



THE  
GEORGIAN  
GROUP

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# THE GEORGIAN GARDEN; NURSERIES AND PLANTS

John Harvey

It has been usual to regard the middle of the eighteenth century as a period when horticultural interest centred on the wider landscape, planted with forest trees, and with little interest in flowering plants. In recent years this has been shown to be a view of only limited scope, and much evidence is now available to show that there was a concentrated interest in flowers, first manifested in the introduction of many new flowering shrubs and trees between 1730 and 1760; and later by an enormous growth in the number of different species of herbaceous plants: annuals, biennials, perennials and bulbs, stocked by nurserymen and seedsmen and listed in their printed catalogues. It is here shown that this is not inconsistent with the factual record of the practical literature of gardening published at the time, as distinct from the impression gathered from anecdotal sources, correspondence, and contemporary fiction.

Ten years ago the late Miles Hadfield, in a message to the Garden History Society of which he was President, delivered himself of an aphorism of crucial importance: 'Literary sources for garden history must always be suspect'.<sup>1</sup> The contrast is, of course, with the direct evidence of contemporary factual and archival sources. Hadfield's magnificent *History of British Gardening* redressed the balance by being based largely on practical rather than theoretical and anecdotal works, and upon original documents.

For the Georgian period it is now possible to go a good deal further, and in particular to adduce a large body of evidence in the form of nurserymen's catalogues, together with their bills for plants supplied. There had been a nursery trade in England as far back as the thirteenth century, but it is only towards the end of the seventeenth that there is a substantial survival of catalogues showing the actual species and varieties held.<sup>2</sup> Various estimates and accounts complement the catalogues with prices until after 1750 the earliest priced catalogues begin to appear. The new facts which emerge are, firstly the actual botanical species available in trade, together with garden varieties; and secondly, their accessibility as a matter of cost. Obviously a few wealthy patrons of gardening could obtain any and every plant known; but the great mass of gardeners had to accept what was normally on sale, and what they could afford.<sup>3</sup>

Until late in the seventeenth century the total number of plant nurseries was quite small: by 1680, apart from the London area the known firms of significance numbered only a dozen in the whole country. Yet, by 1760, this number had been multiplied threefold or more, and most regions of England, and the Lowlands of Scotland, had important local suppliers.<sup>4</sup> Within the London area competition was intense, and many of the nurseries were outstanding. To supply the immense demand for forest trees for planting by the hundred and by the thousand, a considerable number of firms began to devote large acreages to trees, and to issue catalogues containing priced lists of trees of different sizes of each species. These specialists were largely in the North and the Midlands, with a few in Scotland but none in Wales.<sup>5</sup>

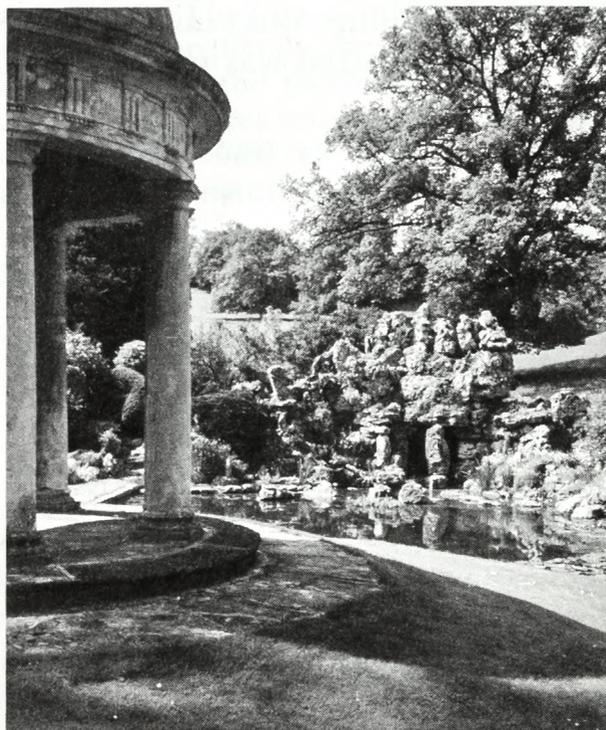
Trees in large numbers and in steadily increasing variety were what was planted in the great landscape parks, and we may briefly consider some of the most significant. Apart from Hampton Court Palace, our most notable example of the Versailles 'school' is *Wrest Park*, begun about 1693 and completed in 1711 by Thomas Archer's pavilion at the end of the canal.

Almost contemporary, but an example of the more modest Dutch school, is

*Westbury-on-Severn*, restored in recent years by the National Trust with advice from the Garden History Society, a scene of 1694–1705. Again almost contemporary are the giant avenues of *Badminton*, several miles in length. By 1710 at *Bramham* in Yorkshire, a style of great clipped hedges shielding copses of trees was employed, still with stiffly geometrical layout. Then came the breakthrough of *Studley Royal*, also in Yorkshire, where the gardener William Fisher introduced curving features and embowered classical temples in naturalistic forest scenery, within the first third of the eighteenth century. The next generation added romantic landscape in the Surprise View of the ruins of Fountains Abbey, which had been acquired for the estate by 1768.

Turning to the South we find a different approach by the landowner at *Stourhead*, the banker Henry Hoare, who for half a century was engaged in planning and planting with the help of Henry Flitcroft, an architect but son of King William III's gardener at Hampton Court, Jeffery Flitcroft. It is noteworthy that as late as 1750 the old idea of the straight avenue, here aiming at an obelisk, was still being employed at *Stourhead*. Another instance where the owner was to a considerable extent his own designer was *Mount Edgcumbe* in Devon (now Cornwall); but there for more than 50 years the family was served by a distinguished chief gardener Thomas Hull, who did not die until 1783.

In contrast to the exciting works of individual patrons and their gardeners we may consider the relatively bland output of Capability Brown, as seen at its best at *Prior Park*, Bath, between 1750 and 1765, and at *Bowood* in Wiltshire from 1762 to 1768. Within the same area are two other estates particularly worthy of note: *Belcombe Court* in the Avon valley, of c.1765, with a remarkable grotto of rockwork beside a lake; and *Ammerdown Park*, begun on a completely new site in 1788, where 20,000 trees were planted on what had been open downland, in 1795–1799. Both of these were examples, once more, of the work of owners and their gardeners rather than of the professional landscaper. All of this activity, multiplied many times in the country as a whole, demanded vast numbers of trees of particular sorts and sizes ready for planting by given dates. At a few great estates private tree nurseries remained, as they had been earlier, a principal source of supply; but it is a major feature of the Georgian period that it saw the rise of the nursery trade and its ability to supply what was required, even on the grandest scale.



Belcombe Court, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts: the rotunda and grotto.

It is now time to consider the types of plants, other than forest trees, which were being introduced, propagated, and put on sale. For brevity I shall concentrate on roughly the half-century from 1735 to 1785; after that the numbers of different plants become unwieldy and we enter an entirely new phase of design under Repton – a phase which I do not propose to discuss here.

Not all the plants commonly used were new introductions: some were even native wild plants such as the handsome Yellow Loosestrife (*Lysimachia vulgaris*); or had been in this country since the fourteenth century like the Bladder Cherry (*Physalis alkekengi*). From the sixteenth century, in Gerard's time or earlier, we had had bulbs or tubers like the Winter Aconite (*Eranthis hyemalis*), showy annuals such as Love-in-a-Mist (*Nigella damascena*), and interesting varieties of roses, for example the famous and repeated bud-sport 'Rosa Mundi' (*Rosa gallica versicolor*). Soon after 1600 came the spring Crocus in many varieties, and later in the century the Tradescants and others brought plants from the Old World and also from the Americas, like the Sweet-flowering Raspberry from Virginia (*Rubus odoratus*), and from Southern Brazil the nearly hardy blue Passion-flower (*Passiflora caerulea*), which had flowered for the first Duchess of Beaufort at Badminton by 1699.

The great wave of eighteenth-century introductions may be typified by the Evergreen Candytuft (*Iberis sempervirens*) which arrived in 1731; three years later both the Azalea (*Rhododendron viscosum*) and the great Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora*) from North America; in 1735 the Turkey Oak from the Near East (*Quercus cerris*); and by 1739 the first Camellia (*Camellia japonica*). Outstanding in the later years of the century was the perpetual Blush China Rose (*Rosa chinensis*) which arrived about 1770. Then came the half-hardy South African bulbs, of which the Ixias are typical, about 1780; and the first Fuchsia by 1788, from southern Chile. By 1794 an inventory of Osterley Park, published by John Hardy, lists in the greenhouse '1 Fuschia and 12 others, different sorts', apparently implying that more than one kind had arrived.<sup>6</sup> Study of the larger trade catalogues shows an enormous increase in the interest in flowering plants during the century. To begin with, before and for some time after 1700, the fashion had been largely centred upon evergreens: Bay, Cypress, Fir, Holly, Laurustinus, Phillyrea, and very notably Yew, which was propagated in immense numbers and trained into various shapes.<sup>7</sup> Rather suddenly during the 1720s interest shifted towards flowers and in the first instance to flowering trees and shrubs. The earliest surviving book-form catalogue, that of Robert Furber at Kensington issued in 1727, contains over 230 varieties as against 100 flowering in Fairchild's large nursery in 1722.<sup>8</sup> By 1755 Christopher Gray's catalogue had 300, a number not exceeded until the late 1770s. In this period there was a considerable influx of new introductions from North America, largely due to Mark Catesby and later to Peter Collinson.<sup>9</sup> The wide range of flowering trees and shrubs held by Gray was exceptional, and his 300 compared with only 200 stocked by Hanbury in Leicestershire in 1760, and some 240 by the great James Gordon in 1770.

In the meantime the growing of herbaceous plants put on a spurt. Furber's *Twelve Months of Flowers* of 1730 illustrated 285 flowering bulbs, annuals and herbaceous plants, and this went up to 325 in Gray's list even without annuals; but in 1760 Webb of Westminster had 475; Gordon in 1770 had 450; and by 1771 William Malcolm was offering 650 different sorts as well as 250 flowering trees and shrubs. Only seven years later Malcolm had increased the woody category from 250 to 650 and the herbaceous from 650 to 1100. These were numbers only marginally exceeded, more than a quarter-century later, by Conrad Loddiges of Hackney in 1804.

When we consider that Sir Thomas Hanmer, in compiling his great garden-book of 1659,<sup>10</sup> listed fewer than 100 trees and shrubs, including evergreens, but already some 300 bulbs, annuals and herbaceous plants, we can see how the interest in woody flowering plants had leapt up by the second quarter of the eighteenth century; whereas it was not until 1760

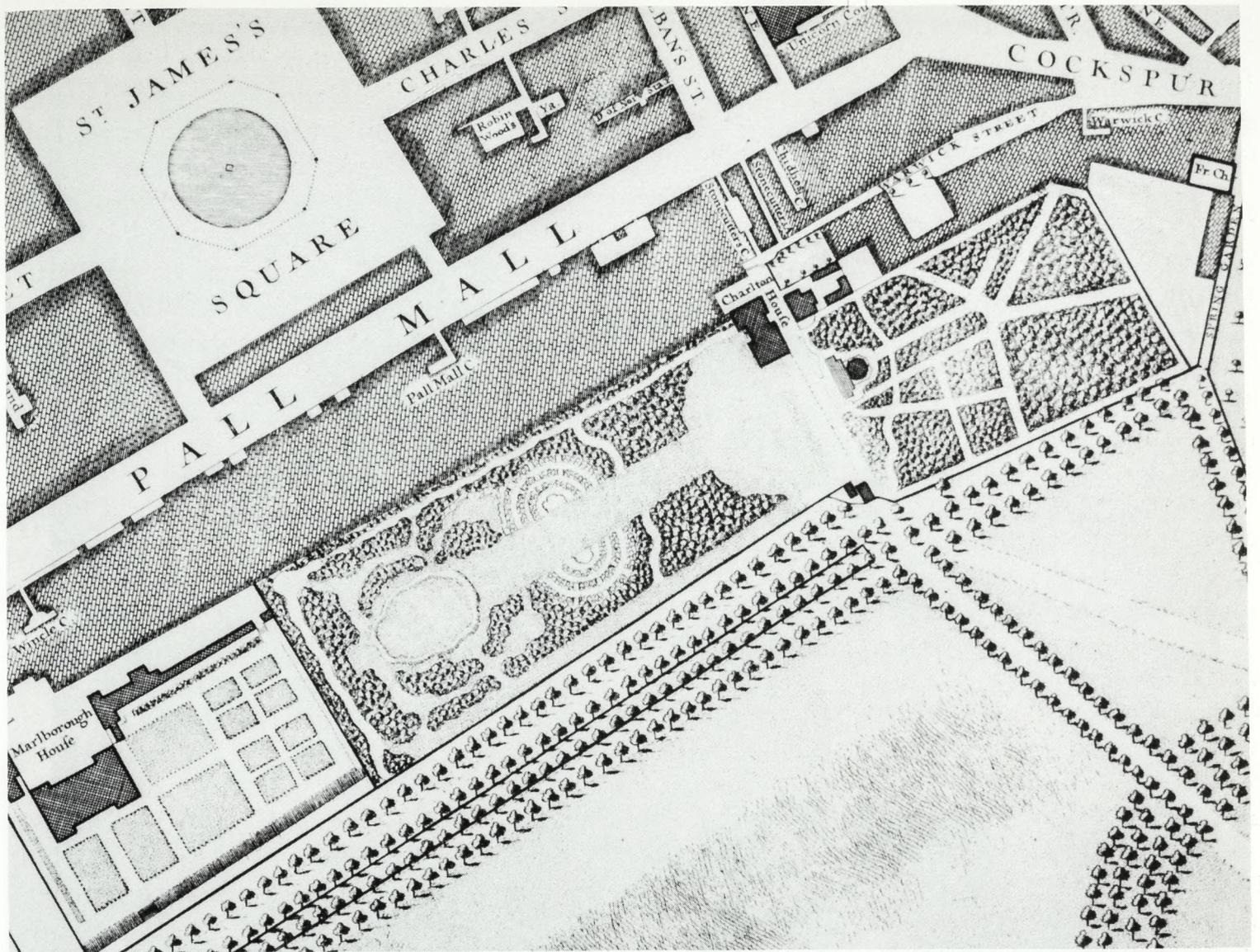
that an even more intense interest in flower-garden plants became manifest. None the less, there must from the days of Fairchild (who died in 1729) have been a substantial interest in flowers, and this was an aspect of fashion seized on by Furber, when he issued his set of plates of flowers of the months in 1730. Mrs Pendarves, later more famous as Mrs Delany, was ordering plants for her sister from Furber in October of that very year.<sup>11</sup>

We have in all this a classical 'chicken-and-egg' problem of supply and demand. To what extent did the nursery trade succeed in promoting a sale for new sorts of plants; or did they cater for a pre-existing demand for the wealthy and fashionable classes? To some extent known historical facts give an answer. It is necessary in the first place to consider the older traditional picture of English gardening through the middle of the century: an interest mainly centred on the great landscapes, planted with trees and enlivened by lakes, temples and other architectural features, but with a pronounced lack of interest in flowers. It used to be said that this supposed absence of flowers was a feature of the style of Lancelot Brown, whose main activity was in the generation from 1750 to 1780. Yet Brown himself, in 1753 to 1757, was ordering for the 'wilderness' at Petworth 65 kinds of flowering trees and shrubs, with a dozen other trees and conifers; there were eleven sorts of roses and eight different honeysuckles.<sup>12</sup> The notion of gardens without flowers in the mid-century was then at least an oversimplification, if not a downright untruth.

Some years ago, however, the older view was modified when John Harris pointed out that there had been a continuous tradition of flower-gardening, not only through the middle of the century, but a good deal earlier.<sup>13</sup> Batty Langley in 1728 advocated the planting of sweet-smelling flowers 'in every Walk', and he also suggested that the individual trees in walks and groves 'might be environ'd at Bottome with a small Circle of Dwarf-stock, Candy-Turf and Pinks'.<sup>14</sup> This sort of under-planting with flowers and flowering shrubs was being carried out later by Brown himself at Burton Constable in east Yorkshire, as Ivan and Elisabeth Hall have shown.<sup>15</sup> By the 1730s Richard Bateman was planting his first, informal, flower garden at Grove House, Old Windsor, and this was followed by Philip Southcote's more famous Woburn Farm after 1735, with a rosary and flower-borders, whose system and species were recorded by Spence.<sup>16</sup>

Spence also noted that Southcote had stated that he had 'prevailed on Kent to resume flowers in the natural way of gardening',<sup>17</sup> and this applies particularly to William Kent's great garden made in 1733 for Frederick, Prince of Wales, at *Carlton House*.<sup>18</sup> Only a year later Sir Thomas Robinson of Rokeby, in a letter to his father-in-law, the Earl of Carlisle, wrote that: 'There is a new taste in gardening just arisen, which has been practised with so great success at the Prince's garden in Town . . . it has the appearance of beautiful nature, and without being told, one would imagine art had no part in the finishing'.<sup>19</sup> Quite apart from the precepts of Batty Langley, it is worth noting that in February 1731–32, a year before Kent's work began at Carlton House, Squire Henry Ellison, up at Gateshead Park by the Tyne, was said to have 'no great veneration for greens', that is evergreens, and sent an order to London for a thousand flowering trees and shrubs of fifteen different kinds, as well as 50 roses of several sorts. The shrubs, fully listed in a covering letter, were divided into 500 of the tallest kinds and 500 dwarf sorts, which implies that the gradation in height employed by Southcote in his borders was already in use some years before Woburn Farm.<sup>20</sup> Two years after Ellison's planting at Gateshead, Alexander Pope was to write to Spence: 'All gardening is landscape-painting – just like a landscape hung up'.<sup>21</sup>

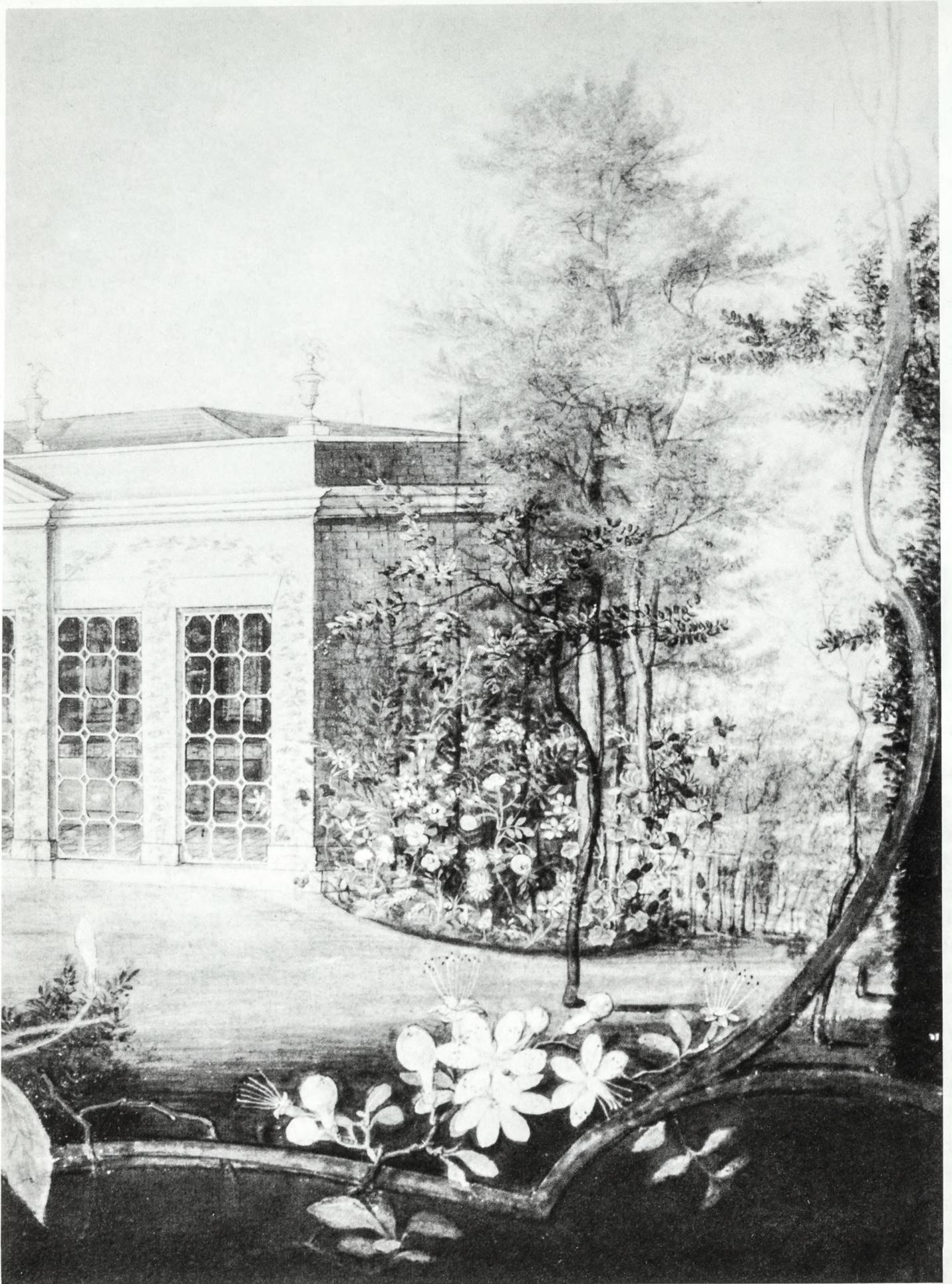
Notwithstanding Pope, Spence, Southcote, William Kent and the Prince of Wales, what was produced in real life was not to our eyes exactly like an artist's rendering of natural landscape. We can, all the same, get some idea of what gardening was really like from the paintings of Thomas Robins and the planting plans of Spence.<sup>22</sup> The bird's-eye view of the *Painswick* garden in Gloucestershire in 1748 includes details of flower-gardens; and Spence's



Plan of the garden at Carlton House, London, taken from John Rocque's map of London, 1746 (courtesy Sotheby's)

plans have been interpreted in perspective reconstructions by Mark Laird: *Garden Grove* in 1748; the *Parsonage* flower-garden for Mrs Bartlemew in 1751; a year later the 4th plan for the Point at *St George's Hill*. Robins's views of *Woodside*, Old Windsor, Berkshire, showing details of the garden created for Hugh Hammersley about 1755, show the extent to which the flower-garden of variously shaped beds was already foreshadowing the later Picturesque. Ten years after that, in 1765, Spence again shows in his 'Guess for Mr Dean Paul's garden' the method of employing 'studs of roses, honeysuckles and jessamins', with mezereons red and white. The roses were to be of several colours and the jasmines both white and yellow. The 'studs' or small beds were only up to about four feet in diameter, and were kept 10 to 12 feet apart to allow for easy mowing of the lawn between, of course with a scythe.<sup>23</sup>

It is evident that the new taste in gardening practised by Kent at Carlton House, but not necessarily invented by Kent alone, was in a literal sense 'picturesque', even if semantic clarity demands that that term be reserved for the much later style so extensively discussed in the last thirty years of the century. What is highly relevant to this discussion of the supply of different sorts of plants is that the garden of the Prince of Wales at Carlton House had, at the highest level and by 1734, set a fashion which was recognized across the country as something new – even if Kent had been in some degree anticipated by a general wave of fashion tending in the same direction. There is in this no real contradiction: it must be stressed that the history of gardening in the eighteenth century has largely concentrated upon the treatment of large



Thomas Robins the Elder. Detail of A Garden House at Woodside c.1755 (Private Collection)

parks in the countryside, covering hundreds of acres. Hitherto little consideration has been given to the more intimate gardens of the very same noble owners, attached to their town houses in London or in the greater provincial centres. We simply do not yet know in detail what types of plant were being bought, not only for the rather despised 'villa gardens' of wealthy merchants, but for the urban gardens of the nobility and gentry, likely to take their tone from the new taste of the Prince of Wales and his protégé William Kent.

In regard to flowers, we have to keep in mind the date of the famous flower-garden at Nuneham created in line with William Mason's ideas expressed in Book I of *The English Garden*, published in 1772. From that year forward an actual garden was planted at *Nuneham Courtenay* in Oxfordshire, and by 1777 was sufficiently mature to be depicted in views by Paul Sandby.<sup>24</sup> It is unnecessary to insist on the precise year 1772: though that is important as the earliest date at which concrete expression had been given to the ideas of the new or later or full 'Picturesque Style'. There had been discussion in interested circles since 1766, when Jean Jacques Rousseau in exile had visited Nuneham. That year of 1776, however, must be regarded as the very earliest possible onset of this new Picturesque even as a concept. It is possible that intellectual forces in action behind the scenes may have played some part in promoting the remarkable flood of flowering plants already mentioned and signalled by Malcolm's first list of 1771, in advance of the first book of Mason's poem in 1772; but this is a possibility only, not a certainty. What had been happening before 1766 is another matter.



Paul Sandby RA. Detail of Mason's Garden, Nuneham, Oxfordshire c.1760 (courtesy the Hon. Mrs Anne Gascoigne)



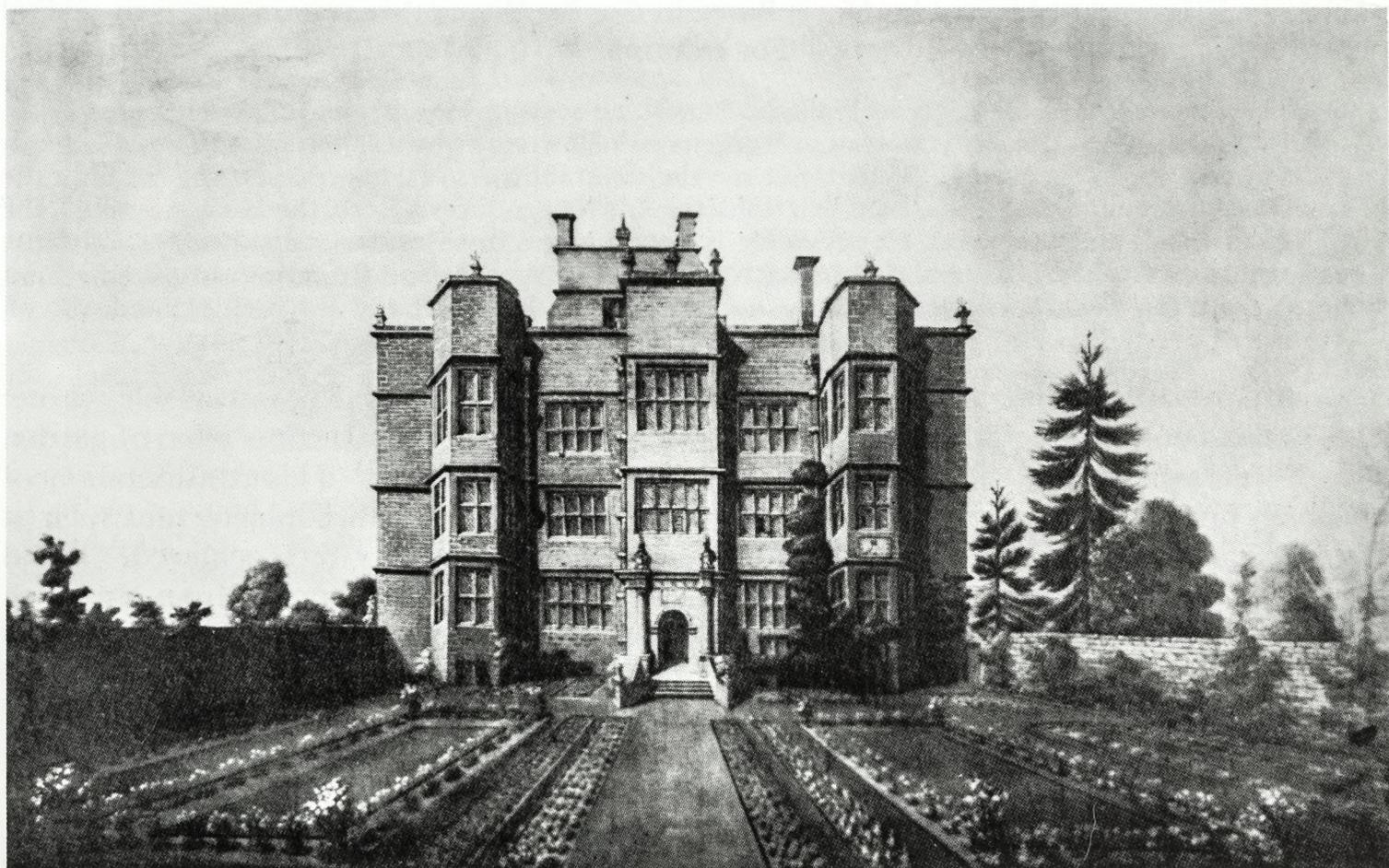
Paul Sandby RA. Detail of *Gardeners at Work in Mason's Garden, Nuneham, Oxfordshire c.1760* (courtesy the Hon. Mrs Anne Gascoigne)

Actually published in 1766 was Tobias Smollett's two-volume account of his *Travels in France and Italy*. Smollett's journeys were in 1763–1765, and it has to be remembered that he was himself not an Englishman but a Scot, with an outsider's objective view of England. Writing from Nice on 5th March 1765 Smollett stated that an Englishman's expectations of a garden were: 'clumps of trees, woods and wildernesses cut into delightful alleys perfumed with honeysuckle and with sweet-briar, and resounding with the mingled melody of all the singing birds of heaven; he looks for plats of flowers in different parts to refresh the sense, and please the fancy . . .'<sup>25</sup> In a few words, Smollett had characterized the English garden as it was generally understood before he left for foreign parts in 1763: the leading features being sweet-briar, honeysuckle and plats of flowers. Clearly this view of a typical English garden is something very different from the old idea of the reign of 'Capability' Brown.

It has to be concluded that, in the generation between 1730 and 1760 a substantial change had taken place in the attitude of the gardener, towards a natural rather than a formal disposition, and in regard to flowers as a primary need. We have only to consult the chief handbook of eighteenth-century horticulture, Philip Miller's *Gardeners Dictionary*, to see that what is commonly attributed to Southcote at Woburn Farm was already accepted doctrine in the 1730s. In his article on Wildernesses, Miller lays down that in those parts of plantations planted with deciduous trees, there 'may be planted next the Walks or Openings, Roses, Honeysuckles, Spiraea Frutex, and other kinds of low-flowering Shrubs . . . and at the Foot of

them, near the Sides of the Walks, may be planted Primroses, Violets, Daffodils, and many other sorts of Wood-flowers, not in a strait Line, but rather to appear accidental, as in a natural Wood. Behind the first Row of Shrubs should be planted Syringa's, Cytisus's, Althaea Frutex, Mezereons, and other flowering Shrubs of a middle Growth, which may be backed with Laburnum, Lilacs, Guelder-roses, and other flowering Shrubs of large Growth; these may be backed with many other Sorts of Trees, rising gradually to the Middle of the Quarters, from whence they should always slope down every way to the Walks'. The eight editions of the *Dictionary* from 1731 to 1768, and its six abridged versions from 1735 to 1771, impressed this upon the whole gardening public of Great Britain.

Miller's remarks upon matters of horticultural practice over a period of forty years, precisely sandwiched between the end of the epoch of formal avenues with its predominance of evergreens, and the opening of the great age of the Picturesque and the flower-garden of the Nuneham style, are of crucial importance. In his article on *Buxus*, the Box-tree, Miller repeats from edition to edition a dictum of general application: 'The Dwarf Kind of Box is used for bordering of Flower-beds or Borders; for which Purpose it far exceeds any other Plant . . . by the Firmness of its Rooting, keeps the Mould in the Borders from Washing into the Gravel-walks more effectually than any Plant whatever'. This tradition of box-edging became so deeply rooted that it is normal to this day in the Isle of Man;<sup>26</sup> but even for London gardens it was still being advocated in the 1790s;<sup>27</sup> and is probably the edging shown in the remarkable detailed picture of *Gawthorpe Hall* in Lancashire as it was in 1780.<sup>28</sup> The precise and formal layout of the beds, even though in grass rather than gravel, reflects the fashion of some forty or fifty years earlier, as John Harris has pointed out. Through the greater part of the period now under consideration, this sort of formality in the intimacy of the Pleasure-garden went hand-in-hand with the new taste of naturalism in the 'Wilderness'.



English School, c.1780. Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire (Private Collection)

Consolidating that new taste, the 'Natural Style', which had emerged at the time that Kent was laying out the Carlton House garden in 1733, we may also read besides Miller the historical account of the use of flowers given by Isaac Ware in his standard work of 1756, *A Complete Body of Architecture*. In his chapter on flower-beds Ware refers to three successive styles:

The disposition of these [that is, flower-beds] was once in figured borders cut into flowers de luce and true love knots, with hearts and flames, and wheels and hour-glasses.

That of course describes the figured parterres of the older classical period of Le Nôtre and of his disciples in England, including London & Wise. Then says Ware:-

This banished, a taste if less quaint yet as precise succeeded, the planting them [that is, flowers] in even, regular, and strait borders, set by the sides of gravel-walks, and edged with box, in manner of a low wall.

Ware objects that this second fashion 'is unlike nature', and goes on to advocate the study of a May meadow, and the use of grass lawns:-

We see in nature grass is the best foil to flowers.

He advocates the planting of flowers 'so near the edge as to seem rising from the grass; and there will be all the happy effect of nature improved by more elegant species'.<sup>29</sup> Those more elegant species were, of course, what the nurserymen were by that time offering for sale in greatly increased variety. Ware goes on to suggest the management of different hues and shades of green in trees, shrubs and flowering plants so 'as to form a picturesque appearance', showing awareness of the theme enunciated by Pope more than twenty years before.

Further insights are obtained into this period of planting from what is known of Rousham, begun to Kent's design in 1738 and effectively complete at the time of Kent's death ten years later. The now famous letter from the Rousham gardener John Macclary or Clary, written in 1750 and published by Mavis Batey in *Garden History* three years ago, is at several points explicit on the role of flowers.<sup>30</sup> For example:-

you turn along a pleasant green Walk, backt with all sorts of Flowers, and Flowering Shrubs . . . youl prehaps see a greater veriaty of evergreens and Flowering Shrubs then you can posably see in any one walk in the world . . . their you see the deferant sorts of Flowers, peeping through the deferant sorts of Evergreens, here you think the Laurel produces a Rose, the Holly a Syringa, the Yew a Lilac, and the sweet Honeysuckle is peeping out from under every Leafe . . . a large Serpentine Green Walk, bounded on each side with Evergreens and flowering shrubs entermixt . . . from the Kitchen Garden: you goe into a pretty Little Flower Garden, well planted with all sorts of pretty Flowers . . .

Miles Hadfield, without the full knowledge of Rousham that is now available, wrote: 'One realizes on studying Rousham that Kent revolutionized the whole conception of garden design. Perhaps Pope was the spark that set his genius aflame'.<sup>31</sup> This consideration of Rousham brings us to one final question: how far were men of philosophic genius such as Pope, or of artistic genius, like Kent, responsible for the remarkable effects achieved? Should not a substantial share of the credit go to the gardeners, men of the stamp of John Macclary; of William Fisher at Studley Royal; of Thomas Hull at Mount Edgcumbe; of Thomas Knowlton at Lord Burlington's Londesborough for 55 years, whose life and letters collected by the late Blanche Henrey have recently appeared;<sup>32</sup> of James Vincent who worked for Beckford for almost 50 years, at Fonthill and at Bath? It was Vincent who very pertinently remarked to his millionaire master: 'If you find the money, sir, I will find the trees'.<sup>33</sup>

Was it not perhaps Vincent who placed the trees as well as found them? This point is brought out by another highly significant passage from Isaac Ware, when in discussing beds of flowers, he emphasizes that:-

The Gardener who understands that branch of his profession, which treats of the raising of these plants, will know how to diversify the scene from month to month, and give at once a succession for the whole flowery part of the year.<sup>34</sup>

That clearly acknowledges the crucial importance of horticultural skill and knowledge of plants on the part of the professional. Was it not, in fact, often the largely unacknowledged contribution of the Head Gardener that was responsible for much of the final effect?

### Acknowledgements

Although, since boyhood, I have had an intense interest in the history of garden plants and in the nurserymen who propagated them, I am an ignoramus in regard to the Georgian period of garden design, and owe almost everything in this respect to others, who have generously given of their knowledge. I wish especially to thank Robert Holden for having first put me in touch with the background of the period and particularly for telling me of the Spence papers now in America. I am grateful to Richard Gorer for his expert botanical knowledge over many years, in identifying the plants described under obsolete or misleading names. More specifically I am grateful in regard to this paper to Mrs Mavis Batey, for information and for illustrations; to Mrs Mary Clapinson and Tim Rogers of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for telling me of important manuscript material of relevance. Others who have helped me with information and illustrations are: Richard Bisgrove, John Hardy, John Harris, David Jacques, Mark Laird, Mrs Kay Sanecki, Michael Symes, and Roger White.

### NOTES

1. *Garden History: The Journal of the Garden History Society* (hereafter *G.H.*), IV no. 1, Spring 1976, 1–2.
2. For a census of surviving trade catalogues of firms in Great Britain and Ireland down to 1850, see John Harvey, *Early Horticultural Catalogues: A Checklist . . .* (University of Bath Library, 1973; with *Supplement . . .*, 1981); and cf. J. Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (Phillimore, 1972), with facsimiles of several catalogues and lists.
3. For a study of the prices for forest trees see John Harvey in *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, LXVII no. 1, January 1973, 20–37. For roses see J. Harvey in *The Rose Annual*, 1976, 91–95; 1979, 161–166; also generally, J. Harvey, 'Prices of Shrubs and Trees in 1754', *G. H.*, II no. 2, Spring 1974, 34–44; and *The Georgian Garden* (Dovecote Press, Wimborne, Dorset, 1983), with facsimile of the catalogue of John Kingston Galpine of Blandford (1782) and commentary.
4. See John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (Phillimore, '1974', 1975); 'Leonard Gurle's Nurseries and some others', *G.H.*, III no. 3, Summer 1975, 42–49; 'The supply of plants in the North-West', *G.H.*, VI no. 3, Winter 1978, 33–37.
5. 'Two Early Nurseries: Knowsley, Lancs., and Knutsford, Cheshire', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, vol. 59, 1976, 66–84.
6. John Hardy, 'Osterley Park House: a Temple of Flora', *Victoria & Albert Album*, No. 3, 1984, 151–159. So far as recorded introductions are concerned, only one species was available until 1796, when a second came, not to be followed by the third until 1821.
7. John Harvey, 'The Stocks held by Early Nurseries', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 22, 1974, 18–35.
8. For the list of plants in flower at Fairchild's nursery, see *Early Nurserymen* (above, n<sup>4</sup>), 150–159.
9. Alice M. Coats, *The Quest for Plants*, 1969, 268–271; 273–276; Hilda Grieve, *A Transatlantic Gardening Friendship* (Historical Association, Essex Branch, 1981).
10. *The Garden Book of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.*, ed. Ivy Elstob (London: Gerald Howe, 1933).
11. *Autobiography and Letters of Mrs Delany*, Series I, vol. i, 265.
12. Lancelot Brown's account survives among the Egremont Papers, West Sussex Record Office; it has been printed, but with inaccuracies, in J. Fleming & A. Gore, *The English Garden* (1979), 123. Identifications, and the statistics here given, are from a photocopy of the original kindly supplied by David Jacques.
13. 'The Flower Garden 1730 to 1830' in *The Garden: A Celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening* (1979), 40–46.

14. Batty Langley, *New Principles of Gardening* (1728), quoted by John Harris (n<sup>13</sup> above, p. 41); and by Alice M. Coats, *Flowers and their Histories* (revised edition, 1968), 124.
15. Dr Ivan Hall's contributions at the meeting of the Garden History Society at Burton Constable, 17 April 1983, with special reference to the painting of the west front in 1776 by George Barrett, showing shrubs planted under the clumps of trees. Elisabeth Hall, 'The Plant Collections of an Eighteenth-Century Virtuoso', *G.H.*, vol. 14 no. 1, Spring 1986, 6–31, at pp. 17–99, 25.
16. R. W. King, 'The "Ferme Ornée": Philip Southcote and Wooburn Farm', *G.H.*, II no. 3, 27–60; the planting plan 'after Mr Southcote's manner' from the Spence Papers is reproduced on p. 40.
17. David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature* (1983), 39.
18. The plan of Kent's garden at Carlton House is shown in considerable detail on John Rocque's *Plan of London and Westminster* (1746) on a scale of 26 inches to one mile; there is a view looking eastwards by William Woollett, engraved about 1760. For three successive gardens at Carlton House, see the plans reproduced in *Survey of London*, XXX (1960), plates 4, 5 and 6.
19. Historic Manuscripts Commission Report No. 42, *Carlisle*, 143–144; cf. D. Jacques, *op. cit.* (n<sup>17</sup> above), 32.
20. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, 181–182.
21. Quoted in D. Jacques, *op. cit.*, 28.
22. For the paintings of Robins see John Harris, *Gardens of Delight* (1978); *The Artist and the Country House* (1979). Spence's plans have been reproduced and studied in detail by R. W. King, 'Joseph Spence of Byfleet', *G.H.*, VI no. 3 (1978), VII no. 3 (1979), VIII nos. 2, 3 (1980).
23. R. W. King in *G.H.*, VIII no. 3, 96, 102.
24. Mavis Batey, 'William Mason, English Gardener', *G.H.*, I no. 2, February 1973, 11–25. Five of Paul Sandby's original watercolours of Nuneham were brought together in the loan exhibition at Sotheby's, 'The Glory of the Garden', 2–28 January 1987, and are illustrated in colour in the *Catalogue*, 89 (nos. 122–126), though there misdated to 'c. 1760'; the Nuneham flower garden was not planted until 1772.
25. T. Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. F. Felsenstein (1979), 263.
26. Larch S. Garrad, *A History of Manx Gardens* (Douglas: Collector's Choice, 1985), 92.
27. Bodleian Library, MS. Douce c. 11, f. 18.
28. John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House* (1979), no. 227; also in colour in Sotheby's *Catalogue of 'The Glory . . .'* (above, n<sup>24</sup>), 72 (no. 92), though small and cropped.
29. Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), 651–652.
30. Mavis Batey, 'The Way to view Rousham by Kent's Gardener', *G.H.*, vol. 11 no. 2, Autumn 1983, 125–132.
31. M. Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (1969), 197.
32. Blanche Henrey, ed. A. O. Chater, *No Ordinary Gardener: Thomas Knowlton, 1691–1781* (1986).
33. J. Lees-Milne, *William Beckford* (1976), 93.
34. Ware, *op. cit.* (n<sup>29</sup> above), 652.