal style on the Continent, even though the role of the aristocracy and their political influence varied greatly across the region. Brown's legacy through the published works of Repton and others is something that requires greater scrutiny both in Europe and the New World, where again he had both his adherents and his detractors. It is perhaps here, in the global reception of Brown, that the key to his success – both at home in the eighteenth century and abroad in the nineteenth – might be determined more clearly.

It is clear from the new studies presented here, and by recent scholarship prompted by the celebrations of Brown's tercentenary in 2016, that there is still great potential for new understanding about the remaking of the

¹⁰ Floud, R. (2019). *An economic history of the English garden*. London: Allen Lane.

landscape over the long eighteenth century, an understanding to which Brown is central. As we embark on the fourth century since Brown's birth, so we embark on a new era of research. There is clearly more work to do in exploring Brown's relationship with his contemporaries, which will emerge from detailed studies of sites across the country. There is huge potential in the existing visual, cartographic, and documentary sources available, as well as the hope that more will emerge from family, estate, and business archives. However, the new challenge is to draw away from traditional narratives based on familiar key sites, and to resist the pendulum swing of assessing Brown as a genius or a self-publicist. There needs to be a new interpretation of the eighteenth-century landscape which broadens its purview socially, economically, and culturally to capture more of the subtle complexities of the landscape as it was imagined, experienced, and perceived. From an historical perspective it is clear that Brown's reputation will not only continue to be reappreciated and evolve but also endure.

This study has sought to address three key lacunas in his biography – his role as Royal Gardener, his working methods, and his reception and impact across Northern Europe. In doing so it has not only redefined Brown as running a complex metropolitan business embedded within the seat of power; it has placed him in a much broader national and international context and acknowledged his links to the global economy. Only by exploring those who worked around him, with him, and even against him is it possible to gain a greater understanding of his achievements, his significance, and his landscape legacy. It is one of the paradoxes of historical and landscape research that we are reliant upon the landscapes he created and the attitudes and comments of those around him, in order to delineate Brown and his vision. Brown is apt to disappear from view just as we put in place the scholarship to illuminate his personality, his ideas, and his landscapes.

Select Bibliography

A select bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>.

Select Bibliography

- Adshead, D. (2007). *Wimpole: Architectural drawings and topographical views*. Bromley: National Trust.
- Albert, W. (1972). *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- André, E. (1879). *L'Art des jardins*. Paris: Masson.
- Anon. (1767). *Rise and progress of the present taste in planting parks, pleasure grounds, gardens &c.: From Henry the Eighth to King George the Third*. London.
- Atkinson, G. (Ed.). (1842). *Journals and letters of the late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, etc., an American refugee in England from 1775–1784*. New York: C.S. Francis.
- Barrier, J., & Mosser, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Journal d'un botaniste-jardinier (1775–1792): Un Écossais en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime. Thomas Blaikie (1750–1838)*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Barrier, J. (1997). Bélanger et l'Angleterre. In M. Constans (Ed.), *Bagatelle dans ses jardins* (pp. 167–177). Paris: Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris.
- Beard, G. (1992). *The work of Robert Adam*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Becker, W. G. (1795). *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde*. Leipzig.
- Bending, S. (1994). Horace Walpole and eighteenth-century garden history. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57, 209–226.
- Bermingham, A. (1986). *Landscape and ideology: The English rustic tradition, 1740–1860*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Berrall, J. S. (1969). *Die schönsten Gärten*. Düsseldorf, Vienna: Econ Verlag.
- Birdwood, V. (Ed.). (1994). *So dearly loved, so much admired: Letters to Hester Pitt, Lady Chatham, from her relations and friends*. London: HMSO.
- Blanche, H. (1975). *British botanical and horticultural literature before 1800* (Vol. 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blotz, J. F. (1786). *Kurze Theorie der empfindsamen Gartenkunst*. Leipzig.
- Blotz, J. F. (1795–98). *Gartenkunst oder ein auf vieljährige Erfahrung gegründeter Unterricht*. Leipzig.
- Blunt, R. (Ed.). (1923). *Mrs. Montagu, 'Queen of the Blues': Her letters and friendships from 1762 to 1800*. Vol. II, 1777–1800. London.
- Bogart, D. (2005). Did turnpike trusts increase transportation investment in eighteenth-century England? *The Journal of Economic History*, 65(2), 439–468.

How to cite this book chapter:

Finch, J. and Woudstra, J. (Eds.), 2020. *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The business of place-making in Northern Europe*, pp. 205–213. York: White Rose University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22599/CapabilityBrown.o>. CC BY-NC 4.0

- Bonehill, J. & Skinner, S. (2009). *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*. London: Royal Academy of Arts.
- Bowden-Smith, R. (1988). *The Chinese Pavilion, Boughton House, Northamptonshire*. Woodbridge: Avenue Books.
- Bowman, P. J. (2010). *The fortune hunter: A German prince in Regency England*. Oxford: Signal.
- Bradley, R. (1731). *New improvements of planting and gardening*. London: W. Mears.
- Bremmer, F. J. (1886). De geschiedenis der tuinbouwkunst. *De Opmerker*, 21(30), 240.
- Britton, J., & Brayley, E. W. (1801). *The beauties of England and Wales*. London: Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, etc.
- Brown, D. (2000). *Nathaniel Richmond (1724–1784): 'gentleman improver'*. Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of East Anglia).
- Brown, D. (2001). Lancelot Brown and his associates. *Garden History*, 29(1), 2–11.
- Brown, D. (2016). People, places and payments. *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library*, 14.
- Brown, D., & Williamson, T. (2016). *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Brown, J. (2011). *The omnipotent magician, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1716–1783*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Bruyn Edwards, C. (1954). *The Torrington diaries – A selection from the tours of the Hon. John Byng 1781–1794*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- Burke, E. (1756). *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and the beautiful*. London.
- Buruma, I. (1999). *Voltaire's coconuts: Or anglomania in Europe*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Calder, M. (Ed.). (2006). *Experiencing the garden in the eighteenth century*. Berne: Peter Lang.
- Carrogis, L. [known as Carmontelle] (1779). *Jardin de Monceau*. Paris.
- Chambers, W. (1763). *Plans, elevations and perspective views of the gardens and buildings at Kew in Surry*. London.
- Chambers, W. (1772). *A dissertation on oriental gardening*. London: W. Griffin & others.
- Châtel, L. (2006). Le jardin 'anglais': Représentation, rhétorique et translation de la nation britannique, 1688–1820, art et nation en Grande-Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 13(4), 171–188.
- Châtel, L. (2013). Modern moral gardens, nature, National Trust, and the modernity of eighteenth-century 'English' gardens. In B. Millet (Ed.), *Modernité du XVIIIe siècle – Hommage à Alain Bony, RSEAA XVII–XVIII* (Hors-Série 3), 243–259.
- Cheng, E. H. (2010). *Britain's Chinese eye: Literature, empire, and aesthetics in nineteenth-century Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Chessum, S., Rogers, K., & Rowell, C. (2000). *Claremont, Surrey*. Bromley: National Trust.
- Clark, J. (2013). An amateur artist's sketching tour of late eighteenth-century English gardens. *Garden History*, 41(2), 208–223.
- Clayton, T. (1991). *The English print 1688–1802*. London, New Haven: Yale.
- Clifford, D. (1981). *Geschichte der Gartenkunst*. Munich: Prestel.
- Climenson, E. J. (Ed.). (1899). *Passages from the diaries of Mrs Phillip Lybbe Powys, 1756–1808*. London.
- Colvin, H. (2008). *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600–1840* (4th ed.). London: Yale University Press.
- Cook, A. (2007). Botanical exchanges: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Duchess of Portland. *History of European Ideas*, 33(2), 142–156.
- Coombs, D. (1997). The garden at Carlton House of Frederick Prince of Wales and Augusta Princess Dowager of Wales: Bills in their household accounts 1728 to 1772. *Garden History*, 25(2) (Winter).
- Cousins, M. (2016). The not-so-capable Mr Brown? Hewell Grange, Worcestershire. *Garden History*, 44(1), 51–73.
- Cousins, M., & Eyres, P. (1995). Naumachia: The parkland phenomenon of mock naval battle. *New Arcadian Journal*, 39/40, 11–29.
- Cowell, F. (2009). *Richard Woods (1715–1793): Master of the pleasure garden*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Cowper, W. (1785). *The Task, a poem, in six books* (III). London.
- Cozens-Hardy, B. (1950). *The diary of Syllas Neville 1767–1788*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cunningham, P. (Ed.). (1859). *The letters of H. Walpole* (Vol. IX, p. 463). London: Richard Bentley.
- Currie, C. (1990). Fishponds as garden features, c. 1550–1750. *Garden History*, 18(1), 22–46.

- Daniels, S. (2000). *Humphry Repton: Landscape gardening and the geography of Georgian England*. New Haven: Yale.
- Day, I. (2000). *Eat, drink and be merry*. London: Philip Wilson.
- de C., J. (1748). *Les charmes de Stow*. London.
- de Genlis, M. (1788). *Avondtijdkortingen van het Kasteel, of zedelijke verhalen*. The Hague.
- de La Rochefoucauld, F. A. F. (1945). *Mélanges sur l'Angleterre [1784]*. Paris: G. le Prat.
- de Laborde, A. (1808). *Description des nouveaux jardins de la France et de ses anciens châteaux*. Paris.
- de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, C.-G. (2009). *Voyage en Angleterre* (M. Crogiez Labarthe, Ed.). Paris: Éditions Desjonquères.
- Dean, W. (1824). *An historical and descriptive account of Croome D'Abitot, The seat of the Right Hon. the Earl of Coventry*. Worcester.
- Dedinken, M., & Jacques, D. (2016). *The Hampton Court albums of Catherine the Great*. London: Fontanka.
- Denhardt, C. L. (1808). *Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde und Blumenliebhaber*. Leipzig.
- Desmond, R. (2007). *The history of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* (2nd ed.). Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: Kew.
- Dézallier d'Argenville, A. J. (1709). *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage*. Paris.
- Dibdin, C. (1796). *Hannah Hewit: Or, the female Crusoe* (Vol. 3). London.
- Dickens, L., & Stanton, M. (Eds.). (1910). *An eighteenth century correspondence*. London: John Murray.
- Downing, A. J. (1841). *A treatise on the theory and practice of landscape gardening, adapted to North America: With a view to the improvement of country residences*. New York and London.
- Duchesne, A.-N. (1775). *Sur la formation des jardins par l'auteur des considérations sur le jardinage*. Paris.
- Dufour, A. (1800). *A letter to the nobility and gentry composing the committee for raising the naval pillar, or monument, under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence; in answer to the Letter of Mr John Flaxman, sculptor, to the committee, on that subject*. London.
- Elzenga, E. (1992). *Het Witte Loo: Van Lodewijk Napoleon tot Wilhelmina 1806–1962*. Apeldoorn: Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo.
- Eyres, P., & Lynch, K. (2018). *On the spot: The Yorkshire Red Books of Humphry Repton, landscape gardener*. Leeds: New Arcadian Press.
- Felus, K. (2006). Boats and boating in the designed landscape, 1720–1820. *Garden History*, 34(1), 22–46.
- Felus, K. (2009). The social history of the designed landscape at Wotton. *New Arcadian Journal*, 65/66, 106–107.
- Felus, K. (2016). *The secret life of the Georgian garden*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Ferry de St-Constans, J. L. (1803). *Londres et les Anglais* (Vol. 1 & 2). Paris.
- Finberg, A. J. (1961). *The life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Finch, J. (2008). Three men in a boat: Biographies and narratives in the historic landscape. *Landscape Research*, 33(5), 511–530.
- Finch, J. (2019). Humphry Repton: Domesticity and design. *Garden History*, 47(Suppl. 1), 24–38.
- FitzGibbon, C. (trans.) (1957). *The maxims of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld*. London: Allan Wingate.
- Fleming, J. (1962). *Robert Adam and his circle in Edinburgh and Rome*. London: John Murray.
- Floud, R. (2016). Capable entrepreneur? Lancelot Brown and his finances. *Occasional Papers from the RHS Library*, 14, 19–41.
- Floud, R. (2019). *An economic history of the English garden*. London: Allen Lane.
- Forty, A. (1986). *Objects of desire: Design and society since 1750*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, H. (1831). *Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus Deutschland, Holland, England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1826 bis 1829*. Translated by Mrs Sarah Austin (1833) as *Tours in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard.
- Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, H. (1834). *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*. Stuttgart; reprinted in 1977, Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung.
- Gilbert, C. (1978). *The life and works of Thomas Chippendale*. London: Studio Vista.
- Gilpin, W. (1791). *Remarks on forest scenery*. London.
- Girouard, M. (1978). *Life in the English country house*. London, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Godber, J. (1968). *The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park*. Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society.
- Gordon, K. (2000). *Coventry of Croome*. Chichester: Phillimore and National Trust.

- Graves, A. (1905). *The Royal Academy of Arts; a complete dictionary of contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*. London: H. Graves and Co. Ltd.
- Gregory, J., Spooner, S., & Williamson, T. (2013). *Lancelot 'Capability' Brown: A research impact review* (Research Report 50). London: English Heritage.
- Gury, J. (1999). *Le voyage Outre-Manche*. Paris: Laffont.
- Hallbaum, F. (1927). *Der Landschaftsgarten: sein Entstehen und seine Einführung in Deutschland durch Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell 1750–1823*. Munich: Hugo Schmidt.
- Hancock, D. (1995). *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community 1735–1785*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, J., & Snodin, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III*. New Haven, London: Yale.
- Harris, J. (1970). *Sir William Chambers: Knight of the Polar Star* (Studies in Architecture, IX). University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press
- Harris, J. (2001). L'Idole du Temple: The first French gardener in the Brownian style. *Garden History*, 29(1).
- Harris, W. (1699). *A description of the king's royal palace and gardens at Loo*. London.
- Hartmann, G. (1981). *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten: Ihre Bedeutung für den frühen Historismus und die Landschaftsmalerei der Romantik*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Hawkes, W. (Ed.). (2005). *The diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway*. Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society in Association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.
- Hay, M. (1993). *The northern pleasure ground of Harewood*. Unpublished dissertation (MA, University of York).
- Hennebo, D. (1989). Vom „Klassischen Landschaftsgarten“ zum „gemischten Styl“: Zeittypische Gestaltungstendenzen bei Peter Joseph Lenné. In F. von Buttlar (Ed.), *Peter Joseph Lenné* (pp. 49–59). Berlin: Nicolaische.
- Hennebo, D. (1993). 'Thaers Garten', Schicksal eines bürgerlichen Landsitzes. In U. Dohna (Ed.), *Festschrift: Wieder wandelnd im alten Park. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gartenkunst für Harri Günther zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 229–239). Potsdam: Potsdamer Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Hennert, C. W. (1792). *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Harbke* [Notes from a journey to Harbke]. Berlin and Stettin.
- Herrmann, L. (1986). *Paul and Thomas Sandby*. London: Batsford.
- Hill, R. (2012). As God intended. *London Review of Books*, 34(1), 18–20.
- Hinde, T. (1986). *Capability Brown: The story of a master gardener*. London: Norton and Co.
- Hinze, V. (1996). The re-creation of John Nash's Regency gardens at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton. *Garden History*, 24(1), 45–53.
- Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1779–82). *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (5 Vols). Leipzig.
- Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1785). *Gartenkalender*. Kiel: Garden Calendar.
- Hirschfeld, C. C. L. (1790). *Kleine Gartenbibliothek* [A small library of gardening]. Kiel.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission. (1897). *Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VI: The manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle, preserved at Castle Howard*. London: HMSO.
- Hoffmann, A. (1963). Der Landschaftsgarten. In D. Hennebo & A. Hoffmann (Eds.), *Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst* (Vol. 3: Der Landschaftsgarten). Hamburg: Broschek.
- Honour, H. (1977). *Neo-classicism*. London: Penguin.
- Hunt, J. D. (1987). *William Kent, landscape garden designer: An assessment and catalogue of his designs*. London: Zwemmer.
- Hunt, J. D. (2002). *The Picturesque garden in Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hunt, J. D. (2004). *The afterlife of the garden*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Hunt, J. D. (2004). *The Picturesque garden in Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hunt, J. D. (2016). Brown and neo-classicism. *Garden History*, 44(Suppl. 1), 18–27.
- Hyams, E. (1971). *Capability Brown and Humphry Repton*. London: Dent.
- Ingram, A. (1977). *Horse-drawn vehicles since 1760*. Blandford: Blandford Press.
- Irwin, D. (1997). *Neoclassicism*. London: Phaidon.
- Ismay, Rev. J. (1945). A visit to Chapel Allerton and Harewood in 1767. *Transactions of the Thoresby Society*, 37, 333–344.
- Jacques, D. (1983). *Georgian gardens: The reign of nature*. London: Batsford.

- Jacques, D. (1990). On the supposed Chineseness of the English landscape garden. *Garden History*, 18(2), 180–191.
- Jacques, D., & Rock, T. (2006). Pierre-Jacques Foucheroux: A Frenchman's commentary on English gardens of the 1720s. In M. Calder (Ed.), *Experiencing the garden in the eighteenth century* (pp. 214–235). Berne: Peter Lang.
- James, J. (1712). *The theory and practice of gardening*. London.
- Jenkins, F. (1961). *Architect and patron: A survey of professional relations and practice in England from the sixteenth century to the present day*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Jesse, J. H. (1843). *George Selwyn and his contemporaries*. London.
- Jewell, J. (1822). *The tourist's companion or the history and antiquities of Harewood in Yorkshire*. Leeds.
- Johnson, P. (2008). Unseen hands: The gardeners Greening 1719–1764, unpublished.
- Johnson, S. (1755). *A dictionary of the English language*. London.
- Katz, S. R. (2008). Horace Walpole's landscape at Strawberry Hill. *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 28(1), 2–217.
- Kelch, R. A. (1974). *Newcastle, a Duke without money: Thomas Pelham-Holles 1693–1768*. London: Routledge and K. Paul.
- King, R. W. (1980). Joseph Spence of Byfleet (IV). *Garden History*, 8(3), 77–144.
- Kirsch, R. (1988). *Frühe Landschaftsgärten im Niedersächsischen Raum*. Published thesis (PhD, University of Göttingen).
- Knight, R. P. (1794). *The landscape: A didactic poem in three books*. London.
- Köhler, M. (2001). The German legacy: Richmond in Braunschweig. *Garden History*, 29(1), 29–35.
- Köhler, M. (2016). Brownian gardens in Germany. *Garden History*, 44(Suppl. 1), 159–174.
- Kramm, C. (1857). *De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders, Beeldhouwers, Graveurs en Bouwmeesters van den Vroegsten tot op Onzen Tijd*. Amsterdam: Diederichs.
- Krauss, J. C. (1802). *Afbeeldingen der fraaiste, meest uitheemsche boomen en heesters die tot versiering van Engelsche bosschen en tuinen op onze grond, kunnen geplant en gekweekt worden*. Amsterdam.
- Laird, M. (1999). *The flowering of the English landscape garden: English pleasure grounds 1720–1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lange, B. P. (1998). The English garden and patriotic discourse. In J. J. Diller et al. (Eds.), *Englishness (Anglistic & Englishunterricht 46 and 47)* (pp. 49–70). Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press.
- Langford, P. (1989). *A polite and commercial people*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langley, B. (1728). *New principles of gardening*. London.
- Leiper, H. (2012). Mr Lancelot Brown and his Hertfordshire clients. In D. Spring (Ed.), *Hertfordshire garden history, a miscellany, II: Gardens pleasant, groves delicious* (pp. 92–120). Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Lewis, L. (Ed.). (1990). *Hird's annals of Bedale*. Northallerton: North Yorkshire County Council.
- Lindley, G. (1831). *Guide to the orchard & kitchen garden*. London.
- Liu, Y. (2008). *Seeds of a different Eden: Chinese gardening ideas and a new English*. Columbia: South Carolina Press.
- Loosjes, A. (1793). *Het Hout of Boschgedachten in zes Bespiegelingen*. Haarlem.
- Loosjes, A. (1796). Engelse letterkunde: vierde beschouwing. In *Nieuwe Algemene Konst- en Letter-bode, voor Meer- en Min-geoeffenden* 5 (143), 98–100.
- Loudon, J. (1828). *An encyclopaedia of gardening*. London.
- Loudon, J. C. (1830). *Traité de la composition et de l'exécution des jardins d'ornement, traduit par J. M. Chopin, edited and annotated by M. le chevalier Soulange-Bodin*. Paris.
- Loudon, J. C. (1839). *An encyclopaedia of gardening and landscape architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* London.
- Loudon, J. C. (1850). *An encyclopaedia of gardening* (Loudon, Ed.). (2nd ed.). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
- Lynch, K. (2016). Capability Brown in Yorkshire. In P. Eyres (Ed.), *Yorkshire Capabilities: the Yorkshire landscapes of Capability Brown*. Leeds: New Arcadian Press.
- Lyons, S. (1806). *Magna Britannia*. London.

- Lysons, D. (1796). Market gardens in London. In *The environs of London, volume 4, Counties of Herts, Essex and Kent* (pp. 573–576). London: Strahan, for T. Cadell.
- Lysons, D. (1800). *An historical account of those parishes in the county of Middlesex: Which are not described in the environs of London*. London: T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies.
- MacNair, A. D. M., Rowe, A., & Williamson, T. (2015). *Dury and Andrews' Map of Hertfordshire: Society and landscape in the eighteenth century*. Hatfield: Hertfordshire University Press.
- McGarvie, M., & Harvey, J. H. (1983). The Revd George Harbin and his memoirs of gardening 1716–1723. *Garden History*, 11(1), 6–36.
- M'Intosh, C. (1853). *The book of the garden*. London: William Blackwood and Sons.
- Mahon, Lord (Philip Dormer Stanhope) (Ed.). (1845). *The letters of the Earl of Chesterfield* (Vol. 3). London: Richard Bentley.
- Main, J. (1828). Art. I. The planter's guide, &c. *The Gardener's Magazine*, 4, 116–117.
- Mangourit, M. A. B. (1805). *Voyage en Hanovre, fait dans les années 1803 et 1804*. Paris.
- Marshall, W. G. (1987). The presence of 'The Word' in Cowper's *The Task*. *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 27(3), 475–487.
- Martin, J. (2004). *Wives and daughters*. London: Hambledon and London.
- Masson, M. (1788). *Le jardin anglais*. Paris.
- Mauchline, M. (1992). *Harewood House: One of the treasure houses of Britain*. Ashbourne: Moorland Pub. Co.
- Mavor, Rev. W. (1787). *Blenheim, a poem: To which is added, a Blenheim guide*. London.
- Mayer, L. (2011). *Capability Brown and the English landscape garden*. Princes Risborough: Shire.
- Meador, J. (1779). *The planter's guide: Or, pleasure-gardener's companion*. London.
- Miller, P. (1731). *The gardeners' dictionary*. London.
- Morel, J.-M. (1806). *Théorie des jardins ou l'art des jardins de la nature*. Paris.
- Mosser, M. (1973). Monsieur de Marigny et les jardins: Projets inédits de fabriques pour Menars. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1972, 270–293.
- Mosser, M. (1997). La perfection du jardin anglo-chinois. In M. Constans (Ed.), *Bagatelle dans ses jardins*. Paris: Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris.
- Mosser, M. (2011). Rappporter le tableau sur le terrain: Fabrique et poétique du jardin pittoresque. In C. de Bourgoing (Ed.), *Le Jardin romantique en France* (pp. 32–42). Paris: Musée de la vie romantique.
- Mosser, M., Barrier, J., & Che, B. C. (2004). *Aux jardins de Cathay: L'imaginaire anglo-chinois*. William Chambers. Besançon: Éditions de l'Imprimeur.
- Mowl, T. (1999). *An insular rococo: Architecture, politics and society in Ireland and England, 1710–70*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Mowl, T. (2016). *The historic gardens of Hampshire*. London: Stephen Morris.
- Mowl, T. W. (1995). Rococo and later landscaping at Longleat. *Garden History*, 23, 56–66.
- Munsche, P. B. (1981). *Gentlemen and poachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neave, D., & Turnbull, D. (1992). *Landscaped parks and gardens of East Yorkshire*. Hull: Georgian Society for East Yorkshire.
- North, R. (1713). *A discourse of fish and fish-ponds*. London.
- Oldenburger-Ebbers, C. S., Backer, A. M. & Blok, E. (1995). *Gids voor de Nederlandse Tuin- en Landschap-sarchitectuur*. Rotterdam: De Hef.
- Oldenburger-Ebbers, C. S. (1991). De tuinarchitectuur van Johann Georg Michaël (1738–1800). *Bulletin KNOB*, 90(3), 73–79.
- Overton, M. (1996). *Agricultural revolution in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pannekoek, G. J., Schipper, J. J. & van Alff, J. P. (Eds.) (1975). *Tuinen: Tuin- park- landschap*. Amsterdam, Antwerpen: Kosmos.
- Parshall, L. B. (Ed. & trans.). Assorted observations on the new garden taste. *Theory of garden art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Penn, J. (1813). *Account of Stoke Park*. London: W. Bulmer.
- Penn, K. (2008). *A desk-based survey of the archaeology of Ayscough Hall gardens, Spalding* (Report 1618). NAU Archaeology.
- Phibbs, J. (2013). A list of landscapes that have been attributed to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. *Garden History*, 41(2), 244–277.

- Phibbs, J. (2016). *Capability Brown: Designing English landscapes and gardens*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Phibbs, J. (2017). *Place-Making: The art of Capability Brown, 1716–1783*. Swindon: Historic England.
- Pichot, A. (1825). *Voyage historique et littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse* (Vols. 1–3). Paris.
- Pichot, E. (1826). *Geschied- en letterkundige reis naar Engeland en Schotland* (Vols. 1–3) (M. Martens, Trans.). Haarlem.
- Pomeranz, K. (2001). *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Price, U. (1796). *An essay on the Picturesque*. London.
- Reilly, R. (1992). *Josiah Wedgwood 1730–1795*. London: Macmillan.
- Remington, V. (2015). *Painting paradise: The art of the garden*. London: Royal Collection Trust.
- Rennison, R. W. (2002). Wooler, John. In A. W. Skempton et al., *A biographical dictionary of civil engineers in Great Britain and Ireland* (Vol. 1 1500–1830, pp. 797–798). London: Institute of Civil Engineers.
- Repton, H. (1794). *Sketches and hints on landscape gardening*. London: Bulmer.
- Richardson, T. (2007). *The Arcadian friends: Inventing the English landscape garden*. London: Bantam.
- Ritso, G. (1763). *Kew Gardens. A poem*. London: M. Lewis.
- Roberts, J. (1997). *Royal landscape, the gardens & parks of Windsor*. New Haven: Yale.
- Roberts, W. (1834). *Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs Hannah More* (Vol. 1). London.
- Rode, A. (1801). *Leben des Herrn Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff*. Dessau; reprinted in 1994, Wörlitz: Kettmann.
- Roethlisberger, M. (1983). *Licht von Claude Lorrain: Landschaftsmalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag.
- Rohde, M. (1987). Gartendenkmalpflege des Landschaftsgartens von Stourhead. Die Arbeitsweise des National Trust. *Das Gartenamt*, 1, 20–26.
- Rohde, M. (1997). Parkpflegewerk Hinüberscher Garten in Hannover-Marienwerder. In *Auftrag der Landeshauptstadt Hannover und der Klosterkammer Hannover*. Hannover: University of Hannover.
- Rohde, M. (1998). *Von Muskau bis Konstantinopel. Eduard Petzold - ein europäischer Gartenkünstler 1815–1891*. Amsterdam, Dresden: Muskauer Schriften.
- Rohde, M. (2006). Der Georgengarten – Geschichte und Gestaltung. In M. von König (Ed.), *Herrenhäuser Gärten* (pp. 219–236). Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag GmbH.
- Rohde, M. (2016). Pückler hat die Gartenkunst der gebildeten Welt zugänglich gemacht. In N. von Velsen (Ed.), *Parkomanie. Die Gartenlandschaften des Fürsten Pückler in Muskau, Babelsberg und Branitz, herausgegeben von der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (pp. 55–67). Munich, London, New York: Prestel.
- Rubenthal, H. (2008). *Lady Worsley's whim*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Rutherford, S., & Evans, C. (2018). *Capability Brown's plans: A reference catalogue of design plans and surveys drawn by Brown or his office (c. 1750–83)* (Research Report Series 5). Swindon: Historic England.
- Scarfe, N. (Ed.). (1988). *A Frenchman's year in Suffolk: French impressions of Suffolk life in 1784*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Schaum, C. L. J. (1916). *Geschiedenis der Tuinkunst*. Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink.
- Shenstone, W. (1779). *Letters to particular friends from the year 1739 to 1763*. London.
- Shields, S. (2016). *Moving Heaven and Earth: Capability Brown's gift of landscape*. London: Unicorn Publishing.
- Shulman, N. (2014). *Fashion and garden*. London: The Garden Museum.
- Siren, O. (1950). *China and the gardens of Europe*. New York: Ronald.
- Smith, W. J. (1852). *The Grenville papers* (Vol. 2). London: John Murray.
- Snell, K. (1986). *Annals of the labouring poor: Social change and agrarian England 1660–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Springer, L. A. (1886). Nog een paar woorden over de geschiedenis der tuinarchitectuur. *De Opmerker*, 21(35), 279–281.
- Springer, L. A. (1936). *Bibliographisch Overzicht van Geschriften, Boek- en Plaatwerken op het Gebied der Tuinkunst*. Wageningen: Veenman.
- Stroud, D. (1950). *Capability Brown*. London: Country Life.
- Stroud, D. (1975). *Capability Brown* (Rev. ed.). London: Faber and Faber.

- Sumner, C. (2016). A river runs through: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown at Syon and Kew. *London Landscapes – Newsletter of London's Parks and Gardens [Trust]*, 42 (Spring 2016).
- Sutherland, M. (1996). The garden buildings at Audley End. *The Georgian Group Journal*, 6, 102–119.
- Switzer, S. (1718). *Ichnographia Rustica*. London.
- Switzer, S. (1718). *The nobleman, gentleman and gardener's recreation*. London.
- Symes, M. (1996). William Pitt the Elder: The Gran Mago of landscape gardening. *Garden History*, 24(1), 126–136.
- Symes, M. (2012). *The Picturesque and the later Georgian garden*. Bristol: Redcliffe Press.
- Textor, F. (1837). *Twaalf gezichten in het Park Het Loo: Naar de natuur getekend en opgedragen aan Zijne Excellentie den Heere Opperintendant van Zijner Majesteits Paleizen, enz, enz*. Apeldoorn: J. C. Grave van Bylandt.
- Thurley, S. (2003). *Hampton Court, a social and architectural history*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Tourneux, M. (Ed.). (1879). *Correspondance, littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister*. Paris: Garnier Frères.
- Toynbee, P. (1927). *Strawberry Hill accounts. A record of expenditure in building, furnishing, &c. kept by Mr. Horace Walpole from 1747 to 1795*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Toynbee, P. (1928). Walpole's journals of visits to country seats. *Walpole Society*, 16, 9–80.
- Toynbee, P. (Ed.). (1926). *Satirical poems ... with notes by Horace Walpole*. Oxford. Original published in 1779 and annotated by Horace Walpole in the same year.
- Tromp, H. M. J. (1992). Het park van Het Loo: het landschapspark als memorietafel. In E. Elzenga (Ed.), *Het Witte Loo: Van Lodewijk Napoleon tot Wilhelmina 1806–1962* (pp. 15–32). Apeldoorn: Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo.
- Tromp, H. M. J. (2012). *De Nederlandse landschapsstijl in de achttiende eeuw*. Leiden: Sidestone Press.
- Turnbull, D. (1990). *Thomas White (1739–1811): Eighteenth-century landscape designer and arboriculturist*. Unpublished thesis (PhD, University of Hull).
- Uilkens, Th. F. (1854). *Aanleg van Parken: Bloementuinen*. Amsterdam: Weiting & Van der Haart.
- Ulbricht, O. (1979). *Sonderdruck aus dem neunzehnten Jahresheft der Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft*.
- Ulbricht, O. (1980). Englische Landwirtschaft in Kurhannover in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. In *Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 32. Berlin.
- Urwin, A. C. B. (1982). *Commercial nurseries and market gardens*. Twickenham: London Borough of Twickenham Local History Society.
- van der Does, A. (2016). Aangelegd door zekeren Posth. *Jaarboek Achterhoek en Liemers*, 39, 41–54.
- van Everdingen-Meyer, L. R. M. (1974). *De Lusthof Het Loo van de Koning-Stadhouder Willem III en zijn gemalin Mary II Stuart*. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij.
- van Laar, G. (1802). *Magasijn van tuin-sieraden*. Zaltbommel.
- Vercruyse, J., & Guy, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Coup d'œil sur Beloei: Écrits sur les jardins et l'urbanisme*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Vergnaud, N. (1835). *L'art de créer les jardins: contenant les préceptes généraux de cet art; leur application développée sur des vues perspectives, coupes et élévations, par des exemples choisis dans les jardins les plus célèbres de France et d'Angleterre; et le tracé pratique de toute espèce de jardins*. Paris.
- Vickery, A. (2010). *Behind closed doors: At home in Georgian England*. New Haven: Yale.
- Voltaire, F.-M. A. (1877–85). *Œuvres complètes* (Vol. 48).
- von Buttlar, A. (1989). *Der Landschaftsgarten: Gartenkunst des Klassizismus und der Romantik*. Cologne: DuMont.
- von Hinüber, H. (1985). *Jobst Anton, Gerhard, Carl Anton Ludwig und Carl Heinrich v. Hinüber, vier Persönlichkeiten aus den Anfängen der Königlichen Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft zu Celle*. Celle: Albrecht-Thaer-Gesellschaft.
- von Münchhausen, O. (1764–73). *Der Hausvater* (Vols. 1–6). Hanover.
- von Sckell, F. L. (1825). *Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst*. Munich.
- Walpole, H. (1780). *The history of the modern taste in gardening*. London.
- Walpole, H. (1876). *Anecdotes of painting in England... with additions by the Rev. James Dalloway* (R. Wornum, Ed.). (Vol. III). London: Chatto and Windus.
- Walpole, H. (1955). *Correspondence* (Vol. 34). New Haven: Yale.

- Whately, T. (1770). *Observations on modern gardening: Illustrated by descriptions*. London.
- Whately, T. (1771). *L'Art de former les jardins modernes*. Paris.
- Wiebenson, D. (1978). *The Picturesque garden in France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Williams, R. (1983). Making places; garden-mastery and English Brown. *Journal of Garden History*, 3, 382–385.
- Williamson, T. (1995). *Polite landscapes. Gardens and society in eighteenth-century England*. Stroud: Alan Sutton.
- Williamson, T. (2001). Chatsworth, Derbyshire. *Garden History*, 29(1), 82–90.
- Williamson, T. (2002). *The transformation of rural England: Farming and the landscape 1700–1870*. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- Williamson, T., Barnes, G., & Pillatt, T. (2017). *Trees in England: Management and disease since 1600*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Willis, P. (2002). *Charles Bridgeman and the English landscape garden: Reprinted with supplementary plates and a catalogue of additional documents, drawings, and attributions*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Elysium.
- Wilson, R., & Mackley, A. (2000). *Creating paradise: The building of the English country house*. London: Hambledon.
- Woudstra, J. (2002). The Sckell family in England (1770–1830). *Die Gartenkunst*, 14(2), 211–220.
- Woudstra, J. (2013). From *bosquet à l'angloise* to *jardin à l'angloise*; the progression of the mingled manner of planting from its inception to its decline and survival. *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 33(2), 71–95.
- Woudstra, J. (2016). Fruit cultivation in the royal gardens of Hampton Court Palace (1530–1842). *Garden History*, 44(2), 255–271.
- Wragg, B. (2000). *The life and works of John Carr of York*. Ed. G. Worsley. York: Oblong.
- Young, H. (1995). *The genius of Wedgwood*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.

Index

References to footnotes are in *italics*. As the entire work is about Capability Brown, the use of his name and certain terms that occur throughout the book have been minimised.

A

- acacias 99, 116, 145
- accounts 33, 80, 82, 83, 89, 92, 94, 105, 109, *112*,
113, *114*, *115*, *116*, *118*, *120*, *121*, 139, 202
 - bank 66, 201
 - estate 66, 117, 143
- Acland, Sir Thomas 117
- acumen, business 33, 65, 74
- Adam, James 13, 153
- Adam, Robert 24, 34, 42, *71*, 80, 86, 111, 112, 113,
115, 145, 153
- Addison, Joseph 26
- aesthetics 14, 68, *137*, *195*, 202
- agents 13, 91, 95, 115, 188
- agricultural improvement 6, 176
- agriculture 152, 172, 194
- Aiton, William 152
- Aiton, William Townsend 152
- album 12, 26, 42, 47
- Alder River 149
- allowances 23, 26, 29, 30
- Alnwick 4, 36, 42, 90, 174
- alterations 5, 12, 21, 24, 28, 30, 80, 100, 169, 177
- Amelia, Princess 141, 150
- Amelisweerd 173
- André, Edouard *193*, 201
- Anglo-Chinese style 151, 160, 172, 177, 184, 195, 201
- anglomania 15, 181, 202
- Anne, Queen 21
- annual fees 14, 122, 133
- Anson, Admiral George *139*, *143*, 144
- Anson, Elizabeth 139, 144
- Apeldoorn 15, 166, 171, *173*, 175, *177*, 178
- apples 120, 129
- appointments 9, 37, 92, *108*, 131, 169, 173
- apprenticeship 108, 121
- Appuldurcombe 111
- aquatints 44, 55
- archaeological excavations *see* excavations
- architects 2, 4, 24, 37, 42, *91*, 112, 173, 177
- architectural styles 71, 137
- architecture 7, 24, 36, *61*, 91, 92, 145, 200, 202
 - classical 71, 160
 - landscape 15, *101*, *173*, 176, 179
- Arentz, Willem 176
- aristocratic patronage 14, 21
- art 7, 30, 39, 42, *43*, *51*, 53, 69, 162, 183, 185, 186,
188, 189, *191*, 193, *195*
 - history 11, 15
- artificial hills 155, 163
- artificial water *see also* lakes 10, 154
- artistic licence 59, 142
- artists *see also individual artist names* 10, 12, 39,
42, 49, 53, 56, 59, 187, 190
- ash trees 77

- Ashridge 4, 73
 Aspenden 114, 117
 assistants 36, 91, 112
 associates *see also* foremen 13, 66, 89, 112, 200
 asthma 37
 asymmetric geometry 112
 Atherton 80
 Attiret 195
 Audley End 115, 117, 146, 148
 Augusta, Princess Dowager of Wales 20, 34, 53, 57,
 128, 131, 151
 avenues of trees 51
 Avon Dasset 108
Avondtydkorting 172
 axes 97, 99, 113, 154, 169, 201
 central 69, 171
 linear 69
 Aymestrey 121, 124, 131
 Aynho 90
 Ayscough Hall 120
- B**
- Babelsberg 161
 Badminton 62, 66, 111, 115, 117
 Bagatelle 197
 bailiffs 95, 98, 116, 152, 155
 Baldwin, Christopher 152
 banks 13, 37, 43, 85, 105, 109, 112, 113, 115, 117,
 118, 145
 Banks, Sir Joseph 135
 baptism 109, 122, 124
 Barry, Charles 146
 basons 110, 113, 146
 Batavian Republic 172
 Batchacre 144
 Bateman, Viscount 122, 128
 Bates, Henry 147
 Bath 69, 90
 Battle Proms 150
 Beaufort, Duke of 115, 117
 Beaumont Lodge 154
 beauty 1, 5, 6, 57, 64, 108, 109, 183, 187, 188
 Beckford, William 149, 150
 Bedale 71, 111
 Bedfordshire 4, 98, 111, 115, 117, 138, 142, 148
 beech trees 64, 67, 116, 157
 Beeckesteyn 169
 Beeston Hall 107, 115, 117
 Behr, Christian von 158
 Bélanger, François-Joseph 183, 197
 Belgium 165, 201
 belts 5, 10, 76, 80, 114, 138, 157, 177, 193, 201
 perimeter 6, 18, 61, 63, 71, 113, 138
- Belvoir 37, 150
 Benham Park 68, 72
 Berkshire 39, 63, 68, 72, 122, 154
 Berners, William 117
 Berrington 68, 72, 92
 Beverweerd 177
 Bickham, George 143
 bills 13, 27, 83, 85, 90, 97, 117, 124, 201
 biographies 10, 12, 14, 33, 202, 204
 birch trees 158
 Bird, John 127
 blacksmiths 100
 Blackstone, William 69
 Blaikie, Thomas 197
 Blenheim 14, 36, 141, 150, 160, 177, 188, 189, 193
 blue plaque 11
 Board of Works 12, 17, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30
 Secretary to the 18, 26
 boating 14, 69, 137, 142, 144, 145, 150, 203
 boats 14, 69, 87, 137, 142, 144, 145, 150
 Boccaccio 158
 Bombelles, Marc de 187
 Bonaparte, Louis 174
 Bonaparte, Napoleon 172
 Bonneau, Elizabeth 39
 Bonneau, Jacob 39, 43
 Boskoop horticultural school 177
bosquet à l'angloise 15, 166, 169
 Boughton 148
 Boulter, John 76
 Bowood 65, 66, 74, 90, 138, 187
 Boyd, John 117
 Boyle, Richard 94
 Bradley, Richard 121
 Bramston, Thomas Berney 115, 117
 Branitz 14, 161, 164
 Bray, William 150
 Brentford 14, 34, 121, 122, 125, 129, 133
 Bretton, Sir William 21
 Bridgeman, Charles 3, 4, 6, 9, 51, 55, 61, 68, 109,
 111, 112, 113, 122, 127, 129, 135, 166,
 174, 198
 bridges 42, 51, 58, 73, 84, 128, 154, 155, 172, 188
 birch log 153
 Chinese 154
 Bridgewater Canal 73
 Bridlington 4, 85
 Brighton Pavilion 103, 116
 Broadlands 68, 187
 Broekhoven, Pieter 174
 Brompton nursery 3
 Brompton Park 91
 Brown, Bridget 90

- Brown, George 2
- Brown, John 2, 90
- Brown, Lancelot (son) 90, 92
- Brown, Lancelot Capability
- appointment as royal gardener 200
 - business 74
 - business acumen 33, 65, 74
 - business model 5, 13, 201, 203
 - career 12, 65, 69, 119, 143, 200
 - cash flow 7, 200, 203
 - clients 42, 47, 93, 101, 118
 - contribution 10, 75, 111, 178
 - death 13, 35, 42, 86, 90, 101, 104, 145, 186
 - designs 4, 14, 65, 80, 137, 187, 190
 - early years 4, 33, 121
 - future research 204
 - lakes 13, 43, 63, 73, 86, 150
 - landscapes 1, 7, 68, 73, 89, 150, 160, 203
 - legacy 11, 13, 15, 187, 203
 - office 12, 13, 34, 42, 90, 104
 - omnipotent magician 2, 9, 21, 36, 39, 61, 93, 138, 201
 - as place-maker 68, 76, 199, 201, 202
 - plans 18, 27, 55, 83, 85, 138, 202
 - predecessors 3, 21, 24, 101, 116, 119, 130, 179
 - reception in eighteenth-century France 187
 - reception in eighteenth-century Germany 160
 - reception in nineteenth-century France 194
 - reception in nineteenth-century Germany 164
 - reception in the Netherlands 15, 180
 - reputation 10, 84, 178, 201, 204
 - rise to dominance 7
 - style 10, 62, 74, 165, 185
- Brown, Margaret 90, 92
- Brown, Thomas 90
- Brownian landscapes 7, 10, 14, 56, 137, 139, 151, 176, 200
- Brownian parks 73, 165, 176, 179
- Brownian principles 151, 164, 202
- Brownian style 15, 81, 112, 151, 172, 176, 185
- Brownistes* 190
- Brühl, Count Hans Moritz 158
- Buckingham House 18, 55
- Buckingham Palace 12, 19
- Buckinghamshire 3, 66, 90, 101, 105, 110, 117, 133, 141, 144
- buildings 5, 13, 38, 51, 69, 80, 84, 146, 163, 169
- see also* temples
 - Chinese 57, 133, 148, 155, 160, 172
 - classical 7, 61
 - garden 12, 42, 51, 112, 145, 146
 - main 161, 201
 - ornamental 63, 67, 146
- Burgh, William 194
- Burghley 4, 18, 146, 147, 150
- Burke, Edmund 18, 140
- Burley on the Hill 101
- Burlington, Earl of 4, 94, 122
- Burton Constable 4, 82
- Bushy Park 40, 154
- Bute, Earl of 20, 21, 23, 51, 57, 131, 142
- Butt, Richard 122
- Bylandt's Rest 173
- Byng, John 141
- Byrkley Lodge 46
- Byron, Lord 143
- C**
- Cadland 68, 116
- Cadogan, Charles Sloane, later Baron 17
- Cambridgeshire 4, 102, 112, 113, 117
- canals 10, 27, 73, 76, 79, 110, 113, 142, 144, 154
- Cannon Hall 79, 81, 87
- canvas tent 148
- capability men *see also* associates; foremen 5, 66, 111
- capital 73, 120, 129, 190
- Capri 151
- Cardiff Castle 42, 68
- Carlton House 4, 34, 54, 178
- Carmarthenshire 102
- Carmontelle 141, 186
- Caroline, Queen 30, 51, 55, 122, 135
- carpenters 91, 112, 122, 142
- Carr, John 76, 80, 84, 85
- carriage driving 14, 138
- carriages 63, 70, 73, 141, 142, 150
- carts 53, 85, 96
- Castle Ashby 7, 35
- Castle Howard 4, 80, 150
- Caswell, Timothy 113, 117
- catalogues 33, 43, 61, 82, 152
- Catherine the Great 12, 14, 26, 33, 42, 201, 203
- Cavendish, Henry 115
- Cavendish, William 94
- Caversham 63, 111
- cedar trees 67, 155, 158
- celebrations 10, 15, 150, 199, 202, 203
- celebrity 9, 11, 87
- chaises 137, 139, 141, 149
- Chalfont 90, 101, 117
- Chambers, Sir William 9, 12, 14, 21, 24, 26, 29, 30, 34, 36, 51, 53, 54, 55, 59, 80, 153, 155, 160, 172, 177, 178, 181, 194, 195, 199, 200, 201
- Charlecote 109
- Charlottenburg 162
- Charlottenhof 15, 162

- Chatsworth 20, 66, 71, 74, 90, 94, 100, 116, 150
 Cheshire 90
 Chief Gardener at Hampton Court 12, 31, 92, 122, 130
 children 8, 37, 90, 121, 131, 141, 145, 183, 200
 Chillington 66, 81, 90, 111
 China 54, 69, 177, 195
 China Island 133
 Chinese Bridge 154
 Chinese buildings 57, 133, 148, 155, 160, 172
 Chinese taste 94, 155
 Chinese wooden house 155, 163
 Chippendale, Thomas 13, 71
 Chippenham Park 102
 Chiswick 13, 90, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 104, 154, 155, 158
 churches 82, 86, 93, 103, 108, 128
 parish 78, 103, 128
 Churchill, Charles 117
 circulation routes 138
 Cirencester 155
 civil engineers 85
 Civil Establishment Act 18
Clandestine Marriage 138
 Claremont 14, 29, 68, 72, 129, 130, 154, 176, 178
 Claremont Nectarine 129
 classical buildings 7, 61
 classical gardens 94
 classical landscapes 151, 201, 203
 classical tranquillity 159, 164
 Claydon 111
 Clayton
 Sir Kenrick 112, 117
 Sir Robert 113
 William 117
 clearance 14, 69, 94
 clients 5, 14, 36, 37, 62, 68, 104, 111, 201, 203
 potential 66, 118
 Clifford's Fort 85
 climate 98, 160, 202
 clipping 26, 200, 201
 Clive, Robert, Lord 29, 129
 Cliveden 39
 clothes 69, 138
 clumps 6, 10, 61, 64, 68, 76, 80, 125, 193, 201
 Cobham, Viscount 3, 21, 101, 108, 124, 127, 131, 138, 197
 Cobham's Cubs 65
 Coke, Lady Mary 141
 Collinson, Peter 120
 columns 125, 128, 146
 commissions 4, 29, 37, 66, 80, 111, 112, 201
 private 7, 18, 163, 200
 competition 24, 173
 competitors *see also individual competitor names* 111, 118, 119, 172, 201
 complaints 27, 123, 176
 composition 9, 55, 65, 72, 179, 188
 Compton, Charles 115
 Compton, Lady Elizabeth 115, 116, 117
 Compton Place 116, 117
 Comptroller of Works 17
 concerts 146, 150
 conifer trees 67, 153, 155, 158
 Consett 66, 111
 consumer goods 69, 71, 118
 contemporaries 11, 14, 39, 59, 65, 73, 84, 118, 137, 139
 contractors 66
 contracts 13, 14, 26, 36, 37, 65, 66, 124, 127, 130
 royal 14, 119, 124, 129
 small 13, 90, 104
 correctness 9, 92
 correspondence 6, 18, 29, 33, 35, 65, 83, 97, 101, 111, 116
 Corsham 90, 122
 costs 17, 21, 82, 94, 98, 100, 128, 173, 187
 Cotswolds 141
 cottages 69, 116
 couch grass 127
 country houses 5, 10, 68, 69, 71, 138
 countryside 7, 69, 138, 175, 191
 County Durham 66, 111
 courtyards 39, 78, 83
 Coventry, Earl of 8, 90, 140, 145, 201
 Cowper, Spencer 66
 Cowper, W. 9, 66
 Cox, Richard 114, 117
 Cox, William 34
 Cranbourne Delrow 102
 Craven, Lady 187
 Cremorne House 115, 117
 critics 67, 190, 199
 Croome 8, 18, 66, 90, 111, 140, 141, 145, 146, 201
 Cumberland 68
 Cumberland, Duke of 122, 127, 129, 133, 135, 154
 Cumberland House 133
 Cunningham, Alexander 109
 curricles 73
 Cusworth 81, 87
- D**
- Dall, Nicholas 85
 dams 65, 85, 110, 193
 Danson Park 105, 110, 117
 d'Argenville, Dézallier 1, 185
 Dartrey, Lord 115, 117

- Dashwood, Sir James 127
 Davenport, John 65
 Davies, Thomas 28
 de Crissé, Lancelot Turpin 183
 de Croy, Prince 192
 de Genlis, Mrs 172
 de La Rochefoucauld, François-Armand Frédéric 186
 de Laborde, Alexandre 189, 190
 de Swart, Pieter 166, 169
 deer park 20, 55
 Delille, Jacques 186, 194
 demolition 84, 109
 dense planting 51, 166
 Derbyshire 90, 94, 145
 design principles 179, 202
 designed landscapes 2, 4, 15, 75, 87, 138, 139, 142, 144, 146, 150
 designers 1, 3, 5, 12, 13, 65, 75, 87, 169, 200
 independent 61, 69
 landscape 7, 11, 13, 66, 81, 87, 91, 105, 111, 180
 designs 4, 44, 51, 68, 75, 101, 162, 169, 171, 176, 177, 203
 Brown's 4, 14, 65, 80, 137, 187, 190
 detailed 85, 127
Designs for Chinese Buildings 160, 172
 Desmond, Ray 20, 49, 53, 55, 122, 128, 130, 131
Détails des nouveaux jardins à la mode 169
 Devon 4, 69, 90, 105, 111, 116, 117
 Devonshire, Dukes of 13, 94, 96, 98, 100, 116, 138
 Diana Fountain 40
 diaries 8, 71, 108, 138, 146, 153, 186
 Dibdin, Charles 9
 Dickinson, Cornelius 66, 83, 85
 Dillman, John 20, 128
 ditches 53, 153, 157, 172
 Ditton Park 90
 diversity 4, 54, 161, 200, 201
 domestic design 13
 Donn, William 13, 111
 Dorset 101, 139
 Downing, Andrew Jackson 10
 Downing Street 22, 130
 drainage 7, 13, 27, 68, 73, 101
 Drake, Charles Garrard 117, 118
 Drake, Sir William 110, 117
 draughtsmen 7, 12, 36, 39, 42, 108, 201
Drawings of Buildings 194
 Driver, Samuel 65
 drives 63, 65, 68, 69, 73, 112, 138, 142, 150
 grass 139
 gravelled 70
 Drummonds Bank 13, 81, 89, 92, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117
 drying yards 13, 68
 Duchesne, Antoine-Nicolas 186, 190, 197
 Dufour, Alexander 173, 174
 dunes 158
 Dutch elm stock 121
- E**
- Eames, William 102
 earth 5, 51, 61, 65, 83, 85, 98, 127, 173, 187
 see also soil
 moving 63, 66, 82, 201
 earth closets 145, 146
 East Sussex 117
 Eastbourne 115, 117
 Eaton Hall 90
 economic growth 68, 73
 economic history 7, 73, 203
 economy 5, 6, 68, 172, 203, 204
 Eden 12, 51, 59, 195
 Edgecombe 69
 Edinburgh 111
 education 4, 7, 9, 131
 classical 6
 Eggesford 116, 117
 elegance 1, 5, 54, 68, 118
 elevations 12, 20, 42, 51, 57, 59, 69, 82, 153
 Eleven Acre Lake 143
 elite, ruling 6, 65, 118
 elm trees 14, 122
 Dutch 121
 English 27, 121
 embellishments 109, 160, 185
 Emes, William 13, 112, 118
 emparking 9, 78
 employees *see also* foremen 37, 55, 81, 93, 122, 200
 employers 101, 138
 enclosed gardens 51, 145
 enclosures 77, 146
Encyclopaedia of Gardening 193
 Engelsch Bosch 166
 engineers 9, 27, 85, 152
 civil 85
 military 85
 water 14, 137
 English elm 27, 121
 English gardens 15, 151, 172, 185, 187, 189, 192, 194, 197, 201, 203
 in Germany 164
 English influences 15, 166, 179, 203
 English landscape gardens 3, 10, 61, 68, 165, 179, 195
 English landscape style 3, 9, 11, 14, 199, 203
 Englishness 10, 68, 164, 165, 202
 Enlightenment 34, 47, 73, 141, 153, 158, 164, 201

entertainment 69, 73, 138, 144, 150
 enthusiasm 69, 73
 entrances 51, 84, 87, 94, 113, 153, 154
Environs of London 26, 34, 43, 120, 124
 Erdmannsdorff, Friedrich Wilhelm von 153
 Escot 116, 117
 Esher 131, 133, 154
Essai sur les jardins 194
Essay on Design in Gardening 176
Essay on Gardening 175
Essay on the Picturesque 10, 190
 Essex 21, 25, 34, 65, 73, 90, 115, 117, 146
 estate accounts 66, 117, 143
 estate management 2, 119
 estate maps/plans 77, 86, 112, 143
 estate masons 83, 87
 estate nurseries 82
 estate surveys 36, 83
 Estcourt House 111
 Eton 8, 90
 evergreens 82, 98, 155, 179
 Ewhurst 105, 117
 excavations 13, 63, 71, 75, 84, 160
 executors 92, 101, 117, 131
 Exeter 18
 Earl of 146
 exotics 67, 155, 158
 expertise 66, 119, 121, 127, 129
 eye-catchers 85, 138, 145, 148, 154

F

Fairchild, Thomas 120
 farmers 2, 71, 149
 farmland 14, 127
 farms 71, 94, 121, 188
 Farrington, Joseph 108
 fees, annual 14, 122, 133
 Fellowes, Henry Arthur 117
 fences 4, 53
 sunken 20, 61, 82, 111, 157
 Fenny Compton 108
 Fenstanton 7, 37
ferme ornée 20, 108, 158, 164
 Ferry de Saint-Constant, Jean-Louis 190
 fields
 former 53
 open 51, 77
 rectilinear 7
 Fife House 111
 Fir Plomp 85
 fireworks 150
 firs 82, 98, 112, 158
 fish 141

farming 141
 ponds 71, 79, 84, 94, 141, 143, 166, 173
 Fish family 109
 Fisherwick 47, 55, 68
 fishing 138, 141, 145, 149, 203
 Flitcroft, Henry 23, 26, 29, 154
 flooding 121, 188
 floodplain 179
 Floud, Roderick 5, 7, 8, 80, 83, 203
 flower gardens 20, 68, 128, 162, 164
 flowerbeds 162, 172
 flowering shrubs 122, 157, 162
 flowers 68, 133, 155, 158, 161
 focal points 138, 158, 173
 Foley, Lord 122
 Foliejohn 122
 follies 137
 Fonthill 149
 forced fruit 21, 25
 foreground 39, 53, 55, 59
 foremen *see also individual names* 13, 20, 81, 83,
 85, 87, 90, 94, 98, 101
 foresters, head 175
 forestry 152, 173
 formal gardens 9, 14, 39, 65, 78, 121, 166, 169,
 174, 199
 formalism 3
 formality 173, 178, 201
 Fort Belvedere 154
 Fougereux, Pierre-Jacques 183
 France 14, 15, 152, 153, 190, 191, 198
 eighteenth-century reception of Brown 187
 and excessive British focus on Brown 197
 Frederick, Prince of Wales 4, 22, 34
 Frederick William IV 162
 French Revolution 187, 201
 French visitors 187, 191
 Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia 162
 Frogmore 135
 fruit 24, 27, 34, 127, 129
 forced 21, 25
 trees 115, 121, 122
 furniture 71, 146, 154
furor hortensis 181

G

games 69, 203
 card 145
 waterborne war 144
 see also naumachia
 garden art 160, 176, 186, 189
 garden artists 159, 162
 garden buildings 12, 42, 51, 112, 145, 146

- garden design *see also* designs 3, 49, 54, 61, 135, 153, 164, 176
- garden enthusiasts 113, 152, 197
- garden history 66, 68, 176, 177, 185, 194
- gardeners 37, 66, 81, 93, 95, 112, 134, 187, 189, 191
see also individual names
- head 2, 4, 14, 20, 66, 80, 92, 109, 127
- landscape 10, 14, 87, 101, 107, 163, 176, 177, 189, 201
- master 22, 24, 61, 92, 93, 173
- Gardener's Dictionary* 166, 179
- Gardener's Magazine* 101, 117, 160, 193
- gardening
- landscape 10, 54, 101, 104, 139, 142, 145, 160, 165, 176
- modern 3, 64, 101, 109, 175, 195, 197
- oriental 9, 12, 29, 54, 59, 172, 199
- gardening business 119, 124
- gardens
- classical 94
- enclosed 51, 145
- English 15, 151, 172, 185, 187, 189, 192, 194, 197, 201, 203
- flower 20, 68, 128, 162, 164
- formal 9, 14, 39, 65, 78, 121, 166, 169, 174, 199
- French 183
- Georgian 61, 66, 79, 80, 81, 82, 105, 139, 143, 147, 148, 154
- kitchen 23, 24, 27, 39, 80, 84, 90, 128, 191, 200
- landscape *see* landscape gardens
- nursery 120
- picturesque 166, 185
- pleasure 51, 65, 80, 118, 145
- royal 12, 14, 17, 26, 27, 128, 129, 160, 166, 200
- themed 162, 164
- walled 80, 115, 129, 171
- Garrett, Daniel 2
- Garrick, David 138, 146, 147
- Gascoigne family 78
- Gascoyne, Bamber 115, 117
- Gatton Park 90
- Gawthorpe 13, 77, 82, 83, 84, 86
- estate plan 78
- South prospect 77
- gentleman improvers 65, 108
- Gentleman's Magazine* 5, 37, 39, 177
- gentry 2, 7, 43, 65, 68, 70, 94, 101, 107, 133
- geometric features 62
- geometric planting 61, 62
- geometry 3, 62, 112
- asymmetric 112
- George I 10, 121, 153
- George II 49, 121, 131, 141, 153
- George III 18, 21, 34, 44, 51, 53, 56, 131, 149, 153, 154, 155
- Georgian gardens 61, 66, 79, 80, 81, 82, 105, 139, 143, 147, 148, 154
- Germany 14, 151, 160, 164, 201
- eighteenth-century 160
- nineteenth-century 164
- Gibbs, Robert 116
- Gibson, John 177
- Gilpin, William 10, 25, 105, 160, 176, 178, 185
- Girardin 178, 194, 197
- Girouard, M. 69
- Glentworth 66, 81
- Glockenberg 154
- Gloucestershire 17, 62, 65, 111, 115, 117
- goods 99, 118, 201
- consumer 69, 71, 118
- Gorhambury 117
- Gotha 151, 164
- gothic ruins 61, 128, 158
- gothic style 129, 146, 154, 169
- Gott family *see also* Greening, Henry Thomas 133
- Gough, Walter 13, 108
- gradients 65, 83
- graduated planting 15, 159, 179
- Grafton, Duke of 178
- Grand Tour 3, 6, 152, 153
- grandeur 9, 188, 191
- grass 6, 56, 67, 86, 113, 127, 139
- see also* lawns; turf
- drives 139
- rides 63
- gravel 27, 85, 98, 102, 138
- paths 78, 138
- grazing 7, 173
- sheep 14, 137
- Great Haseley 121
- Great Vine 25
- Grecian Valley 3
- Greece 72
- Greek models 71, 158, 186
- greenhouses 21, 133
- Greenings
- Ann 122
- Ann (wife of Robert) 125
- of Brentford End 14, 18, 23, 25, 112, 118, 135, 200
- of Esher 133
- John 21, 29, 124, 129, 131, 133
- Lucretia 122
- Nursery 121, 122, 133
- Rachel 121
- Richard 125, 129, 131
- Robert 7, 18, 20, 121, 122, 124, 125, 129, 130, 131

Sarah 124
 Sir Henry Thomas 119, 124, 133, 135
 Thomas junior 18, 120, 124, 125, 129, 131, 135
 Thomas senior 14, 122, 124, 129, 131, 135
 William 122
 Greenwich 173
 Grenvilles 14, 21, 65, 131, 138, 143, 150
 George 12, 21, 131, 141, 149
 Grey, Marchioness 138, 139, 144
 Griffin Griffin, Sir John 117
 Grimsthorpe 18, 92
 Grimston, James 117
 Grosvenor House 37
 grottoes 42, 133, 138, 142, 150, 153, 155
 Grove House 102
 groves 6, 102, 112, 150, 159, 169, 172, 179
 grubbing 98
 guests 69, 87, 129, 141, 146, 150
 Guiscard 189

H

Haarlem 173, 174, 176
 Haarlem Wood 174
 Hagley Bridge 183
 ha-has 53, 55, 61, 62, 80, 82, 115, 117, 127, 154
 Halifax, Lord 21, 131
 Ham Farm 154
 Hammersmith 4, 124, 127
 Hampshire 68, 105, 114, 117, 146
 Hampton 65, 103, 131, 146
 Hampton Court 12, 17, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33, 34, 39,
 42, 43, 94, 131
 Chief Gardener 12, 31, 92, 122, 130
 surveyor 47
 Hampton Wick 102
Hannah Hewit 9
 Hanover 152, 153, 155
 Hanover-Marienwerder 158
 Hanwell 92
 Harbin, Rev. George 120
 Hardwicke, Earl of 18, 127, 129, 130
 Harewood 4, 13, 87, 142, 150
 and Brown 87
 Harleyford 117
 harmony 1, 6, 72, 172
 Harris, John 21, 29, 53, 54, 166, 185
 Hartwell 90
 Hasells Hall 115, 117
 Haverfield, John 21, 131
 Haverfield, Thomas 25, 30, 131
 head forester 175
 head gardeners 2, 4, 14, 20, 66, 80, 92, 109, 127
 Heaton, John 96, 98

hedges 26, 61, 94, 121, 154
 Hencher, John 111, 117
 Herculaneum 71
 Herefordshire 68, 72, 122, 125, 129, 130, 131
 hermitage 51, 158
 Hertfordshire 4, 34, 62, 66, 73, 102, 109, 114, 117
 Het Loo 15, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 178, 179
 Heveningham 67, 70, 140
 Hewell Grange 13, 108, 109, 113, 115, 117
 Hewitt, Henry 117
 Hexenturm 154
 hierarchy 90
 Highclere 146, 148, 150
 hills, artificial 155, 163
 Himley Hall 113, 117
 Hinüber, Carl Anton von 155
 Hinüber, Carl Heinrich von 153
 Hinüber, Ernst Andreas 155
 Hinüber, Jobst Anton von 152, 153, 155, 157, 163
 Hinüber Park 158, 164
 Hirschfeld, Christian C. L. 153, 154, 158, 160, 164,
 174, 175, 178, 186
Histoire des jardins anciens et modernes 193
 Historic Royal Palaces 15, 22, 25, 33, 37, 39, 57, 128
History of the Modern Taste in Gardening 68, 155,
 175, 186
 Hitchin Priory 113, 115, 117
 Hoares Bank 112, 113, 115, 117, 118
 Hobcraft, John 115
 Hohenzieritz 151
 Holderness, Lord 152
 holistic vision 7
 Holkham 61, 71, 90, 122, 158
 Holland family 4, 8, 68, 72, 91, 92, 101, 104
 holly 98, 179
 Honour, Hugh 73
 Hooper, Ann 131
 Hope, Elisabeth 177
 Hope, Zachary 176
 Hopwas Hayes 47
 Horace, Charles 104, 158
 Horse Guards Parade 22
 horse-racing 115, 118
 horses *see also* rides 53, 85, 133, 139
 horticulture 121, 135, 158, 176
Hortus Kewensis 152
 hothouses *see also* greenhouses 25, 30, 80, 133
 Houghton Hall 82
 House of Confucius 51, 128
 Hudson, James 85
 Huis ten Bosch 173
 Hulton, Henry 105
 Huntingdonshire 8, 37

I

ice houses 12, 68, 200
Ichnographia Rustica 1, 166
 ideology 7, 13, 68, 195
 Ilchester, Lady 139
 imagination 9, 186, 189, 191, 201
 imitations 107, 186, 200
 imitators 9, 14, 65, 107
 improvements 13, 21, 66, 73, 81, 94, 100, 118, 139, 203
 improvers 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 80, 108, 112, 118
 gentleman 65, 108
 incomes 5, 7, 200
 industry 73, 112
 influences, English 15, 166, 179, 203
 informal planting 172, 177
 informality 79, 173, 201
 Ingestre 62, 65
 Ingram, Charles, 9th Viscount Irvine 6, 81
 Ingress Park 187
 innovations 3, 127, 166, 181, 199, 203
 inscriptions 47, 154, 158, 164
 integration 68, 162
 intelligence 9, 187
 inventories 13, 90, 146, 201
 investments 1, 5, 7, 203
 Ireland 201
 Ireland, William 13, 90, 93, 98, 100, 101, 104
 Irwin, Frances 138
 islands 29, 54, 59, 154, 158, 160
 Isle of Wight 111
 Isleworth 14, 34, 43, 119, 121, 125, 129, 133
 Italy 4, 153, 155, 188

J

Jago, Richard 108
 James, John 1
 Janszoon, Jacob Boreel 169
jardin anglais 14, 15, 165, 181, 186, 187, 191, 194, 195, 201
jardin anglo-chinois 19, 165, 192, 194
Jardins anglo-chinois 192, 194
 Johnson, John 115
 journeys 51, 111, 113, 117, 152, 154, 187, 200
 Jukes, Francis 43

K

Kedleston 145
 Keene, Colonel Whitshed 18
 Keeper of the Privy Purse 17, 21
 Kensington Gardens 12, 14, 18, 124, 131, 154
 Kent, John 23

Kent, William 4, 6, 10, 13, 15, 20, 29, 34, 51, 54, 61, 68, 107, 110, 112, 117, 121, 129, 135, 138, 147, 166, 177, 179, 185, 186, 191, 193, 198, 202
 Kew 12, 14, 20, 49, 51, 53, 55, 58, 131, 152, 160
 Killerton 117
 Kimberley 68
 Kimbolton Castle 112
 king's wilderness 169
 Kington 131
 Kirby, Joshua 54
 Kirkhale 2
 Kirtlington 125, 128
 kitchen gardens 23, 24, 27, 39, 80, 84, 90, 128, 191, 200
 Knight, Richard Payne 10, 29, 54, 176, 178, 185, 190, 198, 201
 knowledge 33, 51, 69, 71, 89, 118, 142, 176, 186, 190
 Knowlton, John 94
 Königlich Großbritannisch und Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft 152
 Krauss, Johan Carl 172

L

labourers 53, 71, 83, 94
 labyrinths 191
 ladies 71, 139, 141, 187
 lakes 14, 61, 65, 68, 83, 85, 110, 117, 145, 150
 Brown's 13, 43, 63, 73, 86, 150
 formation 110
 large 82, 142, 144, 160
 new 42, 85, 110, 115
 serpentine 61, 76
 Lamer 117, 118
 Lancashire 80, 112
 land 13, 59, 63, 78, 94, 95, 109, 110, 197, 201
 landaus 73
 landforms 6, 64
 landowners 5, 8, 68, 80, 87, 141, 181, 191, 197
 landscape architects 11, 176, 191
 landscape architecture 15, 101, 173, 176, 179
 landscape design 5, 7, 71, 74, 76, 118, 119, 177, 201, 202
 landscape designers 7, 11, 13, 66, 81, 87, 91, 105, 111, 180
 landscape gardeners *see also individual names* 10, 14, 87, 101, 107, 163, 176, 177, 189, 201
 landscape gardens 15, 80, 127, 151, 153, 162, 165, 176, 179, 203
 English 3, 10, 61, 68, 165, 179, 195
 Germany 164
 Netherlands 180

- landscape parks 13, 61, 65, 68, 74, 139, 141, 148, 154, 162
 landscape practice 13, 42, 89, 104
 landscape revolution 65, 79, 112, 125, 138, 194
 landscape styles 1, 15, 42, 65, 68, 71, 165, 179, 200
 Kent, William 4
 notion 179
 Repton, Humphry 10
 landscapes
 Brownian 7, 10, 14, 56, 137, 139, 151, 176, 200
 classical 151, 201, 203
 designed 2, 4, 15, 75, 87, 138, 139, 142, 144, 146, 150
 English 6, 10, 83, 180
 modern 4, 55, 76, 84
 natural 65
 naturalistic 68
 new 36, 49, 75, 82
 nostalgic 6
 parkland 13, 202
 picturesque 42, 75, 193
 surrounding 5, 69, 80, 153
 wider 3, 62, 80
 working 7
 landscaping 65, 71, 72, 80, 83, 87, 122
 Harewood House 87
 schemes 119, 203
 serpentine 62
 Langley, Batty 15, 169
 Langley Park 64
 Lapidge, Edward 92, 103
 Lapidge, Frederick William 104
 Lapidge, John 90
 Lapidge, Samuel 7, 13, 33, 37, 42, 47, 66, 92, 100, 104, 201
 in Brown milieu 100
 later career 102
 Lapidge, William 90
L'art de créer les jardins 191
 Lascelles, Edwin 75, 80, 83, 84, 87
 Lascelles, Henry 76
 laurels 98, 116
 laurustinus 99
 lawns *see also* grass; turf 6, 9, 51, 61, 115, 128, 146, 169, 173, 179
 layouts 20, 51, 69, 86, 97, 113, 155, 162, 166, 176
 le Nôtre, André 3, 174, 198, 201
 le Rouge, Georges-Louis 18, 169, 192, 194
 Leasowes 108, 158, 164, 176
 Lee, Sir George 127
 Lee, Sir William 90
 Lee Priory 107
 Lenné, Peter Joseph 14, 160, 162, 164
 Leopold III Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau 153
Les jardins: histoire et description 193
 letters 18, 26, 105, 107, 108, 109, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 131, 139, 141, 144, 145, 173, 181, 198
 levelling 85, 92, 94, 95, 115, 139
 licence, artistic 59, 142
 light 5, 20, 22, 42, 64, 71, 73, 150, 185, 187
 lilacs 99
 limes 67, 84, 99
 Lincoln, Lord 154, 155
 Lincolnshire 2, 4, 66, 68, 81, 92
 Lisson Green 109, 112
 Little Boston 133
 Llanarth House 102
 Llandrindod Wells 121
 Lofthouse 76, 81, 84
 London, George 1
Londres et les anglais 188
 Longleat 4, 14, 90, 122, 160, 187
 Loosjes, Adriaan 176
 Loraine, Sir William 2
 Lorrain, Claude 6
 Loudon, John Claudius 14, 101, 102, 160, 176, 193, 198, 201
 Lowe, George 22, 25, 93, 130
 Lowe, Robert 21, 25, 92, 99
 Lower Wilderness 21, 26
 Lowther 68
 Lucton 125
 Luton 139
 Luton Hoo 139, 142, 174
 Lysons, Daniel 25, 26, 34, 43
 Lyttelton, Lord 183
- ## M
- Mackreth, Sir Robert 105, 117
 Mackworth, Sir Herbert 122
 Madingley 4
 Maestricht Garden 29, 131
 magician, omnipotent 2, 9, 21, 36, 39, 61, 93, 138, 201
 magnolias 155
 Main, James 103, 117
 Malesherbes, De Lamoignon de, C.G. 187
 management 7, 77, 94, 141, 179, 188, 203
 estate 2, 119
 Mandarin Yacht 129
 Mangin, Arthur 193
 mannerism 191
 manor houses 76, 79, 83

- mansions *see also individual mansion names* 62, 68, 69, 110, 130, 133, 145
- maps 12, 49, 53, 66, 120, 124, 133, 154, 161, 197
tithe 114
- Marble Hill 2
- Marden Park 112, 117
- Marienwerder 152, 158, 163
- Marlborough, Duke of 122
- Marlow, William 57
- Marsh, Henry 122, 133
- Marshall, William 176
- Marylebone 13, 109, 115
- Mason, George 176
- Mason, William 29, 59, 187, 195, 198
- masons 2, 105, 112, 128
estate 83, 87
- master gardeners 22, 24, 61, 92, 93, 173
- Master Labourer and Scavenger 21
- Masters, George 34
- Mathias, George 21
- Mayfair 92, 104
- Meader, James 42
- meadows 9, 51, 154, 158, 159
- medieval ruins 42, 125
- Melbury 139
- melon ground 24, 39, 127
- melons 30, 129
- menageries 12, 68, 146, 169, 172, 200
- Merlin's Cave 20, 30, 51
- Michaël, Johann George 169, 173, 174, 176
- Mickle, Adam 13, 66, 86, 111, 115, 118
- Mickle, Adam junior 111
- Middlesex 26, 92, 94, 119, 131, 146
- Middleton Hall 102
- middling sorts 108, 112, 118
- Midgeley, Jonathan 66
- Milican, Michael 20
- Miller, Philip 152, 166
- Miller, Sanderson 108, 112, 113, 138, 145, 146
- Milliken, Michael 66, 94
- Milton Abbey 90, 101, 102
- Mimosa pudica 155
- Mique, Richard 186
- Mitchelson, George and James 99
- mock naval battles *see also naumachia* 143
- modernisation 69, 73
- Monceau 186
- money 7, 23, 61, 66, 85, 89, 91, 94, 100, 129
- Monmouthshire 102
- Montagu, Elizabeth 13, 105, 117, 147
- Moor Park 13, 62, 110, 139, 175
- More, Hannah 6, 64, 65
- Morel, Jean-Marie 188, 190, 193
- mounds 53, 94, 128, 166
- mountains 155, 172
- Münchhausen, Otto II von 152
- Munich 158
- Muschamp, John 84, 87
- music 139, 145, 147, 150, 183
- Muskau 14, 161, 163, 164
- N**
- Nash, John 103, 116
- natural landscapes 65
- naturalism 1, 4
- naturalistic style 7, 9, 14, 61, 68, 112, 118
- naumachia 143, 144
- Neale, Susannah 108
- Neale, William 108
- Neath 122
- nectarines 120, 129
- Needwood Forest 46
- neo-classicism 7, 71, 73
- Netherlands 15, 152, 153, 180
landscape gardens 165
modern legacy 177
notion of landscape garden and reception of
Brown 177
notion of landscape style 179
- Nettleship, Mr, of Twickenham 34
- networks 1, 2, 13, 14, 42, 68, 81, 83, 87, 135
- Newburgh Priory 80
- Newcastle, Duke of 14, 18, 124, 127, 130
- Newlands Park 133
- Newstead 144
- Nicholls, Rev. Norton 105, 107
- nobility 7, 70, 94, 101, 107, 133, 148, 173, 188
- Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation, The* 1
- Nolin, abbé Pierre-Charles 186
- Norfolk 64, 65, 68, 71, 107, 112, 115, 117, 122, 158
- North, Roger 141
- North Yorkshire 4, 71, 80
- Northampton, Earls of 7, 35, 115
- Northamptonshire 90, 101, 139, 148
- Northumberland 2, 4, 8, 61, 81
Duchess of 83
Duke of 18, 42
- Norwich 105, 176
- Nottinghamshire 143
Dukeries 112
- Nuneham Courtenay 68, 93, 174, 187
- nurseries 14, 34, 82, 91, 109, 110, 112, 124, 129, 133
estate 82

nursery gardens 120
 nurserymen *see also individual names* 11, 14, 34,
 65, 99, 108, 112, 120, 124, 133
 Nymphenburg 160

O

oak trees 6, 67, 77, 158
 evergreen 98
 Oatlands 155
 obelisks 96, 125, 154, 158
 obituaries 9, 37, 39, 92, 108, 177, 186
*Observations on the Theory and Practice of
 Landscape Gardening* 165
 Office of Works 7, 18, 21, 23, 24, 37, 91
 Comptroller 26
 oral transmission 186
 orange trees 24, 155
 orchards 71, 78, 120, 129, 155
 organisational skills 65, 74
 oriental gardening 9, 12, 29, 54, 59, 172, 199
 ornamental buildings 63, 67, 146
 ornamentation 7, 155, 159, 161, 164, 172
 outbuildings 12, 200
 Owen, Robert 85
 Oxford, Countess of 79
 Oxfordshire 2, 66, 68, 121, 125, 141

P

paddocks 20, 133, 157
 pagodas 20, 30, 51, 54, 58, 155, 169
 paintings *see also watercolours* 3, 4, 12, 29, 49, 51,
 56, 127, 138, 148, 178
 palaces 22, 30, 37, 39, 54, 55, 169, 173, 177, 188
 Palladianism 72
 paper war 31
 Paris 24, 172, 176
 parish churches 78, 103, 128
 park dune 155, 157
 Parker, Colonel George Lane 115
 Parker, John II 102, 115, 117
 parkland 11, 14, 63, 67, 69, 80, 137, 158, 202
 landscapes 13, 202
 parks 27, 68, 71, 76, 115, 142, 158, 162, 172, 188
 Brownian 73, 165, 176, 179
 landscape 13, 61, 65, 68, 74, 139, 141, 148, 154, 162
 Parkyns, George 151
 Parshall, Linda 186
 parterres 68, 127, 162, 166, 189
 pastures 157, 179
 patents, royal 14, 121
 paths 18, 21, 27, 51, 55, 98, 128, 138, 158, 186
 gravel 78, 138

serpentine 15, 69, 166, 190
 surfaced 138
 patronage 2, 8, 13, 53, 59, 173
 aristocratic 14, 21
 royal *see* royal patronage
 patrons 4, 6, 53, 55, 91, 127, 129, 147, 200
 pavilions 40, 125, 145, 146, 169, 173, 178
 payments 14, 21, 23, 37, 42, 66, 109, 111, 117,
 124, 125
 final 67, 75, 86, 115
 regular 37, 81, 83, 92, 113
 peaches 120, 122, 129
 pear trees 129
 Pelham, Thoimas 115, 117
 pencils 39, 100
 Penn, John 117
 Penn, Thomas 117
 Peper Harrow 24, 68
 perceptions 11, 193, 199, 200, 203
 perfection 54, 137, 149, 187, 194
 perimeter belts 6, 18, 61, 63, 71, 113, 138
 Perry Hall 13, 108
 Petit Trianon 184
 Petty, Anne 129
 Petworth 18, 65
 Petzold, Eduard 14, 163
 phaetons 73, 139, 141
 Pichot, Amédée 176, 190
 picnics 129, 150
 picturesque
 gardens 166, 185
 landscapes 42, 75, 193
 Pightle 122
 pineapples 25, 39, 80, 127, 129
 Pitt, William 147
 place-maker 68, 76, 199, 201, 202
 place-making 5, 9, 11, 72, 87, 104, 165, 199, 201
 plans 12, 20, 23, 51, 53, 55, 59, 66, 81, 98, 126, 156
 Brown's 18, 27, 55, 83, 85, 138, 202
 plantations 73, 80, 82, 86, 97, 118, 193
 planting 5, 7, 67, 71, 83, 98, 127, 166, 202
 geometric 61, 62
 graduated 15, 159, 179
 informal 172, 177
 trees 6, 86, 109, 153, 160
Planting and Rural Ornament 175, 176
 plants 30, 34, 82, 96, 99, 112, 113, 116, 121, 122
see also shrubs; trees
 flowering 121, 127
 plaque, blue 11
 pleasure garden 51, 65, 80, 118, 145
 pleasure grounds 9, 62, 97, 109, 111, 115, 117, 127,
 138, 147

- plum trees 129
 Plymouth, Earl of 108, 117
 poems 6, 9, 53, 141, 187
 poets 5, 71, 108, 158
 polite society 8, 69, 112, 203
 political settlements 1, 6
 Polwhele 116, 117
 Pompeii 71
 ponds 44, 51, 65, 78, 85, 153, 158
 decoy 115
 fish 71, 79, 84, 94, 141, 143, 166, 173
 stew 94, 141
 Pontefract 82
 Pope, Alexander 2, 4, 26
 Popplewell, Samuel 80, 83, 85
 popularity 9, 68, 145, 177, 193
 Portland stone 94
 Portman Estate 13, 115, 117
 Portman Square 117
 Posth, Johan Philip 174
 Posthofgarten 153
 potential clients 66, 118
 Potsdam 14, 161
 power 1, 6, 11, 13, 101, 204
 Preston, Sir Jacob 105, 117
 Price, Priscilla 125
 Price, Uvedale 10, 160, 176, 178, 185, 190, 197, 201
 Prior Park 90, 187
 privacy 98, 145
 private commissions 7, 18, 163, 200
 professionalism 127, 203
Public Advertiser 9, 27, 68, 76, 90, 101, 102
 Pückler-Muskau, Hermann Fürst von 14, 160, 161, 163, 164, 178
 pupillage 91, 104, 108
 pupils 7, 85, 90, 91, 104, 108, 111, 118, 176, 178
 Pym, William 115, 117
- Q**
- Quarley 114, 117
 Queen's House 12, 20, 30
- R**
- Radcliffe, John 117
 Ranger 27, 122
 Read, Benjamin 66
 reception
 eighteenth-century Germany 160
 eighteenth-century France 187
 global 203
 Netherlands 15, 180
 nineteenth-century France 194
 nineteenth-century Germany 164
 second-hand 190
 rectilinear fields 7
 Red Books 101, 118, 160, 201
 Redgrave 68, 142
 refreshments 146, 148
 Regent's Park 177
 Régnière-Ecluse 197
 relationships 7, 9, 13, 47, 55, 59, 73, 81, 200, 203
 close 81, 92, 120
 remodelling 9, 18, 78
 repairs 24, 27, 29, 39, 100
 reprimand 27, 30
 Repton, Humphry 7, 10, 13, 15, 61, 76, 86, 87, 101, 107, 117, 118, 142, 145, 151, 160, 165, 176, 179, 185, 190, 191, 198, 201, 202, 203
 Repton, John Adey 15, 160, 177
 reputation 11, 13, 14, 91, 135, 139, 189, 194, 197, 202
 Brown's 10, 84, 178, 201, 204
 Revett, Nicholas 71
 Rhus typhina 158
 Richard, Antoine 184
 Richardson, Francis 65, 80, 81, 112
 Richardson, Thomas 50
 Richmond, Mary 115
 Richmond, Nathaniel 13, 65, 66, 108, 116, 117
 Richmond, Sophia 108
 Richmond Gardens 12, 21, 30, 34, 36, 51, 55, 57, 124, 129
 Richmond Lodge 51, 55, 121
 Rickmansworth 13, 109
 rides 6, 65, 68, 69, 73, 76, 94, 138, 140, 187
 grass 63
 Ripa, Matteo 195
 Ritso, George 53
 river terrace 51, 56
 rivers 36, 43, 51, 55, 56, 94, 107, 109, 172
 serpentine 5, 61, 73, 108
 roads 34, 55, 64, 71, 73, 96, 120, 146, 178
 Robinson, Fritz 115
 Robinson, Robert 35, 66, 111
 Robinson, Sir Thomas 4
 Robinson, Theresa 115
 Robinson, Thomas 18, 27, 145
 Robinson, William 18, 26
 rococo style 61, 62, 72, 112, 118, 122, 125
 Rocque, Bartholomew 152
 Rocque, John 23, 39, 51, 95, 120, 123, 129
 Rolt, Thomas 113
 Rome 24, 72, 143
 Roodbaard, Lucas Pieters 176
 root pruning 121
 Rose, Joseph junior 115

- Rotterdam 176
 rotunda 146
 Rousham 178
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 73, 175, 181
 Royal Academy 39, 42, 91
 Royal Botanic Gardens 12, 20, 49, 53, 55, 122, 128, 130, 131
 Royal British and Electorate of Braunschweig-Lüneburg Agricultural Society 152
 royal contracts 14, 119, 124, 129
 royal gardeners 3, 4, 7, 11, 21, 119, 152, 200, 204
 Brown as 200
 royal gardens 12, 14, 26, 27, 128, 129, 160, 166, 200
 how run 18
 royal patents 14, 121
 royal patronage 4, 7, 34, 51, 104, 135, 160
 Brown seeking 21
 rubble 84, 172
 ruins 54, 148, 153, 154, 158, 172
 gothic 61, 128, 158
 medieval 42, 125
 ruling elite 6, 65, 118
 Russia 12, 14
 Rutland 37, 101
- S**
- Sacombe 113, 117
 salaries 18, 21, 115
 Saltram 102, 105, 111, 115, 117
 Sandbeck 66, 81, 111
 Sandby, Paul 43, 57, 139, 154
 Sandby, Thomas 125, 154
 Sanderson, James 13, 84, 87, 90, 111
 Sandleford 93
 Sandy 115
 Sanssouci 14, 162
 scale 5, 15, 37, 137, 141, 150, 154, 177, 179, 187
 Schalch, Johan Jacob 53, 127
 Schaum, C.L.J. 178
 Schinkel, Karl Friedrich 162
 Schloss Richmond 151
 Schonck, Philip Willem 171, 173, 174
 Sckell family 151, 160, 164
 Friedrich Ludwig von 14, 151, 158, 160, 164
 Johann Friedrich 169
 Scotland 35, 66, 111, 176
 Scottish spruce 155
 Seare, John 113, 117
Seasons, The 175
 Secretary to the Board of Works 18, 26
 seeds, American 120
 Seifersdorfer Tal 153, 155
 Selwyn, George Augustus 17
 serpentine drives/rides 112, 115
 serpentine ha-ha 116
 serpentine lakes 61, 76
 serpentine landscaping 62
 serpentine paths 15, 69, 166, 190
 serpentine rivers 5, 61, 73, 108
 serpentine walks 169, 174, 179
 Seven Years War 149, 152, 187
 shade 5, 145, 160, 178
 Shafto, Jenison 115, 117
 Shakespeare Temple 147
 Shardeloes 105, 111, 114, 117
 sheep 18, 53, 127
 grazing 14, 137
 Shenstone, William 101, 108, 113, 165, 178, 193
 Sherborne 139, 187
 Shobdon Court 121
 Shortgrove 21, 73
 shrubberies 9, 67, 82, 94, 99, 125, 171, 173, 202
 shrubbery beds 171
 Shrubhill 154
 shrubs 68, 78, 82, 127, 133, 160, 166, 169, 178
 American 153
 flowering 34, 122, 157, 162
 Sicily 151
 simplicity 63, 73, 160, 188, 190
 sinuous lines 138, 193
Six Designs for Improving and Embellishing Grounds 151
Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening 10, 142, 165, 175
 Skreens 115, 117
 Sledmere 80, 87
 slopes 65, 66, 83, 86, 113, 157
 smallpox 129
 Smith's Lawn 125
 smooth turf 64, 70, 140
 society, polite 8, 69, 112, 203
 Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce 152
 Soestdijk 173
 soil *see also* earth 51, 57, 98, 121
 Sonsbeek 177
 Southill 148
 Southwark 110
 spades 98, 138, 191
 Spence, Joseph 110, 117
 Springer, Leonard A. 177, 179
 Springhill 90
 spruce, Scottish 155
 Spyers, Christopher 34

- Spyers, John 7, 12, 13, 26, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 42, 44, 47, 55, 92, 201
 St. James's Park 9, 12, 14, 18, 22, 28, 30, 34, 124, 129, 130
 Staffordshire 46, 55, 62, 66, 68, 91, 111, 113, 117, 144
 Stanmer 105, 115, 117
 statues 125, 158
 Steel, Thomas and Richard 98
 Sterne, Laurence 157
 Stevenstone 116, 117
 stew ponds 94, 141
 Stoke Park 110, 113, 116, 117
 Stourhead 14, 44, 154, 158
 Stowe 3, 14, 21, 65, 68, 108, 124, 127, 138, 144
 Strawberry Hill 35, 44, 154
 stream-damming 143
 Stroud, Dorothy 10, 105, 194, 202
 Strutt, John 115, 117
 Stubbs, George 138, 140
 styles 14, 15, 55, 56, 63, 65, 73, 74, 112, 118
 Anglo-Chinese 160, 177, 201
 architectural 71, 137
 Brownian 15, 81, 112, 151, 172, 176, 185
 English landscape 3, 9, 11, 14, 199, 203
 gothic 129, 146, 154, 169
 landscape 1, 15, 42, 65, 68, 71, 165, 179, 200
 naturalistic 7, 9, 14, 61, 68, 112, 118
 rococo 61, 62, 72, 112, 118, 122
 subcontractors 5, 66
 successors 14, 17, 25, 30, 129, 201
 Suffolk 17, 68, 70, 92, 117, 142
 sumac 158
 sunken fences 20, 61, 82, 111, 157
 Surrey 24, 53, 59, 68, 112, 117, 129, 133, 155
 Surveyor of Gardens and Waters 17, 22
 Surveyor of the King's Private Roads 18
 surveyors 26, 30, 35, 39, 42, 47, 80, 104, 110, 112
 see also individual names
 at Hampton Court 47
 surveys 49, 53, 76, 78, 92, 95, 101, 159, 169, 174
 estate 36, 83
 Sussex 37, 68, 105, 115, 117
 Switzer, Stephen 1, 166
 Sykes, Christopher 80
 Sykes, Richard 80
 symmetry 4, 130
 Syon 12, 18, 36, 42, 43, 55, 56, 109, 120, 133
- T**
- taste 4, 6, 7, 29, 34, 55, 57, 118, 185, 187
 British 9, 76, 90
 Chinese 94, 155
 Taylor, Sir Robert 91
 tea 69, 127, 146, 148
 Teal, Jonathan 76
 Teesdale, John 94
 Teesdale, Robert 80
 Temple, Earl 21, 138, 141, 144, 149
 Temple Newsam 6, 66, 68, 81, 87, 90, 138
 temples 3, 59, 69, 85, 128, 146, 155, 172
 Shakespeare Temple 147
 Temple Greenhouse 145
 Temple of Concord and Victory 68, 146
 Temple of Contemplation 142
 Temple of Diana 146
 Temple of Venus 85, 142
 Temple of Victory 54, 59
 Temple Wood Building 143
 Willemstempel 169
 templomania 188
 Tent Hill 148
 tents 145, 149
 canvas 148
 oriental 125
 striped 148
 Turkish 61
 tercentenary 15, 150, 199, 202, 203
 Terling 115, 117
 terraces 57, 84, 96, 115, 155
 Textor, Friedrich 175
 Thames 7, 9, 30, 34, 90, 142, 146, 154, 166, 185
 Thelwall, Rev. Carter 139
 themed gardens 162, 164
Theorie der Gartenkunst 153, 154, 158, 174, 186
Theory and Practice of Gardening 1
 Thibault, Jean-Thomas 173
 Thomson, James 175
 topiary 68, 200
 topographical views 12, 59, 127, 139
 topography 6, 49, 61, 187
 topsoil 84
 Torrington, Viscount 148
 Tottenham Park 92
 tourists 26, 164, 203
 tours 24, 71, 117, 139, 141, 153, 160
 towers 153, 154, 155, 163
 training 91, 92, 110, 121, 158, 169, 176
 formal 39, 42
 tranquillity, classical 159, 164
 Treasury 23, 24, 27, 29
 garden 23, 131
 Lords 24, 29, 31
Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening 10

tree planting 6, 86, 109, 153, 160
 trees 6, 54, 61, 64, 82, 92, 96, 122, 166, 179
 ash 77
 avenues of 51
 birch 158
 clumps of 6, 113, 125
 elm 14, 27, 122
 fruit 115, 121, 122
 groups of 51, 178
 large 5, 82, 83, 99
 mature 55, 191
 oak 6, 67, 77, 158
 orange 24, 155
 pear 129
 plum 129
 yew 26, 99
 Tring Grove 115, 117
Tristram Shandy 155
 tubs 24, 120, 169
Tuinen 179
 turf 61, 62, 68, 69, 98, 127, 186
 see also grass
 smooth 64, 70, 140
 turfing 100
 iron 97, 98
 Turnbull, Deborah 105
 Turner, J.M.W. 86, 108, 142
 Turnham Green 122, 125
 turnips 121
 Turnpike Acts 73
 turnpikes 139
 tutelage 2, 39
 Twells, John 131
 Twickenham 2, 34, 37, 43, 45, 155

U

Ugbrooke 4, 90
 Uilkens, T.F. 176
 urns 71, 125, 158
 Utrecht 173, 177

V

Valentines 25
 valleys 91, 110, 159, 179, 188, 193, 200
 van Hagen, Willem 77, 79
 van Heeckeren van Enghuizen, Baron Hendrik Jacob
 Carel Johan 177
 van Laar, Gijsbert 172
 van Lunteren, Hendrik 176
 Varey, William 18
 vegetation 63, 94, 157, 173, 179, 201
 Vergnaud, Narcisse 191, 193, 195

Versailles 173, 186
 villages 36, 84, 87, 121, 154
 villas 21, 35, 43, 177, 191
 Villiers, Theresa 102
 vines 26, 121, 129
 Virginia Water 125, 129, 133, 154
 visitors 53, 55, 59, 68, 71, 75, 121, 141, 143, 150
 French 187, 191
 vistas 30, 54, 71, 137, 141, 193
 Voltaire 181, 194
 vouchers 13, 82, 90, 98, 100, 201
Voyage en Angleterre 187

W

wages 81, 92
 Wakefield Lawn 139
 Wakefield Lodge 178
 Wale, Samuel 43
 walks 27, 96, 113, 124, 125, 138, 169, 174, 177, 179
 serpentine 169, 174, 179
 Wallace, Cosmo 112
 walled gardens 80, 115, 129, 171
 Wallington 2
 Wallmoden, Johann Ludwig von 158
 walls 21, 24, 31, 56, 61, 84, 127, 153, 157, 170
 clay 85
 external 30, 83
 Walpole, Horace 3, 4, 8, 29, 35, 44, 68, 107, 109,
 141, 155, 175, 186, 188, 195, 198
 Walpole, Sir Edward 43
 Walsh de Serrant, Joseph-Alexis 191
 Walter, John 117
 Ward, John, 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward 113, 117
 Wardour 65
 warrants 18, 21, 22, 23, 29, 124, 131
 Warwick 108, 109
 Warwickshire 108, 109
 Watelet, Claude-Henri 194
 water 13, 18, 56, 63, 65, 83, 86, 91, 96, 145
 artificial 10, 154
 bodies of 6, 14, 56, 63, 65, 114, 137, 143, 151, 179
 engineers 14, 137
 features 137, 141
 management 2
 watercolours *see also* paintings 42, 44, 53, 55, 59
 waterfalls 44, 158, 160
 watermill 79
 Watts, William 70, 107, 140, 148
 wealth 1, 5, 7, 55, 172
 Weardley Moore 77
 weather 6, 98, 133, 139, 150
 Webb, James 85

- Wedgwood family 13, 71, 138
 weeping willows 67, 158
 Welbeck 79, 176
 Welgelegen 173
 Welsh Botanic Garden 102
 Welton House 82
 Wentworth family 76
 West Wycombe 144
 West Yorkshire 4, 13, 76
 Westminster 18, 27, 110, 117
 Weybridge 154
 Whately, Thomas 63, 105, 109, 175, 178, 186, 195
 wheelbarrows 98
 Whigs 18, 21, 23, 29, 65
 Whitby 85
 White, Thomas 65, 66, 81, 83, 87, 105, 108, 111, 118
 White Cottage 130
 White House 53, 128
 Whitton Park 155, 163
 Wilderness 22, 26, 30, 53, 166
 Wilderness House 7, 11, 22, 24, 30, 37, 130
 Wilhelmsbad 153
 Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau 163
 Willemstempel 169
 William III 22, 24, 166
 William V of Orange 34, 169, 172
 William VI of Orange (King William I of the Netherlands) 173
 Wilmington 116
 Wilson, Richard 12, 55, 58, 108
 Wiltshire 4, 9, 37, 65, 66, 90, 91, 122, 149
 Wimpole 14, 127, 128, 129
 windows 25, 61, 125, 145
 Windsor 18, 23, 29, 34, 55, 120, 122, 125, 133, 135, 154
 Windsor, Lewis, 4th Earl of Plymouth 108, 117
 Windsor Great Park 122, 125, 133, 135
 Windsor Park 154, 157
 Wise, Henry 1, 21, 166
 Witches Tower 154
 Woodbridge 65, 68, 145, 148
 Woodbury 115
 woodland 55, 61, 77, 111, 157, 174, 179
 see also trees
 blocks 111, 113
 Woodman, Henry 124
 Woods, Richard 65, 80, 81, 84, 90, 112, 145, 200
 woods *see also* trees 6, 65, 81, 82, 84, 118, 147, 150, 179
 Woodstock 36, 141
 woody plants 152, 171, 179
 Wooler, John 84
 Woollett, William 128
 Woolverstone 117
 Wootton 66
 Wootton Hall 181
 Worcestershire 55, 66, 90, 108, 117, 122, 140
 working landscape 7
 working methods 11, 33, 137, 204
 working practices 6, 12, 14, 36, 75, 81, 87, 94
 workmen 11, 66, 83, 86, 98, 138, 200
 Worksop 79, 112, 174
 Wörlitz 153
 Worsley 73
 Worsley, Thomas 17, 23, 30
 Wotton 18, 143, 175
 Wotton Underwood 141, 143
 Woudrichem 176
 Wrattling Park 113, 117
 Wren, Sir Christopher 37
 Wrest 4, 138, 139, 144, 145, 146
 Wright, Matthew 99
 Wrotham Park 92
 Wyatt, James 107, 111
 Wyatville, Jeffrey 154
 Wycombe 90
 Wynnstay 93
- Y**
- yew trees 26, 99
 Yonge, Sir George 116, 117
 Yorkshire 65, 66, 68, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 87, 112, 150
 North 4, 71, 80
 West 4, 13, 76
- Z**
- zig-zags 191
 Zocher family 173, 176
 Jan David junior 176
 Zoffany, Johan 146, 147

Lancelot “Capability” Brown was one of the most influential landscape designers of the eighteenth-century at a time when Britain was changing radically from an agrarian to an industrial and colonial nation, whilst Europe was periodically convulsed by war and revolution. The extent and nature of his influence are, however, fiercely debated. Brown worked at hundreds of important sites across England and his name became synonymous with the “English Garden” style which was copied across Northern Europe and entranced Catherine the Great, who remodelled her landscapes in St Petersburg to reflect the new style. He was fêted in his time, and recognised by the Crown, but Brown’s style was readily copied over his later life and particularly after his death.

This book eloquently demonstrates that Capability Brown was first and foremost a place-maker and business man, but that in order to get a full understanding of his importance we must consider his role as a royal gardener who had an impact both at home and in continental Europe. This volume brings together a group of international experts who have collaborated to paint one of the most vivid and fascinating accounts of his life, times and importance as a royal gardener in the eighteenth century.

Lucy Worsley

Chief Curator, Historic Royal Palaces & BBC presenter

Arguably, this ubiquity led to the denigration of his achievements and even his character, particularly by the agents of the Picturesque. The lack of any personal primary material from Brown - forcing scholars to rely on his landscapes, contracts and bank accounts - has hindered attempts to provide a rounded and credible account of the man and his works. However, by exploring his team of associates and his role as Royal Gardener, new light can be thrown on the man, his landscapes and his landscape legacy. Bringing together a number of perspectives from across Northern Europe, *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener* explores the lasting international impact of Brown.

With Brown’s position as Royal Gardener at its heart, this book explores for the first time his business methods, working methods and European influence. It assesses how, crucially, Brown’s work practices placed him within the world of nurserymen and landscape designers, and how his business practices and long term relationships with draughtsmen and designers allowed him to manage a huge number of projects and a substantial financial turnover. This, in turn, allowed him to work in a way that promoted and advanced his style of landscape.

Edited by Professor Jonathan Finch (University of York) and Dr Jan Woudstra (University of Sheffield), and with a varied range of engaging contributors drawn internationally from archaeology, art history, history and landscape architecture, *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener* weaves together strands from across a broad range of disciplinary interests. It makes an important contribution to the scholarly discussion of Brown’s work, the work of his collaborators, and legacy in the UK and across Northern Europe. Relevant to students and academics at all levels, this volume throws new light on Capability Brown and his impact on the business of place-making in Northern Europe.

