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FORMALISM IN THE VICTORIAN GARDEN

by

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A thesis submitted to the Council for National Academic
Awards in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

FORMALISM IN THE VICTORIAN GARDEN

by Jan Carder

This study attempts to consider changing attitudes to formalism in the English garden during the Victorian period. It begins with the decades dominated by Loudon and concludes with what might be termed the triumph of formalism in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. The area chosen as a case study is the county of Derbyshire and its periphery, which contains such gardens of monumental and seminal importance as Chatsworth, Haddon Hall and Trentham.

By looking at relevant publications and by visiting and recording surviving and almost vanished gardens, this thesis demonstrates how the Victorians resolved the problem of the co-existence of 'Art' and 'Nature' in the design of the formal garden and its relationship to the house. The prolonged debate about formalism and its varying interpretations, is explored both in terms of writing on the subject and practical design schemes.

The Victorian period is usually seen as one of revivalism and eclecticism in terms of its architecture - this is equally true of the design of gardens. The importance attached to the romantic and historical associations of gardens is exemplified in their restoration and imitation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank most sincerely the owners or custodians of the many places visited in connection with this research. I am particularly grateful to those private individuals and organisations who do not normally open their houses, gardens and archives to the public. I am also indebted for the help received from the staff of numerous libraries, archives and planning departments. In particular the following people were most helpful; Mr Chapman, the proprietor of Hassop Hall Hotel and Lady Stephenson, the last private owner of Hassop Hall, for permission to consult their documentary records; Major Drury-Lowe kindly allowed access to his gardens and house at Locko Park and his housekeeper supplied documentary information; Mrs Bailey allowed access to the gardens at Cressbrook Hall, as did the Rev. E. Urqhart to the gardens of Bakewell Vicarage; Mrs Briscoe to those at Darley House and Mr. R. Sitwell at Renishaw Hall. The owners of Flintham Hall and Ednaston Manor most generously welcomed me to their gardens unannounced, as did the headmaster of the school at Barlborough Hall; Mr J. Beresford, the Duke of Rutland's agent at Haddon Hall allowed free access to the gardens outside normal opening times; Mr Harrison, the Derbyshire County Planning Officer generously sent information concerning the restoration of the grounds at Elvaston Castle and Shipley Park. I am especially indebted to Mrs Jane Farrell, librarian at the Sheffield City Polytechnic Library at Psalter Lane who ordered and processed so many of the articles and books necessary for this research.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Map 1. Formal Gardens in and around Derbyshire. facing page 5
- Map 2. The influence of Chatsworth and Paxton in
 and around Derbyshire. facing page 98.

Illustrations with a preliminary list are grouped together at the end.

Page numbering for illustrations is at top right hand corner.

It is not easy to define formalism in the Victorian garden. Quite apart from the problems of defining the garden as separate from the park, formalism as a Victorian concept is very elusive. Dictionary definitions indicate that "formal" can be used in the general sense of "pertaining to the visible form, arrangement, or external qualities" of a garden; whereas "formal style" indicates the widely accepted sense of "regular or geometric" or even "symmetrical" arrangement of parts. But as Blomfield wrote in The Formal Garden in England (1892),

The formal system of gardening is a question-begging name. The formal treatment of gardens ought perhaps to be called the architectural treatment of gardens for it consists in the extension of principles of design which govern the house, to the grounds which surround it. (1)

He saw the object of formal gardening as bringing the architectural qualities of "restraint, and if not symmetry, at least balance" to the garden. "Thus the formal garden will produce with the house a homogeneous result which cannot be reached by either singly." (2)

Another sense of "formal" is "ceremonious", or "suited for formal occasions in which conventional behaviour is appropriate". "Formal" in this sense may well be applied to the design of palatial Victorian country houses and their immediate surroundings, where schemes were calculated to demonstrate the status of the owner; similarly, the grand promenade in public parks of the 19th-century could in this sense be termed "formal".

The Victorians used a number of synonyms for "formal" which were widely interpreted in different contexts and at different times. Thus, by 1840 Loudon, probably the most influential of the 19th-century garden theorists and promoter of the "gardenesque style" which he initially called the "natural", was insisting upon the "axis of symmetry". He also distinguished between what he saw as two very distinct styles of laying out the grounds immediately surrounding a country residence:

. . . the first of which is called the Ancient, Roman, Geometric, Regular or Architectural Style; and the second, the Modern, English, Irregular, Natural or Landscape Style. (3)

The Geometric style is characterized in Italy by "flights of steps in the open air, terrace walls, vases and statues", in France by "long avenues", and in Holland by "long, straight canals, and grassy terraces. Thus we have the Italian, the

French and the Dutch Schools of the Geometric Style." The Landscape style was replaced by what he calls Repton's School, which led to the rise of the Gardenesque which he advocated as being particularly suitable for laying out the grounds of small villas. His definition of the Gardenesque includes a number of formal elements (see Chapter 2 and Appendix A(i) below).

Repton is usually credited with the re-introduction of formality early in the 19th-century; he had justified the practice of re-instating architectural principles in the design of gardens by reference to historical precedents. He had also observed, as early as 1795 in Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening, that "there appears to be in the human mind a natural love of order and symmetry".

The garden is usually understood to be the intermediate area between the architecture of the house and the open countryside or parkland beyond. As this area increased in size and importance, attempts to control it with some unifying concept of design inevitably led to confusion of terms. Although Loudon had distinguished between the geometric, the picturesque, and the gardenesque, he further confused matters by declaring that the gardenesque also dealt with the composition of the garden as a unified whole, to be laid out according to either picturesque or geometric rules - hence what he had initially thought of as a natural style could be alternatively a geometric, formal style. 19th-century gardening literature illustrates this confusion and the concern to distinguish between "Art" and "Nature", which were, in theory at least, synonymous with the "Formal" and "Natural", or irregular, approaches to garden design. Most later writers acknowledge their debt to Loudon and discuss garden layout using similar terms, although their interpretation sometimes differs slightly from Loudon's. For example, Kemp agreed in How to Lay Out a Garden (1858) that

there are three principal kinds of style recognized in landscape gardening: the old formal or geometrical style; the mixed, middle or irregular style, which Mr Loudon called the gardenesque; and the picturesque.(4)

But he differed from Loudon when he described the characteristic features of the mixed style as "serpentine or wavy lines" :

Its object is beauty of lines and general variety. Roundness, smoothness, freedom from angularity . . . It does not reject straight lines entirely near the house, or in connexion(sic) with a flower-garden. . . Nor does it refuse to borrow from the picturesque in

regard to the arrangement and grouping of plants. It is a blending of Art with Nature,- an attempt to interfuse the two. (5)

This interesting juxtaposition of Art with Nature highlights the Victorian dilemma. In spite of theoretical attempts to distinguish between the "formal" and the "natural", it is the combination of Art with Nature, or the so-called mixed style which borrows from wheresoever it chooses. According to Kemp this produces

something intermediate between the pure state of either, which shall combine the vagaries of one with the regularity of the other, and appropriate the most agreeable elements of both. It has all the grace of nature without its ruggedness; and the refinement of art apart from its stiffness and severity. (6)

Kemp illustrates the importance of a knowledge of the different styles, their interpretations and associations, but he also makes it clear that the mixed style, "with a little help from both the formal and the picturesque", was "best suited for small gardens"(7). He discusses the principle of adaptation of particular styles, rules or modes of treatment to the circumstances already existing - most writers agreed with Loudon in the importance of matching the architectural style of the house to the size of the garden and the scenery in which it was located.

By mid-century the gardenesque was frequently seen as a composite style, employing geometric, formal schemes for flat, small grounds or areas near the house, and picturesque for distance or for irregular terrains. While there was some agreement about the revival of formal elements within the proximity of the house, their interpretation and extent were dependent on a variety of influences whose strengths fluctuated or receded throughout the period discussed.

This essay examines changes in the concept of formalism and changes in the factors influencing this concept during the 19th-century by reference to specific gardens in and near Derbyshire.

References.

- (1)p.2.
- (2)p.4.
- (3)p.V Introduction, The Landscape Gardening of Humphry Repton(1840).
- (4)p.98.
- (5)p.123.
- (6)p.123.
- (7)p.126.



Map 1 Formal Gardens in and around Derbyshire

INTRODUCTION

Much recent work of importance has dealt with the Victorian and Edwardian country house (Girouard, Franklin, Aslet et al.). On a national level The Buildings of England by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner sometimes devotes attention to gardens and parks, usually dealing adequately with garden buildings, but frequently paying little attention to the gardens unless a nationally established figure is known to have worked there. The two editions on Derbyshire (1953, 1978) indicate that some attempt has been made in the second to remedy important omissions in this respect. The directory, The Derbyshire Country House (1982) by M. Craven and M. Stanley, is typical in that it deals only with the architecture, the lineage and connections of the owners and makes little or no mention of the grounds at all - in this sense it seems to have progressed little since Tilley's day. (1) Little recent attention seems to have been given to the concept of unity of design of house and garden. In a recent review of two books dealing with the Victorian garden G. Darley comments that 'there is an inexplicable gap in published garden history of the Victorian period; it is dismissed equally by scholars and by those writing for a more general readership.' (2)

Current literature on the subject seems to be addressed to architects, architectural historians and visitors to country houses on the one hand, and horticulturalists and garden enthusiasts on the other. Research by J. Gallagher (3) suggests that the visiting public

is not so divided in its interests as the literature suggests and that more *information* on the inter-relationship of house and garden and their historic development would be welcomed. She found that guide books to country houses pay scant attention to gardens; that few guides explain the theoretical or aesthetic concepts upon which designs have been based; that few guides mention the importance of gardens in social history, the development of gardening as a craft and the ways in which the development of techniques of gardening have influenced gardening design. She also found that the material in 'garden guides' (i.e., as opposed to country house guides covering house and garden) is heavily, sometimes exclusively, weighted towards plant description and fails to inform the growing interest in history and design.

Most of us are familiar with guide books which are excellent in their dealings with historical buildings and their contents, but frequently fail to make more than a passing reference to the surrounding grounds and least of all to the inter-relationship of the two. True, the ephemeral nature of gardens has meant their greater vulnerability than the buildings with which they are associated. Nevertheless, their significance, together with the house, of which, in many instances they form a conceptual unity, makes them an essential part of the apparatus necessary to an understanding of the period in which they were designed and laid out. This suggests that there is a need for an approach to the literature on country houses and their gardens, parks and estate buildings which

acknowledges their independence and provides more information on their combined development: certainly Gallagher's research implies that the general public would like much more information on the development of the gardens and on their designers.

Although conservation is not a theme of this essay, it is worth commenting that the current surge of interest in historic parks and gardens and their conservation, on the part of the general public, can perhaps be seen as a reaction to pressure on the landscape in general.

The problems associated with any study of garden history are self-evident. The gardens themselves are particularly vulnerable. Not only are they in a state of constant change in terms of the growth and decay of plant material, but inasmuch as they reflect man's changing attitude to his environment they can be altered rapidly according to new taste, fashion or need. The high cost of maintenance has led to the neglect and ruin of many once famous gardens, laid out when labour was cheap and plentiful, or to their adaptation or alteration to new uses such as schools or hospitals. New land use in the form of housing estates, car parks, motorways and general urban expansion has caused much destruction. Although the Victorian period is relatively close (perhaps for this reason) it is not a period that has been treated with much respect until fairly recently. Earlier this century, wholesale destruction of monumental Victorian architecture took place without arousing much public protest. The fact that many of the Victorian gardens were so

labour-intensive means that generally they have not survived so well as the eighteenth century landscaping.

This study is contained broadly within the Victorian period, although of course the terminal dates 1837 - 1901 are artificial to any thematic study and some discussion of the ideas formulated earlier in the century is essential to an understanding of what follows. Victorian gardens are not just a post-1837 creation, nor is there a sudden change in 1901 - there are considerable changes throughout the century. Reference is made to the reactions to eighteenth century landscaping and Repton's reintroduction of formal elements; similarly reference is made to the Edwardian period which can be seen in some ways as an extension or perhaps a culmination of the debates about garden design which have been taking place throughout the nineteenth century. However, the gardens selected are creations which fall mainly within the Victorian period - the first investigation beginning after Paxton's arrival at Chatsworth in 1826 and the later investigations concluding with Renishaw Hall where the gardens were recast by Sir George Sitwell c.1890, Thornbridge Hall which underwent a number of alterations and extensions, but whose main garden features are probably c.1905 and Ednaston Manor, a Lutyens house designed in 1912 for W.G. Player, the Nottingham tobacco magnate and where Lutyens also designed the formal gardens surrounding the house.

The difficulties of conceptual interpretation in attempting to define 'formalism' are considerable. The gardens at the beginning

of the nineteenth century are not the same as at the end of the period - the relationship between the landscape, the garden and the house undergoes changes. These changes are reflected in the garden literature, from writers and artists discussing artistic philosophy to Loudon's encyclopaedic works; from periodicals and practical handbooks to treatises on the architectural garden. However, The Formal Garden in England (1892) by Blomfield seems to be the first time that the word formal, relating to a garden, is used in a book title.

In order to explore the concept of 'formalism' in Victorian garden design this study looks principally at country house gardens. These are the gardens which the upper classes laid out round their houses and which traditionally set the fashion for others to follow. A number of gardens laid out for industrialists and some important public parks and arboreta are also looked at. Cemeteries are not dealt with, neither is the public park movement nationally nor its effect on town planning. Similarly plantsmanship, which would demand a botanical approach, falls outside the scope of this study.

One reason for concentrating this research on Victorian garden design is that the wealth of literature dealing with the architecture of the period, for the most part, fails to take the surrounding grounds into account. While there is an increasing recognition of the richness and variety of Victorian domestic architecture there is still a lingering rejection of the Victorian formal garden which has

inhibited study and quite often engendered narrow stereotyping and misconceptions. The Victorian formal garden is usually described as being the epitome of bad taste. Increased interest in recent years for the Victorian period and its artefacts has not included a reappraisal of the formal garden, but has rather reiterated its vulgarity and ostentation. Garden historians have generally focussed their interest on garden designers like William Robinson or Gertrude Jekyll, perhaps because they can be more readily recognized as the precursors of attitudes to planting and design which are popular and widely advocated today.

These assumptions posed a number of questions in this research. Who were these arbiters of taste? What was meant by The Formal Garden? When and why did its popularity decline? In spite of much adverse criticism the formal garden can be shown to have been highly popular at all levels of society and particularly among the aristocracy: it seems also to have been variously and widely interpreted. The vast numbers of people who flocked to the Crystal Palace Gardens or to the newly opened parks in the nineteenth century were frequently drawn there by the attractions of the geometric floral displays of carpet bedding and the floricultural exhibitions. In spite of the fact that writers on garden design still deplore these highly colourful, carefully controlled schemes of bedding out, they are still widely practised by municipal authorities and are apparently still widely admired. The amateur attempts to emulate these methods of planting in small private gardens are surely an

indication of their enduring popularity.

In trying to understand what Formalism meant to the Victorians, it soon becomes clear that it was subject to a wide variety of interpretations at different periods in time and within different contexts. What had started as a reaction against the landscaping of Capability Brown, led by Uvedale Price and supported by Humphry. Repton became a move towards an architectural treatment of the immediate surroundings of the house which reached a climax by the middle of the nineteenth century in the work of J.C.Loudon, W.A.Nesfield, Sir Charles Barry and Sir Joseph Paxton. The wealth of new plants available, the improvements in the science of horticulture, the invention and improvements of mechanical aids including the great improvements in greenhouse construction and heating, and the development of manufacture of various artificial types of stone for cheap mass production of replicas of garden ornaments, statuary, fountains, urns etc., all contributed to this rapid transformation of the grounds. Nurseries flourished to provide greenhouse plants; garden labour was cheap and abundant. The increasing demands of middle class owners of suburban villas with more modest grounds was met by the development of a popular horticultural press which provided information on gardening techniques, descriptions and assessments of newly introduced plants, tools, machines and devices. The successful cultivation of newly introduced plants and in particular the race to flower them became an increasingly popular and prestigious pursuit among the wealthy. Thus, for example,

the collection and cultivation of orchids by the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth or James Bateman at Biddulph Grange were typical in this respect.

The problems confronting garden designers were to do with absorbing all this new material into the framework of the English garden without turning it into a mere collection of flowering plants on the one hand, or just a spectacular display on the other. The eclectic impulse was strong and as with Victorian architecture many styles of the past were combined. Critics suggest that this copying took place because a dominant style for the age had not been found and also that it displayed a lack of understanding of the styles that were being copied. This research contends that while it is true that a variety of sources can be readily detected, their interpretation and adaption produced designs that were essentially Victorian in spirit.

The relationship between the house and garden was quite often extremely important. Domestic architectural schemes were frequently accompanied or quickly followed by equally ambitious schemes in the garden. Sometimes it might be little more than a question of providing a suitably magnificent setting in which to display a house to its best advantage. In this instance, the main emphasis may well have been on spectacular display. At other times a fashionable revivalist building or restoration work on an old house might well be paralleled by a similar approach to the layout of the grounds. This often illustrates an attempt to create

an overall scheme to uphold, or even generate, the notion of a long established family whose roots in the past could thus be expressed, visibly and powerfully, in the present. Here, social change, shifts in patronage and social aspirations can be detected.

Towards the latter part of the nineteenth century the controversy about formalism developed into a personal battle in which the protagonists were William Robinson, landscape gardener, and Reginald Blomfield, architect. (4) Their polarisation of gardening and architecture reflects the increasing specialisation and separation of developing professions. What Robinson saw as a futile attempt to combine two distinct studies in the term 'landscape architect' did eventually become a discipline in its own right in the twentieth century. In spite of his indignation at the notion of an architectural garden, by the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of the garden as an outdoor room or extension of the house was very strong. For many people, the collaboration of Lutyens and Jekyll illustrates the notion of a conceptual unity which allows for 'formality' and 'nature', not only to coexist, but to harmonize in such a way that each is able to exploit more fully the differences.

For the purposes of this study the gardens of the county of Derbyshire have been chosen together with some particularly important examples on its borders. To any outsider, in terms of soil and climate, the area might seem unpromisingly harsh and barren. However, the proximity of the great aristocratic estates, the Dukeries in Nottinghamshire, the vast estates of the Dukes of

Devonshire, Rutland and Sutherland make it a particularly interesting and fruitful area; one of the most important features in the area and central to much of the discussion in this dissertation is Chatsworth. Chatsworth is of particular importance, not only because it illustrates the changing attitudes to garden design and its relationship to the house over several centuries, but also because the schemes carried out in the grounds by the Sixth Duke of Devonshire in partnership with Sir Joseph Paxton achieved international fame in the nineteenth century. Their ideas filtered through Derbyshire to the Crystal Palace, throughout England and beyond. It is interesting to speculate to what extent Chatsworth became a natural centre for the lesser aristocracy and parvenus to come to when setting out their own grounds. Contemporary newspapers and magazines certainly provide innumerable accounts of their visits to Chatsworth. Paxton, a prominent witness when the Bill to extend the Manchester, Buxton, Matlock and Midland Junction railway line came before a parliamentary committee, made a point of the large traffic that had to be served by coaches and mentioned that the number of visitors to Chatsworth alone was over sixty thousand annually. (5) This was in 1848 and presumably with the eventual extension of the railways even more visitors would have been able to come to Chatsworth. According to Chadwick,

Gardening as practised at Chatsworth became the model standard by which gardens everywhere were judged: no-one had a finer range of glasshouses, no-one produced finer fruit, no-one propagated so many curious exotic plants, no-one had

such a variety of wonders within the compass of one garden, nowhere else was there a garden so neatly and efficiently kept: Chatsworth was the Mecca of the nineteenth-century gardener in the thirties, forties and fifties, and even if Chatsworth palled, then the grounds of the Sydenham Crystal Palace provided a new wonder. (6)

The combined enthusiasm and talents of a wealthy aristocratic patron and an ambitious young man like Paxton, who with his interest in industry and invention might be described as a 'man of his age', highlights the coming together of tradition and innovation, of land ownership and industrial development, which is such a striking feature of the period.

The county also illustrates the work of J.C.Loudon in the form of the Derby Arboretum, a pioneer public park given to the town by Joseph Strutt. The early work of Robert Marnock is to be found at the Sheffield Botanical Gardens and in the houses of local industrialists; William Barron's creation for the Earl of Harrington is to be found at Elvaston Castle - a uniquely romantic garden. Furthermore, the work of Paxton's pupils, such as Edward Milner and Edward Kemp, are well represented in the county.

One of the many interesting reactions to urban and industrial development in the nineteenth century, is to be found in the fascination with mediaevalism and a romantic and nostalgic interpretation of history. This is amply illustrated by numerous examples of Victorian neo-Gothic and neo-Elizabethan or Jacobean domestic architecture in the area. Of particular interest in this

connection is the influence of the terraced garden at Haddon Hall - perhaps no other garden has had an impact like Haddon, in the county or in England, on the romantic revival. These gardens also provided an important example for the Arts and Crafts Movement and for those writers championing the formalism which was so important to the architect's garden. (7) This highly romantic garden incorporates a high degree of formality. One of the most outstanding examples of the Italianate is to be found in the house and gardens at Trentham, laid out by Sir Charles Barry, and perhaps nowhere is eclecticism better represented than at the gardens of Biddulph Grange.

The expansion of the railways made it possible to commute greater distances from the country to the large towns. The development of the suburbs with their villas, gardens and parks led to the emulation of the vast estates of the wealthy on a small-scale, with variable results. Much of the literature published in the second half of the nineteenth century was directed to these new owners of smaller grounds. The emphasis on plants, which had become an essential amenity, could now be enjoyed at every level of ownership, down to the suburban and cottage garden. There are excellent examples in the area of houses and gardens that were built and laid out for cotton barons and other wealthy industrialists at Willersley, Burton Closes, Osmaston Manor, Cressbrook Hall, and Stancliffe Hall. Besides the Derby Arboretum and the Sheffield Botanical Gardens, a splendid example of a public park in a spa

town is to be found in the Pavilion Gardens, Buxton, and to a smaller extent Howard Park, Glossop. For the conclusion of the period, important late Victorian and Edwardian gardens are still extant at Renishaw Hall, Thornbridge Hall and Ednaston Manor. This study does not attempt to provide a definitive record of all nineteenth century designed landscapes or gardens in the area, but relies on a selection dependent on access and availability of material.

There are problems of source material in presenting this work. The gardens mentioned in the area have all been visited and photographed - their vulnerability has already been discussed. Primary sources for garden history are sparse, Chatsworth being the principal exception to this rule. (8) For some gardens which still survive, primary material is almost negligible, presenting difficulties of precise dating and of attribution to a particular designer, especially where replanting has taken place. Here again, Chatsworth is supreme because it has always been well looked after. The question then is - where does non-visual evidence come from? It does not come principally from primary material in terms of manuscripts or original plans or drawings, but from pictures, prints, publications and travelogues. Nineteenth century topographical views of gardens are used in horticultural journals and The Illustrated London News is an excellent source. The early guide books to country houses are often useful and these increase with the development of the railways and tourism, e.g., Jewitt's Illustrated History and Guide to Haddon Hall (1880). An earlier example is

by Morison, entitled Haddon Hall (1842) containing about thirty lithographs of topographical views, but no text. These books of views of country houses and gardens are very much a nineteenth century phenomenon. Popular prints based on paintings were available for travellers and tourists, frequently appearing on ceramics, popular as souvenirs before postcards were available (9) - these provide a primary illustrative source. Publication of Country Life began in 1897 and provides one of the principal photographic sources. By the late nineteenth century a number of books on gardening are using photographs, and prints from photographs are widely used in the horticultural periodicals. The collection of aerial photography at Cambridge University provides a fascinating archive and is particularly useful for revealing outlines of long vanished parterres or the earthworks of formal gardens that have been turfed over, as for example at Clumber in Nottinghamshire, where the ornamental, Italianate gardens of the nineteenth century were swept away as a result of the demolition of the house c.1938. An aerial photograph taken in 1949 clearly shows the outline of the beds and walls. (Fig.127) My own photography provides a valuable source - I have kept a photographic record of every site studied in this dissertation, part of which is submitted with this text.

Of the primary sources in print, the gardening magazines of the nineteenth century are a considerable help, but generally speaking, they are biased towards plants rather than design; although the photography in Country Life is excellent, the articles are biased

towards the owners' genealogy. The treatises of the nineteenth century from Loudon through to Sitwell's On the Making of Gardens (1909) provide a valuable insight into attitudes to formalism in Victorian garden design. The guide books to country houses tend to deal only incidentally with the gardens - the exception again being Chatsworth. Topographical travelogues of the area like Adam's Gem of the Peak and Croston's On Foot through the Peak provide a useful source of information, although with the exception of Chatsworth, the focus on the gardens is often minimal. Latterly, the periodicals Garden History, the journal of the Garden History Society (10), and the Journal of Garden History, an international quarterly (11) have published articles which have cast light on this study. Volumes on conservation have been useful, in particular Biddulph Grange Conservation Area published by Staffordshire County Planning Department (1977). Libraries containing archival material, in particular the Chatsworth library and the Lindley library of the Royal Horticultural Society have provided important source material. Ultimately, the gardens have to speak for themselves - they are prime documents in this study, whether as amazing survivals or as disappearing ruins. The archaeology of gardens and twentieth century restoration or recreation are not within the scope of this study.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. TILLEY, J., The Old Halls, Manors and Families of Derbyshire, (1892).
2. The Journal of Garden History, Vol.5, No.3, (1985), p.318: G.Darley reviews The Victorian Garden by T.Carter (1984) and The Victorians and their Flowers by N.Scourse (1983).
3. GALLAGHER, J., Visiting Historic Gardens, (Leeds, 1983).
4. Their writings make it clear that there was much that they could have found to agree upon. Robinson wrote a scathing review Garden Design and Architects' Gardens (1892) of Blomfield's The Formal Garden in England (1892). Their argument was about differentiating between the domain of the architect and the gardener, but it was also a battle between the 'formal' and the 'natural' schools of gardening. 'The very name of the book is a mistake', said Robinson referring to The Formal Garden, (p.25) and 'Mr Blomfield writes nonsense and then attributes it to me - ' (p.13).
5. MARKHAM, V., Paxton and the Bachelor Duke (1935), p.132.
6. CHADWICK, G.F., The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton 1803 - 1865, (1961), p.252.
7. Haddon Hall and its gardens are cited and illustrated in: BLOMFIELD, R., The Formal Garden in England (1892), p.18, fig.1.
GOTCH, J.A., Early Renaissance Architecture in England, (1901), pp.132-3.
TRIGGS, I., Formal Gardens in England and Scotland, (1902), pp.34-5, plate 59.
8. The collection of paintings, prints, plans and estate maps and estate accounts, letters and diaries, etc., at Chatsworth is very extensive.
9. The engravings of Haddon Hall and its gardens were quickly used by the ceramic painters at the Derby factory and elsewhere.

According to J.T.SHAW, ed., Sunderland Ware, The Potteries of Wearside, (1973), a Haddon Hall plate was produced there and in 1854 a Haddon Hall dinner service based on engravings by William Mowat of Newcastle on Tyne. There are two earlier examples of ceramic decoration which feature painted views of Chatsworth: a late eighteenth century Pinxton mug which has a view from the north-west and shows the eighteenth century landscaping on the western front of the house, and an elaborately gilded Derby plate painted c.1815, which shows the east and north fronts before the Sixth Duke's reconstruction and a parterre laid out in the gardens on the eastern side of the house. Both of these pieces are in the Devonshire collection.

10. The inaugural meeting of the GHS took place in November 1965. Publication of the journal in its present form began in Spring 1981.
11. Publication began January - March 1981.

2. FORMALISM: CHANGING ATTITUDES TO THE 'ARTIFICIAL' AND THE 'NATURAL'

In 1929 Thomas Mawson became the first President of the Institute of Landscape Architects. As Ottewill says, 'The pendulum which, since the seventeenth century, had swung between garden architect and landscape gardener had thus come to rest at a profession which sought to combine both roles.' (1) Although much of the nineteenth century debate about garden design is couched in aesthetic terms and can be seen as a reflection of changing taste, it can also be used to illustrate the growing rivalry for recognition of professional status between the architect and the landscape gardener during the second half of the century. This culminated in the vitriolic battle between Reginald Blomfield, architect and author of The Formal Garden in England (1892), and William Robinson, landscape gardener and author of a number of books on planting and garden design, nowadays best remembered for The Wild Garden (1870) and The English Flower Garden (1883).

While this argument was most heated about the relative roles of the architect and the gardener and their respective domains, it also highlighted the debate between the 'formal' and the 'natural' schools of gardening, which had been argued on and off since the early eighteenth century. Ottewill states that the outcome of the argument in the 1890s 'succeeded in re-establishing the architect's

overall control of the garden, a position from which he had been ousted by the landscape gardener in the eighteenth century.' (2) This conclusion seems to be supported by Tipping, who wrote as late as 1925,

We favour the architectural treatment of such capable designers as Sir Edwin Lutyens, Mr Harold Peto and Mr Inigo Thomas, as seen at Folly Farm and Hestercombe, Buscot and Iford, Athelhampton and Rotherfield;

but he then continues,

but we have an equal affection for the natural gardening of Mr William Robinson at Gravetye and of Miss Willmott at Warley, and for the more botanical treatment of Mr Frederick Hanbury at Brockhurst. (3)

The fusion of 'the formal' with 'the natural' by this time can be seen in the collaborative efforts of the architect Edwin Lutyens and the gardener Gertrude Jekyll. Jekyll's use of colour and texture and her 'natural' planting juxtaposed with Lutyens' 'formal' architectural framework combined to create this unity of house and garden which was so much sought after. It did in fact create a new picturesque fusion of the architectural with the natural, and the approach also combined elements that were both romantic and rural. The Arts and Crafts approach to craftsmanship and the use of materials is well illustrated here, where plants are used as material for colour and texture as well as water, wood, stone and brickwork.

An example of a new type of publication, properly illustrated

with plans and photographs, which began appearing at the turn of the century to meet the increasing demand for historical accuracy was Formal Gardens in England and Scotland (1902) by Inigo Triggs. This was illustrated with designs for knots, parterres and mazes reproduced from seventeenth century or earlier sources and included examples of topiary work and plans and elevations of houses and gardens drawn to scale by the author. In the preface Triggs elaborates on the theme of the formal garden and its relationship to the house.

The present work has been prepared chiefly with the object of showing by means of a series of studies of some of the most complete and historical gardens now extant in this country, the principle involved in their planning and arrangement in relation to the house, which is the essential element in what it is the custom to call a Formal Garden. (4)

and continues

. . . while it is a matter for regret that the development of the Formal Garden should have been interrupted during the many years that landscape gardening held the field, it must be admitted that this was largely owing to the excesses and abuses which had crept in during the early part of the 18th century, when the garden designer ceased to regard the garden as a place for rest and pleasant recreation, in which one loved to be surrounded by familiar flowers and shrubs, and looked upon it rather with a view to showing his own skill in designing elaborate parterres and conventional scrolls, often to be plotted out in coloured sands and box edgings.

Happily during the last few years a revival of the Formal Garden has taken place, and as throughout the Renaissance period architects may be said to have planned the setting out

of the gardens surrounding the houses they designed, so it is gratifying to see that those of our own day have awakened to the fact that this work is quite within their province, and that a much more pleasing and harmonious result is likely to be attained when the main lines are laid out by those who have designed and watched the building grow than when left to the practical gardener alone. (5)

He includes Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, among his studies, illustrating it with a scale plan of the house and garden together. A cross-section through the garden, also to scale, shows the terracing and its relationship with the SE elevation of the house and interestingly he also includes a detail of the terrace, showing the steps and mannerist balustrade, features which were widely copied in other gardens. (6) (Fig. 84) He is using Haddon Hall as an example of one of the most complete historical gardens in which the principle in its planning and arrangement was in relation to the house. He also comments favourably on the architect's involvement with the revival of the Formal Garden and compares this with the Renaissance period when architects planned the setting out of the gardens surrounding the houses they designed.

These ideas were not new and some interesting comments are to be found early in the nineteenth century. Henry Duesbury, a Derby architect, was making a similar point about Haddon Hall in 1837,

. . . it must not be omitted to mention the great skill and thoroughly artistic feeling with which the gardens have been composed. The ground was originally a rough and rocky

hill side, of irregular slope, apparently anything but favourable for the purpose, but the artist has turned defects into beauties, and by a judicious arrangement of terraces and parterres, has produced a design worthy of the most attentive study. The balustrade, with the flight of steps in the centre, leading down to the middle terrace, not only forms a beautiful object from the windows of the Long Gallery, and indeed from every point where it can be seen, but by carrying out the line of building connects the gardens with it, and in accordance with the practice of the best Italian masters, makes the gardens and the building one composition, the Hall itself being only a part of one grand design; surely the necessity and propriety of this system of composition cannot be too much insisted upon, in opposition to the practice so common amongst us, of employing an architect to make the design of the House, and then setting a landscape gardener, as he is called, to make a number of crooked gravel walks about it, for the most part, as might be expected, sadly unconnected, and out of harmony with the building. (7)

This quotation is useful for a number of reasons. It shows the interest in Haddon Hall was of long standing; it also shows the concern for unity of house and garden; and it implies, in its contempt for 'crooked gravel walks', a desire for a return of the formal garden being expressed considerably earlier in the century.

The equation of formality with the practice of the Italian masters is significant at this date. Charles Barry was already involved in Italianate architectural schemes at Walton House and The Reform Club, but at Trentham he was working on an ambitious scheme for the 2nd Duke of Sutherland altering and adding to the

existing house and laying out the large area of ground between the house and the lake in elaborate Italianate formal gardens. Probably the earliest example of Italianate architecture being linked with a formal Italianate garden scheme is The Grange in Hampshire. (8) Here, the house having been altered and extended, had a lavish conservatory attached to it by 1824, and by 1825 - 6 architectural gardens had been laid out before the west and east fronts. (Fig. 2) This is a good illustration of the way in which picturesque landscaping of architecture was combined with architecturalisation of the landscape. Watkin points out,

The whole house then, affords a perfect example of the way in which Picturesque planners feel obliged to impart to the house something of the irregularity of the natural setting, and to the setting something of the formality of the house. (9)

The Gardener's Magazine in 1826 commented,

The ornamental scenery, immediately surrounding the garden fronting the house, partakes of the symmetry of its architecture, (10)

The formal vocabulary of Italianate gardens usually involved a framework of clipped hedges, balustrades, terraces and straight gravel walks, statuary, regular pools and fountains, with some sort of symmetrical balancing of parts. Tudor and Elizabethan gardens had often included raised terraces and thick hedges, perhaps residual features from earlier times when exclusion or protection from the outer world was required. The Italian renaissance influence is principally to be found in the element of symmetry.

Symmetry is frequently interpreted as being synonymous with formalism, even when used in schemes which are not necessarily Italianate. The term 'formal' is generally used in opposition to the 'natural' or even to 'Nature' herself. Hence the 'regular', 'geometric', 'architectural', 'symmetrical', 'rigid' or 'stiff' are all terms associated at different times with formality and similarly the 'irregular', 'unconstrained', 'winding', 'serpentine' or 'free' are terms frequently used to denote its opposite. Hogarth's celebrated line of beauty is the serpentine, which in this context indicates the beauty of Nature.

The chief problem in attempting to define what is meant by the 'formal' garden is the fact that the concept is widely used and subject to a variety of interpretations. Girouard suggests that there were two main traditions of mid-Victorian gardening, the formal Italianate garden, with terraces, gravel paths, stone balustrades, garden ornaments, and parterres patterned with bedded out flowers; as popularised by Barry and W.A.Nesfield; and the 'gardenesque' garden, as popularised by Loudon. The latter was a development of the picturesque garden of the eighteenth century, with eighteenth century meanders tightened to highly stylized curves and wriggles, and eighteenth century lawns brightened up by yet more bedded-out flowers. (11)

I would suggest that although Loudon considered the gardenesque to be 'Natural' both of these traditions are formal, and while the Italianate, in its various guises, is fairly easy to recognize, this quotation highlights the wide scope of interpretation available to

the so-called 'gardenesque'.

It should be pointed out that the term 'formal' is rarely used in writings. In fact Hadfield suggests that Blomfield's publication of The Formal Garden in 1892 is notable, among other things, for the surprising fact 'that it brought the term 'formal', relating to gardens, into the general vocabulary for the first time.' (12) Rohde, in 1932, also suggests the phrase 'formal garden' is modern, 'In mediaeval Tudor and Stuart times it was never used; doubtless for the excellent reason that no other type of garden was known.' (13) By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century it usually referred to the architect's extension of the house into what was sometimes described as a series of outdoor rooms; in the mid-nineteenth century the formal was synonymous with the Italianate garden, albeit a rather colourful interpretation, but earlier in the century the meaning was not always so clear.

To understand this early nineteenth century confusion it is necessary to look at the ways in which attitudes towards the landscape movement of the eighteenth century had undergone a number of changes. Horace Walpole had praised Capability Brown because he copied nature so closely in his works that they could be mistaken for it. High praise indeed! Imitation of nature or the creation of a natural landscape had developed in the eighteenth century as a reaction against the earlier formal or geometric gardens - it had extended to encompass the park and sometimes

even the outlying landscape. Many of the old formal gardens were swept away and replaced by rolling greensward and aesthetic tree-planting; the substitution of the ha-ha for enclosing walls meant that now 'all nature was a garden'. The house, surrounded by parkland, had become, in effect, part of the landscaped park.

In striving to do away with the old formality, the landscaper, perhaps inevitably, had really only substituted it with a different kind of formality, which in turn became increasingly contrived. By the end of the eighteenth century reactions to this supposed 'natural landscaping' of the improvers became vociferous. The debate concerning the relationship between 'Art' and 'Nature' which had been argued throughout the century, began to shift ground. The landscape of Capability Brown came under fierce attack from the supporters of the Picturesque, Gilpin, Price and Knight, who were castigating his work and that of his followers for destroying nature and for being too formal. Their attempts to recreate a pastoral landscape, influenced by painting and literature were seen to be imposing an equally artificial 'scene' or design on the landscape. Brown had swept lawns right up to the walls of the house, eliminating terraces and banishing or hiding the flower garden. This approach was belittled by Knight as 'shaving and levelling' and creating 'one dull, vapid, smooth, unvaried scene.' (14) Hunt and Willis point out that in one respect Brown's work was the most radical of all landscape designers.

He chose to emphasise the basic materials of a site - the

lines and shapes and contours of its ground, waters and trees . . . It is therefore to his work above all, that the exact meaning of formal should be applied: for he rediscovered the forms of the landscape itself. . . His work inside parks consisted of treating them as formally as their natural materials allowed, which in its turn alerted his clients and their friends to the natural capabilities of the countryside that lay beyond their estates. (15)

The 'natural' appearance of eighteenth century country house parks is often highly artificial and only achieved by massive remodelling of the land surface and extensive replanting of woods and vistas. Price and Knight objected to the clump, the belt and naked water; even the fir was castigated by Knight in The Landscape -

Banish the formal fir's unsocial shade (16) -

presumably because of its symmetrical shape, as well as being an imported, non-native species. Poplars are also criticized,

But yet our planters much the poplar prize,
For its quick stately growth, and sudden size:
And if for gain they plant, the reason's good;
Since all they want is quantity of wood.
But if, with beauty, they would charm the sight,
Something is more required than size and height;
Which shown in shapes thus formal, thin and tall,
Make us regret they ever grew at all. (17)

Together, Price and Knight developed a theory of the picturesque, an aesthetic quality somewhere between the sublime and the beautiful, characterized in landscape by roughness and

irregularity, wild ruggedness, chasms, dark impenetrable woods and rushing streams. Heame's illustrations to The Landscape by Knight, caricature the kind of landscape they attributed to Brown by displaying a naked serpentine stream, a featureless Georgian house sitting on a smooth carpet of barely undulating greensward with a few clumps of trees dotted about. The picturesque version of the same scene, however, is full of texture and atmosphere and nature run wild - in fact, what could almost be called a gardener's nightmare. The house seems to be loosely based on Wollaton Hall or Hardwick Hall, both of which became increasingly popular as models for the nineteenth century builder; as did a number of other notable houses of that period. (Figs.3-4)

In his thirteenth Discourse (1786) Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote Gardening as far as gardening is an Art, or entitled to that appellation is a derivation from nature; for if the true taste consists, as many hold, in banishing every appearance of Art, or any traces of the footsteps of man, it would no longer be a Garden. (18)

This is another comment which illuminates the debate about Art and Nature, an eighteenth century concern with aesthetics which polarises the artificial and the natural in a way which suggested the two must always be opposed and separate.

In 1828, Sir Walter Scott, one of the most distinguished critics of the landscape school, said, 'Nothing is more completely the child of art than a garden.' He is here distinguishing between the artificial and the natural and, interestingly, he does use

the word 'formal',

Water, even when disposed into the formal shapes of ponds, canals and artificial fountains although this may be considered as the greatest violence which can be perpetrated upon nature, affords effects beautiful in themselves, and congenial with the presence of ornamented architecture and artificial gardening. (19)

and when discussing greenhouses and conservatories,

. . . which, like the plants themselves, must be the production of art, and art in its most obvious phasis.

. . . Their formality is to be varied and disguised, their shapes to be ornamented.

. . . Upon the various shapes and forms of shrubs, creepers and flowers, it is necessary to dilate; they are the most beautiful of nature's works, and to collect them and arrange them with taste is the proper and rational purpose of art. (19)

Perhaps he is not using the phrase 'formal garden' in the exact sense that Hadfield and Rohde mean, but he is, nevertheless, clearly separating the formal and formality from the natural and nature, although not necessarily polarizing art (the artificial) from 'nature's works'. Clearly he upholds the picturesque and bemoans much of the destruction caused by the so-called 'improvers'.

We are inclined to enter a protest against the hasty and ill-considered destruction of things which, once destroyed, cannot be restored. (20)

He differentiates between the garden and the park and decries the banishment of the garden. So far from simplicity being the

landscaper's guide, he shrewdly comments,

it is not simplicity, but affectation labouring to seem simple . . .

The garden artificial in its structure, its shelter, its climate, and its soil, which every consideration of taste, beauty and convenience recommended to be kept near^{to} the mansion and maintained, as its appendage in the highest state of ornamental decoration which could be used with reference to the character of the house itself, has, by a strange and sweeping sentence of exile, been condemned to wear the coarsest and most humbling form. Reduced to a clumsy oblong, enclosed within four rough-built walls, and sequestered in some distant corner where it may best be concealed from the eye to which it has been rendered a nuisance, the modern garden resembles nothing so much as a convict in his gaol apparel, banished by his very appearance, from all decent society. (21)

Although the controversy continues in nineteenth century writing, in practical terms a compromise seems to be achieved in the design and layout of gardens which combine both formal and informal elements in various ways. It is Repton, the practical gardener, who makes not only the obvious point that there are significant differences between a painting and a scene in nature, but who also comments that

In whatever relates to man, propriety and convenience are not less objects of good taste, than picturesque effect; (22)

and

that the landscape ought to be adapted to the beings which are to inhabit it - to men, and not to beasts. The landscape

painter may consider men subordinate objects in his scenery, and place them merely as 'figures, to adorn his picture'. The landscape gardener does more:- he undertakes to study their comfort and convenience. (23)

His practical emphasis on comfort and convenience and his re-introduction of flower beds near the house are frequently described as being the first steps in the restoration of the art of the garden. However, as Harris points out (24), Brown's so-called revolution really only affected the great gardens and a study of the minor gentry indicates that the formal traditions survived well into the 1770s and later. For example, when John Byng, the future fifth Viscount Torrington, visited Welbeck in the course of a tour of the Midlands in 1789, he was disappointed in the gardens because 'there were no roses or other flowers'. (25) This is an interesting observation because it suggests that in spite of the 'improver's hand', Byng did still expect to find flower gardens. Harris suggest that the early nineteenth century 'gardenesque' of Loudon's day was really 'a child of the eighteenth century'.

This may well be true in relation to the Englishman's undying love of flowers and certainly eighteenth century influences on Repton's work are evident. For example, the irregular flower gardens which dominated his early work show the influence of William Mason, author of The English Flower Garden of 1772 and designer of the small flower garden at Nuneham for Lord Harcourt, where irregular flower beds were dotted over the lawn. But there

are other important social and economic changes which were reflected in architecture and garden design. What Gorer describes as 'The Floral Explosion' (26) of the nineteenth century, that is the enormous influx of plants into this country at that time, coincided with rapid industrialization and urbanization and the emergence of a new and expanding, educated middle class. The new technology in construction and heating of greenhouses, and a rapidly developing middle class consumer market stimulated a new focus on the use of colour, specimen planting, and a revival of interest in the flower garden and its design. The problem was how to accommodate successfully so much that was new in an appropriate manner. The influence of a growing historical consciousness only added to the complexity and range of possible solutions.

Repton attempted to resolve these problems and he frequently used historical precedents to justify some of his improvements. His influence led to a more favourable approach to formalism, often as a Gothic or Tudor revival.

More and more often, he was being called upon to give a spurious air of antiquity to the newly acquired estates of profiteers and war speculators, instead of to the 'old landed interest'. Contemporary social and political conditions also forced him to think about landscape in a much broader context than was necessary in 1794: his writings increasingly reflect his concern that an estate should be landscaped to reflect the intentions of a benevolent landlord. From 1809 onwards he became personally aware of a new and even more threatening (visually and socially) landscape - the landscape of manufacturing industry. (27)

Fragments on the theory and practice of landscape gardening (1816)

documents Repton's retreat from the picturesque and his summoning of formal elements such as terraces, Tudor knots and flower beds, and even the return of the fountain, which had become such a symbol of artificiality in the eighteenth century. Goode points out how the aesthetic problems of landscape gardening had by this time become inextricably involved with complex social and political issues. In this context the picturesque controversy can be seen to have become increasingly irrelevant, 'like a distant echo from a vanished age when aesthetic questions could be the subject of a leisurely discussion between gentlemen.' (28)

The important connections between revivalist schemes and social aspiration can thus be seen to be linked with the return of the formal garden. The importance of association in the garden became increasingly significant. The restoration or revival of an earlier formal garden might well be combined with the problems of keeping up with the most prestigious ideas in terms of design and layout, choice of plants and inter-relationship between house and grounds. Consequently, a variety of terms are used which indicate either varying degrees or particular types of formality.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. OTTEWILL, D., 'Garden Architects of the Art Worker's Guild: 1884 - 1914', in Beauty's Awakening, The Centenary Exhibition of the Art Worker's Guild, 1884 - 1984, (Brighton Museum, 1984), p.13.
2. *ibid.*, p.12.
3. TIPPING, A., English Gardens, (1925), p.viii.
4. TRIGGS, I., Formal Gardens in England and Scotland, (1902), p.5.
5. *ibid.*, p.9.
6. Haddon's balustraded terrace and steps were widely copied and adapted in gardens in the vicinity and throughout the country, e.g., Darley House and Smedley's Hydro in Derbyshire, Newstead Abbey and Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire and Lilleshall in Shropshire. Other examples are to be found illustrated in TIPPING, A., Gardens Old and New, 3 vols., (no date).
7. DUESBURY, H., Supplementary Number to Rayner's Haddon Hall, (1837).
8. WATKIN, D., Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea, (1968), p.144.
9. *ibid.*, p.145.
10. *ibid.*,
11. GIROUARD, M., Sweetness and Light, The Queen Anne Movement 1860 - 1900, (Oxford, 1977), p.152.
12. HADFIELD, M., A History of British Gardening, (1979), p.365.
13. ROHDE, E., The Story of the Garden, (1932), p.233.
14. KNIGHT, R.P., The Landscape, (1795, 2nd edition republished 1972, Gregg), Book 1, line 286.
15. HUNT, J.D. and WILLIS, P., The Genius of the Place, (1979), p.31.
16. KNIGHT, R.P., *op.cit.*, Book 3, line 59.

17. *ibid.*, Book 3, lines 189 - 196.
18. HUNT and WILLIS, *op.cit.*, p.31.
19. SCOTT, Sir W., The Quarterly Review, (1828), p.307.
20. *ibid.*, p.310.
21. *ibid.*, p.310.
22. LOUDON, J.C., The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton Esq., (1840, Gregg reprint, 1969), p.105.
23. *ibid.*, p.111.
24. HARRIS, J., 'The Flower Garden 1730 - 1830', in The Garden, ed. Harris, (1979), p.40.
25. ANDREWS, B., ed., The Torrington Diaries, Vol.2, (1935), quoted by TURBERVILLE, A.S., in A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners, Vol.2, (1938), p.311.
26. GORER, R., The Flower Garden in England, (1975), Chapter 5, 'The Floral Explosion'.
27. GOODE, P., 'The Picturesque Controversy', in Humphry Repton Landscape Gardener 1752 - 1818, ed. Carter, Goode, Laurie, (1982, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts), p.39.
28. *ibid.*, p.40.

3. THE INFLUENCE OF J.C.LOUDON.

A wealth of gardening and horticultural magazines was published early in the nineteenth century and many of these were directed specifically at owners of smaller estates or suburban villas and contained detailed advice on how to tackle the problems of garden design and management. J.C.Loudon was a leading figure in this field and the influence of his writings has been profound, not only during his lifetime, but throughout the nineteenth century. It is probably true to say that Loudon provided many later Victorian gardeners with their principal theories.

The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion (1836) by Loudon, has an extended title which indicates clearly some of the changes which were taking place: 'comprising the choice of a suburban or villa residence, or of a situation on which to form one; the arrangement and furnishing of the house; and the laying out, planting, and general management of the Garden and Grounds, the whole adapted for grounds from One Perch to Fifty Acres and upwards in extent; and intended for the instruction of those who know little of gardening and rural affairs, and more particularly for the use of ladies.' He also distinguished between different types of suburban property and grounds in a section entitled 'On the Classification of Houses' (1), beginning with 'The Fourth-rate', what we would now call terraced housing, and working upwards to 'The First-rate House' which had a park and farmery and was of not less than fifty acres. An example of the first rate was

Kenwood, Hampstead, which Loudon considered 'beyond all question, the finest country residence in the suburbs of London'. The title, The Suburban Gardener makes it clear that Loudon was aware of the social implications of the changes that were taking place. The Gardener's Magazine, which he began publishing in 1826, and which continued until 1844, differentiated between 'seats' - the country houses of the landed gentry and aristocracy - and 'residences' - those of the middle classes. His writings show how gardening was becoming a popular amateur activity, a suitable pastime for ladies and those ignorant of rural affairs, meaning horticulture, and how the role of the landscape designer of the eighteenth century was being usurped in the nineteenth century by the gardener, frequently a middle-class amateur.

Loudon championed the 'Gardenesque', a style which he called the 'Natural'. Initially, Loudon's Natural style was little more than an extreme form of the Picturesque, but, as Tait argues, Loudon was also responsible to a considerable extent for the return to formality.

'Though one can see fairly easily how the extreme Natural merged into the Gardenesque, and the concern for botanical purity and isolation led to the formal garden, this pattern was neither an accidental nor casual one. Behind it all lay Loudon's concern to make himself and his profession famous and respectable. Hence his drive for scholarly and scientific standards . . . hence his strong dislike of the lackadaisical aristocratic attitudes of Repton and Gilpin, the perpetual gentleman amateurs; hence his ambition to see gardening as a fine art, the

equal of painting and sculpture, and distinct from nature as a work of art; hence his ultimate, and to us acceptable, role as one of the several great prophets of the nineteenth century.' (2)

In the introduction to his 1840 edition of The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton esq. Loudon explained the Gardenesque.

'According to the Gardenesque School . . . all the trees and shrubs planted are arranged in regard to their kind and dimensions; and they are planted at first at, or, as they grew, thinned out to, such distances apart as may best display the natural form and habit of each: . . . In short, the aim of the Gardenesque is to add, to the acknowledged charms of the Repton School, all those which the sciences of gardening and botany, in their present advanced state, are capable of producing.

The Gardenesque School of Landscape has been more or less adopted in various country residences, from the anxious wish of gardeners and botanical amateurs to display their trees and plants to the greatest advantage. Perhaps it may be said to have always existed in botanic gardens; . . . it may now be seen in its most decided character, as far as respects trees and shrubs, wherever Arboretums have been properly planted: as, for example, at Chatsworth; and, in the case of flowers, wherever there is a flower garden in an airy situation, and the flowers are grown in beds, unmixed with trees and shrubs. The Gardenesque School of Landscape is particularly adapted for laying out the grounds of small villas;' (3)

The beauty of the individual plants is to be displayed; trees are to be separated, planted as specimens to be contemplated as individual objects; beds are to be self-contained, in a manner

appropriate for a botanic garden. He cites the villa of W.Harrison Esq., at Cheshunt as the epitome of this style, which he had earlier described in detail, accompanied by a number of illustrations. (4)

'The ground lies entirely on one side of the house . . . The surface of the whole is flat, and nothing is seen in the horizon in any direction but distant trees. The beauties of the place . . . appear of the quiet and melancholy kind . . . ; but upon a nearer examination by a person conversant with the subjects of botany and gardening, and knowing in what rural comfort consists, these views will . . . afford many instructive hints to the possessors of suburban villas or cottages.'

The didactic nature of Loudon's description is evident. He also includes a set of rules 'to be observed by all Persons working on these Premises, Masters and Men.' which were painted on a board and hung up in the tool-house at Cheshunt. These were to prevent slovenly practices by imposing fines on the offenders and the method was apparently successful. Loudon was very keen on the training and discipline of gardeners as part of their general and horticultural education.

The article contains twenty-two illustrations, including three plans of the cottage, outbuildings and grounds. These demonstrate a romantic and eclectic approach to laying out the grounds adopted by Mr Harrison and which, in the main, meets with Loudon's approval. The illustrations include views of Cheshunt Cottage, a modest symmetrical house with decorative barge-boarding on the gables; views from the house across the

lawns showing careful planting of rare ornamental trees, 'one of almost every kind that is to be procured in British nurseries, exclusive of those which are common, or not considered ornamental.' There are two views across water, one showing the house in the distance and another of the boathouse beneath and beside an agave mount and looking rather like a grotto. There are classical urns, pillars, rustic seats and alcoves, one with a white marble statue of the Indian god, Gaudama or Gaudmia, a rustic bridge, a grotto, a hermit's seat, a Chinese temple, and a view across the American garden of the hothouses, which are of Paxton's ridge and furrow type of construction. (Fig. 5) Loudon states that the ground occupied by the cottage and gardens is about seven acres. The plan shows that the ground lies to the south of the cottage, which is on the northern boundary, adjacent to the road - it clearly illustrates the combination of the formal and the informal in its layout. As described by Loudon,

'The masses of trees and shrubs are chiefly on the mount near the lake; and along the margin which shuts out the kitchen-garden; and in these places they are planted in the gardenesque manner, so as to produce irregular groups of trees, with masses of evergreen and deciduous shrubs as undergrowth, intersected by glades of turf. They are scattered over the general surface of the lawn, so as to produce a continually varying effect, as viewed from the walks; and so as to disguise the boundary, and prevent the eye from seeing from one extremity of the grounds to the other, and thus ascertain their extent.'

These last points became increasingly important in the nineteenth

century, particularly where the grounds were not very extensive. The use of trees to disguise a boundary or to make the grounds appear to be much larger than they really were, and the use of trees and shrubbery to create a sense of privacy and to muffle the sound of passing traffic became especially important in later suburban layouts. The importation of great numbers of exotic plants, shrubs and trees first began to have an overwhelming impact on English gardens in the early Victorian period, resulting in dark green massed shrubberies and such obviously exotic trees as the monkey-puzzle, popularised later by Paxton. Loudon continues with his explanation,

'The trees and shrubs on the lawn are almost all disposed in the gardenesque manner; that is, so that each individual plant may assume its natural shape and habit of growth. The masses are also chiefly planted in the same style; and, as the trees and shrubs advance in growth, they are cut in or thinned out; so that each individual, if separated from the mass to which it belongs, and considered by itself alone, shall be a handsome plant.'

He then discusses the picturesque,

' . . . the picturesque style of planting, in which trees and shrubs are so closely grouped together as partially to injure each other's growth, occasionally occurs for the sake of producing variety. With the exception of the pines and firs, the other trees have been selected more for their picturesque effect and variety of foliage, than for their botanical interest.'

He lists a number of the trees grown at Cheshunt Cottage and describes the distinctive features of their foliage, fruit or blossom,

'Among the detached trees and small groups, there is scarcely to be met with a single tree or bush that a general observer will not find noticeable for something in its foliage, general form, flowers or fruit.' Clearly the botanical emphasis is most important. However, the article is practical, containing information on maintenance and much that is based on common-sense. Although the plan (Fig. 6) shows a clear separation of three types of layout - the formal or geometric, with straight parallel paths for flower and shrub gardens, the kitchen garden and the arrangement of hot-houses; the gardenesque with its specimen planting and curious shaped beds for roses, dahlias and other ornamental flowers, and the so-called picturesque with its clumps of planting, contrived meandering paths and irregular shaped ponds. Loudon does not attempt here to formulate aesthetic rules to be followed, unless they are based on practicalities, as for example, the flower garden with 'beds everywhere bordered with slate: . . . the walks gravelled, having the advantage of rendering the flowers accessible to ladies immediately after the rain, when they are often in their greatest beauty . . . an advantage not to be obtained when the beds are on turf.'

Turner discusses Loudon's stylistic development and points out that his views have been subjected to persistent misinterpretations. (5) There are two, fairly obvious explanations for this. One is provided by the sheer volume of Loudon's literary output, and the other is that during his long professional career, his views changed and he became increasingly sympathetic

to a more formal approach. It has been pointed out that Loudon's 'gardenesque' has been carelessly used so that the term has since lost its dignity and meaning. (6)

Quatremère de Quincy's Essay on the Nature, The End and the Means of Imitation in the Fine Arts (1823) enabled Loudon to develop his own theory for the 'Gardenesque' mode of design. (7) The French theorist argued that all 'Fine Arts' please the beholder in as much as the work can be compared with its counterpart or model in Nature. Without this comparison, where the work has been conceived to deceive the senses by becoming merely a facsimile of Nature, then it is not a work of Art.

'What pretends to be an image of nature is nothing more nor less than nature herself. The means of the art are reality. Everyone knows that the merit of its works [irregular landscape gardening] consists in obviating any suspicion of art. To constitute a perfect garden, according to the irregular system of landscape gardening, we must not have the least suspicion that the grounds have been laid out by art.' (8)

Hence landscape gardening in the irregular style could not be considered a work of art. Loudon was continually developing his notion of the term 'Gardenesque', from a general character of landscape design to a specific style. According to Simo,

'He used the term essentially to recognize contrast - that is, to describe a mode of designing a landscape such that it could be distinguished from unimproved nature. Thus, a Gardenesque landscape could be created either by using geometric form in the design; by using

exotic plant materials in a picturesque composition; or by using common and exotic materials in more loosely grouped picturesque masses. (9)

Turner further clarifies this by pointing out that the gardenesque was a style of planting design, not of garden layout, although careful maintenance of paths was seen by Loudon as the logical accompaniment of a style which consisted essentially in keeping plants separate and allowing each to develop its natural form as fully as possible. This maintenance of paths, lawns and plants was seen by Loudon as necessary to satisfy the 'Principle of Recognition'. As early as 1835 in an article entitled Remarks on laying out Public Gardens and Promenades he makes it quite clear that,

'Fac-simile Imitations of Natural Scenery cannot be considered as belonging to gardening as an art of culture, because in them all appearance of culture is to be avoided; and they cannot be considered as belonging to gardening as a fine art, because it is not intended that the result shall be recognised as the work of art, but that it shall be mistaken for nature itself.' (10)

He continues by saying that such gardens do not require to be made by gardeners, but that any person possessing a painter's eye may be able to form them with the assistance of country labourers, masons and carpenters. These would be what he calls 'Mechanical Imitations of Nature'. Hence, 'any creation to be recognized as a work of art must never be mistaken for a work of nature.' (11) The gardenesque in this sense then, depended on horticultural skills, 'as architecture depends on building skills;'

but it is misleading to confuse the gardenesque with 'horticulture'. Loudon's ambition to see gardening as a fine art, and as distinct from nature in this sense, was realised in his invention of the gardenesque style of planting design. From 1832 onwards he held that each of the main styles of landscape gardening 'has its peculiar uses and beauties'. (12) He had visited the formal gardens of Europe and described them sympathetically; in his last years he seemed ready to praise any style so long as it was consistently executed, appropriate to the site and in accordance with his principle of recognition. He believed in the importance of matching the style to the size of the garden and the scenery in which it was located. Thus he thought the geometrical style was best suited for small gardens bounded by straight lines and the irregular style for large estates where the surface of the ground was varied. (13)

Although much of the writing for gardeners in the nineteenth century suggests vacillations between the poles of formal and naturalistic taste, most later writers acknowledge a debt to Loudon who, in his publications, advocated not only better education for gardeners, but also the provision of garden libraries. Paxton in 1843, acknowledged that Loudon had 'created a new era in gardening' through the medium of The Gardener's Magazine. (14) According to his wife, The Gardener's Magazine was Loudon's favourite publication and he conceived his first duty as editor was to treat 'gardening as an art of design and taste.' (15) For the dissemination of both theoretical and practical knowledge,

he not only examined the gardens and garden literature of his own country, but he also serialized his tour of continental gardens and reported on the contents of the major foreign gardening magazines.

By the middle of the century the majority of his ideas, propagated and perpetuated through his numerous publications, had been absorbed into the general attitudes and practice of professional gardeners and architects. It has been pointed out that the term gardenesque was open to wide and differing interpretation, not always conforming with Loudon's description but it was, nevertheless, usually associated with his ideas. Loudon's Gardener's Magazine during the 1830s contained numerous descriptions of nineteenth century gardens, variously labelled as architectural, geometric, picturesque, Dutch, French, Italian, Elizabethan, gothic or ancient - no system of nomenclature was universally accepted. In his introduction to Repton's Landscape Gardening (1840) Loudon gives a summary of the development of what he describes as two distinct styles, namely the 'Ancient, Roman, Geometric, Regular or Architectural Style; and the . . . Modern, English, Irregular, Natural or Landscape Style' which he saw as giving way to 'Repton's school' which combined all that was excellent in these former styles; this combined with the prevailing taste for botany and horticulture he maintained, led to the changes which culminated in the Gardenesque. (16)

So although Loudon had distinguished between four basic varieties of design - the geometric, the rustic, the picturesque

and the gardenesque, he further confused matters by declaring that the gardenesque dealt not only with the beauty of individual plants, but also with the composition of the garden as a unified whole, to be laid out according to either picturesque or geometric rules. Hence, what he had initially thought of as a natural style, could be ultimately, alternatively, a geometric or formal style. This helps towards an understanding of later confusions or apparent misuse of the term gardenesque. Late in his career Loudon demanded that every garden should have an axis of symmetry and use circular beds of about five to six feet in diameter. (17) His insistence that every garden should be recognized as a work of art, necessarily involved the use of artifice or formality - this could be achieved through geometric layouts, the planting of trees in isolation from each other, so that they could be viewed as individual specimens, and by emphasising the use of non-native species.

Another example of Loudon's 'Select Suburban Residences' was Mount Grove, Hampstead. (18) Here large areas were laid to grass in an apparently informal layout, but which contained notable specimen trees, an elaborate flower garden and a distinctive feature was the use of circular flower beds on the lawns. While there is apparently no axis of symmetry, Loudon points out that the principal natural feature in the grounds was the bold swell in the direction of east and west, from which, he presumed the place took its name; to take advantage of this, the mount avenue, long and straight, terminated in a rustic summer house

from which there were extensive prospects to the west and south. The view from the house looking towards the Mount (Fig. 7-8) shows the distant prospect and the undulation of the surface of the ground. Loudon found these 'the two great sources of beauty at Mount Grove'.

This garden, then, while not conforming to what is usually thought of as the typical Victorian formal garden, does portray the necessary artifice for Loudon's definition of the gardenesque. The plan clearly shows, as does that for Cheshunt Cottage, the familiar elements of formality - the geometric garden, the use of non-native species carefully planted as specimens, the separation of the flower beds from the grouped planting of trees and the wider, picturesque or gardenesque layout which unified the whole.

A garden which does more readily conform to stereotyped notions of the Victorian formal garden is that at Fortis Green, Muswell Hill. This was designed by W.A. Nesfield, the famous landscape gardener and the view from the terrace looking down onto the elaborate parterre with beds for low flowers on gravel edged with box, is an instant reminder of some of his larger and better-known schemes. (Fig. 10) The clear demarcation of levels, of terrace and steps leading down to the parterre, of the raised mound which marks the extent of the parterre and the importance of floral colour, are key features. The way the ground falls away to the south to reveal the distant landscape of fields and trees beyond the garden

so that the contrast between the formal, colourful garden is heightened, is also important. Loudon describes Fortis Green as a select suburban residence 'intended to illustrate the Principles and Practice of Landscape-Gardening'. (19) The entrance front of the house shows grassy mounds on either side of the approach, with beds cut out of the turf, and imaginative planting of trees near the house combining native and non-native species in true gardenesque manner. The Italianate villa completes the picturesque effect. (Fig. 9)

The later massed bedding of flowers, widely used in conjunction with Italianate styles of garden design was a prominent characteristic of the Victorian formal garden. The rapid advances in glasshouse heating and construction, aided by Loudon's own experiments in curvilinear structures of metal and glass, (20) encouraged the fashion for bedding out of colourful exotics which soon became an essential feature of garden architecture.

While it is probably true to say that Loudon's influence was spread chiefly through his writings rather than concrete examples of his designs, this is because by comparison with his vast literary output his practical work was relatively limited. However, there is a very important example of his work in Derbyshire, namely, the Derby Arboretum, a public park given to the town by a local philanthropist, Joseph Strutt and designed by Loudon, 1839-40. This was the first park to be specifically designed for and owned by the public as a direct result of the movement for public walks. Strutt laid down a number of

conditions - the most advanced for his time being the insistence that the gardens should be open free to the public for two days a week, one of these days to be Sunday. The fact that no admission charge was to be made on these days was unusual, but that the gardens should be freely open on a Sunday, of all days, was exceptional. A contributor to the Gardener's Magazine referring enthusiastically to the Arboretum compared the advantages it would offer to the artisans of Derby with those less fortunate working-class citizens of Sheffield. (21)

' . . . the artisans of Derby will enjoy a rare opportunity of expanding their minds by the contemplation of nature, and of refining and cultivating their taste by frequent observation of the noblest combinations of artistical gardening.'

He then referred to the Botanical Gardens of Sheffield, which at that time were suffering from financial problems due in part perhaps to their being too exclusive, (22)

' . . . the fault will certainly not be with the working classes, who have as yet not been allowed to contribute towards its support; for, to a mechanic, the payment of a shilling and exclusion on Sunday, the only day on which he has leisure for the contemplation of nature, form a violent prohibition against entering its precincts.

. . . Why not open the garden on a Sunday at a moderate charge? Alas! Clerical bigotry forbids this simple, obvious, and effective means of recruiting the dwindled funds of the institution. The glories of nature are doomed to be a sealed book on the Sabbath, while the doors of the alehouse are left open to invite the listless passer-by. Thus are men debarred from rational and

elevating employment of their faculties, cut off from influences which would humanise and civilise them, actually driven into temptation, forced into vicious courses, then lectured on the exceeding depravity of their nature, and punished for the commission of crimes which, under other circumstances, they might have abhorred.

This is one of the main arguments used by the promoters of public parks early in the century - the idea that public parks would provide alternative recreation to the public house and a diversion from other so-called 'undesirable pursuits'. Increasingly urban development had swallowed up open spaces and this combined with an acceleration of enclosure of common land usually meant that the poorer working classes lived in the most crowded and polluted areas near to the factories without access to fresh air or open space for recreation. Fourteen years after the opening of the Derby Arboretum, the anniversary fete was reported in the Illustrated London News (23) and the generosity and foresight of Strutt who 'saw that no open heath or common-land existed in the neighbourhood of his native town' was contrasted with the greed of Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, who in contradistinction to his father's will, was endeavouring to enclose part of Hampstead Heath.

Loudon gave a full description of the layout of the arboretum, including a catalogue of trees and shrubs, the instructions he had received from Strutt and the reasons for the main features of the plan. (24) Loudon pointed out that although the ^eleven acres of ground bought by Strutt ~~were~~ in the outskirts

of the town, the most important feature to be taken into account in adapting it for a garden of recreation was that there was no distant prospect or view beyond the grounds and that with town building increasing fast on every side within a few years it would be surrounded. Hence the interest of the garden should be contained within itself. The plan (Fig. II) shows the long, narrow, irregular shape of the ground. The surface is flat, apparently level, but with a very gentle inclination from the north-east to the south-west. The situation was open, but much exposed to winds. He gave details of soil, water and drainage, indicating that it was well adapted for the growth of trees, as was evident from the belt planted some years ago by Strutt which surrounded a great part of the grounds. Strutt made it clear to Loudon that the grounds were to be laid out in such a way that their maintenance would not be costly; that there should be open spaces in two or more parts of the garden, in which large tents might be pitched, a band of music placed and dancing carried on; that two lodges with gates, at the two extremities, should be built, each having a public room where visitors may take their own refreshment free of charge, and each containing proper yards and conveniences for public use, apart from those to be used exclusively by the occupant of the lodge. Certain vases and pedestals were to be retained in the garden and others from Strutt's own garden were also to be included. Strutt also required that directions for the future management of the garden should be provided by Loudon.

Bearing in mind the constraints imposed by the site and Strutt's requirements, Loudon decided that a botanic garden would not only be too expensive to create, but also too costly to maintain; that a mere composition of trees and shrubs with turf, in the manner of a common pleasure-ground, would become insipid after being seen two or three times; and that the most suitable kind of public garden, in these circumstances, would be an arboretum, or collection of trees and shrubs, foreign and indigenous, which would endure the open air in the climate of Derby. He gave various reasons for his preference of a collection of trees rather than herbaceous plants, the main reasons being their size and interest all the year round,

' . . . whereas, among trees and shrubs, there are all the evergreen kinds, which are more beautiful in winter than in summer . . . give shelter and encouragement to singing birds, to which herbaceous plants offer little or no shelter or food.

. . . In addition . . . there is a very great beauty in trees, which from improper planting of artificial plantations, is often overlooked, or rather concealed; and that is the ramification of the main surface roots where they join the trunk. . . . I have directed all the trees to be planted on little hills, the width of the base being three times the height of the hill, so that the junction of the main roots with the base of the trunk will appear above ground.'

This method of planting trees was obviously very dear to Loudon. He made a tour between London and Sheffield in May 1839 (25) and noted that the arboretum at Chatsworth was the only one he

had seen where sufficient room was given to every species to gain its usual size and that 'each tree and larger growing shrub is planted on a little hill.' He also visited Elvaston Castle and described the gardens in some detail.

The trees are all planted on little hillocks of from 6ft to 10ft in diameter and at the centre of each hillock, from 1ft to 2ft above the level of the adjoining surface. They are planted in rows, and are growing with extraordinary vigour; ample space being allowed for each plant to attain its normal dimensions.

. . . Among the numerous things which struck us as new and extraordinary, were plinths of soil forming pedestals to large yew trees, which were procured when full grown from different parts of the country, wherever they could be found large, or cut into curious shapes; while smaller yew trees were planted at the base of the plinths, and trained over them.

In order to disguise the boundaries of the ground and to conceal the persons walking in the side walks from those in the centre walks, undulating mounds of soil were to be raised, varying in height from six feet to ten feet in the directions indicated by the lines on the plan and by the shadows in the accompanying drawing. (Fig. 12) Loudon was instructed to preserve as much as possible of the belt of trees and existing trees in the interior, so he adopted the surrounding walk as the demarcation line between the collection or arboretum in the interior of the grounds and the 'miscellaneous assemblage in their circumference'. All the ground not covered by trees or

shrubs he directed to be laid down in grass to be kept closely mown; but round each tree and shrub forming the collection, a circular space varying from three feet to five feet in diameter was to be preserved, not to be sown with grass and always to be kept clear of weeds. In the centre of this was to be the hill, one third of the width of the circle and on which the plant was to be placed. The use of the circle and hillock was to prevent the grass from injuring the roots of the trees while young, and to allow the larger roots to show above the surface 'where they ramify from the stem'. (26)

A glance at the plan (Fig. ||) shows how well this layout and planting illustrates Loudon's gardenesque theory. The straight, broad gravel walk in the centre provides a main feature from the principal entrance, and intersects the diagonal, broad straight walk to form a centre to the garden, and to constitute a point of radiation to all the other walks. This provides the symmetrical axis which contrasts with the winding walks surrounding the whole. He proposed a statue on a pedestal for the radiating centre, a pedestal with a vase or urn for the second circle in the straight walk, while the pavilions were to form terminating objects to the broad cross walk. (Figs. 16, 17, 20) He directed that Strutt's pedestals and vases were to be kept properly supplied during summer with pots of flowers, the names of the flowers to be written conspicuously on a card tied to the vase,

'and the kinds of flowers changed at least once a week,

they will be instructive as well as ornamental. The kinds of plants should be such as have conspicuous red or orange flowers, in order to contrast harmoniously with the masses of green foliage and grass with which they are surrounded.

He also designed brick tallies to display information cards (27) which should accompany all the trees and shrubs in the collection. (Fig. 13) E.B.Lamb designed the entrance lodges and gates in Loudon's Encyclopaedia style and the pedestal and statue encircled by stone seats for what Loudon called the 'radiating centre' of the arboretum. (Fig. 14) The suggestion of a commemorative statue seems not to have been taken up until some years later - the Italianate gateway, designed by Duesbury, towards Arboretum Square was added about 1850 and is surmounted by a niche containing a statue of Joseph Strutt. (Fig. 15) Pevsner describes the style of the park as 'mildly picturesque'. (28) Almost nothing of the original planting survives, although the layout of paths and pavilions and the ornamental vases designed by Blore of Derby, remain as a rather bleak reminder of what once must have been visually stimulating. The most distinctive feature of the park today is the mounds (Figs. 19-20) but Loudon describes them as varying in height from six to ten feet and I doubt whether any now reach a height of more than six feet at the most. Fig. 16 shows how high the mounds were in relation to the path, although the distorted height of the pavilion suggests a certain amount of artistic licence. The print of the fountain (Fig. 17) shows it to have been the focal

point in the centre of the park, where Loudon had originally suggested a statue might be placed. If this is compared with the photograph of the base of the fountain which remains (Fig. 18) once again artistic licence seems to have exaggerated the scale of the fountain almost beyond recognition.

Loudon left careful instructions for the care of the shrubs and trees; overgrown plants were not to be thinned or pruned, but to be removed and replaced with younger smaller specimens. Pruning was prohibited because he wanted every plant to show its natural shape and habit of growth. Any tree reaching a greater height of forty or fifty feet was to be removed.

'If this part of the management laid down be neglected, the rapid-growing large trees will soon overtop the slow-growing smaller ones and the shrubs and ultimately destroy all the finer kinds.'

He even went so far as to suggest that after about fifteen or twenty years, the whole collection should be taken up and replanted to include new species of trees and shrubs which were continually coming into the country. The large variety of trees and their careful maintenance was clearly seen by Loudon as providing the chief attraction of the garden. The long mounds of soil, about six feet high, parallel to the paths still create the illusion of a more extensive parkland than in fact exists. Now that the area surrounding the arboretum has been engulfed by the City of Derby, the usefulness of these mounds, in what is, after all a rather small green enclosure, is of paramount importance.

This device was used by a number of later designers, particularly in the layout of small urban parks. Two good examples in the area are by Edward Milner and his son Henry, at the Pavilion Gardens, Buxton (1871) and Howard Park, Glossop (opened 1888). In both of these examples, mounds or undulations have been used to create different levels, to hide and separate different parts of the grounds, to create light and shade and to prevent the whole from being seen at any one time. (Figs. 62-3) Planting trees on hillocks seems to have been fairly widely practised and examples can be seen in the Victorian tree planting at Kedleston, Elvaston and Biddulph. (Figs. 21-2) Paxton often used this method as can be seen at Chatsworth, and Darley House. (Fig. 69) It can also be seen in the planting of gardeners who trained at Chatsworth under Paxton, for example Edward Milner's planting at Bakewell Vicarage. (29) (Fig. 64) The Victorian revival of interest in the stumpery is probably linked to this planting practice.

The Sheffield Botanical Gardens, another important local example of a park laid out in the gardenesque manner, can perhaps be usefully cited to demonstrate Loudon's influence in the area. The grounds were laid out by their first curator Robert Marnock who became one of the most successful landscape gardeners of the nineteenth century and who was a great exponent of the gardenesque. He had previously been employed at Bretton Hall where a curvilinear glass dome constructed according to Loudon's principles by Messrs. Bailey of Holborn

had been erected in 1827 for Mrs Beaumont. (30) The so-called 'Paxton Pavilions' at Sheffield no longer retain the wooden ridge and furrow connecting sections, but the three pavilions have beautiful metal and glass curvilinear domes which clearly derive from Loudon's structural principles. Marnock seems to have consulted both Loudon and Paxton for advice when laying out the grounds here. They still provide an interesting example of the gardenesque, that is an informal or picturesque landscape with interest focussing on the intimate, small scale scenery of rock gardens and pools and their surrounding tree-planted mounds. The formal terrace or promenade with the main axial walk leading from it is still the focus of the park landscape with its subsidiary, circular features and a winding walk encircling the whole. (Figs. 23-6) In spite of their name, The Sheffield Botanical and Horticultural Society Gardens were intended from the start to be laid out as pleasure grounds and in order to decrease annual expenditure only a comparatively small portion of the grounds was to be cultivated, the greater part being laid out in grass and ornamental walks. The gardens which opened in 1836 were organized and financed by the Sheffield Botanical and Horticultural Society, and typical of the many similar middle class enterprises being developed at this period in other industrial cities.

Loudon visited the Sheffield Botanical Gardens in 1839 and approvingly commented that they

had been laid out

'decidedly in better taste than any garden of the kind which we have yet seen. In short there is nothing in it which we could wish to alter. The arboretum and fruticetum is so arranged as to display every specimen tree and shrub from the walks; and, when these specimens shall have been a few years grown, their picturesque effect will be such that no other trees or shrubs but the specimens will be required. . . . On the whole . . . this garden is worthy of being taken as a model for the laying out, planting, and mode of management of public botanic gardens. Mr Marnock has evidently an excellent taste in landscape gardening;' (31)

It has been said that it was Marnock's success here in Sheffield that led to his subsequent appointment, on Loudon's recommendation, as curator to the gardens for the Royal Botanic Society of London in Regent's Park. Loudon evidently thought highly of Marnock's work, no doubt in large part because it so accurately reflected Loudon's own teachings. Marnock's other work in the area also illustrates Loudon's gardenesque approach, and it is probable that ^{the} many visitors to the Botanical Gardens would have been influenced by what they saw and tried in some measure to recreate similar effects on a smaller scale in their own gardens. Many of his ideas were particularly suitable for owners of villa gardens in suburban areas, and as already indicated Loudon was aware of this rapidly increasing section of the population with a growing interest in practical gardening; they would have formed a large part of the market for his publications. Consequently Loudon's influence could be said to have been fairly diffuse in the area.

NOTES

1. LOUDON, J.C., The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion, (1838 new edition). Chapter II Section I, On the Classification of Houses.
Chapter III Section II Subject I, On Laying out, Planting and Managing Fourth-rate Suburban Gardens. p.177.
Subject 2. On Laying out, Planting, and Managing Third-rate Suburban Gardens. p.409.
Subject 3. On Laying out, Planting, and Managing Second-rate Suburban Gardens. p.548.
Subject 4. On Laying out, Planting and Managing First-rate Suburban Gardens. p.622.
2. TAIT, A.A., 'Loudon and the Return to Formality' in John Claudius Loudon and the Nineteenth Century in Great Britain, ed. Mcdougall. (1980) p.88.
3. LOUDON, J.C., The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton esq. (1840), Introduction, ix.
4. The Gardener's Magazine, Vol.15, December (1839) pp.633 - 674.
5. TURNER, T.H.D., 'Loudon's stylistic development', in Journal of Garden History, Vol.2, No.2, (1982) pp.175 - 188.
6. SIMO, M.L., 'John Claudius Loudon: on planning and design for the garden metropolis', in Garden History, (1981) Vol.9, No.2, p.194;
ELLIOTT, B., 'Victorian Garden Design' in The Garden, ed. HARRIS, J., (V & A Catalogue, 1979), p.57, points out that the gardenesque as put into practice by Paxton and his protégées Kemp and Milner differed from Loudon's. 'Loudon would not have approved.'
7. For the influence of Quatremèrède Quincy's Essay on the Nature, the End and the Means of Imitation in the Fine Arts on Loudon, see SIMO, op.cit., p.194 and TURNER, op.cit., p.180.

8. QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, An Essay, trans. KENT, J.C., (1837) p.170, quoted by TURNER, op.cit., p.181.
9. SIMO, op.cit., p.194.
10. Gardener's Magazine, (1835) p.663.
11. LOUDON, The Suburban Gardener, (1838) quoted by TURNER, op.cit., p.181.
12. ibid., p.182.
13. He also comments that for a limited space in towns, and where a variety of trees and shrubs will not thrive a garden for a public promenade should be laid out geometrically. He points out that what are called French and Dutch Gardens are on this style and cites the gardens of the Tuilleries and Luxembourg in Paris, and those of Schönbrunn in Vienna, and of Peterhoff near Petersburg as being some of the finest examples in Europe. Gardener's Magazine, (1835) p.666.
14. Obituary to Loudon written by PAXTON. Magazine of Botany, (1843) 10, p.273.
15. LOUDON, Gardener's Magazine, (1831) IV, May 7.
16. See Appendix A, page
17. ELLIOTT, op.cit., p.57.
18. Gardener's Magazine, (1839) XV, pp.3 - 7.
19. Gardener's Magazine, (Feb.1840) pp.49 - 58. The frontage of the villa adjoining Nesfield's was the same size. Both villas were designed by Nesfield's brother-in-law, A.Salvin, and the grounds laid out at the same time, care being taken that where the ground was thickly planted in one villa, it was planted thinly in the other, and vice versa.
20. One of the first curvilinear glasshouses to stand as a transparent object in a garden was erected for Mrs Beaumont at Bretton Hall in 1827. It was designed by Loudon and can be seen as an environmental chamber developed from the horticulturalist's search for more light and for new construction materials. Loudon had developed a

wrought-iron glazing bar with greater strength and flexibility than the cast-iron window sashes which had been used during the late eighteenth century. The manufacture of a wrought-iron bar was much easier because it was extruded through the mould while the metal was in a heated state, rather than cast in a mould and left until cold enough to remove. Loudon patented his wrought-iron glazing bar in 1816. In his Remarks on Hothouses (1817) he used a graph to compare the amount of light blocked by wood and iron-frame glasshouses. Although Paxton recognized the superiority of iron in increasing the amount of light, he did not think the additional expense was justified, and concentrated his energies on the construction of wooden roofs which combined 'utility, stability, convenience, and though last, but not least economy.' See CHADWICK, G.F., The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton, (1961) for a detailed account of Paxton's experiments and innovations in the development of glasshouses.

21. (Feb.1840) pp.59 - 63. The writer signs himself W. Near Doncaster, Dec.1839.
22. The Sheffield Botanical and Horticultural Society Garden was very much a middle class concern. The grounds were only open to subscribers - even as late as 1852 the motion to admit the working classes to the grounds once a week at a low cost was defeated by the town council. These gardens were not freely open to the public until 1898 when the property was transferred to the Sheffield Town Trust.
23. (July 1854) p.13.
24. The Gardener's Magazine, (Oct.1840) pp.521 - 545.
25. Reported in The Gardener's Magazine, (Aug.1839) pp.432 - 463.
26. Enlarged catalogues were to be sold by the curator and also a copy of Loudon's Arboretum Britannicum was to be kept in the public room for the use of gardeners and botanists.

27. The numbers which precede the names in the catalogue, published in Gardener's Magazine, (Oct. 1840) are those which appeared on the brick tallies and the place of any plant in the arboretum could thus be readily found by looking to the place of the nearest number on the ground plan. (Fig. 13) The cards were also to contain the name of the plant, its native country, year of introduction and the height of the plant in its native country.
28. The Buildings of ^{England.} Derbyshire, (1978, revised by E. Williamson) p.187.
29. The plan (Fig. 64) shows to the south-west corner of the vicarage, at the end of the terrace walk, a small circle. Closer inspection of the vicarage garden reveals this to have been a mound, probably with steps leading up it, planted with an elm tree which was felled about five years ago. ^{of this on the plan, in the middle of the kitchen garden} Due east is another small circle - this may have marked another specimen tree planted on a hillock. See also CARDER, J., 'The Work of Edward Milner in Derbyshire' in The Journal of The Bakewell and District Historical Society, (Jan. 1982) pp.82 - 105.
30. See note 20 above. There is a description of the shortcomings of this glasshouse, in terms of temperature control in M'INTOSH, C., The Book of the Garden, (1853) Vol.1, p.129, and pp.363 - 4, fig. 501 shows a cross-section of the structure. There is an illustration of the dome in Gardener's Magazine, (1829) HIX, J., The Glasshouse, (1974) p.22, describes how W & D Bailey constructed custom-designed curvilinear glasshouses according to Loudon's principles. The prototype was built at Loudon's own home in London, Bayswater House.
31. The Gardener's Magazine, (Aug. 1839) pp.453 - 5.

4. CHATSWORTH

Chatsworth House and its gardens are of national importance as historical examples of patronage and changing taste in architecture and its relationship to surrounding gardens and landscape. Chatsworth is especially important to the garden historian as the epitome of the various styles of garden design which developed in England during the last four centuries, documented by a series of paintings and other remaining records. It is of particular importance during the nineteenth century as the workplace of Joseph Paxton for over thirty years; here he became the foremost gardener of his day and made Chatsworth, which had been through a period of neglect, once again one of the famous and important gardens of Europe by the 1850s. The Sixth Duke of Devonshire succeeded in 1811 and had from the first been interested in the larger aspects of his garden as an architectural adjunct to the house, but it was due to Paxton's influence that this interest became an absorbing enthusiasm. In the Duke's own words, 'Not till 1832 did I take to caring for my plants in earnest.' (1)

The story of Paxton's recruitment at Chiswick by the Sixth Duke of Devonshire and of his bursting onto the scene at Chatsworth in May 1826 is well known; how on his arrival at 4.30am he scaled the outside wall of the kitchen gardens, set the men there to work at 6 o' clock, breakfasted with Mrs Gregory and her niece, "the latter", he says, "fell in love with

me and I with

her, and thus completed my first morning's work, at Chatsworth, before nine o' clock." (2) He seems to have maintained this dynamism throughout his life, infecting most people with whom he worked with the same energy and enthusiasm. The Duke makes it very clear in his handbook how highly he regarded Paxton and touchingly comments, 'To me a friend, if ever man had one.' (3)

The remodelling of the gardens at Chatsworth which Paxton carried out for the Duke during the 1830s seems to have provided a major impetus for the widespread fashion for formal geometrical designs in gardens. However, it is important to realise that the gardens at Chatsworth were modified slowly over a long period. Before Paxton's arrival at Chatsworth, the Sixth Duke had already been involved with the architect Jeffry Wyatt (1766 - 1840) in plans to enlarge the existing frontage of the house, with a whole new wing complete with tower and neo-classical belvedere, space for a theatre, a picture gallery and an impressive new sculpture gallery. Building started in 1820 and continued for twenty years. One of the main results externally was the new north wing, and includes the rearrangement of the entrance court, in which Paxton was later to plant the mature weeping ash, transplanted from Derby. The most striking change near the house was on the west front where Wyattville recreated a formal forecourt or garden more or less in the same position as the Elizabethan forecourt had been in Bess of Hardwick's day.

The present state of the gardens is due largely to the Sixth Duke and Paxton, but the earlier gardens and their development require some explanation if the nineteenth century contribution is to be understood and assessed. The actual siting of the house in the secluded valley of the Derwent in the sixteenth century has remained unchanged. The house has gone through a number of alterations and extensions, but is still seen in its primary setting, against a background of trees sweeping up to the moorland skyline, described by Adam in 1845 as a 'bold rugged cliff and lofty mountain.'! (4) Much of the detail along the valley floor has changed, especially along the course of the Derwent, but the larger dramatic framework, the bones of the surrounding landscape, remains unaltered. The significant change in relation of the building to the landscape took place at the end of the seventeenth century when the new front of the house faced west. A century earlier the house had faced the hillside to the east, assuming a more inward-looking enclosed character. Now with a western front the house looked outwards across the valley; emparking of land across the river in the eighteenth century further extended and enhanced the view to create the landscaped park that is such an important feature there today.

The First Duke (1640 - 1707) who had been responsible for the rebuilding of the house between 1687 and his death, also commissioned the Royal gardeners, London and Wise for the layout of the great formal gardens. This involved a considerable

extension of the Elizabethan gardens as can be seen from Knyff's drawing of 1699. (5) (Fig. 27) He increased the number and extent of the parallel terraces which occupy the slopes: the bosquets, formal gardens, parterres, ponds and fountains can also be clearly seen. The forecourt on the west remained with its newly formed terrace and stairs of 1696 - 7 and alongside the river was a series of formal fish ponds and reservoirs. The highly elaborate parterres, that on the west laid out by London after 1688 and that on the south by London and Wise in 1694, embellished by formal planting of shrubs and small trees and by fountains and statues, can all be clearly seen. (6) The French influence shows here in the work of London and Wise, but also French gardeners were employed from 1687 to 1706. Grillet, a former assistant of Le Nôtre, constructed the waterworks including the cascade of 1694 - 5 which was enlarged in 1702 when Thomas Archer added the cascade house. A significant change was brought about by the First Duke when he decided in 1702 to clear the hill south of the house, fill the slope upwards from the river and dig the Canal Pond on the top. The soil from the hill was banked up steeply above and below the site chosen for the new Canal. The great change that this wrought in the landscape is described vividly by Defoe:

'having taken a strict view of the gardens at my first being there, and retaining an idea of them in my mind, I was perfectly confounded at coming there a second time and not knowing what had been done; for I had lost the hill, and found a new country in view, which Chatsworth it self had never seen before.' (7)

Unfortunately Kip's view does not extend far enough to the south to show this considerable rise in the ground which Defoe refers to,

' . . . to make a clear vista or prospect beyond into the flat country towards Hardwick . . . what others thought impossible, was not only made practicable, but easy, removed, and perfectly carried away a great mountain that stood in the way, and which interrupted the prospect.' (8)

The mansion, by now wholly symmetrical, was surrounded on three sides by its great formal gardens while from the house an unimpeded view had been created, right out beyond the gardens and into the parkland to the south west. (9) (Fig. 28)

It was the Fourth Duke, fifty years later who created the second great slope behind the house on the east, by clearing away the terraces. By the time he succeeded in 1755 a strong reaction against the earlier formal gardens was being felt, so that by this time 'improvement' had come to mean the sweeping away of formality, the opening up of avenues, freeing the middle distance and the simplification of the foreground around the house to create 'picture-like' qualities. Gardens were no longer treated primarily as a setting for the house, but rather as an extension of the natural features of the surrounding landscape.

House and garden were to be viewed in the romantic manner of
a landscape painting, as in
Claude or Poussin.

It is significant that the Fourth Duke's father-in-law had been Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington, who had

introduced the new irregular style of gardening at Chiswick with William Kent and Charles Bridgeman earlier in the century. By mid-century the landscaping of Capability Brown was all the rage. His employment at Chatsworth is referred to by both Horace Walpole and James Paine, and recently documentary evidence to substantiate these claims has been discovered among the Devonshire muniments. (10) The First Duke's great parterres were removed, six of the seven ponds were filled in, the river was straightened and widened and Paine built the new bridge to facilitate the change of access to the house from the west front to the north. The various outbuildings and offices on the west front which obscured the view were removed. The entrance court was grassed over to create an unbroken slope, except for the ha-ha, from the base of the west-front stairs down to the river. (Figs. 29-30) The cascade and the greenhouse on the east front, the ponds with their fountains and some statues on the south, remained as remnants of the former classical fashion created by the First Duke. There were further radical changes outside the gardens - the park assumed its present character and setting. Imparking of land west of the river and of tracts of land north and south of the house on the east bank of the river took place. Practically the whole garden had assumed the free and informal character of parkland - that line of demarcation between garden and park was no longer there. Fashionable use of the ha-ha made it possible to bring the parkland right up to the walls of the house. Chatsworth now

faced west towards the ancient village of Edensor with its rowdy alehouse, which marred the view. But, with the exception of the replacement of this with a respectable inn at the north entrance to the village, the re-siting and re-building of Edensor had to wait until the nineteenth century.

This was the general appearance of Chatsworth when the Sixth Duke inherited it in 1811 and, with certain small differences, when Paxton first saw it in 1826. Paxton has often been unjustly criticized for the destruction of the formal terraces at Chatsworth. As I have indicated, and as a number of illustrations clearly show these had already been removed long before he came to work there. It is more true to say that Paxton was responsible for restoring a degree of formality to the grounds within the propinquity of the house.

To begin to understand the influence that the changes taking place at Chatsworth may have had, not only on the immediate locality but also in the wider sense, it is essential to consider what sort of position the Sixth Duke held in society and what sort of publicity was given to Chatsworth. The relationship between the Sixth Duke and Joseph Paxton was of course crucial and has been referred to as a thirty year alliance of romance with industry. It is true that through their partnership they managed to achieve extraordinary and spectacular feats at Chatsworth, designed to outshine all rivals. Pearson comments,

'the mid-nineteenth century middle classes found themselves overawed, and largely overwhelmed by the

extraordinary illusion of wealth and grandeur of the aristocracy - and nowhere was this grand illusion more seductive than in the Xanadu-like creations left behind by the Sixth Duke of Devonshire. Forget the Duke they might, but the Victorians could never get over the magnificence of his re-doubled Chatsworth, with its fountain and gardens and fabulous conservatory.' (11)

Paxton nowadays is chiefly remembered as the designer of the Crystal Palace, but he had already made a name for himself as one of the great gardeners of the nineteenth century. He had launched a number of horticultural journals and written several books of a botanical nature. The movement for public parks had been gathering momentum and Paxton had been called on to design a number, both before and after the Great Exhibition of 1851. So that although the immense wealth and court connections of the Sixth Duke must be considered, equally important was the far-reaching influence of Paxton, through his publications, his commissions for work elsewhere, and the focus of interest that he brought to bear on Chatsworth through his outside connections. Not to be overlooked is the experience and training received by a number of young men at Chatsworth, who later became prominent garden designers in their own right, thus perpetuating and further extending the influence of Chatsworth. (12)

The Sixth Duke of Devonshire was twenty-one when he came into his inheritance. The Fifth Duke had not spent much time at Chatsworth and consequently there seems to have been an air of neglect about the place. Even the formal part

of the garden close to the house was uncared for and running wild. Adjoining the north front was a thicket so untended that the cooks used it as a dump for their kitchen refuse. (13) One can't help wondering why the young Duke chose to lavish so much attention on Chatsworth rather than on his London properties - he was obviously fond of Chatsworth, but Pearson suggests two other reasons. First that the Grand Duke Nicholas's visit to Chatsworth in 1816 helped him to see Chatsworth in a different light, as a princely palace fit to arouse the admiration of a future Tzar of Russia. 'Here, if anywhere, the Duke's potential 'greatness' lay.' (14) And secondly, when in August 1827 the Prime Minister Canning died, this meant an abrupt retirement from the active life of courtier and politician, back into his 'increasingly expensive private life.' Neither of these reasons seems entirely satisfactory - although it is true that the Duke spent increasingly more time at 'adorable Chatsworth' from 1827 onwards, since the extensions being carried out by Wyattville were formally completed in 1829. But only four years after his succession the Duke had started altering part of the east front of the house and in 1817 had commissioned Wyatt to assist him. (15) By 1813 he had already laid out a parterre in front of the First Duke's greenhouse on the east side of the house, which was then further formalised with Wyatt's help by the erection of the columns that had supported the First Duke's galleries on the inner court. This suggests that he had been planning for several years to spend more time and undertake

more lavish entertaining at Chatsworth. He had by 1828 installed his mistress Elizabeth Warwick at 'The Rookery', a small eighteenth century house he owned at nearby Ashford — in-the-water, instead of at London or Brighton as previously. Maybe this change of focus on the Duke's part is a reflection of the general change in attitude to the city and the country which was taking place during the first half of the nineteenth century. The romance and glamour which was attached to the countryside was part of the widespread nostalgia for a pre-industrial way of life, in part provoked by the problems caused by rapid urban expansion and industrialization. Ideas of benevolent paternalism associated with the 'lord of the manor' became increasingly fashionable among wealthy landowners and were emulated by those whose wealth was recently acquired and subsequently invested in ownership of land. There seems also to have been an element of rivalry amongst the wealthy aristocracy in attempting to outdo one another with the alterations and extensions to their ancestral seats; the status attached to 'collecting' was too powerful to resist for those who could afford to compete. A precedent for patronage and connoisseurship had already been established in the Cavendish family, which the young Duke initially took up as a collector of antique coins and in his ambition to make the library at Chatsworth one of the greatest in the country. Perhaps he was also anxious to reinstate Chatsworth to its position of former prominence and esteem.

According to Pearson, the Duke's fame spread once he

could use the extended Chatsworth for a round of lavish entertaining. He did the same in London where Devonshire House was once again the scene of the capital's most glittering receptions. Prince Pückler-Muskau now described the Duke as 'a king of fashion and elegance' and wrote of the concerts and receptions at Devonshire House as 'very fine entertainments where only the very first talent to be found in the metropolis is engaged, and where perfect order combined with boundless profusion reigns throughout.' (16) The Sixth Duke's Embassy to Moscow, to attend the coronation of Tsar Nicholas was a lavish success. 'Nothing could be more triumphant', wrote Lord Wharncliffe on his return (17), and soon afterwards George IV rewarded him with the Order of the Garter. His office as Lord Chamberlain during the ministry of George Canning brought him firmly into the orbit of the court and by 1827 he was frequently in attendance on the king at Windsor, where apparently he suggested his architect Wyatt for rebuilding Windsor Castle.

As the premier Whig aristocrat, he needed to reflect this position and not only to keep up with the aristocracy who were building, but to outshine the nouveaux-riches and industrialists who were attempting to emulate the aristocracy with their building schemes. According to Linstrum the Duke of Devonshire spent £280,508 on improving Chatsworth between 1817 and 1848, as well as £33,099 on the Great Conservatory, £92,828 on marbles, furniture and plate, £97,784 on roads, estate buildings and improvements. Yet in 1825, after he had spent almost

£100,000 on the house, he was thinking of starting to build another wing to double his new accommodation. (18)

The Sixth Duke's love of splendour is commented on by his half brother, Sir Augustus Clifford in his privately printed Sketch of the Life of the Sixth Duke of Devonshire and this is certainly borne out by the magnificent entertainments he planned after he had succeeded to the great Cavendish wealth. Members of the aristocracy frequently felt that their standing demanded some sort of visible expression in their houses and grounds; succession to an estate or title, or a wealthy marriage was often followed by the addition of another wing or the remodelling of the house, involving vast expenditure. (19) The size of the fortune indicated the style of living that could be enjoyed. While the Fourth Duke had concentrated on the landscape the Sixth Duke was able to complete the vast 'improvement' by making the house match the grandeur of the setting. He was a generous host and Chatsworth was visited by most of the important Whig landowners - he had certainly needed more rooms for entertaining and more accommodation for guests. Wyatt had been employed to draw up plans to extend and improve the house to suit his princely style of living, the chief considerations being splendour, convenience and comfort. In 1829 he celebrated the completion of the extensions at Chatsworth with an immense party, 'forty people sat down to dinner every day, and about 150 servants in the steward's room and the servant's hall.' The neighbouring Duke of Rutland grudgingly admitted, 'There was

about Chatsworth a splendour and magnificence to which I neither did nor could aspire.' (20)

The prominent feature of the new extension was the 'temple attic' which the Duke claimed was his own idea, 'suggested . . . at Oxford by the tower of the schools which forms part of the Bodleian. Sir Jeffry had not intended to build anything above the Ball-room, but readily adopted my plan.' (21) Drawings confirm that this tower at the northern end was an addition to the first approved design. (Fig. 31-32a) Linstrum also points out the likely Italian influences on the Duke. (22) The effect of this new wing, with its terminating belvedere tower, was to provide a significant asymmetrical addition to the house, large enough to change completely the effect of the house in its landscape. This picturesque conception of a bold asymmetrical building with its dominant tower balancing with the mass of the house is unmistakably a nineteenth century design and is echoed in a number of later nineteenth century buildings. It served as a model to be copied as early as the 1820s; the Duchess of Sutherland certainly had Chatsworth in mind when she and her husband decided to rebuild Trentham in the 1830s. The tower becomes a well-known and popular characteristic of Charles Barry's Italianate palaces, frequently accompanied by elaborate formal Italianate gardens as at Trentham and Cliveden or Shrubland. It was given the seal of approval when the Queen and Prince Albert, shortly after their visit to Chatsworth in 1843 planned a similar tower at Osborne on the

Isle of Wight.

Clearly the Duke was very pleased with the open aspect of the belvedere tower: 'the views of the neighbouring country through the Corinthian columns have a beautiful effect', (23) and it is possible, as Linstrum suggests, to associate this belvedere with the Picturesque notion of opening up architecture to nature, as Thomas Hope and William Atkinson were doing at The Deepdene a few years later. (Fig. 33) Linstrum suggests that if a Tudor precedent has to be quoted, an analogy with Elizabethan prospect rooms seems more apt than the Oxford tower which the Duke referred to and which can hardly have suggested the open form of the upper storey. Wollaton nearby, with its glazed lantern or prospect room would have been familiar to both the Duke and Wyatt and there is the tenuous connection between the belvedere and the towers of the Duke's other Derbyshire property, Hardwick Hall.

Wyatt had included a sculpture gallery in his original design, but the Duke's enthusiasm for collecting sculpture seems not to have been aroused until his visit to Paris and Rome in the winter of 1818 - 19, when he found that 'at Rome the love of marble possesses one like a new sense.' (24) His patronage of contemporary sculptors became an absorbing passion and his Gallery subsequently became an important feature in the new suite. (25)

He had intended to end the new suite with the Sculpture Gallery, but decided in 1826 - 7 to make an impressive

Greenhouse or Orangery in the space beyond, which meant some of the completed work had to be altered. The Duke's interest in gardening was obviously stimulated by his newly appointed head gardener, Paxton. (26) Just as he had extended the house to meet modern conceptions of comfort and splendour and to publicly express his role as a patron and a collector, so now he began to transform the gardens with Paxton's help as dramatically as he had transformed the house with Wyatt's help. (27) The Duke's enthusiasm for gardening and increasing the splendour of the grounds was enduring. He not only spent vast sums on collecting rare and exotic plants and housing them under tropical conditions, but he also financed plant hunting expeditions to places as far apart as North America and India.

'The old greenhouse was converted into a stove, the greenhouse at the gardens was built, the Arboretum invented and formed. Then started up the orchidaceae, and three successive house were built to receive their increasing numbers.' (28)

In 1837 the Duke joined the Royal Horticultural Society; this was also the year in which the Queen became the society's patron and also saw the publication of the first part of James Bateman's Orchidaceae of Mexico and Guatemala. The significance of royal patronage of the Horticultural Society and of an aristocratic interest in collecting exotic plants, orchids in particular, was profound. The Duke was caught up in the main stream of a fashionable mania and was particularly fortunate

in having the energy and expertise of Paxton at his command. It is also significant that Paxton was apparently offered £1,000 a year for the post of head gardener at Windsor in 1838, again indicative of the highest respect and recognition of his abilities. The fact that he remained in the service of the Sixth Duke until his death in 1858, testifies to the loyalty and friendship he felt for his employer, described with some feeling by Markham, (29) particularly in view of the fact that estate accounts reveal that his salary was little more than that of a woodsman throughout the 1840s. Not until 1849 was his salary suddenly increased to £500 a year. (30) Perhaps more importantly it reveals his awareness of the range of opportunities that would be made available by the Duke's willingness to expend vast wealth on the gardens at Chatsworth and the relative freedom this would give Paxton to experiment with a variety of undertakings on a huge scale. The availability of natural resources on the Duke's land - stone, timber, lead, iron-ore and coal-mines, all enabled Paxton to carry out his experiments in the construction and heating of glasshouses and also the construction of huge rockworks on the side of the hill on a scale not previously attempted elsewhere. (31) 1849 was the year in which Paxton coaxed the giant water-lily *Victoria Regia* to bloom under cultivation for the first time. Paxton anticipating by many years, a practice now familiar, tried using electric light which 'is exactly like bright daylight, and would make up for the short winter days.' (32) Markham describes the sensation caused by the flowering of

the Victoria Regia. Paxton went to Windsor to present the Queen with a fully-opened bud and one of the extraordinary leaves. The Duke returned from Lismore to see the lily, "All the world comes to look", he remarked. Sir William Hooker who had been unable to produce a bloom at Kew, and who had provided Paxton with the plant, came to see it with Dr Lindley. Among other visitors were the Duke's friends, Lady Hunloke and Lady Newburgh from nearby Wingerworth and Hassop Halls.

Already, in 1836, the Horticultural Society had presented Paxton with a Knightian Silver Medal for his introduction of the dwarf banana Musa Cavendishii. Following the death of Thomas Andrew Knight in 1838, the Duke had succeeded him as president of the Royal Horticultural Society, to be succeeded in turn, on his own death in 1858 by Prince Albert. (33)

Visits to Chatsworth by Royalty also indicate its importance and no doubt also served to stimulate a middle-class interest in visiting the house and grounds. In October 1832 the young Princess Victoria, then aged fourteen, had visited Chatsworth. The Chatsworth waterworks, already the finest in England, played constantly day and night during the Royal visit. One night was devoted to a grand illumination; basins, cascades and fountains in the garden were brilliantly lit up, decorated by thousands of Russian lights and fireworks reflected in the water. The princess was puzzled by the beautifully neat appearance of the gardens every morning and was surprised to hear that Paxton kept a gang of a hundred men working through the night

removing fallen leaves from the ground and rolling the walks. Under Paxton's direction the Duchess of Kent planted a Spanish chestnut tree and the Princess a young oak. Eleven years later, Victoria, now Queen, came again accompanied by Prince Albert who planted a sycamore. (34) By this date, 1843, the gardens at Chatsworth were justly famous and Paxton's skill widely recognized. There were two days of banqueting and of an admiring tour of the Duke's possessions of land, gardens, conservatories and collections of books, sculptures and paintings in their newly completed settings. The visit was in December, not the best time of year for gardens, but once again Paxton launched a vast scheme of illuminations - far finer and on a larger scale than that which the Queen had seen on her first visit. At a given signal waterfalls, cascades, fountains all burst into a blaze of fire. (Fig. 34) The Great Conservatory, completed in 1840 and then the largest glass building in the world, was illuminated with twelve thousand lamps placed along the ribs (Fig. 35) and the royal entourage passed through the building in open carriages. 'Visitors passed at a step from a December night in England, to the regions of a torrid zone. Exotic plants and trees, often of great height flourished beneath a dome of crystal.' (35)

Other spectacular accomplishments that caught the public's imagination were the enormous rockwork where 'The spirit of some Druid seems to animate Mr Paxton in these bulky removals' (36) and the Emperor Fountain. This was intended

to play for the first time in 1844 when the Emperor Nicholas came to Chatsworth. It was to be the fountain to eclipse all others in the world. (37) Much to the disappointment of the Duke and Paxton, the Emperor's visit to England was too brief to allow him to visit Chatsworth after all. However, the fountain was still named after him and the Duke held a vast reception for the Emperor at Chiswick. On leaving, the Emperor created Paxton a Knight of St Vladimir. Paxton sought permission to dedicate his forthcoming volume of the Magazine of Botany to the Emperor and in return was sent the medal of the Order of St Anne's, a sable coat, and three silver gilt beakers!

Paxton's last major undertaking at Chatsworth was the construction of the lily house for the Victoria Regia lily. Soon after this, his design for the building for the Great Exhibition and its subsequent success, made his name a household word. The design of the Crystal Palace can be seen as the culmination of the series of ridge and furrow type glass buildings which he had been experimenting with at Chatsworth for several years.

Mention should also be made of Edensor, the model village built by Paxton for the Duke in Chatsworth Park. Paxton's assistant was John Robertson, formerly Loudon's draughtsman and the village is an excellent example of picturesque pattern-book architecture. (38) The village is composed of sizable stone cottages, well-constructed, with slate roofs in an amazing selection of picturesque styles, not dissimilar to the main street

illustrated in P.F.Robinson's Village Architecture (1830). (Figs.

36) Although not the earliest example of a Picturesque model village, it did exemplify the potential of the Picturesque for exclusive residential suburbs, where detached housing set in sizeable gardens on an informal plan was needed. The new church which dominates the village, with its huge tower and spire, was built in 1867 by Sir George Gilbert Scott for the Seventh Duke. (39)

The alterations and additions that the Sixth Duke made attracted a great deal of attention and the number of visitors to Chatsworth steadily increased. (40) Paxton had stated that there were over 60,000 visitors to Chatsworth annually in the 1840s. (41) When the railway from Derby to Rowsley was opened in 1849, making Chatsworth accessible to the population of the great manufacturing towns, 80,000 people were visiting the house during the summer. When the railway eventually reached Manchester in 1863 the figure was even higher. During Whit week 1884, 11,351 people went. (42) It is interesting to see how the figures continue to increase towards the end of the nineteenth century. After the Sixth Duke died in 1858 there were no further great works at Chatsworth. The Seventh Duke's interests lay elsewhere and he regarded Holker Hall in Lancashire as his family home. However, the gardens were obviously not neglected and they continued to provide an exciting day out for increasing numbers of people from the cities with the extension of the railway network. Following Paxton's great

success in London at the Crystal Palace people from further afield may have been tempted to visit Chatsworth to see for themselves what his earlier collaboration with the Sixth Duke had produced.

To what extent Formalism in the Victorian garden was further promoted by these visits is difficult to ascertain. No doubt the spectacular aspects of the gardens - the glasshouses including the Great Conservatory, the waterworks, especially the Emperor Fountain, and the gigantic rockworks caused the most excitement. But all the newly-imported plants were of great interest, from the tender and exotic in the hothouses to the arboretum or the colourful bedding-out. The splendour of the conifers flourishing in the arboretum at Chatsworth must have inspired the planting of many a monkey puzzle (*Araucaria araucana*) in city gardens, where the cramped and smoky environment resulted in stunted or distorted growth and dusty disappointing leaves. (43) The novelty and colour of bedding-out must have had an immediate appeal and the geometric layout could be readily adapted to small suburban gardens. New technology in glass production and the removal of tax combined to lower the price sufficiently to enable the middle classes to emulate the aristocracy in building ranges of greenhouses for raising tender plants for bedding out. The fame of the Great Conservatory followed by the Crystal Palace did much to promote the decorative conservatories, or winter gardens as they were sometimes called, which became so fashionable during the second half of the

nineteenth century - a good example can be seen at Flintham Hall, Nottinghamshire. (Fig. 141)

Paxton carried on a lucrative practice outside Chatsworth and his commissions for glasshouses, parks and gardens are numerous and widely spread. (44) Impressive waterworks frequently feature prominently in his public parks, a reflection perhaps of his experience at Chatsworth. The influence of Chatsworth and Paxton can be found in a number of Victorian gardens in Derbyshire and its periphery. In many of these gardens Formalism plays a prominent part.

NOTES

Material for this chapter is derived mainly from the following -
CAVENDISH, W.S., 6th Duke of Devonshire, Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick, (1845)
THOMPSON, F., A History of Chatsworth, (1949.)
MARKHAM, V.R., Paxton and the Bachelor Duke, (1935.)
CHADWICK, G.F., The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton 1803 - 1865, (1961.)

1. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.160.
2. ibid.
3. ibid., p.111.
4. ADAM, W., The Gem of the Peak, (1845,) p.119. This sort of hyperbole is reminiscent of 18th century writers, cf., COTTON, 'Wonders of the Peak', describing Chatsworth's situation: ' . . . at a black mountain's foot whose craggy brow . . . ' line 1,255, in Poems of Charles Cotton, ed.J.Buxton, (1958.)
5. Engraved by KIP and published in his Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne, (1716.) This drawing was done just before the new west front was put on the house (1705). See also GIROUARD, 'Elizabethan Chatsworth' in Country Life, (1973,) p.154.
6. Celia Fiennes visited Chatsworth in 1697 and provides a fascinating description of the new work in the gardens. The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685 - c.1712, ed.C.Morris, (1982,) pp.104 - 107. Her description of the gardens is included in Appendix B*i*
7. DEFOE, D., A Tour through the whole island of Great Britain, (1st published 1724 - 6, abridged and edited by P.Rogers, 1971,) p.475.
8. ibid.
9. John Smith's engraving published in The Complete English Traveller, (1744,) (after the painting at Guy's Hospital)

- shows the new west front with its baroque portico.
10. Information supplied by M.PEARMAN, librarian and archivist at Chatsworth. Receipts for payments to L.Brown dated 1765.
 11. PEARSON, J., Stags and Serpents. The story of the house of Cavendish and the Dukes of Devonshire, (1983,) p.145.
 12. As Adam affirms,
 ' . . . Chatsworth gardens form an admirable finishing school for young men, who after receiving instructions here, frequently go abroad and get into excellent situations. And such is the celebrity of these gardens, grounds and conservatory, that even foreigners come to receive instructions in the art of horticulture. This is a high compliment to the taste and abilities of Mr.J.Paxton, FLS and HS, who has had entire management of this princely establishment for years, and who consequently has contributed much to the fame of these gardens.' Gem of the Peak, (1845,) pp.169 - 170.
 13. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.4.
 14. PEARSON, op.cit., p.122.
 15. Jeffry Wyatt changed his surname to Wyatville in 1824 and he was knighted in 1828. He is referred to as Wyatt before 1824 and as Wyatville after that date.
 16. PEARSON, op.cit., p.124.
 17. ibid., p.126.
 18. LINSTRUM, D., Sir Jeffry Wyatville, Architect to the King, (Oxford, 1972,) p.35.
 19. Thompson states that by 1790 the Dukes of Bedford, Bridgewater, Devonshire and Northumberland could each comfortably dispose of over £50,000 a year. The feature they all had in common was the ability to support both a country mansion and the establishment

that went with it, and a metropolitan life during the London season.

THOMPSON, F.M.L., English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, (1969,) p.25.

He later points out that life in the country houses revolved around five main activities: the pleasure and interest to be derived from the gardens and park, the pleasure and excitement of country sports, the pleasure and duty of dispensing and receiving hospitality, head the list; p.95.

20. PEARSON, op.cit., p.127.

21. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.116.

22. LINSTRUM, op.cit., p.265. 'The apparent resemblance to Genoese and Roman palaces which incorporated such a feature is not surprising, as the Duke was frequently in Italy, and spent some time there in 1819 ordering sculpture from Canova, visiting palaces and galleries in the company of his step-mother and Sir Thomas Lawrence. It was between October 1818 and October 1819 that the belvedere was added to the design, although the working drawings were not made until 1824. It is also significant that in 1825 Lady Gower wrote that the Duke was thinking of adding a balancing wing on the south. If it, too, had ended in a belvedere the complete house would have closely resembled Vanvitelli's design for the royal palace at Caserta which, apart from Italian engravings, had been published in England in Smirke's Specimens of Continental Architecture, (1806.)

23. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.117. THOMPSON, op.cit., writing in 1949 found 'the view of the Corinthian columns, etc., from the neighbouring county is generally agreed to be hideous.', p.200. It is interesting to reflect on the shift in attitude to nineteenth century architecture during the last forty years.

24. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.37. Wyatt was already working on a Sculpture Gallery at Woburn for the Sixth Duke of Bedford, possibly this also encouraged Cavendish to have one too.
25. The Duke explains in his handbook that his collecting was motivated by human feelings and that every piece of marble contained memories of a valued period in his life and that he liked to know each sculptor personally. Perhaps this was why he never attempted to collect ancient marbles. A detailed account of the Duke's collection of marbles and of his intention to build up his gallery as a memorial to Canova can be found in KENWORTHY-BROWNE, J., 'A Ducal Patron of Sculptors', in Apollo, (October 1972.)
26. Wyatville was alarmed about the proposed size of the glass panes to be used in the roof of the Orangery - he thought they were too liable to be broken by any hail storm. Linstrum asks 'Was this a conservative reaction to one of Paxton's daring ideas?', op.cit., p.158.
27. Linstrum explains how satisfied the Duke had been with his architect; the improvement of Chatsworth had been the greatest interest in the Duke's life and a remarkably complete expression of early nineteenth-century taste.
'In its planning and composition Chatsworth is a synthesis of Classical and Picturesque principles and in its decoration and furnishing the north wing is eloquent of the 1820s and 1830s, as splendid as Windsor but aristocratic rather than monarchic, and unsurpassed in England as a symbol of the nineteenth-century sense of security in great possessions.' Op.cit., p.161.
28. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.112.
29. MARKHAM, V., Paxton and the Bachelor Duke, (1935.)
30. Chatsworth Estate Account Books, 1840 - 1849. These account books are bound in green vellum and there is a

separate volume for each year.

31. The Duke was iron-master at Staveley, which was part of his **estate** - also coal-mines were opened up there and all around Hardwick. He owned mines at Glapwell and also mines in north-east Derbyshire were on his estate.
32. MARKHAM, op.cit., p.179.
33. This is a significant indication of the prestige attached to this position and also of the importance attached to horticultural matters.
34. The Illustrated London News, (December 9th, 1843,) reported the visit and inaccurately stated that Prince Albert planted a sapling oak. The Royal trees are mentioned frequently in the press. The Journal of Horticulture and Home Farmer, (supplement March 4th 1909,) lists them all - a variegated sycamore planted by the Archduke Michael of Russia in 1818; an Oak planted by H.R.H. Princess Victoria in 1832; a Spanish Chestnut planted by her mother the Duchess of Kent in 1832; a Sycamore by Prince Albert in 1843; an English Chestnut by the Emperor Nicholas in 1816.
35. MARKHAM, op.cit., p.150.
36. CAVENDISH, op.cit., p.173. 'In the autumn of 1842 there was not a single stone in these parts.'
37. The highest fountain then existing was at Hesse-Cassel which rose to a height of 190 ft; next that at St Cloud which rose to a height of 160 ft and that at Peterhof rose 120 ft. The Emperor fountain at Chatsworth rose 267 ft.
38. In 1835 the Duke and Paxton had visited Blaise Hamlet which had made a favourable impression on them. Edensor was moved and rebuilt in 1838 - 42, hidden from the view of Chatsworth House by surrounding hills. There was an approving description of the village on completion in The Gardener's Chronicle, (1842,) p.187.

'the buildings embrace houses of almost every calibre from the spacious farmhouse to the humble cottage and they are distributed with admirable skill; some on the level ground at the mouth of the dell and others on gentle declivities, while not a few overhang the brow of a precipice or occupy a snug position that has been excavated out of the solid rock. The buildings are entirely of stone, except where enriched wooden gables or other ornamental carvings have been introduced; and they present a perfect compendium of all the prettiest styles of cottage architecture from the sturdy Norman to the sprightly Italian.'

Wyatville produced designs for two of the lodges at Edensor. One is a half-timbered building with brick infilling between the timbers; the other is built of rough stone.

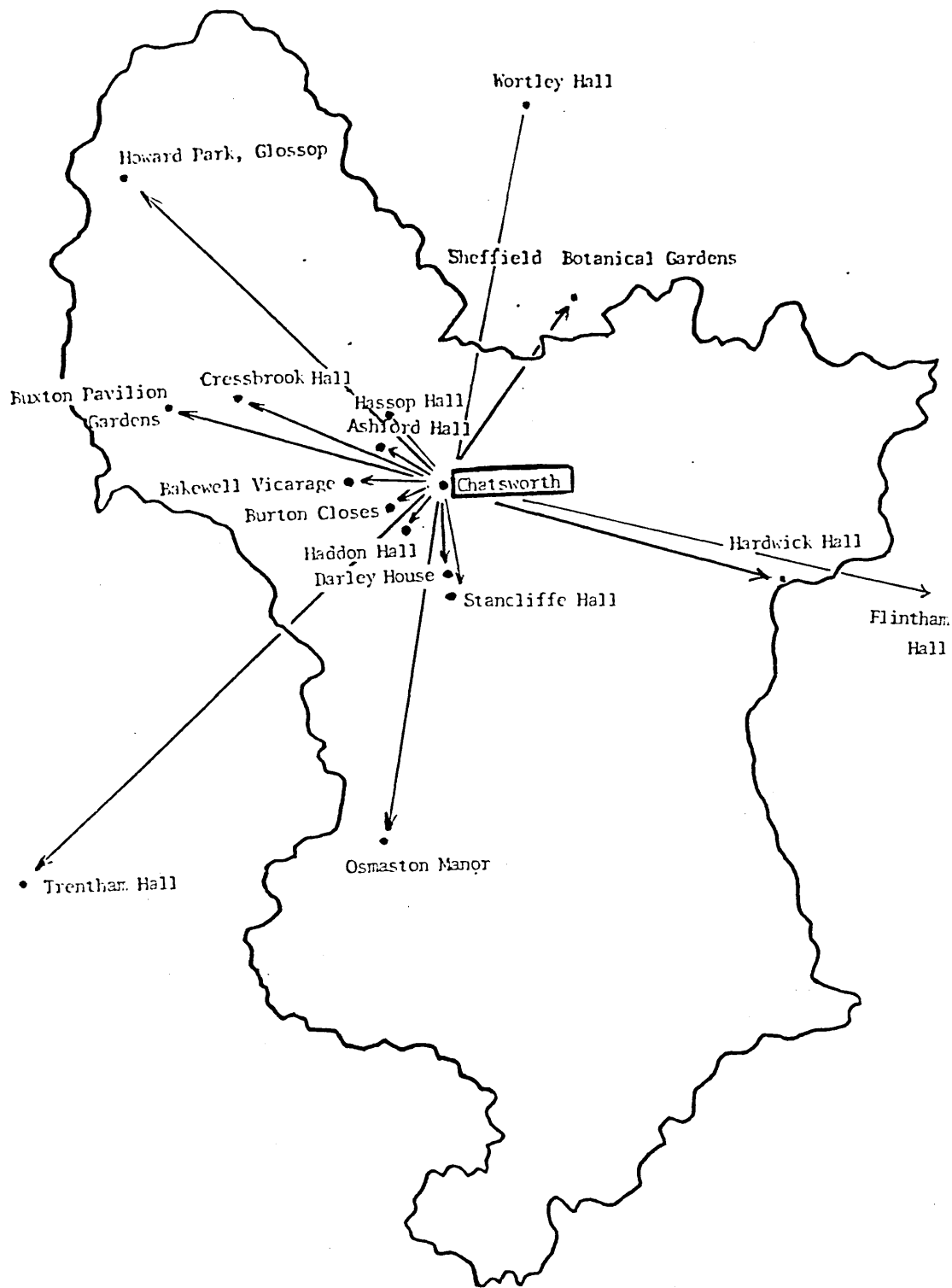
39. In 1857 Scott built a collection of Picturesque Gothic cottages at Ilam for Jesse Watts Russell - they depend for their effect on the surrounding landscape which is particularly striking.
40. DEVONSHIRE, The Duchess of, The House, A Portrait of Chatsworth, (1982.) Travellers' accounts i.e., Celia Fiennes and Defoe make it clear that all interested people could see the main rooms and the garden - apparently the house has been open for people to visit since it was built. No charge was made until after the Ninth Duke succeeded in 1908. pp.86 - 9.
41. MARKHAM, op.cit., p.132.
42. DEVONSHIRE, op.cit., p.88. She says that the figure of 11,351 visitors during Whit week 1884 remained more or less constant for the next twenty years, and is not very different from present day numbers for that week. A record day was Whit Monday 1905, when 4,550 people went there. The Duchess gives an extract from The Mirror

of Literature and Amusement,(February 1844.)

'The Duke of Devonshire allows all persons whatsoever to see the mansion and grounds every day in the year, Sundays not excepted, from 10 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon. The humblest individual is not only shown the whole but the Duke has expressly ordered the waterworks to be played for everyone without exception.'

She also cites an Excursion to Chatsworth by Rail from Derby, June 1849 in which a party of 500 people were conducted round the house and gardens in groups of 20.

43. The erect and regular growth of most conifers produces a symmetrical or formal shape, eminently suitable for planting in a formal design or in a gardenesque layout where they would be instantly recognizable as non-native specimens. Wellingtonias introduced from California in 1853, were very popular - there was a fashion for planting these and other large conifers, particularly American species, near the house or in avenues, as at Burton Closes laid out by Paxton, or as at Biddulph Grange.
44. CHADWICK, G.F., op.cit., deals with Paxton's career at Chatsworth and further afield in some detail.



Map 2

Showing the influence of Chatsworth and Paxton in and around Derbyshire

The fame of Chatsworth and its gardens had been widespread for centuries as descriptions by travellers testify. The waterworks aroused particular interest and descriptions of them provide a barometer of fluctuating attitudes to Formalism. (Appendix Bi) Horace Walpole in 1760 thought the surrounding landscape glorious, but described the cascade as 'that absurdity ... tumbling down marble steps which reduces the steps to be of no use at all.' Eight years later he thought Chatsworth much improved by the Fourth Duke, 'many foolish waterworks being taken away.' (1) As late as 1811, L. Jewitt is still voicing an eighteenth-century attitude by suggesting that the destruction of the waterworks would increase the Picturesque beauty of Chatsworth.

'...when diminutive jets and shallow cascades are opposed to the grandeur of its extensive woods, they decrease in their already small dimensions, and by the forcible contrast, appear still more diminutive.' (2)

However, as already suggested, by the time the Sixth Duke succeeded there was already a revival of interest in formal gardens and one of the first things he did was to lay out the parterre in front of the greenhouse on the east side. (3) By the 1830s the formal forecourt or garden on the west front had also been laid out, surrounded by a wall which linked Cibber's sphinx terminals on its western boundary. Inside these walls was a geometric garden containing formal stone flower 'baskets' or 'architectural parterres' and a central tulip fountain. (4) The Portland Walk on the east side, 'Sir Jeffry Wyatville's first great hit out of doors' (5) was completed and flights of steps and terraces had replaced the ha-ha and the cascade had been realigned with the house. On the south front the Elizabethan balustrade had been revealed by removal of an enveloping holly hedge, further sculpture was added and the waterworks improved. Also by the 1830s the Conservative wall had been planted, the First Duke's greenhouse reroofed and there was by this time a range of forcing houses, greenhouses and hothouses, including the

three orchid houses and the Amherstia house; the Great Stove was under way, to be completed in 1840; the Aqueduct had been completed; the Arboretum was laid out and its planting was completed by 1845. (figs 37-45) The Duke refers to the planting in the Pleasure Grounds.

'Observe the rows of fine trees of Araucaria imbricata by its side, [the Portland Walk] the vases of Eivdalen porphyry, the profusion of flowers and a marble vase from Holland that surmounts the steps.

...Let us look at the dahlias de rigueur, the superlative Scotch roses...' (6)

The walk between the greenhouse and the cascade was planted with a row of Araucaria imbricata late in the 1830s, whilst deodar cedars, Portugal laurels trained on stems six feet high, with heads cut into round balls like orange trees, and marble figures on pedestals also ornamented the walks in this area. (fig 38)

A large degree of formality had been restored to the gardens and the change had been observed by the public with mounting interest, causing quite a fashionable stir. The so-called 'great works' took place at Chatsworth between 1840 and 1850 - this phrase refers to the Emperor Fountain and the Great Rock Garden, as well as the completion of the Great Stove, the planting of the Arboretum and the blooming of the Victoria regia lily in 1849. These later achievements proved that Paxton was no ordinary gardener and made Chatsworth unique. It was also during this period and subsequently that Paxton received a large number of commissions for laying out both private and public gardens and parks and for the construction of glasshouses. (7)

The Arboretum seems to have been a source of pride and delight to the Sixth Duke as his description of individual trees in his handbook shows; again the monkey puzzle receives a special mention.

'The hemlock spruces are very fine, and there is a tall larch, which the old housekeeper's father remembered to have seen brought in a pot from Welbeck as a curiosity. Near the water

there is a grand specimen of *Araucaria imbricata*, the oldest I have got: it has never had the least protection in Winter. ...That is the Douglas pine, the pride of California: in 1829 it came down in Mr. Paxton's hat, and in 1845 it is 35 feet high.' (8)

Loudon visited Chatsworth in 1839 and wrote in glowing terms of the improvements that had been made there since his visit eight years earlier. (9) He was particularly impressed with the planting of the Arboretum where Paxton evidently used methods very similar to those he had advocated himself. This Arboretum is significant for two other reasons - it was the first collection of specimen trees to be planted in an area where a large amount of primeval forest still existed (and does to this day) and since a large number of them were conifers, it created a dense, dark hillside background for the house below, which further emphasised its westward aspect.

Adam in his guide (10) refers to Chatsworth 'justly styled the Palace of the Peak.' He surveyed the house in its setting from the north-west and fully appreciated, not only the new north wing, but its relationship to the rest of the building and the relationship of the whole to the surrounding landscape.

'the simple, quiet beauty of the new wing in the Grecian style,...the magnificent temple soaring aloft, with its open columns as a beautiful finish to the northern wing, and a striking counterpart to the massive pile, to the south, - ... the elegant terraces, extending nearly 1200 feet, and flower garden with its "jet d'eau" in front, - the expansive river and fine grounds beneath, with groups of fallow deer and cattle reposing under the ample shade of the beech or chestnut, - all this backed with hanging woods of great magnificence and beauty, form an exquisite picture...a scene which a century ago could not have been dreamed of as likely to exist among heathy mountains and the wilds of the Peak.' (11)

This illustrates a volte face in attitude from Jewitt's stance in 1811. The diffusion by degrees of the house into the park by means of formal walks and terraces, the extension of outbuildings, conservatories or orangeries, and elongated ground plans were ideas

promoted by Repton but carried through extremely successfully at Chatsworth. By mid-century Chatsworth had become a garden of mixed styles, partly the grand Italianate architectural garden, partly Gardenesque and partly Picturesque landscape. The fascination and the confusion aroused by these new gardening styles was demonstrated by Adam who referred at one point to the 'Indian flower-beds' at Chatsworth and at another to the lawn as being laid out in the 'Oriental style'.

'the noble house...on its elegant terrace, with its Indian flower-beds and sweet groves...nearly surrounded by a bleak belt of lofty mountains; their rugged and overhanging cliffs towering above it; as if chosen on purpose as a fitting and appropriate frame, ...the lovely pleasure grounds and glorious pile of Chatsworth breaks gradually on the view, like a moving picture, backed by woods of such magnificence, and shaggy moors of such elevation!' (12)

Presumably by the Indian flower-beds he meant the garden laid out below the terrace on the west front. Completing his tour of the house, Adam came out through the Orangery into the flower garden; the First Duke's greenhouse was by now aptly called the Camellia House.

'The lawn in front of the greenhouse has been tastefully laid out in the Oriental style, with lovely flower beds and shrubs, amongst which are placed sixteen pillars, surmounted with busts and figures and two ancient granite figures of Isis and Osiris, on raised pedestals from the Great Temple at Carnac, occupy central positions on each side of the middle walk. Chinese scent jars etc. are tastefully arranged amongst them, giving to the whole a rich and beautiful appearance.' (13)

Just why he thought the formal garden on the west front 'Indian' is unclear (14); presumably the presence of Chinese scent jars on the lawn on the east side was sufficient to warrant its being described as in the 'Oriental style'. (15) This formal garden in front of the Camellia house was called 'Italian' in 1874 and 'French' in 1883, although no radical changes in planting or layout seem to have taken

place. (figs 44-5) (16) By the turn of the century it was being referred to simply as the 'parterre'. (17) Adam's labelling of 'Indian' and 'Oriental' perhaps also reflected the fascination with the exotic, a legacy of eighteenth century romanticism which can also be found in the continuing fashionable interest in the 'rustic'. Rustic bridges or arches and Swiss cottages were an important ingredient of the nineteenth century Picturesque, also frequently included in Gardenesque layouts, as at Cheshunt Cottage, for example.

The Great Rockwork which played such an important part in the new attractions at Chatsworth had fairly obvious links with eighteenth century grottoes. The use of artificial stones and tufa in combination with geological specimens was still popular in the nineteenth century as the following description of the rockwork around the aquarium inside the Great Conservatory shows -

'golden fish, aquatic plants and fantastic rockwork, amongst which there are many very fine stalactites, cubic fluor spars, dog-tooth or Ecton spars... On the left hand side of the centre walk stands one of the largest and most magnificent quartz crystals we have ever seen. In fact, the whole of this massive rockwork is studded here and there among the plants with rare and beautiful crystals of quartz, moonstone, Malactites and green Arragonite, remarkable Stalactites, Stalagmites and other fine things. One invaluable specimen of blue JOHN, or blue FLUOR SPAR has been recently added to the collection...so judicious is the construction of the ornate and grotesque work of this aquarium, with its wild flowers and shrubs and other accompaniments, that it is really a scene of enchantment.' (18)

Paxton rationalized his use of rockwork developing rules that might almost be considered an aesthetic theory. (19) It comes as a surprise to realise that the Wellington Rock is not a natural formation, but a mass of cunningly contrived separate pieces of rock carefully cemented together. (Fig 46) The conceptual link with formality could be made through the knowledge that the rockwork was not a natural, geological formation, but an artificial creation intended to resemble nature. More obviously a link was provided by

the contrast that this type of rock structure would make with a formal garden; its positioning and scale, as well as its composition would be crucial in this context. (Appendix C.) A possible source of inspiration for Paxton's huge rockwork creation may have been Rowtor Rocks at Birchover and other so-called 'Druidical' remains nearby. Most of the Peak guides describe these rocky outcrops and stone circles at some length; they usually include accounts of imaginative ceremonials and associated legends, combined with elaborate geological descriptions. This is the sort of information that was relished by tourists to the area. Adam made an interesting connection between Paxton and the rocking-stones at Rowtor Rocks,

'Near the east end is a vast block, weighing about fifty tons, of irregular shape, which could be shook with ease, till the mischievous efforts of fourteen young men moved it from its position in 1799...

Mr. Thornhill has, at considerable expense, had the stone replaced. The necessary apparatus was obtained from Chatsworth for the purpose.'

(20)

Paxton obviously had a large labour force at his command and presumably the apparatus referred to would have been lifting gear, such as cranes and pulleys which he would have been using for the construction of his huge rockworks at Chatsworth. He must have been well aware of the importance of the rocking stones as a tourist attraction. A later guide to Chatsworth gave some interesting details of the rockwork, and also made the important link between their naturalistic appearance and 'art'.

'...we come next to the ornamental gardens, abounding in scenery of a wild and romantic character... Here art seems to have been most successful. In some places the blocks have been piled up one above another to a considerable height, and so skilfully has this been accomplished that their rugged and broken outline would lead you to believe they had occupied their present position for centuries. ...a great amount of labour as well as taste and skill has been employed in their arrangement...

Passing beneath a rustic archway and through a narrow opening in the rocks, the entrance to which is blocked by an immense piece of

gritstone balanced upon a pivot so as to turn with the slightest pressure of the hand, we enter the drive and continue our walk, winding through a labyrinth of rockwork.' (21)

It seems most likely that this pivotal stone was inspired by the local rocking-stones.

There was some disagreement about the correct use of rockwork in gardens; by the 1870s these disputes were being aired in the gardening periodicals and highlighted the division between those with an interest in the dramatic potential of massive rockwork and its evocative powers of association or imitation and those whose primary interest was in planting alpine specimens. James Pulham, famous for 'Pulhamite Stone', writing in the 1870s said,

As a writer in the Journal has questioned the propriety of artificial rock being made to look like natural stratification, I beg to state that where rocks are thus formed it is in localities where the nearest real rock is stratified, therefore most consistent with Nature, which should be our guide, so as to avoid what is often termed rockerywork and cockneyfied, which many gentlemen of taste have a horror of. It is the close imitation of the strata, varied in thickness and tone of colour, which is one of the charms of a rockery.

...If...it is a mistake to try and imitate cliffs and stratification, then all our leading landscapists are wrong, as...Mr. E. Milner, Mr. Marnock, Mr. Kemp and Mr. Gibson. They have all had it done and none of them had it done for the exclusive purpose of growing Ferns and Alpines, but to combine with the foliage and the rocks, a bold and picturesque effect, at the same time so natural as to surprise most people when told it is artificially formed.'

(22)

It is significant that Pulham mentioned among leading landscapists three of the men who trained under Paxton at Chatsworth - Milner, Kemp and Gibson. What they had learned at Chatsworth held them in good stead for their work further afield. Even Marnock must have been considerably influenced by Paxton who was one of the judges of

the competition for the design of the Sheffield Botanical Gardens. This competition was won by Marnock and led to his appointment as the first curator. His adoption of Paxton's ridge and furrow roofing method for part of the glasshouse structure for the pavilions at Sheffield is one obvious indication of this influence.

John Gibson, who had been sent out to India to collect the *Amherstia nobilis* and orchids for the Sixth Duke, was put in charge of the exotic plant house at Chatsworth on his return. He subsequently went to London where at one time he was in charge of nearly all the Metropolitan parks. (23) Under his direction Battersea Park became a famous showpiece for subtropical foliage bedding. (24) He also massed large rocky boulders beside the lake at Battersea Park in a geologically-simulated style - although this was partially to screen the view of Clapham Junction Station from the lake it did also reflect Gibson's familiarity with the construction of massive rockwork at Chatsworth. (25)

Edward Kemp was employed by Paxton to supervise the construction of Birkenhead Park which was begun in 1844. By 1847 he had commenced his own practice and he made a reputation for himself not only as a landscape designer, but also as an author on the subject - in particular, How to lay out a Garden (1850) which was a practical treatise on the layout of suburban gardens which went into a number of editions. (26) To explain his methods he used illustrated examples drawn from private commissions he had carried out. Most of his clients lived in places which could easily be reached from large towns by the railway network. A typical example which he cited was Cressbrook Hall in Derbyshire, built for Henry McConnel, where he was employed to design the layout and planting of the surrounding formal garden. (Fig 47-50) He includes a detailed list of the planting and arrangement of urns, statuary and balustrading for the terraced garden which was to provide a complete contrast with the wild, dramatic landscape of Millers Dale. In particular, he comments

'the rocks, especially, assuming a massiveness and a character quite peculiar to this locality.' (27)

His work in connection with the design and layout of public parks was very much in the tradition he had learnt from Paxton. Examples of this are Hesketh Park, Southport, opened in 1868, which has a close affinity to Birkenhead Park (28) and Stanley Park, Liverpool which opened in 1870.

Another of Paxton's assistants who was an important figure in the design and layout of Victorian public parks was Edward Milner. (29) He superintended the layout of Paxton's design for Prince's Park, Liverpool and in 1844 became the park-keeper living at the lodge there. In 1852 when the Crystal Palace was re-erected at Sydenham, Paxton entrusted to Milner the supervision of all the garden work there - the Italian terraces, the Rosary, the English Landscape Garden and the Geological Islands with the models of extinct animals. Milner also assisted Paxton with work at Osmaston Manor. (30) By the 1870s Milner was a well-known landscape gardener with a flourishing practice, based in London. His work ranged from commissions to design private grounds for wealthy industrialists, such as Stancliffe Hall in Derbyshire for Sir Joseph Whitworth to the laying out of new public parks and cemeteries. His best known works are probably his three parks at Preston, all opened in 1867. (31) Within Derbyshire an important example of his work is the Pavilion Gardens at Buxton which opened in 1871, where similarities in some of the details can be found with the Peoples' Park, Halifax where he assisted Paxton and Stancliffe Hall where he worked in the 1870s, probably with his son, who was by now in partnership with him. The construction of the wings of the Pavilion at Buxton is directly related to that of the Crystal Palace. (Fig 60-2) Howard Park, Glossop, opened in 1888, four years after Edward Milner's death, was designed by his eldest son, Henry Ernest Milner, but shows a strong paternal influence. Devices, such as the use of mounds, rockwork and cascades of water used in contrast to the more formal symmetrical axis or promenade; geometric flower gardens or parterres and peripheral planting of trees all occur in a recognisable manner which can be associated with the earlier teachings of Paxton and Loudon. (Fig 62-3) On a more domestic scale, an interesting example of Edward Milner's work is the garden layout (Fig 64) which he designed for the Vicarage at Bakewell in 1870/1 for the Reverend D. Balston.

(33) A careful study of the plan reveals an approach to laying out the grounds very similar to that recommended by Loudon, as a comparison with the plans for Cheshunt Cottage, Mount Grove or Fortis Green demonstrates. (Figs 5-10) There are also close similarities with the layout of the Sheffield Botanical Gardens. (Fig 23) What these plans have in common is the combination of formality in straight paths or promenades, geometric bedding displays or parterres and specimen planting merging into the less formal or picturesque - in other words the Gardenesque. In his book The Art and Practice of Landscape Gardening (1890) Milner's son set out guiding principles for laying out grounds, using examples from his father's practice as well as his own - by the second half of the nineteenth century these methods had been accepted and widely practised.

Bakewell Vicarage is sited on a fairly steep slope, the ground falling away from the road on the western boundary diagonally towards the north and east. This allows for the recommended fine prospect to the south-east (34) and by judicious planting on the western boundary, concealing the road, Milner contrived to create an illusion of extensive parkland in that direction. The principal approach to the house was from the north-west, through embanked rockeries, with the kitchen garden on the east and stables beyond. It is not easy now to determine how far the proposed alterations were carried out, but the plan shows a formal promenade, or terrace walk, on the south and east sides which took advantage of the sloping site to create the required 'pedestal' (35) on which the house should stand and from which to survey the surrounding grounds. This has since been grassed over and smooth sloping lawns have replaced the terrace path and steps down to the kitchen garden. The retaining wall on the east of the house still remains and marks a drop of several feet from the eastern side of the house to the level of the kitchen garden below. The parterre directly to the south of the house was probably designed for carpet bedding, that is foliage bedding as opposed to floral bedding; this enabled the pattern to be more easily maintained and it also allowed a far longer season than floral bedding. Near the south-west corner of the house, at the end of the terrace walk, there appears to be a small, circular, sunken

garden or pond. However, inspection of the Vicarage garden revealed this to have been a mound, probably with steps leading up it, planted with an elm tree, which has been felled in recent years. Due east of this on the plan, in the middle of the kitchen garden, is another small circle. This may have marked another specimen tree, perhaps a fruit tree, or even a sun-dial. (36)

There is nothing left of the original planting in the kitchen garden, but one of the residents remembered it neatly divided, as in the plan and planted with fruit trees on either side of the dividing pathway. Part of the garden wall remains on the northern side, where a lean-to greenhouse facing south is marked on the plan - this was taken down only a few years ago. A seat is marked at the northern end of the terrace from which to look across the kitchen garden, the pleasure gardens, over the hurdle fence to the pasture beyond and to the more distant landscape of Manners Wood and Calton Pastures. The plan shows a garden to the south-east of the kitchen garden, probably a rosary, surrounded by trees and shrubbery. The grassy undulations that now replace this, if it was ever executed, make it very difficult to deduce whether this was to have been an enclosed sunken garden or a raised garden. There is still a screen of yew trees between the stables and what was the kitchen garden, which also mark another considerable drop in ground level. Some of these yews seem old enough to have been planted in the 1870s and beyond the stables is an ancient walnut tree, here before Milner's time. A considerable amount of replanting has taken place over the years, much of it comparatively recently, but there are a number of trees which possibly date from the nineteenth century and may have been planted following Milner's advice. Among them are some fine beech trees, a variety of pines, yews, hollies and juniper along the western boundary, a beautiful weeping elm in the pleasure ground to the south of the house and also an ancient prunus. (37) Part of the pasture land to the east had four houses built on it in the 1960s, but the footpath marked along the eastern boundary still exists. This is a narrow sunken path with built-up stone sides, rather like a tunnel between the trees.

Although the area to be laid out here was not very large it

demonstrates a typical approach - the house to be raised on a terrace and its immediate surroundings to be given a formal or architectural treatment, which would include geometric flowerbeds or parterres, perhaps even a central fountain or some statuary or urns, maybe dwarf conifers or small trees in tubs, balustrades and steps; further away, lawns and specimen planting would become less formal, the layout more picturesque but still carefully composed of selected trees and shrubbery with gaps here and there to allow glimpses of a distant landscape beyond. (38) A number of designs for geometric bedding or parterres were included by Henry Milner in his book. (Fig⁶⁵) These show the house in relation to the layout and show clearly that these designs were to be viewed from the terrace or even from the windows of the house.

This is typical of much of Paxton's work which combined a strongly formal pattern interwoven with an informal design - he frequently used the Italianate style with broad flights of steps, balustrades, urns and statuary, formal beds and fountains. His later parks tended towards a greater formality, often displaying his passion for waterworks. At the park and gardens at Sydenham (Fig⁶⁶) he used a broad terrace or promenade fronting the huge winter garden from which visitors could look down the broad central axis over descending terraces displaying symmetrically arranged waterworks and colourful bedding out. After descending from the terraces and moving further away, the layout of the park began to lose some of its formality, paths became winding and led into areas containing a maze or rosary or irregularly shaped reservoirs of water, surrounded by trees. An article in The Cottage Gardener suggests that the layout here would provide a useful model for visitors to imitate in their own gardens, however small.

'All the planting of flowers, trees, and shrubs that you see at the Crystal Palace is done on this principle - promenade fashion; and vast as the whole is in reality, when you walk along, every part and place looks larger than it is, in fact, owing to this judicious way of planting. It is a mistaken notion altogether to suppose, for one moment, that this garden is too large for any one to try to imitate it, or

anything in it, - because the principle can be applied, and the very shape of the beds too, in any space whatever ;' (39)

The whole park had, in effect, been turned into a garden, which in spite of harsh criticism later on, was tremendously popular in its day. All this in spite of Paxton's objections to 'gardenizing' of parks generally. (40)

It is perhaps worth looking briefly at Paxton's last garden, Rockhills, next to the Crystal Palace, to see whether the opulent formality and labour-intensive methods used in the public garden were reflected in any way in his own smaller, private garden.

'The house...had a glass-roofed verandah, open-fronted, with trellised pilasters against which choice climbers were planted. Stone steps led down to a walk along the front of the house, with raised circular beds, filled with blue hydrangeas, under each pilaster. A further glass-covered verandah extended to the left with large white vases on red marble plinths in the centre of each opening: to give symmetry in the main view from the house a large mirror on the right reflected the verandah which in fact existed on the left! Wistaria, Camellia, Clematis, Ceanothus, Cotoneaster, jasmine and Forsythia graced the walls of the verandah. On the lawn in front of the house were 'ribbon' beds: Verbena, Tropaeolum, variegated Pelargonium, Calceolaria, Lobelia forming the familiar mid-Victorian ingredients. There was a rosary, too, whilst a garden terrace out of sight of the house was embellished with a 'Crystal Palace summer house' at each end, and backed by a row of Araucaria imbricata and standard rhododendrons on the lawn side.' (41)

Clearly a certain degree of formality was sought in the attempt to create the illusion of symmetry in the main view from the house. The use of mirrors is reminiscent of Repton. The familiar formal devices appear - stone steps, terrace, raised circular beds and vases mounted on marble plinths. Apart from the ribbon-bedding, the other planting does not seem to be particularly labour-intensive; while the row of Araucaria and standard rhododendron and possibly the rosary presented a formal layout the shrubs and climbers seem to

have been chosen to provide a contrast with the formality and to soften the harsh architectural outlines of the building.

His own house, Barbrook, on the Chatsworth Estate, seems likely to have had a formal garden. The house was similar to other Italianate villas on the estate which he designed with Robertson, except that it was larger, and displayed the characteristic, picturesque, Italianate tower. (42) It was described in 1851 as, 'Mr. Paxton's very pretty Anglo-Italian villa.' (43) A ridge and furrow glasshouse formed the right wing and was converted into a sittingroom and kept private during the summer; the left wing was also a greenhouse one hundred feet long.

Another house owned by Paxton with a similar glasshouse extension was Darley House, in Darley Dale near Matlock. Paxton referred to this flat-roofed, ridge and furrow glasshouse in a lecture which he gave to the Royal Society of Arts in 1850. (44) This was apparently the first time that he had constructed a ridge and furrow roof that was flat, that is, neither inclined nor curvilinear. Although the glasshouse fell down under the weight of snow in 1947, the position of the ridge and furrows can still be traced on the wall of the house. (Fig 67) It was a five span house, seventeen feet in breadth and the sides seem to have been similar in general pattern to those of the conservative wall at Chatsworth; it was used as an extension to the living room as at Barbrook. The garden is set high above the busy A6 road and surrounded by a strong stone wall and originally overlooked rolling countryside towards Stanton Moor. The remains of a formal garden is amply demonstrated on the south lawn by stone steps leading up to a balustraded terrace; both are copied from those at Haddon Hall. (Fig 68) A number of the trees probably date from Paxton's day, including a yew and a copper beech, each planted on a high mound; there are other yews, hollies, Wellingtonia, a poplar-shaped ginkgo, another copper beech and a walnut which may predate the nineteenth century. Other signs characteristic of the nineteenth century layout are meandering walks through the trees and remains of rockwork. (Fig 69) (45)

Burton Closes at Bakewell and Osmaston Manor near Derby were two houses built for wealthy industrialists in the middle of the century. At both places Paxton's advice was sought; ridge and furrow glasshouses were built, the grounds were laid out in formal terraces and many fine specimen trees were planted. The grounds round Burton Closes have had a housing estate built on them, but part of the Wellingtonia avenue, said to have been planted by Paxton, remains. Osmaston Manor was demolished in 1966 and the Italianate gardens and the elaborate rockwork are dilapidated and overgrown, but the trees in the surrounding parkland are magnificent. (Figs ~~70-2, 42-4~~ 73-5)

Hassop Hall near Chatsworth, home of the Eyre family, had some interesting glasshouses on a range of south-facing terraces. Paxton is said to have given advice here on the glasshouses and their contents. The remaining eighteenth-century orangery on the top terrace, now known as the Camellia House, still contains healthy plants derived from cuttings that Paxton brought here from Chatsworth. (47) The Seventh Earl of Newburgh inherited Hassop in 1827 and from then until his death in 1833 he was engaged in modernising the Hall and building the new ballroom on the hillside terrace. Lord and Lady Newburgh were frequent visitors to Chatsworth and these new extensions at Hassop Hall were an important way of establishing their position in society. Doubtless the new changes taking place at Chatsworth had some effect on the decisions made about improvements at Hassop Hall. (48)

Ashford Hall, an elegant eighteenth-century Palladian house at Ashford-on-the-Water, was bought by the Duke of Devonshire in 1819. The house was built c1785 and overlooked a picturesque lake formed out of the River Wye. The Duke soon added a conservatory and later the formal gardens round the house were laid out, most probably by Paxton. (Figs 73-5) Stone steps lead down from the conservatory to a wide terrace laid out with an intricate box parterre to be viewed from the overlooking windows. The steps have an elaborate balustrade topped by huge ball finials. The terrace is terminated by a ha-ha, invisible from the house except for its edging of stone flags and a centrally-placed stone sundial; at each corner a further flight of steps leads down at right angles to the ha-ha to the field below.

Clearly this is a nineteenth-century design which has been superimposed upon an eighteenth-century landscaped garden. It provided an attractive formal surrounding to the house; by extending the house into the conservatory, by the terrace and its geometric parterre, by formal walks, steps and balustrades a gradual diffusion of the house into the park beyond has been created. The Picturesque view across the grassy slopes to the meandering water below provides a pleasing contrast to the neatly controlled formal garden. (49)

A brief mention needs to be made of Paxton's connection with a local antiquarian and geologist, White Watson, FLS. (50) Watson corresponded with Paxton and contributed articles to his journals; he also advised Paxton and the Sixth Duke on the formation of geological specimens for the rockery inside the Great Conservatory. He had hoped to make Bakewell a spa town to rival Buxton; he lived at Bath House, Bakewell where he laid out a formal garden with gravel walks in anticipation of the ancient baths being reopened to the public in 1817. These baths were on the site of natural chalybeate springs which bubble up in numerous other places in Derbyshire, particularly in the area around Matlock. They create a lime precipitate known as tufa. There was a great demand for tufa for rock-work in gardens and according to Adam many tons of it were sent out of Derbyshire annually. (51) There is a tufa rockery or arbour in Watson's Bath Gardens, Bakewell and also some interesting tufa rock-work in the garden at Bridge House, Bakewell, where according to local tradition, Paxton lived for a while. There had been a tufa-house in the garden at Darley House, probably some sort of grotto or rustic summerhouse; at Hassop Hall near the south lodge there is tufa structure known as the Hermitage or sometimes, curiously called the Egyptian house; there is also extensive rock-work at Osmaston Manor which includes a good deal of tufa. Jewitt's description in 1811 of the grotto at Chatsworth is interesting. (Appendix B) Although he does not mention the tufa, which can still be seen surrounding the entrance, he does describe how the inside was 'composed of various fossils of the country,' (i.e. county). The association of tufa with grottoes, fossils and geological or mineralogical specimens continued to be popular until

the second half of the nineteenth century. The association of Paxton's massive rockworks at Chatsworth with local 'Druidical remains' may possibly be linked with an interesting little comment made by White Watson in his diary in February 1819

'Sowed mistletoe berries in tufa of grotto.'
(52)

The influence of Paxton and Chatsworth in Britain, in general, was not inconsiderable nor unknown to historians who have noted it in such well-known parks and gardens as Sydenham, Birkenhead and even Central Park, New York. This chapter, however, has also tried to demonstrate, perhaps for the first time, how much the landscape, parks and gardens, in and around Derbyshire were changed as a result of the genius of Paxton and the talents of his pupils and the impact of their work at Chatsworth.

1. Letters (ed Cunningham 1891) and Journal 1768 (Walpole Society) both quoted by THOMPSON op. cit., pp96-7.

2. JEWITT. L. The History of Buxton: and visitor's guide to the curiosities of the Peak. (1811) p132. Dedicated to the new [Sixth] Duke of Devonshire. This suggests that he was expecting the Sixth Duke to continue with the eighteenth century removal of Formal waterworks from the grounds. See Appendix B ii for quotation in full.

3. CAVENDISH. op.cit., p162. 'The parterre before the greenhouse was laid out in 1812.' See also Crown Derby plate in Devonshire collection painted c1815 which shows the parterres on the east side. THOMPSON. op.cit., plate 40.

4. Wyatville designed eight formal stone baskets or parterres 3 ft. high and 32 ft. square in 1829-30. CHATSWORTH. Devonshire Collection Vol. 74 drawing dated 15 Jan. 1830. The Duke in his handbook refers to these as 'architectural parterres' and he also refers to the 'tulip fountain.' op.cit., p181.

5. CAVENDISH. op.cit., p160. The Sixth Duke describes the changes up to 1845. There is also a sheet of notes in Paxton's own hand entitled 'Memo of Works Undertaken for the 6th Duke by Paxton in Devonshire Collection.' This is mounted and framed - it is not a comprehensive list. Included in Appendix B iii. See also THOMPSON op.cit., and CHADWICK op.cit., for fuller details.

6. CAVENDISH. op.cit., p161.

A. imbricata is synonymous with A. araucana, the Chile pine or monkey puzzle. This species is useful for the formal garden because of its regular shape; it is broadly columnar with a conical top in the young stage - it later becomes broadly domed.

7. CHADWICK. op.cit., in appendix one lists Paxton's works under three headings; parks, gardens and suburban layouts; glass buildings; conventional buildings. pp260-262. Chadwick devotes a chapter each to Paxton's glass buildings, The Great Exhibition Building and The Sydenham Crystal Palace and also a chapter to Paxton and the wider landscape ie, design and layout of parks.

8. CAVENDISH. op.cit., p171. Earlier he had referred to 'my much loved weeping ash brought from Derby in 1830' p26.

The Gardener's Magazine (Aug 1839) pp451-2, Loudon goes as far as to say

'In the kitchen garden there is much to be learned by the young gardner: and indeed we do not know a better school for young gardeners in the kingdom.'

From 1835 onwards, Paxton contributed articles to London's Gardener's Magazine.

10. Gem of the Peak (1845 edition) p111.
11. ibid, p122-123.
12. ibid, p118-119.
13. ibid, p145.
14. Perhaps the notion of an enclosed garden which contained not only a fountain but also flower beds with a formal edging of stone rather than box, served as a reminder of Indian gardens depicted in miniatures.
15. Conner refers to abundant and frequently changed flowers in beds or pots as being associated in English minds with the 'Chinese Garden'. See CONNER, P. 'The Chinese Garden in Regency England'. Garden History (1986) Vol 14, No 1. William Chambers had already made this connection in the C18. A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening. (1772).
16. Gardener's Chronicle (1874 Jun 26) p7 and (1883 Aug 11) p76.
17. TIPPING. A. English Gardens (1925).
18. ADAM. op cit., p151. See note 50 below.
19. 'Rockeries Grottoes and Caverns'. Magazine of Botany (1841) Vol 8. pp135-9 included in Appendix C.
20. op cit., p297.
21. CROSTON. J. On Foot through the Peak. (1876 Manchester) pp140-1.
22. Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener. (17 Feb. 1876) p137.
23. John Gibson (1815-75) came to Chatsworth as an apprentice when he was 16. Paxton sent him for two years to study Orchid cultivation at Wentworth Woodhouse under Joseph Cooper. In 1849 he was made superintendent of Victoria Park in London, then being formed, two or three years later he was also put in charge of Greenwich Park which he remodelled. In 1855 he additionally undertook the laying out and planting of Battersea. Soon after this, Kennington Park and the grounds attached to Chelsea Asylum and Chelsea Hospital were entrusted to him. Battersea Park, which he always spoke of as his favourite work, occupied him until 1871, when he was put in charge of Hyde Park with Green Park, St James's and Kensington Gardens attached. He resigned because of ill health in 1874. His obituary in the Gardener's Chronicle (16 Jan. 1875) refers to the change in

public taste which Gibson helped to bring about by emphasising the beauties of plant form. He also assisted Paxton with The Great Exhibition in 1851.

24. ELLIOTT. B. 'Mosaiculture: its origins and significance.' Garden History (1981) Vol 8, No 1, p79.

25. There is some similarity between Paxton's massive rockwork and the artificial rockwork created by James Pulham. Paxton is said to have advised on the gardens at Osmaston Manor in Derbyshire with another assistant Edward Milner. The fernery and waterfall here are supposed to have been constructed by Pulham. The Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (4 Nov 1875) says that 'Mr Parham [sic] considers the work as one of his greatest triumphs.' For reference to Pulham's work at Battersea Park see FESTING. S. 'Pulham has done his work well' Garden History (Autumn 1984) Vol 12, No 2, p145. For photograph of Pulhamite Rockwork at Battersea Park see ELLIOTT 'We must have the noble cliff'. Country Life (5 Jan 1984) p30.

26. 2nd edition 1858, 3rd edition 1864. He also wrote Parks and Gardens of London and its Suburbs. (1851).

27. 2nd edition, pp200-293.

28. Hesketh Park designed by Paxton 1864, supervised by Kemp and laid out after Paxton's death.

29. HODGES. A. 'A Victorian Gardener: E. Milner. (1819-1884)' Garden History (1977) Vol 5, No 3. For a wider treatment of public parks see CHADWICK. G.F. The Park and The Town (1966).

30. Hodges provides a list of some of Edward Milner's work in roughly chronological order. She points out that as incendiary bombs in world war two destroyed the papers of Milner's practice assembling facts about the work he did was not easy. Clifton Hall remodelled by Mr Milner in 1874 is not included on her list. This is described in Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (29 Jun 1876), pp510-11. It is not clear whether the article refers to Edward Milner or his son Henry, who by this date was in partnership with him.

31. Moor Park, Avenham Park and Miller Park were laid out between 1862 and 1865 by out-of-work cotton operatives at the height of the 'cotton-famine' caused by the American Civil War. He also worked at The Peoples' Park Halifax 1856-7, Halifax Cemetery, Lincoln Arboretum 1868 opened 1872.

33. Balston had come to Bakewell in 1869, and engaged Alfred Waterhouse to redesign the vicarage house. Although the date on the plan of the gardens is indistinct it seems probable that the

gardens were being laid out when the building was nearing completion. Milner worked again with Waterhouse in 1875 at Iwerne Minster, Dorset. See also CARDER. J. 'The Work of Edward Milner in Derbyshire' in Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society (Jan 1982) pp82-105.

34. The Art and Practice of Landscape Gardening (1890) Henry Milner describes in detail the most desirable features for the siting of the house and garden.

35. The house should be made to appear to rest on some base, 'as one does not exhibit a beautiful vase on the floor,' said Milner, 'but on a proportionate pedestal that one may dignify it.'

36. A new vicarage is being built on what was the kitchen garden; the original vicarage will probably be converted into an old people's home. The original entrance has been closed and a new one knocked through the wall, higher up the road to create a drive which will sweep around to the house.

37. Henry Milner's advice on planting contains recommendations for use of particular types of trees. He sorts them out according to colour of foliage such as dark foliaged trees, light green, red greens and white greens. He recommends clump planting for effect in parks. He also recommends thick planting of cotoneaster, rhododendron, gorse and broom under trees to provide cover for game and gaps of about 200 yards to allow for the flight of the pheasant.

38. see Milner's plan for the landscaping of Highbury 1879 for similar approach. This garden is discussed by BALLARD. P. in 'Rus in Urbe': Joseph Chamberlain's gardens at Highbury, Moor Green, Birmingham, 1879-1914' Garden History (Spring 1986) Vol 14, No 1, pp66-76. Figure 1, p63 is a photograph of Milner's plan; the original is in Birmingham reference library. Milner's obituary in The Garden (12 April 1884) states that his first great work was laying out The Crystal Palace grounds at Sydenham from Paxton's design. Since then, laying out and improving grounds in all parts of the country and even on the continent.

Two further important gardeners who trained with Paxton at Chatsworth were Charles Edmonds and George Eyles. Edmonds was involved in the planting and labelling of the Arboretum until 1838 when he took charge of the gardens at Chiswick. The Gardener's Chronicle (6 Nov 1875) Eyles had been on Paxton's staff at Chatsworth and later at The Crystal Palace, Sydenham - he was later made superintendent for the RHS Gardens at Kensington Gore and at Chiswick until 1871 when he set up his own practice and became a prominent landscape gardener. The Garden (1887) p 571, Gardener's Chronicle (1887) p754.

39. (1854) Vol 13, p39. Probably the most characteristic feature of the gardens was the floral bedding described in detail in contemporary journals. The Crystal Palace and the flower bedding were virtually synonymous. For details of plants used see The Cottage Gardener (1854) Vol 12, pp401, 422, 491, Vol 13, pp38-40, 56-59, (1855) Vol 15, pp2-14, 18-35. For details of later planting,

including diagrams of carpet bedding see Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (1875) 7 Oct. pp314-6, and The Gardeners' Chronicle (1875) 21 Aug, pp238-9,273.

40. In 1859 he criticised the changes taking place in the royal parks and gardens. There were now 400 flower beds at Kew, requiring annually 40,000 bedding plants, and he thought it was unwise to convert this place into 'a gaudy flower garden'. He pointed out that The Crystal Palace at Sydenham supplied people's need for a large-scale flower garden, and he did not see why Kew, a national garden, should be changed in its objectives to compete. See CHADWICK, op cit., pp70-71.

41. Ibid, p147.

42. The house has been demolished and little remains to indicate what it may have been like when Paxton lived there. The house was first begun c.1842-3 and enlarged 1851-2 when the tower^{was} heightened.

43. ADAM. op cit., (1851 edition) p146.

44. Transactions (1850-1) Vol LVII, pp1-6 gives 1840 as date of construction of this glasshouse.
Paxton leased Darley House to Adam Washington c. 1845. His son-in-law, the architect, Stokes died here in 1874.

45. The house is now owned by Mr & Mrs Briscoe, members of The National Garden Scheme. The garden is open to the public by appointment and Mrs Briscoe sells rare and unusual plants which are reared in the garden. According to Mrs Briscoe, there was a tufa garden-house, now gone.

47. According to Lady Stephenson, who owned The Hall until 1975, Paxton gave two cuttings of *Reticulata* Captain Rawes. The *Camellia* house was erected by Thomas Eyre in about 1795 and he also planted a ginkgo tree on the top terrace which he mentions in his diary 1790 and which is still flourishing.

48. See MEREDITH. R. 'The Eyres of Hassop from the Test Act to Emancipation'. Recusant History (Oct 1968) Vol 9, No 6.
Lady Newburgh became an intimate friend of Lady Blanche Howard, favourite niece of the Sixth Duke of Devonshire, who had married William Cavendish 1829 (later Seventh Duke of Devonshire) According to Meredith, Lord and Lady Newburgh took their place in county society in a way the family had never done previously. The scheme for the ballroom and other buildings behind the house was only partly carried out before Lord Newburgh's death - they mark the sudden end of this brief period of social eminence.

49. Throughout the 19th century the house was inhabited by the Duke's agents or relatives. According to Adam op cit., it was lived in by G.H. Cavendish. MP for Derbyshire in 1845.

50. White Watson was an authority on strata and springs, collected rocks and fossils. He wrote The Strata of Derbyshire (ed FORD 1973 reprint). Watson was a monumental mason by trade and continued his uncle's marble business at Ashford-in-the-water until 1782. For details of his life and work see CHALLENGER. G.P. 'White Watson. (1760-1835)' and BRIGHTON. J.T. 'The Silhouettes of the artist White Watson. (1760-1835).' Both of these articles will be found in the Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society, Vol 8 (1981).

51. (1851ed^h) op cit., p33. There is an interesting house on the Via Gellia which is made entirely of tufa (excluding the slated roof).

52. quoted by CHALLENGER. op cit., p29. 19 Feb. 1819. referring to the tufa grotto at Bath Gardens, Bakewell which still remains although there are no signs of mistletoe growing.

6. THE ROMANTIC ASSOCIATIONS OF GARDENS

Another important influence on Victorian garden design was the appeal to history - and in the earlier part of the century this was closely tied up with Romanticism. Antiquarianism, archaeology and Romanticism fed the rising interest in the Gothic revival, medieval fantasy and chivalry; the developing taste for the picturesque encouraged a pride in the countryside and by association, its history. Castle-building, associated with 'romance, dashing deeds, ancient lineage and lavish hospitality in baronial halls' (1) was particularly appealing for old families but also very attractive to new ones. Repton did much to popularise castle-building arguing that it had a more 'picturesque effect' than conventional building; most clients wanted little more than the symbolic and picturesque effects applied to a modern house and grounds.

Sir Walter Scott epitomised the aspirations of this period, not only in his own life as a laird on his estate, but also in the heroes of his romantic historical novels whose code of behaviour became in many respects the model for generations of Victorian gentlemen. Scott had a deep love for the Scottish landscape and the history it evoked - according to Tait,

'The dying fall of the landscape movement was paralleled by the full-blooded romanticism of Scott, whose very adoration of the Scottish past helped to replace the informal with the terraces and the parterres of the formal'. (2)

He liked the formal for being old and as a piece of history, and hence his interest in those places which had escaped the improvers.

Scott had bought a cottage and small farm in 1811 which he renamed Abbotsford; by the 1820s he had built a Scots-Baronial country house and had an estate of 1400 acres. (3) Although initially his intentions had been more modest, as early as 1811 he was saying "I assure you we are not a little proud of being greeted as laird and lady of Abbotsford". (4) Playing the role of the paternal, benevolent landowner, planting trees, nurturing the land for the

benefit of posterity, (5) caring for his tenant farmers and dispensing hospitality from his baronial mansion was, for Scott, a way of living out his medieval dream. The popularity of his novels ensured a steady stream of visitors to Abbotsford so that the house itself and its formal gardens became a symbol of all that Scott stood for in the popular imagination.

'The romanticism which produced Scott's novels and the romanticism which turned him into a Scottish laird were essential to each other. Abbotsford ... survives today as a fascinating document of his taste and character. Scott the gentleman of good family and connections, Scott the antiquary and collector of armour, Scott the lover of dogs, soldiers and Border castles are all represented in it. Moreover, since Scott's tastes were shared, and had helped form those of his contemporaries, the house is a microcosm of its age as well as of Scott.' (6)

Hence the building or re-modelling of numerous houses in an ultra-gothic style, with all its romantic associations accentuated by baronial halls, heraldic decoration, battlemented lodges, formal gardens and mature plantations. (7) The popularity of Kenelm Digby's book The Broadstone of Honour (1822) which extolled the relevance of chivalry for modern life also helps to explain why the interest in medievalism and collecting armour extended far beyond mere antiquarianism to promote a whole way of life. As Girouard wittily comments, 'halls full of armour were fast becoming the mid-nineteenth century equivalent of the sculpture galleries of Georgian country houses'. (8)

The great hall built by Pugin for the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers in Staffordshire (1836) was one of the first of these newly-built medieval great halls. Anthony Salvin built a number of great halls, starting with the restoration of the medieval hall at Brancepeth Castle in Durham (1829) and later including a huge hall at Thoresby Hall, Nottinghamshire. His brother-in-law was the famous landscape gardener W.A. Nesfield who frequently collaborated with him on revivalist schemes - it is a very small step from the re-creation of the medieval manor house or castle to the realisation of the need to create romantic medieval gardens as an appropriate

setting for them. In the same way as the architecture incorporated modern domestic comfort and technology, so, of course, these formal gardens were full of newly imported, colourful and exotic plants.

The symbolism, picturesque effects and associations of these Gothic extravaganzas make them an important expression of the Romantic movement. The association of chivalry with courtly love and the 'hortus conclusus' the bower garden, the lady's garden, the rosary, the sanctuary garden, the secret garden and various other popular romantic names for what was a private area within the garden, needs little elaboration. (9) What is interesting to note, is that as the Gothic revival in domestic building began to incorporate more and more Elizabethan and Jacobean characteristics, so too the focus of female association with areas of the garden increased. (10) Quite often literary associations played an important part, as the developing interest in Haddon Hall and the Dorothy Vernon legend demonstrates so well. This legend was no doubt inspired by the popularity of novels in which the woman as romantic and virtuous heroine, features in a setting of castle and garden.

By 1835 the national competition for the new Houses of Parliament could insist on designs to be done in either the Gothic or Elizabethan style. According to Pevsner, there was then 'a movement afoot to establish Elizabethan as the national English style par excellence for secular architecture' (11) Certainly some of the most exuberant, romantic, domestic architecture of this period supports that statement. Salvin's Mamhead in Devon (1828) in a sort of Tudor Gothic has a lovely conservatory attached which illustrates the literary association with the garden. In the stone spandrels are naturalistic carvings of wild flowers and in the stone frieze running above the four gothic lights, carved in an elaborate gothic script, as if on a banner or outstretched ribbon, is a quotation from Chaucer's translation of 'Le Roman de la Rose'. (Fig 76-7)

"There sprange the violet al newe And freshe
periwincke riche of hewe And flouris yellowe
white and rede Such plente grewe there ner in
mede." (12)

The conservatory overlooks a sunken rectangular garden with a

central stone fountain and basin, and a sundial surmounting a scroll-shaped, hollow, stone pedestal. (13) This was evidently designed as a small formal garden, partially enclosed by the conservatory-wing of the house, the planting of trees and shrubbery and by the rising hillside behind. It seems likely to have been designed to create an air of domestic seclusion and shelter, evocative perhaps, of the medieval hortus conclusus.

Some notable examples of Elizabethan architecture, which were popular as models for the Victorians are to be found in Derbyshire and its periphery. Wollaton Hall in Nottingham was frequently used as a source of inspiration, (14) also Hardwick Hall and Haddon Hall in Derbyshire. As early as 1794 Hearne had used an Elizabethan house to illustrate Price's notion of Picturesque, which bears a marked resemblance to Wollaton Hall - some writers suggest it is based on Hardwick Hall. Bolsover Castle (c1612) nearby, does not seem to have been imitated, but its chivalric associations must have excited the Victorians and the Venus fountain, a rather crude, Renaissance-inspired piece of garden design would have caused a flutter of romantic nostalgia.

Much of the domestic architecture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England drew freely on the Italian Renaissance vocabulary, to create a unique, dramatic English style. (15) To the Victorian, inspired by the rising tide of nationalism, the Elizabethan garden was to be emulated rather than the Italian or French; similarly, classical architecture was temporarily eclipsed in favour of Gothic, Elizabethan or Jacobean revival. However, since a good deal of the inspiration for the Elizabethan and Jacobean garden came from the Italian Renaissance, there are certain formal similarities between this type of national domestic revival and the Italianate. For example, the use of space and enclosure, terraces and balustrades, statuary, urns, fountains and pools, arbours, topiary and parterres, are features common to both, although the emphasis and scale may differ considerably.

Haddon Hall in Derbyshire with its dramatic, battlemented skyline and

romantic, terraced gardens became an important and influential landmark on the tourist's itinerary in the nineteenth century. Even Queen Victoria and Prince Albert paid a brief visit in 1843, while they were staying at Chatsworth. (16) Haddon had been empty and its gardens neglected since the Duke of Rutland had gone to live at Belvoir early in the eighteenth century. As a picturesque deserted house it had attracted romantic poets and painters since the late eighteenth century. (17) The hall was left in the charge of a caretaker, William Hage, who also acted as a guide to the many visitors. He died in 1840, aged 85, having conducted visitors over Haddon Hall for 61 years. (18) He seems to have supplied them with the sort of romantic stories about former inhabitants of the hall that they were eager to hear and this is probably how the famous legend of Dorothy Vernon's elopement with John Manners in the reign of Elizabeth I was born. (19)

'Every English home ... is chiefly memorable, is surpassingly dear to the imagination, for the sake of one person, or of some one romantic incident; and all Haddon is fragrant with the memory of one fair woman - Dorothy Vernon. You have her postern, her walk, her room, her terrace. Her beauty 'beautifies' the whole beautiful place. Men love women, and women love Love; hence the charm and the romance of the fair heiress linger yet round every part of Haddon. ...In the fullness of time Dorothy loved, but her father did not approve. She determined to elope;... fancy the Long Gallery with the splendour of a revel and the stately joy of a great ball in the time of Elizabeth. In the midst of the noise and excitement the fair young daughter of the house steals unobserved away. She issues from her door, and her light feet fly with tremulous speed along the darkling Terrace, flecked with light from the blazing ballroom, till they reach a postern in the wall, which opens upon the void of night outside dancing Haddon. At that postern some one is waiting eagerly for her; waiting with swift horses... young Sir John Manners... her own true love.' (20)

This is but one version of a tale lovingly elaborated throughout the nineteenth century, in which the young lovers elope against the dramatic backdrop of Haddon's terraced gardens. The illustration accompanying the above quotation shows Dorothy running down 'Dorothy Vernon's steps'; another shows her emerging from the garden gate to meet her lover waiting on 'Dorothy Vernon's bridge'. (Figs 78-9)

Artists were flocking to Haddon Hall by the 1830s and this is when the first illustrations of the gardens began to appear. Stephen Rayner published the History and Antiquities of Haddon Hall in 1836; George Cattermole's Illustrations of Haddon Hall came out in 1839; and the lithographs by Douglas Morison entitled View of Haddon Hall were published in 1842 (Figs 80-1) These illustrations were frequently peopled with figures in Elizabethan costume, so that the gardens and the legend were seldom apart. Subscribers to these volumes were nationwide, and included the King and Queen, the aristocracy and the gentry. The legendary house and garden were now nationally famous and unrivalled as a romantic revival from the past.

Visits to Haddon Hall inspired much romantic poetry; one of the better examples was by Philip Gilbert Hamerton entitled 'Haddon Hall' and was published in an anthology of his work in 1855. (21) A romantic engraving of the overgrown bowling green terrace and balustrade forms the frontispiece to his anthology and his poem on Haddon interestingly, begins with a description of the gardens, rather than the house which was more usual. Lord John Manners wrote a poem entitled 'A Legend of Haddon Hall' (1850) in which he referred to Haddon's desertion in verse 13.

'For Haddon is now a deserted place,
And that Gallery now is bare.
And that garden lacks for many a year
A lady's fostering care.' (22)

This is interesting because it suggests that the care of the garden was undertaken by the lady of the house, again strengthening the association of the woman and the garden.

The, by now, celebrated terraced garden with its balustrade and steps began to appear as decoration on ceramics (23) or to feature

as a dramatic setting for stories where quite often the events took place elsewhere. (24) A logical consequence of Haddon's growing reputation and in particular the focus on its gardens was that it should provide an ideal model for those seeking to create or revive an Elizabethan garden and particularly where the association with courtly love or chivalry was required. (25).

The distinctive feature of the garden is the terrace and steps with its mannerist, arcaded balustrade and ball finials. (Fig 82-3) The creation of the splendid Long Gallery, with its canted bays and central square projection built to look out onto the garden, and the extension^{and}/conversion of the garden into a pleasure ground seems to have taken place sometime after Sir George Vernon's death, in 1565, but before the death of his son-in-law, John Manners in 1611. (26) The imposition of a grid system of surrounding formal gardens often led to a desire to match up the bays and divisions of the elevation to the garden as on the south front of Haddon Hall. (27) The extension of the Long Gallery to the east, beyond the original building line, to connect with the terrace is clear evidence that the terraced gardens and Long Gallery were designed as a unified whole. (Fig 84) Similar linking^{of} formal gardens with the building can be seen in the symmetrical plan for Wollaton Hall and its grounds by Robert Smythson, who may have also been involved with the alterations taking place at Haddon Hall. (Fig 108) (28) Similarly in the nineteenth century, a formal garden placed symmetrically about a Gothic, Elizabethan or Jacobean revival house was considered the most fitting, and suggested the social extension of the house into the garden.

Haddon's balustraded terrace and steps were widely copied and adapted in the nineteenth century, not only in gardens in the vicinity, but considerably farther afield. (29) Rayner's publication of 1836, with its detailed illustrations of the terraced garden no doubt did much to promote this process; it was quickly followed by the erection of similar arcaded balustrades in formal gardens in the locality. For example, at Darley House owned by Paxton there is a raised terrace to the east of the house; this has an identical

arcaded balustrade and central steps which descend to the lawn, south of the house and on a level with the ground floor. Even the position of the terracing in relationship to the building is the same as at Haddon. Paxton had extended the house on the north west and added a ridge and furrow conservatory c1840 and by 1845 he had rented the house to Adam Washington; presumably he had constructed the terraced garden with its balustrade and steps before that date. (Fig⁶⁸) Lieutenant Colonel Wildman who had purchased Newstead Abbey from Lord Byron was one of the subscribers to Rayner's publication; he too, erected a long stretch of identical balustrade along the terrace in the formal gardens to the east of the Abbey, overlooking the Eagle pond. (Fig⁸⁵) Wyattville had begun working for the Gowers on Lilleshall Hall in Shropshire in 1826 when he was still busy with Chatsworth and Windsor. His design shows a neo-Elizabethan house with a terraced garden to the south accompanied by the familiar Haddon balustrade. The gardens were laid out c 1839 (30) which coincides with Rayner's publication; also Wyattville would have been familiar with Haddon Hall, having worked for so long at Chatsworth nearby. It seems likely that there may have been stonemasons working at local quarries producing 'Haddon balustrading' to order; it is quite possible that Paxton and Wyattville, who probably consulted each other on various matters in connection with their employment at Chatsworth, may also have employed the same workmen for other commissions. (Fig⁸⁷⁻⁸)

Another example of the Haddon balustrade occurring in Derbyshire is at Smedley's Hydro at Matlock, now part of the County Council Offices, (Fig⁸⁶). A further interesting example which is a close copy, but not identical, is at Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire. It was probably Salvin who worked here for the Eighth Earl of Scarborough, c1840 replacing an earlier main entrance, including the balustrade causeway leading up to it. (Fig⁸⁹) Similarly at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham where Paxton laid out the grounds, he included a similar arcaded balustrade for the steps and terrace. (Fig⁹⁰) By the middle of the century formal terraced gardens with steps and balustrades were widely used in fashionable circles and were being advocated by landscape gardeners, such as John Arthur

Hughes who illustrated his Garden Architecture and Landscape Gardening (1866) with balustrades considered suitable to be used with architecture of the Elizabethan or 'Stuartian' period. He includes an example very similar to the Haddon balustrade, but criticises what he calls 'raking joints'. (Fig⁹⁵)

The association of that tragic figure of the Elizabethan period, Mary Queen of Scots, never seems to have presented any serious rivalry to the popularity of the Dorothy Vernon legend. The Sixth Duke of Devonshire did employ Wyattville to restore the romantically-named 'Queen Mary's Bower' at Chatsworth; ⁽³¹⁾ he also commissioned Westmacott to sculpt a bust of Mary which the Duke apparently never liked; the so-called 'Apartment of Mary Queen of Scots' seems to have been created to perpetuate the eighteenth century myth that Mary had been imprisoned at Hardwick 'for at least nine years'. She certainly was held at Chatsworth, as well as at a number of the other properties owned by the Earl of Shrewsbury, but the new Hardwick Hall was not begun until after Mary's death. Indeed, Hardwick Hall is always associated with its indefatigable builder 'Bess of Hardwick'. Her monogram and coronet on the skyline loudly proclaim her position to the world and in the nineteenth century these were mirrored in the bedding-out in the garden on the west front. (Fig⁸²⁻⁴) In an age when national pride was boosted by reflecting on the country's former glory under Elizabeth I, a loyal supporter of the crown like Bess of Hardwick, whose building skills epitomise the achievement of the English architectural Renaissance, was bound to attract public acclaim. Mary Queen of Scots was seen as a tragic figure and nineteenth-century guide books never fail to mention her apartment at Hardwick Hall, but there were too many reasons why the Victorians could not perceive Mary as a romantic heroine. She would be seen by many as a Catholic and a traitor, but also her possible involvement with her husband's murder, quickly followed by her disastrous marriage to Bothwell made her quite unsuitable as a rival to the blameless, young virgin, Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall. It could hardly have been expected, that a leader of the Whig aristocracy whose ancestor had helped to bring about the glorious revolution of 1688 could have extolled the virtues of a

would-be Catholic usurper. Mary's Bower at Chatsworth, frequently illustrated in guide books, seems to have attracted some tourist attention, maybe because surrounded by its moat, it symbolised an imprisoned seclusion, perhaps making it suitable as a place of penance. (Fig⁹¹) For other reasons too, Bess of Hardwick never appealed as a woman to the nineteenth-century romantic imagination; she was too independent of her husbands, both emotionally and financially, to fit the submissive and vulnerable ideal of femininity espoused by the Victorians.

Hardwick Hall exerted considerable influence through its dominating architecture and the presence of its Elizabethan builder. The Sixth Duke of Devonshire associated the walks there with his mother, Lady Spencer (Appendix Dii) and in his handbook says,

'The flower Garden, lovely and suited to the character of the place, was created by one who passed some of the happy months of her short life here... it is the only recollection she has left me, and in all places her irreparable loss is equally felt. She had the art of giving life and charm to every thing that approached her'. (32)

He is of course referring to his favourite niece Blanche who died in 1840 at the age of 29 and to whom, with her husband William Cavendish, he had left all his inheritance. Clearly, for the Sixth Duke, the gardens at Hardwick were associated with women whom he had loved, and that link was more powerful than any he might attempt to create historically with Mary Queen of Scots or Bess of Hardwick. (33)

The influence of the lodge houses and the turrets at Hardwick Hall can be seen reflected nearby in the curious nineteenth-century tower or gazebo at the entrance to Hassop Hall. (Fig⁹²⁻³) (34) Elizabethan gazebos or summer houses feature frequently in Victorian gardens; that at Hassop is a curious mixture combining Elizabethan elements in its top storey with a suggestion of Egyptian at its ground floor entrance. (Fig¹²⁴) Thoresby Hall also has two gazebos one at each

corner of its formal terrace; a circular open arcade supports a flamboyant strapwork cresting, perhaps in part deriving from Hardwick and other popular Elizabethan building such as Montacute. (35) Hughes includes an example of an Elizabethan pavilion in his book (Fig⁹⁶) as well as Georgian, French and Rustic examples. Most of these are rather clumsy as pieces of architecture, but they demonstrate the eclecticism of the period and show which features were popular to copy.

Another example of the revived Elizabethan style derived from Hardwick and Wollaton is to be found illustrated by Robert Kerr in The Gentleman's House (1864) Here the tower or turret, similar to the illustration by Hughes, is attached to the house and forms the entrance on the ground floor, (Fig⁹⁷). He says that there was

'Something in the real Elizabethan model which struck root and grew, and has been growing ever since. There was, in fact, a strong nationality in it. Here was a style which not only was without dispute the unimported product of the soil . . . there was nothing unlikely therefore in the idea that its artistic forms also would be capable of being reinvigorated and readapted... There has been displayed great variety of detail in the Elizabethan style as thus restored to modern use.' (36)

He refers to his sketch, the special purpose of which is to exhibit certain leading principles which distinguish the new Elizabethan from the old. These are to do with the contrived irregularity of the nineteenth century as compared with the symmetry achieved in Elizabethan buildings like Wollaton and Hardwick. The romanticism attached to this sort of revivalism is still partially controlled by the aesthetic of the picturesque, although Kerr says 'it must not be disguised that intentional irregularity is, in the nature of the thing, eccentricity.' (37) Kerr includes examples of the Palladian style, the Rural-Italian, Palatial-Italian, French-Italian, Renaissance, Medieval or Gothic, the Cottage style and the Scotch Baronial style. All these illustrations show a house of the same size on the same site, but designed according to the dictates of these styles; in every instance the house stands on a terrace with a short flight of steps down to the garden. The only examples which

show a balustrade to the terrace are the Rural-Italian and the Palatial-Italian; the Renaissance example has a very low balustrade resembling a kerb, which also appears in the Scotch Baronial, but here it is castellated, presumably to be in keeping stylistically with the crow-stepped gables of the house. (Figs 97)

One of the most romantically-inspired gardens in the area considered in this study is to be found at Elvaston Castle near Derby. (38) This provides an illuminating example of the association of a contemporary woman with the garden. She is here represented as an almost symbolic figure of adoration; such adoration of women is to be found in many of the poems and novels by Sir Walter Scott which were read so avidly by the Victorians. Here the identification with knight-errantry and with the idea of the courtly love of a troubadour and his lady was created in the nineteenth century by Charles Stanhope, the Fourth Earl of Harrington, following his marriage to the actress Maria Foote. Between 1830 and 1850, with the help of William Barron, the famous landscape gardener, he transformed the surrounding grounds into a monument to romantic love.

According to one account the Earl animated by romantic jealousy refused to allow her [his wife] to go outside the gates; certainly no one else was allowed in. For twenty years Elvaston Castle was sealed to the outside world. Meanwhile, behind the park wall, gardeners worked by the dozen, full-grown trees were carted in and planted and castle and Countess vanished behind towering walls of clipped yew and spires of exotic conifers. (39)

Although this sort of account helped to create the 'living legend' it seems highly exaggerated. It is true that Elvaston was closed to the public while the gardens were being created - the Earl is said to have instructed Barron that if Queen Victoria came she was to be shown round, but no one else was to be admitted. While it may have been socially unacceptable in court circles to present a wife who had not only formerly been on the stage, but who had also had other amorous liaisons, it seems likely that the couple would have been accepted socially among the provincial gentry and nouveaux-riches

because of the Earl's wealth and status in the area. However, what is certain is that extensive and elaborate pleasure grounds were laid out round the Jacobean red brick house of 1633 and Lewis Cottingham, the architect, was called in to add another Gothic wing and to further gothicise parts of the interior. Earlier in the century the house had been partly gothicised to the design of James Wyatt and Robert Walker. Now Wyatt's Hall was redecorated and named 'The Hall of the Fair Star' - it became a shrine to the lovers. Gothic alcoves round the hall were filled with figures in armour and the walls hung with swords and lances. Mottoes, such as, 'Fayre beyond the Fayrest', 'Beauty is a Witch', 'Faithful to Honour and Beauty' appeared as decoration on doors, alcoves, and stained-glass whilst mysterious symbols like stars, flaming hearts, lovers' knots, quivers of arrows, lyres, pomegranates, peacocks and birds of paradise were used as decoration. Girouard points out that in addition to the obvious link with the troubadour and his lady, the lyres and pomegranates suggest an identification with Orpheus and Eurydice.

This lover's theme was continued in the gardens which were among the most elaborate in the land and designed to provide a theatrical backdrop for the lovers' ritual. The Bower Garden or 'Garden of Mon Plaisir' was to the south of the house - this was encircled and enclosed by a topiary tunnel. Entrances were cut through the topiary, where it was possible to gaze at the central feature, a 'fair star' laid out in box-edged flower beds. Four figures of kneeling and adoring knights and a ring of topiary sentry-boxes formed an inner circle round the star. In the centre and in the outer spaces symmetry was accentuated by the planting of monkey puzzle trees. (Fig 98-101)

The most striking feature of the gardens throughout, was the extensive use of conifers and the elaborate topiary work. This featured in the terraced gardens around the Castle and in the Italian garden with its statuary and its covered walk of roses and also in the Alhambra Garden, so named because of its Moorish Pavilion, which still remains. (40) Inside the pavilion, the theme of romantic love was represented by the central feature - a

plaster-of-Paris effigy of Lady Harrington, accompanied by her adoring lover, kneeling at her feet with a lyre in his hands, presumably serenading her. Sadly these plaster figures have gone, but Moorish decoration which encrusts the interior and the painted symbols and knightly mottoes can still be seen. The pavilion seems strangely isolated now, with its curiously shaped windows, and uptilted roof; (fig¹⁰³) its seemingly incongruous orientalism was presumably associated with the idea of knightly crusades.

This creation of a romantic monument to love must be unique. It represents an idiosyncratic interpretation of medievalism - certainly there is no attempt to recreate an archaeologically accurate medieval garden. One cannot help wondering why the Earl chose these particular props, which seem to be an extraordinary mixture of theatrical invention and historical fantasy placed within the framework of a formal garden.

Loudon visited Elvaston in May 1839 and included a description of the formal gardens in The Gardener's Magazine. He was impressed by Barron's methods of planting and grafting of trees and by the variety of conifers grown there.

'Nine years ago there was not a single evergreen about the place, with the exception of the very large cedars of Lebanon and a few large Portugal laurels; the whole having been collected, planted, and the entire grounds and gardens formed, in less than nine years.' (41)

Barron became famous for his successful transplanting of mature trees, often transported great distances and frequently chosen for their ingeniously clipped shape. There was not only a wide selection of trees at Elvaston, but also a collection of the rarest and finest conifers then to be had. (42)

Beyond the formal gardens, to the north of the house, Barron created a serpentine lake, with rugged islands covered with weeping hollies and monkey puzzles. There were large rocky decorations and grottoes which added a further romantic element with their aura of mystery. There was

'the Fountain garden, where various jets emit their playful streams of crystal, contrasting beautifully with the massive rockery in the background, and the curious shell-grotto. A beautiful view of Spondon Church is obtained through an oval fissure in the rocks.' (43)

The Duke of Wellington supposedly said that this was the most 'natural artificial rock' he had ever seen! (Fig 102).

Barron worked here for twenty years until the Fourth Earl's death. His successor, the Fifth Earl reduced the large staff of eighty or ninety men formerly employed in the grounds and disposed of many of the trees. Barron describes how he supplied the Prince Consort with a *Picea nobilis* for Osborne and how he took a large number of *Cedrus deodara*, *Araucaria imbricata* and other specimen conifers to the grounds of the Crystal Palace for Paxton.

'Altogether I sold plants for his Lordship in nine years to the value of £3,000, all of which I had propagated or reared.' (44)

Specimen conifers were obviously valuable trees - their popularity for use in Italianate formal schemes meant that there was a considerable market demand for them.

The ground all round Elvaston is rather flat and lacked any natural picturesque advantages - as Capability Brown had earlier commented

'because the place is so flat... there is such a want of capability in it.'

So Barron's creation of avenues and plantations, lake, rockwork and formal gardens using conifers and topiary managed to produce a feeling of richness and variety, combined with the essential element of romantic seclusion necessary to realise the Earl's chivalric fantasy, in a highly successful manner.

The essence then, of romantic gardens lay in their association with the idea of courtly love and medieval chivalry. Romanticism inspired a love of the landscape and its history; the developing

taste for the picturesque and the search for a national style combined to promote an Elizabethan revival, rich in its literary and chivalric associations. Picturesque Haddon Hall, with its lovely formal terraced-garden so evocatively overgrown by the nineteenth century supplied a fertile ground for the creation of a story in which 'love triumphs.' Hardwick Hall, proud and lofty on its hilltop is a constant reminder of its builder, the wealthy and powerful Bess of Hardwick, loyal supporter of Queen Elizabeth. Stylistic reflections of Hardwick, Wollaton and other houses of the period can be seen as a tribute to England's former glory, when a woman was on the throne and the ethos at court was one of tribute to the adored Queen, 'the spotless virgin'. Hence the association with the Elizabethan period was able to satisfy a number of requirements simultaneously, the garden being particularly appropriate as a symbolic setting in which to re-enact the drama of chivalric tribute to an adored female. At Elvaston, the Earl of Harrington, not content to romanticise the past, attempted to create a living legend, in which he and his wife played the roles of ardent, lyrical lovers, supported by the appropriate theatrical props, arranged in a carefully controlled setting, that of the formal garden.

1. see GIROUARD.M. The Return to Camelot . Chivalry and the English Gentleman. (1981) for romantic associations of castle building at end of c18 and early c19.

2. TAIT.A.A. The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835 (Edinburgh 1980) p2.

3. For a description of Abbotsford on 1825 see LOCKHART.J. The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart, 1771-1832. (1896) pp551-4.

For the significance of Abbotsford in the Gothic Revival in Scotland see MACAULAY.J. The Gothic Revival 1745-1845 (1975) Chap.XII Abbotsford and its Precursors.

4. LOCKHART. op cit., p210.

5. see The Gardeners' Chronicle (1884) jii. Nov 8 pp583-4 for a description of the countryside round Abbotsford and of Scott's extensive tree planting.

6. GIROUARD. op cit., p40.

7. It was vital to have plantations of some maturity to foster the illusion of antiquity at Abbotsford and other houses of the baronial nouveaux riches.

8. Op cit., p53.

9. The mediaeval association with this type of garden was often evoked by the sort of imagery to be found in mediaeval manuscripts, vignettes in coloured glass, ideas gleaned from historical romances, popular mythology, etc. Just as Gothic architecture was little understood and was rarely copied accurately, so too, the gardens were evocative rather than being archaeologically correct.

10. Obviously an Elizabethan revival would be expected to recall much of the symbolism associated with that female monarch. It is interesting that Elizabeth I took the eglantyne as her personal badge - a native plant, but also a symbol of chastity.

See STRONG.R. The Cult of Elizabeth (1977)

STRONG.R. The Renaissance Garden in England (1979)

YATES.F.A. Astraea (1977)

See also WARNER.M. Alone of all her Sex. The myth and cult of the Virgin Mary (1978) for the associations of the 'hortus conclusus' and the symbolism of the rose.

11. PEVSNER. Sir N. Studies in Art, Architecture and Design (1968) Vol 1 p.162. Pevsner also cites a number of early C19 publications which demonstrate an early interest in Elizabethan domestic revival architecture.

12. Taken directly from carving at Mamhead. See figs 76-77. From

Chaucer's translation, probably done while he was in captivity in France c1360.

13. When photographed in 1981 this sunken formal garden looked rather dismal. Its restoration was planned.

14. Mentmore, Westonbirt, Highclere, even Thoresby and Harlaxton to some extent, are derived from Wollaton Hall. Lismore Castle, Thornbridge Hall and possibly even Osmaston Manor are inspired by Haddon Hall.

The formal symmetry of Hardwick Hall did not appeal to the Victorians, but the strapwork detailing of the turrets, lodge houses and gazebos were widely copied.

15. see GIROUARD.M. Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan era. (1966) Robert Smythson is known to have worked at Wollaton, Hardwick and Bolsover - also at Barlborough Hall nearby. There is a marked resemblance to Smythson's work in the C16 additions at Haddon Hall. For reference to this link see forthcoming article by BRIGHTON.J.T. The Journal of Garden History.

16. Their visit is described in Illustrated London News (Dec. 1843) p377.

17. Celia Fiennes had visited Haddon Hall when she came to Chatsworth, but found 'nothing very curious' there. Her visit predated the appreciation of picturesque ruins and wild scenery. The first local antiquary to take an interest in Haddon was White Watson.F.L.S. (1760-1835): see note 50 Chapter 5. Among his manuscripts is the first known guide to Haddon Hall written in 1805. 'A tour of Haddon Hall near Bakewell, Derbyshire, the seat of His Grace the Duke of Rutland in Sep. 1805. Made by White Watson, accompanied by Capt. Carmichael.' Bagshawe Ms C320, Sheffield City Library. Printed in Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society Vol 10 (1983) pp64-67.

18. A picture of Hage survives and is fixed in the Sheffield City Library's edition of Rayner (Jackson Collection) and the caption states that he was born in 1754 and in his capacity as 'celebrated guide' had been known to visitors for 61 years. (Information supplied by T. Brighton.)

19. There is some discussion of this legend in 'Dorothy Vernon: tale or tradition.' Local History Leaflet No. 3. (Sheffield City Library 1955. Revised 1960.)

20. Picturesque Europe. Vol II. The British Isles (n.d.) pp4-7. This was probably published early this century. It demonstrates how the association of a personality or legend with a historic place added to its fascination, providing a vicarious participation in high drama - a taste not confined to the Victorians!

21. HAMERTON.P.G. The Isle of Loch Awe and other poems of my youth (1855) p271. Those verses from 'Haddon Hall' which describe the garden are included in Appendix D i.

22. MANNERS. Lord John. English Ballads and Other Poems. (1850) p105.
23. The engravings of Haddon Hall and its gardens were used by ceramic painters at the Derby factory and even as far away as Sunderland. See SHAW. J.T. (ed) Sunderland Ware. The Potteries of Wearside (4th ed. revised 1973 ~~Sunderland.~~)
24. BARONESS CALABRELLA. (ed) Evenings at Haddon Hall (1848). This contains 18 stories accompanied by 25 engravings from Cattermole's illustrations of Haddon - the stories are not set at Haddon, but some of the illustrations draw freely on the features of the garden.
25. Haddon Hall was also frequently referred to later in the century to support arguments about formalism and the architect's garden. cf. Blomfield, Triggs, Gotch, etc. Reference to these discussions will be made in Chapter 9.
26. Sir George Vernon was popularly known as the 'King of the Peak'. He probably arranged the marriage of his second daughter to John Manners. There is no reason why they would have needed to elope. Many of the alterations to the hall which created the so-called 'Dorothy Vernon' door and steps, etc., took place after their marriage, some of them possibly even after Dorothy's death in 1584.
27. According to John Harris this occurred at Haddon Hall c1600. The Design of the English Country House 1620-1920 (1985) pp10-11.
28. See BRIGHTON. op. cit., for evidence to support Smythson's links with Haddon Hall - he also gives a description of the historical development of the gardens up to the present day.
29. The famous balustrade frequently appears in volumes which illustrate houses and gardens. For example, TIPPING. A. Gardens Old and New. The Country House and its Garden Environment. 3 vols. (h. d.) Watkin suggests that Flete, Devon 1877-87 by Richard Norman Shaw for H.B. Mildmay was inspired by Haddon Hall - the north-west service wing, he says, was inspired by the Jacobean Long Gallery wing at Haddon. He fails to observe that the garden terrace has an arcaded balustrade almost identical to that at Haddon. WATKIN. D. The English Vision (1982) pp146-7.
30 TIPPING. op. cit., Vol I p. 70.
31. There is an undated drawing at Chatsworth (Vol 74) by Wyattville which shows a scheme, which was probably not fully carried out, of cast-iron trellised arches to be erected on the level platform. According to Linstrum, Wyatt proposed that the work should be given to Richard Barrow, Iron Founder of the Staveley Works op.cit., p266.
32. CAVENDISH. op.cit., p220. 2
33. The formal garden to the south of Hardwick Hall was laid out by Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of Blanche and the Seventh Duke of Devonshire c1860s 1870s.

34. There is a bundle of 10 letters dated April-December 1853 in the possession of the present owner of Hassop Hall. They refer to building lodges and gates and include one dated 5 Nov. 1853 to the architects Wheatman, Hadfield and Goldie of Sheffield from Colonel Leslie. This letter refers to the 'proposed tower at the end of the long wall' which should be 'square, battlemented'. A further letter dated 14 Nov. 1853 refers to the tower, the underpart of which should have a 'Chamber with a fireplace' to 'heat the flues in the long wall.'

There is a marked similarity between the battlementing on the gazebo here and that at Barlborough Hall, another house in the area designed by Robert Smythson.

35. Salvin worked at Thoresby Hall and also briefly at Kelham Hall near Newark where a similar gazebo remains in the gardens. That at Kelham Hall has a domed roof with attractive fish-scale tiling.

36. KERR.R. The Gentleman's House (reprint 1972.) p351-2.

37. Ibid., p353.

38. Derbyshire County Council with Derby Borough Council restored them in 1968-70 and opened them to the public as a Country Park. Much of the original layout has been destroyed.

39. GIROUARD. op.cit., p88. Reference is also made to the couple before their marriage. Charles Stanhope had been something of a dandy and Maria Foote, according to Girouard, by the time Stanhope 'took up with her, ... was well over thirty and had a notorious past.' Since by the time they were married in 1831, Stanhope would have been aged 51, it seems likely that Maria was considerably younger than he.

40. The Moorish Pavilion was used in the film Women in Love made by Ken Russell.

41. August 1839. p460.

42. Barron (1800-91) was famous for his understanding of evergreens. He wrote The British Winter Garden (1852). For further details of Barron's life and of the gardens at Elvaston see the following:
Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (1875) 9 Sep. p229, 2 Dec. p490.

The Gardeners' Chronicle (1876) 25 Nov, 23, 30 Dec: (1891) 18, 25 April.

Country Life (1899) 14, 21 Jan.

TIPPING.A. Gardens Old and New Vol 1. (n.d.) pp20-6.

Barron set up as a nurseryman with his son at Borrowash and Nottingham specialising in landscape gardening and tree removal. He personally superintended extensive alterations at Welbeck Abbey for the Duke of Portland - he is also said to have done some work at Tissington Hall and Foremark Hall and to have worked with Lutyens at The Pastures, Repton.

43. BROOKE.A. The Gardens of England (1858) Elvaston Castle. See

Appendix D i/i for description of gardens from Brooke.

44. The Gardeners' Chronicle 25 April (1891).

7. THE ITALIANATE GARDEN

The Italianate was probably the most widely adopted historical style for Victorian garden design - certainly by mid-century it dominated. The Italianate shares many of the features of the Elizabethan revival garden, but the scale tends to be larger, the overall effect more grandiose and extrovert and the architectural elements more forceful. One reason for its popularity was that it was regarded as the authentic style of the seventeenth century, when English gardens were believed to be in their heyday. This explains the French and Dutch influence and the development of a more elaborate Baroque magnificence. The Tudor and early Stuart gardens were not understood by the Victorians - hardly surprising since the formal gardens of England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are a totally lost art form. No garden survives from before the Civil War, except in fragmentary examples such as Levens and Melbourne. The romantic image of 'Merrie England' coloured and blurred the past, failing to distinguish between the different types of formal garden which developed and changed over a long period of time. As Roy Strong says,

'Architectural historians mostly ignore gardens, although during the seventeenth century in particular they were integral parts of the mise-en-scène. What is worse, those who do write about the formal garden lump together what was an incredibly complex phenomenon stretching over two hundred years, failing to distinguish between a number of quite separate and distinct phases not only of design but also of ideas. (1)

He cites examples of gardens, believed in the nineteenth century to be authentic Elizabethan or Jacobean survivals, which were, in fact, replantings under the impact of Romanticism; the reality of a Tudor or early Stuart garden, let alone the ideas which motivated its planning and creation, would have come as something of a shock. The seventeenth century saw a more direct reflection of Renaissance Italy and the introduction of the garden as a setting for the display of antique sculpture. By this time the Renaissance emphasis

on the unity of house and garden in architectural terms was recognised and understood in England. Wollaton Hall built by Robert Smythson for Sir Francis Willoughby, had earlier illustrated this Italian influence in its symmetrical planning with the gardens taking their axis from the centre of the house. (Fig 108). The garden evolved from a series of separate, enclosed, emblematic tableaux to a sequence of interconnecting spaces whose vital link was the vista. The seventeenth century garden was a symbol of pride, an expression of royal and aristocratic magnificence and thus provided an ideal model for the wealthy Victorian, eager to display wealth, power and status.

The other stimulus for the Italianate revival came about as a direct result of visits to Italy and a fascination with the Italian Renaissance. Mention has already been made of Wyatville's addition of a picturesque Italianate tower at Chatsworth and of the architectural treatment of the grounds, including geometric flower beds and colourful parterres. The Italianate tower, asymmetrically placed, became a popular architectural feature, usually accompanied by gardens laid out en suite with terraces and steps, urns and statuary, pools and fountains, straight gravel paths and topiary. Probably the most famous exponent of this type of grandiose Italianate was Sir Charles Barry; the style was given the final seal of Royal approval when Prince Albert, with Cubitt's help, designed Osborne on the Isle of Wight, as an Italianate villa surrounded by a large number of appropriate architectural features - niches and alcoves, fountains, vases and other ornaments and an elaborate series of terraces contained within balustrades, descended by carefully contrived staircases towards the lawn leading to the beach. (Fig 104)

'The terraces at Osborne were an integral part of the scheme, the classical surround to the house which was to set off the great romantic plantations and drifts of unusual shrubs and trees, so carefully planned by the Prince.' (2)

This adaptation of a garden style from the formal gardens of Italy, (quite often also combining French influence) was usually used in conjunction with the practice of massed bedding of flowers to

produce a display of dazzling colours, unknown in Italy, but which came to characterize the Victorian Italianate garden. Adveno Brooke published The Gardens of England (c1857), a very large folio volume which depicted what were then considered the finest gardens in England - these were mostly Italian in design, made colourful with profuse bedding-out. (Fig 105) The Crystal Palace Gardens at Sydenham were of a pseudo-Italian design, the common elements being the vast scale of the bedding-out arranged within a formal, architectural framework of symmetrically arranged terraces, gravel walks, pools, fountains and statuary. Another reason for the popularity of this sort of scheme was its adaptability, particularly for use in public parks where the combination of formal promenades and floral colour placed within a larger picturesque framework provided the necessary spectacular display. Also it was equally easy to adapt for smaller gardens where this element of formality was considered more appropriate than attempts at the picturesque on such a small scale.

A writer to The Gardener's Magazine (1828) complained of the problems of 'dripping shrubs', 'wet grass', 'swampy ground' and suggested that the remedy was to

'borrow from our neighbours on the Continent some of that architectural taste in gardening... a plot of ground, of one acre only, attached to the mansion, laid out in the Italian manner, with its terrace, steps, balustrades, vases, fountain and rectangular gravel walks, will add more to the cheerfulness of both the exterior and interior of that mansion ... than five times the quantity of land laid out according to our present English style of gardening.' (3)

Mrs Loudon in The Lady's Country Companion (1845) favoured a formal plan for flower-beds, with the emphasis on an arrangement to be looked at rather than perambulated and used three interesting illustrations to support her point of view. (Figs 106) The first shows the manor house in its original state, the grounds laid out in the eighteenth century landscape style; the second shows the manor house 'improved', looking very much like a Repton design, where the 'gloomy firs' have been cleared to make way for lawns and geometric

flower beds; the third shows the garden iron of the house laid out in a geometric style, vaguely Italianate - the house on a terrace, central steps, with large vases arranged symmetrically on either side, descending to a straight, gravel path.

Apart from the use of colourful bedding-out and the closely mown lawn, the main difference between the Italian garden and its English version lies in the climate and the terrain. Chatsworth is one of the few places in England where the conjunction of steep slopes and abundant water is to be found which is the essence of Italian gardens such as the Villa d'Este, an Italian garden greatly admired by the Victorian traveller.

One of the most successful attempts to emulate the gardens of the Villa d'Este, was by Sir Charles Barry at Shrubland, described by Christopher Hussey as 'the grandest of the Victorian Italian gardens'. (4) The Georgian house by Paine was already in a commanding hill-top position on the edge of an escarpment, its south-western aspect overlooking the flat vale of the Gipping. Barry was called in c1848 to continue alterations begun in the 1830s by Wyatt's pupil, Gandy Deering. He completed the tower on the south-west corner by giving it a belvedere of arches; he replaced Paine's pediment on the west facade with balustrades and then set about transforming the slope below it, 'to the majestic pattern of a great Roman villa garden.' (5) From the broad main terrace which reaches to the edge of the escarpment, a series of straight flights of stairs descend about 70 feet, directly to the terrace below - this was evidently inspired by the great terrace staircase at the Villa d'Este, but lacks the plentiful cascades of Tivoli. An elaborate temple archway at the head of the stairs frames the colonnaded loggia and parterre below. (Figs 107, 9-10). These flower gardens were designed to be looked down upon. (6) In 1856 the small parterre was planted with bands and lines of yew and variegated box and a system of 'shading' flower-beds was used in which blooms were chosen for the perfect blending of colours. Complicated patterns were filled with every kind of bedding plant; another feature was the ribbon bedding.

This flamboyant Italianate style combined with the new and more colourful flowering plants which could be used in massed bedding displays met the Victorian desire for novelty and opulence. Improved glasshouses, cheap coal and an increasingly skilled labour force made it possible to produce these tender plants in vast numbers. Ernest Field, for many years a gardener at Halton reported that he

'once heard it said the rich people used to show their wealth by the size of their bedding plant list: 10,000 for a squire, 20,000 for a baronet. 30,000 for an earl and 50,000 for a duke!' (7)

In spite of the Italian and other revivalist influences, the combination with these vast bedding schemes produced results which were original and characteristically Victorian.

Sir Charles Barry (1795-1860), a widely travelled scholarly man, found a new and rich source of inspiration in the Italian Renaissance, particularly the palaces of Rome, Florence and Venice. The Italianate tower usually placed asymmetrically became a favourite Barry feature, often used to give cohesion and balance to an irregular composition. His flamboyant, grandiose style adapted for domestic architecture seems to have been exactly what was required by Whig millionaires like the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. He has been described by Girouard as 'a brilliant showman in the picturesque tradition.' (8) It was probably the Sutherland patronage beginning at Trentham in the 1830s, which started Barry on his way as an architect of private palaces. As at Shrubland, his remodelling and extensions usually included architectural treatment of the gardens, so that there should be a close unity between the two, in the Italian manner.

Trentham is an outstanding example of Barry's work. It is situated on the periphery of Derbyshire, to the west, in Staffordshire. The Second Duke of Sutherland engaged Barry in 1833 to begin on ambitious schemes to convert and enlarge the existing house, making it into a unified structure and to lay out the large area between

the house and the lake to the south in elaborate formal gardens. (9) In contrast to Shrubland (where he worked some years later,) the site at Trentham is basically flat, with an almost imperceptible slope towards the lake. Barry refaced the eighteenth century facades of the house in a richer and bolder Italianate style, added a grand entrance on the west end and an orangery and sculpture gallery to the east. (Fig 111) The characteristic great tower with its open belvedere, inspired by Wyattville's tower at Chatsworth, provided a bold vertical emphasis. (Fig 112) The architecture extended into the gardens and involved a clever adaptation of a flat site to a formal terraced garden, by means of a series of carefully contrived low terraces, often of a drop of no more than three steps between them. (Figs 113-115) Capability Brown had been employed in the eighteenth century to landscape the park and soften the original formality of the lake; the lake had been enlarged and brought nearer to the house to improve views out across the flat land to the south. The Brownian landscape thus provided a perfect foil to the formal geometry of the new terraces which ended abruptly at the lake, and the woodland vistas beyond served to heighten the awareness of the 'Italianate' in the garden. The flat site did not provide easy dramatic solutions for landscaping and as Cornforth points out, it must have seemed rather bald in 1833 when Barry began work there. As Loudon said

'We could not help doubting whether even Mr Barry could make anything of this great dull flat place, with its immense mansion, as tame and spiritless as the ground on which it stands;...Let no man henceforth despair of a dead flat.' (10)

The Italian garden was designed basically on two levels. The upper one, about 200 feet square contained a central circular plot with a fountain and pond; a flight of circular steps led to the second level, an oblong enclosure 700 feet by 510 feet which contained two sunk parterres on either side of a broad central gravel walk, bordered by trees in tubs. (11) The walk led to the lake's edge where there was a stone terrace 460 feet long, a bronze cast of

Cellini's Perseus and a circular stone landing stage. The gardens were boldly framed by stone balustrades, topped with vases and marked at the corners by splendid loggias or pavilions. (Figs 112, 113, 115) In January 1834 Barry's estimates for the house and garden were just over £40,000, but by the end of 1841 the Duke had spent, altogether, £123,000 at Trentham. (12)

By the 1860s Trentham was one of the most celebrated and influential gardens of the nineteenth century and provided a leading example of the Italianate style in domestic architecture with gardens to match. There seems to be some doubt about the collaboration here between Barry and the elder Nesfield in the garden design; it is unlikely that Nesfield was involved until after the completion of the architectural garden. (13) He may have given some advice on planting in the park, or possibly on the design and planting of the parterres in the Italian garden. George Fleming, who had been head gardener at Lilleshall, also owned by the Sutherlands, had been called in to help with the planting at Trentham. He made Trentham into a showpiece of floral display, particularly in the use of ribbon borders in which shading of colours was a feature rather than contrasting of colours. In a series of articles in the Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (1863). R. Fish described the gardens at Trentham in great detail and also included plans of the bedding out. (Figs 116) Vast numbers of different types of geraniums (~~scil.~~ pelargoniums) were used, not only in the elaborate parterres, but also to provide brilliant colour in vases topping the balustrading. (14)

The architectural features of stone steps, balustrades and vases, gravel walks and loggias, without the splash and glitter of water and the brilliant displays of bedding-out would have looked cold and hard. It was this type of dazzling display which was so much admired by visitors to the gardens, but which William Robinson fiercely attacked later on. However, the novelty and brilliance of this sort of spectacle needs to be seen in contrast to the dismal and polluted surroundings and the dark and dingy dwellings where many of the visitors lived - particularly the vast hoardes coming

from the smoky Potteries nearby. The industrial development of the Potteries had so polluted the river Trent that by 1872 it was described as

'... the foulest blot on Trentham. Almost laving the walls of the mansion, cutting asunder the kitchen from the flower garden, and flowing through the pleasure grounds, a foul slimy sewer, brimful of the impurities of every dirty crowded town that hugs its banks throughout the Potteries - the Trent, which used to glide along here, a thing of purity and beauty, through a veritable Eden, is now contracted, and that passed as rapidly as possible, as a nuisance to be rid of. Originally the feeder of the grand lake, it is shut out now, as too foul to enter in.' (15)

The pollution of the Trent by the sewage of Stoke-on-Trent eventually made life in the house impossible and caused its abandonment before 1907. Three years later demolition of the house began and little now remains beyond the west end; the architectural framework of the terraced garden with its balustrades still stands, although the loggias and the vases have gone and the planting now is much simpler and less labour-intensive. The gardens became a popular place of recreation for the Pottery towns between the wars and Cornforth writing in 1968 said that the number of visitors had increased beyond all expectations to about 500,000 a year. (16)

The vast expenditure at Trentham did not deter the Sutherlands from employing Barry for further work. (17) At Dunrobin, Barry transformed a modest castle into a very large, extravagantly silhouetted building above Dornoch Firth which included a great tower and an elaborate terraced garden. At Cliveden, rebuilt by Barry 1850-1, a grand symmetrical palazzo design was surrounded by an elaborate formal layout, in a dramatic position high above the Thames. The parterre laid out on the south front was on a vast scale to relate to the huge terrace and house. (Fig 117) These gardens soon became famous. The Journal of Horticulture in 1862 called attention to the magnificence of the parterre, a flower garden covering 3½ acres, the triangular beds edged with clipped privet and spruce, and to the elaborate ribbon bedding.

The Duchess of Sutherland was Lady Harriet Howard, one of three famous sisters: Lady Blanche, who had married William Cavendish, later the Seventh Duke of Devonshire: Lady Caroline who had married William Lascelles, son of the Earl of Harewood. Their mother was Lady Georgiana Cavendish, sister of the Sixth Duke of Devonshire and their father was George Howard, Sixth Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard having been their family home. Hence the links between some of the wealthiest landowning families of the nineteenth century were close and the exchange of ideas on architecture and garden layout can be seen reflected in Chatsworth, Trentham, Harewood and elsewhere.

At Harewood, Barry's transformation of an eighteenth century villa into an Italianate palace is best appreciated from the south. In 1843 he reconstructed the south front of the house, heightening the wings, removing Adam's central portico and creating a magnificent descent of steps from the main floor of the house to the paved terrace. His redesigned south elevation was closely linked stylistically to the new Italianate terrace garden round three sides of the house and regarded by Barry as an architectural extension of the building. (Figs 118-122)

Nineteenth century descriptions make much of the contrast provided by the juxtaposition of the formal architectural garden and Brown's softly undulating parkland with the view of the lake in its hollow below.

'The great double terrace... is a very splendid feature of the place, and we do not know where better classic terracing can be found ... There is a magnificent view from the terraces over the valley and the park... a double stairway leads down to the flagged terrace walk, having between it and the house wall a magnificent flower border while vases full of choice things are on the other hand, where three steps bring the visitor to the gravel terrace bounded by a long balustraded wall from which there is a lovely outlook over the formal garden below and the park and landscape beyond. This formal garden is splendid in design and colour, with conical bushes to give distinction of feature, and at its outer edge is another balustraded

terrace wall, with bold semi-circular
embayments towards the park and noble stairways
leading down to the grass slopes.' (19)

About a hundred of Barry's plans and drawings concern the terrace garden. Among them,

'his most remarkable horticultural contribution is the design of a monogram H.H. for a vast garden bed to be outlined in green sea gravel and cut in boxwood, the letters intertwined as in the cove of the new Dining Room ceiling, and the new firebacks of the principal rooms.' (20)

The Gardener's Magazine (1896) refers to the terrace garden on the south front as one of the finest of the many geometrical schemes still in existence representing 'Nesfield, by whom it was designed, at his best'. (21) The writer continues with a description of the plants used on the terrace parterre. The upper level had a border of dwarf box and at its outer edge a stone kerb; during the summer it was filled with a variety of bright-coloured flowers and the vases were filled chiefly with pelargoniums. On the lower level the geometrical scheme was in three compartments, each divided into four sections with a central fountain. The scroll work was intersected by narrow walks of white spar, and marked at intervals by clipped evergreens such as junipers and Irish yews - again filled with an elaborate scheme of brightly coloured flowers during the summer months. He points out that when ablaze with colour this was one of the attractions to visitors who came when the gardens were open to the public on Thursdays. Although Harewood is outside the area chosen for this study, it is the nearest place to see Barry at his best in terms of unity of house and garden, because both are still intact - it also illustrates his handling of a sloping site. At both places within the area, Trentham and Clumber, the house no longer stands.

Barry worked at Clumber, seat of the Duke of Newcastle, in a similar manner in the 1850s, again embellishing and enlarging an eighteenth century house in an Italianate style and extending it into the surrounding gardens in terraces and balustrades to create an

architectural unity. He had the problem here of a rather flat site, with the ground floor rooms of the house being only a few feet above the level of the lake. (22) With his usual skill he managed to create a sense of flamboyant grandeur, capitalizing on the proximity of the lake to heighten the ethos of opulent leisure. (Figs 123) The Fourth Duke of Newcastle had acquired great wealth through his marriage to the daughter of Edward Miller-Mundy of Shipley in Derbyshire; she brought £190,000 cash on her marriage and £12,000 a year in rents. Some years later, in 1840, the Duke was able to buy ^{the} Worksop Manor Estate from the Duke of Norfolk for £380,000, chiefly with the intention of dismantling the mansion - he transferred many of the objects from Worksop to his own home at Clumber, including 'the exceptionally fine architectural garden objects now at Clumber' (23).

A fire in 1879 gutted a considerable portion of the house. When rebuilding began in 1880 it was under the younger Charles Barry and was reminiscent of work done forty years earlier at the Athenaeum Club by his father, Sir Charles. Consequently descriptions of Clumber and its terraces, which demonstrate the endurance of the fashion for the Italianate, discuss work which post-dates Sir Charles Barry, as well as work from the period before he came to Clumber. By the end of the century, a revival of interest in the architectural garden was gathering strength and writers like Inigo Triggs and Avray Tipping have left descriptions, plans and photographs of numerous Victorian gardens which show how lavishly they were maintained and that when their bedding was complete the overall effect was magnificent. Tipping's photographs (Figs 123-6) and description of Clumber show the importance of the statuary and urns in conjunction with the formal layout of terrace gardens,

'In front of that side of the house which contains the great drawing room, the central hall and the State drawing room, there lie two terraces, whose balustrades are set at intervals with statues, vases and urns of the most varied design and excellent workmanship. Their delicate sculptures are charmingly toned, but in no way injured or marred, by the effects of age and exposure. They form a collection to be closely studied as well as freely enjoyed...

The pair of stately urns, with pineapple finials and wolf heads rising up as handles that stand at the descent on to the lawn, and have winged beasts below them, may possibly be equalled, but certainly cannot be excelled for intrinsic merit of design and execution, combined with perfection of weathered tone and picturesque condition.

The upper and narrow terrace is largely occupied by a stately walk, the lower and broad one forms an extensive square plat, of which a great marble fountain is the centre piece, and whose quarters are occupied with gay flower beds relieved by the groundwork of turf. From it a broad flight of steps dips into the waters... of the great lake of 200 acres on which still floats that fashionable adjunct to ducal lakes in Early Victorian days - a fully rigged model frigate. Along the side of the lake, and reached by another descent from the main terrace, runs a long, straight walk, whose geometric line is accentuated by further vases and urns, and by a row of Irish yews.' (24)

The house was pulled down in c1938; aerial photography shows the outline of the beds and walls quite clearly. (Fig 127) Clumber Park became the property of the National Trust in 1946. The stables, chapel and pleasure grounds along the lake remain, with one small portion of the house which had been the Duke's study. The most impressive approach is from Apley Head gate, along the double avenue of limes planted in 1840 which stretches for about three miles, leading to the site of the house and on towards a gate on the other side of the park.

Just south of Clumber in the Dukeries is Thoresby Hall, built in 1864-75 for Earl Mansfield by Salvin, probably his grandest house. This is a huge Elizabethan revival house surrounded by formal gardens with terraces and steps, a fountain and statuary, and two gazebos with strapwork resting (referred to in an earlier chapter). It is difficult to categorise these gardens as either Italian or Elizabethan, since they derive elements from both sources. In their grand formality, in keeping with the scale of the house, and their elaborate, geometric bedding out, perhaps it is, more useful simply to describe them as typically 'high Victorian'. (Fig 128-30) Set in vast

parkland, carved out of the ancient Sherwood Forest and overlooking the River Meden, there is again that necessary contrast between the picturesque and the formal, combined with the romantic association of a local mythological heroic figure, Robin Hood - symbol of the free born English, resisting oppression and injustice! (25)

Nesfield's name occurs in connection with Thoresby, but he apparently quarrelled with the owners over the garden design and lost his option. He was the most famous exponent of the high Victorian geometric garden and his practice was so extensive that according to one writer, most great gardens in the country showed the mark of his hand. (26) Anthony Salvin married Nesfield's sister in 1826 and from that date Nesfield frequently worked with him, designing or altering gardens to accompany the houses Salvin was building or restoring. Nesfield's gardens were intended to reflect either the period when a house had initially been built or the period which it was intended to revive. He frequently turned to old gardening books to study the actual plans of gardens of the period, or surviving gardens of the period in France and Italy could be used as models. Most of Nesfield's gardens were described as Italian during his lifetime; as explained earlier, it had been customary to regard English gardens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as imitations of the Italian style. The French and Dutch styles, fashionable in the late seventeenth century were seen as merely variants of the basic Italian form. Consequently the Victorians could use the term 'Italian' to include all three styles and they could draw their inspiration from all three simultaneously. Nesfield seems not to have been so much concerned with architectural gardening as Barry, but rather with planting schemes for parterres; he also concerned himself with the design of bowling greens and mazes, which were more closely associated with English Tudor and Stuart gardens. According to Elliott,

'As Nesfield's work progressed through the

1850s, more and more he could be seen trying to emulate the effects of the Elizabethan knot garden. ... Nesfield accordingly used crushed brick, Derbyshire spar, and a variety of gravels in his parterres, which became increasingly intricate, arabesques in box and bedding plants with ribbon borders crossing over each other to create interwoven effects. ...Nesfield was experimenting with the use of emblematic shapes in his parterres - laying out patterns in the shape of letters or monograms in addition to arabesques.' (27)

Little of his geometric work survived later changes in fashion, his flower beds round the Palm House at Kew were swept away by the turn of the century, although his avenues opening up the three long vistas remain dramatically effective. He reintroduced a formal area in the garden at Castle Howard, focussing on the huge fountain sculptures brought from the Great Exhibition of 1851. At Grimston, Lord Londesborough's seat near Tadcaster in Yorkshire, he designed the Italianate Emperor's walk, lined with the busts of Cæsars, of which Gertrude Jekyll thought highly.

Broughton Hall in Yorkshire, structurally an Elizabethan house was remodelled and extended in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries until by 1840 it had a large *parte-cochère* and an asymmetrically placed clock tower. About 1855, Nesfield designed the Italian garden and a pretty attached conservatory. (Fig 131) He designed

'a forecourt terrace providing a level podium supporting the whole composition, and relating it to a formal treatment of the ground that slopes rather steeply down to the house from the east and south. On the east slope he laid one of his tapis-verts, supported on the north by a ramping balustrade and terrace, at the head of which he placed an Italianate gazebo. The other two sides, cut out of the slope, have retaining walls and clipped hedges. ...This formality is linked against the house by steps to the forecourt. From the gazebo a woodland path leads to the lower end of Broughton Beck, canalised in 1848, where Nesfield set some statues.

Behind the house he pushed back the early Georgian turf bank to give space for a smaller parterre approached now by flights of steps

from the higher levels, and for the conservatory placed against the house on the axis of the front door.' (28)

A conservatory or winter garden frequently accompanied new garden schemes, particularly after the Crystal Palace had made them so fashionable. These glass structures, often with curvilinear domes, were able to add a light-hearted touch to relieve the heavy effect sometimes produced by Italianate schemes (or to lighten the equally heavy effect sometimes produced by Victorian gothic domestic architecture.) Although the Italianate formal garden was sometimes used to accompany Tudor or Jacobean architecture, or revivals of it, the general characteristics remained the same. By the middle of the century writers like Kemp and M'Intosh were referring to the formal style of gardening as the "Italian". According to Kemp,

'There are three principal kinds of style recognised in landscape gardening; the old formal or geometrical style; the mixed middle or irregular style which Mr Loudon called the gardenesque; and the picturesque. ...geometrical style... subordinates everything to the house, and is a carrying out of the principles common to both itself and architecture...Flights of steps, balustraded walls, terrace banks, symmetry and correspondence of parts, circles, ovals, oblong and angular beds, exotic forms of vegetation, raised platforms, and sunken panels, are some of the materials with which it deals. ...the practice of the geometrical style has often received the title of 'Italian gardening'...there may be cases in which, ...a house in the Elizabethan or any kind of Gothic style may be fitly accompanied with a purely regular garden, possessing all the features of the formal school.' (29)

M'Intosh uses three similar categories, but he breaks them down in a slightly different manner,

'Laying out flower-gardens, considered as a work of art, may be divided into three general heads or styles - namely the geometric style, the picturesque style, and the gardenesque style. These again are sub-divided - the first into the Consile, the architectural, the sculpturesque the Italian, the French, and the Dutch etc; the second into the

refined picturesque, the rough picturesque and some others; the last into the pictorial gardenesque and geometric gardenesque styles. A mixed style, or employing more than one of the above, is admissable in the same garden, but not in the same pièce.' (30)

He follows this with a brief description of each of the sub-divisions in which the Italian sounds the same as the architectural, but with the addition of sculpture. He says that the French style, 'if it merits such an appellation, is a sub-variety of the Italian' and generally inferior; the Dutch style is characterised by straight canals, grass terraces, turf mounts etc. For many garden designers, there may have been a theoretical separation of Italian, French, Dutch and other formal styles, but in practice they were frequently combined or confused.

A few years later a further simplification seems to have taken place. In Garden Architecture and Landscape Gardening (1866) John Arthur Hughes wrote,

'Landscape gardening is usually classed under two distinct heads - the ancient or geometric and the modern or natural. To the former belong the Italian, Dutch and French styles; to the latter, the rural, gardenesque and picturesque.' (31)

The architect Robert Kerr was saying the same thing in a slightly different way in 1864,

'The two rival styles of landscape-gardening are by name the Italian, which is the classical or Architecturesque, and the English, or Natural which is the Picturesque. (32)

Kerr dealt in detail with the architectural or Italian garden, listing the usual features but interestingly he included conservatories among them. In a chapter on architectural style, he said that the 'great primary division of all architectural art (and all art whatever) [is] into the Classical and the Picturesque' (33) He used a number of illustrations to support this point of view. (Figs 97)

'The Classic character... is that of stately, symmetrical, refined balance and repose... the Picturesque character is that of unsymmetrical, vigorous, sparkling piquancy... the Classic is of horizontal character of form... the Picturesque of Vertical character... Of purely Classic type then we have in our series the Palladian, the Palatial-Italian and the French examples; of purely Picturesque type, the Elizabethan, both ancient and modern, the Medieval, and the Scotch examples; whilst the Rural-Italian is obviously Classical rendered picturesque, the new Renaissance the same, and the Cottage style, within narrow limits, still the same.' (34)

What is interesting to notice from Kerr's illustrations is the detailing of the terrace - only his various Italian styles have any balustrading; his Elizabethan Revival, French-Italian, Medieval or Gothic and Cottage styles all have low kerbs; the Renaissance style has a raised kerb topped with elaborate urns, while the Scotch or Baronyal has an extraordinary battlemented kerb. (Figs 97)

Since terracing is one of the most distinctive features of formal gardens, whether they be Italian, Architectural or whatever, most writers devote considerable space to a discussion of their design; arrangements of steps, choice of suitable balustrading and pavilions, appropriate urns, vases, fountains and layout of flower beds or parterres take on tremendous importance. Hughes is fairly typical of his period. He illustrates different ways of treating a hill-side, starting with what he calls 'natural treatment' where no terraces have been cut into the slope; 'hill-side terraced', where part of the slope has been flattened to create a formal terrace-garden, surrounded on two sides by a low ornamental wall with a grassy slope on the third side; 'architectural terraced garden' where the low wall has been replaced by a balustrade with an Italianate pavilion in the corner, the remaining grassy slope has been cut into chunky stone terracing with ornate vases filled with flowering plants, a stone kerb edges the straight paths and the central circular flower bed. (Figs 134 to 137) He also includes a number of illustrations to demonstrate pitfalls to be avoided when making steps for terraces, as well as examples to act as models for copying, including one based on Sir Charles Barry's treatment for

the terrace at Bridgewater House. (Fig 138) Urns and vases, their shapes and proportions, are discussed at great length, as are fountains.

Although Italianate houses, or older houses which had been 'Italianised' in the nineteenth century were invariably accompanied by some sort of Italianizing in the garden, many other types of house were also accompanied by formal or architectural grounds which included Italianate features.

The popularity of the picturesque placing of the tower, is exemplified by the numerous examples which can be cited in the area chosen for this study. Apart from those places already mentioned in this chapter, Flintham Hall, Nottinghamshire was given an Italian remodelling 1853-7 by the Nottingham architect T.C. Hine which included a tower, turret and an attached conservatory, whose south elevation derives directly from the Crystal Palace. The south front of the house, with its balustraded terrace and steps, its rather heavy balustrading on the roof line, topped with urns looking like overweight finials and the curious juxtaposition of a tower and porte-cochère at its western end with the huge conservatory with its semi-circular glass roof at the eastern end, is unmistakably Victorian. (Fig 140-D) (35).

Hine also worked at Ogston Hall in Derbyshire, which he 'Victorianised' 1851-64, including the inevitable tower. (36) The garden parterres were laid out by Nesfield c1865 with a conservatory which adjoined the house. This was an architectural stone conservatory (46 feet long, 22 feet wide, 24 feet high) with a lovely curvilinear glass roof situated on a terrace overlooking the flower garden. (Fig 139) By 1874, the flower gardens were laid out on grass, with beds converging towards the fountain in the centre, separated from each other by pathways of Derbyshire spar. This flower garden overlooked the croquet lawn, from which the ground sloped down to the lake and a picturesque wooded valley beyond. Belts of shrubs formed the setting of these terrace gardens and in front of the shrubs in summer, flowers and coloured-leaved plants were ribboned and 'vandyked'. (31)

Osmaston Manor, near Derby, was demolished in 1966 and all that remains now of the large, stone, neo-Tudor mansion, is the tower. The house was built c1846-9 by H.E. Stevens, a Derby architect, for Francis Wright, principal owner of the Butterley Iron Works. The south side of the house overlooked extensive Italianate gardens dropping away in successive stone-balustraded terraces to the ornamental lake in the valley parkland below. The south west end of the house led to the conservatory or palm house which formed the western wing to the building and looked onto the top terrace garden with its fountain and colourful parterre. (Figs 142-4)

Stevens also worked at Locko, near Spondon, in what Pevsner describes as a 'restrained Italianate' style. Locko Park had been the seat of the Drury-Lowe family since 1745. It owes its character to William Drury-Lowe, who had the house from 1849 until his death in 1877. He had a passion for Italy and over a number of years formed an extensive collection of Italian paintings. (38) Within twelve months of his succession he began to consider alterations to the house, but financial difficulties meant that major work had to be delayed until c1853. The characteristic tower, essential for any fashionable Italianate house was completed by 1856. He had to wait until 1861 before work could begin on the new entrance and dining room. According to Cornforth, the

'dining room... turned out to be a room of real splendour with a convincing palazzo air that must have thrilled the collector as much as it does guests today. ... it has scarcely changed in the last 100 years and it gives a marvellous sense of what the Italian Renaissance meant to an early Victorian.' (39)

There is a rather clumsy balustrade topped with marble vases along the south front of the house; a few yards further south, a stone kerb marks the edge of the terrace or ha-ha, and central steps flanked by white marble Dunscombe dogs, descend to the level of the park. (Fig 1457) At either end of the south terrace are stone plinths, surmounted by statuary, a wolf and dog fighting on the east end and a wolf protecting a cub on the west. The western end of the garden is encased by a low stone wall at right angles to the south terrace

and parallel with the western facade of the house. Straddling the western wall and in alignment with the south-west corner of the balustrade is an Italianate garden-house or pavilion. This is built like a small tower with two storeys, the upper housing a clock which faces east. (Fig 44) Above the entrance is the date '1890' carved in the stone, and beneath the cornice a narrow frieze runs round all four sides carved with the phrases 'Lord in this house', 'Be thou our guide', 'So by thy power' and 'No foot shall slide'. Although it seems likely that Drury-Lowe would have had some formal gardens laid out round the house to accompany his Italianate alterations, quite obviously there have also been later additions and alterations to the gardens. To the north-east of the house, the ground is laid out in terraced gardens enclosed by walls and containing a large collection of urns, vases and statuary. (Figs 149-50) Letters written in the 1890s from a French firm, survive, which indicate that garden statuary was being bought in some quantity at this period. (40)

At Ringwood Hall near Chesterfield the gardens on the south facing slope were terraced on three levels with an elaborate conservatory on the uppermost terrace. This was 210 feet long, with a central octagonal dome, over a fountain and with wings terminating in a smaller dome at each end. (Fig 51) A description of the garden in 1857 says,

'The space in front of this handsome winter garden is laid out in the Italian style of flower gardening. In the centre is an oval basin of clear water, surrounded with a dense, broad mass of the pretty Saponaria Calabrica; the rest of the space in angular and circular beds edged with stone, and filled with the usual bedding-out plants.' (41)

The conservatory went long ago, but at its western end was an Italianate summer house or pavilion which still stands. The stone terracing and steps, balustrading and some of the urns remain. (Figs 152-3)

The Elizabethan gazebo or tower at Hassop Hall has already been mentioned. This structure abutts a long high wall which runs the

length of the entrance drive up to the house. On the south side of this wall is the so-called 'Italian Garden'. Little now remains to suggest what it might have been like in its heyday. A circular basin contains a bronze copy of Verrochio's Winged Putto with a Dolphin (Fig⁹⁴) perhaps sufficient to warrant the Italian label for this part of the garden. There is also a stone copy of Canova's Hebe (the original is at Chatsworth) in this area, but this came from Banner Cross Hall with the Stephensons when they bought Hassop Hall in 1919. Although there is extensive terracing on the hillside to the north of Hassop Hall, this has been dictated by the nature of the site rather than any desire for the Italianate, and predates the nineteenth century. Similarly, there is a terraced garden at Tissington Hall near Ashbourne, again determined by the steeply sloping ground to the west of the house.

Wortley Hall, just a few miles north of Sheffield, had an extensive formal garden, including terracing in front of the house which can still be seen. The house is eighteenth century, with an imposing, symmetrical, Grecian south front. The east front displays early Victorian alterations, including the addition towards the left end of an asymmetrically placed turret with a cupola. (Fig¹⁵⁴) A long narrow stone terrace connects the house with the pleasure grounds on three sides. The ground slopes down towards the east, so that the garden terracing is at right angles to the south front of the house and parallel with the east front; the only part of the terracing which is balustraded is that adjacent to the east front of the house. This balustrading is topped with elaborate vases which are also placed at regular intervals along the low stone wall which surrounds the terrace round the house. (Fig¹⁵⁵⁻⁶) These would have been filled with bright-coloured plants, probably pelargoniums in the summer, and they would have done a lot to relieve the rather dour effect of so much stone. A large flat area has been cut out of the hillside to create a flower garden south of the house; to the west of this the parallel rows of terraces are turfed on the slopes whilst the more architectural treatment of the terraces is on the east. (Fig¹⁵⁷⁻⁸) The flower garden was reached by different flights of steps which led onto the straight gravel paths which all met at the central fountain. In 1877 this was described as a parterre garden,

the flower beds edged with low clipped yews and Portugal laurels, embellished in summer with 20,000 plants. (42) To the east of the parterre was a conservatory with a curvilinear roof which stood along the edge of the terrace overlooking another fountain garden below. A flight of steps led out of the conservatory, down into the eastern flower garden, which by 1877 was generally filled with succulents in the summer - it was bounded by dry rockwork and evergreens. This lower fountain has now been replaced by a central flower garden (Fig 158) and the conservatory has gone long ago - even in 1877 it was being described as 'an old conservatory'. By that date it would have been over 20 years old - letters, tenders and accounts from Richard Turner of the Hammersmith Iron Works, Dublin referring to the conservatory are dated 1853. (43) The entrances to the boilers underneath the glasshouse can still be seen quite clearly, as can the flights of steps and the stone edge of its eastern perimeter. It stood in a commanding position, clearly visible, towering above the eastern flower garden and simultaneously in full view from the house, facing onto the south parterre garden. The lavish use of stone steps, vases and straight gravel walks, the symmetrically laid out terrace flower gardens with their parterres and central fountains and the stone balustrading on the eastern terrace, combined with an ornate heated curvilinear conservatory in a prominent position indicate that this was a fashionable high Victorian garden. It was no doubt described as Italianate, in keeping with the eastern front of the house; it certainly fits into the category of the architectural or geometric garden and illustrates that within these categories some degree of latitude existed in their interpretation.

Another local example of an Italianate house and garden is to be found in Sheffield at Endcliffe Hall. The house was built c1860-3 for Sir John Brown a wealthy steel manufacturer in a grandiose, ornate, Renaissance style, including a large tower topped by a mansard roof. (Fig 159-60) The sloping nature of the ground readily lent itself to a formal arrangement of a series of terraced gardens. The elaborate bedding-out in ribbon and chain borders, the small beds of box and spar backed by specimen conifers, the vast range of decorative glasshouses all set within terraces, broad gravel walks

and flights of steps, decorated with a profusion of vases and statuary, much of it life-sized, must have created an overwhelming effect of opulence and splendour. This was what was desired and would have been seen by the Victorians as an ideal combination of an Italian house and garden reflecting the wealth and luxury of a local steel magnate.

Tastes began to change towards the end of the nineteenth century, however and although Italian influences were still strong, their interpretation was being modified. The dazzle and glitter and display of wealth, which had been so openly flaunted was being seen as vulgar and ostentatious by design reformers. Robinson detested the elaborate bedding out; Blomfield sought the simpler architectural formalities of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth century English gardens. Members of the Arts and Crafts movement wanted to restore what they saw as the 'old fashioned garden'. The formal garden was not totally rejected, but what was wanted was better formal gardens. Two notable examples of Italianate gardens which reflect this search for simpler architectural formalities are to be found within the area chosen for this study. They are at Renishaw Hall near Chesterfield, remodelled c1890 by Sir George Sitwell, and at Thornbridge Hall near Ashford-in-the-water, reconstructed c 1893-1912. Both of these gardens rely on terraces and other features of the Italianate, but their interpretation relies on a truer understanding of Italian Renaissance gardens. The main difference lies in the fact that the effect which they were trying to achieve had radically changed.

1. STRONG. R. The Renaissance Garden in England (1979) p12.
2. HOBHOUSE. H. Thomas Cubitt Master Builder (1971) p391.
3. quoted by CARTER. T. in The Victorian Garden (1984) p127.
4. 'An Italian Garden in England'. Country Life (1953) 24 Sep. p948.
5. *ibid.*, p949. see this article for numerous excellent photographs of the Italianate Gardens.
6. Nesfield is usually attributed with the design of the parterres at Shrubland. Elliott questions the truth of this attribution because Nesfield's name occurs in none of the contemporary descriptions, where the planting works are attributed to the successive head gardeners. See 'Master of the Geometric Art' The Garden (Dec 1981) pp488-491. For further descriptions of the elaborate bedding out see The Cottage Gardener (1853) Vol 10, Sep 29. p496: The Cottage Gardener (1854) Vol 11, Oct 6: (1856) Vol 16, Sep 23, 30: (1857) Vol 19, Oct 13,20, Nov 10,17; The Gardeners' Chronicle (1867) Nov 2,16. For a more general description of gardens see The Garden (1872) Vol 1, Mar 9.
7. quoted by SALES. J. in 'High Victorian Horticulture: the Garden at Waddesdon.' National Trust Studies (1979) p81. At Halton they produced 40,418 with a garden staff of 60.
8. The Victorian Country House (1979) p48.
9. The Trentham Papers are deposited at the Staffordshire County Record Office. For a brief but detailed account of the earlier house and landscaping at Trentham see CORNFORTH. J. 'Trentham, Staffordshire. Formerly a seat of the Dukes of Sutherland,' Country Life (1968) Jan 25, Feb 1, 8.
10. quoted by CORNFORTH. *ibid.*, p230.
11. These were probably the Portugal laurels trained with clean stems and round heads 'to imitate the orange trees of the Continent - as at Chatsworth' described by Loudon after a visit in May 1840, published in Gardener's Magazine (1840) Nov. p580. He also described the alterations to the house as having a 'magical effect'.
12. CORNFORTH. *op cit.*, p285.
13. *ibid.*, p230.
14. Oct 27, Nov 3, 10,17,24.
15. The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette (1872) Apr 13. p505. As early as the 1850s Fleming had been forced to redirect

the river because the silt deposits were threatening to spoil the lake.

16. Op cit., p285.

17. Girouard refers to the Duchess of Sutherland scornfully dismissing Edward Blore as 'the cheap architect'.

18. A detailed description of the planting of the parterre is given by G.S. THOMAS in Gardens of the National Trust (1979 Norwich) p121. He points out although Barry may have designed the great parterre The Gardeners' Chronicle (1857) Vol 2, states that it was laid out by the head gardener John Fleming between 1851-3. He refers to The Journal of Horticulture (1862) Vol 28, for details of planting of parterre. Fleming apparently started the fashion of putting spring flowering plants and bulbs into the beds in autumn instead of evergreen. His book Spring and Winter Flower Gardening (1870) explains his methods, which he used at Cliveden. Cliveden was bought by the Duke of Westminster in 1870 and then by William Waldorf Astor in 1893 - the clock tower, terrace pavilion and forecourt walls, Borghese balustrade on south front, marble well-heads under terrace, Borghese statue at far end of parterre and addition of urns, vases, statuary all post date 1870.

19. TIPPING. op cit., p108.

20. MAUCHLINE. M. Harewood House (1974) p128.

21. Apr 25. p274. Although this parterre is generally attributed to Nesfield, there is some ambiguity because a watercolour plan for the parterre exists among Barry's papers at the RIBA.

22. The original house was built 1770 and the lake was created in 1774 by damming the River Poulter in two places. Brown and Repton were involved in landscaping and Richard Payne Knight completed the layout in 1794. The architect of the house was Stephen Wright, who also designed two temples by the lake and the bridge. William Sawrey Gilpin extended the formal gardens in front of the house downstream, creating a further formal walk known as Lincoln Terrace complete with vases, flowerbeds and landing stage. See THOMAS. op cit., p124.

23. TIPPING. Country Life (1908) Sep 19. p388.

24. *ibid.*,

25. A description of the grounds and planting soon after the building was completed is given in Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (1876) Jun 8.

26. quoted by ELLIOTT. 'Master of the Geometric Art' The Garden (Dec 1981) pp488-491.

27. *ibid.*, p490.

28. HUSSEY. C. 'Broughton Hall, Yorkshire' Country Life (1950) Mar 31.
29. KEMP. E. How to Lay out a Garden (1850) pp98-9.
30. M'INTOSH. The Book of the Garden (1853) Vol 1. p573.
31. p38.
32. The Gentleman's House (reprint 1972. 1st edition 1864) p322.
33. *ibid.*, p344.
34. *ibid.*, p344
35. The conservatory was originally lit by gas. Behind parian figures on brackets are sprays of lilies with petals of white glass that contained the gas jets. These Dorothea lilies were one of the exhibits at the 1851 Exhibition.
36. This was a gothic tower. The addition of battlements and garden balustrade was made 1900-13 by G.M.R. Turbutt, owner.
37. The Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (1874) Mar 5 p205.
38. See the articles by CORNFORTH. J. Country Life (1969) Jun 5, 12, 19, for details of house and paintings.
39. *ibid.*, p1507.
40. Two letters *are* from Val d'Osne, Paris, dated Oct 1894 and Mar 1895 to Mr Drury Lowe and refer to the delivery of statuary.
41. The Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman's Companion. Sep 8, p360.
42. Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener (1877) Feb 22, p142.
43. Sheffield Archives. Wh/M 147.

8. THE ECLECTIC GARDEN

In as much as eclecticism means borrowing freely from various sources, there is nothing peculiarly Victorian in the idea of eclecticism in the garden. A variety of styles had been used for garden buildings throughout the eighteenth century and with the revival of formalism in the nineteenth-century garden this practice continued. The eighteenth-century tendency *had* been to turn all the garden into a park; the nineteenth-century tendency had the reverse effect and the flower garden became increasingly important. Various styles became popular for garden designs (including garden buildings) usually promoted by some sort of romanticism, whether to do with historicism, a re-interpretation of the rustic or the sublime, or a fascination with orientalism in the form of Indian, Chinese, or late nineteenth-century Japonaiserie. The last was not attempt to imitate physically Japanese gardens, but rather was an excuse to combine lavish planting of rare and colourful plants with 'Japanese' stone lanterns and stepping stones. The so-called Japanese garden at Newstead Abbey is typical in this respect.

An important aspect of nineteenth-century gardening concerned the introduction of such a wide range of new varieties of plants, that the gardener became something of a botanical collector. This led to the development of specialised gardens as ornamental features; so, for example, the old wilderness was separated into the shrubbery *and* the fernery; the old rockwork eventually became the alpine garden and there was a development of the old private botanic garden into pineta, saliceta, rose gardens and other compartments dedicated to a single genus. (1) The pleasure grounds containing areas of specialised planting and compartmentalized gardens took up increasingly more space.

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a variety of styles and associations to the interest of the plantsman.

'As objects of fancy and taste the styles of flower gardens are various. The modern style is a collection of irregular groups and masses placed about the house as a medium, uniting it with open lawn. The ancient geometric style, in place of irregular groups, employed symmetrical forms: in France adding statues and fountains; in Holland cut trees and grassy slopes; and in Italy, stone walls, walled terraces and flights of steps. ... There are other characters of gardens, such as the Chinese, which are not widely different from the modern; the Indian which consists chiefly of walks under shade in squares of grass; the Turkish, which abounds in shady retreats, boudoirs of roses and aromatic herbs; and the Spanish which is distinguished by trellis-work and fountains; but these gardens are not generally adapted to this climate, though from contemplating and selecting what is beautiful or suitable in each, a style of decoration for the immediate vicinity of mansions, might be composed preferable to anything now in use.'

(3)

This suggests that selection and adaptation of other styles was preferable to a slavish copying. Hence Loudon's support of Cheshunt Cottage (referred to earlier) not only for its selective planting, but also, perhaps, for its evocative eclecticism which allowed classical urns, pillars, rustic seats, bridges and alcoves, a white marble statue of the Indian god, Gaudama, a grotto, a hermit's seat and a Chinese temple to be accommodated within the grounds. (Figs 5-6)

There are two outstanding gardens in the area chosen for this study which demonstrate the eclectic impulse - the first, Alton Towers, displays a collection of garden buildings and the second, Biddulph Grange displays a collection of gardens. In as much as both are concerned with 'artifice', then some sort of formalism is implicit, though not the rigid symmetry that is usually associated with formality. Both gardens contain some terracing and areas that are more typically formal in their layout.

At Alton Towers, just over the Derbyshire border in Staffordshire,

east of Cheadle, the gardens are strictly speaking pre-Victorian and many of the garden buildings seem to reflect an eighteenth-century philosophy. On the other hand, the proximity of such a multitude of differing styles and their relationship to each other, combined with colourful, formal bedding displays, produced results which looked forward to Victorian ideas. As late as 1867, Alton Towers was described as first in the list of famous English gardens. (4)

Although Biddulph Grange in North Staffordshire, west of Leek was laid out during the Victorian period, in its use of specialised planting in compartmentalized areas, it too looked ahead to later periods. The careful arrangement of separate, enclosed gardens, including the Italian, the Egyptian and the Chinese, is rather like a mini-tour of the world.

What is extraordinary about both of these gardens is that they were new creations in areas of land that originally appeared rather barren and unpromising and both are highly individualistic products.

The gardens at Alton Towers were created by Charles Talbot, Fifteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, out of the rocky, uncultivated upland moors of Staffordshire. He began work in about 1812 and for fifteen years, until his death in 1827, some hundreds of men were employed in transforming both sides of the Churnet Valley into a fantastic pleasure ground containing, in addition to lavish planting of exotic trees, shrubs and plants, an endless variety of walks, arbours, temples, topiary, ranges of statues, vases and rustic seats arranged on a succession of terraces. (5) The cultural eclecticism, typical of the period is well represented in the range of garden buildings which include most of the current tastes - Grecian, Roman, Gothic, Indian, Chinese, Swiss and even an 'improved' Stonehenge to represent the 'Druidical' taste. (Figs/61-171) Loudon gave a full description of the gardens in his Encyclopaedia of Gardening (6i) He commented on the Earl

'abounding in wealth, always fond of architecture and gardening, but with much more fancy than sound judgement ... Though he

number, he seems only to have done so for the purpose of avoiding whatever an artist might recommend. After passing in review before him a great number of ideas, that which he adopted was always different from everything that had been proposed to him.'

The great Loudon sounded a little piqued that his advice was ignored. He continued in the same critical vein,

'The result ... at the time of the late earl's death in 1827... was one of the most singular anomalies to be met with among the country residences of Britain... An immense pile of building in the way of house, with a magnificent conservatory and chapel, but with scarcely a habitable room; a lofty prospect tower, not built on the highest part of the ground; bridges without water underneath; ponds and lakes on the tops of the hills; a quadrangular pile of stabling in the midst of the pleasure ground; and, what may be said to have eclipsed and still to eclipse everything else a valley, naturally in a high degree romantic with wood, water and rocks, filled with works of the highest degree of art in architecture and gardening.'

There is almost a hint of mockery in the perversity of some of the Earl's ideas. As Loudon continued his tour round the grounds he became less critical,

'In approaching from Cheadle we arrive in front of the castellated stables and see the abbey across the pond above the level of the bridge. Proceeding a little farther towards the dry bridge, Stonehenge appears in the foreground, and the tops of the seven gilt, glass domes of the main range of conservatories below. Raising the eyes, the lofty Gothic temple appears on the left of the picture; and on the right, across the valley the harper's cottage. In the centre of the picture, over the domes in the foreground, the valley loses itself in a winding bank of wood in a style of great grandeur and seclusion. None of the details of the valley here obtrude themselves; and the effect, after passing through a wild country, exhibiting no marks of refinement is singularly impressive. It fills the mind with astonishment and delight, to find so much of the magnificence of art, and the appearance of refined enjoyment amidst so much of the

wildness and solitary grandeur of nature.'

However, he continued to be perplexed by what must surely have been designed as jokes; it has been said of Loudon, that in spite of all his talents, he lacked a sense of humour.

'a stranger is puzzled and confounded by finding a stream and a small waterfall supplying a lake on what he conceives to be the highest point of high ground. ...It is evident that the contents of the valley defy all criticism; and that, perhaps, is paying the late author of these extravagant fancies a compliment after his own heart. If his object were originality, and that of a kind which should puzzle and confound, he has certainly succeeded; and having attained the end which he proposed, as far as respects himself, he is to be considered eminently successful. How far it may be commendable for a man of wealth to gratify a peculiar taste, rather than one which is generally approved by the intelligence of the country in which he lives, is not, in these days, perhaps a question of much consequence.

This is the crux of the matter - the fact that the accepted rules, or canons of good taste, were not being observed. Loudon turned his attention to the Earl's nephew and successor, who continued to employ the vast numbers of labourers, mechanics and artisans to work on the grounds, but, on the whole

'in a taste that will be more generally approved. In the gardens he has obliterated a number of the walks, stairs, shell-works, and other petty contrivances; which, however, we almost regret, because no trifling alteration can ever improve what is so far out of the reach of reason.'

One of the reasons for the attraction of the gardens at Alton Towers today, is the very fact that they are 'so far out of the reach of reason'. The theatrical element, the strong feeling that their creator had so much fun indulging in his fantasy, adds powerfully to our enjoyment of the pervading atmosphere of frivolity.

Pevsner suggests that the Earl's attitude to gardens and landscape

was a conservative one, eloquently demonstrated by his Chinese pagoda fountain (Fig¹⁶²⁻³), a copy of the To-ho pagoda in Canton as illustrated by Chambers. (6) It is true that Chinoiserie was an eighteenth-century fashion, but the fascination with China was not dead by this period, any more than was the interest in India, Greece or Rome. Certainly the Regency period indulged in Chinoiserie - witness the Brighton Pavilion and Rockingham Pottery. The Victorians did not seem to tire of the 'Willow pattern' motif, and 'China' at Biddulph was not created until the 1850s. The memorial to the Fifteenth Earl in the form of a white marble replica of the Choragic monument to Lysicrates could be said to reflect an eighteenth-century taste; the Choragic monument was certainly popular as an eighteenth-century garden ornament and had been used nearby at Shugborough as early as the 1760s. There are a number of other features in the landscape, the seven-arched bridge at the end of the lake, described by Loudon as the dry bridge, for example, which could be said to demonstrate techniques reminiscent of earlier decades. (Fig¹⁶⁴)

Similarly there are features which might be described as precursors of later fashions. The Harper's cottage, for example, embodies eighteenth-century ideas of rustic solitude and the hermit's life. In appearance, however with its steep gables and decorative barge boarding it looks more like a typical nineteenth-century picturesque estate cottage. Does its size (Loudon thought it absurdly large, 'as large as a farmhouse') also indicate a nineteenth-century sense of social responsibility for the accommodation of the inhabitant? (Appendix E p xviii)

Typical of the period is the prospect tower, by Abraham, described by Loudon as a Gothic Temple. This is of three storeys, diminishing in size with decorative gothic detailing, including a glazed ogee cap, and much use of cast iron. (Fig¹⁶⁶) Typical also of Regency elegance is the elaborate conservatory, suggestive of the 'Arabian Nights', with its range of seven glass-domed pavilions, richly ornamented and gilded with Hindu, Etruscan and other motifs. (Fig¹⁶⁵)

A very early example of the Italianate is to be found at the Pink Lodge, which was used to receive coach visitors before they set off up the steep incline into the gardens (Fig 168), This probably dates from the mid 1820s (influenced by Chatsworth?) and is aggressively asymmetrical in the picturesque manner.

'Not only is the left hand tower much higher than the right with its coarsely detailed viewing platform or belvedere, but the finest-
ration of the two towers is wilfully discordant - the one gaping, the other pinched. What pulls the composition together is the spreading projection of the eaves of both towers and the pink paint on the rough brickwork.' (7)

There are Italianate features in the gardens, including a stone loggia of nine arched bays, surmounted by a chunky balustrade; much of the terracing is laid out formally with straight gravel paths, urns and statuary.

This collection of eclectic buildings, some of which are sited in areas laid out formally, others in well-wooded areas with zig-zag paths, combined with specimen planting, topiary and floral-bedding schemes to create an adventurous amalgam of the picturesque and gardenesque. In spite of residual elements of eighteenth-century landscaping attitudes, the determination to include absolutely 'everything' at Alton Towers, in a display of exuberant showmanship totally disregarding established rules of restraint, seems to indicate an early sign of that love of ostentatious display which is said to epitomise High Victorian Taste.

The Fifteenth Earl had already employed various architects to enlarge the house. (8) His successor commissioned Pugin to carry out further alterations and extensions, the most important being the remodelling or completion of the chapel and the creation of the Great Hall mentioned earlier. The hall had its own roof which projected prominently above the skyline of the house, a visual symbol of Pugin's brand of Christian paternalism. Pugin also added a great gothic conservatory adjoining the house. (Fig 169-70) Next to this was what Ross Williamson refers to as, 'the little recherche

flower garden meant for the 'châtelaine', (9) usually referred to as Lady Shrewsbury's private flower garden. The association of the 'Lady's Garden', the 'hortus conclusus', laid out here within the proximity of the gothic castle-like building, rather than elsewhere in the extensive grounds, demonstrates how important it was for this symbolic attribute of medieval chivalry to be reflected in domestic building. The building with its walls, towers, and turrets, battlements and pinnacles, was on a scale beyond that of any of the castellated fantasies of other noblemen. (10) The house is now dismantled and largely gutted, the roof of the Great Hall gone, but what remains provides an extraordinary picturesque gothic spectacle. (Fig 171) When the Sixteenth Earl died in 1852

'that was the end of a building activity on the scale of Ludwig II of Bavaria. But whereas Ludwig glorified royalty, the sixteenth earl's intention was to give form to dreams of Catholic Romanticism.' (11)

The grounds had always been accessible to the public and continued to be a popular resort throughout the nineteenth century. Illustrations in the 1870s still feature the garden buildings as focal points but often romantically softened by lush vegetation. The formal use of architecture, loggias and gravel paths with fountains, steps with urns and statuary, often set against a backcloth of dark conifers contrived to create an illusion of some far away southern clime. (Fig 167) The rugged Picturesque, provided by the woodland walks with their dramatic stony outcrops, and the profuse displays of ornamental bedding and exotic greenhouse plants merely added to the already irresistible appeal for the Victorians, of the eclectic fantasy created on the terraced valley gardens.

The gardens at Biddulph Grange are equally eclectic, but their layout and arrangement produced very different results from those at Alton Towers. At Biddulph there is a sequence of gardens, not only set apart spatially, but also quite different in mood and character. They were laid out from 1842 over a period of about 20 years by James Bateman (1811-97) and his wife Maria, with help from their friend the marine painter, Edward Cooke (1811-80) (12) Bateman was an accomplished plantsman - he played a leading role in the affairs

of the Royal Horticultural Society, and while still a student at Oxford, had financed expeditions to collect orchids; between 1837 and 1841 he published The Orchidaceae of Mexico and Guatemala. (13) In 1838 he married Maria Warburton, sister of the Australian explorer and he claimed that it was her knowledge and enthusiasm which encouraged him to take an active interest in hardy plants.

He acquired at Biddulph Grange in 1842, described then as little more than a farmhouse lying on swampy and hilly ground near to Knypersley on the bleak Biddulph moorland. The climate of North Staffordshire tends to be wet and cold and the ground was exposed to easterly winds.

Consequently it was necessary to create protected areas and a variety of environments in order to be able to grow as wide a variety of plants as possible. This was achieved by skillful planting of trees, shrubs and hedges, by using huge mounds of earth to create artificial hills and valleys and by the use of massive rockwork which was designed by Cooke. Cooke worked with Bateman to create a picturesque framework of architectural features, including rockwork, in which to create a wide range of conditions to suit the requirements of different plants, and to make possible the cultivation of species not normally grown in North Staffordshire. After nearly 150 years little of the original planting remains, (14) but the gardens still amaze and surprise partly because of the ingenious methods used to conceal and isolate one area from another and partly because of the wonderful theatrical effects achieved by use of topiary, statuary, terracing and garden buildings to create 'China', 'Egypt', and "Italy" - thus the gardens at Biddulph were conceived as an intricate series of scenes alluding to different styles and different cultures. (Fig 172-9)

Bateman built an Italianate house (15) with the south front facing onto the gardens which slope away to the south and west. The area immediately south of the house was laid out in terraces, parterres and a rose garden and beyond this the ground was laid out in a number of self-contained areas separated by dense plantings, by

hedges or rocky banks. Access from one area to another is sometimes through tunnels, covered ways or corridors, ~~cavern~~ - like passages or narrow entrances through shrubbery or more formal archways.

The area called 'China' was developed in the 1850s largely from designs by Cooke. It is a completely self-contained garden, surrounded by a section of the 'Great Wall' with a look-out tower. Huge rocky elevations, mounds of soil and trees isolate it from the rest of the estate and from the outside it is invisible. The entrance through a long dark tunnel is difficult to find - it leads onto the balcony of the Chinese pavilion. The view from here recalls the familiar 'Willow pattern'. The pavilion or temple originally had gilt dragons, bells and lanterns - it looked onto a small lake, surrounded by bold masses of rock, bamboo and exotic trees, spanned by the familiar bridge, overhung with a weeping tree. (Figs 76-7) Other Chinese features included a joss house, a dragon parterre, an idol of a bull and a giant ceramic frog. The bold rock-work here is a good example of Cooke's skill in creating a picturesque landscape and this enclosed area provided an ideal setting for oriental plants, including some recently introduced from China, and for plants calculated to produce an oriental effect.

The Egyptian Court at Biddulph which was laid out in 1856 seems to have been particularly influenced by the Egyptian Court in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The Crystal Palace had reopened at Sydenham in 1854 and displayed a series of courts designed to illustrate the art and antiquities of other nations and civilisations. These included the Egyptian, Chinese, Renaissance and Medieval, among others. These courts were intended to illustrate the various stages through which civilisations had developed. The Egyptian Court was possibly the most impressive of the Fine Arts Courts and influenced a number of important designers, including Christopher Dresser and Henry Holiday, as well as Cooke and Bateman at Biddulph. (16)

The Egyptian Court at Biddulph backed and flanked by towering clipped yews is formal in the extreme. (Fig 78-9) A monumental

stone entrance beneath a pyramid of yew is flanked by two stone sphinxes. Two large obelisks^{of yew} stand one on either side of the grassed court and the whole is enclosed and excluded from the rest of the grounds by huge walls of topiary. The stone entrance leads into a gloomy stone corridor, housing an Egyptian idol and emerges through the porch of a half-timbered Cheshire cottage into the pinetum, thus providing a pleasing contrast to the Egyptian formality.

The grounds contained a number of different styles of gardens, some eclectic, some original - apart from 'China', the Egyptian Court and the Italian garden, there was the Wellingtonia Avenue (planted alternately with deodars and Wellingtonia - no Wellingtonia remain), the glen (for aquatic plants), the pinetum and arboretum, the obelisk walk, the dahlia walk, Mrs Bateman's garden, the rose garden, the cherry orchard, the 'rainbow' garden (planted with massed rhododendrons and azaleas), the stumpery, the lime avenue, and intricate parterres on the terraced garden. All these different areas were skilfully combined to create an integrated whole. The following extract from an 1871 sale catalogue states that

'The prevailing idea in the arrangement of the Grounds... is that of a division into classes of Countries, each with its distinctive Plants and their appropriate soils'. (17)

Although many of these areas have not survived in their original form, the variety of what remains is still the most striking characteristic of Biddulph. (18)

'Many of the plants grown were exotics, with particularly strong collections of rhododendrons and azaleas, but Bateman also appreciated the virtues of humbler, native plants. Most, if not all the British ferns were grown at Biddulph, along with heathers, gorse, ivies, bilberries and other common plants; and many of these, along with hollies and other native trees, were collected in the surrounding countryside. At a time when carpet bedding was the rage, with low-growing, brightly-coloured plants bedded into set patterns, Bateman selected plants for their beauty of form, placed them to enhance their

settings and grouped them to achieve the sort of visual effects we associate with William Robinson and Gertrude Jekyll later in the century.' (19)

The scale and the variety to be found within Biddulph and Alton is what makes them unique. Eclecticism can be seen almost as a form of collecting and as such was an important feature of Victorian life. It can also be seen as an aspect of Loudon's gardenesque, partly through the use of evocative garden buildings and ornaments and partly through the development of specialised planting - the contents of the garden were as important as the overall design. Repton had already popularised the idea of linked specialised gardens (20) to incorporate the influx of rare plants and historical revivalism. Thus at Alton and Biddulph the two main characteristics of Victorian eclecticism in garden design are wonderfully demonstrated: the eclecticism to do with historicism, romanticism and other forms of association, which was reflected chiefly in ornaments and architectural attributes or styles of layout; the collecting of plants which became increasingly specialised and eventually led to the development of a collection of separate planting areas eg., the American garden, the aquatic garden, the pinetum, the alpine garden and so on.

Both gardens can also be seen as collections, each reflecting the ethos of their age. Alton Towers displays the sort of collection traditionally made by aristocratic travellers bringing back souvenirs of the antique or having replicas made as a reminder of travels and connoisseurship - this sort of collecting is concerned with status and display. Biddulph has much in common with that great symbol of its age, the Great Exhibition of 1851, which was a display of pride in industrial progress, colonialism and expanding imperialism; not only the conquest of the world was expressed, but also faith in progress, the conquest of nature and ideas to do with evolution or survival of the fittest, later expressed ⁱⁿ Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859). Biddulph echoes these ideas in a number of ways. The sequence of gardens was laid out rather like an exhibition to display the variety of plants brought from all over the globe, the architectural and sculptural features were used to

the culture of
symbolise the country of their origin, and the way in which the appropriate environments were created in order to grow plants in an unfamiliar climate, represented man's control of nature. So that although Biddulph differed from the Crystal Palace in much of the material exhibited, it shared many of the same concepts and in that sense was a potent symbol of the age.

Many of the gardens discussed in earlier chapters display eclectic tendencies, for example Chatsworth with its Italianate terracing, its French parterre, its pinetum etc, or Elvaston with its elaborate topiary, Moorish pavilion and lakeside grottoes. Eclecticism features prominently in smaller gardens also, where a wide variety of influences and sources was frequently combined (or confused) and used in conjunction with colourful bedding and the increasingly popular use of conifers to produce results which are indisputably Victorian. Ideas to do with imperialism and world trade, evolution and the conquest of nature, progress and self-confidence may not necessarily be the most obvious to immediately associate with garden design. (21) In as much as these ideas dominated thinking in the middle of the nineteenth century, one cannot fail to see eclecticism as a reflection of this, even if only at a sub conscious level. At a more conscious level, it might possibly be seen in the obviously formal displays of eclecticism.

1. GORER. R. The Flower Garden in England. (1975) Chapters 6,7,8.
2. GORER. R. 'The Gardenesque Garden 1830-1890', The Garden (1979).
3. Loudon is quoted by GORER. The Flower Garden in England. op cit., pp94-5. Gorer does not give a source.
4. according to CARTER. The Victorian Garden (1984) p133.
5. The Earl possibly began working on the garden buildings on his succession in 1787.
6i. (1832 edition.) pp 327-335 Given in full in Appendix E.
6. Staffordshire (1975) p58.
7. MOWL. T and EARNSHAW. B. Trumpet at a Distant Gate (1985) p147.
8. Including James Wyatt (died 1813), Robert Abraham, Thomas Allison, Thomas Fradgley, William Hollins, Thomas Hopper, J B Papworth. Abraham seems to have been responsible for a number of the garden buildings, including the Pagoda Fountain, the Gothic Prospect Tower, The Great Conservatory; Fradgley for the Harper's Cottage; Papworth possibly for the bridge at the end of the lake.
9. 'Staffordshire's Wonderland', Architectural Review (1940) p162.
10. But not beyond Beckford's fantasy at Fonthill Abbey (begun 1796) as Pevsner points out. op cit., p56.
11. PEVSNER. *ibid.*, p56.
12. see Garden History (1978) Vol 6, for article by BATEY. M> 'Edward Cooke, landscape gardener, F.R.S; F.L.S; F.Z.S; F.S.A etc: a Victorian par excellence.' pp18-24 : and HAYDEN. P. 'Edward Cooke at Biddulph Grange.' pp25-46. Hayden also includes a large section of the illustrated sale catalogue for Biddulph Grange (1871) which contains detailed descriptions of the gardens and illustrations including 'China' and the 'Italian Garden'.
13. See HADFIELD. M. A History of Gardening (1979) pp351-355 for discussion of Bateman's plant collecting.
14. KEMP'S articles in Gardeners' Chronicle (1857-62) make it clear that the wide variety in styles of the different parts of the garden was matched by an equally wide variety of plants. These articles give a detailed description of the gardens at Biddulph.
15. This was rebuilt in 1897 after a fire.
16. CONNER. P. ed The Inspiration of Egypt. (Brighton 1983) pp91-4. Cooke had exhibited at the 1851 Great Exhibition.
BATEY. op cit., p22 gives some extracts from his diary, including an

entry for 24 April, 1851,

'... Went to the Egyptian Hall to see the Diorama of the Wilderness and the Holy Land. Went to see building. Letter of invite from Mr Bateman... Assisted in arranging the Indian Collection.'

17. from sale catalogue reproduced by HAYDEN. 'Biddulph Grange.' The Garden. (May 1977) Vol 102. p38.

18. Biddulph Grange has been used as a hospital by the West Midlands Regional Health Authority. The gardens are to be taken over this year (1986) by the National Trust. They had been designated as a conservation area see Biddulph Grange Conservation Area (1977) published by Staffordshire County Planning Department.

19. HAYDEN. P. op cit., p196.

20. Repton's first extended scheme of linked specialised gardens was at Woburn in 1804. See plan in Humphry Repton Landscape Gardener 1752-1818 (1982) by CARTER, GOODE and LAURIE. p60.

21. These sort of connections have been made with architectural eclecticism - why not also with eclectic garden design.?

9. THE ARTS AND CRAFTS AND THE ARCHITECT'S GARDEN

"... the rooms on both sides of the house faced outward on to the garden. The two other sides of this half-quadrangle were masked by rose-trellises, inclosing a square inner court, in the middle of which rose the most striking feature of the building, a well-house of brickwork and oak timber, with a steep conical tiled roof. ... a projecting oriel in the western side overlooked the long bowling green, which ran, encircled with apple trees, close under the length of that wing.

... Red House garden

with its long grass walks, its midsummer lilies and autumn sunflowers, its wattled rose-trellises inclosing richly-flowered square garden plots was then as unique as the house it surrounded. The building had been planned with such care that hardly a tree in the orchard had to be cut down; apples fell in at the windows as they stood open on hot autumn nights." (1)

William Morris inspired the Arts and Crafts movement which brought together several strands of the late nineteenth-century formal garden. The garden laid out around Red House in the early 1860s reflects not only a rejection of current fashionable taste in Victorian gardening, but also the social life and ideals of its inhabitants. (2) Morris's love of the Middle Ages and of medieval literature made the enclosed garden a place of special significance to him and, as the meeting place for lovers, it frequently was used as a setting in his poems. Fletcher explains how he ultimately rejected the enclosed garden because it was too isolated and remote from the real world and for the same reason he also rejected the wilderness. (3) Morris delighted in the fertility of nature, but nature ordered by man and made useful. In his designs for wallpapers and tapestries, Morris took exuberant, natural growth and stylised it into orderly, geometric patterns. In the same way, his well-ordered garden, over-flowing with fruit and flowers, reflects not only his love of nature, but his image of man as cultivator of the soil and of the formal garden, with its grassy walks, rose bowers, bowling green and orchard, as a setting for social discourse.

Morris's description of Kelmscott Manor, which he rented in 1871, shows how keen was his appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of the materials used in building, including the materials used to create a garden.

You come face to face with a mass of grey walls and pearly grey roofs which makes the house called by courtesy the Manor House...

Through a door in a high unpointed stone wall you go up a flagged path through the front garden to the porch. ... the roofs are covered with the beautiful stone slates of the district, the most lovely covering which a roof can have, especially when, as here and in all the traditional old houses of the country-side, they are 'sized down'; the smaller ones to the top and the bigger towards the eaves, which gives one the same sort of pleasure in their orderly beauty as a fish's scales or a bird's feathers.

... The garden, divided by old clipped yew hedges, is quite unaffected and very pleasant, and looks in fact as if it were, if not a part of the house, yet at least the clothes of it: which I think ought to be the aim of the layer out of a garden. (4)

This clearly shows how the interest in vernacular building, which became an important source of inspiration for the Arts and Crafts movement, was closely linked with the revival of what became known as, the 'old-fashioned' or 'Queen Anne' garden. (5) This movement, in turn had its roots in the ideas of Pugin, Ruskin and the Gothic Revival, but in the free climate of the 1870s

'it had blossomed forth into a new-found delight in the palpable aesthetic qualities of materials in old work from English brickwork to yew hedges. ... with the red brick architecture of the 1630s went the trim little formal gardens with their beds for flowers or nosegays edged with clipped box, their yew hedges and pleached hornbeam walks.' (6)

The Queen Anne gardeners reacted against the ostentatious, High Victorian Italianate, with its geometric bedding-out, and the gardenesque in its various interpretations; they preferred the modest formality of the 'old-fashioned' gardens of the seventeenth

and early eighteenth centuries, with their clipped hedges and topiary and borders of old-fashioned flowers. Girouard points out that the 'Queen Anne' garden was inspired more by painters, poets and architects than by professional gardeners and that its flowers were possibly chosen more as symbols of old-fashioned values than for themselves. Those popular symbols of aestheticism, the sunflower and the lily, were much in evidence, and flowering cherries could be used to introduce an exotic flavour of Japonaiserie. Old-fashioned gardens proliferated during the 1870s and 1880s and some lovely examples of them are to be found among the illustrations for children's books by Kate Greenaway and Walter Crane, indicating perhaps an educated 'aesthetic' middle-class taste. (7) Typical features of this sort of garden would be topiary and clipped hedges, sometimes with trellised walks and bowers, and with enclosing walls covered with a profusion of climbing plants: flower beds full of 'old-fashioned' flowers rescued from cottage gardens, often edged with borders of low clipped box. Frequently an orchard or vegetable garden would be included, in which vegetables were mixed with borders of flowers, in the way cottage gardens, unaffected by fashion, had been planted throughout the previous decades.

The old-fashioned garden at Harwick Hall was laid out at this time by Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of the Seventh Duke of Devonshire. This is the main garden on the south side of the house, enclosed within the original Elizabethan walls. It was divided into four major compartments by a yew-hedged alley and a crossing alley of hornbeam meeting at a rond-point in the centre, where alcoves were cut in the hedges to hold life-size eighteenth-century lead statues. (Fig 80) Of the four sub divisions, two originally contained vegetable gardens mixed with flowers; one contained an orchard; one was a green lawn planted with trees. Diagonally-sited in two corners are clumps of trees, and in the south-east corner is the little Elizabethan pavilion or summer house. There were long walks along the perimeter, with borders under the Elizabethan walls clad with climbing roses. As Thomas says, 'The whole design is an example of late Victorian ingenuity, which shows an enlightened return to

traditional ideas". (8).

Not far from Hardwick Hall is another late sixteenth century house by Robert Smythson, Barlborough Hall. A formal enclosed garden on the south front with rows of clipped yews flanking the pathway to the entrance stairway was laid out in the last decades of the nineteenth century. (9)

Earlier views of the south front show typical eighteenth-century landscaping. By the 1830s some interesting exotic trees had been planted in the parkland, but there is no suggestion of a formal garden. (Figs 185) The sentinel yews in the south garden were aligned with the avenue of limes which marks the approach to the house across the parkland. On the east of the house was a lawn with a large conservatory and to the west of the house the old stew ponds were surrounded with lawns, flower beds containing standard roses and a rose-covered pergola or arbour. Hence the house was almost surrounded by 'old fashioned' formality. (figs 186-7)

Another example of this nostalgia for old-fashioned gardens can be seen at Holme Pierrepont near Nottingham. During the nineteenth century Holme Pierrepont was used as an alternative residence by Lord and Lady Manvers while Thoresby Hall was being rebuilt and an attractive seventeenth century parterre garden was laid out within the courtyard area some time during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1975 this garden was restored to the original Victorian design. (Fig 188)

These three gardens show the influence of the historical association in the creation of 'old-fashioned' gardens; this sort of formalism was sometimes eclectic, sometimes nostalgic but invariably closely related to the layout of the house. It also illustrates a new interpretation of formalism, in which ostentatious display no longer predominated.

Although William Robinson (1838-1935) did not support the revival of formality in garden design, he was interested in the cottage

garden and the 'old-fashioned' hardy plants grown there which had lost favour to the introduced species. He was also concerned with the naturalization and natural grouping of hardy exotic plants in situations where they would thrive with little care. (10) His collaboration with Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932) and their attempts to restore a 'natural' style of planting is too well-known to need further elaboration here. Jekyll today, is perhaps better known for her work with Sir Edwin Lutyens for whom she frequently designed planting schemes.

By the late nineteenth century a number of young architects was taking a renewed interest in the gardens being set out around the houses they were designing. The Arts and Crafts movement had aimed at this unity of all the arts and crafts; the attempts to revive vernacular traditions had encouraged an individual element of craftsmanship in all the visual arts, and the feeling for materials was a feature of this, whether the materials were brick, stone, water or plants. (11) The architect John Sedding (1838-1891) had helped to found the Art Workers' Guild in 1884 and in 1889 he presented a paper on 'The Architectural Treatment of Gardens'. Apparently this was the first time that the subject was given an official airing. Sedding had a great influence on the Guild; his roots lay in the Gothic Revival; he had been taught and inspired by Ruskin and subsequently became one of the father-figures of the Arts and Crafts movement. His book Garden-Craft Old and New (1891) published posthumously was the outcome of his paper. When he died Jekyll paid tribute to the way he had helped to bridge the gap between the free and formal styles of garden design. He emphasised the importance to the gardener of a study of the characteristics of the site,

'It is of the utmost importance that Art and Nature should be linked together... To attain this result it is essential that the ground immediately about the house should be devoted to symmetrical planning and to distinctly ornamental treatment; and the symmetry should break away by easy stages from the dressed to the undressed parts, and so on to the open

country, beginning with the wilder effects upon the country-boundaries of the place, and more careful and intricate effects as the house is approached. Upon this appearance of graduated formality much depends.' (12)

Not all architects agreed with Sedding's idea of graduated formality, which in any case was not new, but rather a reiteration of a well-established principle. Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) in particular, felt strongly that there should be no doubt about where the garden ended and the country began. In his polemical book The Formal Garden in England (1892) he attempted to trace the antecedents of the formal garden and to restore the architect to a position of overall control of the garden. He expanded on the architectural treatment of the surrounding grounds and the necessity of the house and grounds being considered as a unity -- 'the formal garden will produce with the house a homogenous result, which cannot be reached by either singly.' (13)

Blomfield and Sedding were united in their championing of the architect's garden and in their contempt for the landscape gardener. Blomfield insisted that the demarcation of the garden should not be concealed.

'Thus, the substantial difference between the two views of gardening is this. The formal school insists upon design; the house and the grounds should be designed together and in relation to each other; no attempt should be made to conceal the design of the garden, there being no reason for doing so, but the bounding lines, whether it is the garden wall or the lines of paths and parterres, should be shown frankly and unreservedly, and the garden will be treated specifically as an enclosed space to be laid out exactly as the designer pleases. The landscape gardener, on the other hand, turns his back upon architecture at the earliest opportunity and devotes his energies to making the garden suggest natural scenery, to giving a false impression as to its size by sedulously

concealing all boundary lines, and to modifying the scenery beyond the garden itself, by planting or cutting down trees, as may be necessary to what he calls his picture. In matters of taste there is no arguing with a man. Probably people with a feeling for design and order will prefer the formal garden, while the landscape system, as it requires no knowledge of design, appeals to the average person who "knows what he likes", if he does not know anything else.' (14)

This was too much for Robinson who leapt into the fray with a scathing review of the books by Sedding and Blomfield, entitled Garden Design and Architects' Gardens (1892)

'The very name of the book is a mistake. "Formal Gardening" is rightly applied only to the gardens in which both the design and planting were formal and stupidly formal... The architect was so proud of his design that he did not want the gardener at all, except to pound up bricks to take the place of flower colour!.. No one has "attacked" old English gardens. ... The necessary terraces round houses like Haddon Hall may be and are as beautiful as any garden ever made by man.' (15)

A closer reading indicates that these opponents could have found much to agree upon and that the dispute was largely to do with their personalities. (16) Robinson agreed that 'Formality is often essential in the plan of the flower garden near the house', but 'never as regards the arrangements of its flowers and shrubs.' (17) He maintained that the lawn was the heart of the true English garden and as essential as the terrace to gardens on steep hills; but he felt that terrace walls used on level ground cut off the view of the landscape from the house, and the house from the landscape.

'The place of formal gardening is clear for ever. The architect can help the gardener much by building a beautiful house! That is his work. The true architect, it seems to me, would seek to go no farther. The better the real work of the architect is done, the better for the garden and landscape. If there are any difficulties of level about the house beautiful, they should be dealt with by the

architect, and the better his work and the necessary terracing, if any, are done, the pleasanter the work of the landscape or other gardener who has to follow him should be.'

(18)

Thus he put the architect firmly in his place; this dispute did highlight the emerging professional rivalry for status and recognition which focussed on where the dividing line should be drawn between the respective domains of architect and gardener. In turn this came to symbolise the battle between the 'formal' and the 'natural' schools of gardening.

The developing interest in the 'old-fashioned' formal garden increased interest in historical accuracy and this culminated in the 1890s in a new type of publication, frequently illustrated with plans reproduced from seventeenth century sources or earlier. Sedding's Garden-Craft Old and New and Blomfield's The Formal Garden in England, illustrated by Inigo Thomas, were but two of a number of books which appeared at this time.

Sedding's book included plans and aerial perspectives of a number of designs for gardens to illustrate their treatment as a series of outdoor rooms, each 'with its own special attractiveness' and led up to by

some inviting artifice of archway, or screened alley of shrubs, or "rosery" with its trellis-work, or stone colonnade; ... the provision of places of retreat has always been a note of an English garden. The love of retirement, almost as much as a taste for trees and flowers, has dictated its shapes. Hence the cedar-walks, the bower, the avenue, the maze, the alley, the wilderness that were familiar, and almost the invariable features of the old English pleasure, "hidden happily and shielded safe." '(19)

He described the qualities to aim at in a flower garden as beauty, animation, variety and mystery, 'because all gardening is Art or nothing, we need not fear to overdo Art in a garden' (20) He saw no difference in principle between topiary and mown lawns, referring to the 'quaint charm' of topiary felt by all ages. Sedding's plans and

aerial perspectives show how a formal layout, combined with topiary hedges, arbours or walls could provide a series of compartmentalized gardens, each with 'its own special attractiveness.' (Fig. 189, 190)

Inigo Thomas's delightful illustrations to Blomfield's book include views of the topiary work at Levens Hall, the famous terrace at Haddon Hall, the old gardens at Brickwall, the yew walk at Melbourne, the fountain at Bolsover and numerous other glimpses of old English formal gardens. (21) Also included are a number of illustrations from English seventeenth century gardening books, (Fig. 191). In defence of the old English formal garden, Blomfield referred to the general confusion of the English Renaissance with the Italian in which 'such dismal fiascos in the Italian style as the Crystal Palace Gardens' were confused with the old English garden. (22) Retaliating against the charge that the English formal garden required much space, he pointed out that some of the best examples were on a comparatively small scale, citing the gardens at Haddon Hall to illustrate this - 'the top two terraces only measure about 70 paces by 18 wide apiece and the lower garden is only about 40 paces square.' He also referred to 'the beautiful old garden at Brickwall, in Sussex, all walled in' which measured 'about 65 paces by 55 and the kitchen and fruit garden 90 by 50.'

A number of other books provided fuel for the formalist cause, including those by Inigo Triggs (1876-1923). In 1902 he published Formal Gardens in England and Scotland which was the first book of its kind to be properly illustrated with plans of gardens drawn to scale and photographs; he also included designs for knots, parterres, mazes and topiary and a number of aerial perspectives. (Figs. 192-3). He showed a plan of Haddon Hall and its gardens drawn to scale, a cross-section of hall and gardens and a drawing of the famous balustraded steps and terrace. (Fig. 84)

'The very name of Haddon Hall is so surrounded with romance that it is difficult to consider

it in any but a romantic spirit, and to analyse its beauties by means of plan and section would seem to approach the old place without a due spirit of reverence; still it forms so interesting a study in garden planning, and so well demonstrates the importance of considering the house and garden as one design, that the latter has been measured for illustration in this work...

At present its picturesque aspect is enhanced by a fine old apple tree - the last of several - whose straggling branches and knarled trunk are just sufficient to break the too formal appearance that would otherwise be presented.'

(23)

He observed the importance of planting to soften architectural formality.

It is interesting to notice how frequently Haddon Hall is mentioned by different writers at this period to exemplify the old English formal garden. As well as picturesque charms and the magnetic appeal of romantic myth, Haddon provided not only an unspoiled seventeenth-century formal garden, but also a fine example of the vernacular in domestic building. House and gardens are built entirely of local Derbyshire materials - limestone, gritstone, lead, stone slates; and the whole evolved, or grew over the centuries according to changing needs. It thus almost appears to grow out of the landscape with which it blends so well. Consequently it provided an irresistably attractive model for members of the Arts and Crafts movement.

It was largely due to Jekyll's influence, through her collaboration with architects, especially Lutyens, that the harsh geometry of the architect's garden was softened from the mid 1890s.

'To the arts and crafts revival of vernacular building at its most creative phase she brought her feeling for naturalistic planting, derived from Ruskin and her friendship with William Robinson, together with her knowledge of country crafts. In 1891 she met Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) and the ensuing partnership, beginning at Munstead Wood in 1895 is common knowledge. Lutyens/Jekyll gardens are great

works of art but often they lack the mystery and invitation the human scale and sense of enclosure of the work of less illustrious designers. Certainly without Jekyll's planting they can be cold and forbidding though splendid in their geometry and vistas... (24)

Jekyll's most significant books did not appear until after the turn of the century. She had been writing articles on gardens and horticulture for Robinson and when in 1900 he sold his interest in The Garden to Hudson, she was persuaded to become its editor and she also began contributing notes to Country Life. In the remoter parts of her gardens she followed Robinson, making wild gardens with woods and water, planting them with hardy exotics; nearer the house she adapted the old cottage garden, imposing a measure of order and making it more sophisticated. She became very interested in the problems of creating harmonious colour schemes with flowering plants; she excelled in her choice and juxtaposition of herbaceous plants using her painter's eye to create perfect floral and foliar harmonies. (25) Although she was hostile to the harsh riot of colour created by carpet bedding, she was not so hostile as Robinson to the use of architectural features in gardens and no doubt her influence on him helped to make his attitude less aggressive.

'For the best building and planting... the architect and the gardener must have some knowledge of each other's business, and each must regard with feelings of kindly reverence the unknown domains of the other's higher knowledge.' (26)

The collaboration of Jekyll and Lutyens produced some masterpieces of unity of house and garden; a characteristic feature of Lutyens' work is his attention to detail and craftsmanship, and the fine sense of scale and proportion both in the detailing and the general massing. An excellent example of his work is to be found in the area chosen for this study at Ednaston Manor, near Brailsford in Derbyshire.

Lutyens is often described as the last of the great country house designers; Ednaston Manor was probably the last house of this grandeur to be built in Derbyshire. It was designed for William

Goodacre Player, the Nottingham tobacco magnate, in 1912, but although building started in 1913 it was halted by the outbreak of war and not completed until 1919. Four years later it was described by Christopher Hussey as being as nearly perfect a modern country house of its size as could be found in England. (27)

'The very encircling walls of the forecourt as you drive up seem to stretch out like welcoming arms to hug you. Within their generous embrace you almost know there will be peace. That is because the whole idea of Ednaston is perfectly simple... Looking at the terrace front from the fields, (to the south) how indubitably and satisfactorily the house is planted on the earth! Seen from the garden (to the east) how perfectly simply it seems to say, "I am a house..."

...as soon as he [Lutyens]... was quite sure that the period of Wren was the point at which to pick up the thread of English architecture he began gradually simplifying his designs. Quaintness was the first thing to go...'

This last comment about quaintness is interesting, because it seems to refer to the cottagey interpretation of the vernacular revival. Although this had been fashionable, (and probably still is) it had long since been ousted by more sophisticated interpretations of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century styles of building. The interest in the craft of building and use of materials had in no way diminished. What is evident at Ednaston, however, is that the emphasis is no longer on the local vernacular. (28) Lutyens' attitude to architecture was essentially romantic and from the start he had used classical details in his vernacular designs to convey a feeling of the evolution of a building over a period of time. A revival of interest in Wren had started in 1883 with Mackmurdo's Wren's City Churches and by the 1890's several architects, including Blomfield, were designing houses based on late seventeenth century prototypes. (29) Although Lutyens did not turn abruptly from the Surrey vernacular style to the Georgian, it is true that his interest in classicism and symmetry became increasingly important; but equally he saw the rural Georgian buildings of the late seventeenth century as part of the fabric of

the countryside. 'The Queen Anne' house became for Lutyens a perfect vehicle for his ideas of Englishness and classical discipline.' (30)

Ednaston was one of Lutyens' favourites; he referred to it as 'that dear little Queen Anne house'. Built in red brick, with a steep hipped roof which boldly emphasises the huge, rectangular chimneys symmetrically placed to provide a powerful vertical emphasis as a counterbalance to the horizontal facades of the house and the horizontal emphasis at the base provided by the terracing on the south and east fronts.

In a lecture on garden design given in 1908, Lutyens stressed the importance of giving consideration to views of the garden from various parts of the house as much as the other way round (31) and this is an important aspect of the relationship of house and garden at Ednaston. The house is built on an H plan, and although each facade is powerfully symmetrical, each is different, and the formal garden is a vital part of the overall symmetry of the whole. No plans have survived, but the formal garden was designed by Lutyens and the planting was by the Player family.

Two wings of the H project on the south side of the house, which is flanked by a walled, terrace parterre garden, open to the fields on the south. At the east and west corners are symmetrical garden pavilions and the terrace paths are designed in herring-bone brick-work, using the same long thin red bricks as on the house. The geometry and precision of this formal garden have been softened and enhanced by the sort of imaginative planting that Jekyll would have enjoyed - some of the rarer plants and plant combinations that she used at Munstead Wood are to be found here. (32) Lutyens' attention to detail in the intricate use of brick, stone and wood skilfully integrates the house and garden. (Fig 194-201) On the east side of the house there is a more elaborate double terrace, with brick retaining walls dropping to a level lawn and orchard below. Symmetrical brick buttresses, stone flagged terrace paths

and pairs of stone steps which descend to the lawn on the lower level provide the architectural extension of the house into the garden. (Fig¹⁹¹⁻²⁰⁰) Hussey emphasised the importance of the terrace 'emplacement the house springs from' on the south front, and the importance of 'the steps in the foreground "supporting" the house' on the east. Lutyens' handling of the transition from house to garden, as well as the garden itself featured prominently on the east front of Ednaston. The lawn to the east is enclosed by clipped yew hedges, containing recesses for garden seats; an opening in the hedge leads into the large kitchen garden which is divided into quarters and also enclosed by clipped yew hedges. At its eastern end is a pool and a rustic pole-seat which marks the furthest point of the central axis of the garden. From this seat is a view of the house, through the opening in the topiaried walls of yew, back along the central path, which lines up symmetrically with the house, the chimneys and the steep sloping roof. (Fig²⁰¹) Lutyens said,

'Every garden scheme should have a back-bone, a central idea beautifully phrased. Every wall, path, stone and flower should have its relationship to the central idea.' (33)

The garden has been planted very much in the Jekyll tradition, and both house and garden have been well maintained. Although Ednaston is in an area of Derbyshire where brick is used, there is no tradition here of this sort of sophisticated, baroque building - it does present something of an anomaly in such a rural area. Although the house and garden represent a perfect unity, they appear totally unrelated to their wider surroundings.

Derbyshire is principally a county of stone building, with the exception of the southern area, including Derby itself. Red brick made no notable appearance in the north of the county until the second half of the eighteenth century with such buildings as Great Longstone Hall, the Edensor Inn at Chatsworth and the crinkle-crankle garden wall at Hopton Hall. These all seem rather incongruous in such a rural area, not just because of the materials, but because of the sophisticated style of building. The picturesque

model village at Edensor is built entirely of stone apart from one of the lodges designed by Wyattville, which is half timbered with brick infilling between the timbers - an early example of interest in the vernacular use of materials, but removed from their native locality.

During the second half of the nineteenth century Norman Shaw and W.E.Nesfield quite often transposed vernacular building styles from one county to another, particularly during their revival of the 'Old English'. An interesting example of this on a fairly small scale is to be found in south Derbyshire at Lea Wood, Dethick. This house was built for William Walker by Nesfield in 1874-7 and displays a free mixture of many materials and styles - stone, half-timbering on the gables, and plaster infillings with incised floral patterns and patterns in relief: tall brick chimney stacks and decorative roof tiling - not at all connected with local traditions. (34) An even earlier example of this idiosyncratic use of materials and styles foreign to the area can be seen in the now derelict model farm at Shipley Hall (Fig 202-3) built for A.Miller Mundy c1860-1. It is a good example of Nesfield's earliest work and displays the influence of William Burges. Designed as an ornamental farm and dairy it is described by Andrew Saint as a 'medley of the most up to date tricks of the High Victorians in secular architecture', it is composed of separated parts, roofing with half hips, polychrome brickwork, prettily diapered tiling, decorative brilliance of ironwork and total disregard of expense! (35) Nearby in the grounds is 'The Gardens', a red brick house built about twenty years later, c1882 in the Old English manner of Nesfield and Shaw, with a jettied upper storey and half timbering; it was nicknamed Sunflower Cottage because of the wrought iron sunflower on the gable end. Said to have been built as a dower house for Mrs. Mundy, it was the home of the head gardeners of the hall. (Fig 204) The home farm and the dower house both use materials and styles which are not local and represent part of that fashionable nostalgia for the past; to some extent they represent a transposition of the vernacular of the home counties, with its warm brick, red tiles and half timbering. Two further buildings on the Shipley Estate are of particular interest -

these are the Derby and Nottingham lodges which were built by Lutyens in 1911, just a year before he designed Ednaston Manor. What is interesting about these is that they are obviously related to the Derbyshire vernacular, albeit in a more sophisticated interpretation. They are solidly built stone houses, with high wide gables, stone mullioned windows and stone slate roofing. (Fig 205)

Tragically, the Victorian gardens at Shipley have almost entirely disappeared. (36) In their day they were described as one of the most famous gardens in the Midlands. The Italian garden of 1902 with its unusual Italian pergola, made of covered arches of English oak, supported by brick pillars, again illustrates a break with gardening traditions of the area.

The most striking example of this Italianate intrusion is to be found in the surviving formal gardens at Renishaw Hall, about seven miles south of Sheffield. The gardens here represent the overwhelming influence of the Italian Renaissance combined with the search for simpler architectural formalities. Sir George Sitwell (1860-1943), who began remodelling the grounds at Renishaw in about 1890, set out his ideas in his essay On the Making of Gardens (1909). In the introduction he stated his hope that his essay would influence the

'newly recovered art of garden design. The revival of garden-craft is the work of English architects, more particularly of Sedding, R. Blomfield and F. Inigo Thomas. But still... the formal garden in England falls short of the great examples of the Italian Renaissance;' (37)

He attempted, in his essay, to set out the principles which guided the garden makers of the Italian Renaissance. He emphasised the importance of the relationship of the garden to the surrounding landscape; while a certain amount of seclusion was necessary, he maintained that it was also essential to be able to enjoy distant views or vistas from the garden. Although Sir George was steeped in medievalism, his vision of an ideal garden was not enclosed and inward-looking, but rather the reverse, and at Renishaw an

expansive, outward-looking, extrovert character prevails - even the massive statues turn their back on the house and look out over the lake to fields and woods beyond.

Sir George began his study of old Italian gardens in the early 1890s and during his travels in Italy he visited more than two hundred gardens. At Renishaw, the Italian influence on him is everywhere apparent. For its chief effect the garden does not rely on the colour of the flowers, but rather on the formal composition of geometrical arrangements, the sculptural qualities of statuary and topiary, and the effects of light and shade on different levels of water and greenery.

The magnificent geometric garden falls away from the house to the south in terraced lawns crossed by walks at right angles to the main central axis; prominent architectural yew hedges and pyramids mark the divisions of the garden, forming walls and entrances to smaller lawns. These clipped yews provide a strong vertical thrust to counterbalance the horizontal expanses of lawn, water and terrace and this is reinforced by fountains, by two pairs of huge statues along the central axis and by tall trees on either side - an ancient avenue of limes and elms to the right and a wilderness to the left. The central axis leads the eye down through the garden, out to the landscape vista beyond. (Figs 207-11)

This amazing garden with its water and sculpture appears today like an oasis in a desert of industrial despoliation, in an area full of coal-tips and iron-works. The wealth of the Sitwell family arose from industry and trade; early in the seventeenth century George Sitwell turned from agriculture to iron-founding and with the new wealth from his iron works at Eckington built the first manor house at nearby Renishaw. His son thrived as a trimmer during the Civil War and as an iron-master during the Commonwealth when he purchased some of the Marquis of Newcastle's woods round Bolsover which he chopped down for his furnaces. The original house can be detected as the core of the present building. The house was gothicized in the eighteenth century and by the early nineteenth century had been

extended into a rambling building of no notable distinction.

Sir George's son, Sir Osbert Sitwell (1892-1969), in his autobiography, Left Hand Right Hand! (1946-9) amusingly describes his father's eccentricities and endless schemes for the gardens.

'He walks up and down, surveying his work, which will never be finished, his head full of new projects of sun and shade, but never of flowers, measuring the various views with a stick to his eye or a pair of binoculars. Sometimes he is planning a boat of stone upon the lake, or a dragon in lead, writhing for a quarter of a mile through its level waters or a colonnaded pavilion upon another island, or a Roman aqueduct in counterfeit to frame the project with its elongated arches, or a cascade to fall down a stone channel for a hundred and fifty feet, from the water to the garden below: and, for projects such as these... he would cause wooden towers... like an early machine for siege warfare or a drawing by Piranesi - to be erected here and there at the right points of vantage. In the summer he would spend many hours aloft these platforms, with a large grey hat or grey umbrella to shield his light-coloured skin and eyes from the sun, and with a telescope to his eye, enjoying the air and also, perhaps the feeling of command which such an altitude above the ground affords.'

(38)

Sir Osbert tells how he grew up year by year with the yew hedges, 'I never remember a time between the ages of three and seventeen when we were not the same height, though now they overtop me.' The hedges now are about eight feet tall, their clipped and steeply sloping sides and flat tops dominate the garden, directing the eye to statues or water, back to the battlemented house, or to vistas beyond the ha-ha.

It is interesting how Sacheverel and Osbert both comment on their father's lack of interest in flowers; according to Sacheverel he was uninterested in flowers, almost to the point of disliking them, perhaps even resenting them for taking the attention away from garden design. Osbert maintained that no man knew or cared less for flowers and that he saw in them a possible distraction from the

mood of repose to be induced by a garden. (39) However, there certainly were flowers at Renishaw if Osbert's description of summer 1911 is to be relied upon.

'The garden was in gala this year. Over the rounded top of an ancient holly, which grew against one of the angles of the house, where it jutted forward, the lawns lay spread in their richest fullest beauty. The hedges had grown and were by now substantial, and the whole design, the counterpoint of bright mown grass and deep shade, of water and of trees, had settled down, and look as if it had existed always. This year, within the mysterious fullness of their setting, this year, in the ultimate Edwardian summer, the flowers had attained a peculiar richness typical of the epoch, for Lutyens' old friend and mentor, Miss Jekyll, had been sent the plan of the garden beds by my father and had issued her decrees for them: in one part they were to be filled only with blossoms of blue and orange and lemon-yellow, in another with French eighteenth-century blues and pinks. The heads of dahlias and zinnias and carnation and roses were heavier and more velvety than in the previous decade, and the scent of the box hedges and of the various flowers was wafted up to the window, while at dusk the fragrance of the tobacco plants and the stocks became overwhelming...' (40)

In his essay On the Making of Gardens, Sir George makes it quite clear that plants and flowers are wonderfully evocative materials for the designer and some of his suggestions for their use are similar to recommendations made earlier by Jekyll in her writings. Sir George discusses the idea of contrast as harmony, in which the opposition to each other of pleasing qualities is enhancing, for example, of studied order to wayward negligence, of massive strength to tender grace.

'Such a harmony of contrast is especially valuable at the garden boundary. For this reason the mossy pillars of the woodland, where it beats against the garden, are to be wreathed with a wild tangle of ivy and vine, of hops and honeysuckle or convulvulus, and the trees themselves to be such as affect a rough and rugged form, gnarled oaks with a hydrabrood of

writhing arms or rugged elms or knotty chestnuts.' (41)

At another place in his essay he says that to make a great garden, a great idea or opportunity is needed, for example, 'a great galleon in a lake whose decks are dropping with jasmine', or imaginative beauty may be introduced into almost any garden 'by finding the most perfect form for one of its features, or by giving expression to the soul of some particular flower or tree'. He suggests that in planning a rose garden

'do not choose these stunted, unnatural, earth-loving strains, which have nothing of vigour or wildness in them, nor banish other flowers which may do homage to the beauty of the rose as courtiers to the queen. Let climbing roses drop in a veil from the terrace and smother with flower-spangled embroidery the gardens walls, run riot over vaulted arcades, clamber up over lofty obelisks of leaf-tangled trellis, twine themselves round the pillars of a rose-roofed temple, where little avalanches of sweetness shall rustle down at a touch and the dusty gold sunshine shall mingle with the summer snow of the flying petals...' (42)

According to Tooley, Jekyll was invited to design some border plantings at Renishaw, which strangely seem to have been in the bedding-out tradition. (43)

Quite obviously the garden relies for its main effect on the formal qualities of descending terraces, topiary walls, water and statuary and the contrasting effects of light and shade, changing levels, enclosure and expansive vistas - these formal qualities are therefore more important than the flowers. (44) The late nineteenth-century version of the Italian Renaissance garden is probably nowhere better represented in England than at Renishaw Hall.

Another outstanding garden on the edge of the Peak District is at Thornbridge Hall, near Ashford-in-the-Water. The house and grounds here underwent a series of changes during the nineteenth century.

The eighteenth-century house probably took on its Victorian Gothic character at some time during Frederick Craven's ownership (1871-1896). George Marples, a barrister, bought the house in 1896, and from then until the outbreak of war continuous change took place. He bought additional surrounding land during the early 1900s, which he landscaped and by 1904 he had laid out formal gardens on the east - by this time the house was referred to as Thornbridge Hall. Between 1910 and 1912 the house was altered again and the pitched roof was replaced by a flat one with a limestone parapet, emphasising its Tudor appearance - in fact, its strong resemblance to Haddon Hall, as well as the proximity of the two halls suggests that even at this late date Haddon's influence was still powerful, as a symbol of 'old English' architecture. Marples was responsible for the layout of the gardens, which was originally carried out by Messrs. Backhouse, Ltd of York and included one of the finest collections of berberis in the country, at that time. On the death of Marples in 1930, Charles Boot, head of Henry Boot and Sons, bought the hall. (45) Boot added the stone balustrading to the gardens, and the ornamental urns which he bought from Clumber; he added many fine statues and ornamental arches, some brought back from Athens, including the statues of the Four Seasons; he also collected for the interior of the house, for example some early eighteenth-century carving by Samuel Watson which came from Chatsworth is now in the lobby.

Because so many additions and alterations took place at Thornbridge Hall, the result is incredibly complex. In 1898 the east or garden front was described as 'by far the finest feature of the place'. It had been laid out on the site of an old kitchen garden and pond which had been removed.

'... a broad terrace... runs the whole length of the building, affording the effect of a solid base. Next comes a wall 4 feet high of equal length covered with creepers with a grass slope descending from it to the main promenade which runs from the Rose-garden to the fruit houses, 150 paces or so, and passes at its north end under a massive rocky archway - in

reality a portion of the alpine garden. From the main promenade before mentioned, a Dutch garden with lakes and cascades, etc., is seen; whilst on the rising ground beyond many hundreds of large rhododendrons and other shrubs are planted.

...The Dutch garden is formed 9 feet below the main promenade by Yew hedges enclosing clipped specimens of green and golden Yews and Hollies, both standards and pyramids.

The small beds are filled with low-growing bright coloured evergreens, and upon the grass panels... beds for flowers. The alpine garden (together with the garden lakes) cover about one and a half acres. The ground falls from north to south about 60 feet, and is traversed by a small stream, which is used to form a series of cascades.' (46)

There was also 'a natural-looking piece of rockery' upon which to grow 'great masses of free-growing alpine plants and shrubs.' North of this was a terraced fruit garden, ranges of glasshouses and the kitchen garden. The article describes the landscaping undertaken by Marples, including the creation of the ornamental lakes, plantations of trees including a pinetum, and details of planting along the drive.

'After rising about 100 feet the drive terminates in an outer square court, surrounded by splendid Beech, Sycamore, Elms, Yews etc., this outer court is connected with an inner one... on the west side of the Hall. Here... a winter garden is being constructed, with underground caves, cascades and a miniature lake. This conservatory is about 50 feet by 40 feet, and 20 feet in height. It will be planted in a natural style, chiefly with Palms, Tree-ferns, and flowering greenhouse-plants, whilst in the caves filmy and other Ferns will be introduced.

The garden on the south side of the Hall is laid out in two main terraces, the upper one being separated from the lower by a wall 4 feet high, which is clothed with evergreen creepers. .. both these terraces are in grass, and are intended for promenades and for playing games. They are protected at the westend by old Beech, Holly, Yew and other trees. At the east end of these terraces is a panellled Rose-garden,

These descriptions show how important were the architectural elements around the house, but the use of evergreen creepers and grass must have produced a softening effect, further strengthening its resemblance to overgrown Haddon. The more obviously Italianate effect produced by statuary and fountains was not introduced until much later by Boot. (Figs 212-6) So in 1898, Thornbridge Hall would have displayed the revival of the architect's garden in a restrained manner - the later addition of balustrading, urns and statuary would have intensified the architectural and Italianate qualities. The emphasis on plants and specialised areas, for example, the rose garden, the Dutch garden, the alpine garden shows the developing importance of plantsmanship and collecting discussed earlier in relation to Biddulph.

The gardens discussed in this chapter illustrate the continuing interest in formalism. The concern of the Arts and Crafts movement with the vernacular and the emphasis on craftsmanship and materials, combined with a nostalgia for the past, had encouraged a revival of the 'old-fashioned' or 'cottage garden'. The search for 'Englishness' and a greater historical accuracy meant that houses and gardens such as Haddon Hall, which had survived from the period before the popularity of the landscape movement became important prototypes. Thornbridge Hall, for all its complexity and eclecticism, represents something of this revival.

However, by the 1890s a later generation of young architects, largely inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement, saw the garden as an extension of the house and insisted that the two should be designed as a unity. After 1900, all architects plumped for the formal garden, but the manner employed depended mainly on where their architectural sympathies lay - Ednaston is an excellent example of the architect's garden related to the house. Renishaw, on the other hand represents the increasing interest in the gardens of the Italian Renaissance - the difficulty here was in creating a stylistic relationship with an incongruous house.

The Jekyll/Lutyens collaboration united two apparently conflicting approaches, that of 'natural' planting with the formality of the architect's garden. This amalgamation in which trees, hedges and plants were used as materials with which to design, in the same way that brick, stone, wood and water were used, namely with an understanding of their intrinsic properties, produced results which seem now to epitomize the Edwardian era. Describing this partnership, Jane Brown suggests that

'inherent in all gardens were Edwardian ideals - the fastidious wealth to patronise the finest craftsmanship in stone, brick and impressive baulks of oak, the time to tend and enjoy gardens where the clink of teacups and the crack of ball on mallet set the pace and it was easy to be amused, and the innocence to believe that it would all last forever,' (48)

1. MACKAIL.J.W. The Life of William Morris (1927) pp 146-8
2. According to P. FLETCHER 'Man... creates the garden, and since it is created for pleasure rather than utility it embodies his own idea of himself, or of his society. In this respect it is a social landscape.' Gardens and Grim Ravines. The Language of Landscape in Victorian Poetry. (Princeton 1983) pp 8-9.
3. ibid., Chap VI. 'Morris: The Field Full of Folk.' pp 164-190.
4. MACKAIL. opcit., p 235-6
5. See GIROUARD. Sweetness and Light. The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900 (Oxford 1977) especially the section on 'The Old-fashioned Garden' pp 152-9.
6. OTTEWILL.D. 'The Architect's Garden'. paper given at a symposium on 'The Art of the Garden c1870-1914' at University of Warwick 30 May 1981. p 2.
7. Many of the later Pre-Raphaelites and their circle had 'old-fashioned' gardens. A Natural History and Gardening Society was formed at Bedford Park in 1883 with 'a special object to revive active interest in the cultivation of simple and old-fashioned flowers.' Bedford Park Gazette (1883) Sep. quoted by GIROUARD. Op cit.,
8. Gardens of the National Trust (1979) p 152
9. The formal gardens were illustrated Country Life Illustrated (1900) Oct 27.
10. See The Wild Garden (1870) and The English Flower Garden (1883) for Robinson's ideas.
11. See OTTEWILL.D. 'Garden Architects of the Art Workers Guild: 1884-1914', Beauty's Awakening ... op cit., pp 12-13
12. SEDDING. Garden-Craft Old and New (1891) pp 134-5
13. p 4.
14. op cit., pp 10-11
15. pp 25-6

16. The preface to the 2nd edition of Blomfield's The Formal Garden in England and the preface to Robinson's Garden Design and Architects' Garden make it clear that this had become a very personal battle.
17. ROBINSON. op.cit., p 2
18. ibid., p 16
19. pp 162-3
20. op.cit., pp 180-1
21. In 1890 Inigo Thomas designed the gardens at Athelhampton Hall, Dorchester, described by Tipping as displaying 'that wonderful artistic harmony of house and garden that is truly an architect's garden.' Gardens Old and New. Vol 1. (n.d.) p 144.
22. p 17
23. pp 34-5
24. OTTEWILL. The Architect's Garden op.cit., p 4. see also TOOLEY.M.J. 'Garden designed by Miss. Gertrude Jekyll in northern England.' Garden History Vol.8 No.3 (1980)
25. JEKYLL. Colour Schemes for the Flower Garden. (1982)
26. quoted by MASSINGHAM.B. Gertrude Jekyll. (1975) p 35
27. Country Life (24 Mar. 1923) Vol 53. pp 398-405.
28. Ednaston is based on the original Queen Anne House at Mothecombe, Devon which Lutyens visited in 1910. Colin Amery described Ednaston as being a good example of Lutyens' favourite device of 'instant history' so that from the north 'it looks like a gabled vernacular building of c1600 modernized a century later'. Lutyens. The work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944). (Hayward Gallery Catalogue 1981) p 124. This comment suggests that vernacular building need not be related to traditions of a locality - or perhaps suggests that an earlier vernacular house may have been given a classical encasement at a later date.
29. English Renaissance architecture and garden design were the focus of numerous books published at this time. 'This nostalgia for England's past was also expressed by Country Life where an interest in Country Craft went hand in hand with

articles on Elizabethan and Carolean houses'. Lutyens (1981)
p 120.

30. Ibid., p 120.

for descriptions of Ednaston Manor see
O'NEILL. D. Sir Edwin Lutyens. Country Houses (1980) pp109-113;
Hayward Gallery Catalogue op.cit., p 124;
Architectural Monographs. Edwin Lutyens (1979) pp74-8;
GRADIDGE. Edwin Lutyens. Architect Laureate (1981)
pp140-1,144.

31. O'NEILL. op.cit., p 138.

32. Ednaston Manor Gardens & Nurseries (official guide book)
see also BROWN. J. Gardens of a Golden Afternoon (1982) p135.

33. Quoted by OTTEWILL. 'The Architects's Garden' op.cit., p 4.

34. Also by Nesfield, the lodge and remains of landscaping on which
he consulted his father. For Nesfield's collaboration with
Shaw see SAINT. A. Richard Norman Shaw (1976) especially pp
116, 145, 147.

Lea Wood is now a home for the elderly.

35. ibid., p 18 f 30. Nesfield called in the young Albert Moore to
decorate the dairy ceiling at about the same time as Moore was
working on the big bookcase by Burges which is now in the
Victoria and Albert Museum.

36. For description of gardens see The Gardener's Chronicle
(1883) 18 Aug: (1903) 17 Jan: The Garden(1900)15 Dec. Vol 58:
The Gardener's Magazine (1902) 10 May.

37. SITWELL. S: SITWELL. O: SITWELL SIR G: SITWELL, R: Hortus
Sitwellianus (Salisbury 1984) p 23 'Sir George's
Introduction'.

38. Vol. 1. (1946) p 3.

39. These comments occur in the 'Foreword' by Sacheverell and the
'Introduction' by Osbert in Hortus Sitwellianus op.cit.,

40. SITWELL. O. Great Morning (1949) being Vol 3 of his
autobiography. pp 59-60.

41. 'On the Making of Gardens' p 84, Hortus Sitwellianus op.cit.,

42. ibid., p100

43. TOOLEY. op.cit., pp39-42. 'a series of unlikely plans was produced for the Lawn Garden, the border under the buttress wall, the Tank Garden and the Green or Long Alley.' Jekyll's plan for planting the Long Alley is reproduced on p 37.

44. For detailed descriptions of the gardens at Renishaw see
 HUSSEY. C. 'Renishaw Hall', Country Life (1938) May 7, 14:
 TIPPING. A. Gardens Old and New (n.d.) Vol 1. pp 262-8.
 SITWELL. R. and HOLLINGWORTH. P. "Ho, there, my perwinckle!" The Garden (Aug 1978) Vol 103 part 8. pp201-8.
 A version of this last article appears as 'The Gardens at Renishaw' in Hortus Sitwellianus op cit.,

45. Henry Boot and Sons was responsible during both World Wars for building aerodromes, army camps and war factories in various parts of the country. In 1928 he visited Athens where the Greek Government accepted his £6 million contract for irrigation and land reclamation schemes for an area about the size of Yorkshire. The firm was also involved in the rebuilding of devastated France after World War 1. Boot's obituary (June 15 1945) The Star

46. The Gardener's Chronicle (Sep 17, 1898) pp 221-3.

47. *ibid.*, p222. The winter gardens were demolished when the hall was converted into a teacher training college in 1947 - study bedrooms were built in their place.

48. Lutyens op.cit., p22.

10. CONCLUSION

Formalism was the ascendent style for Victorian garden design. Although it was constantly criticised and subject to a variety of interpretations, it seems to have been popular at all levels of society, reaching a peak in the Italianate by the middle of the century. The informal or landscape garden was revived under Robinson and Jekyll in the 1880s, but by the turn of the century the battle for formalism had been won. Even Robinson's own garden at Gravetye Manor contained a good deal of formality in its design. This triumph of formalism in the late Victorian and Edwardian period displayed a new picturesque fusion of the architectural with the natural, drawing on the expertise of gardeners like Robinson and Jekyll to soften and enhance the architect's garden. The necessity for collaboration and consultation between architect and gardener was constantly being emphasised by architects as well as landscape gardeners.

By 1904 when Herman Muthesius published Das Englische Haus, in which he described the 'Principles of the Modern Garden' (1), illustrating it with examples of formal gardens by Mawson, Lorimer, Mallows, Lutyens and Voysey, the authority of the architect in the garden seems to have been established - certainly by architects, anyway!

'The modern English view of the garden is that the formal plan should be revived but that at the same time the utmost attention should be paid to the cultivation of flowers and plants, preferably indigenous ones... The garden is seen as a continuation of the rooms of the house, almost a series of separate out-door rooms ... In aesthetic terms the ordered garden is to the house as the socle to the statue, the base on which it stands.'

He pointed out that the goal of the modern English domestic architect was to achieve a formal layout within clearly visible boundaries - the extent of the formal garden being dependent on individual preferences.

'No English house, even a small one, lacks its

terrace... it is also important as regards the architectonic effect of the house. Thanks to the terrace, the house appears to rest on a stable base that sets it off to considerable effect... English opinion is thus categorical in its conviction that the terrace is the indispensable link between the two almost equally important parts of the country-mansion, the house and the garden.' (2)

The quest for greater historical knowledge provided a wide range of styles from all periods and all countries which could be adapted for the formal garden, so that eventually, as the formalist tradition moved on into the twentieth century, it was at the cost of the historicism that had originally prompted its revival. (3) The compartmentalized garden encouraged flexibility in handling a variety of styles which could be incorporated in the same design; screening and enclosure allowed a wide range of experiment and eclecticism without creating any visual disruption. Hence, even a comparatively small garden might contain spreading lawns and tennis courts, a Jekyll woodland garden, a rose garden or a lily garden, an alpine garden, a so-called American or Japanese garden, together with pools, sunken gardens and ornamental geometric beds.

Repton and Loudon had incorporated a series of linked gardens in their schemes nearly a hundred years earlier. The emphasis then had been on historical association and newly introduced plants; the aesthetics of the picturesque contrived to restrict the use of formality in garden design early in the century by encouraging the continued use of serpentine irregularity. But as Loudon's gardenesque became increasingly formal, so the straight promenade and central axis of a garden layout became important geometric features, usually linked with access to the house or to garden features, such as fountains, garden seats or summer houses, or to views of the distant landscape. Victorian gardening was flower-orientated and the love of novelty and bright colour encouraged complex displays of bedding-out in geometric patterns. Budding's invention of the lawn mower also did much to encourage a wide-spread return to formality, by eventually bringing a neat and tidy lawn within the grasp of the suburban middle classes.

'... the sudden influx of bright summer annuals came just in time to meet the demands of that new and rapidly growing race, the suburban gardener, whose properties were too small to accommodate a Pinetum, and whose tastes ran to colour rather than magnificence, to quick returns rather than posterity. It was for this growing race of weekend gardeners that J C Loudon and Joseph Paxton were writing, and it was for them that Eschscholzia, Clarkia, Godetia, and Nemophila had a special appeal. The lawn and the lawn mower, and the trim parterre carpeted with flowers, had already become an essential part of the urban landscape.'(4)

By the end of the period a plethora of architects and landscape gardeners were publishing their ideas in articles and books; publications like Country Life, used excellent photographs which did much to promote the emphasis of the house in its setting of formal gardens. Numerous lectures were given at the R.I.B.A. and published in its journal, dealing with the relationship between the house and garden, and the craft of garden-making. None of the authors seems to have seriously doubted that formality round the house was essential - there was some debate about the demarcation of boundaries between the formal garden and the landscape beyond, and to what extent landscaping of the wider environment should be undertaken. In 1910, an essay by J. Allan entitled 'House and Garden : an essay on the treatment of gardens in connection with buildings' (5) won the Royal Institute silver medal. He reiterated that

'The art of the garden is... an application and extension of the principles of art generally, and especially those of architecture, to the garden
...it is incumbent on the architect to reclaim for his art the right to determine not only all that concerns the building itself, but its immediate environment - that is, in the broad sense, not the technical details of planting, but the general design, the composition, the plan, so that building and garden shall be welded into one harmonious, well-proportioned, artistic unity.'

He discussed the history of garden making and in common with many

other contemporary writers on the subject deferred to Italy - 'The Italian gardens of the Renaissance, are by general consent, the most beautiful in the world... House and garden were equally the work of the architect, resulting in one complete and harmonious composition', although he warned against the dangers of trying to 'reproduce their inimitable charm under cold northern skies.'

In a lecture read to the R.I.B.A. in 1905 entitled 'Garden Architecture' (6) Mervyn Macartney (who subsequently became editor of Architectural Review in 1906) had made many similar points about Italian gardens. He did not like the vast elaborate gardens at Versailles or Trentham where there was 'a sense of enormous effort with little result... a useless expenditure of labour and money without adequate return.' He praised the subtle charm of the terrace at Haddon Hall where, 'there is no great striving after effect... Chatsworth bores me, so does the Crystal Palace.'

Numerous other examples could be cited, echoing similar sentiments. The importance of the architect's garden and its formal relationship with the house accompanied an increasing rejection of the earlier grandiose, spectacular formality in favour of something more intimate.

An interesting feature of Derbyshire is the fact that so many of the important gardens of the nineteenth century were laid out for wealthy industrialists. The first of these industrial nouveaux riches to build himself a splendid mansion amidst landscaped gardens was Sir Richard Arkwright at Willersley Hall, Cromford (1789-90). Allcard's garden at Burton Closes and Wright's at Osmaston Manor, both owed much to the influence of Chatsworth and Paxton. Similarly McConnel's garden at Cressbrook which was laid out by Paxton's pupil Kemp, and Whitworth's garden at Stancliffe Hall, laid out by another of Paxton's pupils, E. Milner. Another industrialist's garden which attracted the attention of the press in 1874 (7) was Pleasley Vale (Fig 217) the residence of W. Hollins, at Pleasley on the borders of

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Whereas Arkwright had built Willersley Hall just out of sight of his mill at Cromford, here at Pleasley, the house is almost on top of the textile mills. In spite of the dramatic rocky walls of the valley, a complex system of formal gardens was laid out, which included elaborate bedding-out, a conservatory and terrace walks with vases and clipped yews. There is little left now to indicate the former splendours of this garden - the abandoned house stands forlornly behind its buttressed terrace wall, in the shadow of the towering rocks immediately behind it.

The fate of Pleasley has been that shared by numerous other nineteenth-century formal gardens in the the area, especially those at Shipley, Osmaston and Clumber. At Elvaston attempts have been made to restore parts of the formal garden and the interior of the gothic hall has been refurbished. Even Chatsworth, once the greatest garden in the area, is now but a shadow of its nineteenth-century magnificence. It was described by Adam in 1845 as exhibiting

'a splendid specimen of the enrichment of art and the capability of a world however sterile and forbidding in its natural aspect, of being converted, by persevering industry and judicious management, into a very Paradise.' (8)

Chatsworth is given a first class grading in the Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England (1984). Part 10 Derbyshire lists seventeen gardens from various periods. Although this is a significant step forward in the process of recording important historic gardens, the nineteenth century is poorly represented and generally speaking the relationship between house and gardens seems to have been overlooked. (9)

Chapter 10 Notes.

1. p107. English edition. The English House (1979)
2. ibid., pp113-114
3. ELLIOTT. 'Victorian garden design' op.cit., p63
4. TAYLOR.G. 'The contribution from America to British Gardens in the early nineteenth century' in MCDUGALL ed. John Claudius Loudon and the Nineteenth Century in Great Britain. (1980) p135
5. R.I.B.A. Journal Vol XVII. 3rd series. 30 July 1910 pp649-683
6. published in RIBA Journal Vol XII 3rd series. 22 April 1905pp 377-92.
7. The Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener. August 13. pp144-146.
8. op.cit., p123.
9. The Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission was established in April 1984 and officially acknowledged historic gardens as part of the nation's heritage.

APPENDIX A

Loudon's summary of gardening styles culminating in the
Gardenesque. The Landscape Gardening of Humphry Repton (1840).
Extracts from the Introduction pp V - IX.

...The art of laying out the grounds which immediately surround a country residence, may be displayed in two very distinct styles: the first of which is called the Ancient, Roman, Geometric, Regular, or Architectural Style; and the second, the Modern, English, Irregular, Natural, or Landscape Style. Both these styles are, in different stages of society, equally congenial to the human mind. The Geometric Style was most striking and pleasing, and most obviously displayed wealth and taste, in an early state of society, and in countries where the general scenery was wild, irregular, and natural, and man, comparatively, uncultivated and unrefined; while, on the other hand, in modern times, and in countries subjected to cultivation, and covered with enclosures, rows of trees, and roads, all in regular lines, or forms, and where society is in a higher state of cultivation, the natural, or irregular style, from its rarity in such a country, and from the sacrifice of profitable lands requisite to make room for it, becomes equally a sign of wealth and taste. Of each of these styles, circumstances, either geographical or national, have given rise to two or more modifications; and these, in the language of art, may be called Schools. Thus, the Geometric Style, in Italy, owing to the hilliness of the country, and the national taste of the inhabitants for architecture, is characterized by flights of steps in the open air, terrace-walls, vases, and statues. The same style in France, where estates are much more extensive, the surface of the country more even, and the inhabitants less fond of architecture, is characterized by long avenues: . . .

while in Holland, a perfectly flat country, it is distinguished by long, straight canals, and grassy terraces. Thus we have the Italian, the French, and the Dutch Schools, of the Geometric Style.

...The Modern, or Landscape Style, when it first displayed itself in English country residences, was distinctly marked

by the absence of everything having the appearance of a terrace, or of architectural forms, or lines, immediately adjoining the house. The house, in short, rose abruptly from the lawn; and the general surface of the ground was characterized by smoothness and bareness. This constituted the first school of the Landscape Style;

... The rage for destroying avenues and terraces having subsided, and the propriety of uniting a country house with the surrounding scenery; by architectural appendages, having been pointed out, in a masterly manner, by Uvedale Price, Kent's School gave way; not, however, as may be supposed, to the Picturesque School (which, though adopted in many instances, in some parts of an estate, yet, in very few cases was exclusively employed), but to what may be called Repton's School, and which may be considered as combining all that was excellent in the former schools, . . . so the present prevailing taste for botany and horticulture, and the introduction, from other countries, of many new plants which thrive in the open air in our climate, have called for such a change in the manner of laying out and planting grounds as shall display these new plants to a greater advantage than hitherto. This change has given rise to a school which we call the Gardenesque; the characteristic feature of which, is the display of the beauty of trees, and other plants, individually.

... According to the Gardenesque School, on the contrary, all the trees and shrubs planted are arranged in regard to their kinds and dimensions; and they are planted at first at, or, as they grow, thinned out to, such distances apart as may best display the natural form and habit of each: while, at the same time, in a general point of view, unity of expression and character are aimed at, and attained, as effectually as they were under any other school. In short, the aim of the Gardenesque is to add, to the acknowledged charms of the Repton School, all those which the sciences of gardening and botany, in their present advanced state, are capable of producing.

... The Gardenesque School of Landscape is particularly adapted for laying out the grounds of small villas;

C. MORRIS. ed. The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes
(1982). Description of Chatsworth in 1697 pp 104 - 107.

All Derbyshire is full of steep hills, and nothing but the peakes of hills as thick one by another is seen in most of the County which are very steepe which makes travelling tedious, and the miles long. you see neither hedge nor tree but only low drye stone walls round some ground, else its only hills and dales as thick as you can imagine, but tho' the surface of the earth looks barren yet those hills are impregnated with rich Marbles Stones Metals Iron and Copper and Coale mines in their bowells, from whence we may see the wisdom and benignitye of our greate Creator to make up the defficiency of a place by an equivalent as also the diversity of the Creation which encreaseth its Beauty.

We go from Chesterfield to the Duke of Devonshires house and ascend a high hill at least two or three miles long; we pass'd by a cavity in one great Banck or Rock called Stonidge Hall, all stone of about 12 yards long and about 4 or 5 broad, its all rock like an arch on the Roofe, but its not fenc'd, so but the beasts trample and fowle it you can scarce go into it; the same long steep hill we had to descend which comes to Chatsworth;⁹ the Duke's house lyes just at the foote of this steepe hill which is like a precipice just at the last, notwithstanding the Dukes house stands on a little rising ground from the River Derwent which runs all along the front of the house and by a little fall made in the water which makes a pretty murmuring noise; before the gate there is a large Parke and severall fine Gardens one without another with gravell walkes and squairs of grass with stone statues in them and in the middle of each Garden is a large fountaine full of images Sea Gods and Dolphins and Sea Horses which are full of pipes which spout out water in the bason and spouts all about the gardens; 3 Gardens just round the house; some have gravell walks and square like the other with Statues and Images in the bason, there is one bason in the middle of one Garden thats very large and by sluces besides the Images severall pipes plays out the water, about 30 large and small pipes altogether, some flush it up that it frothes like snow; there is one Garden full of stone and brass statues; so the Gardens lyes one above another which makes the prospect very fine; above these gardens is an ascent of 5 or 6 stepps up to a wilderness and close arbours and shady walks, on each end of one walke stands two piramidies full of pipes spouting water that runns down one of them, runns on brass hollow work which looks like rocks and hollow stones; the other is all flatts stands one above another like salvers so the water rebounds one from another, 5 or 6 one above the other; there is another green walke and about the middle of it by the Grove stands a fine Willow tree, the leaves barke and all looks very naturall, the roote is full of rubbish or great stones to appearance, and all on a sudden by turning a sluice it raines from each leafe and from the branches like a shower, it being made of brass and pipes to each leafe but in appearance is exactly like any Willow; beyond this is a bason in which are the branches of two Hartichocks Leaves which weeps at the end of each leafe into the bason which is placed at the foote of lead steps 30 in number; on a little banck stands blew balls 10 on a side, and between each ball are 4 pipes which by a sluice spouts out water across the stepps to each other like an harbour or arch; while you are thus amused suddenly there runs down a torrent of water out of 2 pitchers in the hands of two large Nimphs cut in stone that lyes in the upper step, which makes a pleasing prospect, this is designed to be enlarged and steps made up to the top of the hill which is a vast ascent, but from the top of it now they are supply'd with water for all their pipes so it will be the easier to have such a fall of water even from the top which will add to the Curiositye.

The house is built all of stone that is dugg out of the hills, its like free stone; a flatt Roofe with barristers and flower potts; in the front is 7 large windows the glass is diamond cutt and all off large Looking-glass, the panes bigg 4 in a breadth 7 in

height; to the garden ward was 12 windows of the same glass 4 panes broad 8 long; the lowest windows are made with Grates before them and are for birds an Averye and so looking glass behind; the front entrance is not finished.

The front is with severall large stone pillars carv'd at the entrance into another Court which the house is built about, and here are peaso's [piazzas] supported with stone pillars under which you pass from one place to another, out of it is the Chapple which is a very lofty building and supported by 4 large pillars of black marble two at the alter 2 just at the bottom to support the gallery for the Duke and Dutches to sitt in; the pillars are 14 foote and so bigg that I could not compass one with my arms; these 4. and 2 stepps by the alter was made out of one stone cut out of the hill just by, so is all the marble about the house and so finely polish'd like a looking-glass; the pavement is black and white marble vein'd lay'd longwayes in large stones all of the same; the painting is very fine on the top and on the sides the history of Christ and the New testament; there is a very fine Carving of wood and stone, the Dove at the alter the Angels and Cherubims with flowers leaves laurell etc., very curiously carv'd.¹⁰

The hall is very lofty painted top and sides with armory; at the end of the dincing roome is a large door all of Looking-glass, in great pannells all diamond cutt, this is just opposite to the doores that runs into the drawing roome and bed chamber and closet, so it shews the roomes to look all double; the Duchess's Closet is wanscoated with the hollow burnt japan [lacquer] and at each corner are peers of Looking-glass, over the Chimney is Looking glass an oval, and at the 4 corners, after this figure 'O', and hollow carving all round the glass; the roomes are all painted very finely on the top, all the windows the squares of glass are so large and good they cost 10s. a pannell; there was sweete tapistrey hangings with small figures and very much silk, they look'd as fresh as if new^{tho'} bought severall yeares, there were no beds up.

There was as many roomes on the other side which were not finished, they were just painting the cielings and laying the floores, which are all inlaid; these were the Duke and Dutches's apartments besides which are a great number of roomes and severall offices; there is a fine grottoe all stone pavement rooffe and sides, this is design'd to supply all the house with water besides severall fancies to make diversion; within this is a batheing roome, the walls all with blew and white marble the pavement mix'd one stone white another black another of the red rance¹¹ marble; the bath is one entire marble all white finely veined with blew and is made smooth, but had it been as finely pollish'd as some, it would have been the finest marble that could be seen; it was as deep as ones middle on the outside and you went down steps into the bath big enough for two people; at the upper end are two Cocks to let in one hott the other cold water to attemper it as persons please; the windows are all private glass;¹² the Gallery was delicately painted over head, and round on the top was a raile and barristers [balusters] so naturally drawn just round the cornish [cornice] that you would take it for a railed walke round the top to looke down into the gallery; there is another fine staircase all stone and hangs on it self, on the outside, the support is from the wall and its own building, the stone of the half paces are large and one entire stone makes each: on the top of the staires the space leading to the roomes are 3 large Stones, the Stones cost 20£, a piece, so large and thick, you would wonder how they should be raised up so high and be supported by its own arch without any pillars on the outside; this is all of stone cut out of the hills which looks like what we call free stone, the house is all off the same and all the marble in the windows chimneys and pavements is all marble dug out of the hill above the house, both black, white, rance and curiously veined and polished so fine as any I ever saw which came from beyond sea.

APPENDIX B 11

Description of Chatsworth in 1811.

L. JEWITT. The History of Buxton: and visitors' guide to the curiosities of the Peak. (1811). Dedicated to the new (6th) Duke of Devonshire. pp 131 - 132.

The waterworks in the gardens, are the remains of a justly exploded fashion. Were they destroyed, and, the stream that supplies them suffered to find its own course to the Derwent, Chatsworth would receive an addition of picturesque beauty, of which it is at present partly deprived by their continuance. To improve a situation like that of Chatsworth, every addition should be in a stile that would accord with the feature of the country. Here it is large and grand; the improvements ought to be the same. But when diminutive jets, and shallow cascades are opposed to the grandeur of its extensive woods, they decrease in their already small dimensions, and by the forcible contrast, appear still more diminutive.

Yet Chatsworth possesses one beauty, which visitors who come to admire grand rooms and elegant furniture, pass by unnoticed. This is the grotto arranged by the hands of the late Duchess. It is placed under the side of a woody hill, over-hung with trees and the roof is supported by an old stock, overgrown with ivy; and the inside composed of various fossils of the country, so assorted as to harmonize with each other and the surrounding scene. A gravel walk runs near the entrance, and below that, is a lake, overgrown in part with sedges, reeds, and pond weed, and almost hidden from view by the trees which grow around its banks. A rustling wind gives frequently a glimpse of distant country through the opening foliage, or the grot itself would seem to be secluded from the world and all its bustle.

APPENDIX B 111

MEMO OF WORKS UNDERTAKEN FOR THE SIXTH DUKE BY PAXTON.

In Paxton's own hand, probably written c. 1844-5.

(Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.)

- 1827 Covered way taken down leading to stables.
Wall built round west front garden
- 1828 Wire fence taken down round flower garden
- 1829 Water first let over the Robber's Stone.
West front garden planted.
Weeping ash planted in North front
Large lime trees planted at the Lodge
Iron pipes substituted for lead in the fountains
- 1830 New copper willow tree made by Bower of
Chesterfield
- 1832 Glass roof to old greenhouse
The Queen's oak planted
Walk and slopes made from orangery to Flower
Garden
- 1834 Arboretum commenced
- 1835 Arboretum planted
- 1836 Foundation stone laid for Great Conservatory
by the Earl of Burlington.
- 1836 Conservative wall planted.
- 1838 Wallace and Banks left for America
- 1839 March 16 first plant put into the conservatory.

ROCKERIES, GROTTOES, AND CAVERNS.

In a country of which the most characteristic feature is flatness, monotony, and tameness, considerable relief is often obtained by introducing objects in themselves wildly natural, or rudely picturesque. And the effect is rather heightened than otherwise by the remote contrast they afford to the surrounding scenery, and the manner in which they carry the imagination to districts where such peculiarities preponderate.

A small villa, for example, situated on a level tract of land in the vicinity of one of our large English towns, derives great interest from having a secluded nook, where the visitor can retire, as it were, into a rural or romantic dell, and seem almost shut away from the great world about him.

But it is not to undiversified or highly-cultivated spots, or those in which the art of man is prominent, that the pleasure resulting from viewing rugged inequalities and rock-like groups is restricted. In the most romantic positions, nature may generally be improved or added to; her beauties rendered more beautiful, her apparent deformities concealed; and advantage may be taken of her capabilities, to rear structures and piles in which, while the ingenuity of man shall be perceptible, the outlines and materials shall be decidedly inartificial.

It will be seen that we here refer to those assemblages, so varied in their forms, constituents, and objects, which bear the common names indicated in the title of this paper. That their legitimate province is sometimes overstepped, the limits to which they should be confined frequently exceeded, and the true principles of their composition very generally outraged, by persons fond of variety, or unacquainted with the rules of taste, are matters of too great notoriety, and of too common occurrence, to admit of a doubt. It may be well to expose some of the prevailing departures from propriety on this head; for errors in judgment, taste, or execution, cannot, unless known and perceived to be such, escape perpetuation.

We do not intend to distinguish errors of the former kind from those of taste; a refined taste, or perception of the beautiful and the appropriate, always resulting in some degree from the possession of a sound, discriminating, and well-cultivated judgment. The first deviation from tastefulness connected with the construction of rockeries and their concomitants which we shall now notice, is the placing them near a mansion, or any great work of art.

Even in those localities where the scenery becomes gradually wilder and more savage the farther it recedes from a residence, and there is a regular and perfect progression from the artificial rockery to the mountains and glens around, nothing can compensate for the absence of that high state of cultivation, and congruous arrangement of parts to correspond with the style of the house, which should ever attend an architectural erection. A dwelling, of whatever description, is plainly and palpably a specimen of art; and it is an established rule, that the space immediately around it should partake of the same character, merging only by slow degrees, and in proportion as it falls away from the central point, into the more natural features of the distant country or the neighbourhood.

To bring, therefore, on a lawn contiguous to the house, piles of rocks which represent the most truly natural features in spots on which the hand of man has never been employed, or over which, perhaps, his foot has never trod, is, by eminence, entitled to be regarded as one of the most monstrous infringements on taste. Not only is it requisite, however, that the ground encompassing a mansion should be free from all the irregularities and vagaries which mark strictly natural scenery, but

the same restrictions hold good with respect to the flower-gardens, parterres, or ornamental gardens, fronting or encircling all sorts of architectural buildings. Temples, conservatories, and other garden structures that are not absolutely rustic, must not be invaded by the wildness of nature, nor their precincts be rendered too conformable to natural circumstances, or studded with anything that has the appearance of rusticity and carelessness.

Several instances might be mentioned to which the objections thus made are particularly applicable. We sometimes see little villas, of scarcely an acre in extent, in which grottoes are on the same level, and quite unconcealed by trees, within a few yards of the house; and cases have been presented to our observation in which large heaps of rockwork form the principal foreground to a residence, as viewed from the road passing in front. More glaring examples, because of greater pretensions, are to be found in a few places really celebrated for their rockeries, where the materials are actually scattered in groups on the lawn directly connected with the main façade of the mansion. To all these we must distinctly apply the most unmitigated censure.

There are conditions, nevertheless, which render the proximity of rockwork to buildings tolerable, and even interesting. When flower-gardens front a residence, a conservatory, a range of floricultural erections, or any other architectural appanage to the pleasure-grounds, and it is especially desired to cultivate those plants which either succeed best among rocks, or produce a better effect when planted on them; their introduction will be proper, and deserving of approbation. Only it should be apparent in their figure, and in the prominence rather of the plants to be grown than the substances on which they are elevated, that the imitation of nature is not attempted, but merely the provision of a suitable medium for cultivation.

In addition to the necessity for keeping masses of rustic work adequately remote from the more conspicuous productions of art, and the luxuries of a home scene, it is of little less importance, as far as relates to the enjoyment of those occupying a mansion, or inspecting a garden from its apartments, that rockeries should not be discernible from any part thereof. Undoubtedly, when on a scale of sufficient magnitude and grandeur, they may become fit components of the distant garden scene, and give to it a diversity which might else be lacking. But the means are rarely at hand for carrying such a work as this into effect; and where there are facilities, nature either more appropriately employs them, or there is wanting that genius which can alone make use of them in a becoming manner.

Piles of rocks, however rude, meeting the eye among trees, flowers, and other garden decorations, must be particularly impressive, and characteristic enough in themselves to demand specific attention, and their entire outlines be so bold and visible as to make them individually noticeable, or they cannot enhance the pleasure derivable from any view. To place them where they are half seen, half hidden amid the luxuriance of vegetation, from the windows of a dwelling, is, consequently, to be guilty of another breach of propriety and taste; and rockeries that circumscribe small gardens in which there are no trees to conceal them, or that are raised on an eminence to bring them within the range of vision, are only the more offensive the more natural they are made, and the more highly tended is the intermediate space.

Advancing yet further in our exposure of prevalent faults, we come to one which is probably not so gross as those already depicted, though it derives increased force, and is more likely to be followed, from its exceeding commonness. It is that of letting any of the objects referred to in this paper be visible from other parts of the garden, particularly from distant positions. By thoroughly isolating these things, they may be introduced to the most limited gardens; while in the largest, if not duly retired, they will never have a good effect. To feel their full influence, the spectator should come upon them unexpectedly out of a rich or agreeable portion of the pleasure-grounds; and when he has left them, pass again to some scene in which trees, shrubs, and flowers are abundant, without being able to discover more than the direction in which the spot he has quitted lies.

Seclusion is indispensable for rockeries, on two grounds. First, the beholder requires to be near to them in order to detect their several beauties ; as the extent, and proportions, and shape, will be too indistinct and petty to be attractive, with a spacious foreground between. Second, they will not mix and combine harmoniously with the other features of a pleasure-garden ; but have the greatest interest as detached groups, complete in themselves, and neither lending a charm to anything around, nor borrowing from aught their own peculiar attraction, beyond the preparatory influence which the one and the other exercise on the mind of the inspector.

From what has just been stated, it will, then, be obvious that a confined dell or hollow is by far the most proper situation for a rockery ; and we may now add that a grotto or a cavern ought ever to constitute a part of a general rockery, and not be erected in a detached state. A rockery may exist without a grotto, and yet be as ornamental ; though the erection of the latter without some rockwork to accompany it, cannot be recommended or approved.

In places where a natural dell is to be found far enough from all the structures before alluded to, the materials can be taken to it in the requisite quantity ; its outline being varied according to a prepared design prior to the commencement of any erection. Should no hollow of the kind naturally occur, it will have to be excavated. The site must by all means be below rather than above the general surface. Let the stones, pieces of rock, flints, roots, &c., be piled against the banks of this hollow, securing, however, a due variety by having them in some parts sloping, in others perpendicular, and in a few shelving outwards from the base.

No subject in the gardening profession calls for a more vigorous exercise of skill and talent than the formation of rockeries and their appendages. It is here that the difference between those who have studied from nature, frequented her most savage territories, and drunk in with avidity their inspiring influence,—and such as have spent all their days in the vicinage of towns, or located themselves in a dull and level district, or failed to employ their minds in the contemplation of external objects,—is vividly manifest. Individuals of the latter class—and they are evidently numerous—when they essay the erection of anything imitative of nature, encumber their work with straight lines, or meaningless conceits ; and hence rockeries too usually take the form of boundary walls, and grottoes of childish toys. Pre-eminently designed to excite attention and afford gratification, they should be pre-eminently natural ; and as well in the choice of materials as their arrangement, this point should be continually before the thoughts.

If the summit of a grotto or a rockery rise above the dell in which it is placed, it will be easy to plant evergreen shrubs or trees on the outside of it, or train ivy up the parts that would be seen from without. Directions for putting the materials together would be little better than ridiculous. Irregularity and diversity must undoubtedly be aimed at, but it should not be forgotten, that nature, in different situations, assumes a certain indefinable uniformity of figure, one of which may be allowed to pervade each detached group.

We hope these strictures, which are intentionally very general, and have for many reasons not been illustrated by references to well-known objectionable examples, will be at least instrumental in directing notice to a few of the absurdities that have hitherto been perpetrated in the way of rock-gardens, and in inducing gardeners to attempt something more worthy of the present state of the art.

'Haddon Hall' by P. G. Hamerton, published in an anthology of his poems in 1855. A romantic engraving of the overgrown bowling green terrace and balustrade forms the frontispiece to his anthology and his poem on Haddon, interestingly, begins with a description of the gardens, rather than the house which was more usual.

THE ISLES OF LOCH AWE

AND

Other Poems of my Youth.

WITH SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON.



HADDON HALL.

THERE is an air about these terraces
Of long neglect and absence. Since the yews
Rejoiced to gain their natural liberty,
And stretched their arms across the garden beds,
And shaking hands, forgot the cruel shears,
A hundred years have passed; and I rejoice
With them; and walking here in pleasant shade,
Through which the sunshine falls in scattered spots
Upon the mossy walks, congratulate
These ancient brethren that unnatural customs
Which man delights in now no longer mar
Their fair proportions.

With their sheddings tinged,
The beds are full of weeds, whose humble beauty
Adorns waste places. In abundance here
Are primroses and wild anemones,
That ask no tending from a human hand,

For God himself regards them ; and I think
We need not wish these gardens as they were,
With yews all clipped and tortured, and square beds
Bordered with chiselled stones. See how the roots
Of the old trees have burst their narrow bounds,
And kicked away the stones with scornful feet !

Dark are the fifteen yews — fifteen are they,
And two poor trees besides, unkindly thrust
Behind an oaken summer-house, whose frame
Mars their free growth and parts them from the rest.
Dark are the yews, but, like a hill of snow,
Behind them towers a noble cherry-tree,
Covered with blossom ; and still farther back,
The highest terrace with its avenue
Of planes, whose fresh and bright unsullied green
Contrasts as strongly with the sombre yews.
And even those old stones about the roots
Are an intense light green that dazzles you.
So well does Nature study to display
Her scale of colour, from a depth of gloom
Rich, shadowy, grave, and dark as ebony,
To brilliant leafage, whose transparent structure
Colours the golden sunbeams falling through.

Next to the yews I love the balustrade,
With lichen-blotted spheres at intervals,
And little arches. It adapts itself
With ease to change of level in the slope
Of the broad flight of gentle, shallow stairs,
Descending with them to the garden square.
Its spheres and arches seen betwixt the yews,
Lead the eye onward to the hall itself ;
And then it wanders down the garden front
From oriel to ivied oriel,
Down to the chapel window, where it rests,
A traciced window, beautiful, half-seen.

This garden is a platform well sustained
By buttresses of masonry. Below,
The river waters many noble trees,
Passing beneath the arches of a bridge—
A little two-arched bridge, whose narrow path
Two horsemen could not ride upon abreast.
Down to this bridge from the high table-land
Whereon the spacious quadrangles are built,
Long flights of stairs descend—old mossy stairs.

The silent chapel is all grey within ;
Its gilded mouldings have a yellower tint
Than the plain oak itself—but nothing more.
The windows still retain some painted glass,
Coloured with gold, and delicately drawn :
But in one night, some years ago, there came
Vile thieves, who stole the rest of it away,
And only left these fragments—so I look

(five more pages
follow dealing
with the in-
terior.)

Extract from the Sixth Duke's Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick (1845) referring to his mother's attachment to Hardwick and including a poem she wrote in 1788.

'Farewell to Hardwick! Here is peace and quiet - here is the reflection that the happy part of a harassed life was spent here by our mother, and that many years after her marriage she wrote,

"In vain the winter's gloom o'erspreads the wood,
And leafless oaks extend their branches wide;
In vain (and long their forms uncouth have stood)
The turrets crown the shade with Gothic pride.
No gloomy thoughts their image can impart,
No melancholy moments here begin;
The seasons are unheeded by the heart,
And the rude mansion bears a gem within.
'Tis not because, inspir'd by fancy's glow,
The mind can here romantic visions trace,
Can listen to the captive Mary's woe,
Or mark the sorrows of her faded face -
No past events, but present joys appear
And Friendship and Affection triumph here."

1788

APPENDIX D iii

ELVASTON CASTLE

A description of the gardens. Extract from The Gardens of England by E Adveno Brooke, 1858.

The Gardens at Elvaston Castle have very properly been as a sealed book until they had arrived at something like perfection in the style adopted, and, that time having come, the present noble owner has thrown them open to the public, and they are now the most celebrated in Europe for their collection of rare and valuable evergreens, which, little more than a quarter of a century back, were very meagre, not possessing anything worthy of notice except a group of cedars of Lebanon, surrounding the Castle, planted by Capability Brown. The example here laid down for the introduction of a better and more artistic style of gardening is most encouraging, inasmuch as it shows what can be accomplished within a reasonable time; for now the present occupant of a domain may complete and enjoy, in his lifetime, much more than our forefathers were able to achieve for their posterity even to the fourth generation. To gain this desirable end, a new art was here invented, namely, that of removing trees of immense size, some, from distances of thirty miles, at all seasons, and with perfect success. Many such trees, centuries old, are now flourishing with the renewed vigour of youth. This invention gives at once a power to the landscape gardener to remodel, construct, and finish his design, which by any other means would have taken ages to accomplish. Here, again, another new feature in landscape decoration has been attained by planting trees in large masses, and blending the colours artistically (one of the great features in these gardens), and by these means, at all times of the year, magnificent effects are produced in forest scenery. In other places this has been achieved with flowers, but at Elvaston alone has this art been applied to arboriculture. Elvaston may truly be said to be a place of every day enjoyment, the year round. Flora and Sylva, one or both, may here be found at all seasons.

The Gardens of England cannot be surpassed in their seasons of beauty, though few, or none, can be said to be enjoyable for more than six or seven months in the year; but Elvaston is so entirely a winter or evergreen garden that a Baronet, well-known in fashionable circles, when speaking of it and quoting Shakespeare, said, November, "the winter of our discontent, is here made glorious summer".

Having passed into these gardens, wherever the eye turns a most enchanting scene presents itself. Clipped yews representing columns, pedestals, minarets, &c, interspersed with marble statuary in subjects too various to particularise, surprise and delight the visitor. After walking some distance along the drive, or carriage road, we come to a very extraordinary Arbour, surmounted by singular decorations representing birds of Paradise. The remarkable symmetry and beauty of this Arbour will excite the wonder of the beholder, but how will that wonder be increased when he is informed that the object before him is one tree, the stem of which runs up the centre, and which was brought a distance of twenty-five miles, twenty years ago. It is upwards of 100 years since it was planted in the garden from whence it was removed, and it is fourteen feet square and eighteen feet high.

The Garden of "Mon Plaisir" is immediately under the south front of the Castle, whence its general effect and singular design are seen to great advantage. It is enclosed on two sides by yew hedges, in the form of walls,

the sides being quite perpendicular and the tops cut off square. The central portion is a covered walk. This walk is eight feet wide, and the entrance through the yew is nine feet high to the centre of the arch. The American Arbor Vitae is planted on each side of it and completely envelopes the walk, excluding the sun's rays and rendering it a cool retreat. From loop-holes, or representations of windows, the singular and rich appearance of this garden may be viewed. In the centre of Mon Plaisir there is a fine specimen of the *auracaria imbricata* planted, itself a noteworthy object, and which has grown at the extraordinary rate of twenty and a half inches annually (see Plate).

On the terrace next the Castle there stands in the centre a sun-dial of singular workmanship. There are four of these terraces, and they are thirty feet wide. On the raised terraces, right and left, are planted, alternately, Irish and gold yews. In front are gold yews trimmed into columns, with crowns. On a second terrace above this, on the north side, in the centre stands a columnar yew, with a crown; this yew has a trimmed base of thirty-nine feet, and three feet high. Right and left are two pillar yews upwards of forty feet high, and several others of large dimensions. All these have been brought a distance of upwards of thirty miles. Turning to the left we come to the Italian garden, with its covered walk of roses, flowering creepers, statuary, and busts, relieved by cut evergreens; from the summer-house this garden has a singular appearance. After taking a number of turns, and wandering on admiring the contrast of colour and harmony produced, we come to the Alhambra garden. Passing a Moorish building, we descend a flight of steps (see Plate). Again, forward, through a labyrinth of Portugul laurel and yew hedges, we come to the Magnolia Garden, with its sweet-briar hedges, and passing a remarkable arbour, and grove and avenues, we come to the great avenue, beyond which, through a grove of cedars, the Lake comes into view. It is of considerable dimensions, abounding with large rocky decorations, rugged islands covered with weeping hollies, junipers, *auracaria imbricata*, &c. From this point the view is very extensive. Turning to the left, you enter the Fountain garden, where various jets emit their playful streams of crystal, contrasting beautifully with the massive rockery in the background, and the curious shell-grotto. A beautiful view of Spondon Church is obtained through an oval fissure in the rocks, the lake lying in the foreground. Pursuing our way forward, under rock and high yew hedges, we arrive at an arch. Looking through this, new scenery presents itself, the lake displaying an extensive range of islands. At length we arrive at the narrow part of the lake, which is crossed by a bridge, beyond which we pass into an extensive plantation, and, turning to the right, we come again to the lake.

It is stated that in the plantation there are some yews 600-year, even 800 years old - which have been successfully removed many miles, upon Mr Barron's system. The lake, with its towering rocky projections and Alpine decorations, is entirely a work of art, and was commenced in the year 1839. Many thousands of tons of stone have been employed in the formation of the rock-work; and many of the large yews and cedars of Lebanon were transplanted and removed distances varying from four to forty miles. Instead of a few choice trees and plants scattered here and there, without form or contrast, these gardens are literally ornamented with acres of them. It was known to be the favourite delight of the late Lord Harrington to render them as perfect as possible, according to his peculiar taste. Ninety men were for many years employed in these gardens, and no cost or labour was deemed too great to obtain an extraordinary plant or tree. The kept-gardens comprise 134 acres, exclusive of the outer plantations. The approach from the lower gates to the Castle

consists of a drive of a mile and a half in length. Before entering the gardens, and at the end of the park, there are a second set of magnificent gates, which were those of Versailles before the great French Revolution. At each extremity are fine marble statues. One represents Jason and the Golden Fleece, the other Hercules and the Nemean Lion. The Queen's gate, in Hyde Park, has been modelled from these gates, and forms a fine entrance to the property of the Earl of Harrington, now in course of erection there.

To Mr Barron, and his excellent and skilful management, the wonderful effects of this garden are due. No one can view them without feeling how successful he has been, while every reflecting person will come to the conclusion that, on the system adopted by Elvaston, there is no limit to the variety and grandeur of horticultural display.

APPENDIX E

Louden's description of Alton Towers. Encyclopaedia of Gardening (1832 edition) pp 327 - 335.

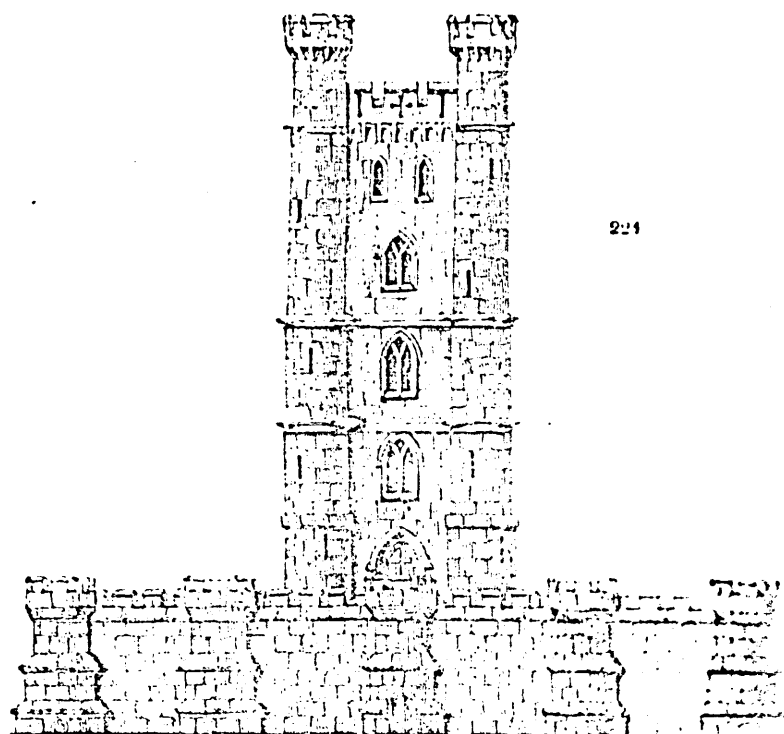
1187. *The principal country-seats which display the modern taste of laying out grounds*, will be found arranged in the order of the counties in the *Beauties of England and Wales*, already referred to; but, as a relaxation to the reader, we shall here present him with some graphic sketches of by far the most remarkable country residence in England, in the year 1832; viz., Alton Towers.

1188. *Alton Towers*, the seat of John, the seventeenth earl of Shrewsbury, near Cheddle, in Staffordshire, is a very singular place both in its geology, which is peculiarly adapted for grand and picturesque effects, and what has been done to it by Charles the late earl. The house, or abbey, stands on a piece of table-land, of fifty or sixty acres in extent (fig. 223. a a a); and this table-land is bounded on three sides by two valleys (b and c),

which commence in a gentle hollow near the abbey (d), and lose themselves in a third broad and deep valley in an opposite direction (e). The surrounding country is composed of similar valleys, among portions of table land or hills. The surface of both hills and valleys is generally in pasture, with very few human dwellings; or in plantations of

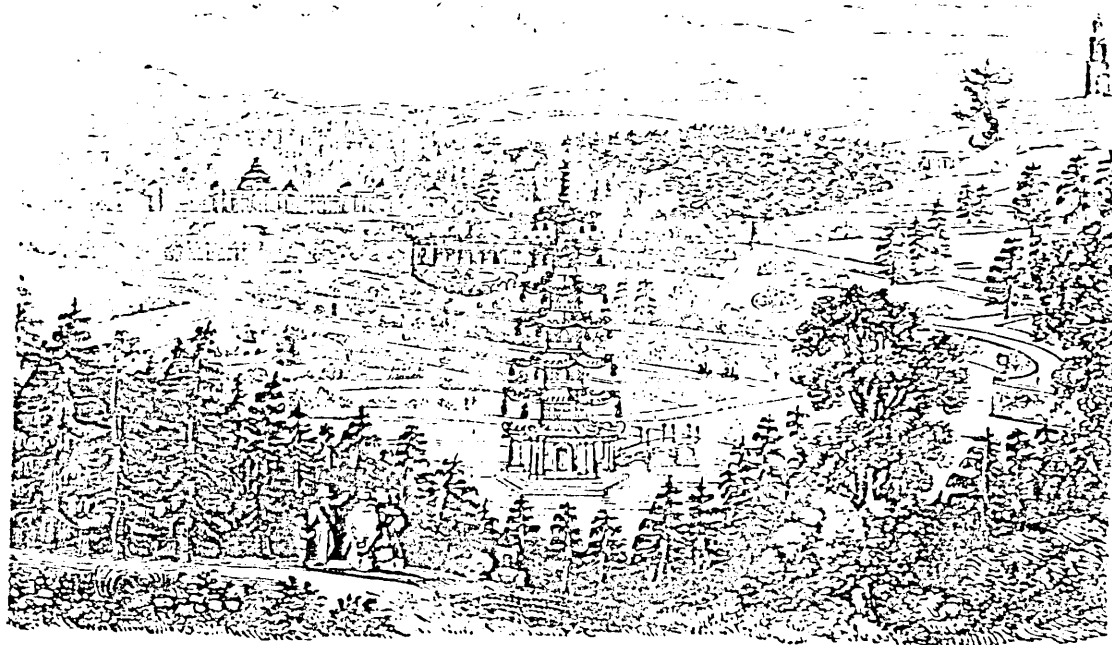
pinus and larch firs, from ten to thirty years' growth. The rock is every where red sandstone, and conglomerated; often protruding from the sides of the valleys in massive stratified masses, the exposed parts of which are in some places worn by the weather into anomalous shapes; but, at a little depth underground, affording excellent stone for building. The natural character of this part of the country is grand and picturesque, with a solitary and wild air, approaching to the savage. The remains of a very old castle belonging to the Shrewsbury family (f) exist on a rock, protruding into the largest of these valleys; but the site of the present abbey (h) was, twenty years ago, nothing more than a farm-house. Here Charles, the late Earl of Shrewsbury, commenced his operations about 1814; and employed hundreds of labourers, mechanics, and artisans, from that time till his death in 1827.

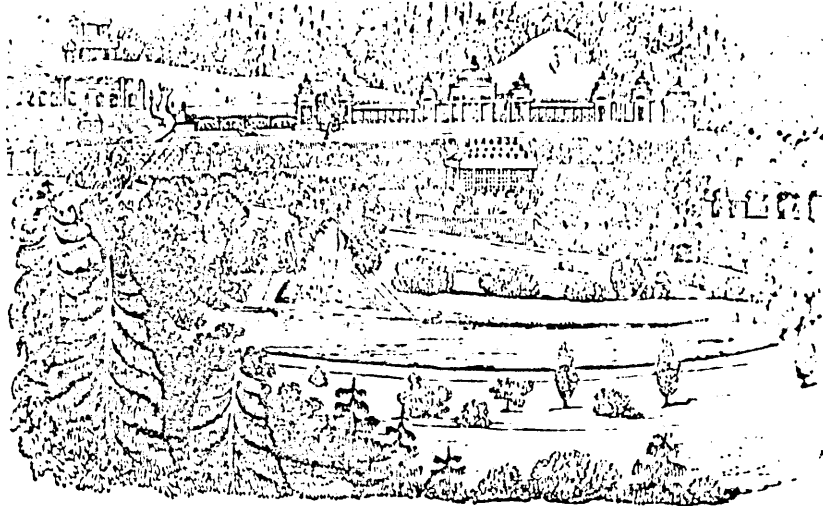
1189. *Charles, the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury*, abounding in wealth, always fond of architecture and gardening, but with much more fancy than sound judgment, seems to have wished to produce at Alton Towers, in his time called Alton Abbey, something different from every thing else. Though he consulted almost every artist, ourselves among the number, he seems only to have done so for the purpose of avoiding whatever an artist might recommend. After passing in review before him a great number of ideas, that which he adopted was always different from every thing that had been proposed to him. His own ideas, or his variations of a plan that he had procured, were transferred to paper by an artist, or clerk of the works, whom he kept on purpose; and often, as we were informed by Mr. Lunn, the gardener there, in 1826, were marked out on the grounds by his own hands. The result, speaking of Alton as it was at the time of the late earl's death in 1827, and as we saw it shortly before, viz., in October, 1826, was one of the most singular anomalies to be met with among the country residences of Britain, or, perhaps, of any other part of the world. An immense pile of building in the way of house, with a magnificent conservatory and chapel, but with scarcely a habitable room; a lofty prospect tower (fig. 224.), not built on the highest part of the ground; bridges



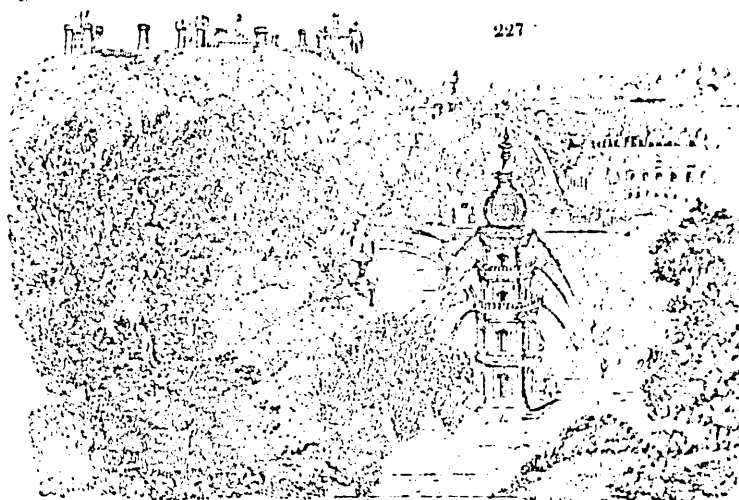
224

without water underneath; ponds and lakes on the tops of the hills; a quadrangle of
of stabling in the midst of the pleasure ground; and, what may be said to have
and still to eclipse, every thing else a valley (figs. 226, 227, and 228, &c. &c. &c.)



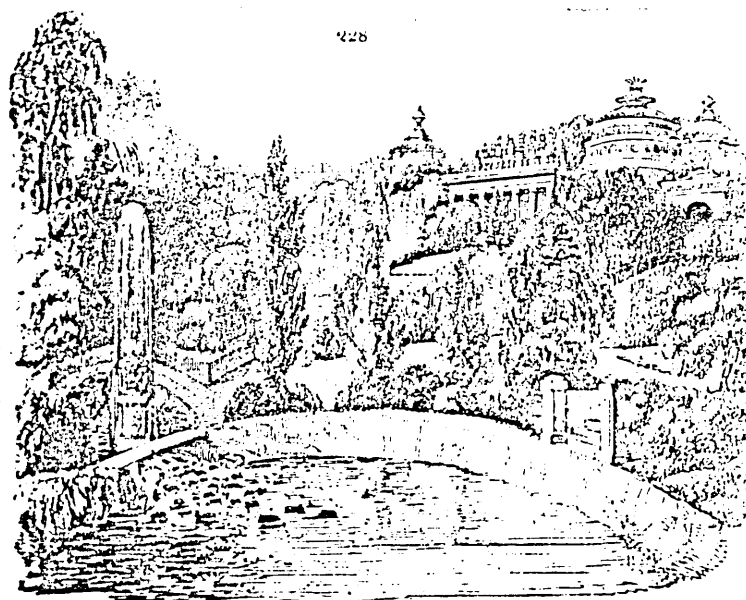


high degree romantic with wood, water, and rocks, filled with works of the highest degree of art in architecture and gardening. (figs. 231. 229. 230. 224. and 233.)



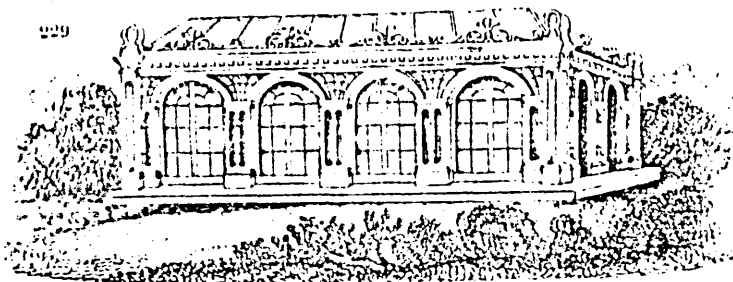
large drawing of the north side of the valley, as seen from a point on the south side, was taken for Mr. Abraham, one of the late earl's architects, in 1827, and the designer of the magnificent range of conservatories just mentioned; and Mr. Abraham has kindly permitted us to give an engraving of it (fig. 225.), to show the valley as it existed at that time, while to the present earl, and his very ingenious and obliging clerk of the works, Mr. Fradgely, we are indebted for the map (fig. 223.) the view of the house (fig. 224.) and most of those of the grounds, and the various structures they contain. (figs. 221. to 235.)

1190. The private approach roads to Alton Towers (fig. 223. m, n, o) are several miles in length: they are conducted along the bottoms and sides of winding rocky valleys, more or less wooded; and through one of which runs the river Chumet. It is difficult to decide whether the best approach be that from Uttoxeter, or that from Cheddle. We



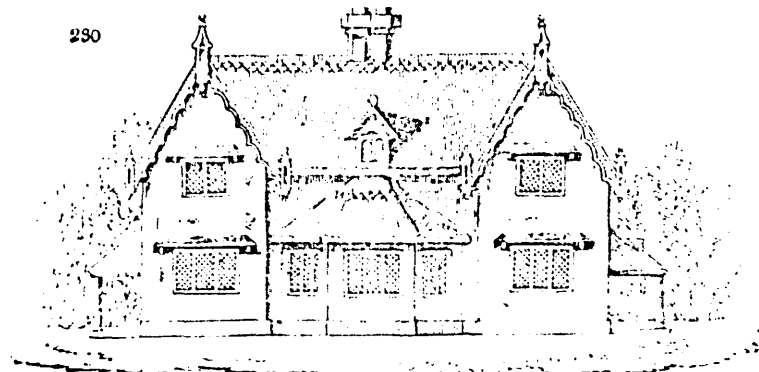
arrived from the former town in 1826, and from the latter in 1831. By the road leading from Uttroter, we came unexpectedly close to the house, and near the head of the north

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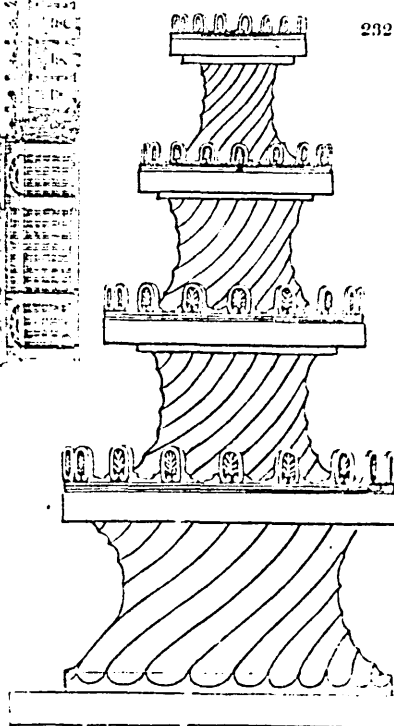
side of the valley, which contains the chief wonders of the place. The first objects that met our eye were the dry Gothic bridge, and the embankment leading to it, with a

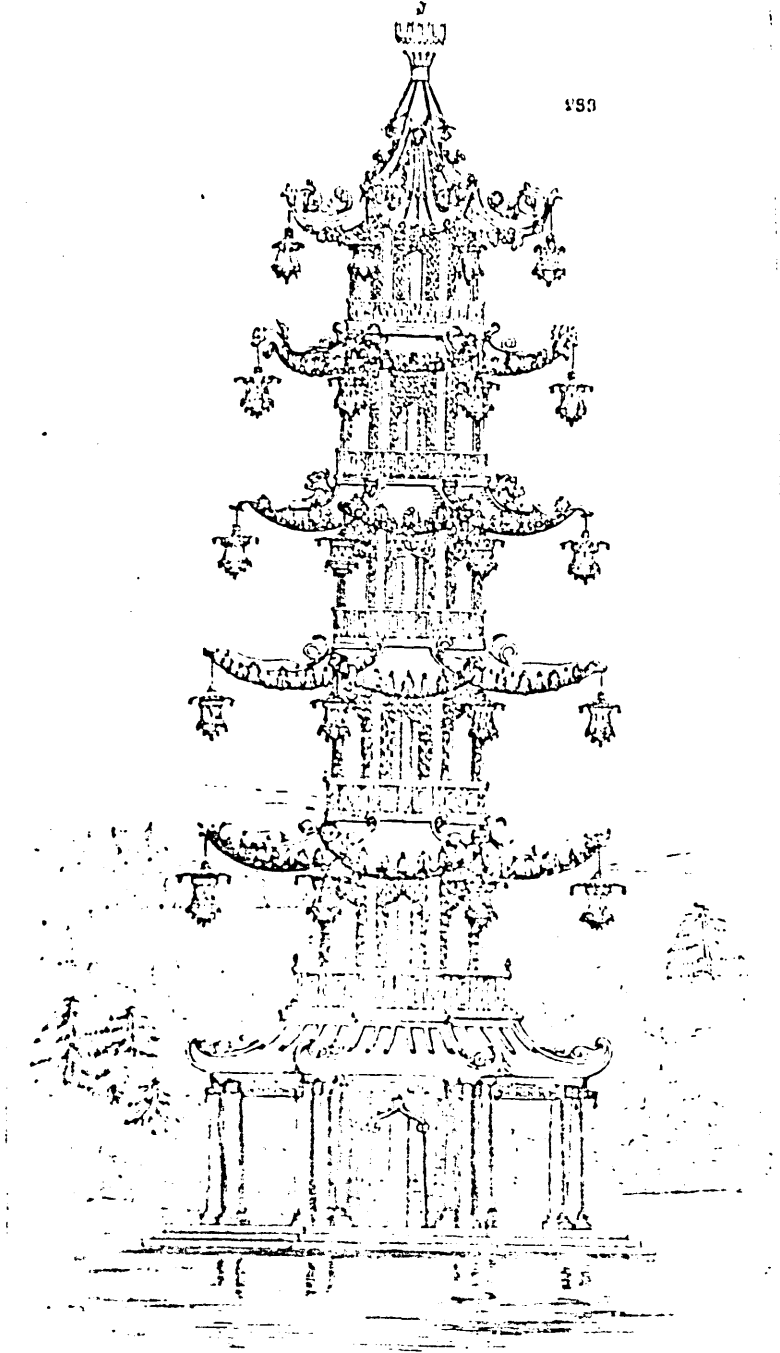
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huge imitation of Stonehenge beyond and a pond above the head of the bridge alongside of it, backed by a mass of eastern stabling. Farther along the side of the valley, to the right of the bridge, is a range of architectural conservatories, with seven elegant glass domes, designed by Mr. Abraham, richly gilt. (fig. 221.) Farther on still, to the right, and placed on a high and isolated naked rock, is a lofty Gothic tower, or temple, on what is called Thomson's rock, also designed by Mr. Abraham (and seen on the right in fig. 225.), consisting of several tiers of balconies, round a central staircase and rooms; the exterior ornaments numerous, and resplendent with gilding. Near the base of the rock is a corkscrew fountain of a peculiar description (fig. 222.), which is amply supplied from an adjoining pond. Behind, above, and beyond the range of conservatories are two lakes; and beyond them is another conservatory, curiously ornamented (fig. 226.). Below the main range of conservatories is a paved terrace walk, with a Grecian temple at one end, and a second terrace containing a second range of conservatories. The remainder of the valley, to the bottom, and on the opposite side, displays such a labyrinth of terraces, curious architectural walls, trellis-work arbours, vases, statues, stone stairs, wooden stairs, turf stairs, pavements, gravel and grass walks, ornamental buildings, bridges, porticoes, temples, pagodas, gates, iron railings, parterres, jets, ponds, streams, seats, fountains, caves, flower-baskets, waterfalls, rocks, cottages, trees, shrubs, beds of flowers, ivied walls, rock-work, shell-work, root-work, moss houses, old trunks of trees, entire dead trees, &c., that it is utterly impossible for words to give any idea of the effect. There is one stair of 100 steps; a cottage for a blind harper, as large as a farm-house (fig. 230.); and an imitation cottage roof, formed by sticking dormer windows, and two chimneys, accompanied by patches of heath to imitate thatch, on the sloping surface of a large grey mass of solid rock. This,

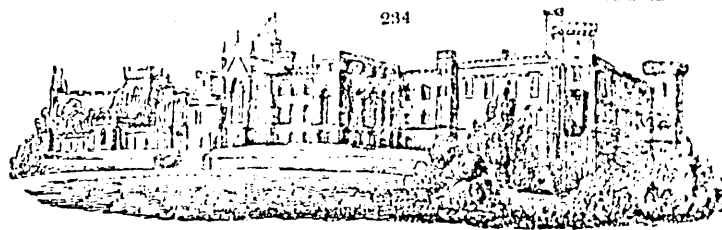
232





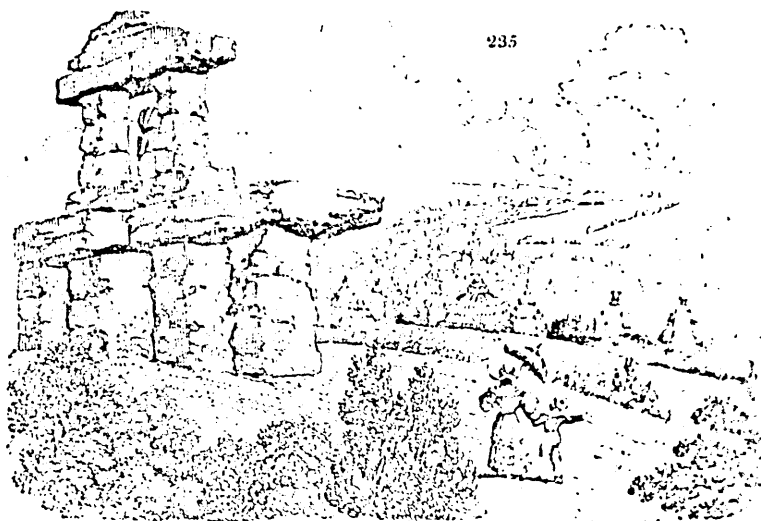
was at a distance, protruding from a steep bank of wood, bore naturally some resemblance to the roof of a cottage grey with lichens; and the chimney-tops, and windows, were

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added, to complete the idea. As the sandstone rock protrudes from the sides of the valley in immense masses, abundance of use has been made of it to form caves, grottoes, caverns, and covered seats; it has even been carved into figures: in one place we have Indian temples excavated in it, covered with hieroglyphics; and in another, a projecting rock is formed into a huge serpent, with a spear-shaped iron tongue, and glass eyes! There is a rustic prospect tower over an Indian temple, cut out of solid rock, on the highest point of the north bank; and in the lowest part of the valley there are the foundation and two stories (executed before the death of the late earl) of an octagon pagoda. The pagoda (fig. 233.) was intended to be eighty-eight feet high. It is placed on an island, in the centre of a small pond, and was to have been approached by a Chinese bridge richly ornamented. The diameter of the base of the pagoda is forty feet, and there were to have been six stories, the lower one of stone, and the others of cast iron. From

the angles were to have been suspended forty highly enriched Chinese lamps, and these were to be lighted by a gasometer fixed in the lower story. Besides the lamps there were to have been grotesque figures of monsters projecting over the angles of the canopies, which were to spout water from their eyes, nostrils, fins, tails, &c.; a column of water was also to have been projected perpendicularly from the terminating ornament on the summit of the structure, which, from the loftiness of the source of supply, would have risen to the height of seventy or eighty feet. This fountain was designed by Mr. Abraham, but only the lower story has been executed. The pagoda, the Gothic temple (seen to the right in fig. 143.) the range of gilt conservatories, and the imitation of Stonehenge (fig. 235.), form the leading artificial features of the valley (c in fig. 223.)



The valley itself is upwards of a mile in length: it gradually widens from its commencement at the stone bridge with the pond above it, till it terminates by opening into the wide valley containing the Chumet, there a considerable stream, and a navigable canal. This immense valley, it is said, the late earl intended to cover entirely with water; and, as it would have saved the canal company several miles of canal, they offered to form the dam or head, at their own expense. This lake, of

some thousands of acres, would have been as easily produced as that of Blenheim was by nature.

1191. In approaching from Cheddle, we arrive in front of the castellated stables (i), and see the abbey (fig. 234.) across the pond above the level of the bridge. Proceeding a little farther towards the dry bridge, Stonehenge appears in the foreground, and the tops of the seven gilt glass domes of the main range of conservatories below (as in fig. 235.). Raising the eyes, the lofty Gothic temple appears on the left of the picture; and on the right, across the valley, the harper's cottage. In the centre of the picture, over the domes in the foreground, the valley loses itself in a winding bank of wood, in a style of great grandeur and seclusion. None of the details of the valley here obtrude themselves; and the effect, after passing through a wild country, exhibiting no marks of refinement, is singularly impressive. It fills the mind with astonishment and delight, to find so much of the magnificence of art, and the appearance of refined enjoyment, amidst so much of the wildness and solitary grandeur of nature. The imitation of Stonehenge, too, is a feature in artificial landscape which we have not elsewhere seen; and a stranger is puzzled and confounded by finding a stream and a small waterfall supplying a lake on what he conceives to be the highest point of high ground.

1192. Thus far as to general impressions; we shall not go into details. It is evident, that the contents of the valley defy all criticism; and that, perhaps, is paying the late earl of these extravagant fancies a compliment after his own heart. If his object were originality, and that of a kind which should puzzle and confound, he has certainly succeeded, and, having attained the end which he proposed, as far as respects himself, he is to be considered eminently successful. How far it may be commendable for a man of wealth to gratify a peculiar taste, rather than one which is generally approved by the intelligence of the country in which he lives, is not, in these days, perhaps, a question of much consequence.

1193. John, the present and seventeenth Earl of Shrewsbury, has wisely considered it his duty to continue employing as many hands as were employed by his predecessor; and his works, on the whole, are in a taste that will be more generally approved. In the gardens he has obliterated a number of the walks, stairs, shell-works, and other petty contrivances; which, however, we almost regret, because no trifling alteration can ever improve what is so far out of the reach of reason. To the house he has made, and is making, extensive additions; and has added, among other things, a picture gallery, which will be one of the largest in the kingdom. What are wanting to the place are approaches; not only exhibiting most interesting views, like the present, but of so uniform and gentle a slope, as to be as rapidly driven over as if they were on level ground. The main entrance to the building is also on the wrong side; in consequence of which, a stranger sees the principal beauties of the place before entering the house.

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Abbreviations:

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GC *Gardeners' Chronicle*

GM *Gardener's Magazine*

CG *Cottage Gardener* ...

MB *Magazine of Botany*

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Fig 216

Thornbridge Hall. View of the gardens to the east from the main promenade. Before the addition of statuary this was described as the Dutch garden; 9 feet below the main promenade, surrounded by yew hedges enclosing clipped specimens of green and golden yews and hollies, the small beds were filled with low growing bright-coloured evergreens. Note the lake beyond.

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Fig 217

Pleasley Vale 1874. The house is almost on top of the textile mills. Surrounded by dramatic rocks a complex system of formal gardens was laid out. Note the buttressed terrace topped with arcaded balustrading. (C.G. Aug 13, 1874) see pp 214-5.

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Fig 218

Pleasley Vale today. Photographed 1984. The abandoned house stands forlornly behind its buttressed terrace wall, in the shadow of the towering rocks.

156

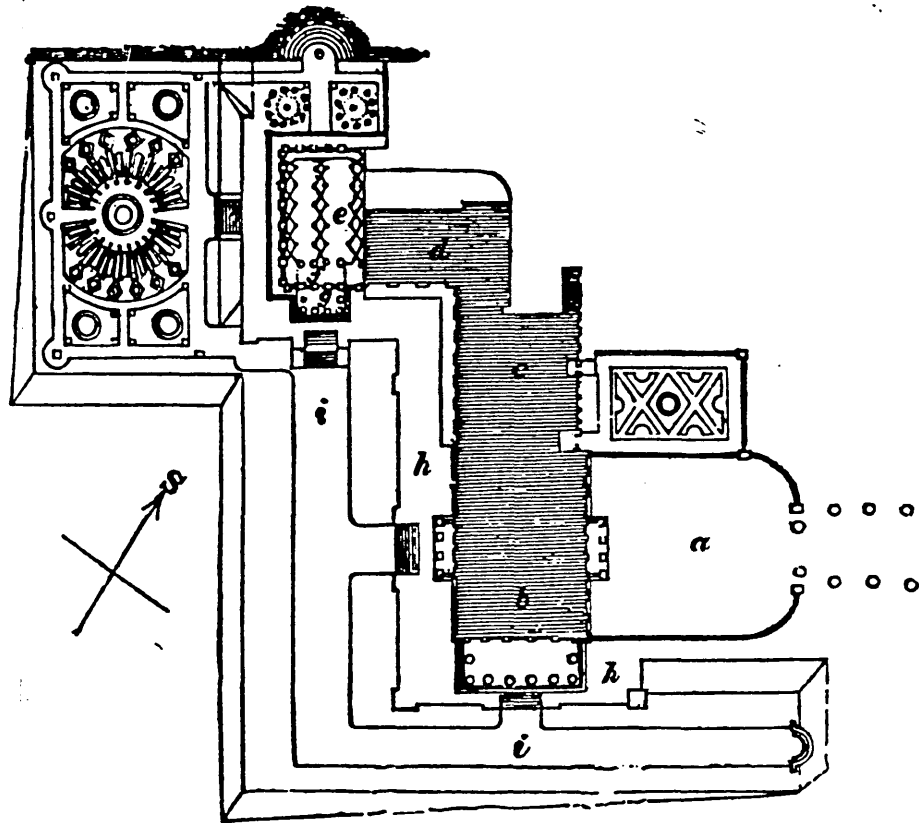


Fig. 2

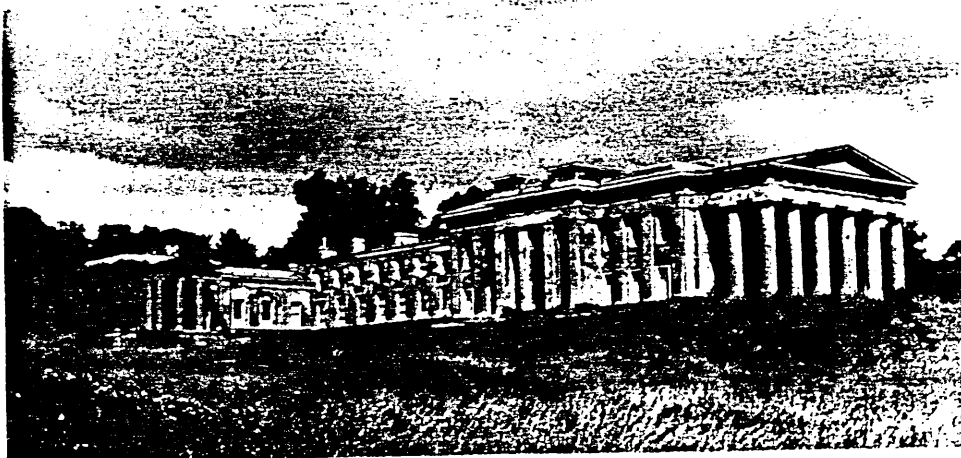


Fig. 1

The Grange, Hampshire.

Fig 2. Plan showing architectural
or Italianate gardens on
west and east fronts and
huge attached conservatory.
1826.



Fig. 4



Fig. 3

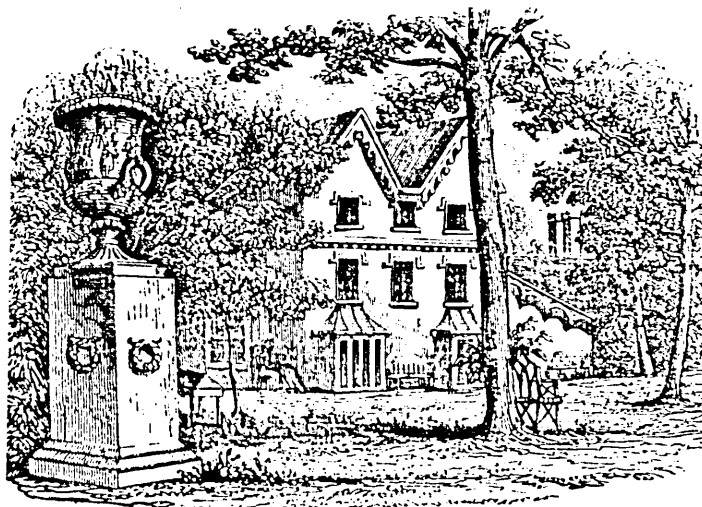
Hearne's illustrations to
The Landscape by Knight 1795.

Fig 3. Brown's landscape caricatured.

Fig 4. The picturesque version of
the same scene.



View from the Library Porch.



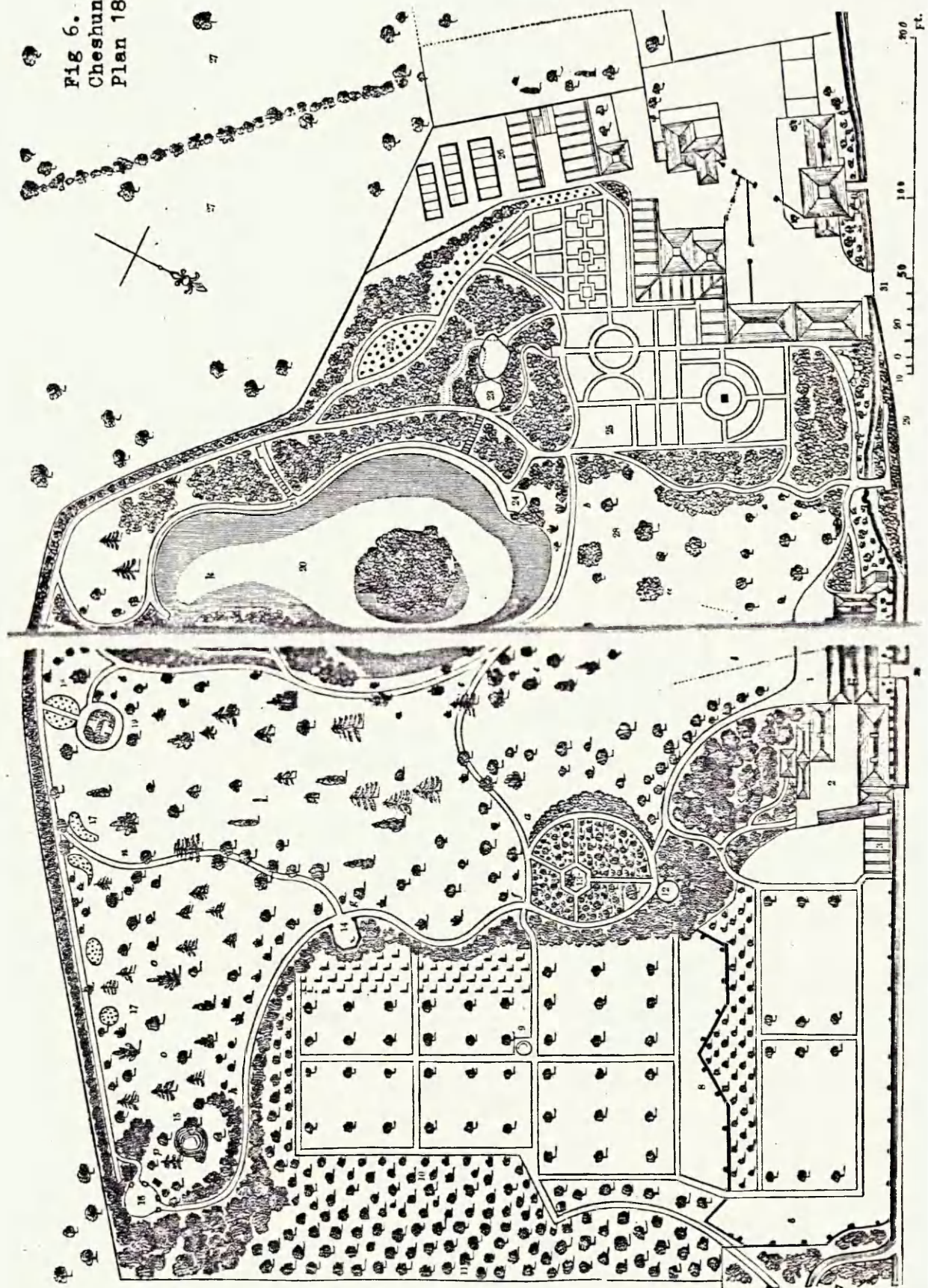
Garden Front of Cheshunt Cottage.

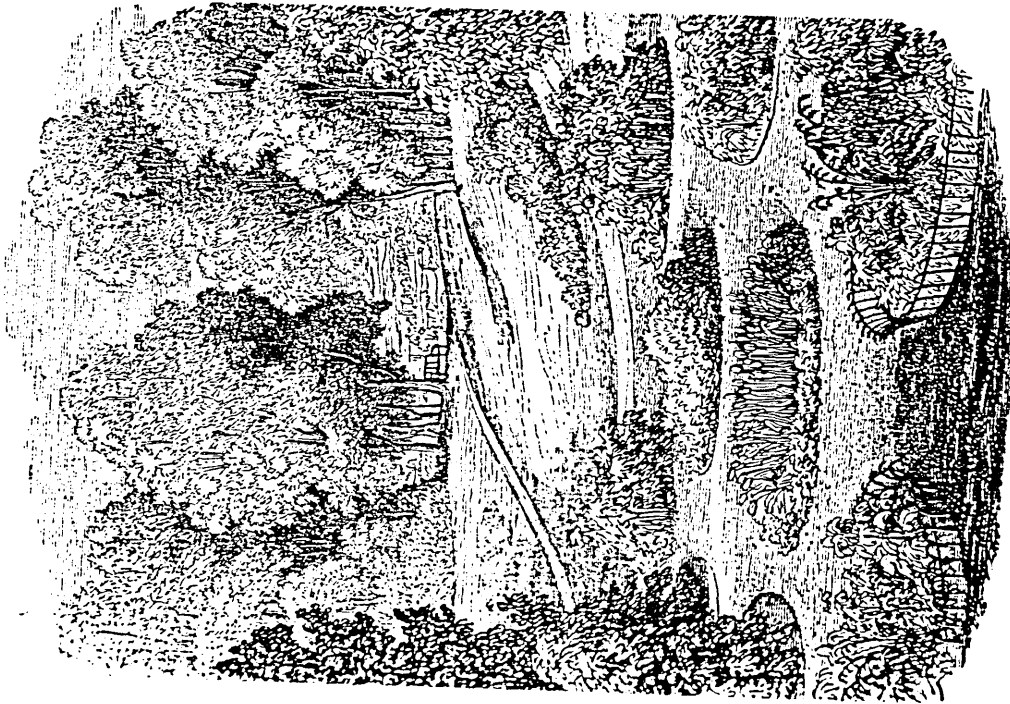


Boat-house and Agave Mound.

Fig 5. Cheshunt Cottage.
Three views from Loudon's
Gardener's Magazine 1839.

Fig 6.
Cheshunt Cott
Plan 1839.





View looking towards the Mount.

Fig. 7

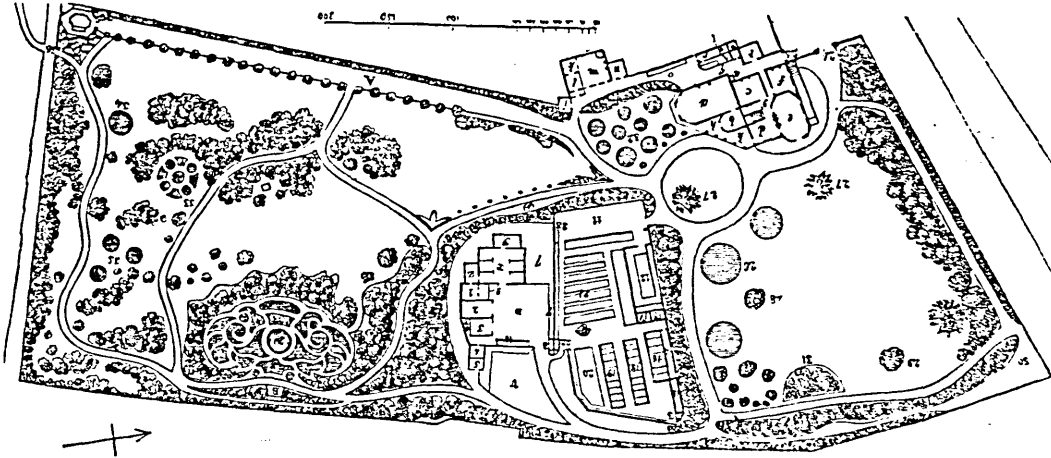


Fig. 8

Mount Grove.

Loudon's Gardener's Magazine 1839.

Fig 7. View from house the mount showing undulations of the ground.

Fig 8. The plan shows geometric garden, special planting, separation of flower beds from groups of trees and wider picturesque or enesque layout which defined the whole.

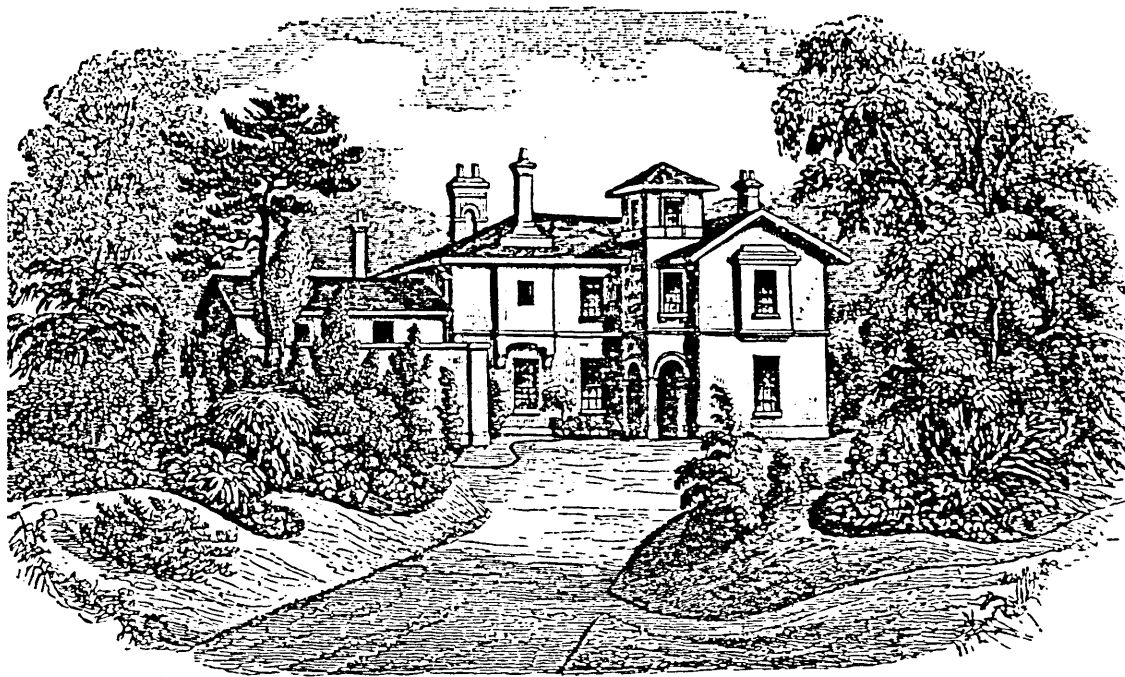


Fig. 9

Entrance Front of Fortis Green.

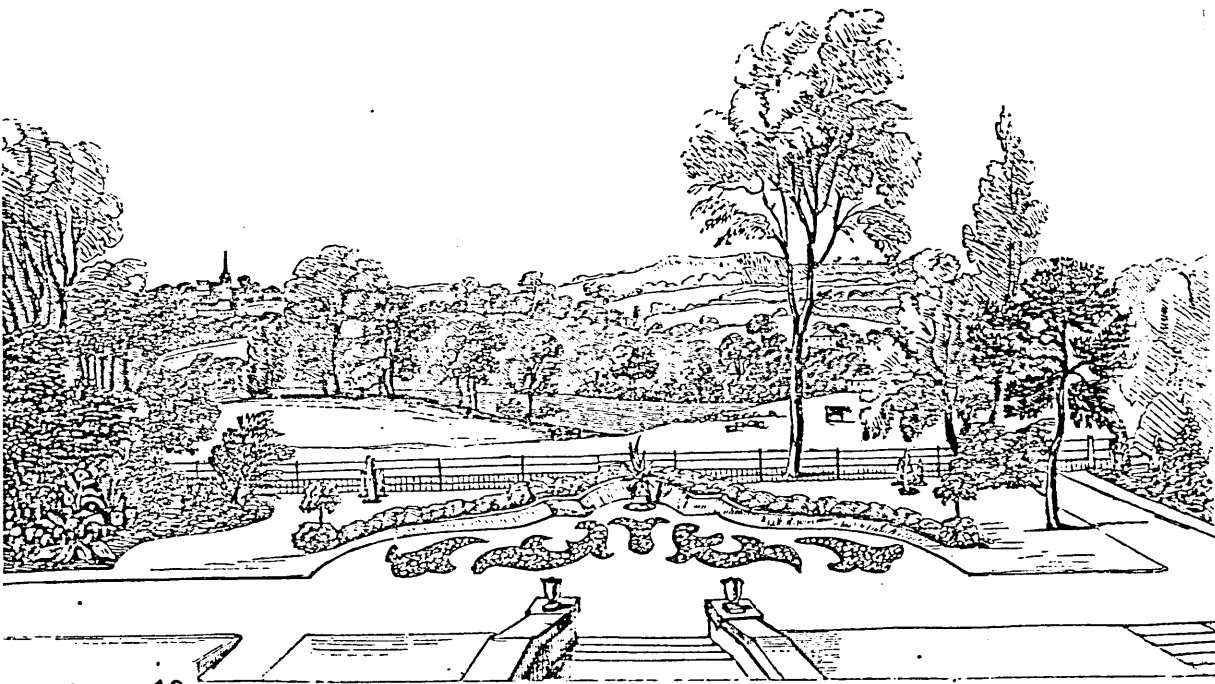


Fig. 10

View from the Lawn Front of Fortis Green.

Fortis Green, Muswell Hill.
Gardener's Magazine 1840
 Fig 10. shows elaborate parterre
 designed by W A Nesfield.

PLAN
OF THE
DERBY ARBORETUM,
1840.

- a North, or principal, lodge, and entrance-gate.
- b South-east lodge and entrance.
- c, e Pavilions.
- d Flower-garden.
- e Cottage in the flower-garden.
- f Covered seat in the flower-garden.
- g Tool-house.
- h Arbor, covered with a large weeping ash.
- i Radiating centre, where a statue under a cupola is proposed.
- k Circle, shaded by some large trees. In the centre of which a pedestal and vase are proposed to be placed.
- l Circle, surrounding a large white poplar.
- m Small pond.
- n, o, a Belt of miscellaneous plantation.

The Numbers are referred to in the Catalogue.

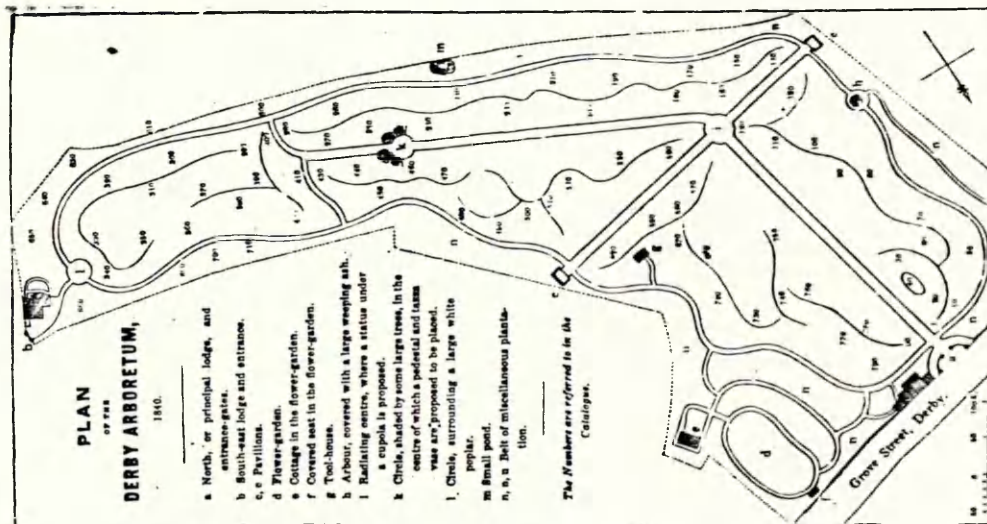


Fig 11. Plan.

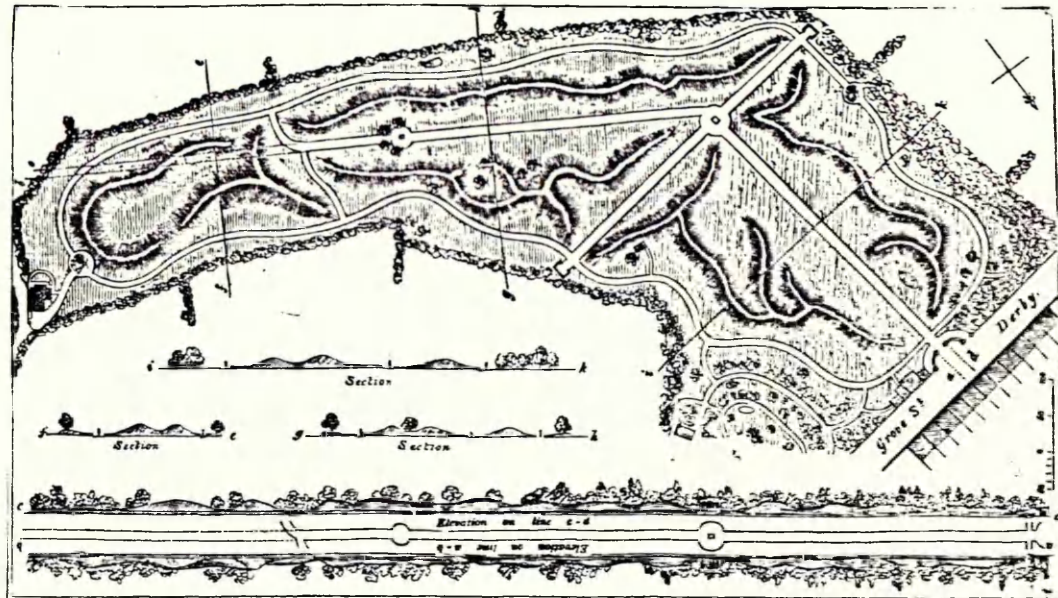


Fig 12. Plan with mounds.

1.
CLEMATIS FL'AMMULA.
THE INFLAMMATORY-JUICED
CLEMATIS.
FRANCE. 1596. 15 Ft.

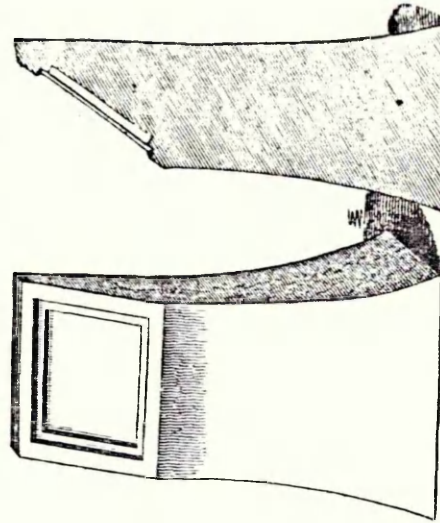


Fig 13. Brick tallies.

Derby Arboretum.

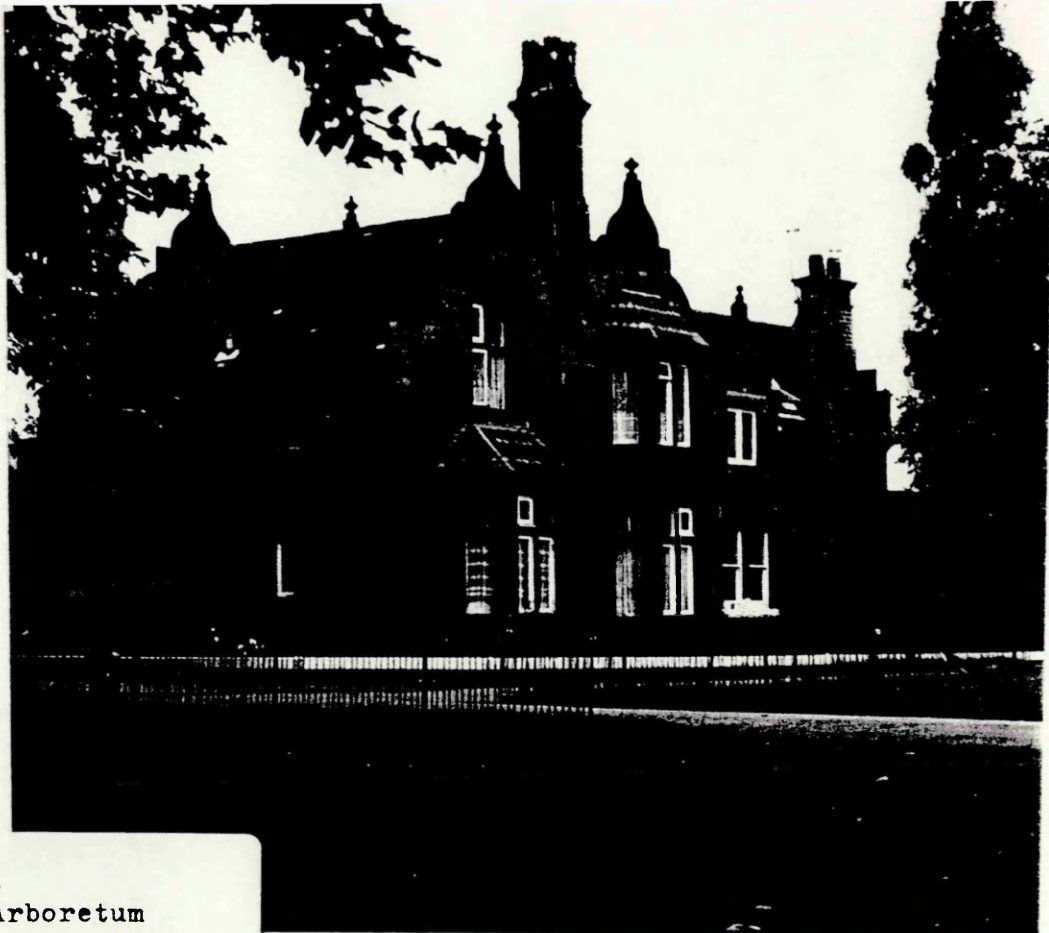


Fig 14.
Derby Arboretum
Elizabethan lodge
house.

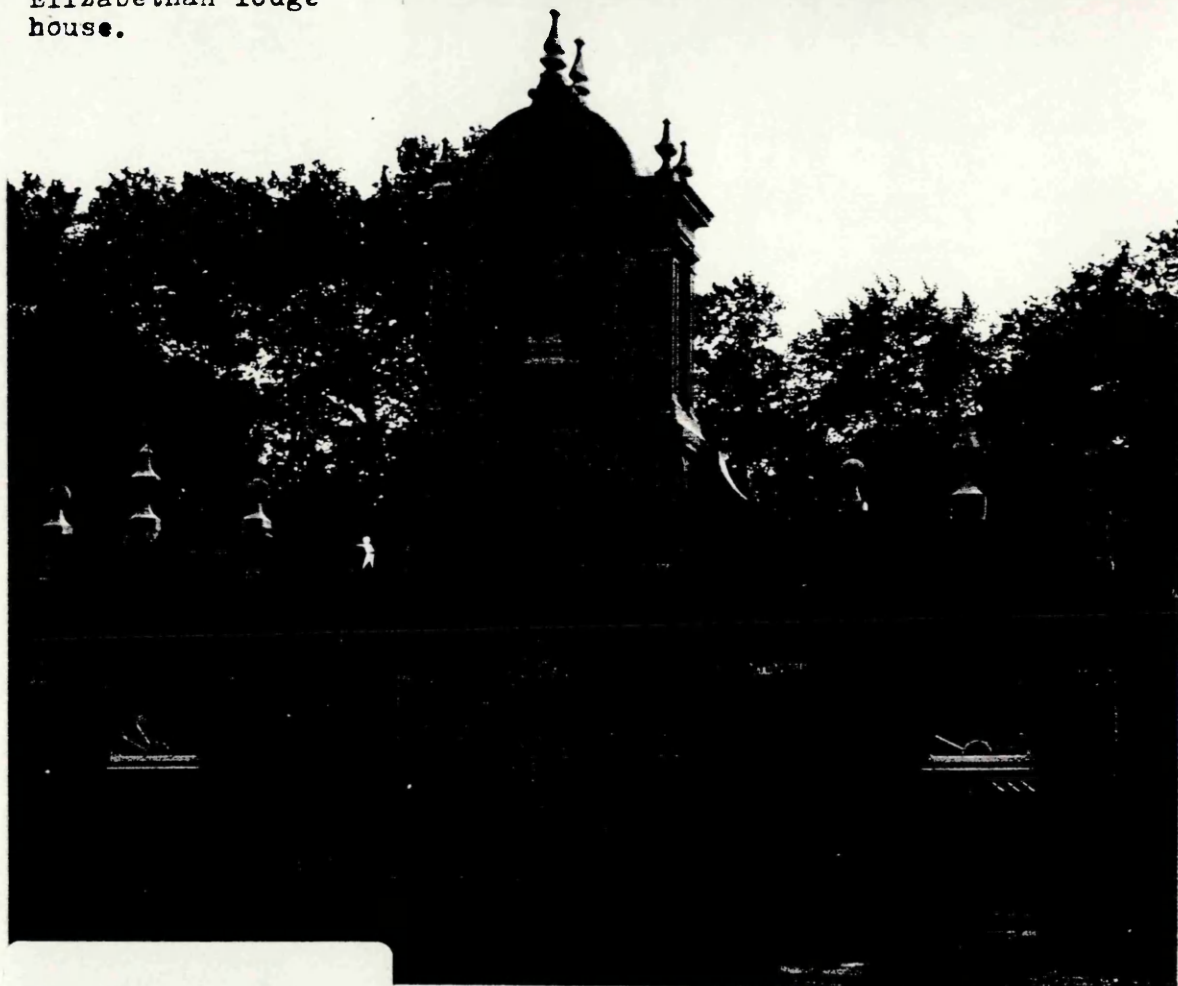
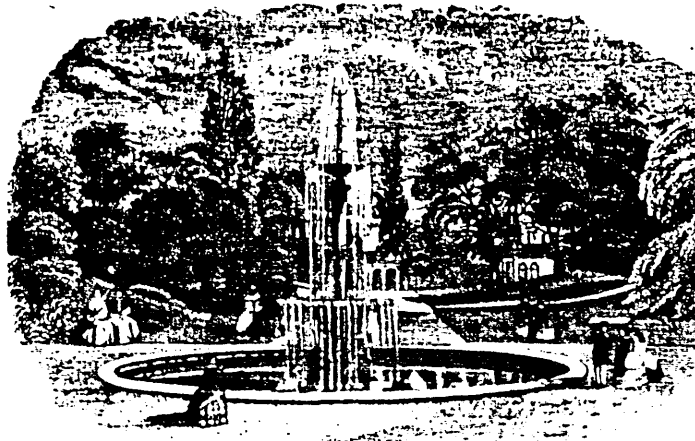
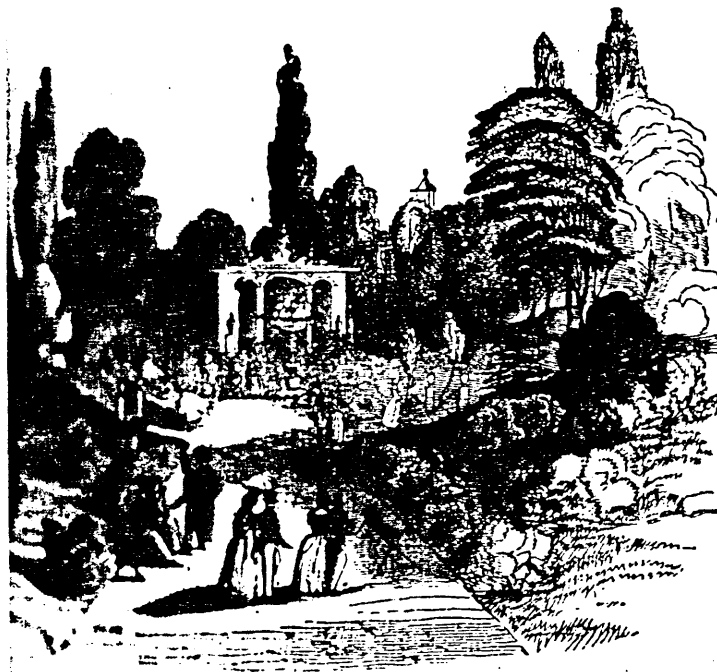


Fig 15.
Derby Arboretum
Italianate gateway.



Arboretum Derby

Fig 17. Shows fountain as focal point of park.



THE ARBORETUM AT DERBY.

Fig 16. Show how high the mounds were in relation to the path.



Fig 18. The fountain base. (1982)

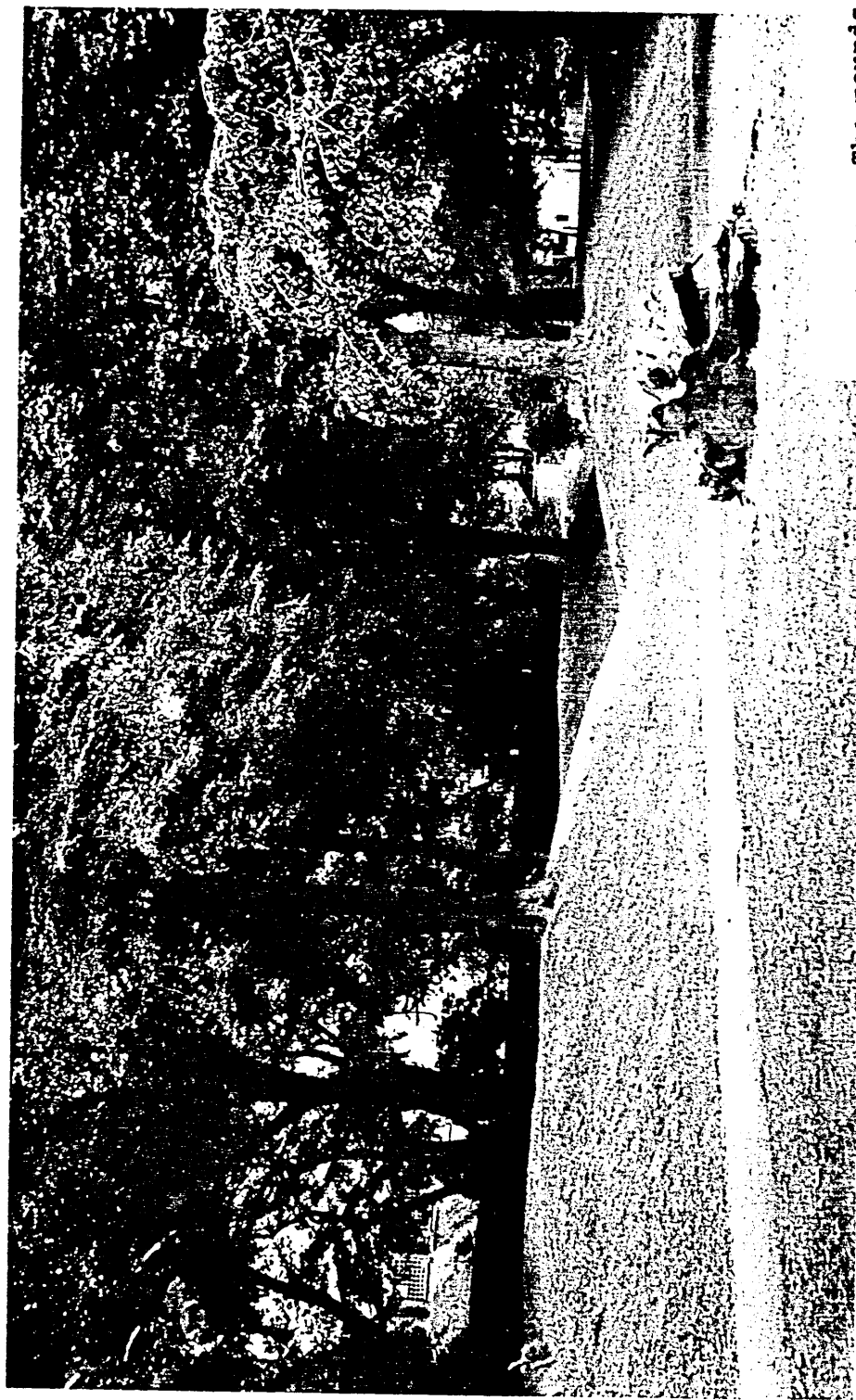


Fig 19. The mounds in the park
today. (1982)

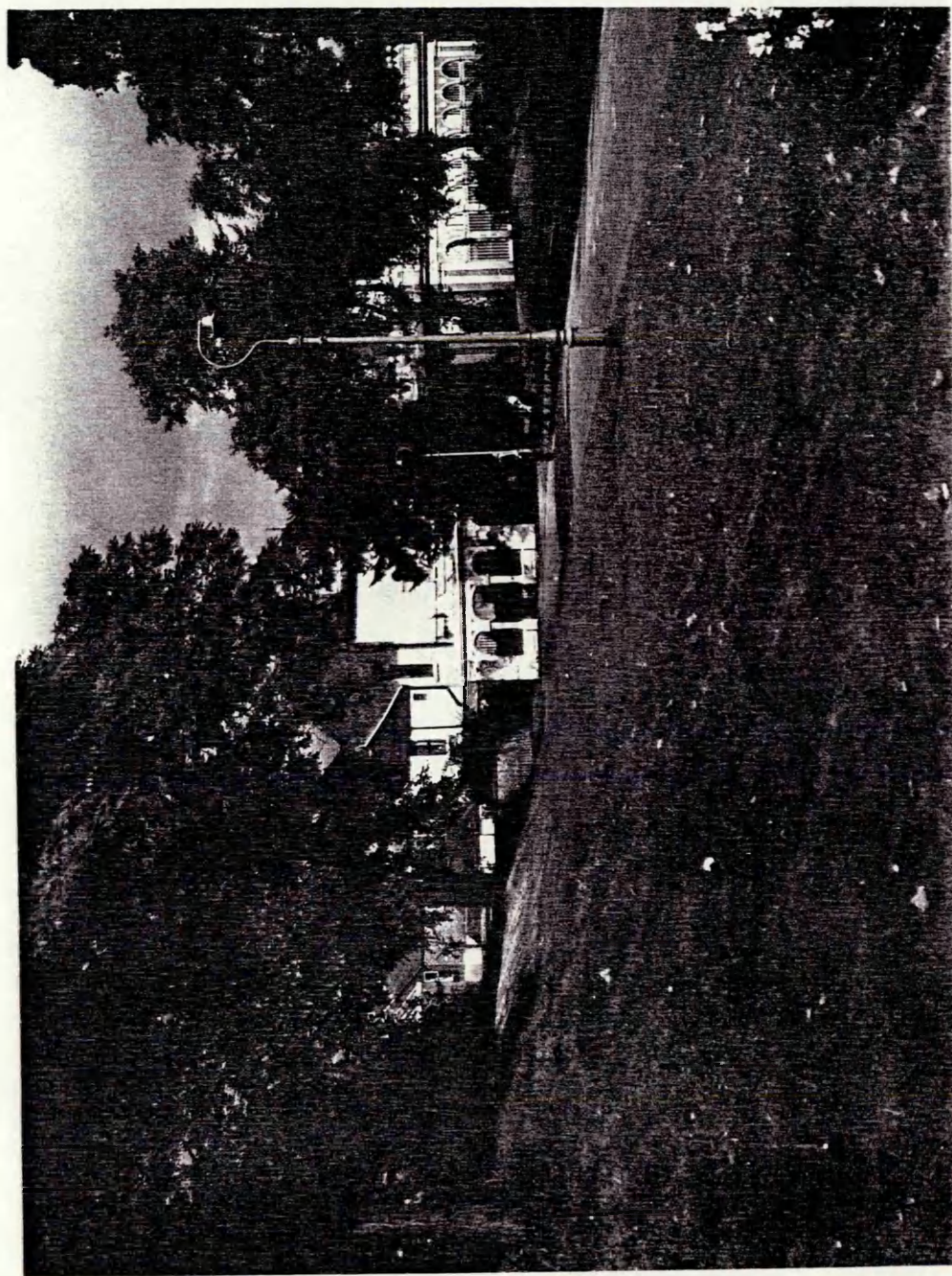


Fig 20.

One of the pavillions.
Derby Arboretum. (1982

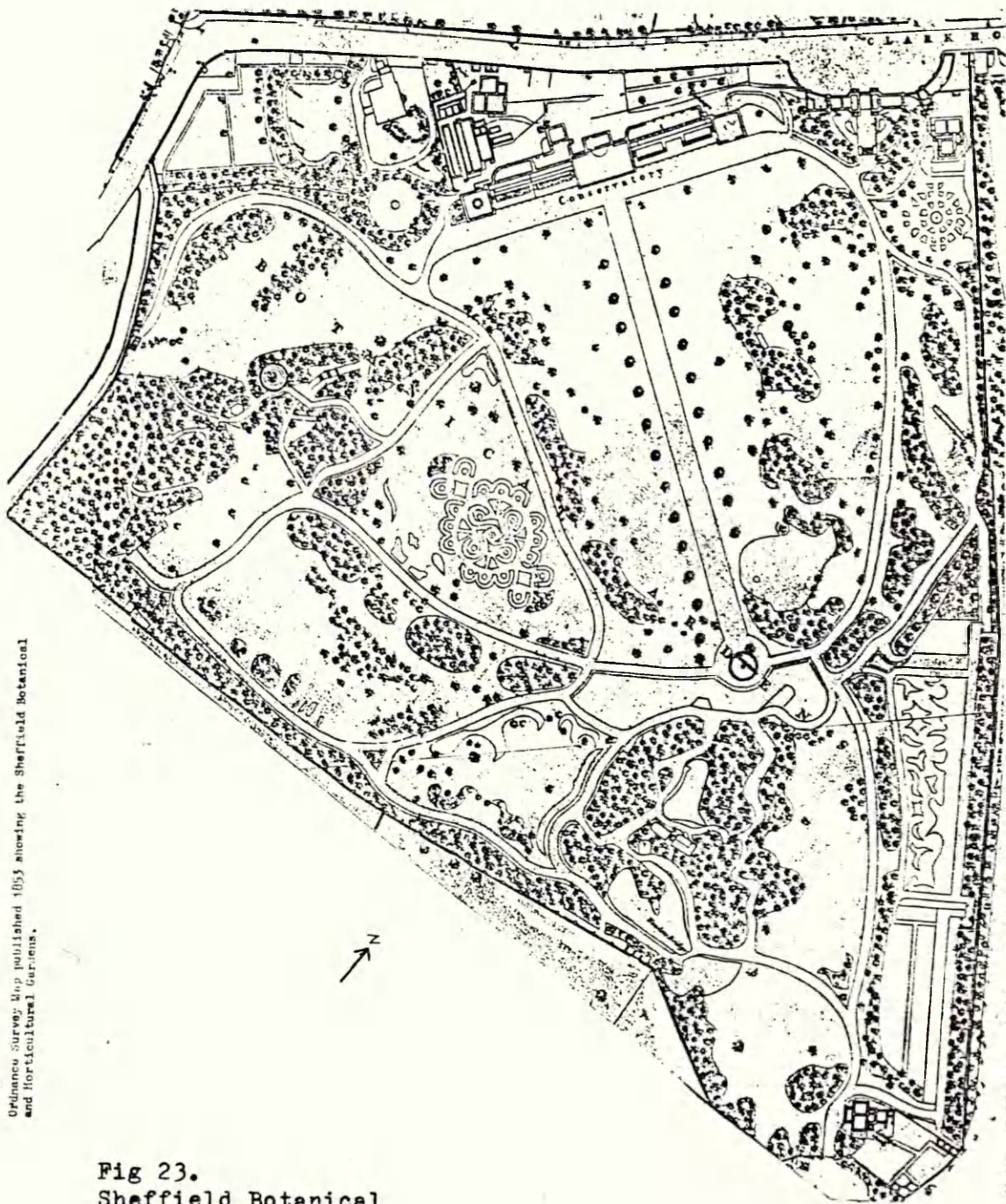


Fig 21. Kedleston Hall.



Fig 22. Biddulph Grange.

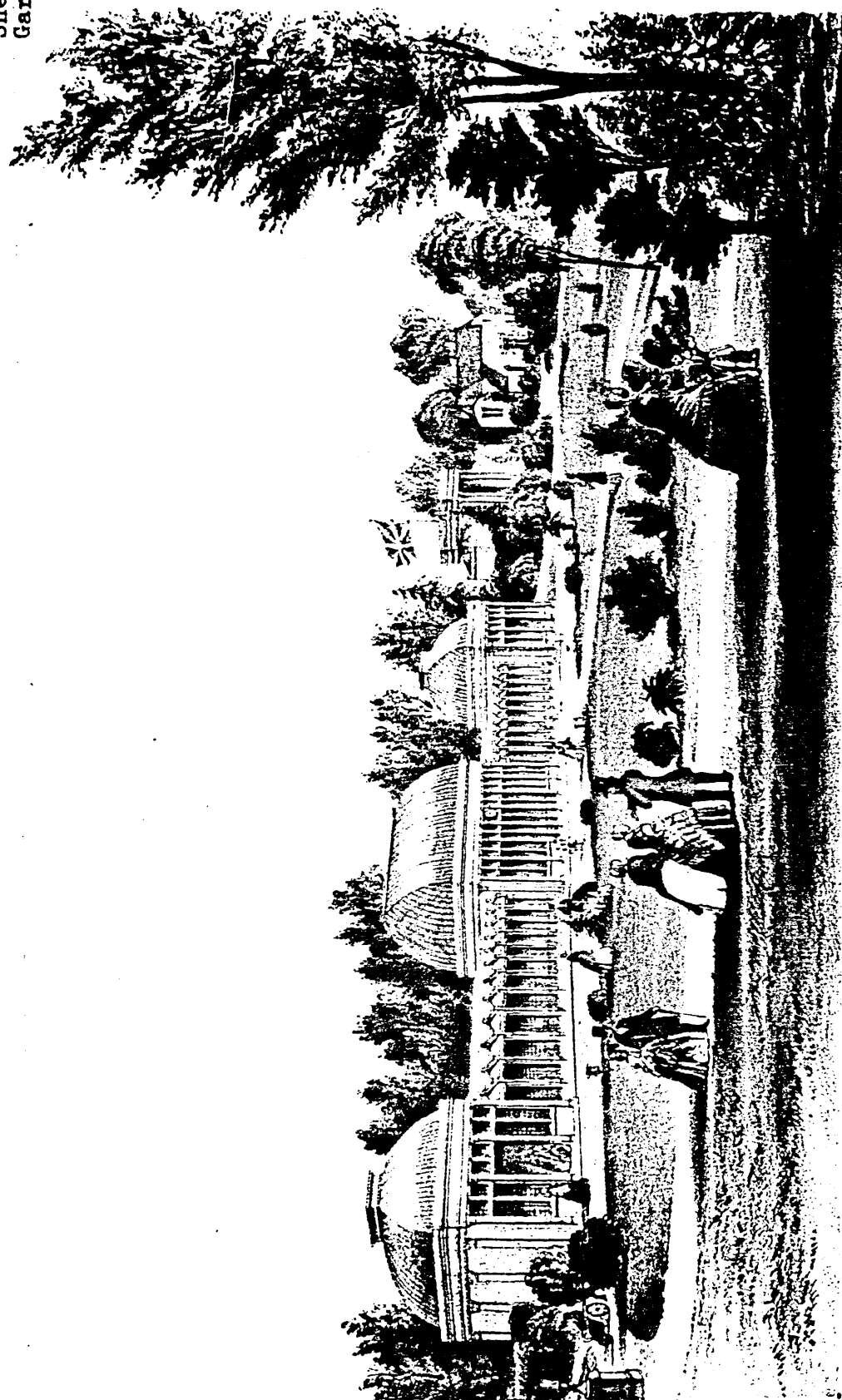
The popular device of planting
trees on hillocks or mounds.



Ordnance Survey Map published 1853 showing the Sheffield Botanical and Horticultural Gardens.

Fig 23.
Sheffield Botanical
Gardens.
Ordnance Survey Map
1853.

Fig 24.
Sheffield Bot
Gardens 1849.



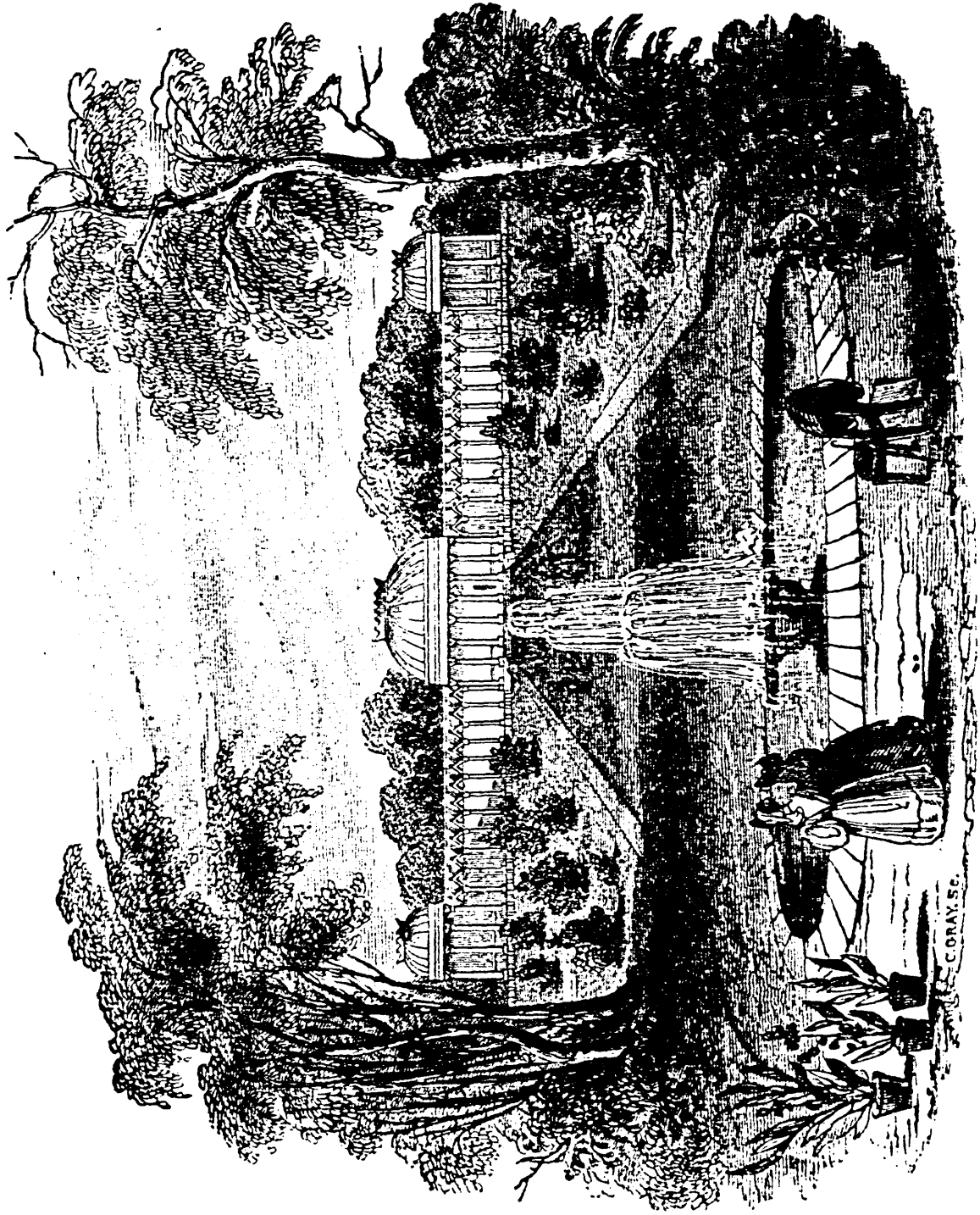
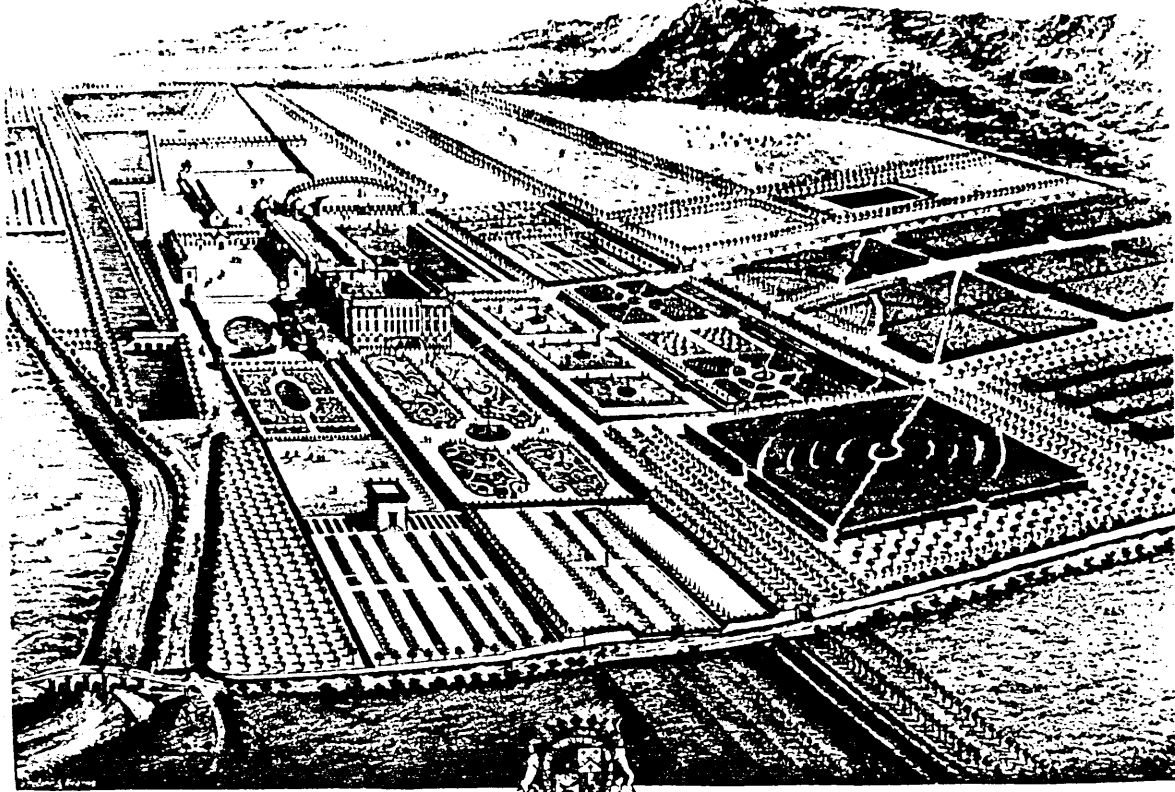


Fig 25.

Sheffield Botanical
Gardens. 1836.



Fig 26.
Sheffield Botanical
Gardens.
The Pavilions today.



Chatsworth House, from a drawing by the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, 1699. The drawing is from the North and East of the Most Noble Order of the Bath, 1699.

Fig 27. From Knyff's drawing of 1699.

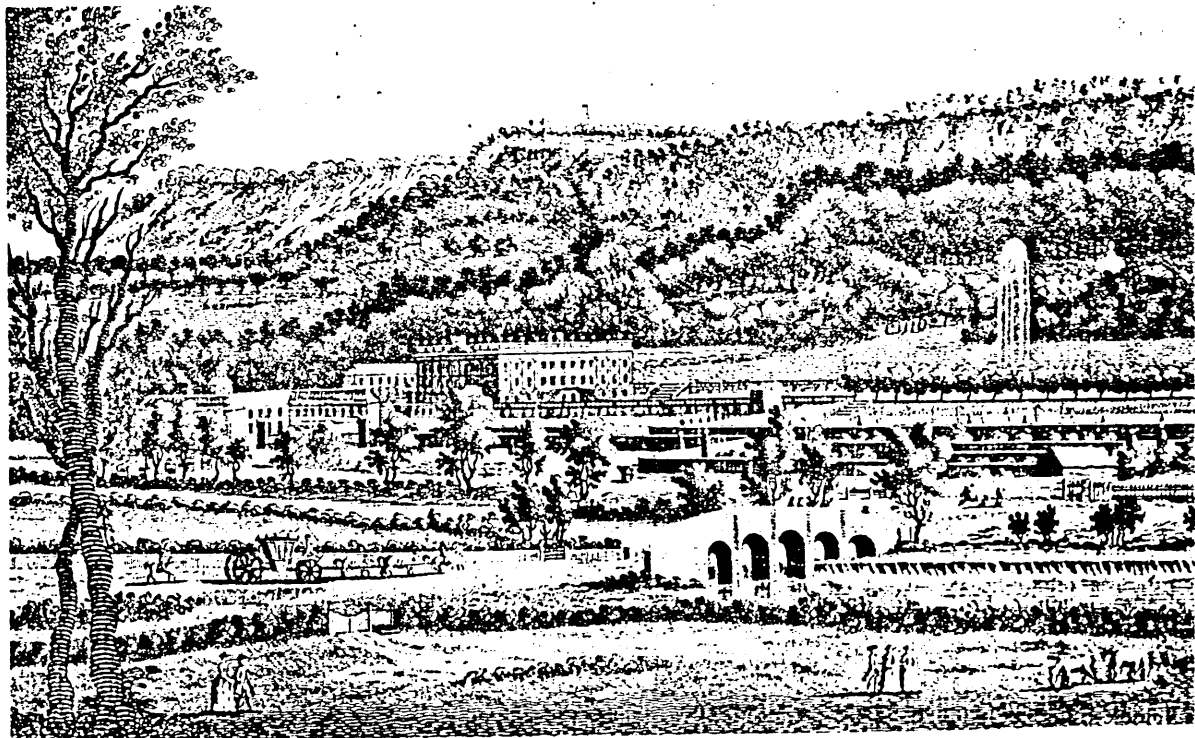


Fig 28. John Smith's engraving published 1744.

Chatsworth.



Fig 29. The west front after the Fourth Duke's alterations.

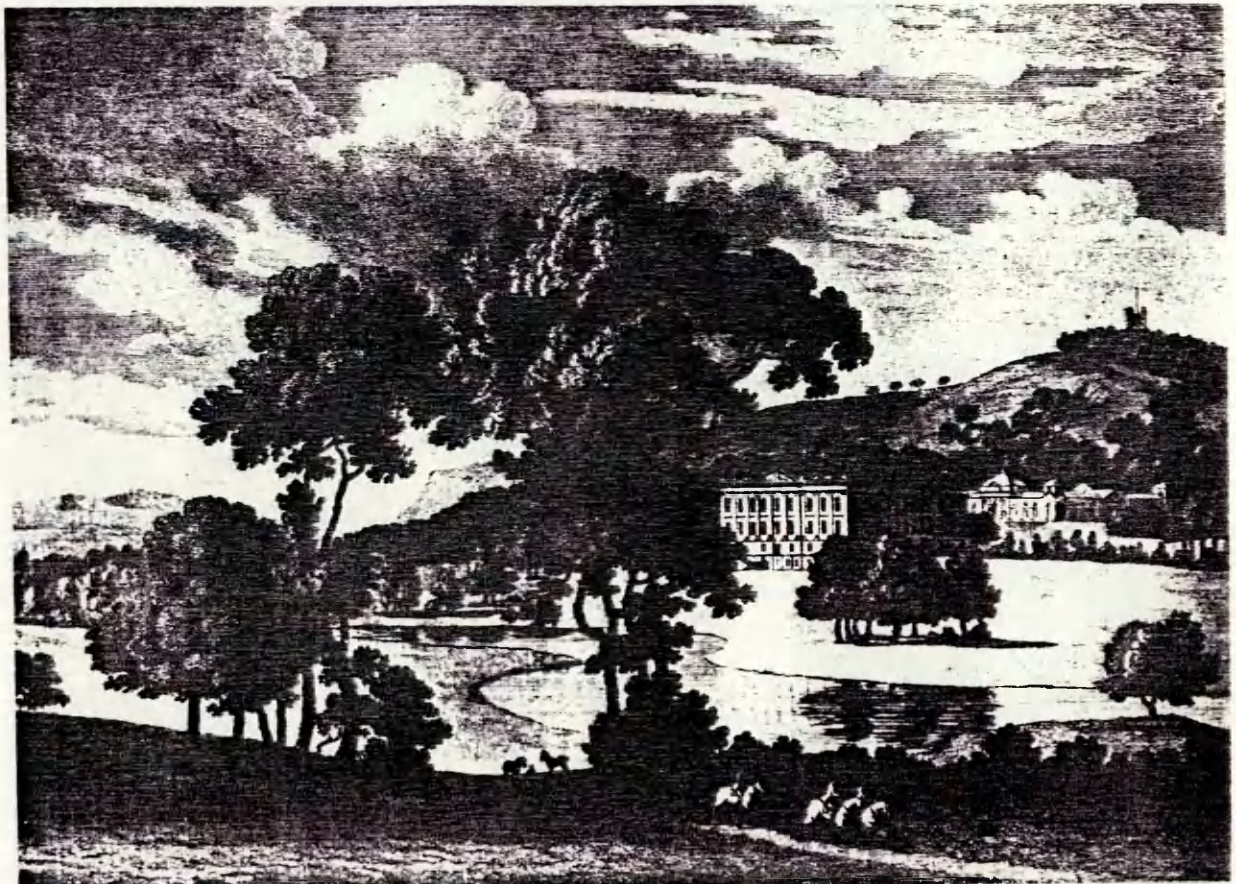


Fig 30. The C18th landscaping.

Chatsworth.

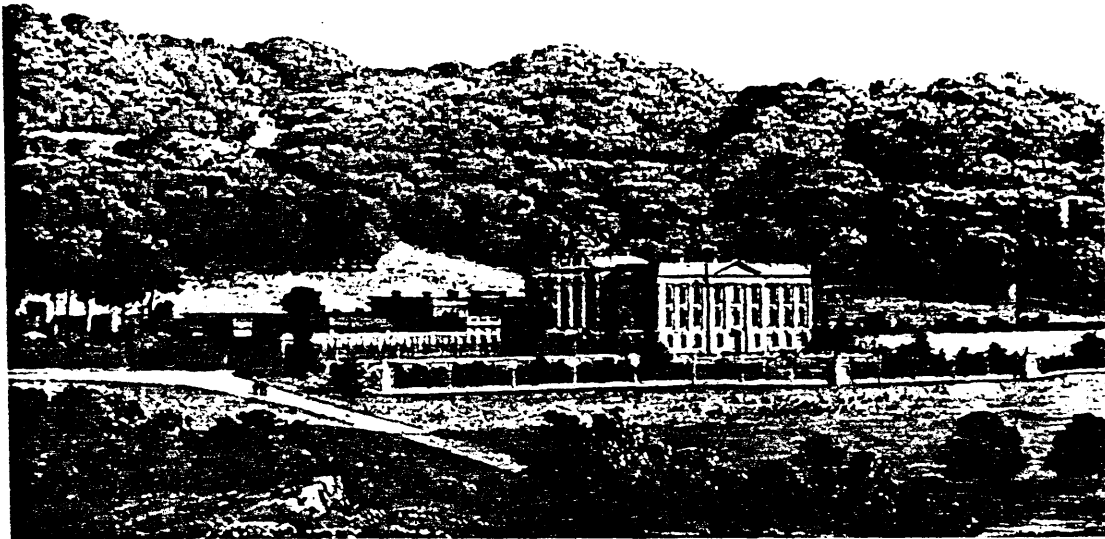


Fig. 31

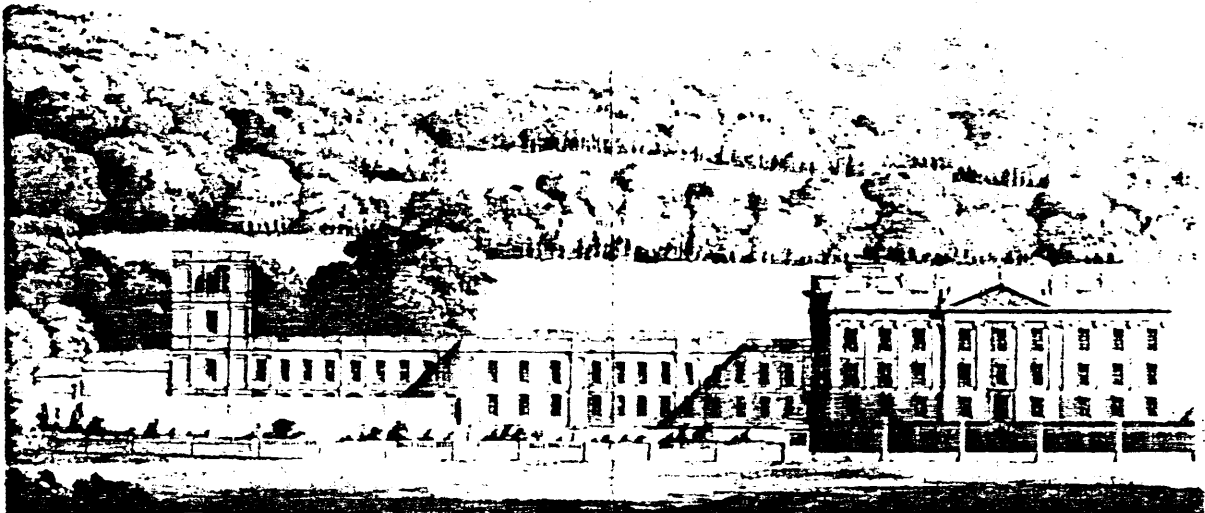


Fig. 32



Fig. 32a. Wyatville's drawings for Chatsworth.



Fig 33. The Deepdene 1818-23.
Thomas Hope and William
Atkinson.

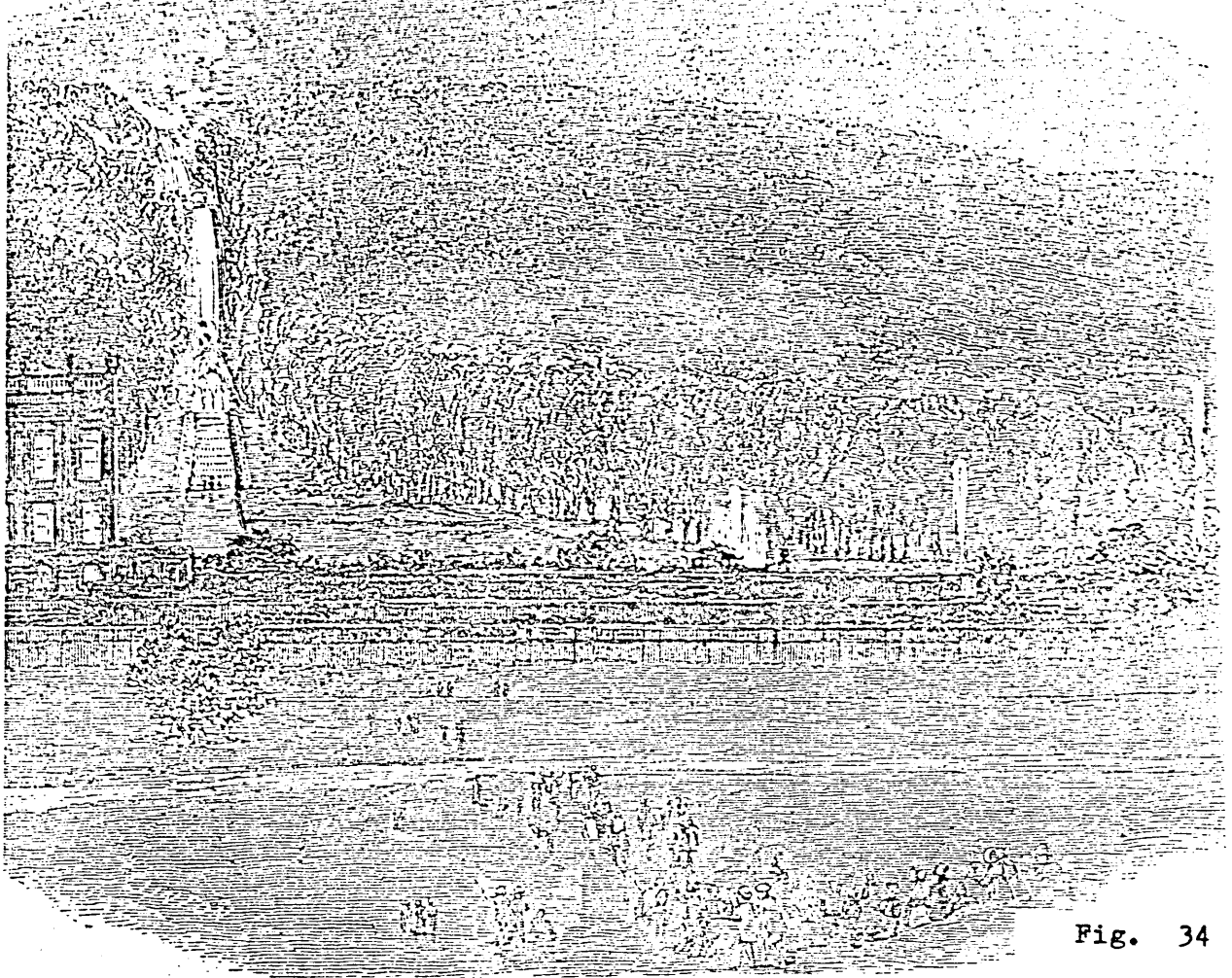


Fig. 34

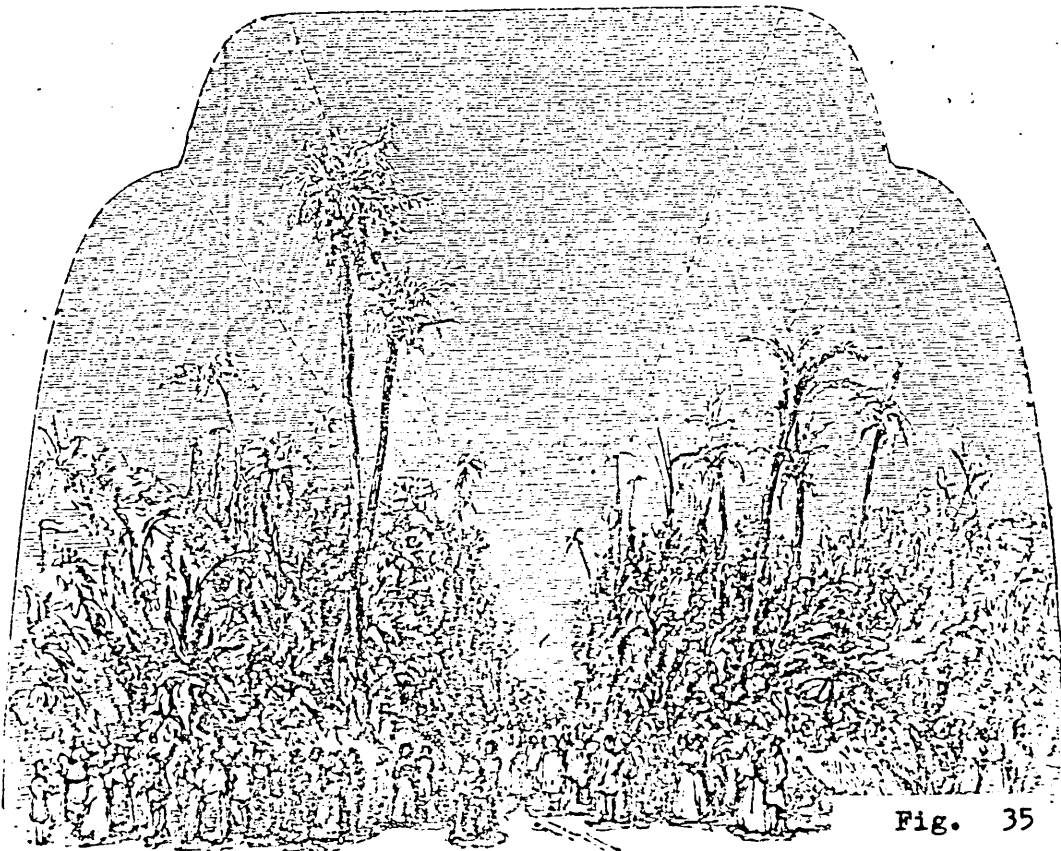


Fig. 35

Chatsworth.
Illuminations for Royal Visit 1843.

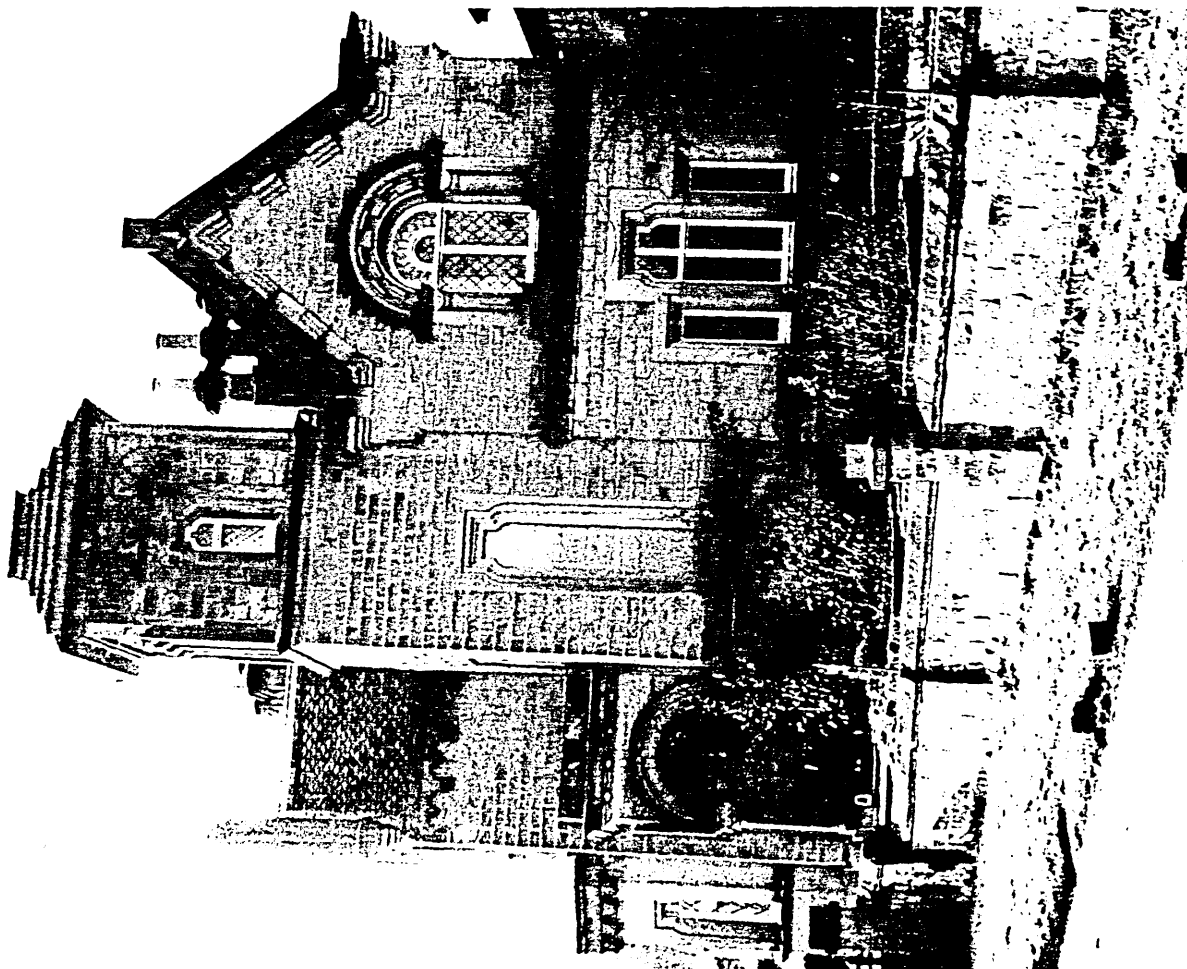


Fig 36. Edensor Village. The model village built by Paxton for the Sixth Duke in Chatsworth Park - an excellent example of picturesque pattern-book architecture.

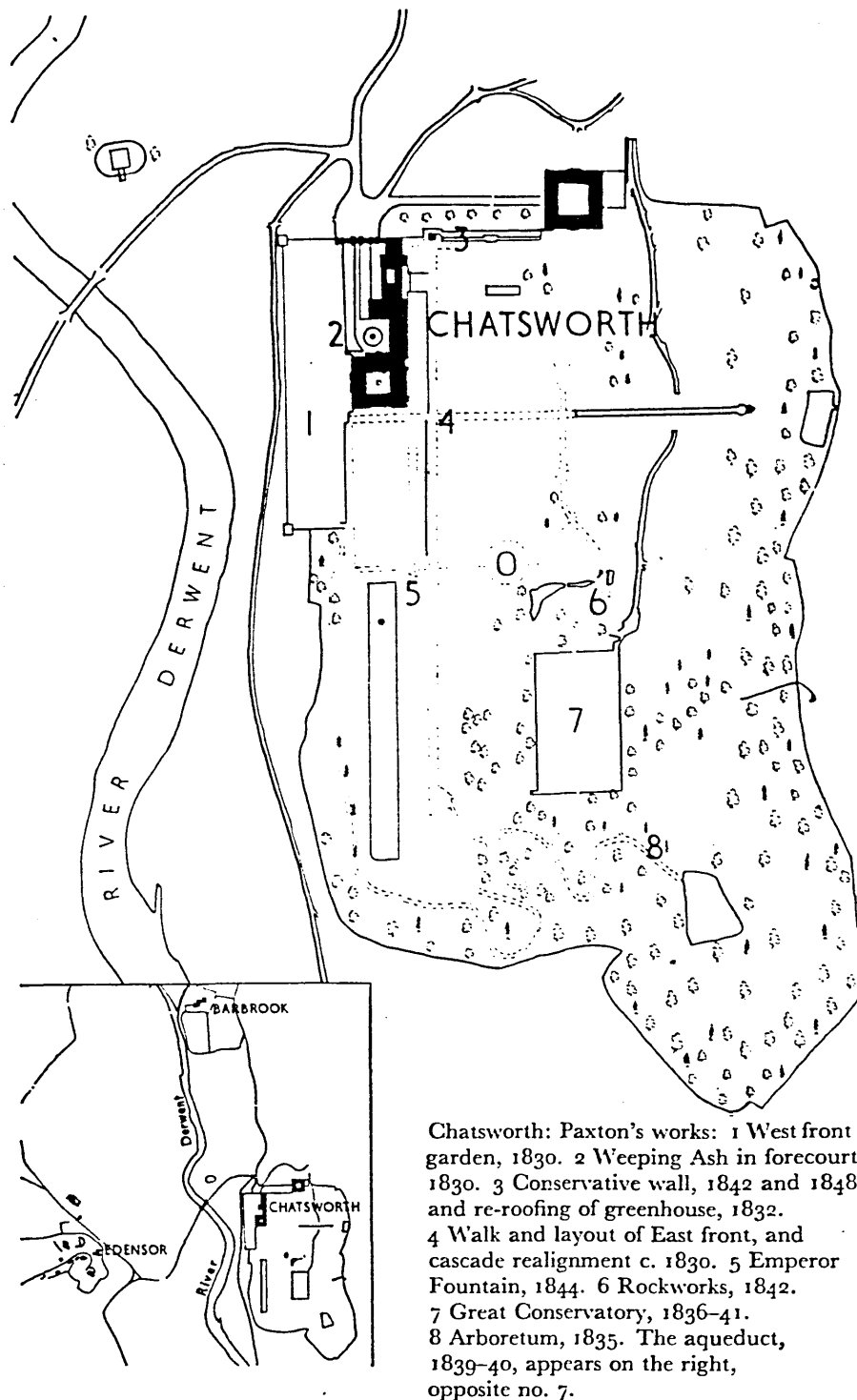


Fig 37. Plan of work done at Chatsworth by Paxton.

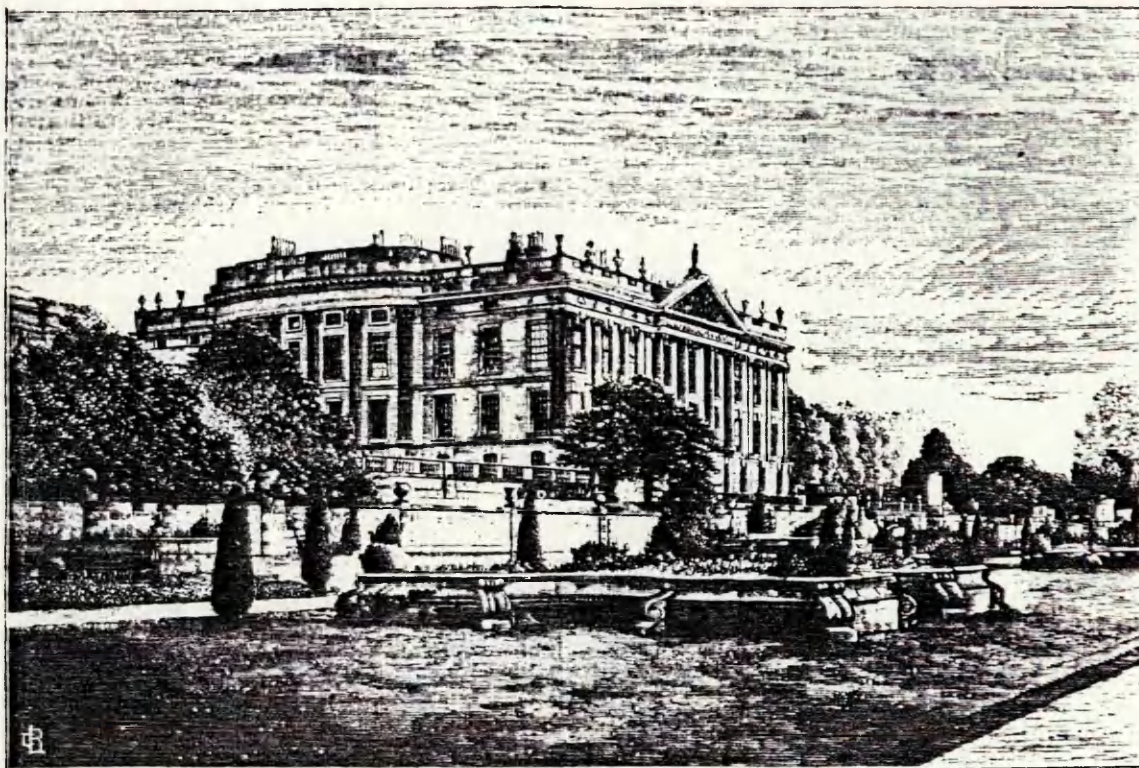


Fig. 39

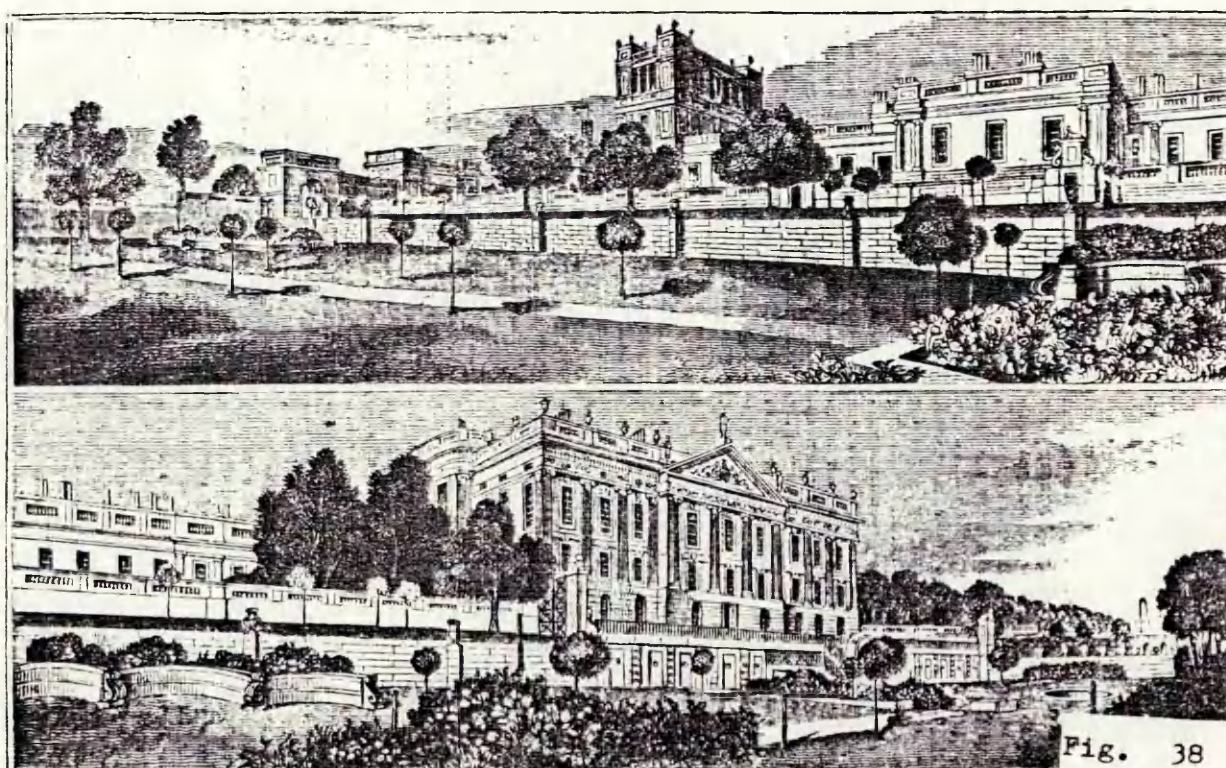


Fig. 38

Chatsworth West Front.

Fig 38. Note Portugal laurels
trained on stems with heads
cut into round balls, and
Wyatvilles architectural
parterres. 1834.

Fig 39. The same view in 1874

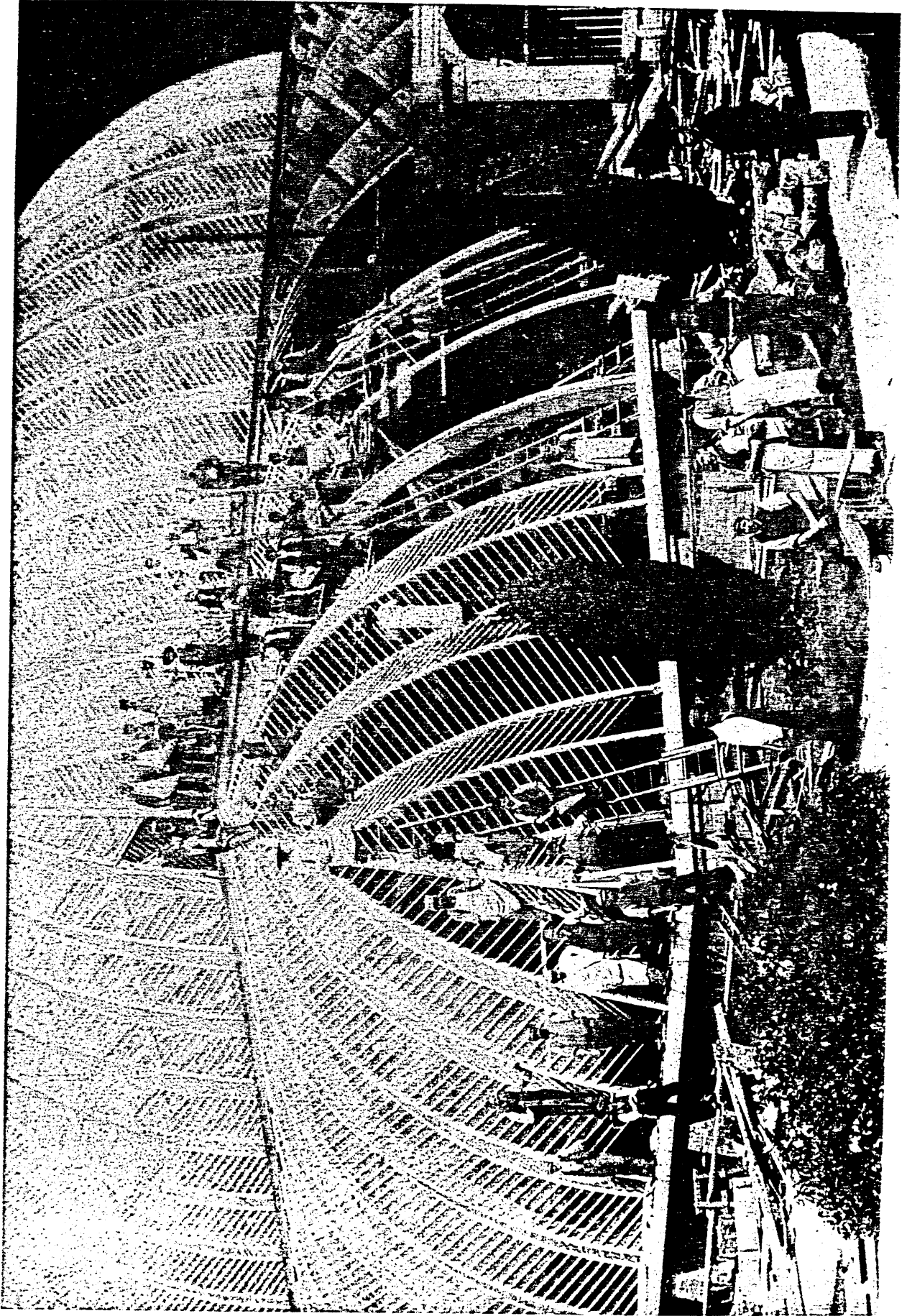
THE GREAT CHATSWORTH CONSERVATORY.

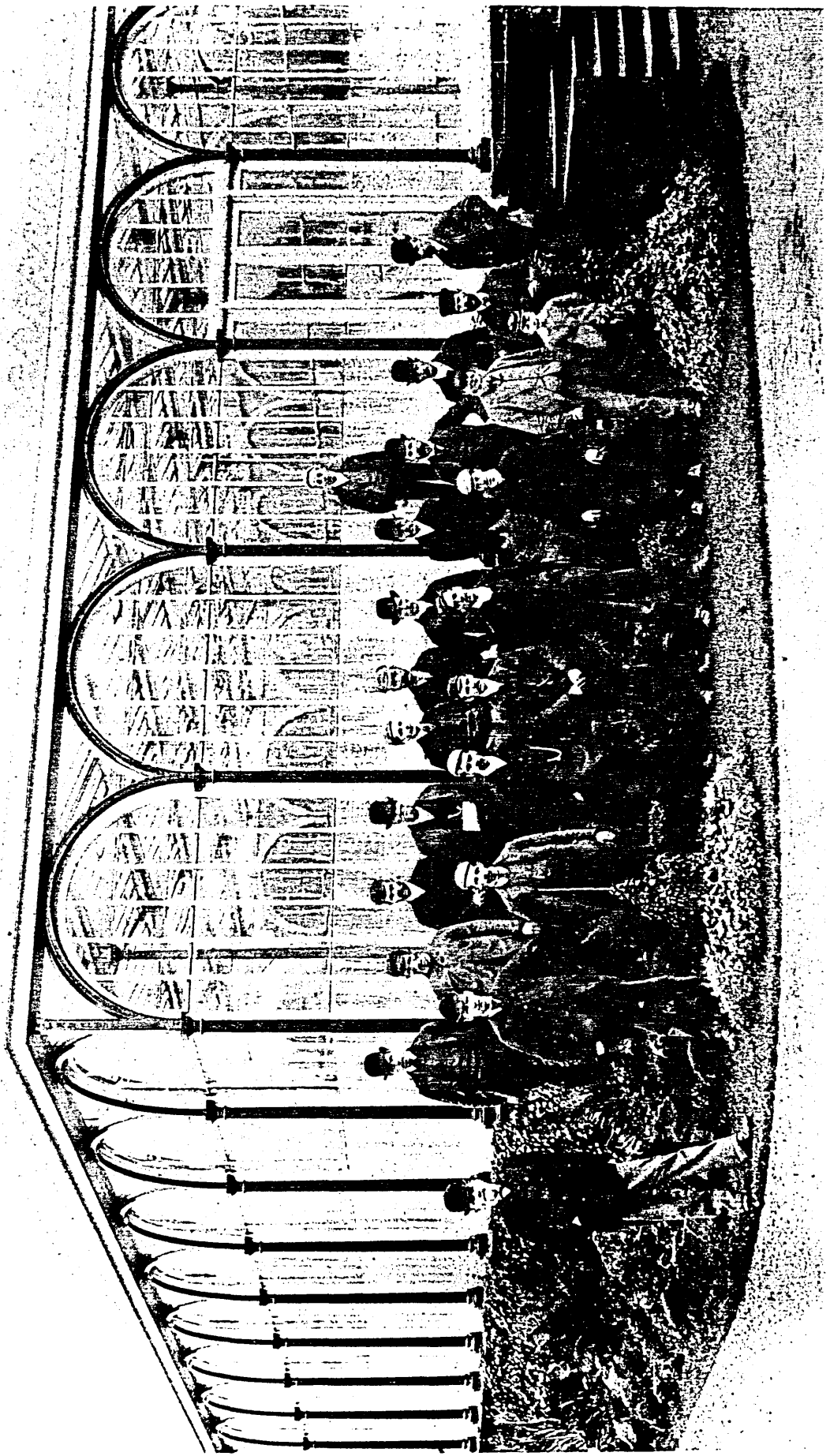


THE EXTERIOR, FROM THE ITALIAN TERRACE.



Fig.





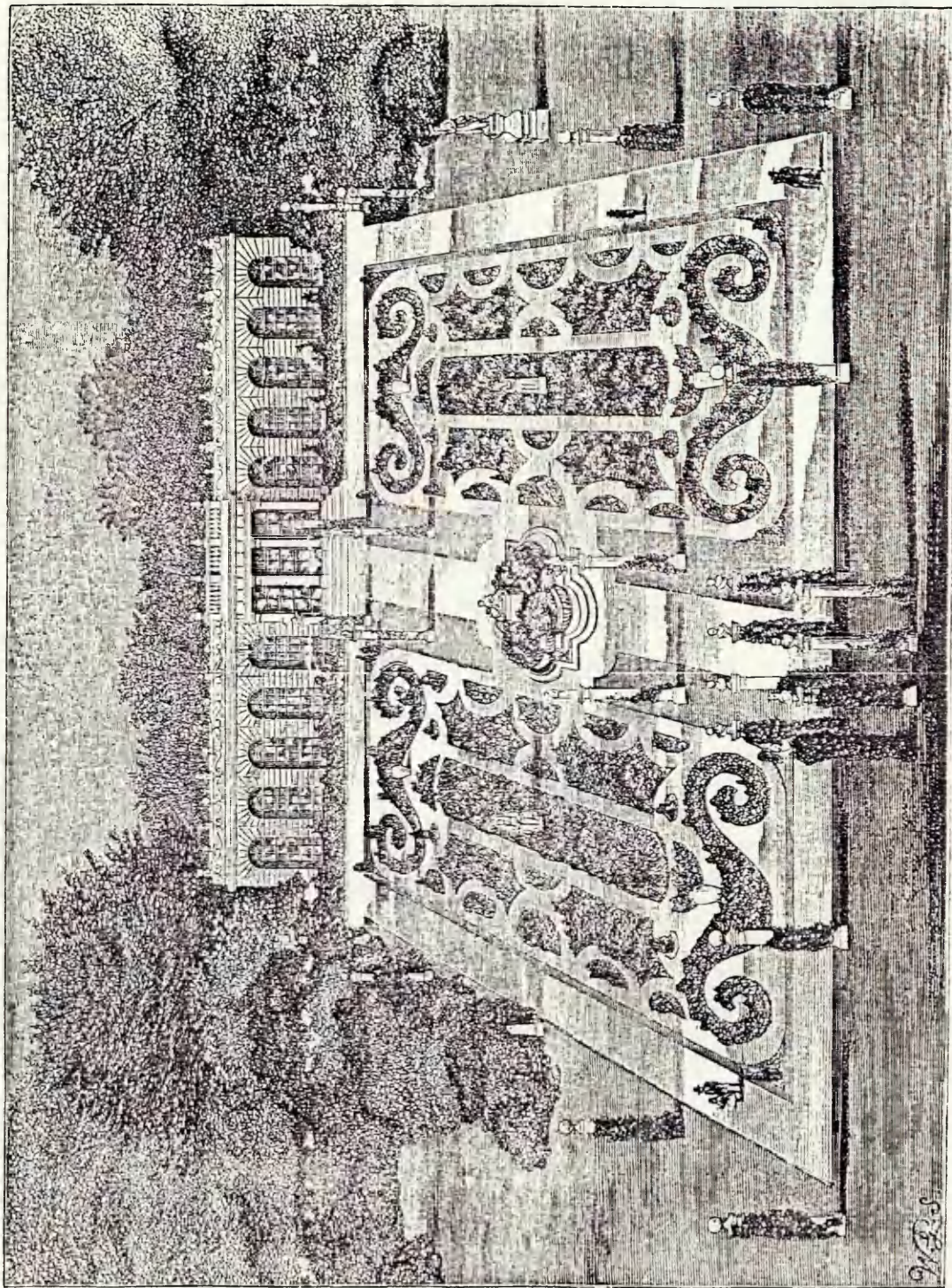


Fig 44.

Chatsworth.
The Italian Garden 1874

THE ITALIAN GARDEN.

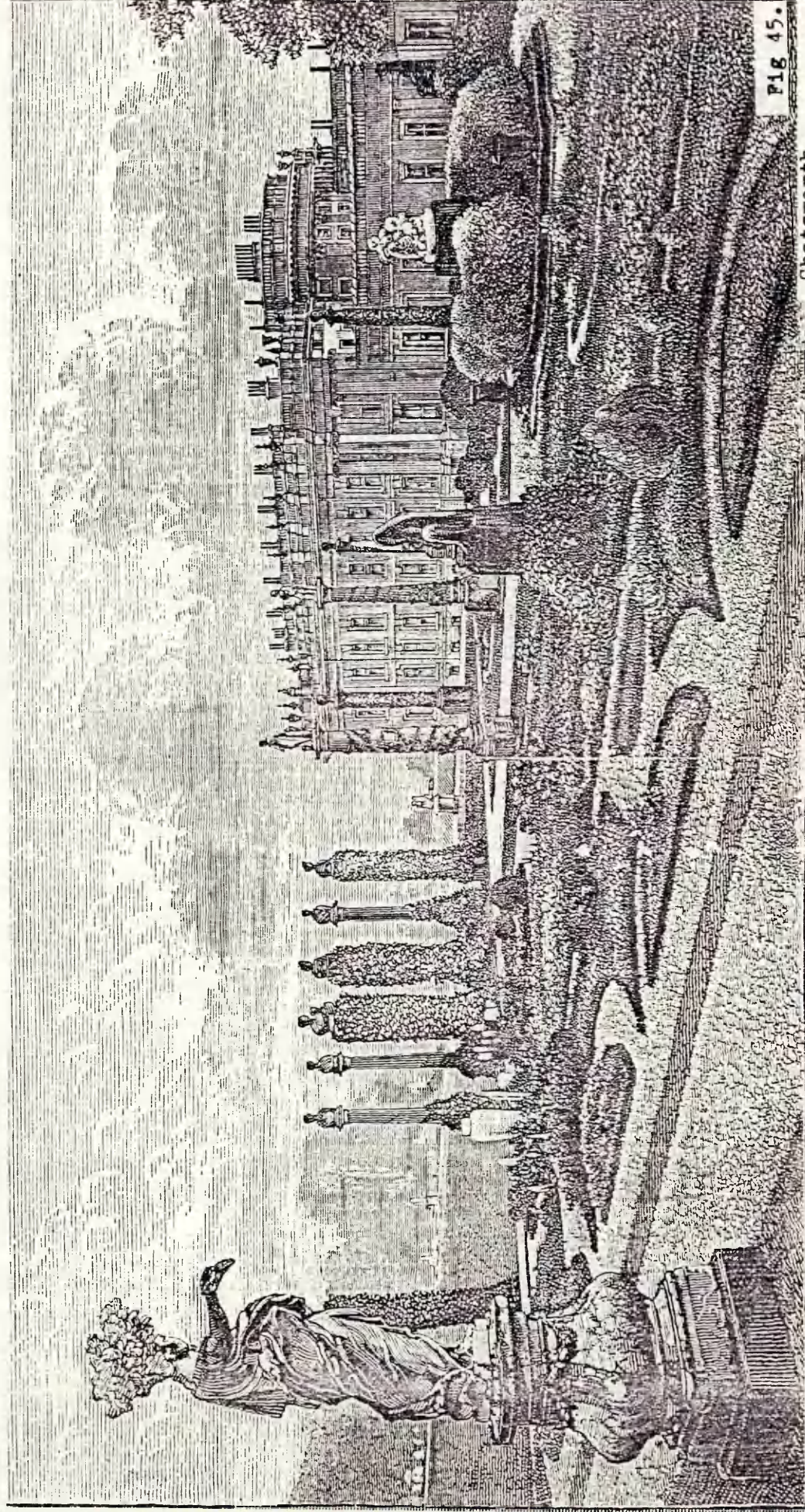


Fig 45.

Chatsworth
The French Garden.
1883.



Fig 46. Chatsworth.
The Wellington Rock.

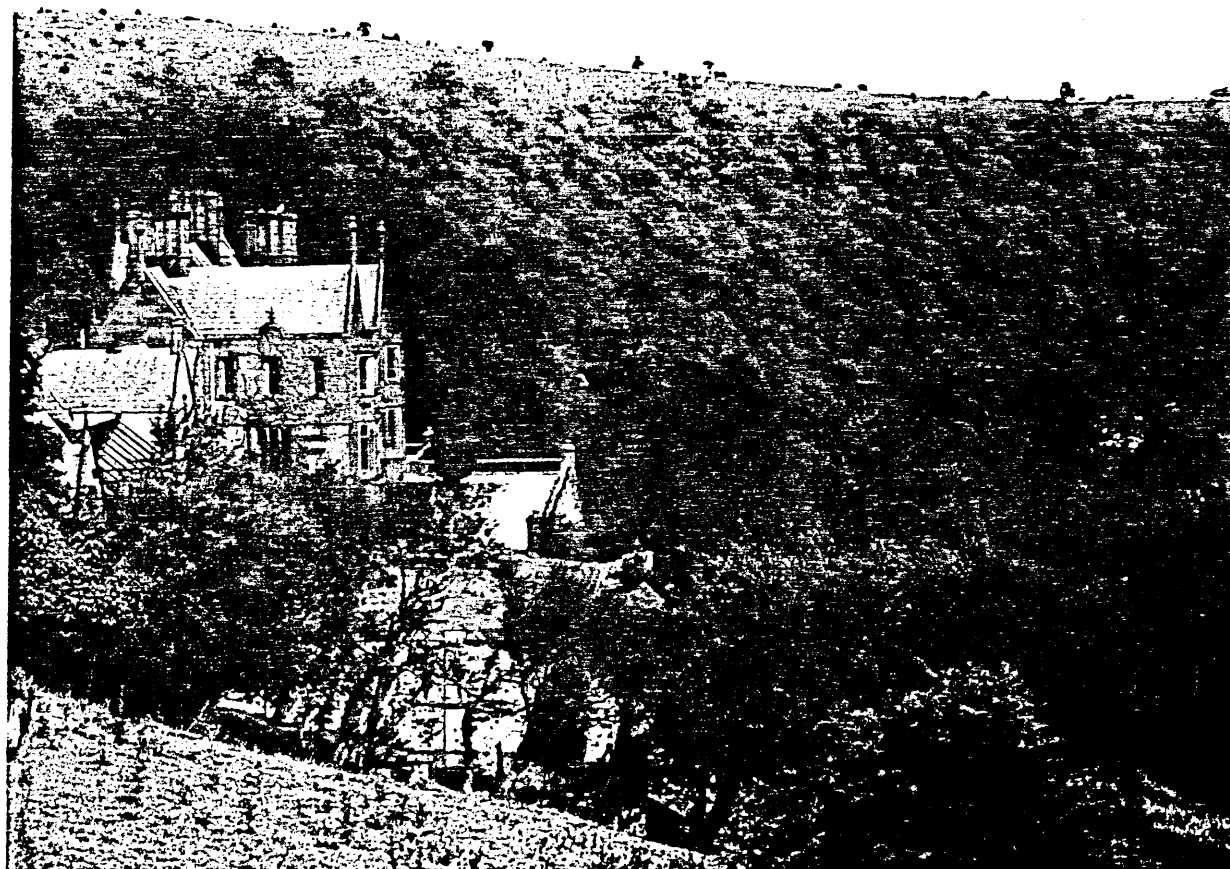
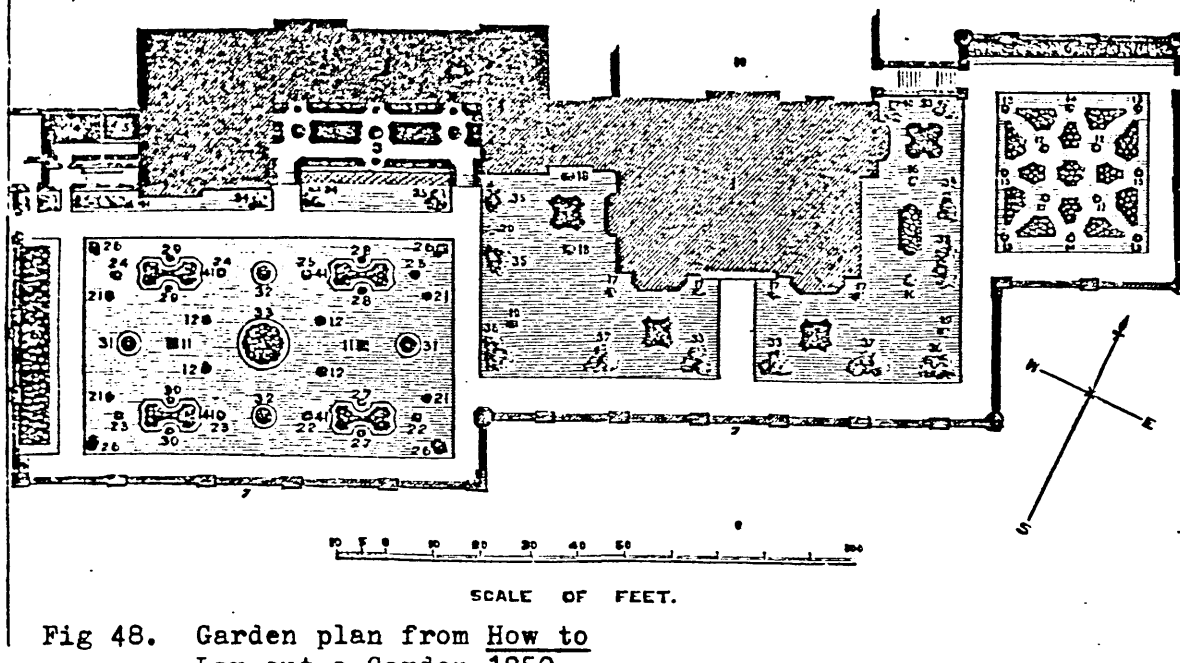


Fig 47. View from the south west.
Note terrace buttressing.

Cressbrook Hall

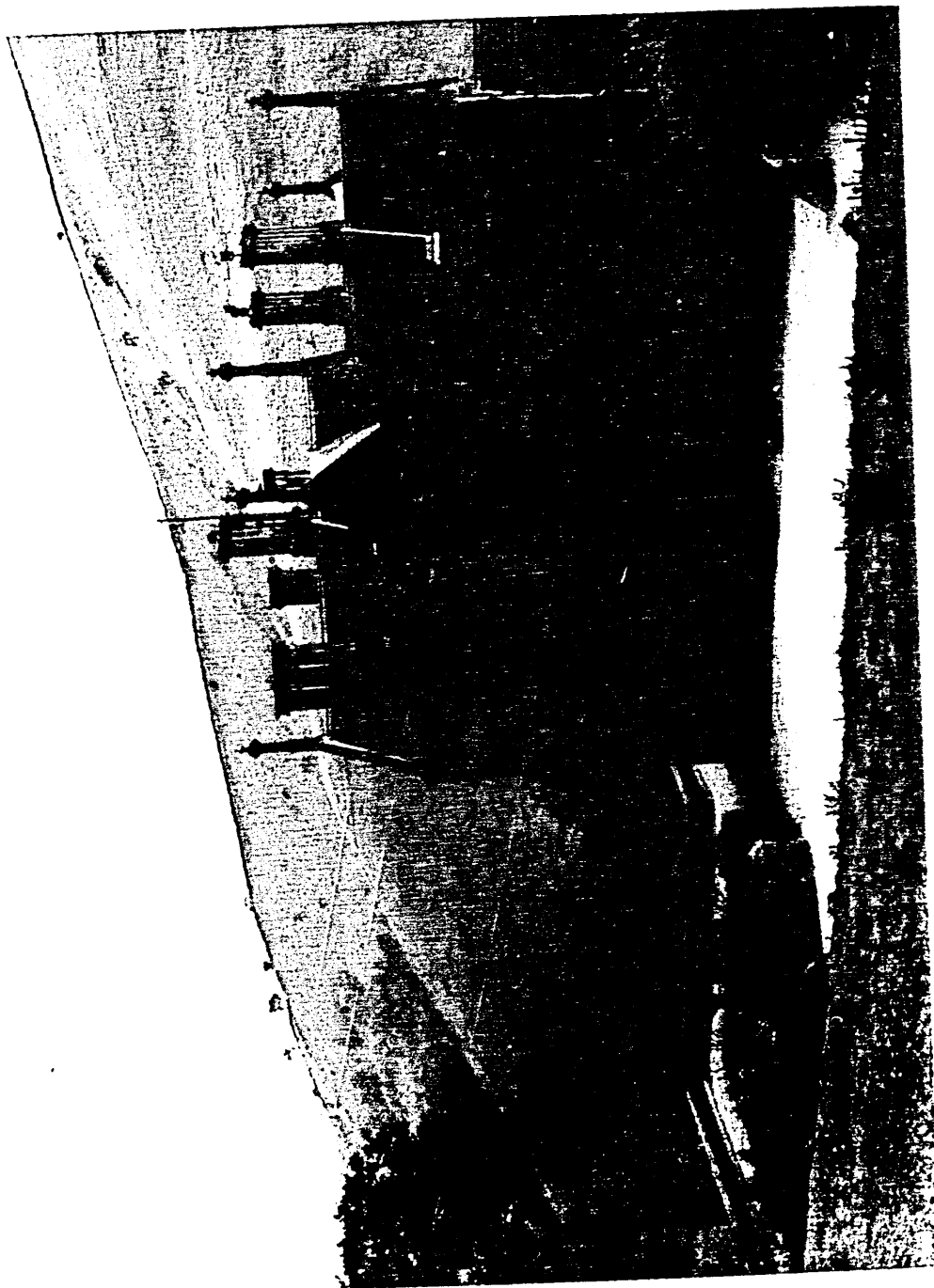


Fig 49.

Cressbrook Hall.

View from the north. Note terrace parterre garden to left and wild rugged countryside around.

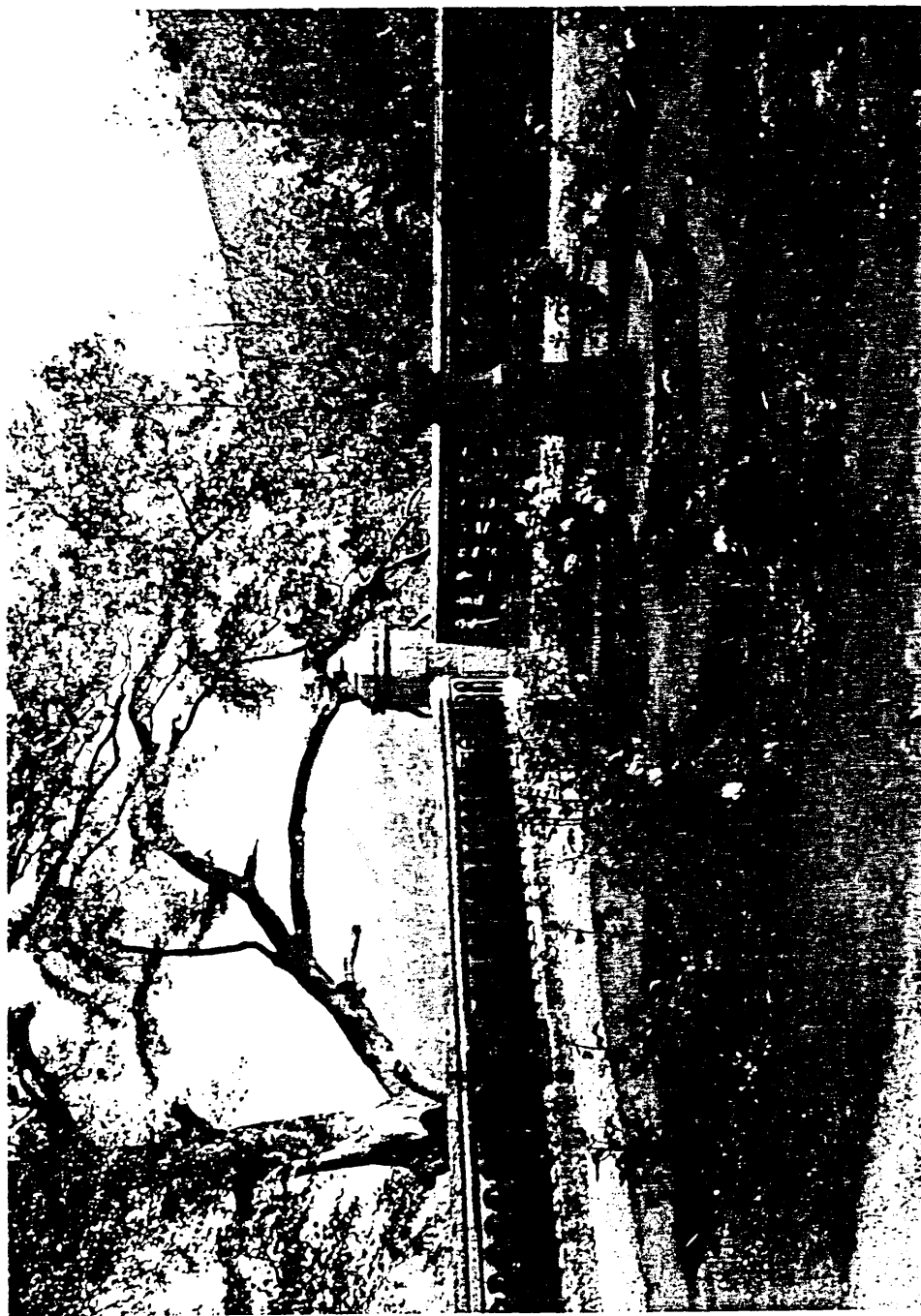
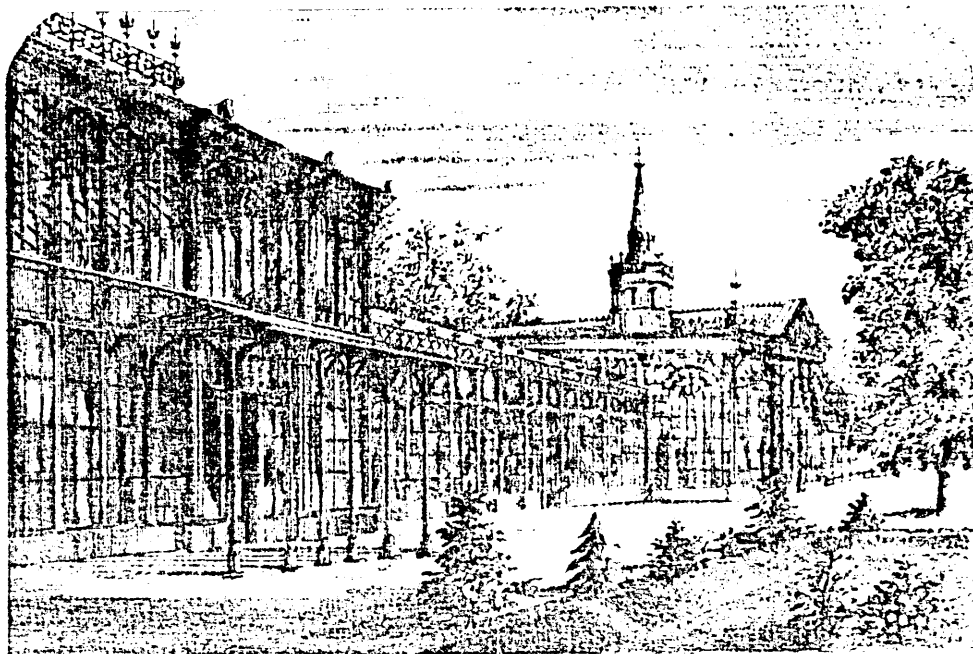


Fig 50.
Cressbrook Hall.
Parterre garden with sund.
Note stone balustrading.



THE PAVILION IN THE PUBLIC GARDENS
BUXTON

Fig 60. The Pavilion designed by Edward Milner shows the influence of the Crystal Palace.

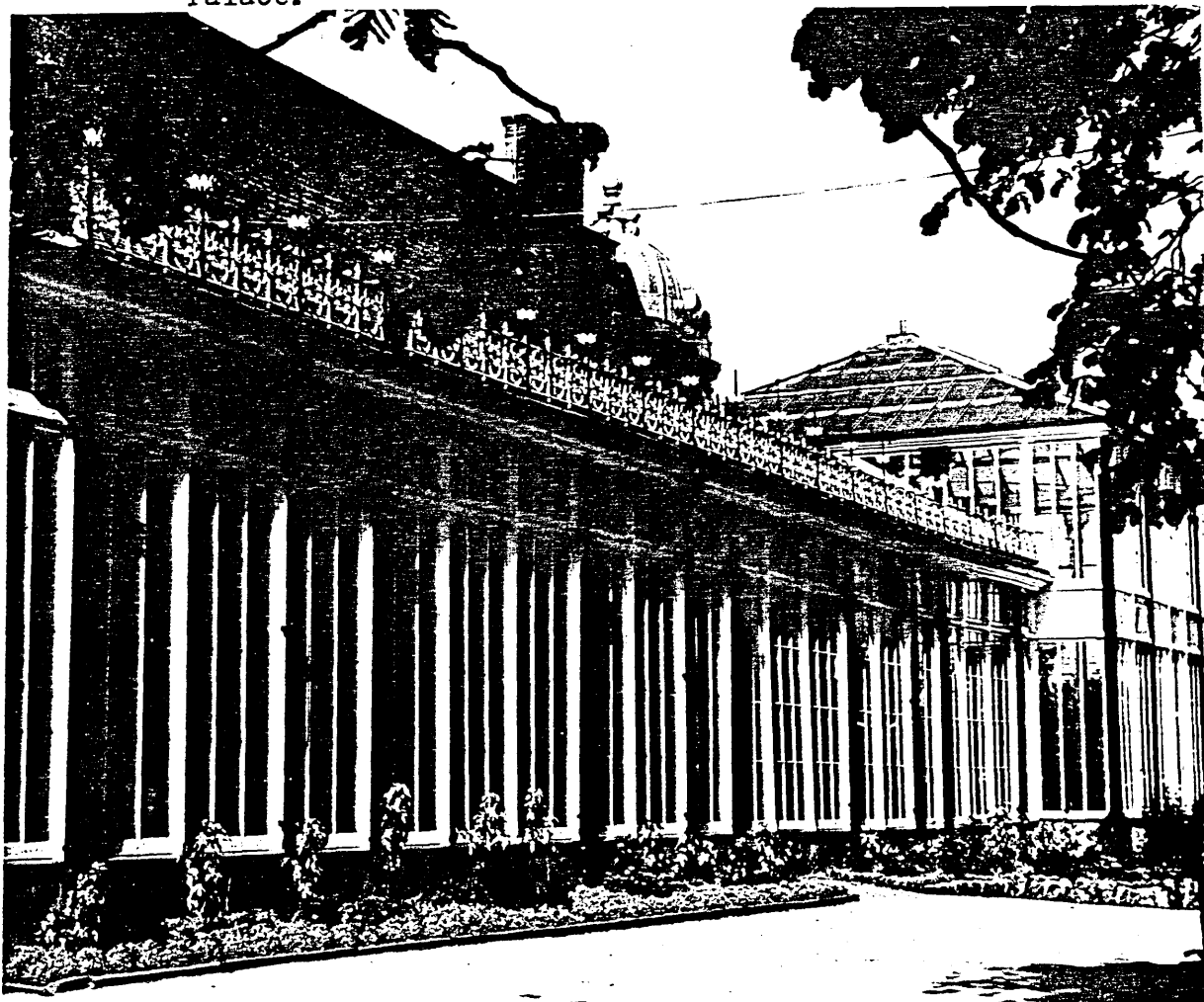
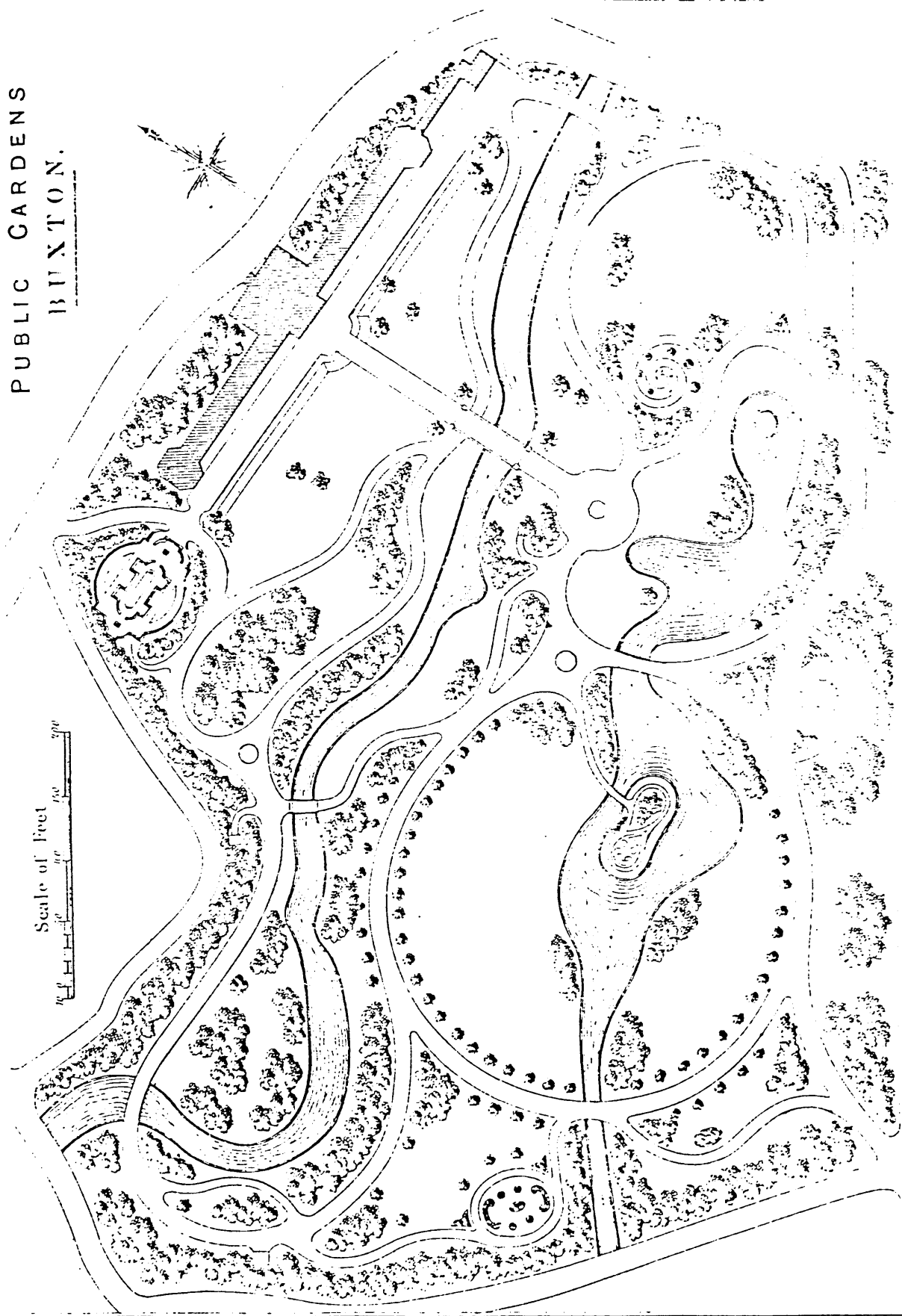


Fig 61. The pavilion in 1982.

Buxton Pavilion Gardens opened 1871.

PUBLIC GARDENS
BUNTON.

Scale of Feet
0 100 200



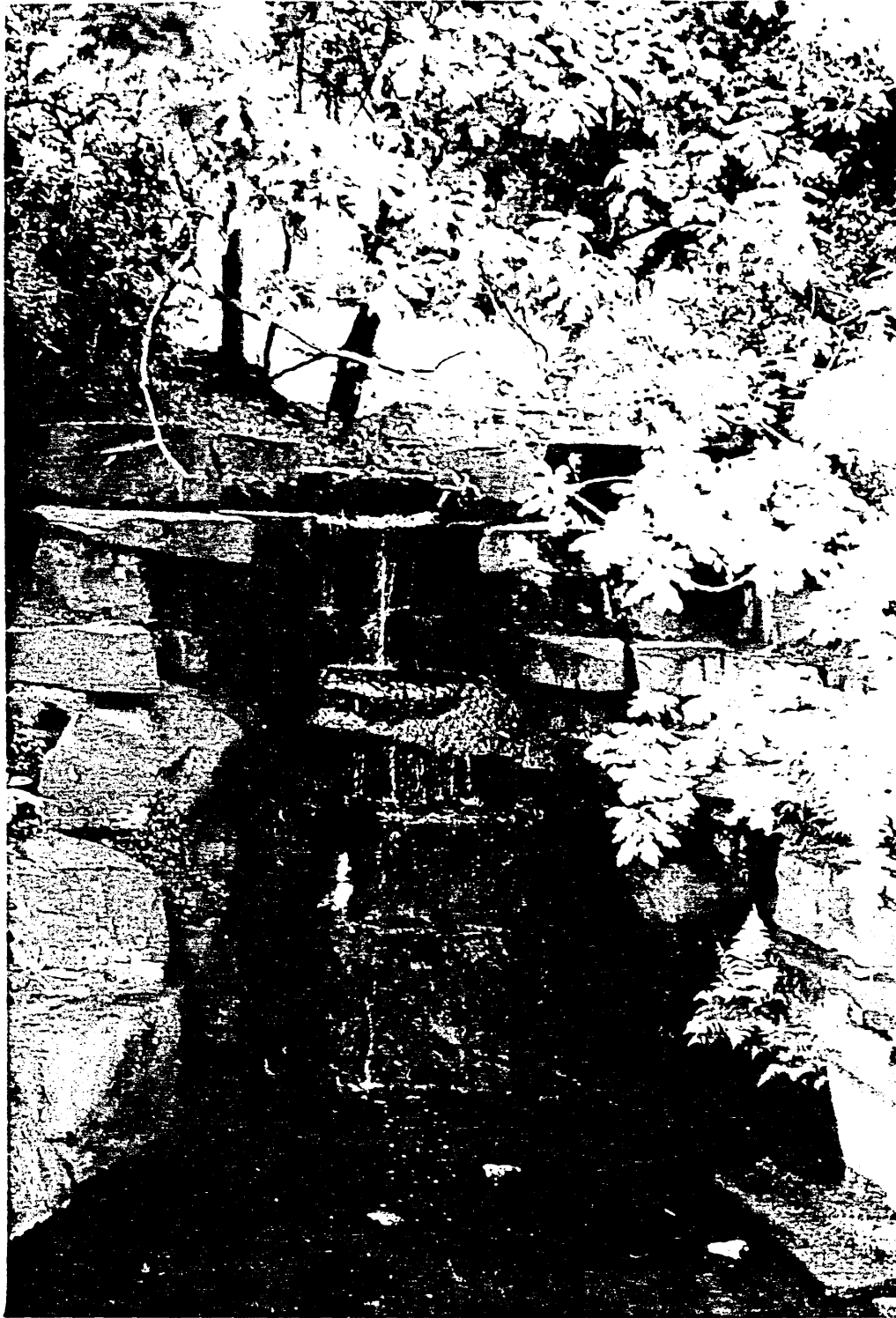


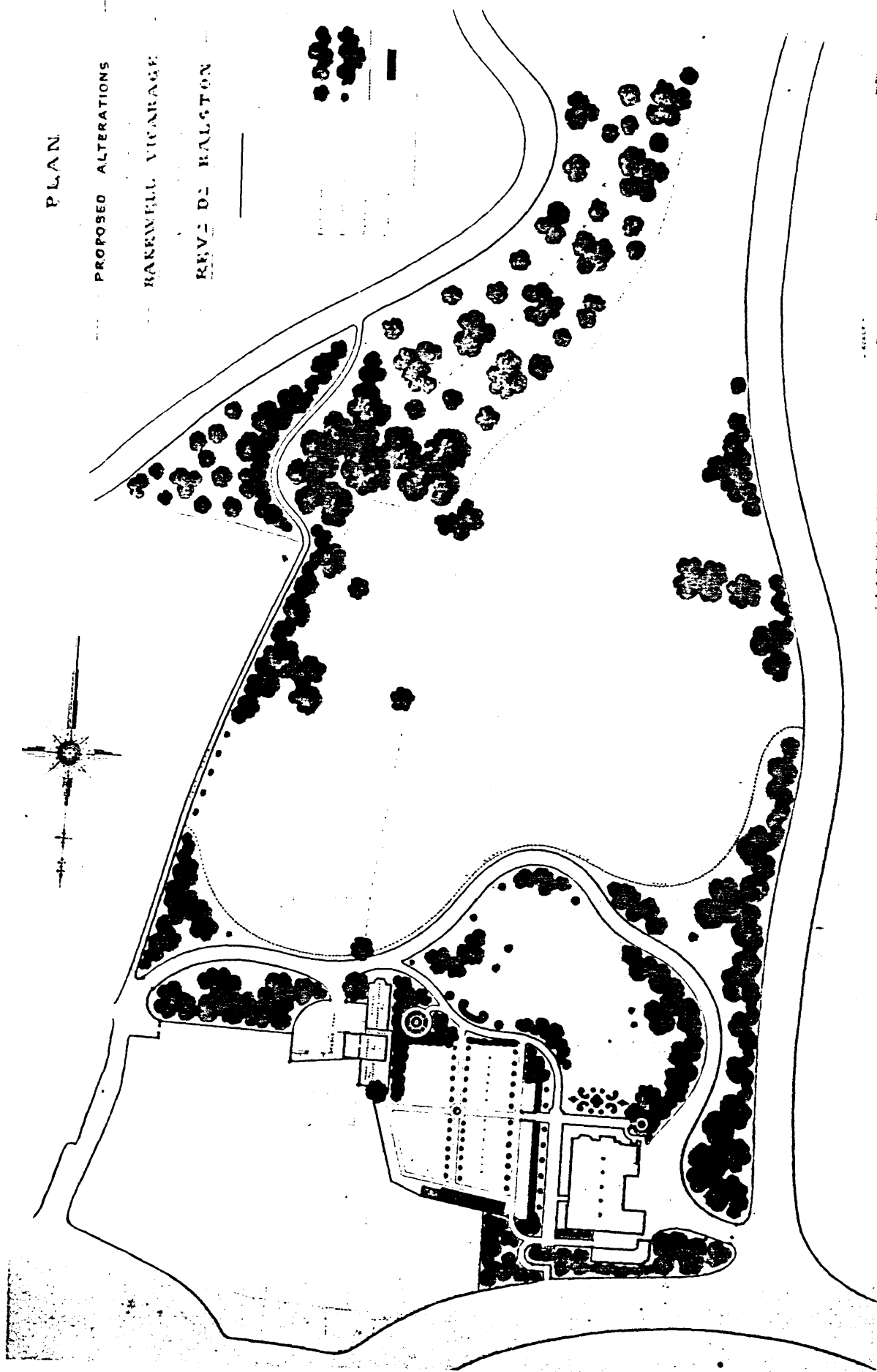
Fig 63. Howard Park, Glossop, opened 1888. Devices such as rock-work and cascades of water were used in contrast to the more formal parts of the layout and reflect earlier teachings of Loudon and Paxton.

PLAN

PROPOSED ALTERATIONS

BAKEWELL VICARAGE

REVUE DE BALSTON



W. J. P. H. S.
1/10/1911

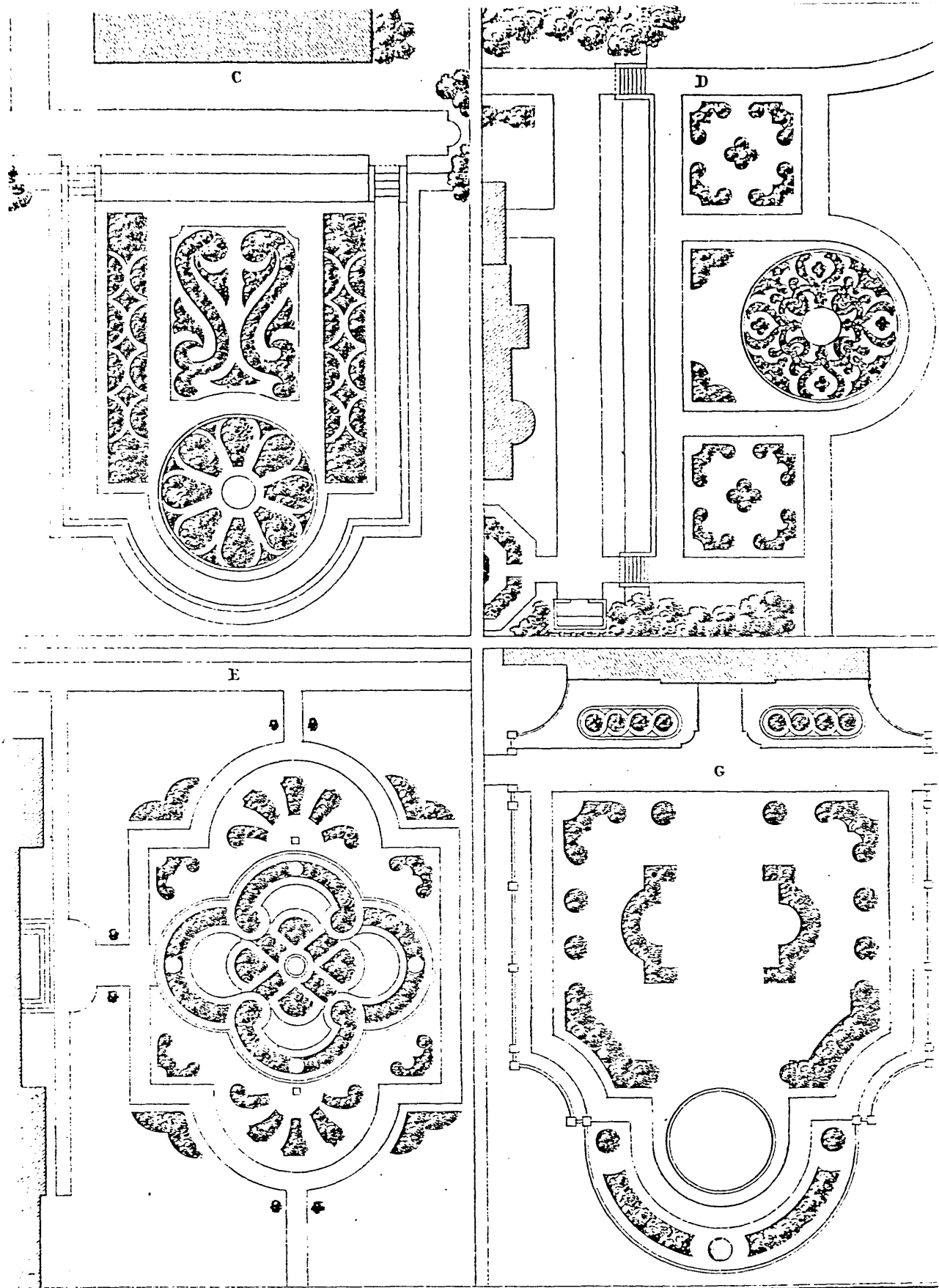


Fig 65. Henry Milner's designs for geometric bedding or parterres from The Art and Practice of Landscape Gardening. 1890.

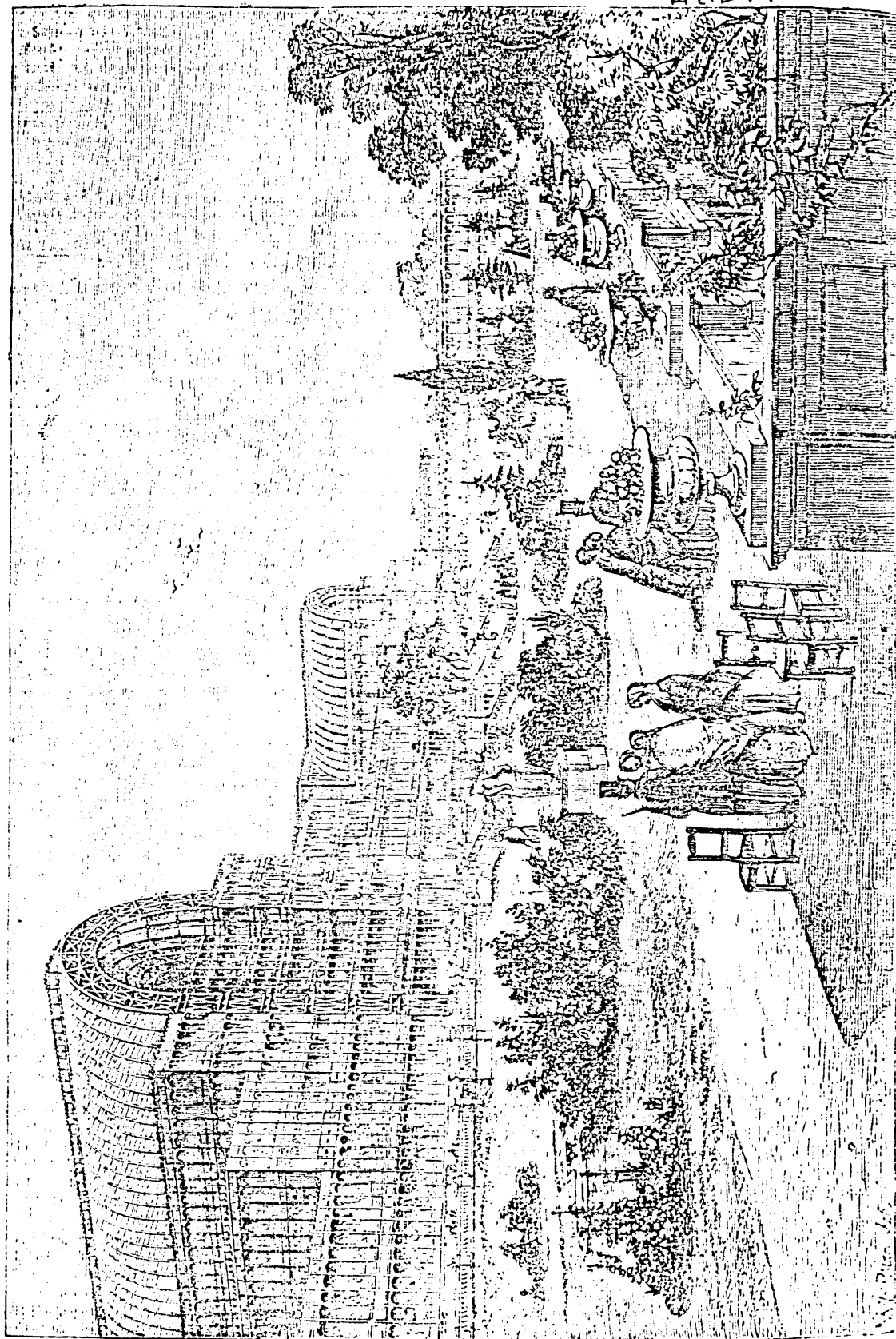


Fig 66.
The Crystal Palace
View from the
terrace.
1854.



Fig 67.
Darley House showing
marks of the ridge
and furrow glass
on the wall.

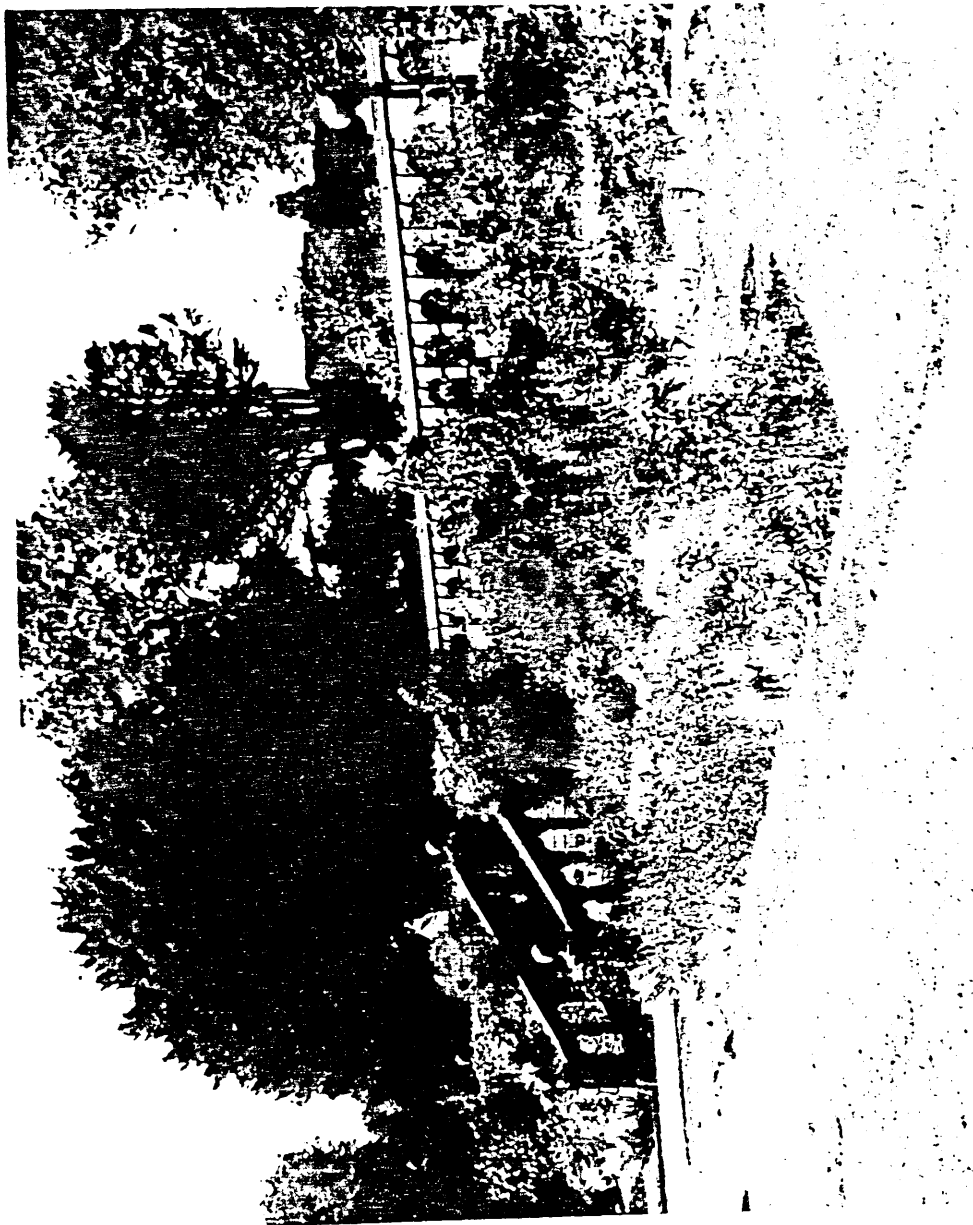


Fig 68.
Darley House.
Balustraded steps and terrace are
copied from Haddon.

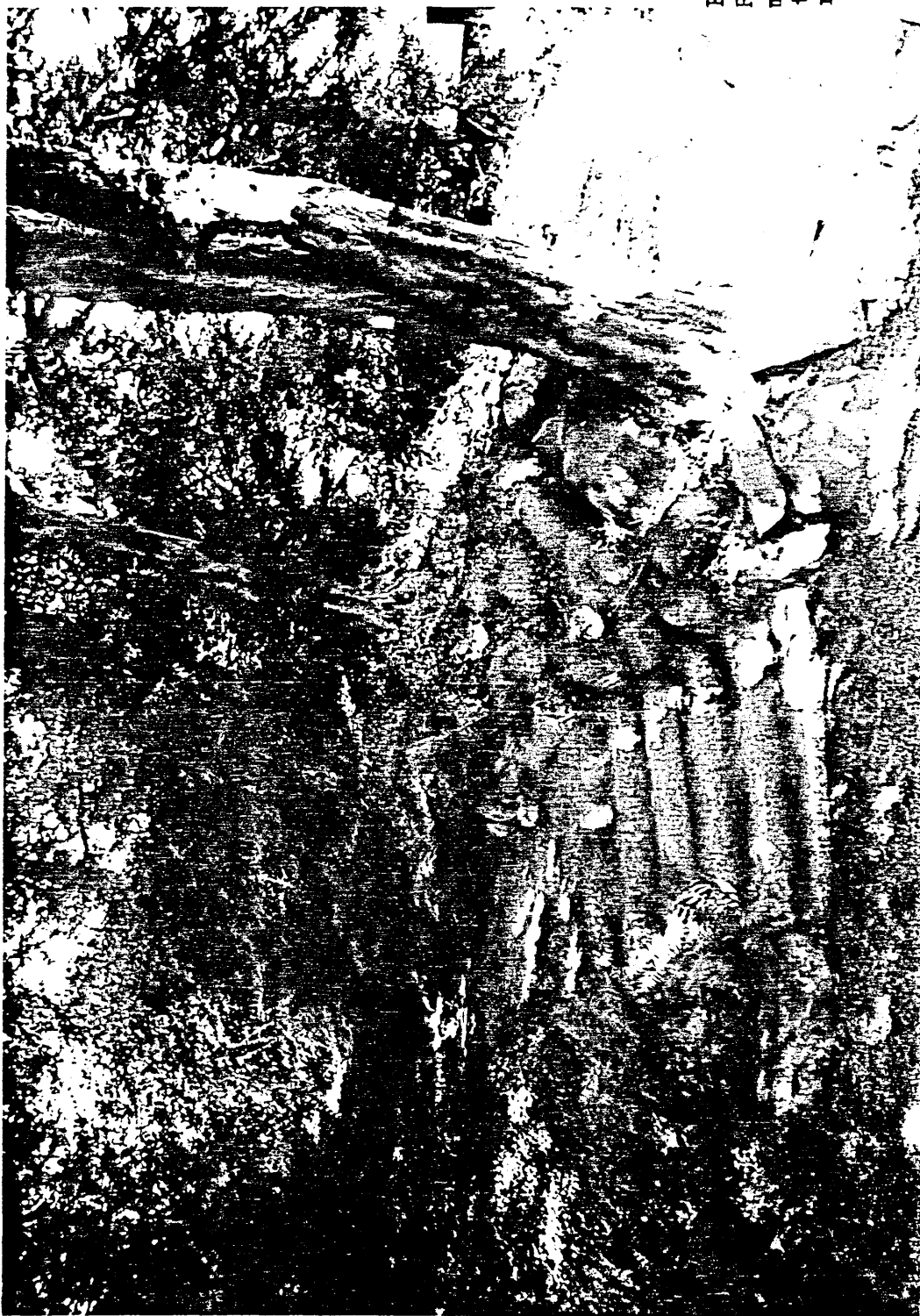


Fig 69. Darley F
Remains of C19th
meandering walks
through trees at
rockwork.

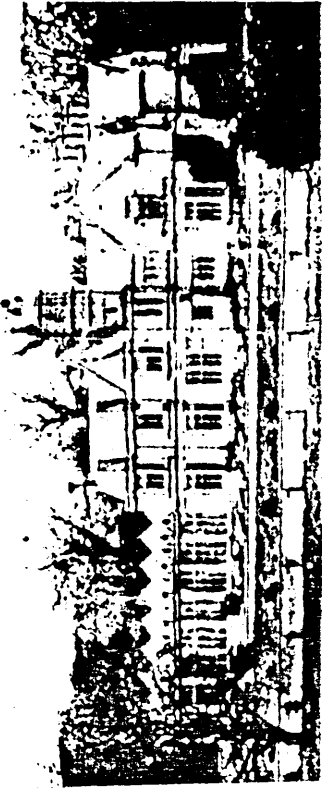


Fig 70.
The south front. Note
terracing and ridge and
furrow glasshouse.

Burton Closes

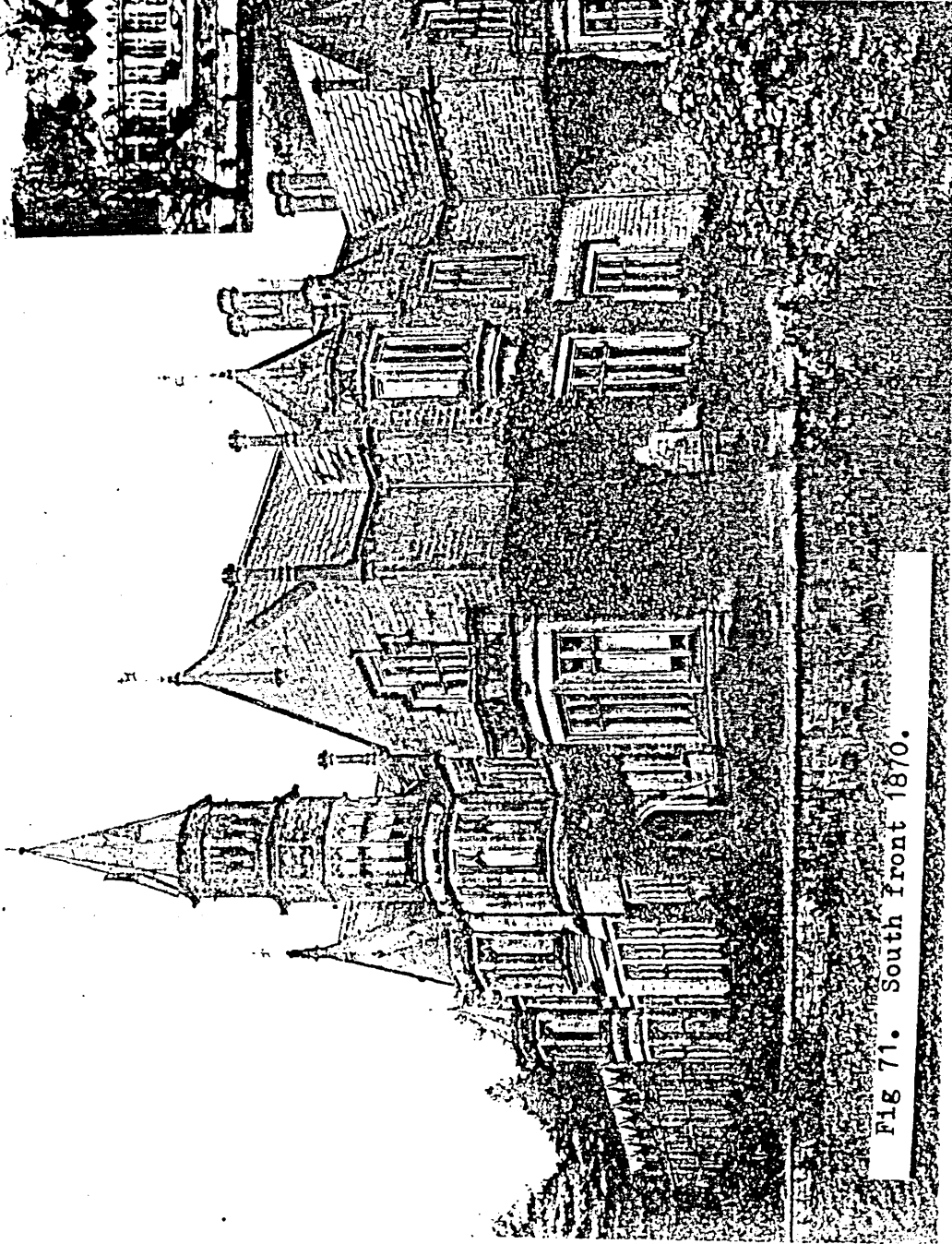


Fig 71. South front 1870.

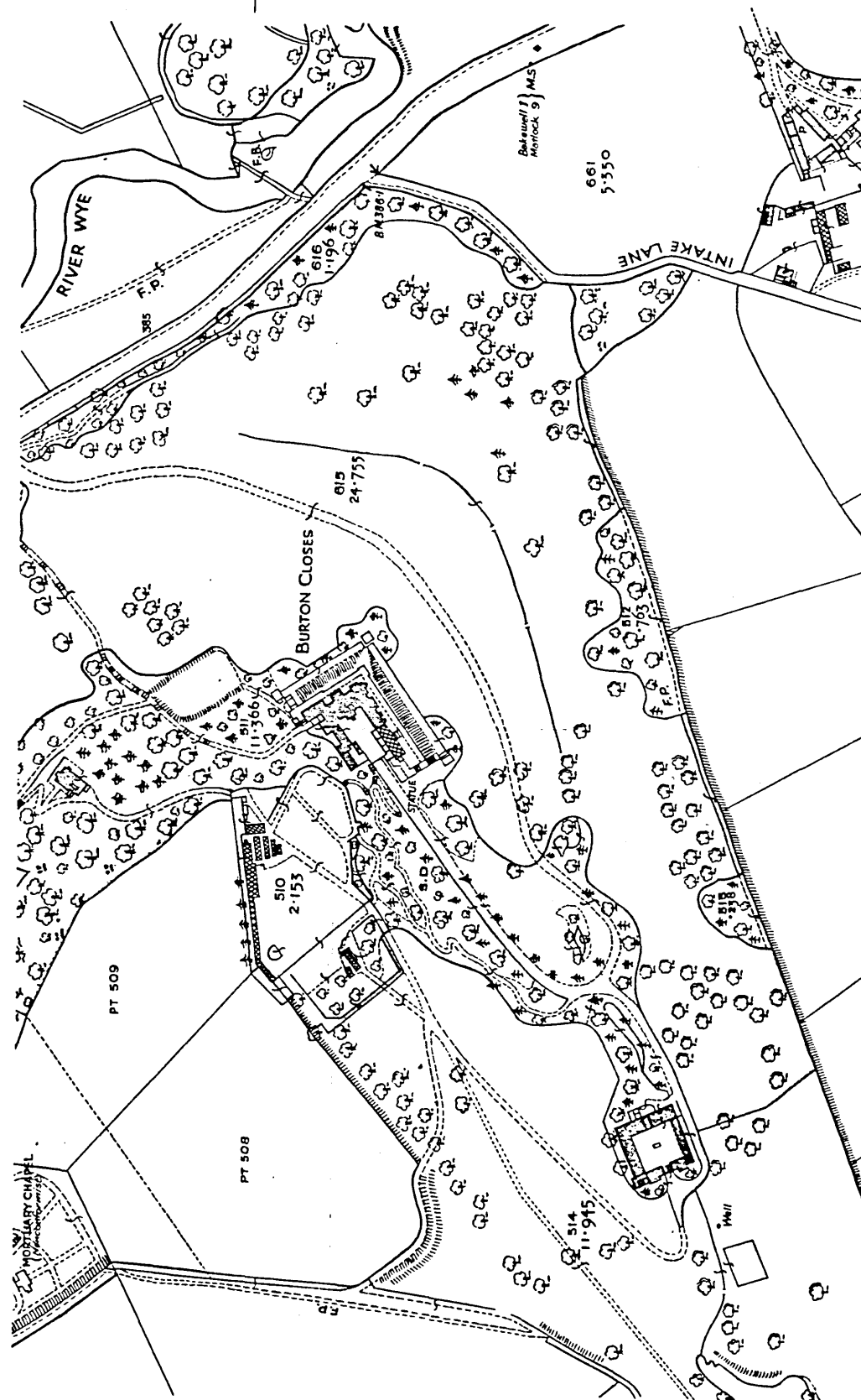


Fig 72.
 Burton Closes
 Estate Map 187
 Note Wellington
 Avenue and the
 round house.

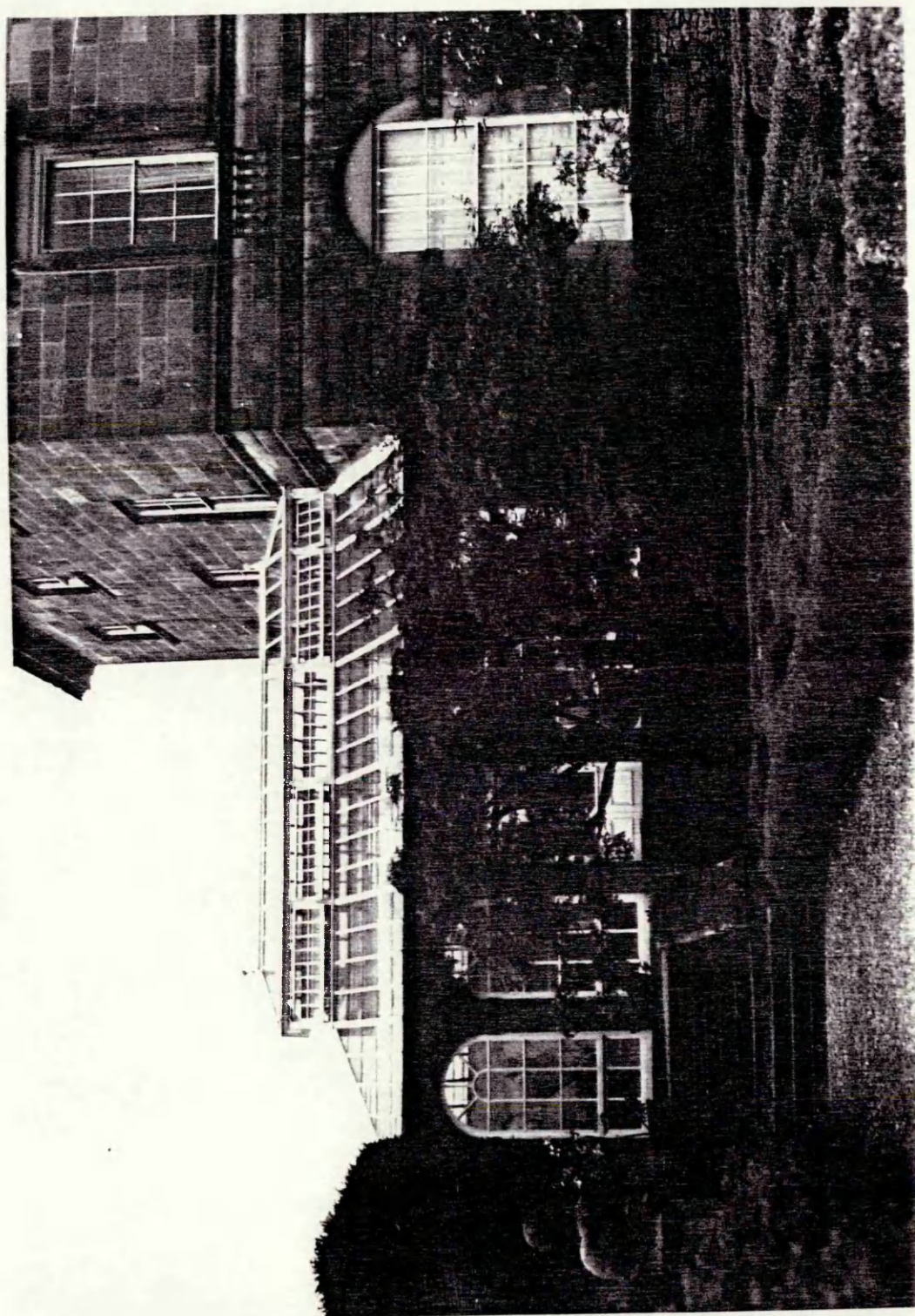


Fig 73.

Ashford Hall.

Fig 74. Ashford I
Stone steps with
elaborate balustrade
lead down from the
conservatory to the
terrace.

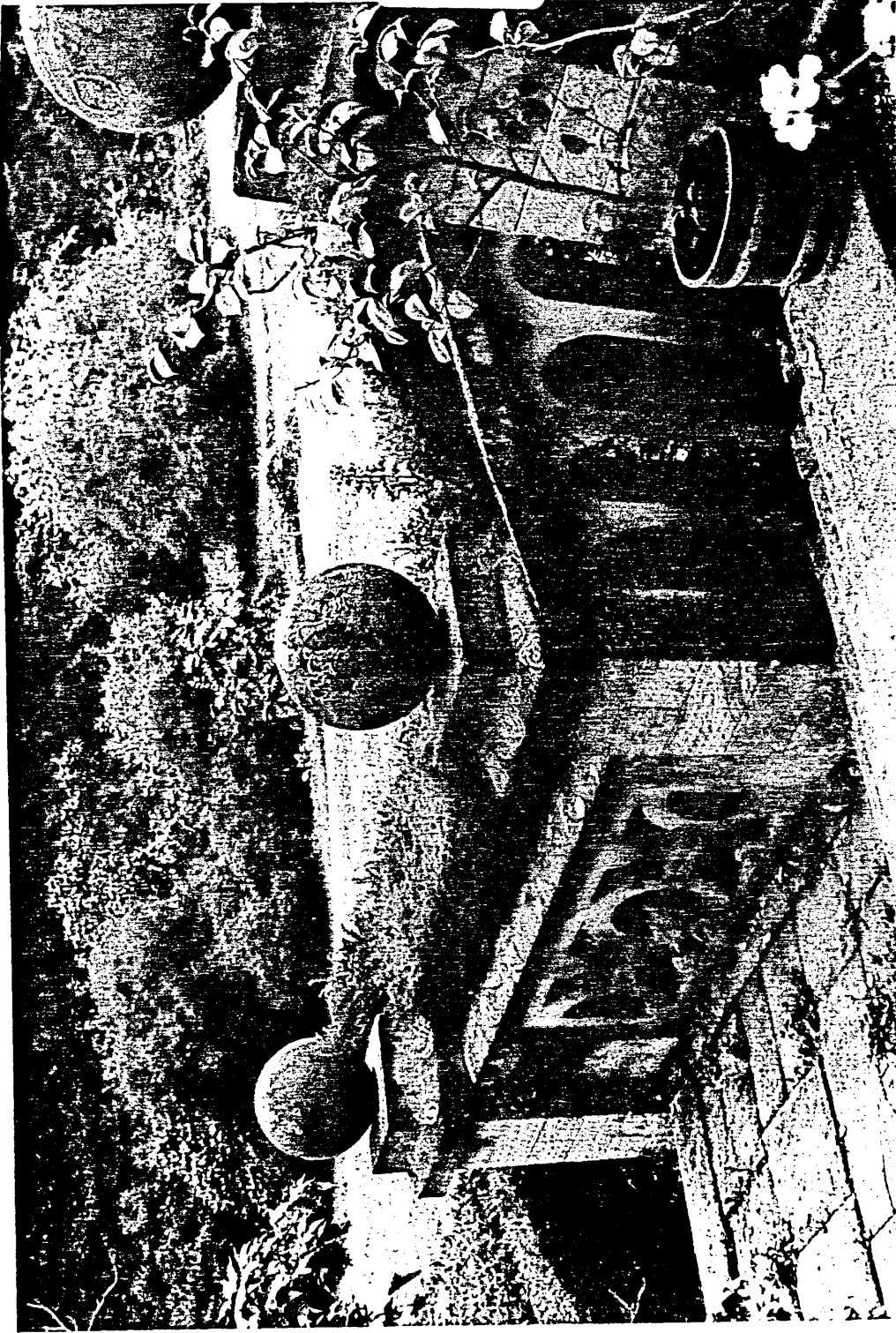




Fig 75. Ashford Hall. The view
across the terrace par-
terre to the picturesque
lake formed out of the
River Wye.

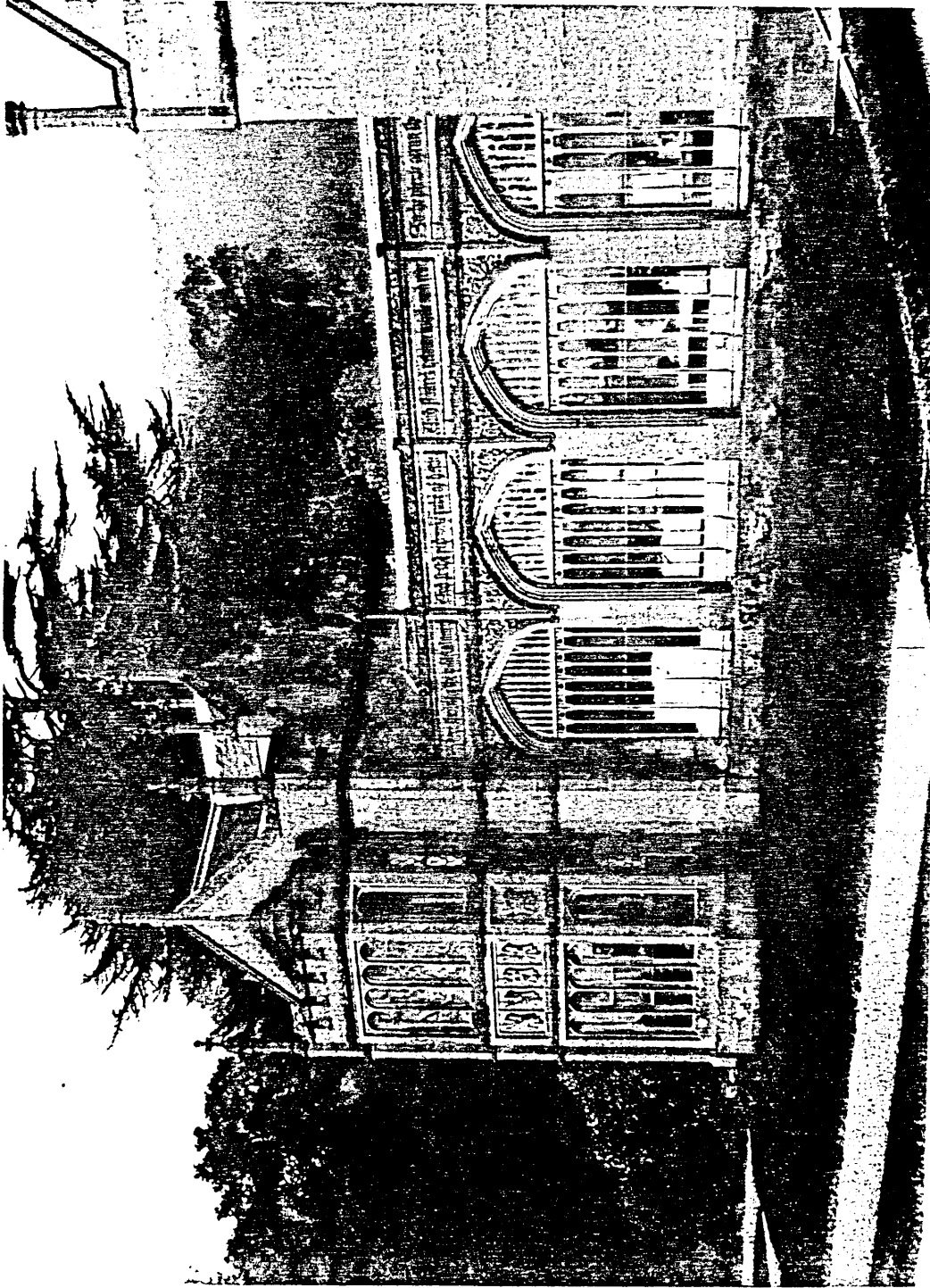


Fig 76. Mamhead Conservatory. Salvin 1828.

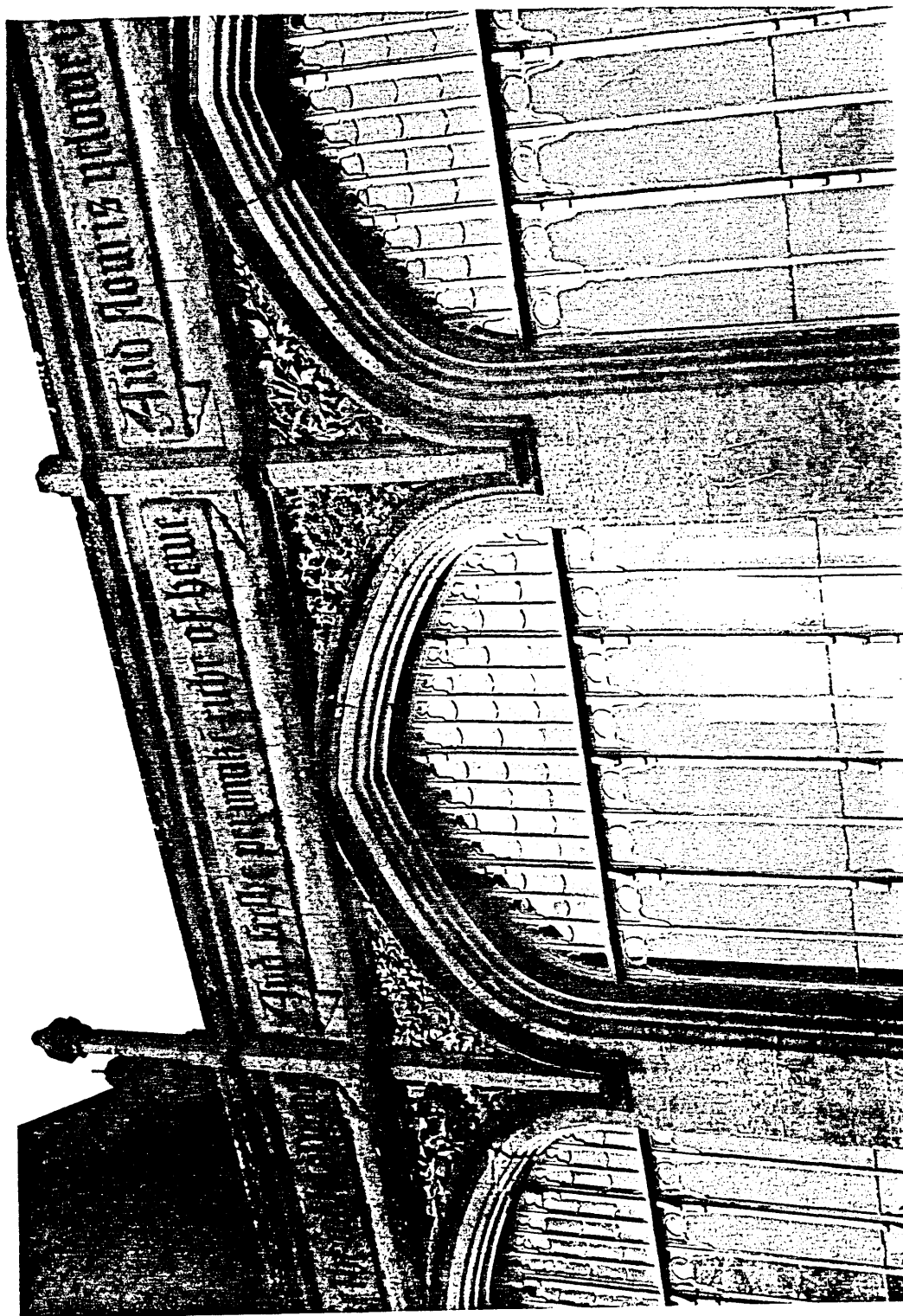


Fig 77. Mamhead Convent conservatory. Detail.

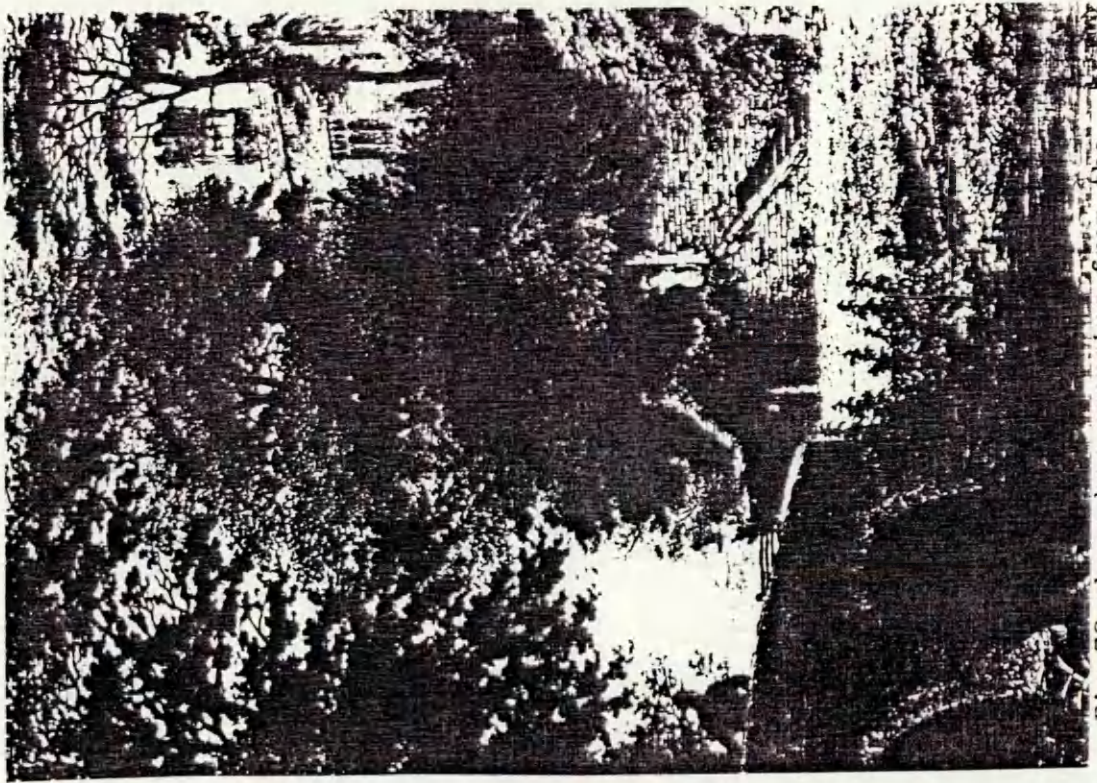


Fig 78 shows her emerging from the garden gate to meet her lover waiting on 'Dorothy Vernon's bridge'.

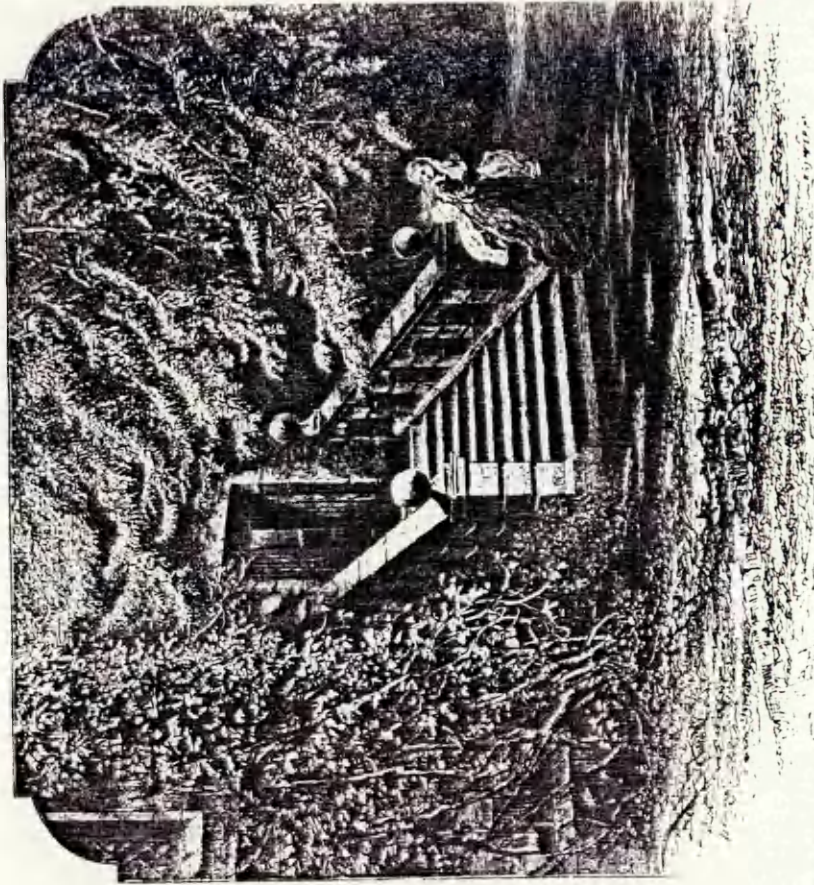


Fig 79 shows her running down 'Dorothy Vernon's steps'.

The Dorothy Vernon elopement.

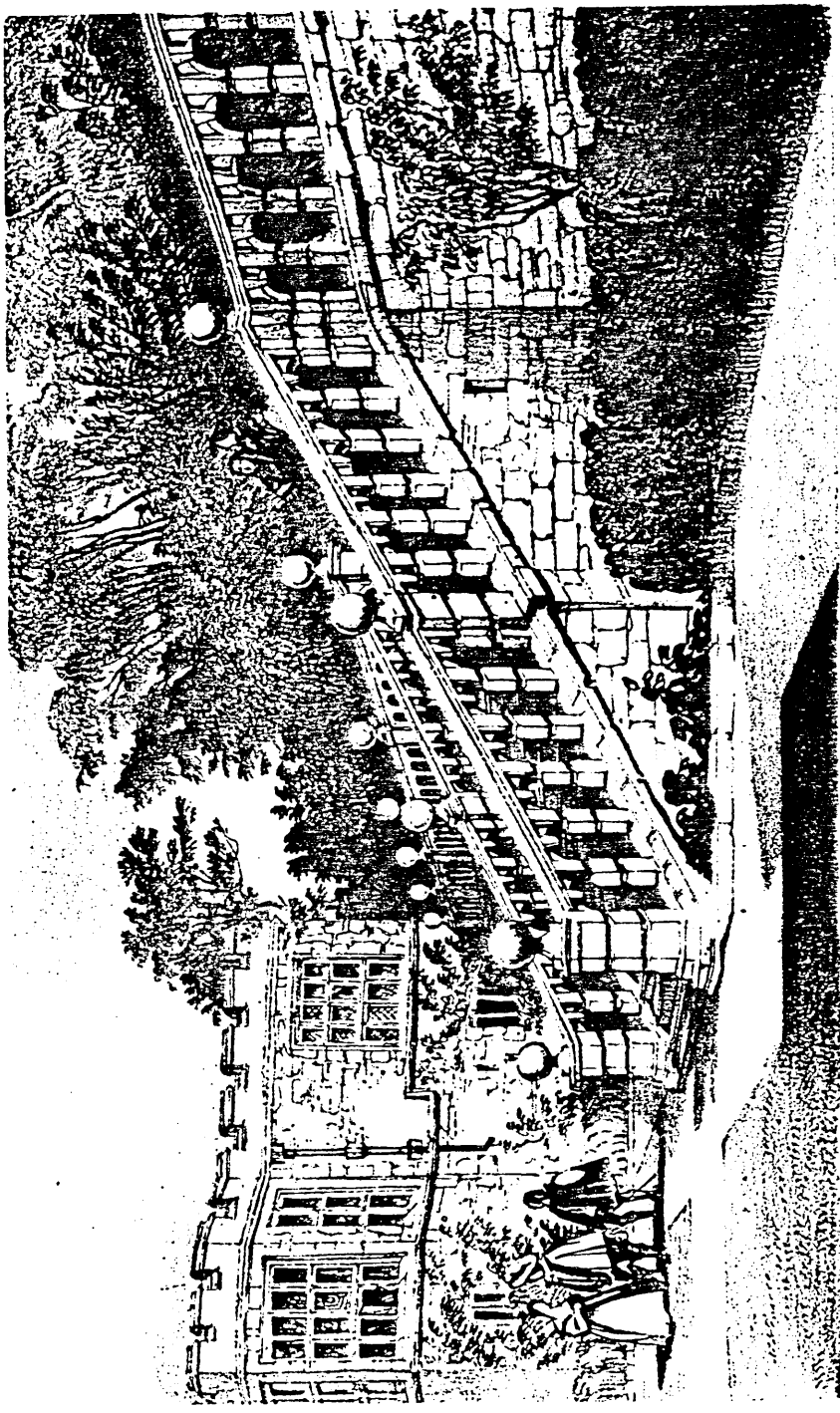


Fig 80. History and
Antiquities of Haddon
Hall by Stephen Rayner
1836.

Drawn on Stone by S Rayner

HADDON HALL
VIEW OF STONE TERRACE

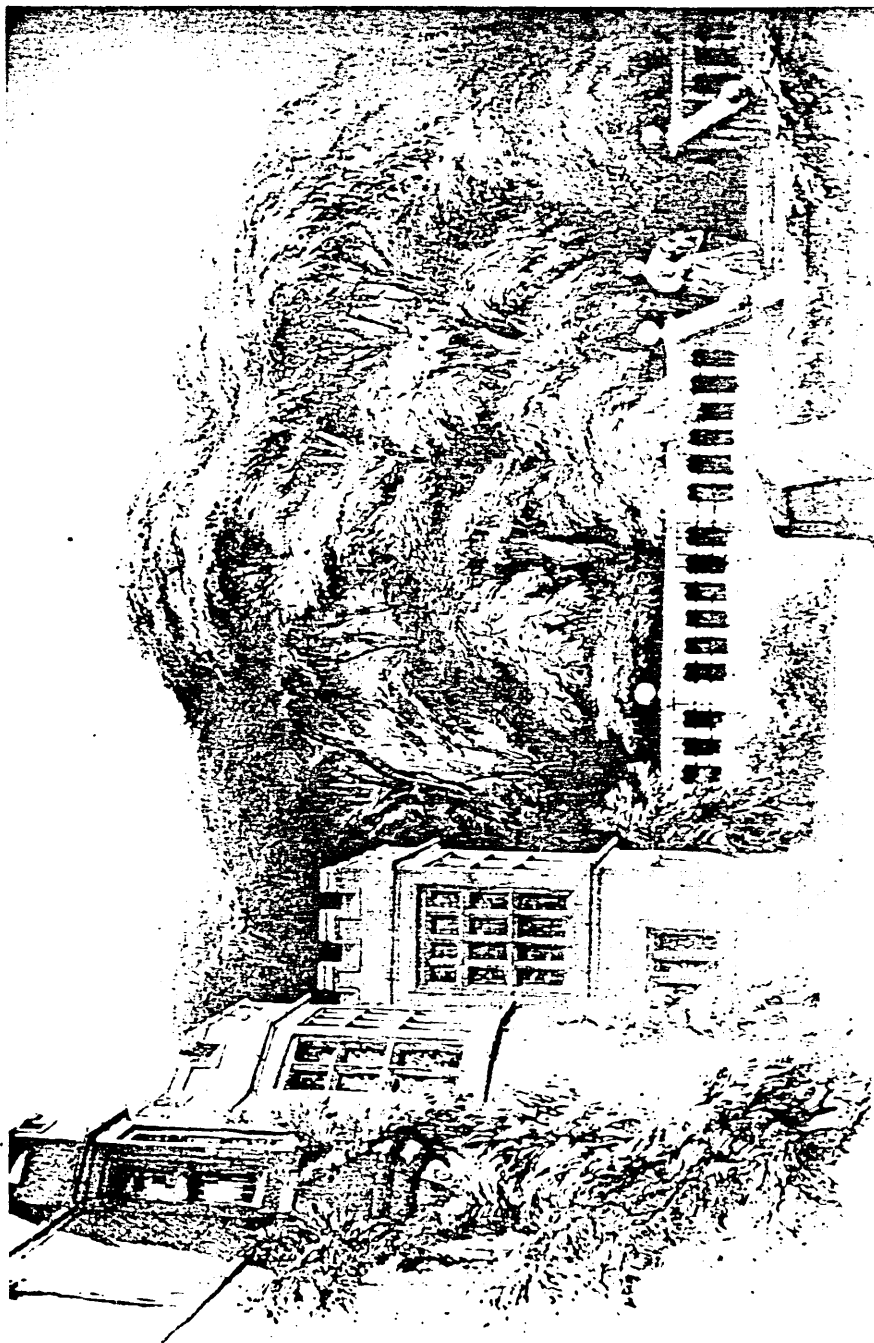


Fig 81. View of
Haddon Hall by Douglas
Morison 1842. The
balustraded terrace
and steps.



Fig. 83

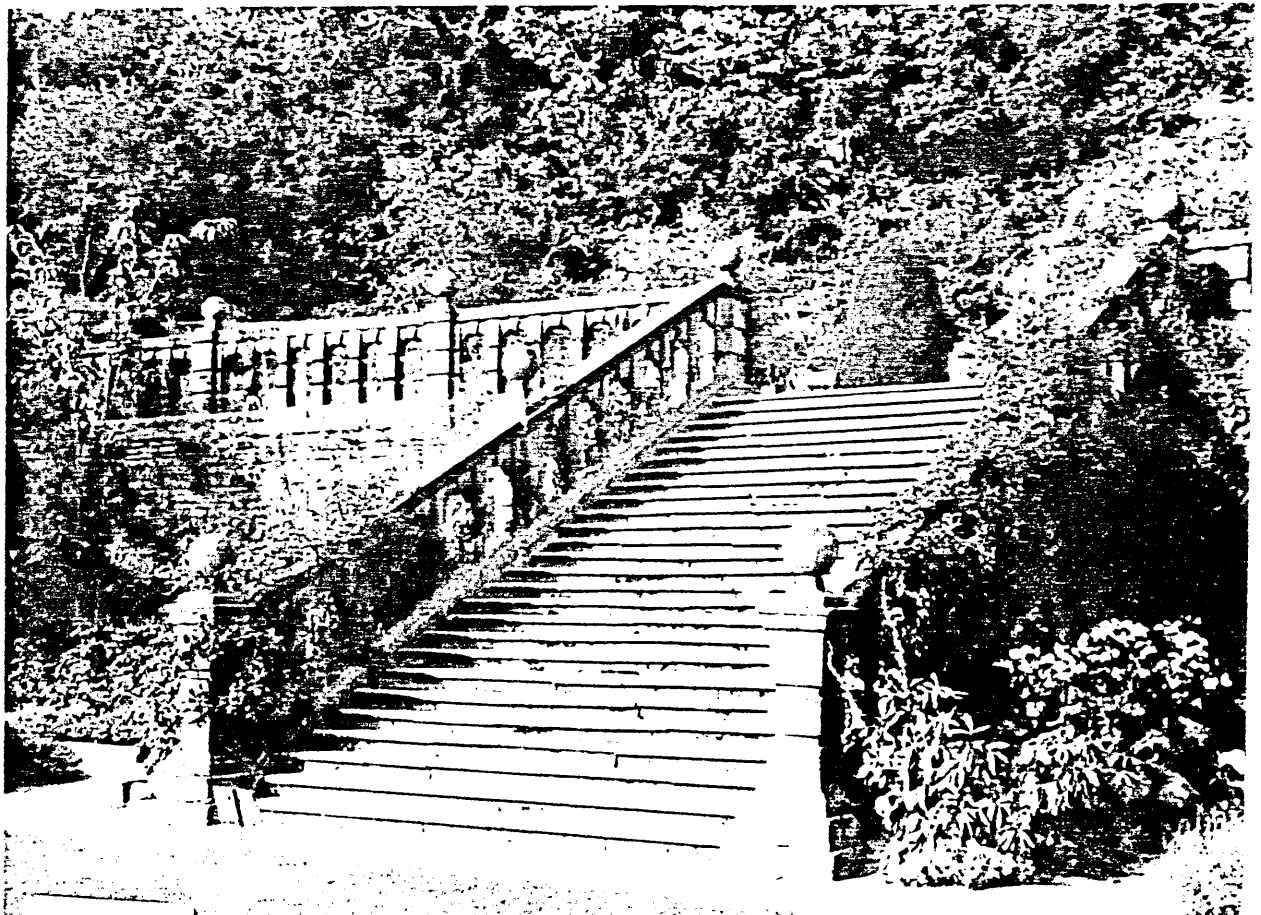
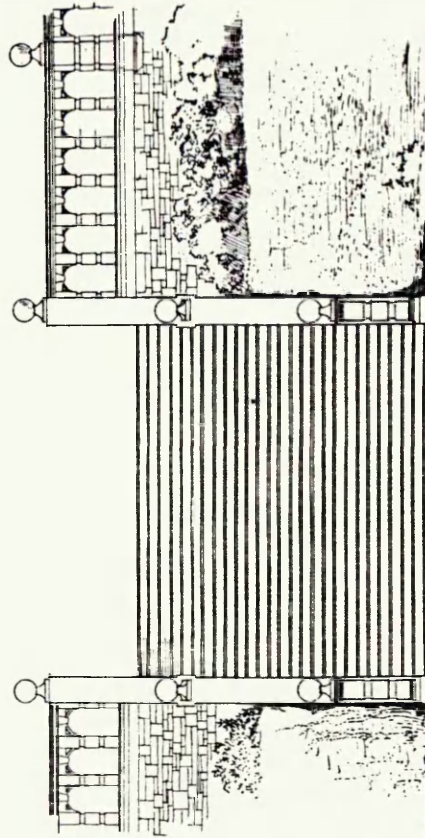
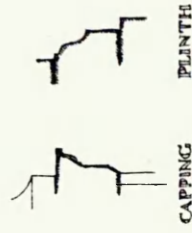
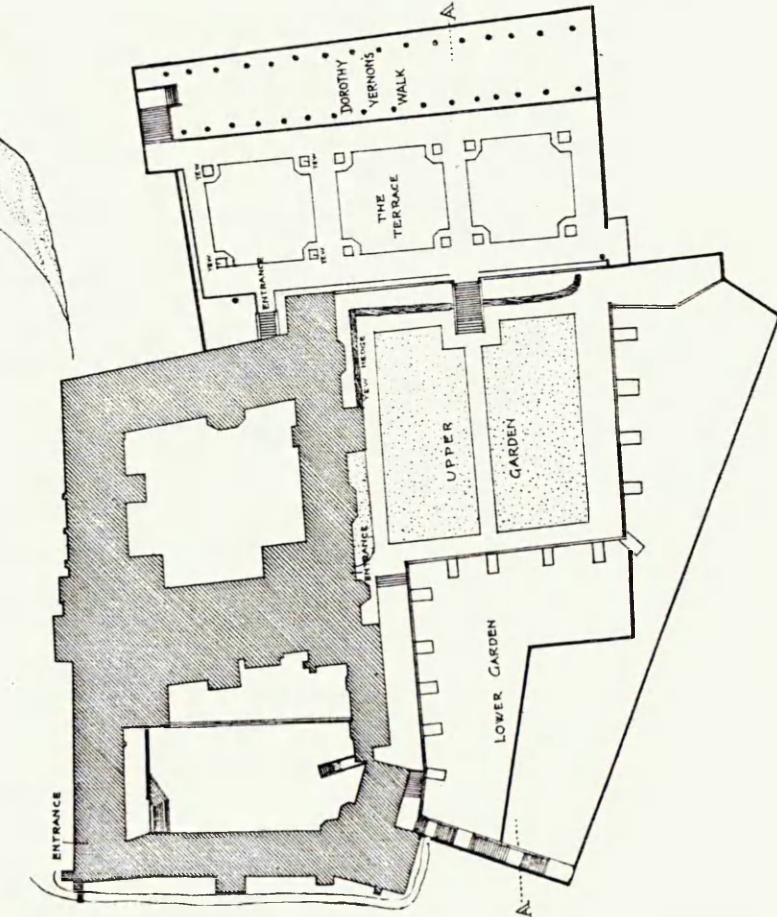
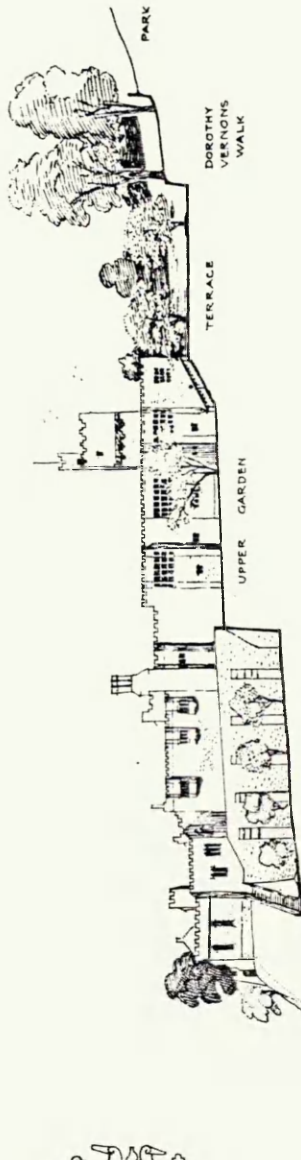
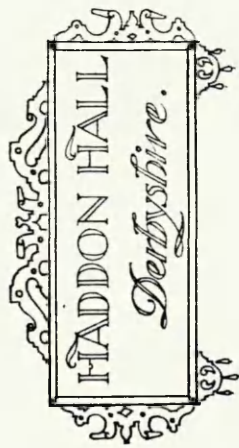


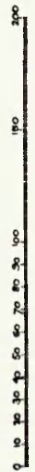
Fig 82

Haddon Hall.
Terrace and balu-
strading.



Detail of the Terrace

SCALE
OF FEET



SCALE
OF FEET



H. INIGO TRIGGS



Fig 85. Newstead Abbey.



Fig 86. Smedley's Hydro Matlock.

Note the Haddon balustrade.

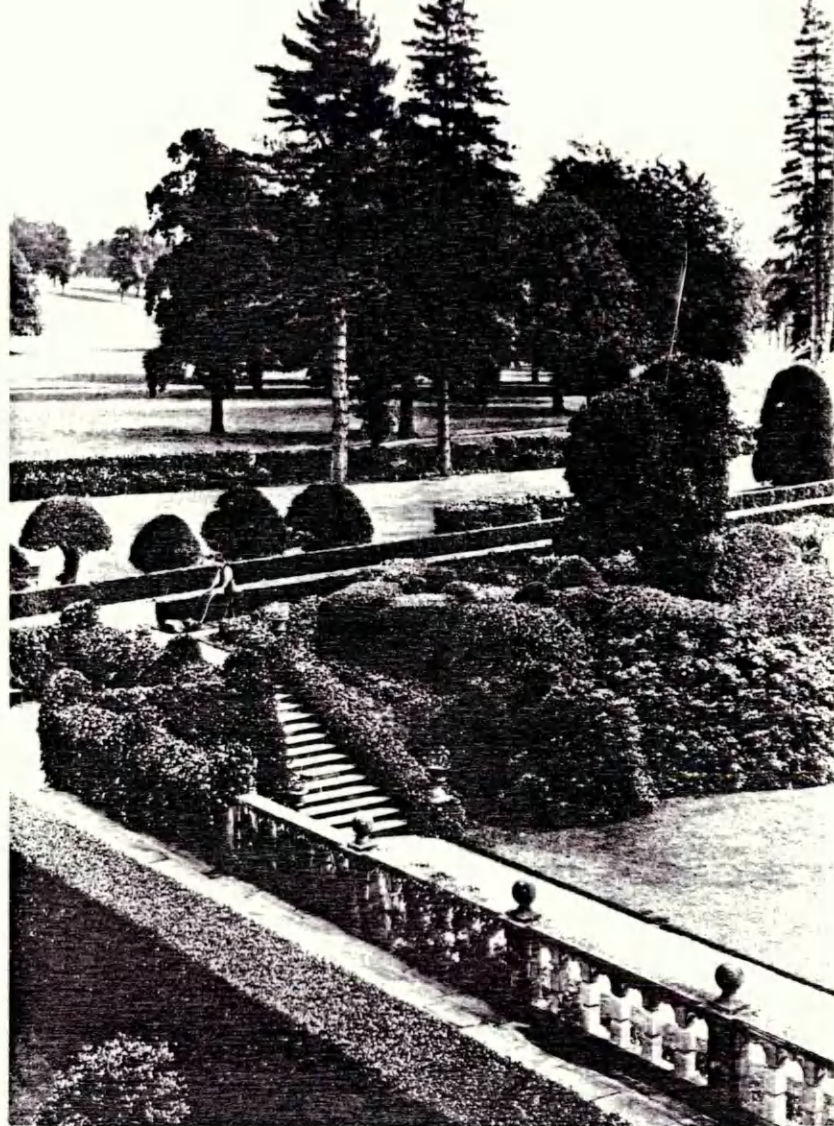


Fig. 88



Fig. 87

Lilleshall, Shropshire, note balustrading.

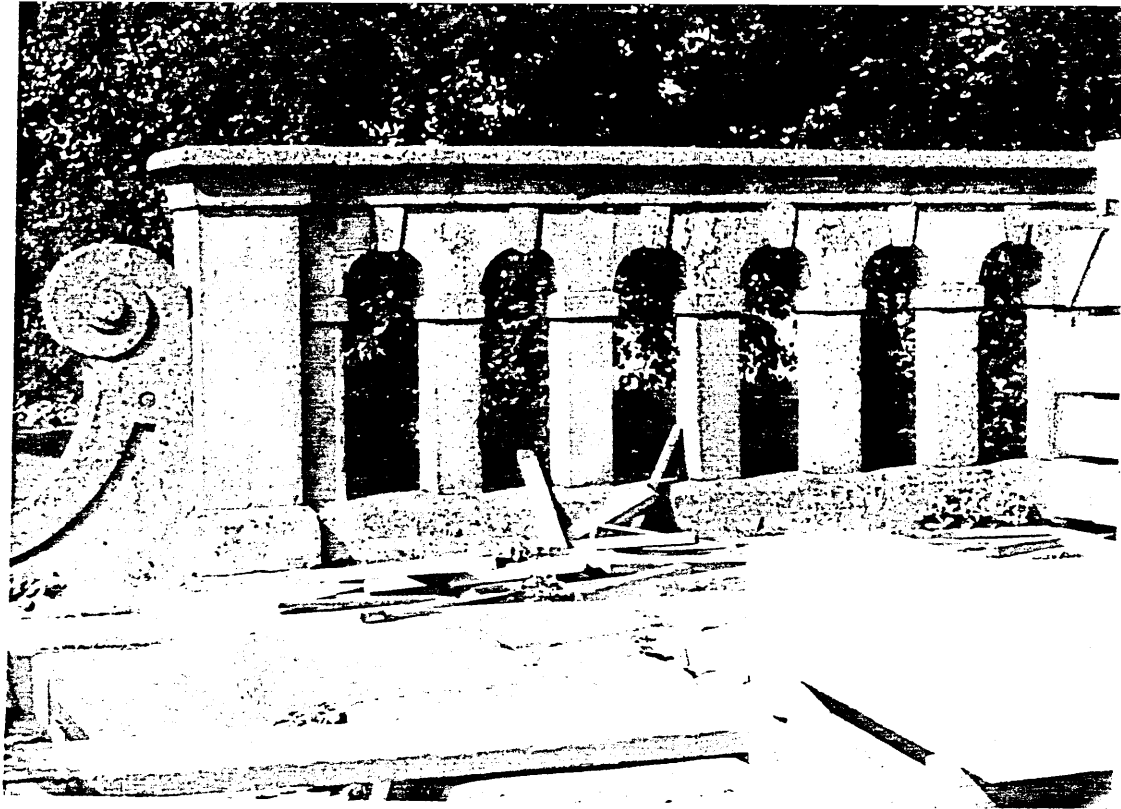


Fig 89. Rufford Abbey.

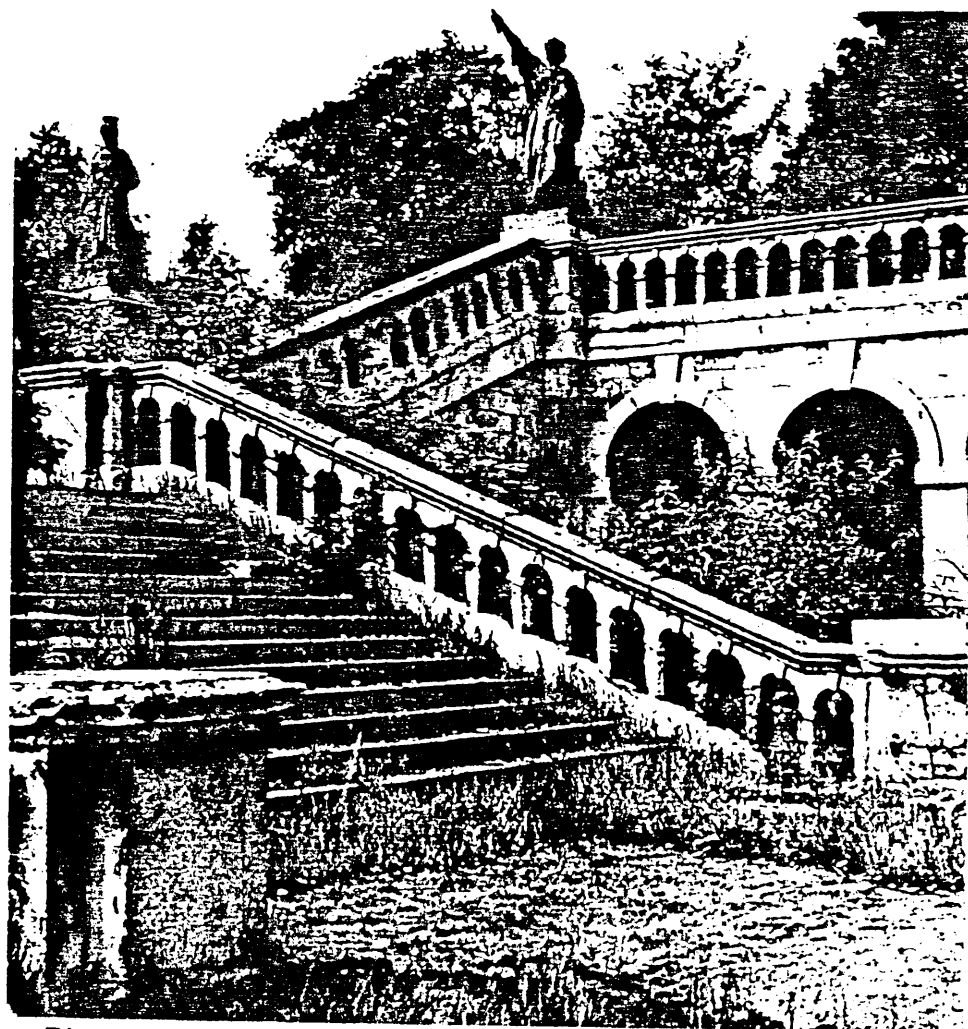


Fig 90. Crystal Palace, Sydenham.
Note balustrading.

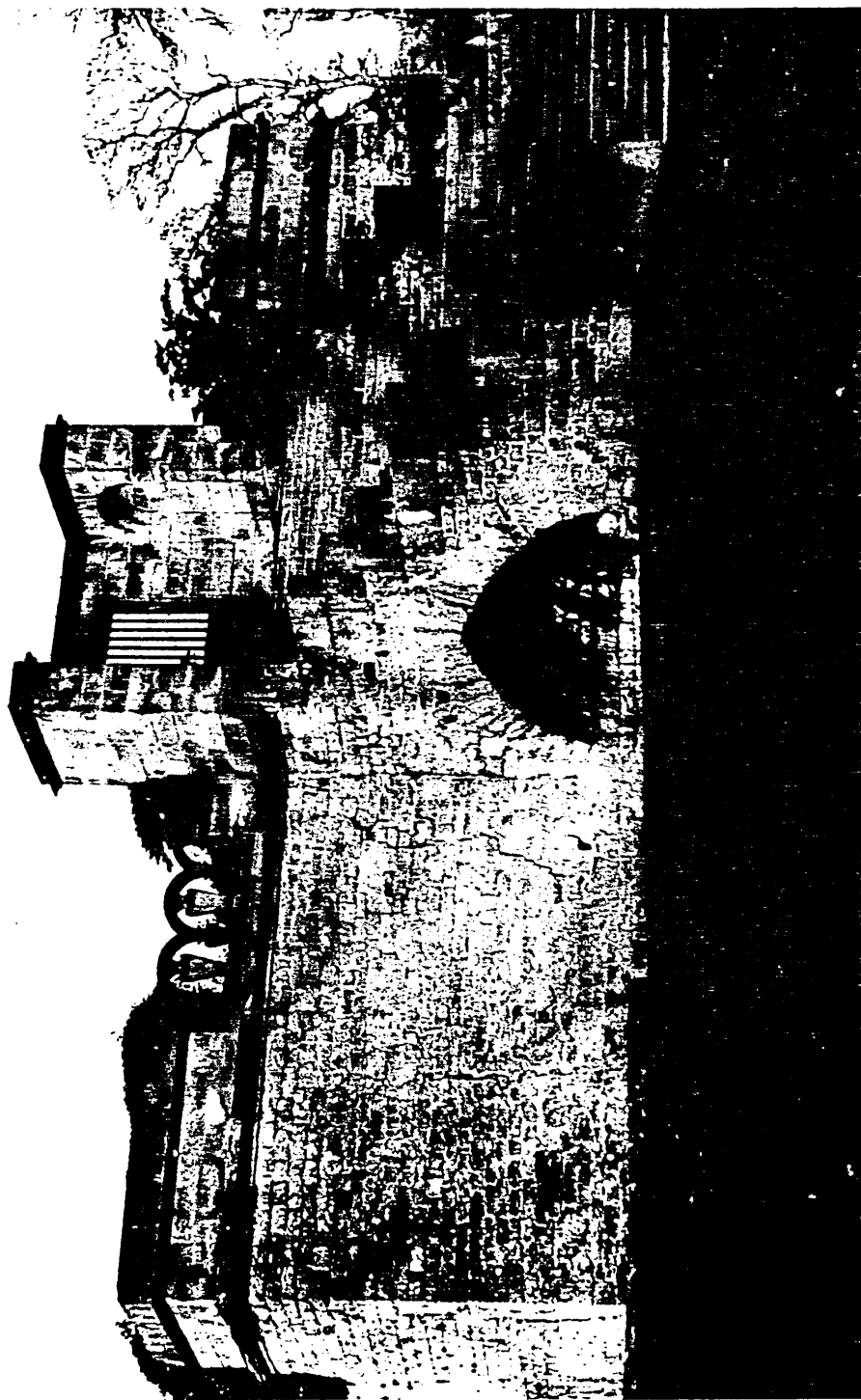


Fig 91.

Mary's Bower, Chatsworth



Fig 92. Hassop Hall. 19th century
turret or gazebo.



Fig 93. Hassop Hall. Egyptian
entrance to ground
floor of the gazebo.



Fig 94. Hassop Hall.
Bronze copy of Verrochio's
Winged Putto with a Dolphin
in the 'Italian' garden.

balustrade for the Elizabethan or Stuartian style of architecture. In the writer's opinion the raking joints of beds and caps are wrong in principle and offensive

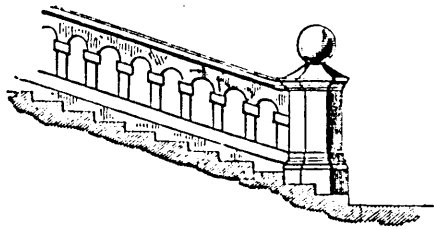


FIG. 80.

in appearance; and if the balusters are highly carved and decorated, as they frequently are, the difficulty of

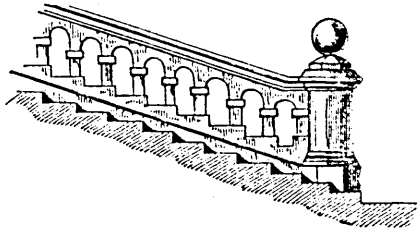
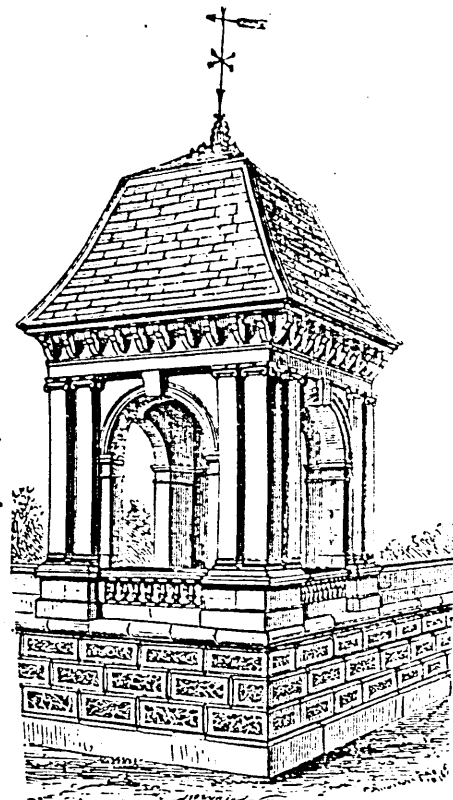


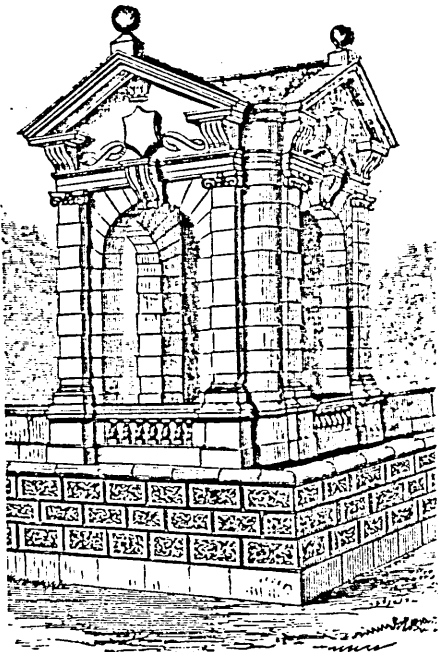
FIG. 81.

Fig 95.

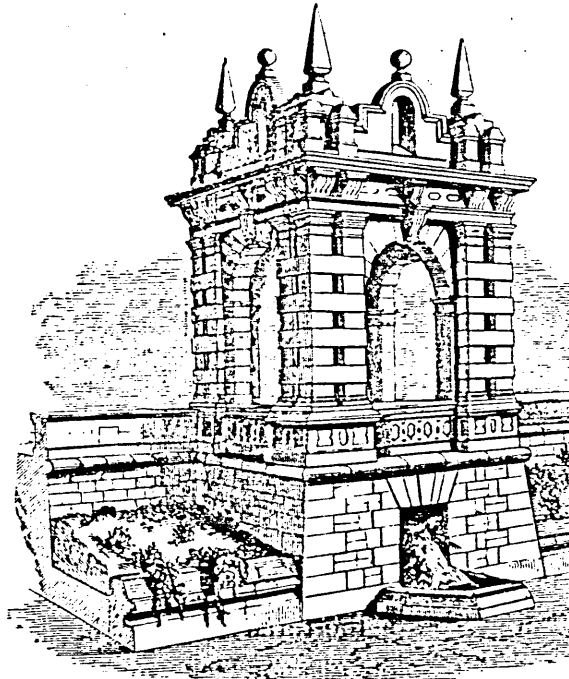
Balustrading similar to that used at Hadden.



FRENCH PAVILION.



GEORGIAN PAVILION.



ELIZABETHAN PAVILION.

Fig 96. Pavilions which demonstrate the eclecticism of the period.



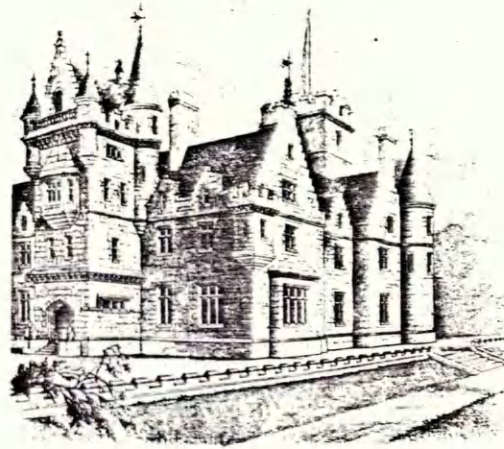
PALATIAL-ITALIAN STYLE.



RURAL-ITALIAN STYLE.



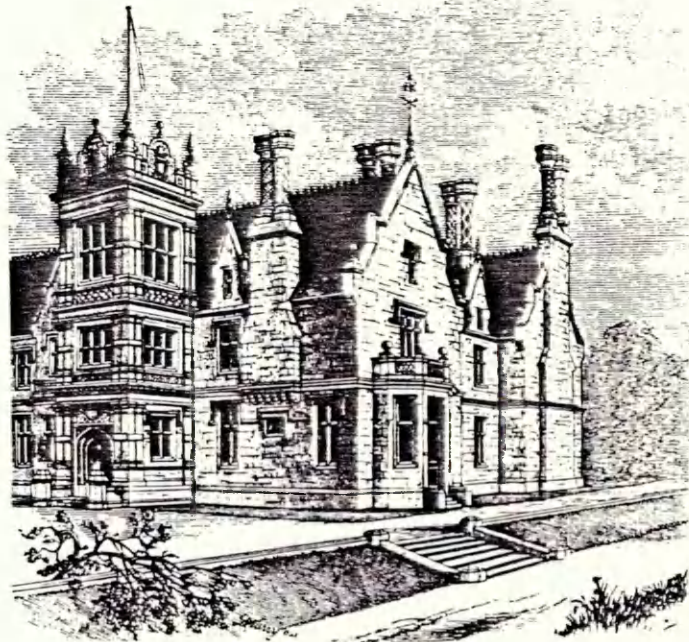
MEDIEVAL OR GOTHIC STYLE.



THE SCOTCH BARONIAL STYLE.



RENAISSANCE STYLE.



ELIZABETHAN STYLE REVIVED.

Fig 97. The Gentleman's House 1864
by Kerr. Note the turret
similar to those at
Hardwick in the Elizabeth
style revived.

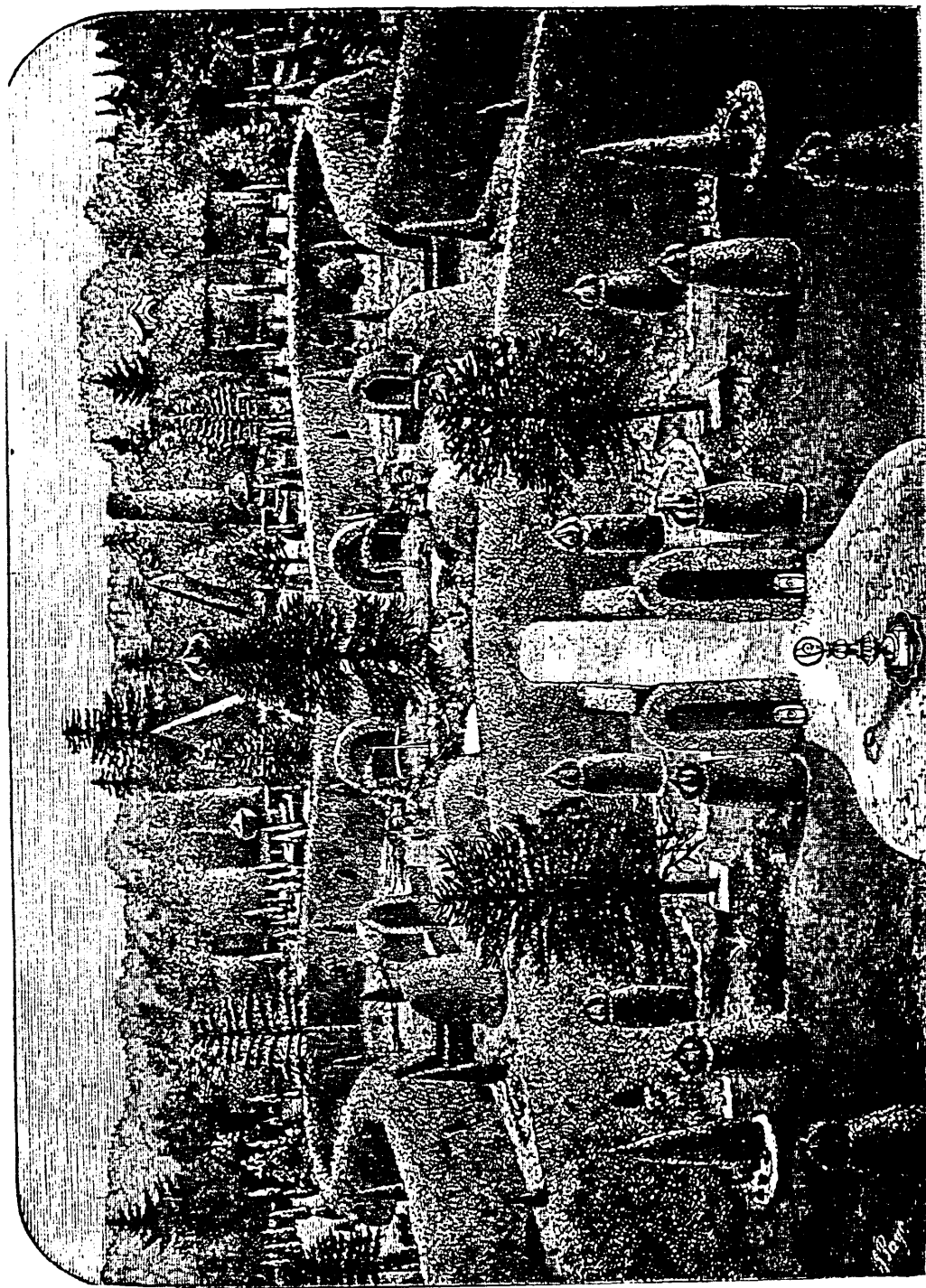


Fig 98. Elvaston
Castle. The Yew
Garden. 1881.



Fig 99.

South front of the Bower
Garden.



Fig 100. Gardener clipping an
arbour or sentry box.

Elvaston Castle.



Fig 101.
The topiary garden.



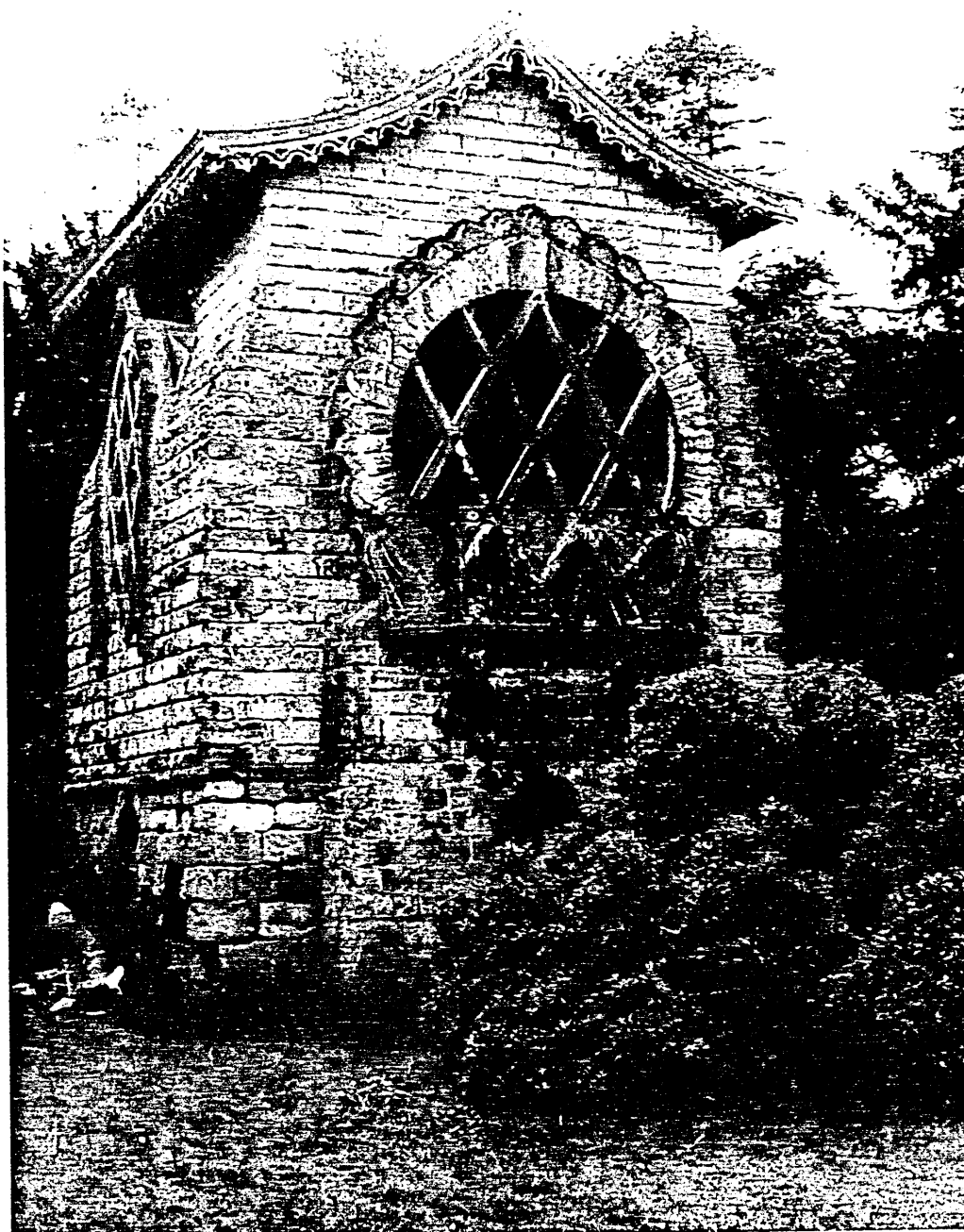
Landscape Garden, Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire
Engr'd by R. Kneass Derby

Elvaston Castle.



The Lake, Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire
Engr'd by R. Kneass Derby

Fig 102.
Rocky decoration and grottoes.



Elvaston Castle.
Fig 103. The Moorish Pavilion
today.

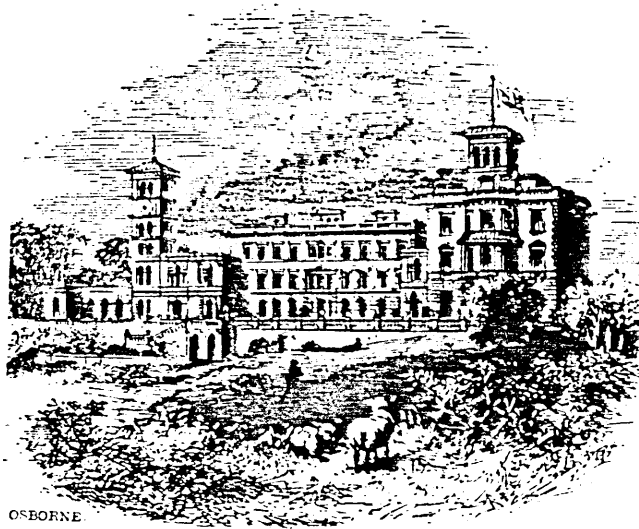


Fig 104. Osborne. An Italianate villa surrounded by an elaborate series of terraced gardens contained within balustrades.

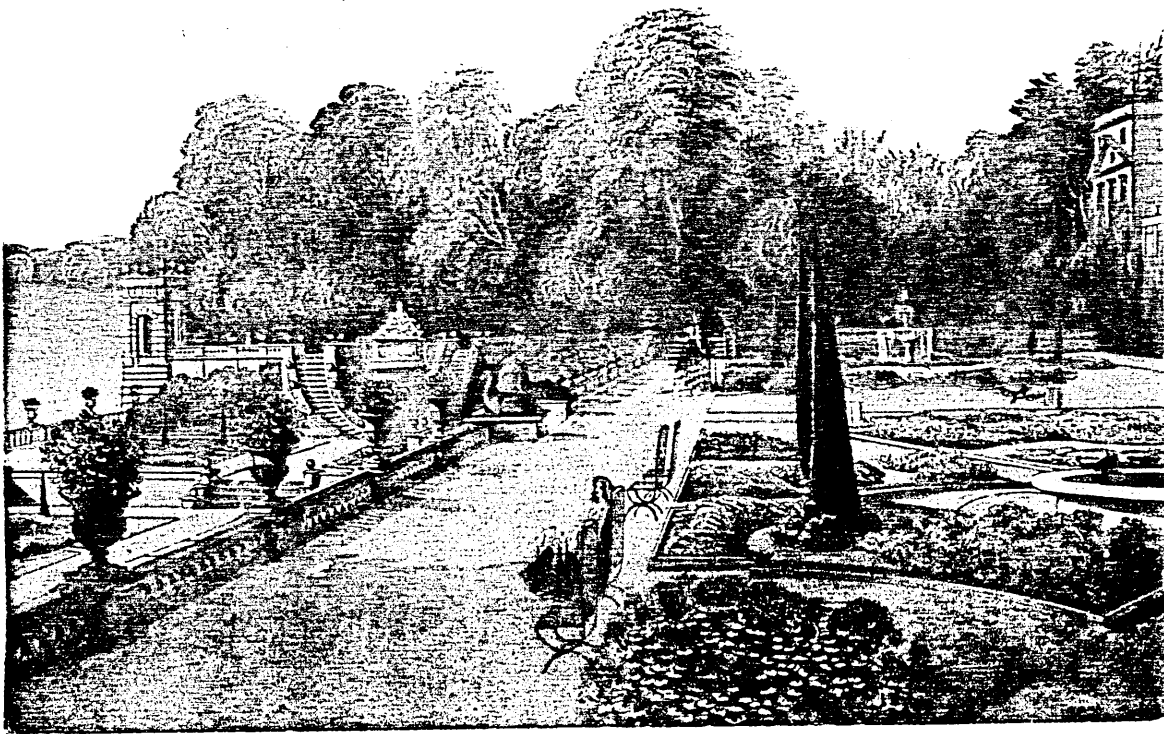


Fig 105. The Italianate terraced gardens at Bowood.



Fig 106. i. The manor house in its original state.



Fig 106. ii.

The manor house improved; firs have been cleared to make way for lawns and geometric flower beds.

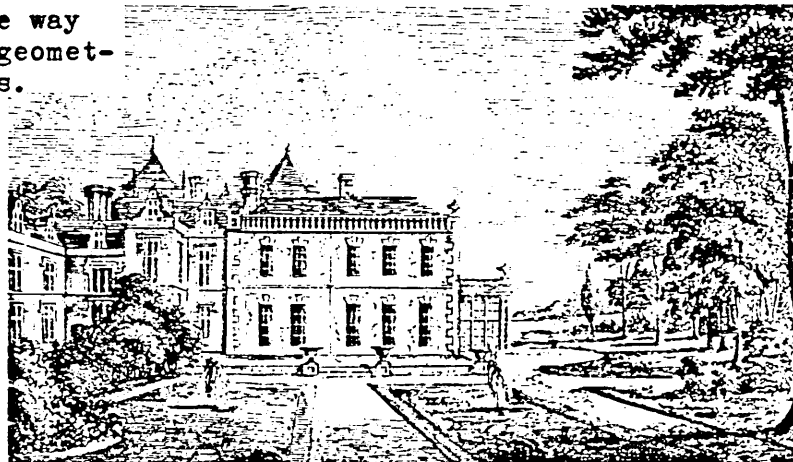


Fig 106.iii. The Italianate garden front.

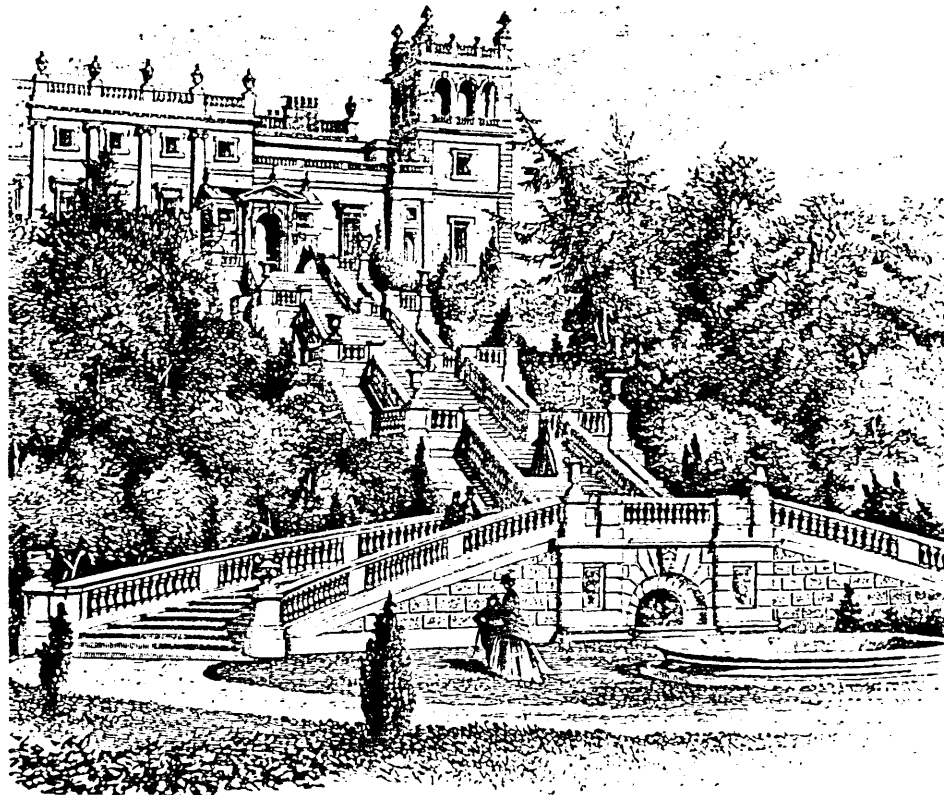
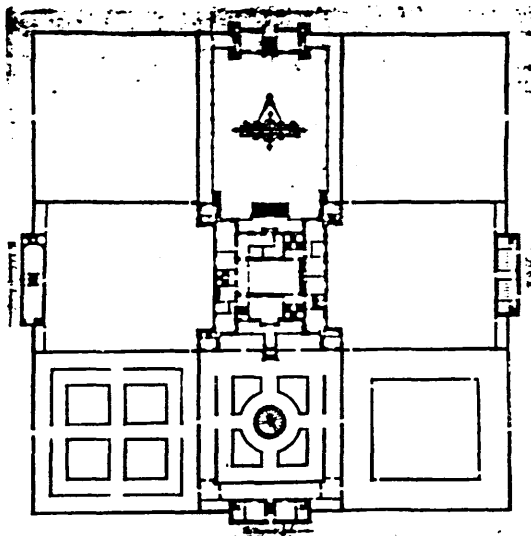


Fig 107. The great terrace stair-
case at Shrubland.



Robert Smythson
Wollaton Hall
Ground floor plan
RIBA

Fig 108. Symmetrical layout of
Wollaton Hall and gardens.

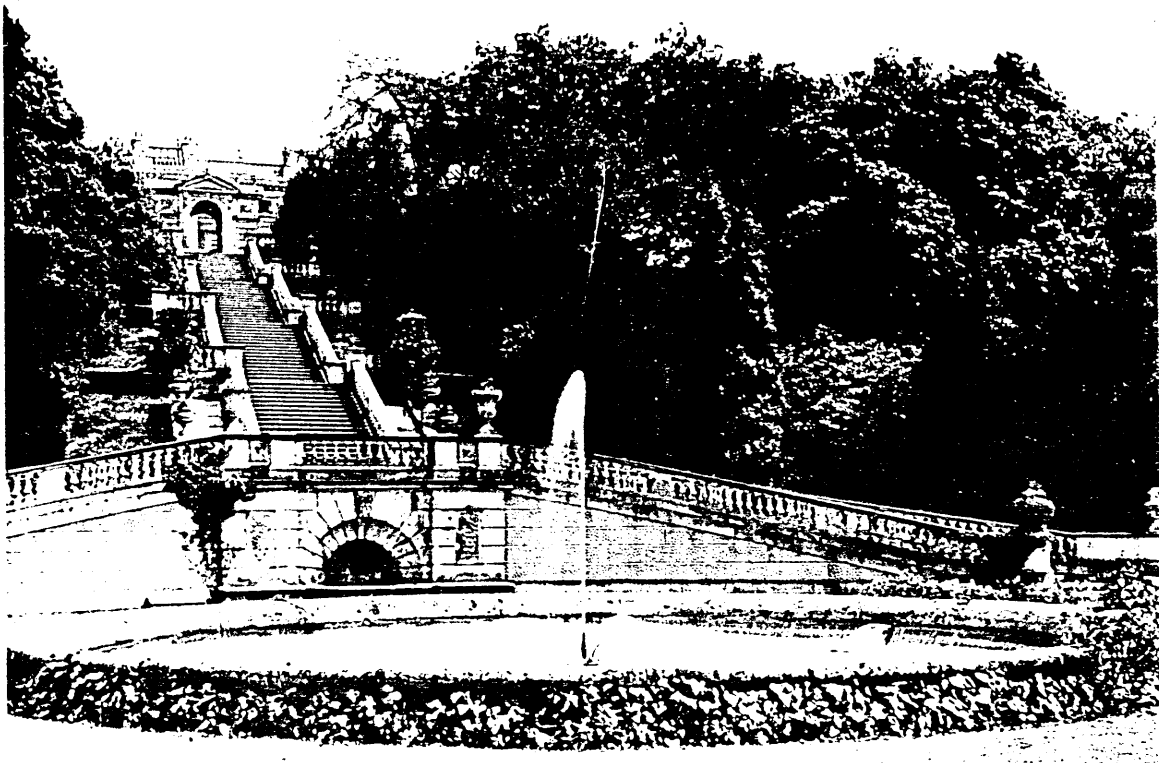


Fig. 109



Fig. 110

Shrubland. The great staircase.

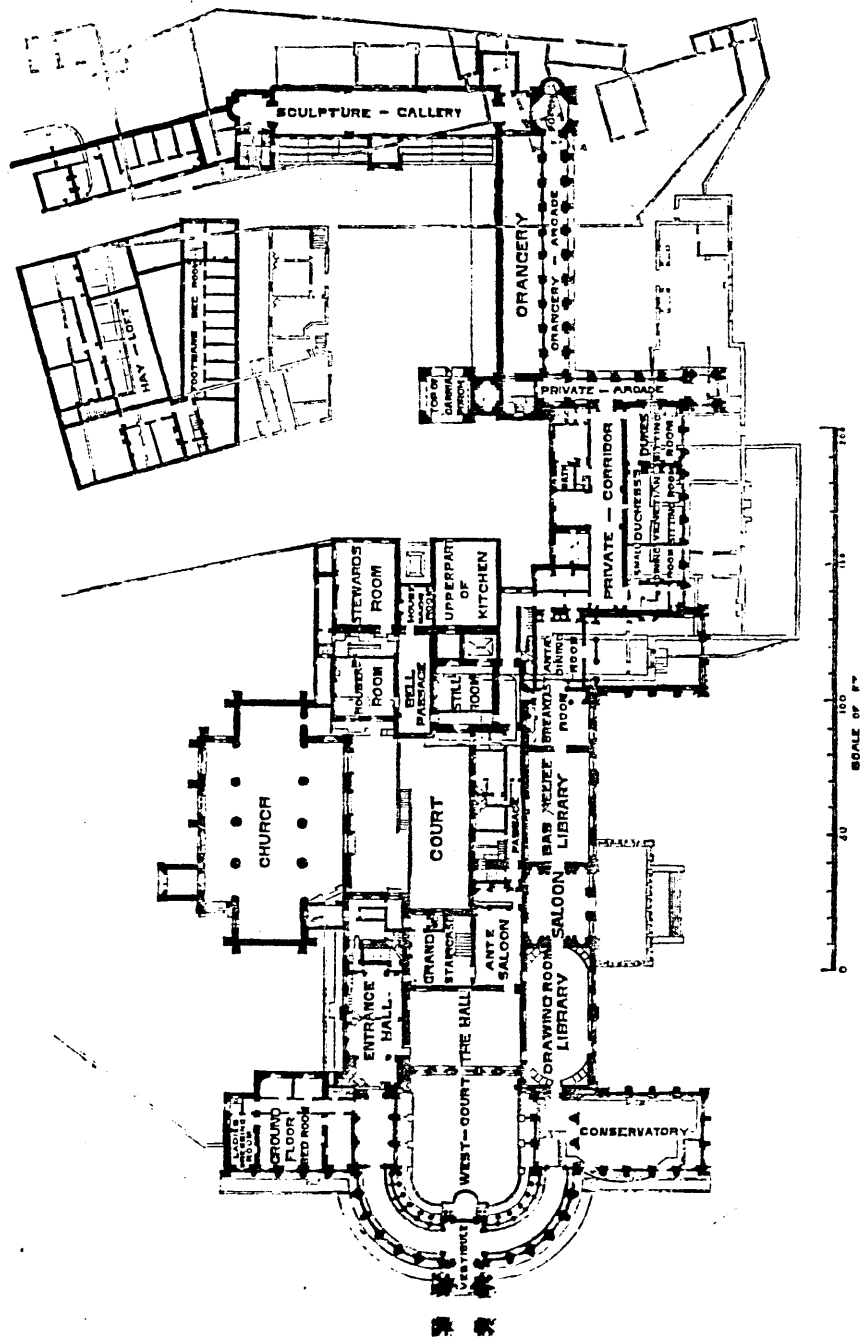


Fig 111.
Trentham Hall.

TRENTHAM HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE. THE SEAT OF THE RIGHT HON. THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND.

PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR, AS ALTERED AND IMPROVED BY SIR CHARLES BARRY. THE DARK LINE INDICATES THE ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS.



Fig 112. Italianate tower asymmetrically placed.

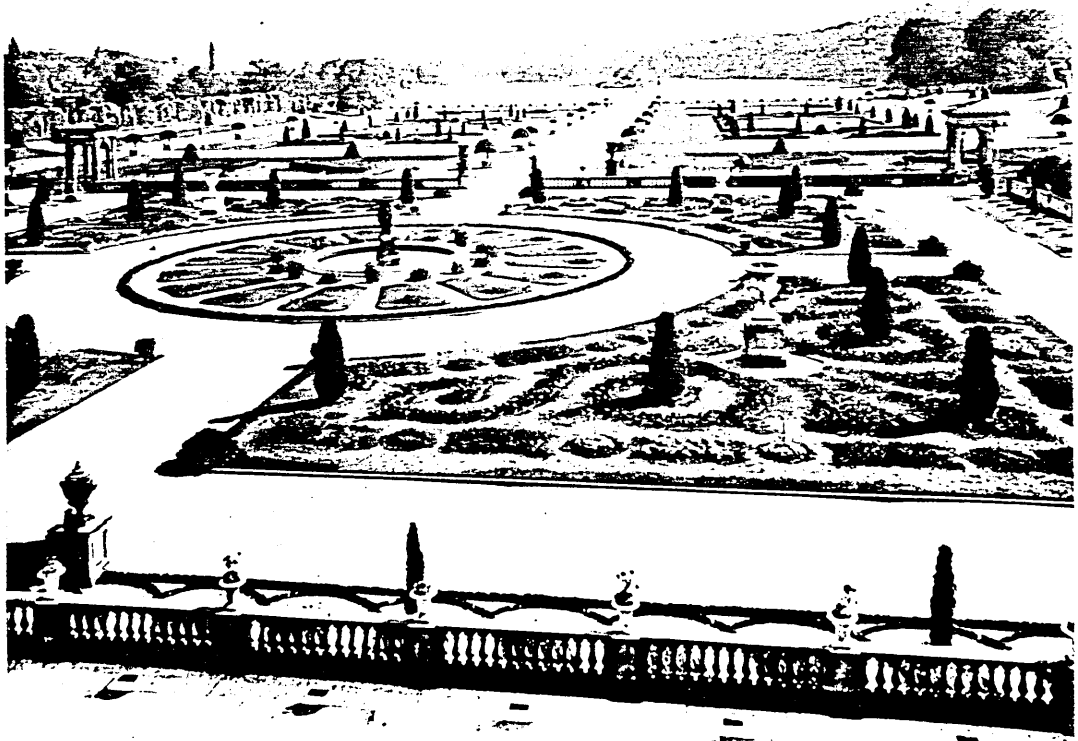


Fig 113. The elaborate terraced gardens.

Frentham Hall.



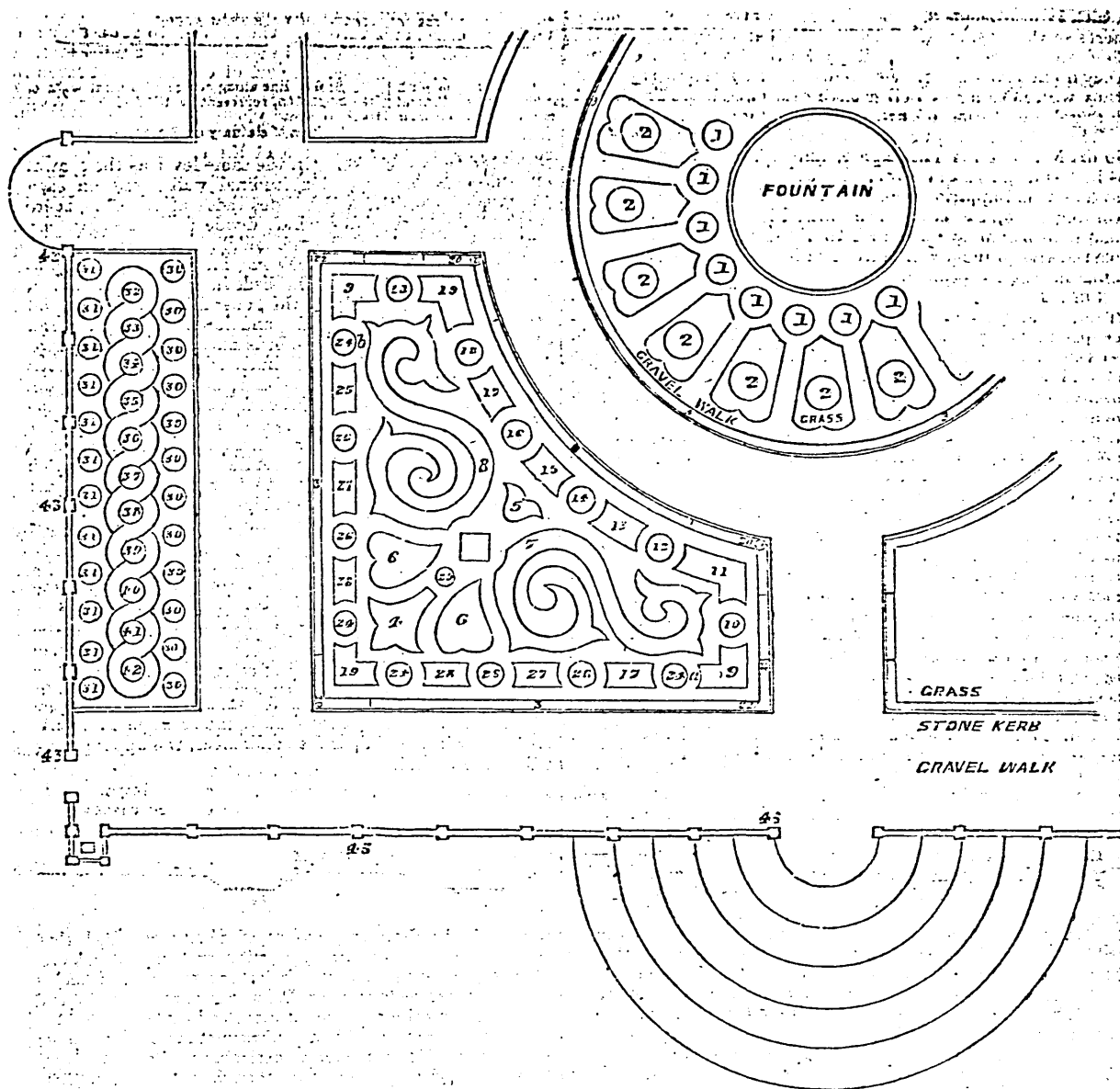
Fig 114. Trentham. Terrace at lake's edge.



TRENTHAM HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE.

VIEW OF GARDEN FRONT, AS ALTERED, WITH TERRACED GARDEN PAVILION, &c

Fig. 115



1. Are circles with huge plants of *Humea elegans*, fronted with brown *Calceolaria* mixed with *Pentstemon gentianoides* and *Lobelia speciosa* close to the kerb-stone, which is 4 inches broad. The *Humeas* look beautiful through the water-spray, and come in nicely with the central statuary.

2. Circles surrounded with similar kerb-stones, separating them from the oblong beds of grass on which they are placed. The circles are filled with *Lobelia* and Variegated *Alyssum* mixed.

3. This narrow circle is filled with mixed *Verbenas* of five distinct colours. The inner side is separated

from the gravel by Box-edging 4 inches high, and from the broad walk on the outside by a stone kerb 4 inches high and 4 inches broad. A stone kerb goes all round the outside of panels. The lines of beds inside are Box.

4. *Calceolaria Aurea floribunda*.

5. Irish Yew, spiral, 8 feet high, and Forget-me-not.

6. *Verbena Purple King* and dwarf white *Campanula*.

7. *Geranium Trentham Scarlet*.

8. Golden Chain.

9. Brilliant and Mangles' mixed. These, and especially the scrolls, were extra good.

10. Irish Yew and Musk.

11. Variegated *Alyssum* and Forget-me-not.

12. *Geranium Golden Chain*.

13. Purple Nosegay.

14. *Verbena Mrs. Holford*.

15. *Saponaria calabrica*.

16. *Verbena Mrs. Holford*.

17. *Geranium Purple Nosegay*.

18. *Verbena Mortenii*.

19. *Alyssum* and Forget-me-not.

20. *Verbena Brilliant de Vaise*.

21. *Humea elegans* and Brilliant de Vaise.

22. *Lobelia speciosa*.

23. Irish Yew and Musk.

24. *Geranium Princess Alice*.

24a Golden Chain.

24b. *Verbena Mortenii*.

25. *Phlox Drummondii*.

26. China Rose Fabvier.

27. *Alyssum* and Forget-me-not.

28. *Geranium Baron Hugel*.

29. *Humea elegans*.

30. *Lobelia speciosa*.

31. *Gazania splendens*.

32, 42. *Trentham Scarlet Geranium*.

33, 41. Mrs. Lennox ditto.

34, 40. Ivery's Masterpiece ditto.

35, 39. Golden Chain ditto.

36, 38. Kingsbury Pet ditto.

37. Countess of Warwick ditto.

43. Is placed opposite to some of the plinths and pillars round the balustrading, all of which are supplied with vases and filled with different shades of *Geraniums*.

Fig 116. Trentham Hall.
Plan for bedding cut for
terrace parterre. 1863.

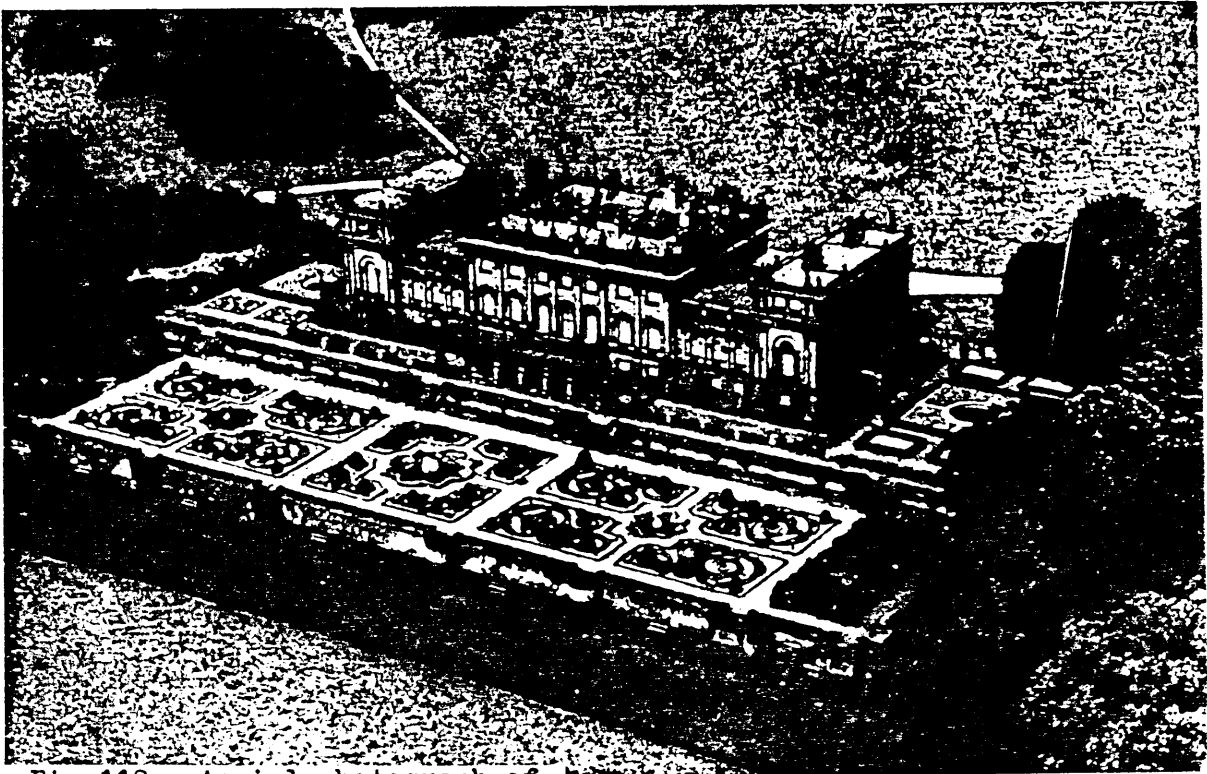


Fig 118. Aerial photograph of elaborate terraces at Harewood.

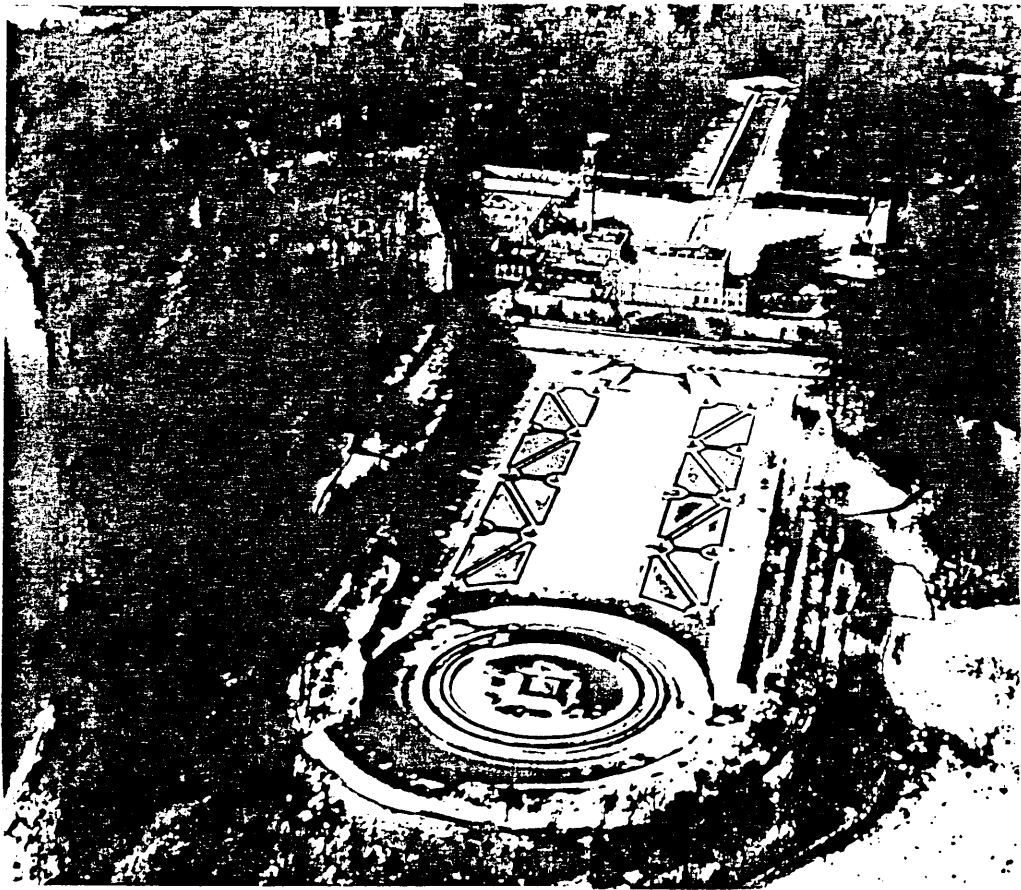


Fig 117. Aerial photograph of vast parterre at Cliveden.

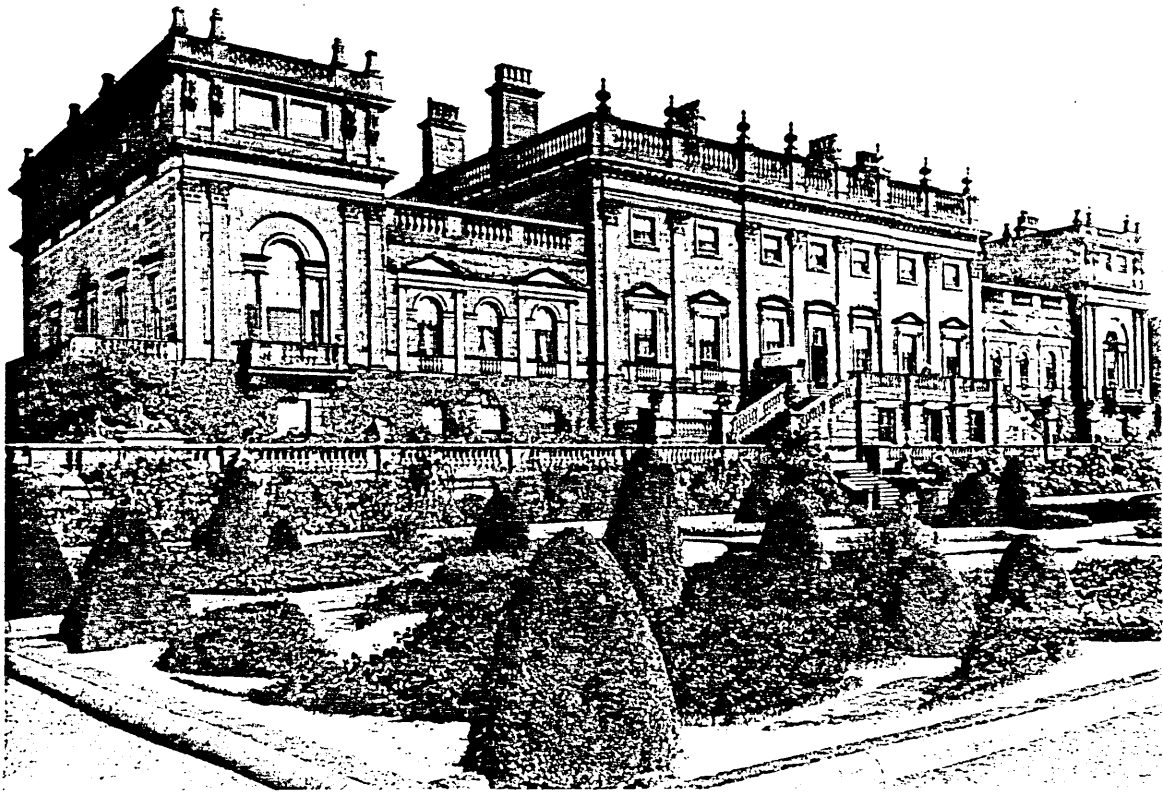


Fig 119.
South front showing Italianate
house and terraced gardens.

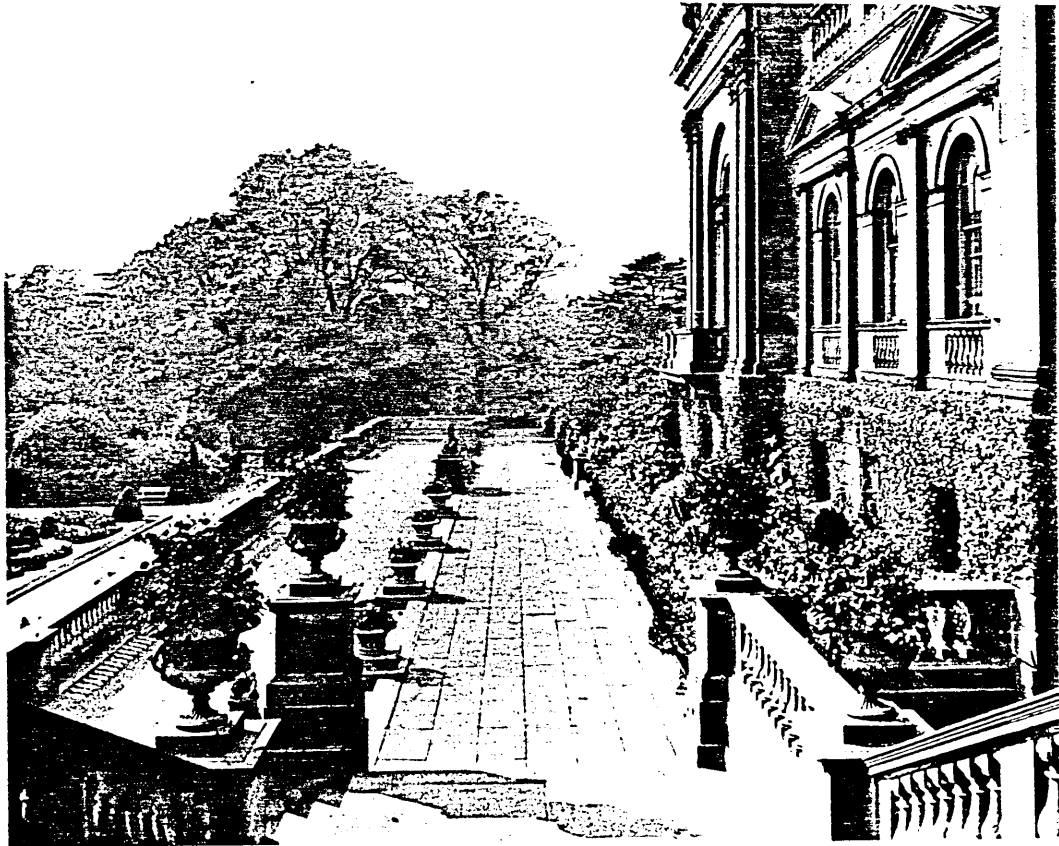


Fig 120.
The double terrace.

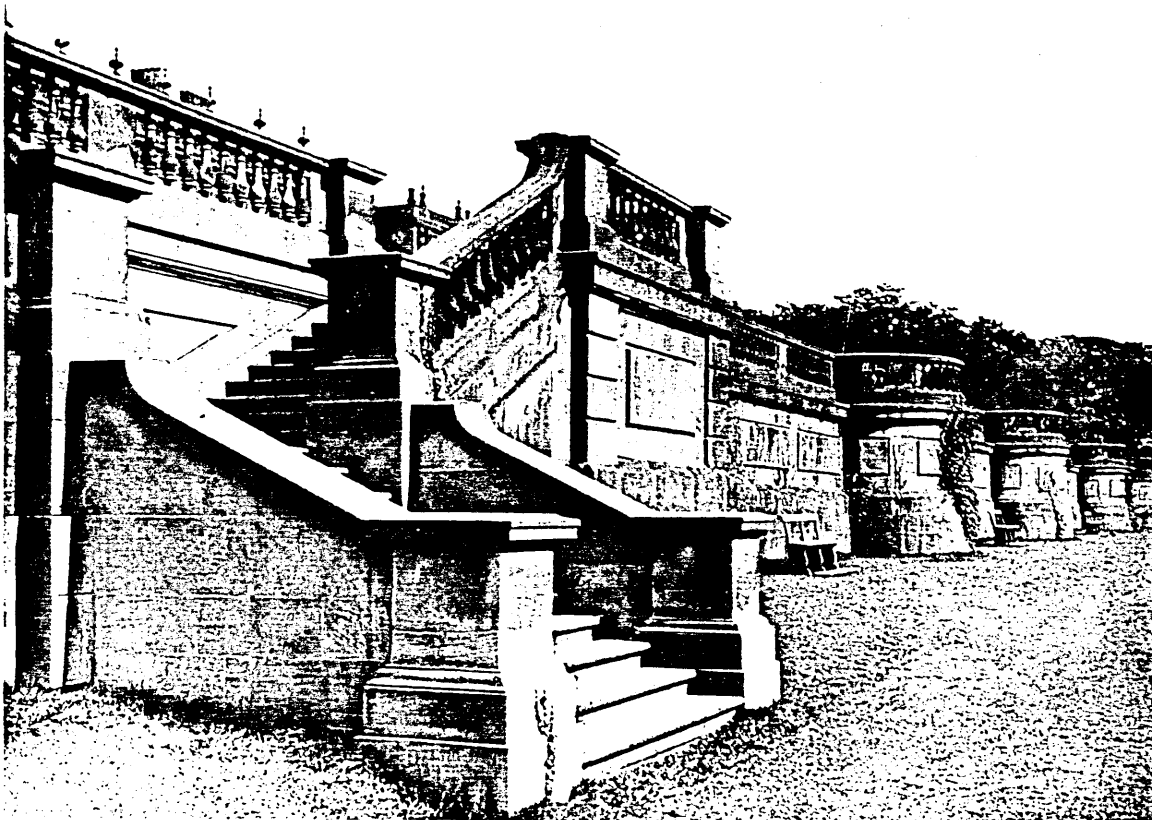


Fig 121. Terrace wall with balustrade and bold semi-circular embayments.

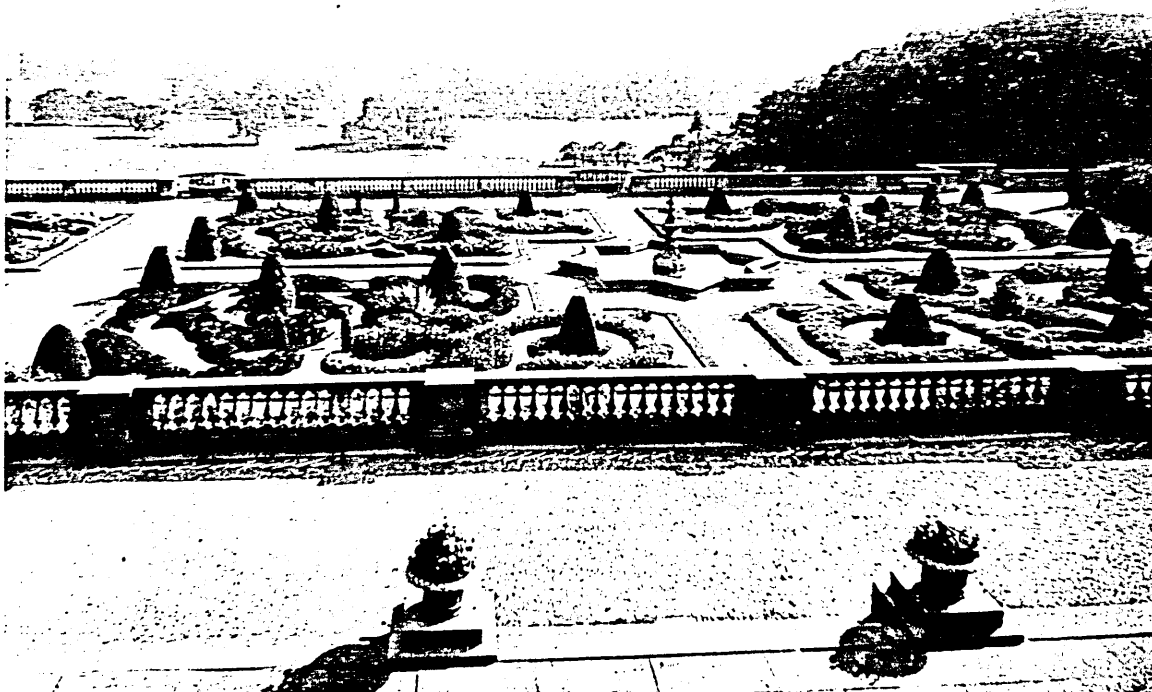


Fig 122. View over terrace gardens to Brown's parkland beyond,

Harewood House.



Fig. 123

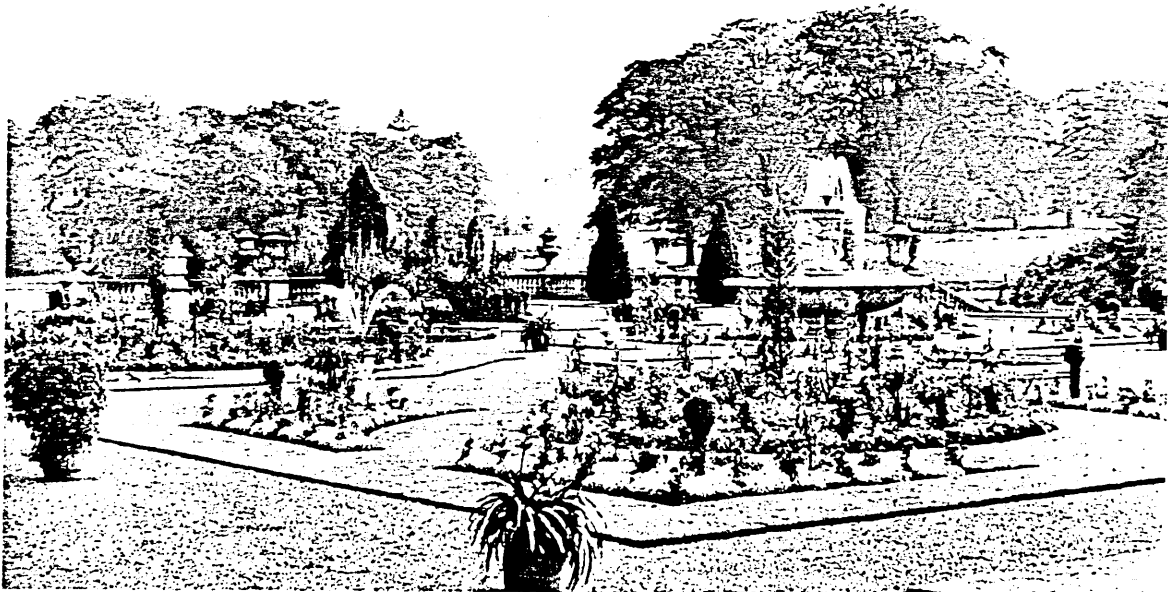


Fig. 124

Clumber 1908.

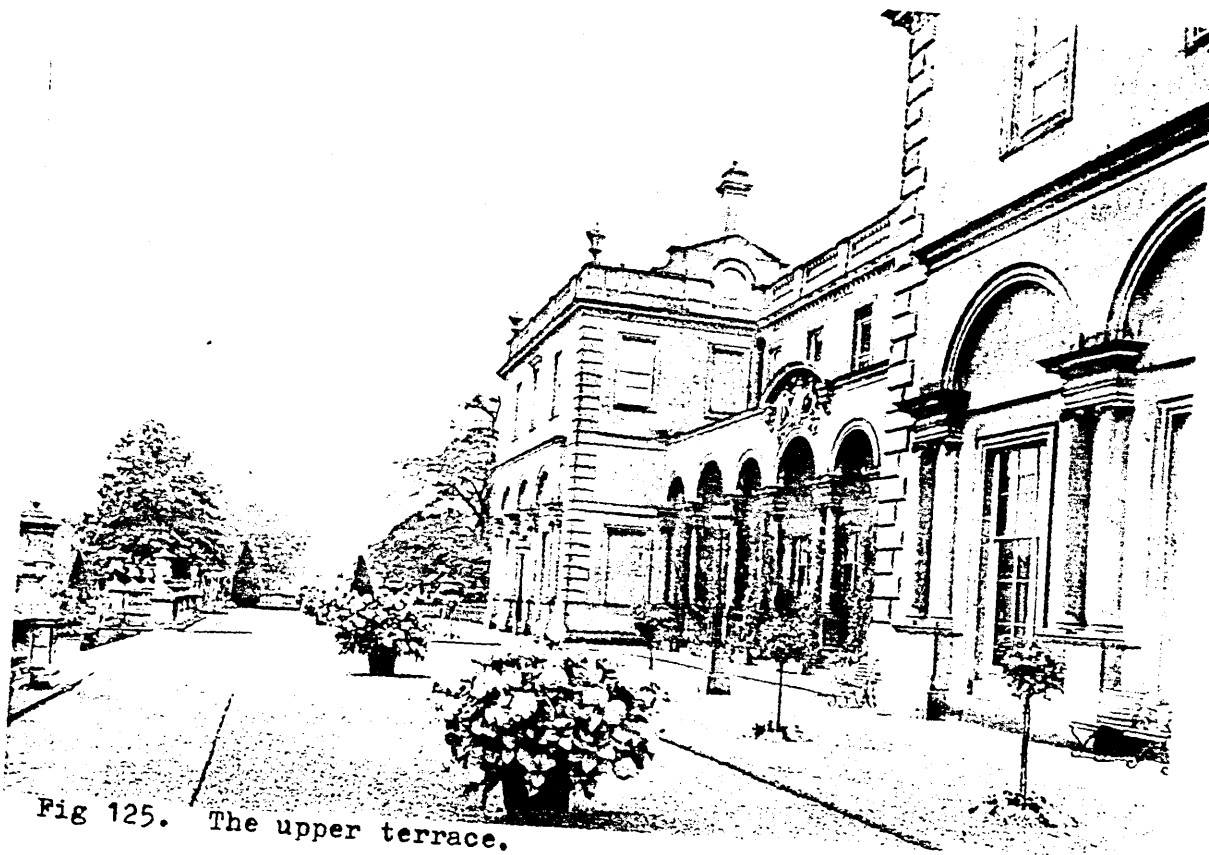


Fig 125. The upper terrace.



Fig 126. Descent on to the lawn.

Clumber.



Fig 127. Clumber.
Aerial photograph
clearly shows out-
line of beds and
walls.



Fig 128. View in 1876



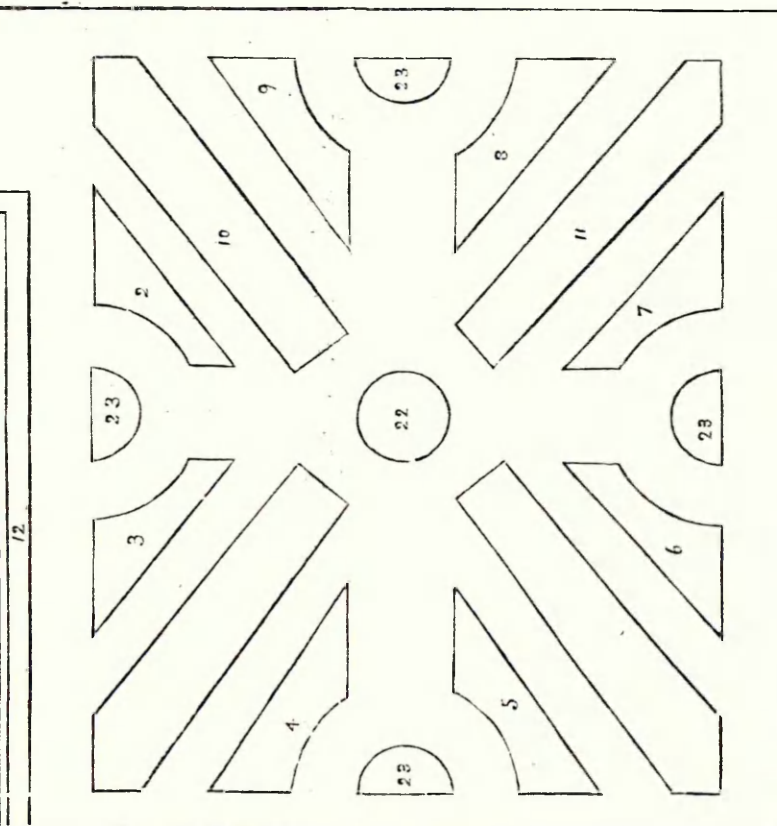
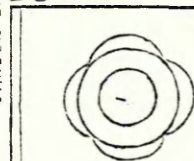
Fig 129. Garden gazebo

REFERENCES TO GARDEN PLAN.

- 1, Centre *Alyssum saxatile compactum*, then *Anthriscus grandiflora*, with a broad edging of *Cerastium tomentosum*.
- 2, Centre *Anthriscus*, edged with white *Daisies*.
- 3, *Iberis sempervirens*, edged with red *Daisies*.
- 4, *Myosotis dissitiflora*, edged with *Cerastium*.
- 5, Dwarf yellow *Wallflowers*, edged with *Anthriscus*.
- 6, *Anthriscus*, edged with *Golden Feather*.

GARDEN ENTRANCE TO HOUSE

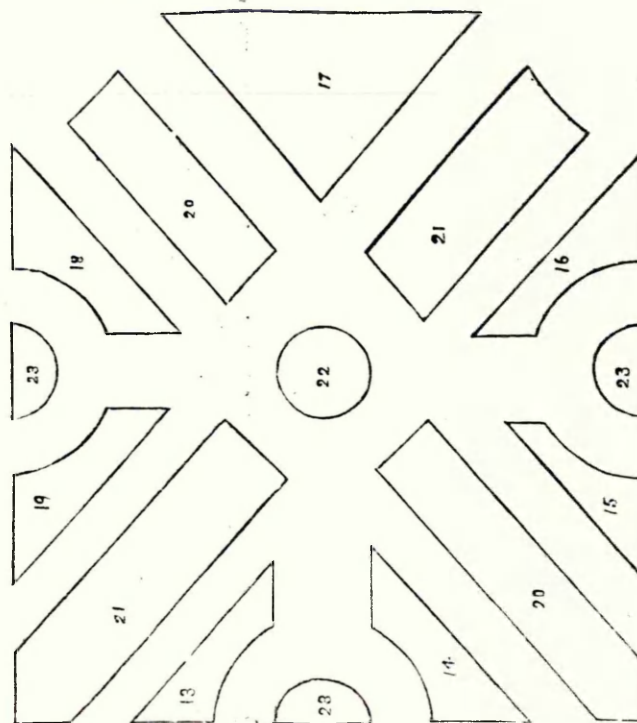
BY FLIGHT OF STEPS



- 7, Red *Daisy*, edged with *Santolina*.
- 8, *Anthriscus*, edged with *Golden Feather*. A very fine effective bed.
- 9, Red *Daisies*, edged with *Cerastium*.
- 10, *Alyssum saxatile*, with a broad edging of green *Ivy*.
- 11, *Silene pendula compacta*, edged with variegated *Ivy*. The *Silene* is too late in blooming to be effective with other spring flowers.

- 12, Is a narrow border 1 foot wide in front of wall 18 inches high covered with *Ivy*. There is a line of *Anthriscus* edged with *Golden Thyme*, which does remarkably well on the sandy soil at Thoresby.
- 13, Centre white *Daisy*, with a broad edging of *Anthriscus*. This is a very effective bed.
- 14, Centre *Anthriscus* edged with *Golden Feather*.
- 15, Centre *Iberis*, edged with red *Daisies*.

WALK 12 FT. WIDE.



- 16, *Anthriscus*, edged with *Santolina*.
- 17, *Myosotis dissitiflora*, edged with *Cerastium*.
- 18, Dwarf yellow *Wallflowers*, edged with *Anthriscus*.
- 19, *Silene pendula compacta*, edged with *Cerastium*.
- 20, *Alyssum saxatile*, edged with green *Ivy*.
- 21, *Silene pendula*, edge variegated *Ivy*.
- 22, *Silene*.
- 23, *Clematis* pegged down.
- 24, This is a border 11 feet wide with a low wall at

the back to which *Ivy* is trained. Down the centre there are circles planted alternately with red and white *Daisies*. Along the back is a band of *Alyssum saxatile*, then a groundwork of *Anthriscus* 6 feet wide; next a line of *Santolina*, followed by another line of *Polyanthus*; next a row of red *Daisies*, and an outside edging of white *Daisies*. This bed has looked well for a long time, and been much admired.

Fig. 130

Thoresby Hall.
Bedding-out plan



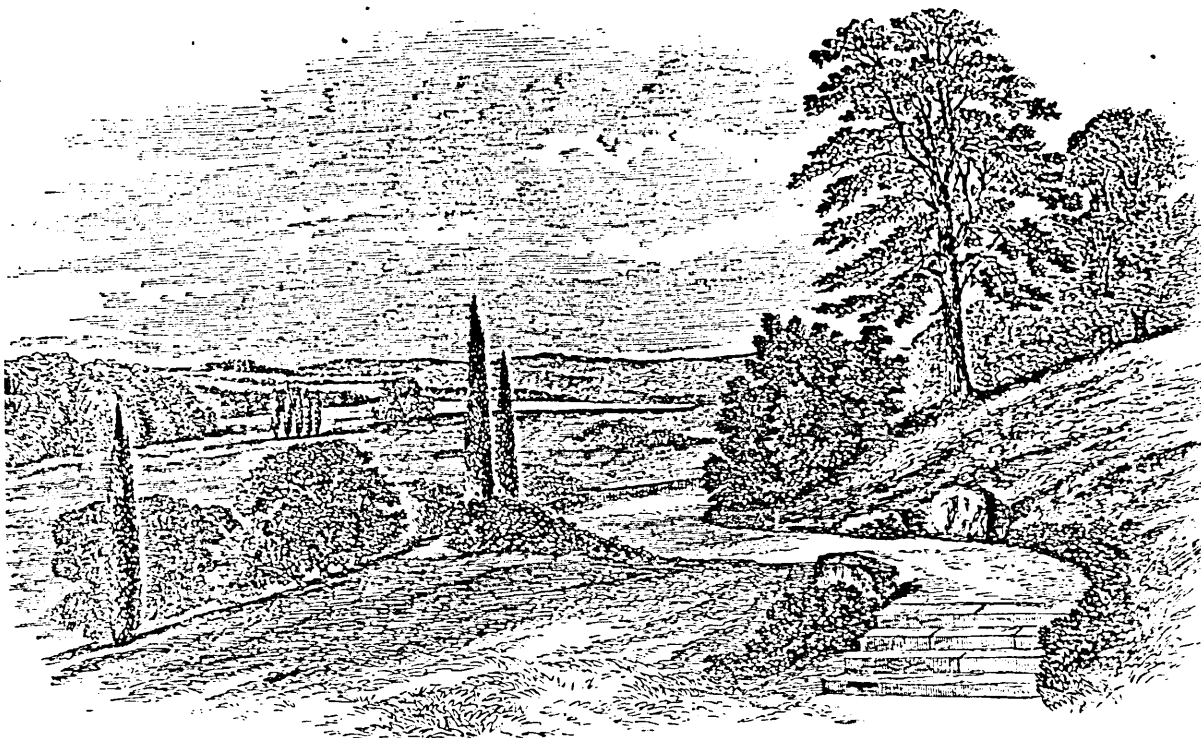
Fig 131. Nesfield's tapis-vert 1855.



Fig 132. Nesfield's conservatory
c 1855.

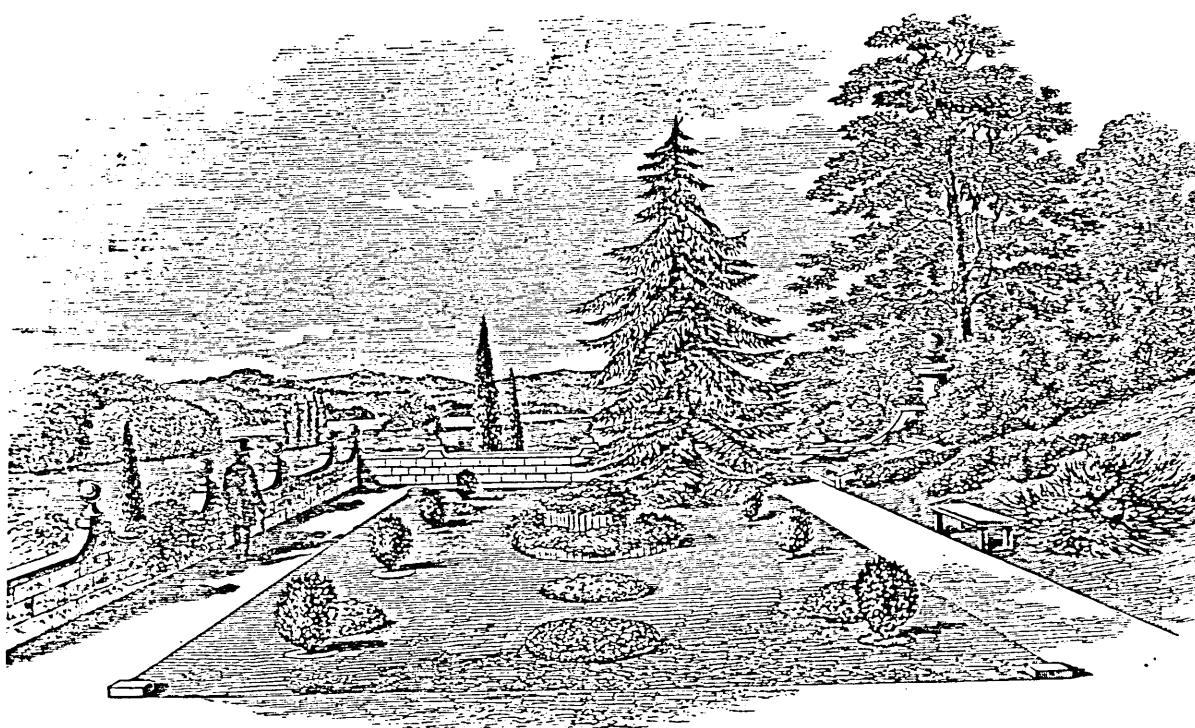


Fig 133. Italian western extension
and tower 1840.



HILL-SIDE — NATURAL TREATMENT.

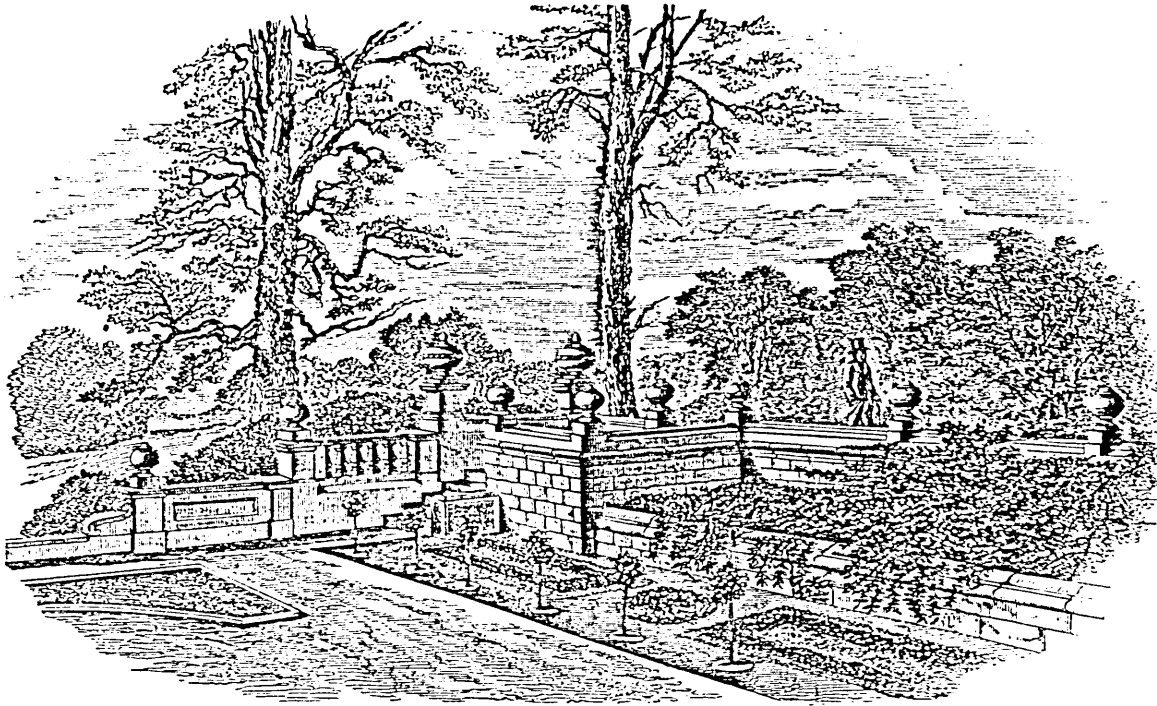
Fig. 134



HILL-SIDE TERRACED.

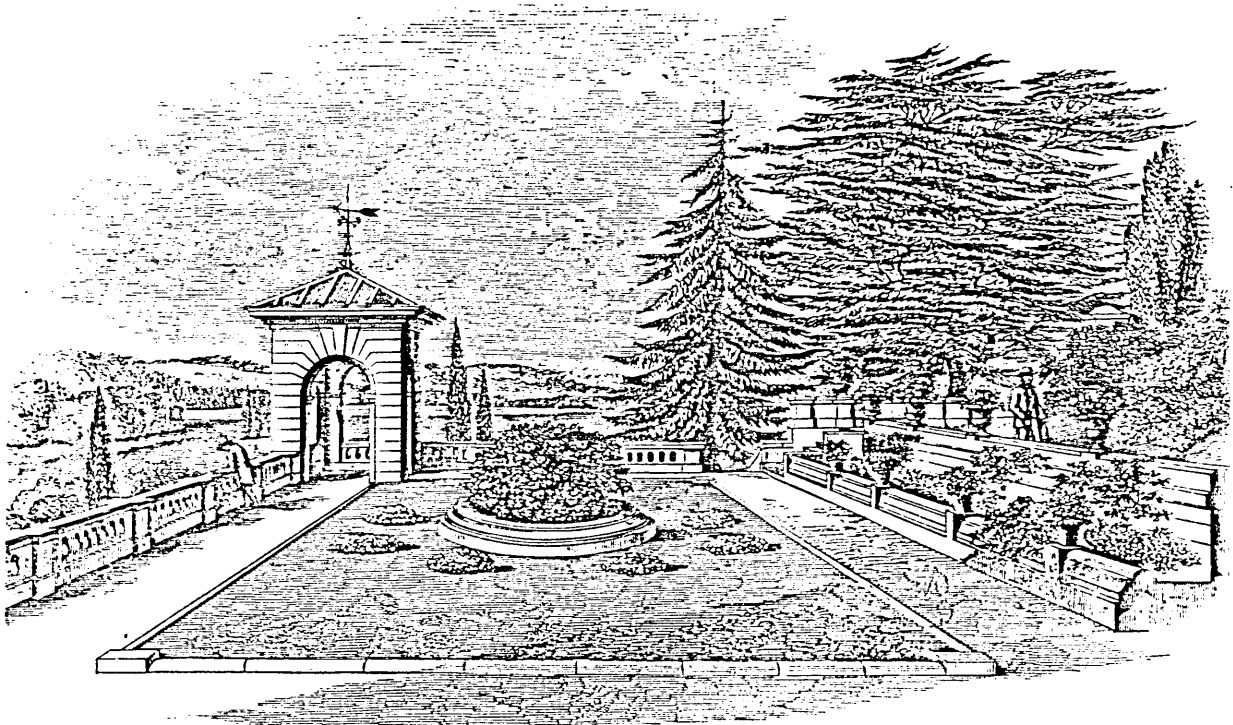
Fig. 135

Different ways of treating a hillside
from Garden Architecture and Land-
scape Gardening 1866 by Hughes .



FINISH OF PLATEAU FORMED ON SLOPE.

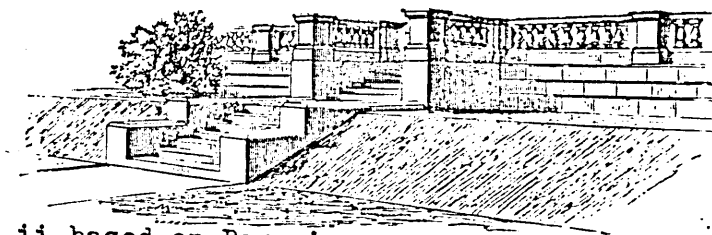
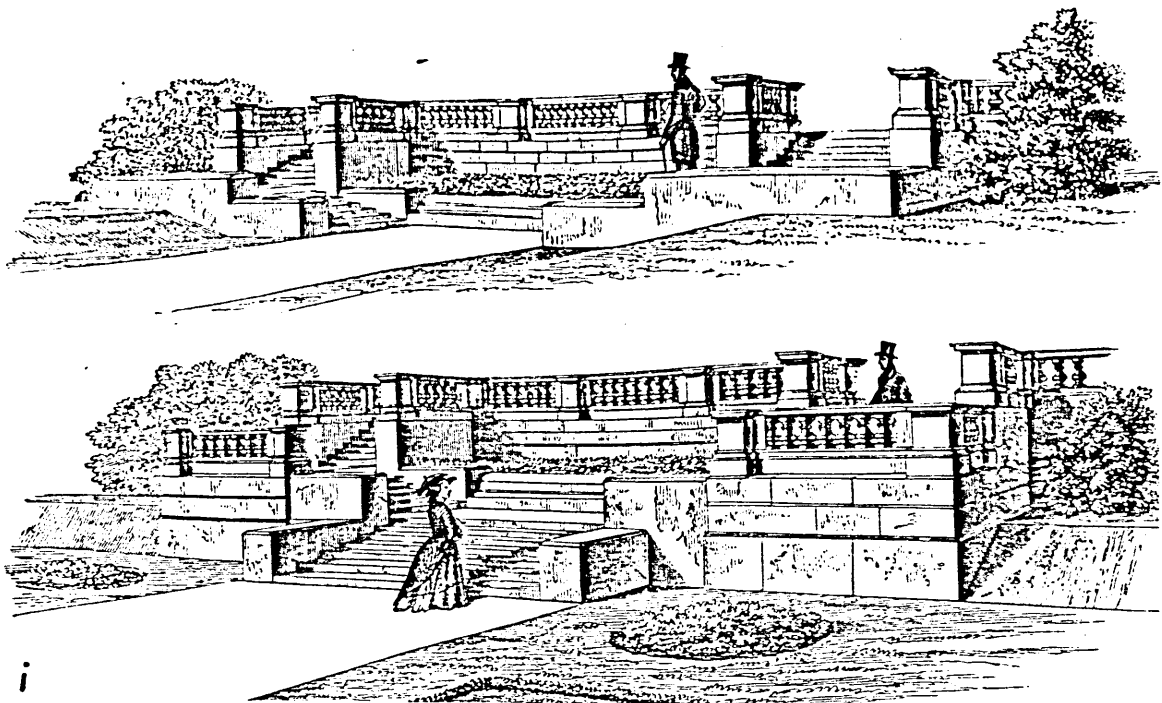
Fig. 137



ARCHITECTURAL TERRACED GARDEN.

Fig. 136

Different ways of treating a hillside
from Garden Architecture and Land-
scape Gardening 1866 by Hughes.



ii based on Barry's
terrace at Bridgewater
House.

Fig 138. i and ii
Hughes' examples of
steps and terraces.



Fig 139. Ogston Hall in 1874.



Fig 140. Flinthall
Hall.



Fig 141. Flintham Hall Conservatory.

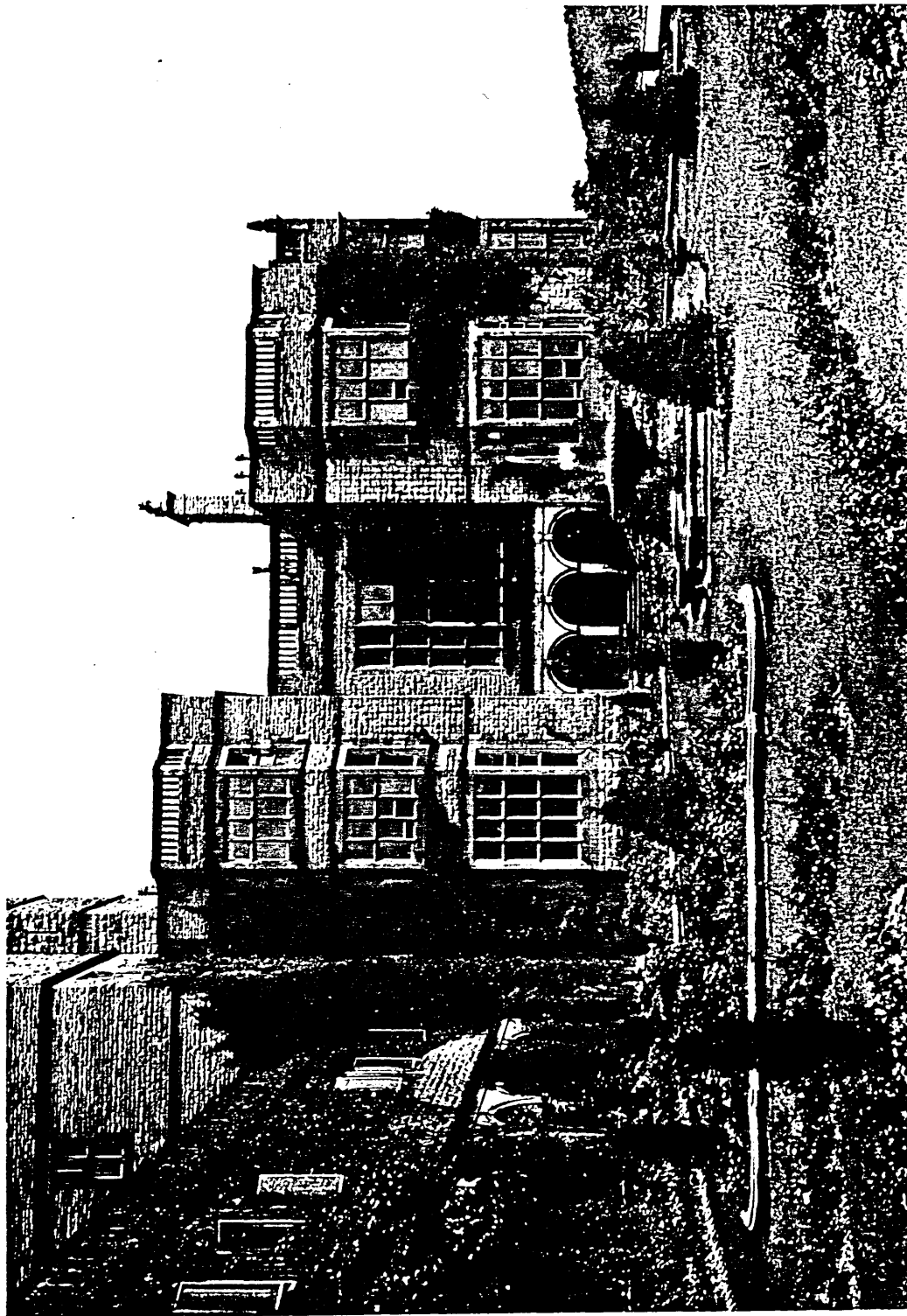


Fig 142. Osmaston
Manor. The fountain
court. 1908.



Fig 143. Osmas
Manor. The hou
from the terrac
steps. 1908.



Fig 144. Osma
Manor. Terrace
above the lake.
1908.



Fig 146. Italianate
garden pavilion.



Fig 145.
Balustrading south
front.

Locko.



Fig 148. Italianate tower.



Fig 147. Western
end of balustrade.

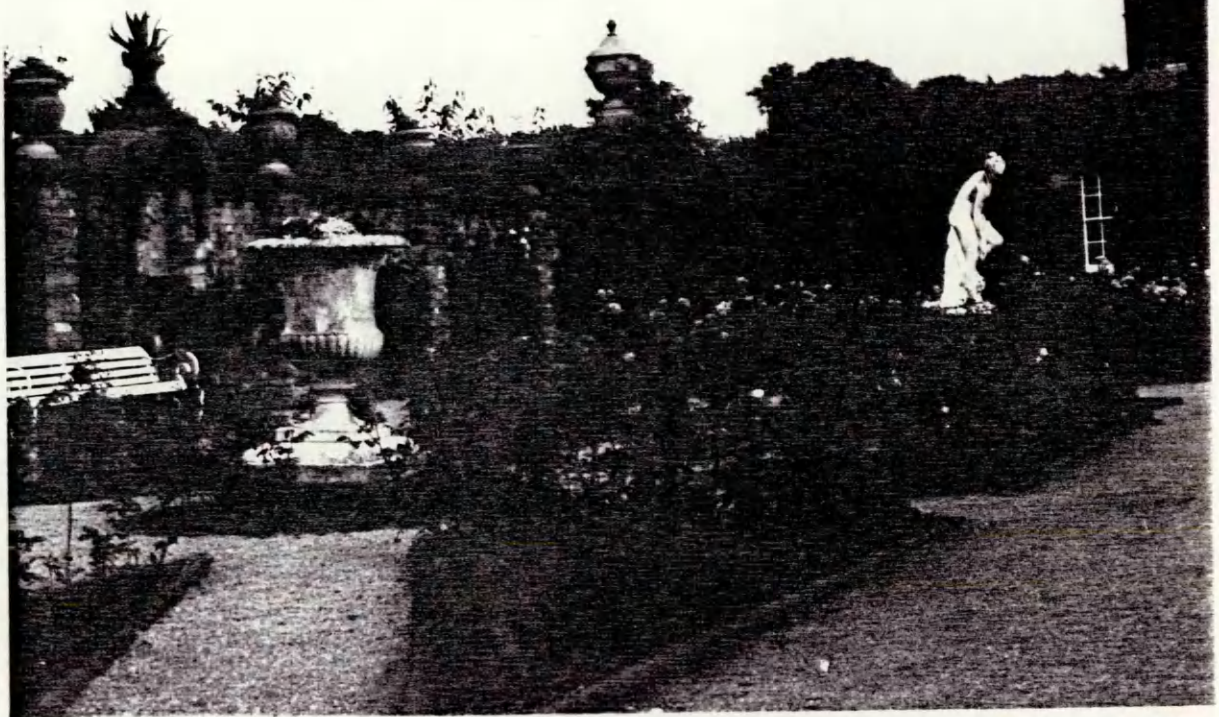


Fig. 149



Fig. 150

Locko.
Terraced gardens to
north west.

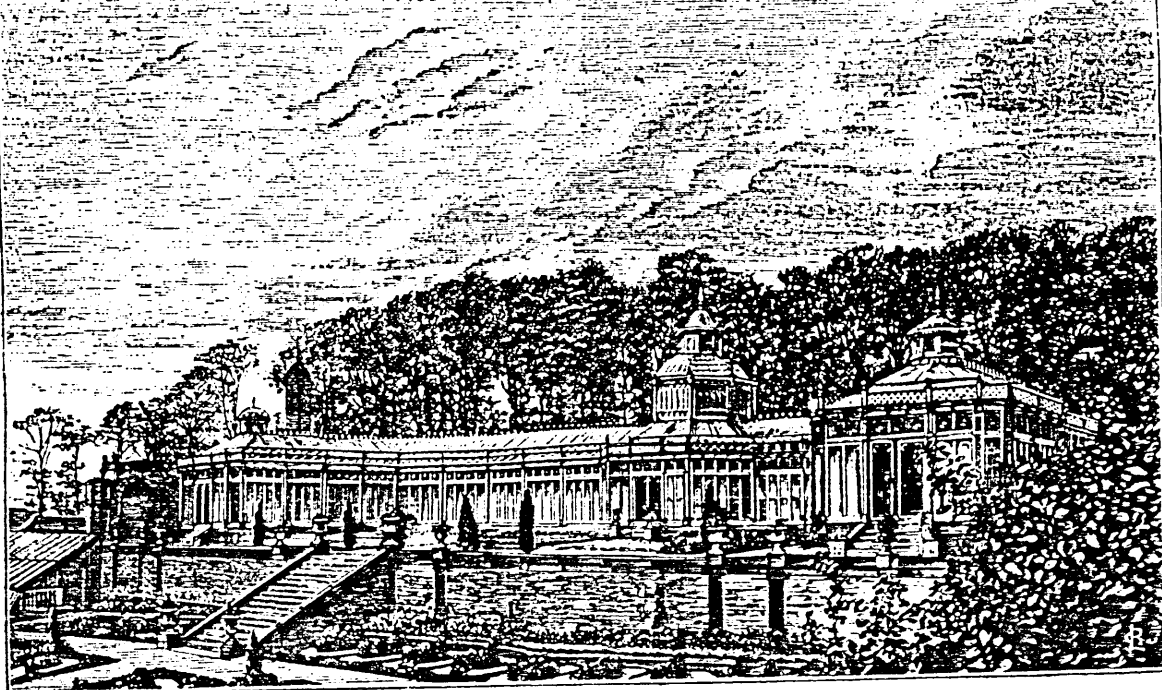


Fig 151. Conservatory in 1876.

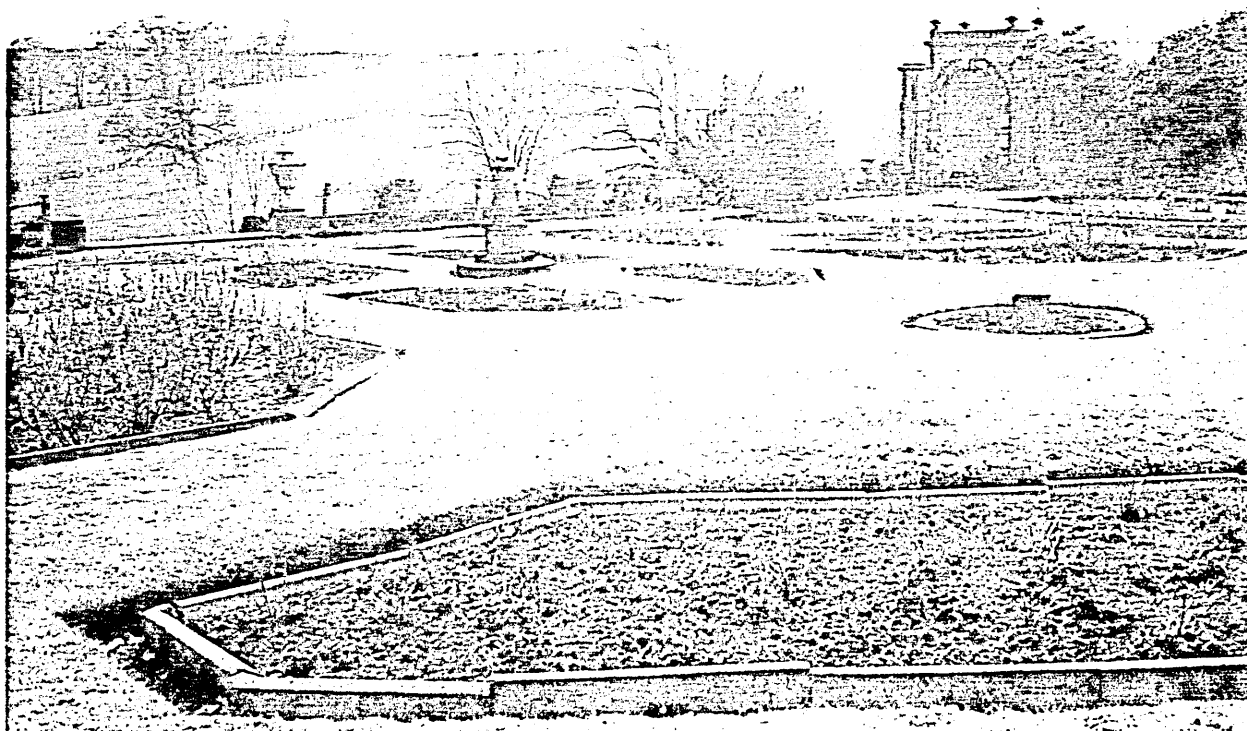
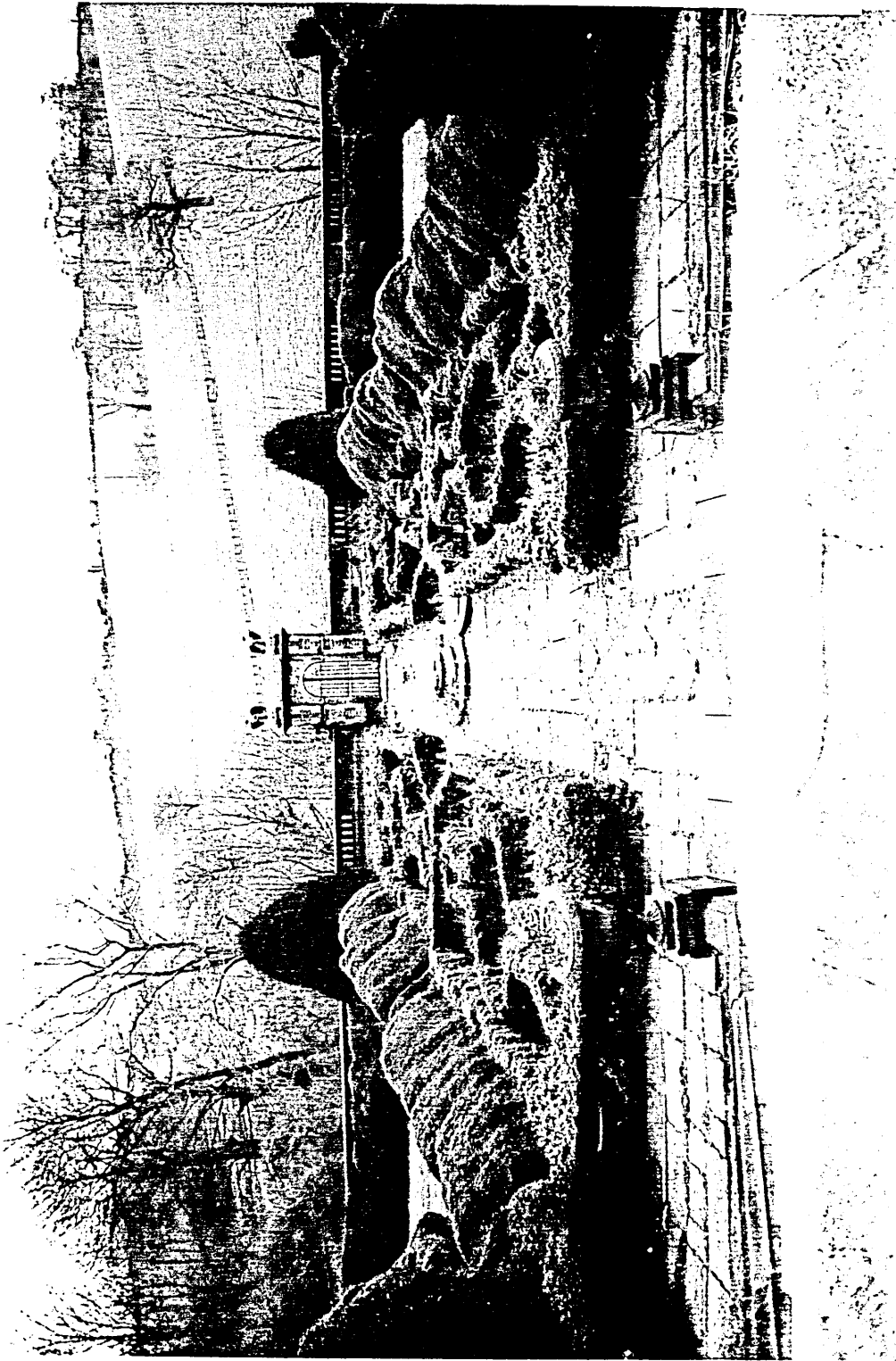


Fig 152. Italianate pavilion at western end of terrace where conservatory once stood.

Ringwood.



Ringwood.
Fig 153. The
terraces and
terres today.

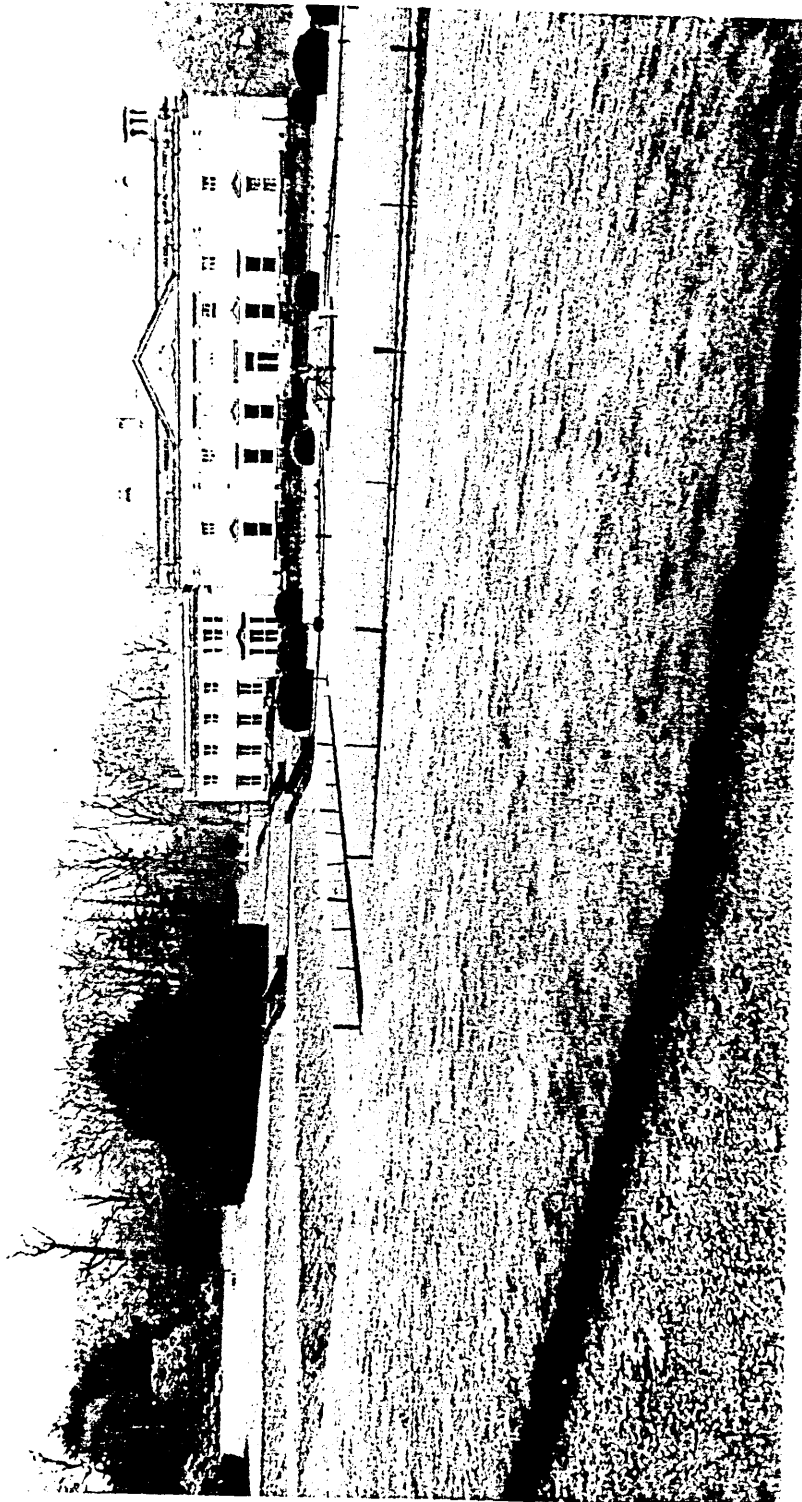


Fig 154. Wortley
Hall. South front.
Note terraced slope
at right angles to
house.

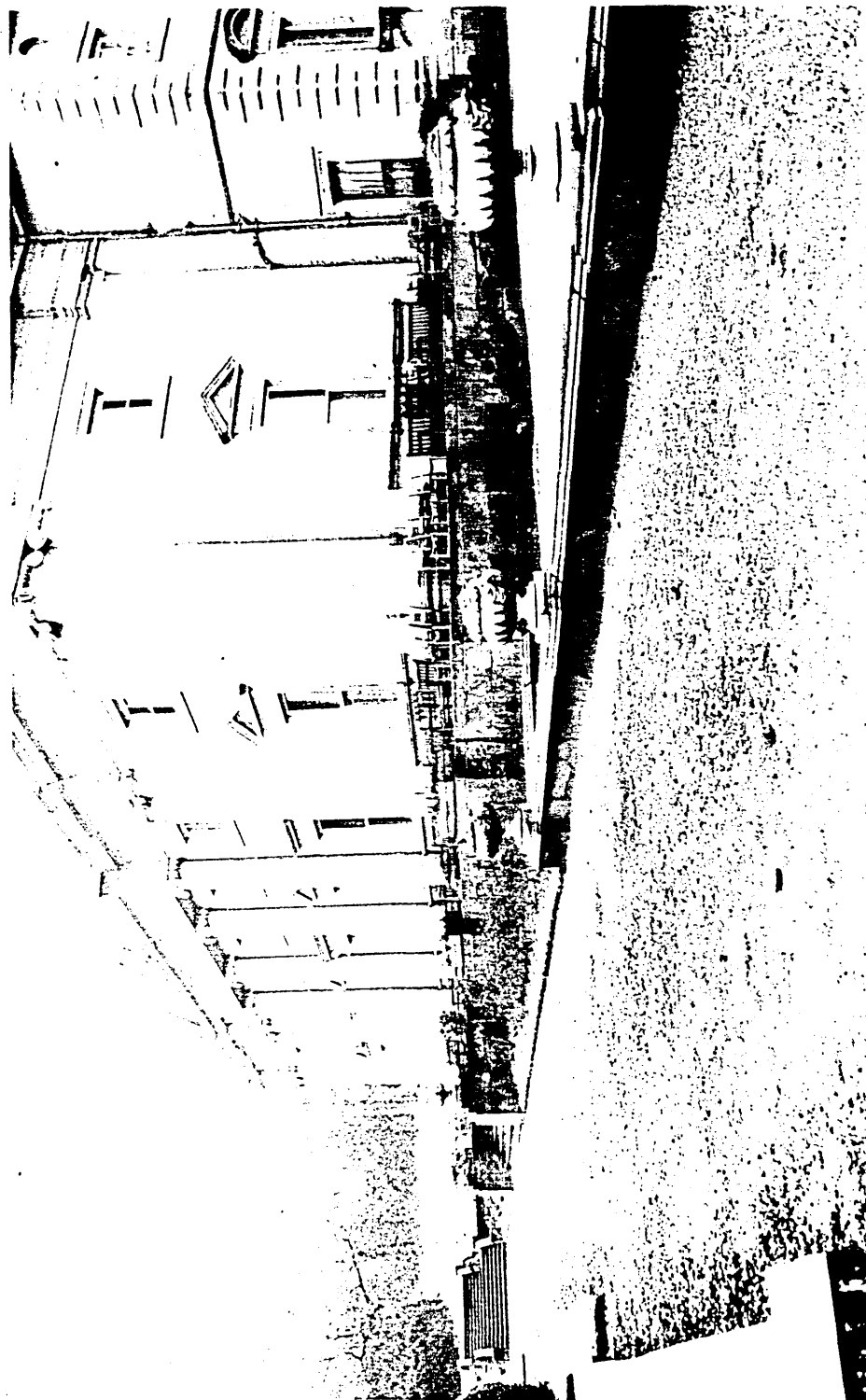


Fig 155. Wortley
Hall. Elaborate
vases top the low
stone wall.

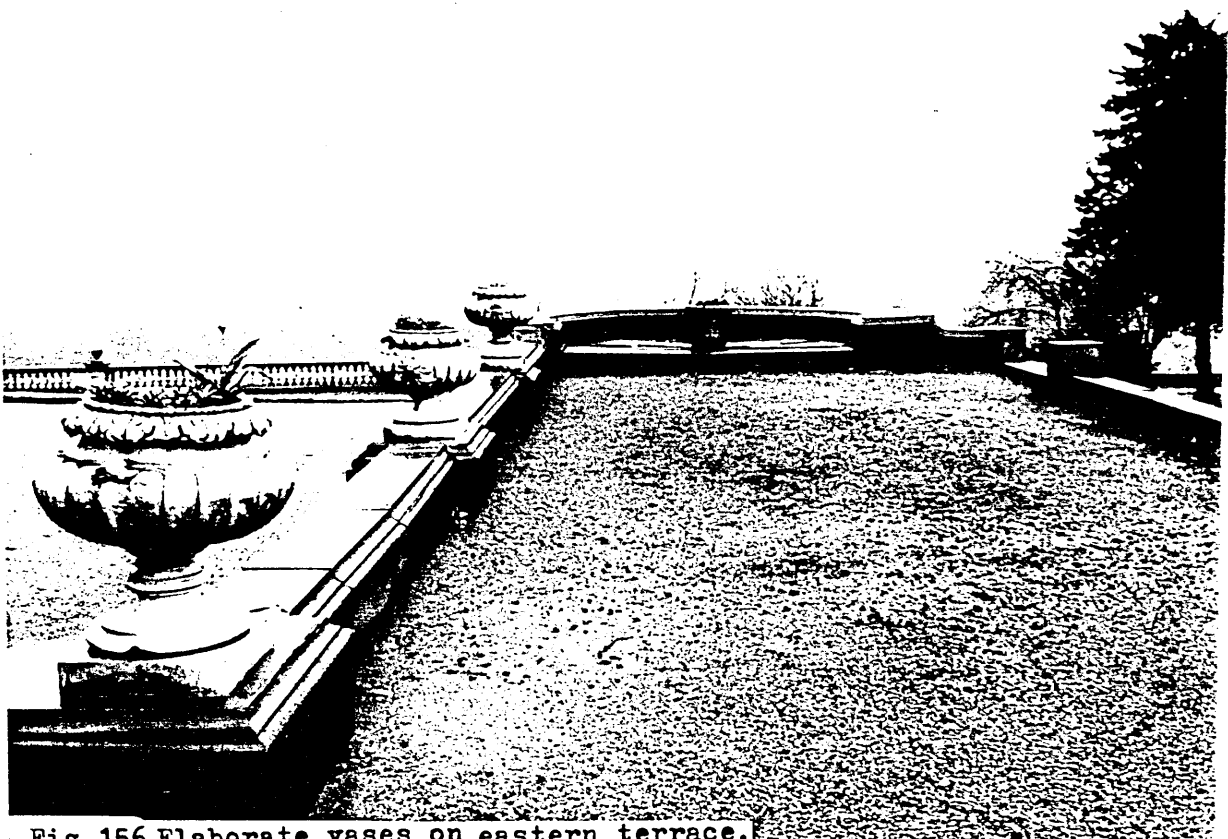


Fig 156 Elaborate vases on eastern terrace.

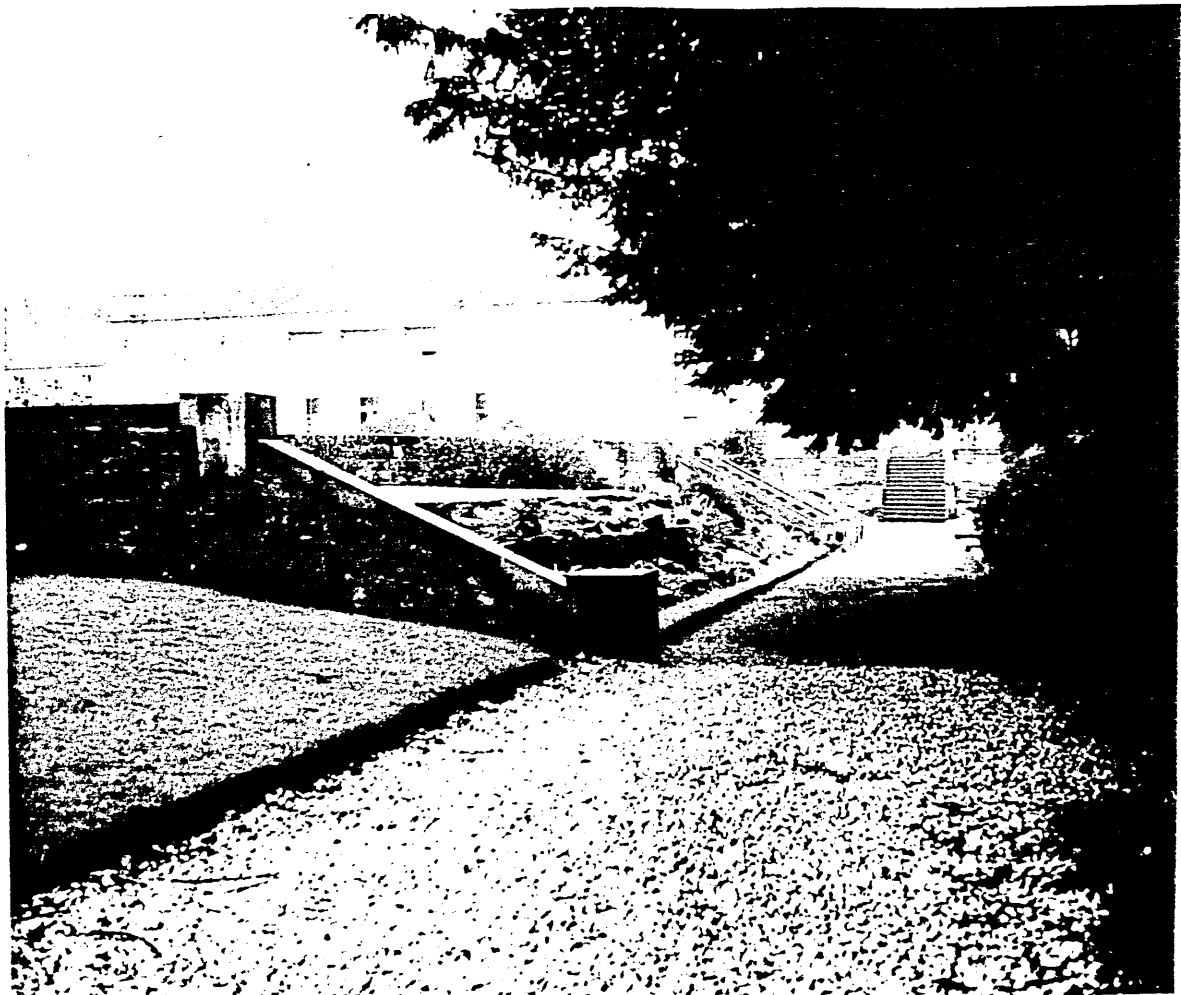


Fig 157. The architectural terraces on the east.

Wortley Hall.

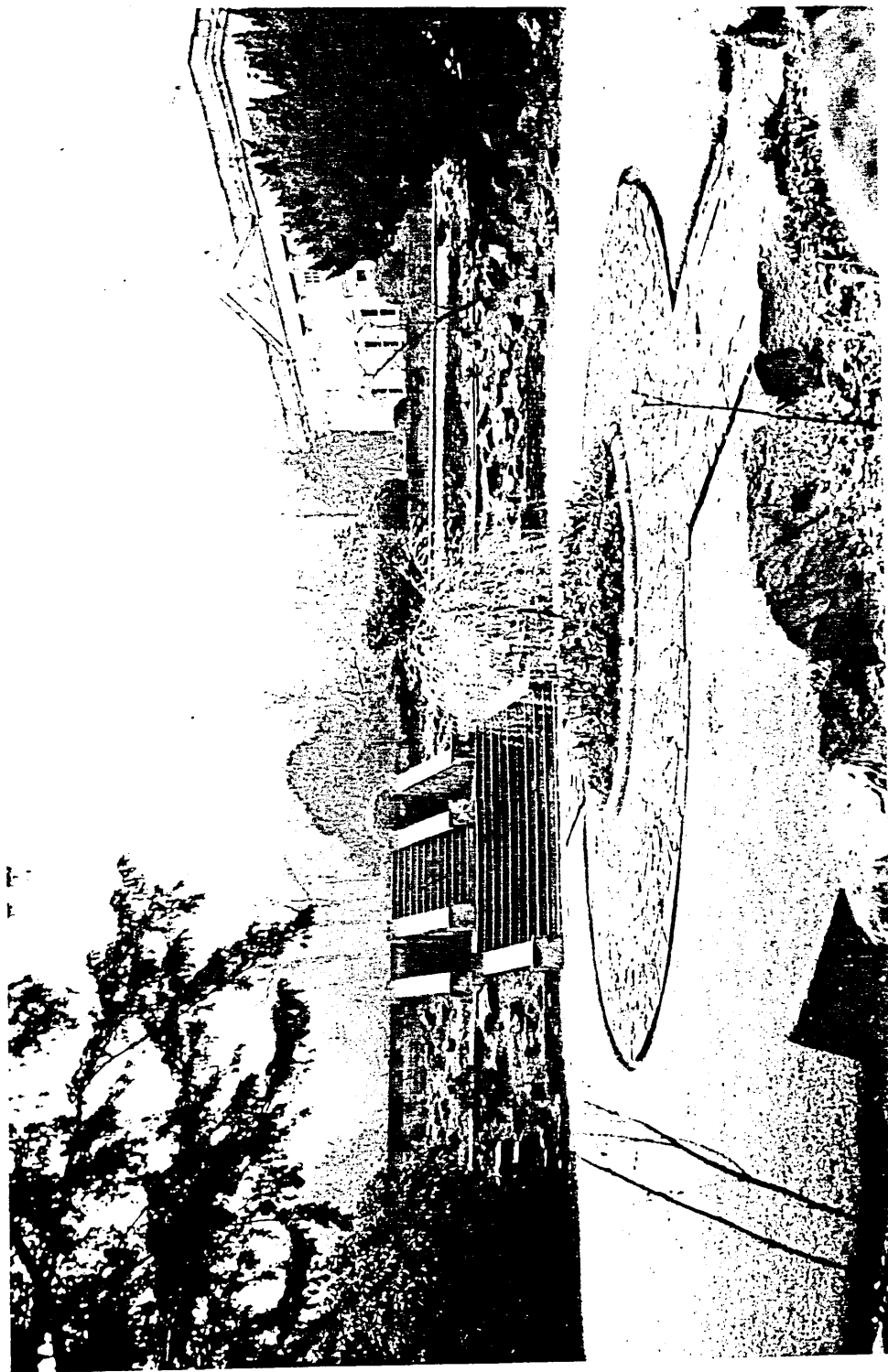


Fig 158. Wortley
Hall. The founta
garden.

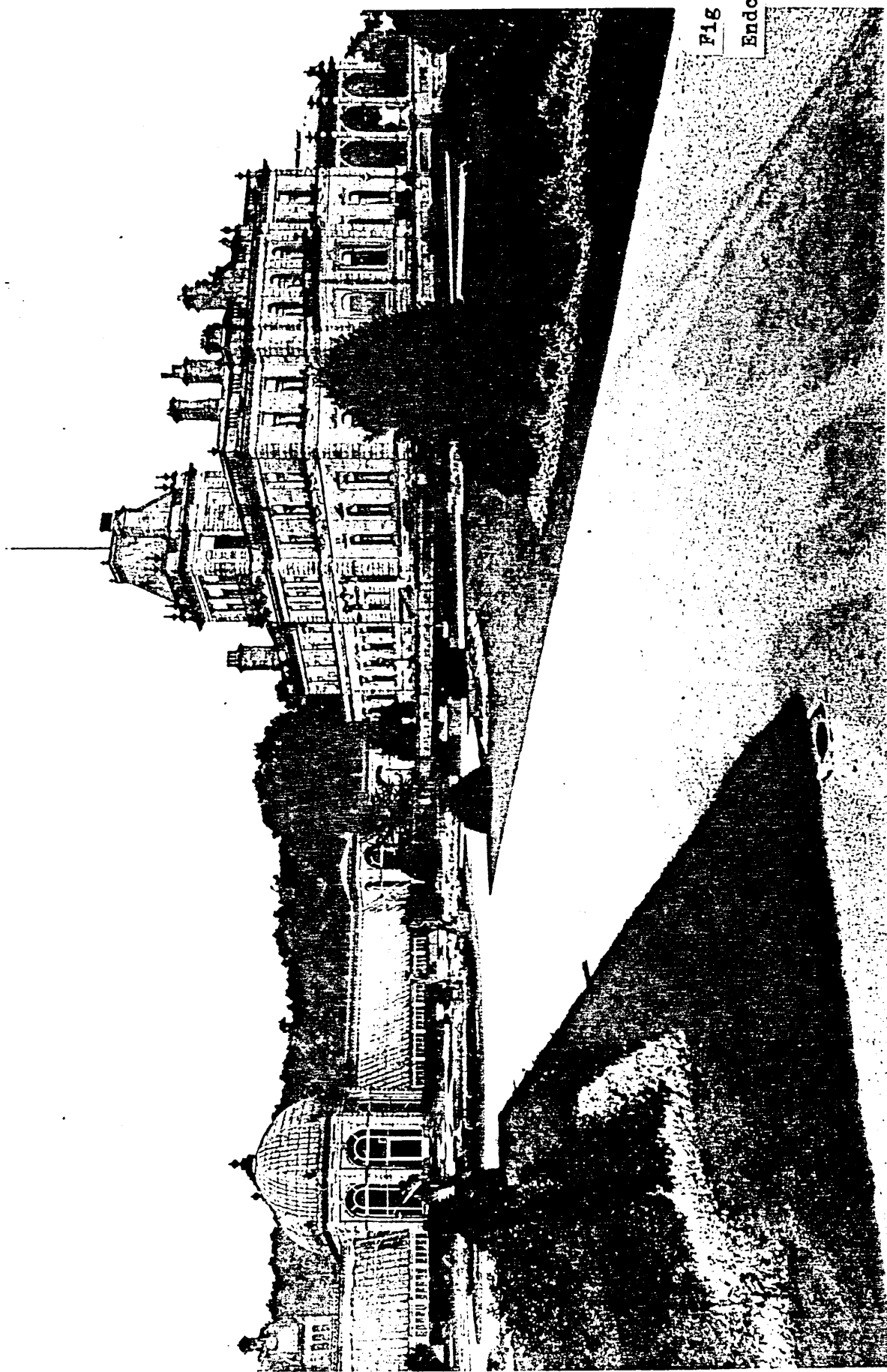


Fig 159.

Endcliffe Hall



Fig 160.
Endcliffe Hall.



Fig 161. Alton Towers.
Stonehenge 'improved'.



Fig 162. Alton Towers.
The Chinese Pagoda Fountain.

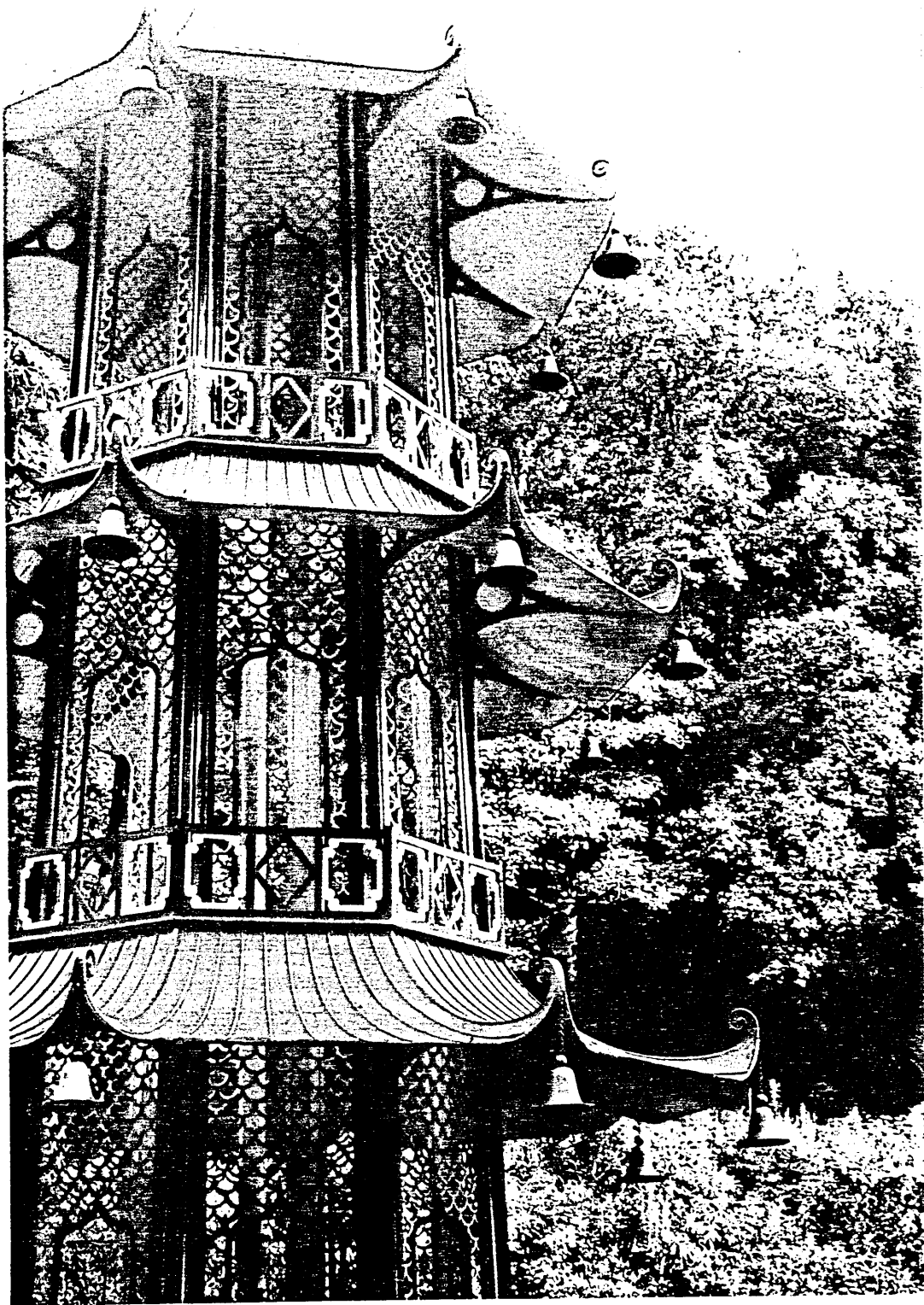


Fig 163. Alton Towers.
Details of the Chinese
Pagoda Fountain.



Fig 165. The elaborate conservatory with seven glass-domed pavilions.



Fig 164. The dry bridge.

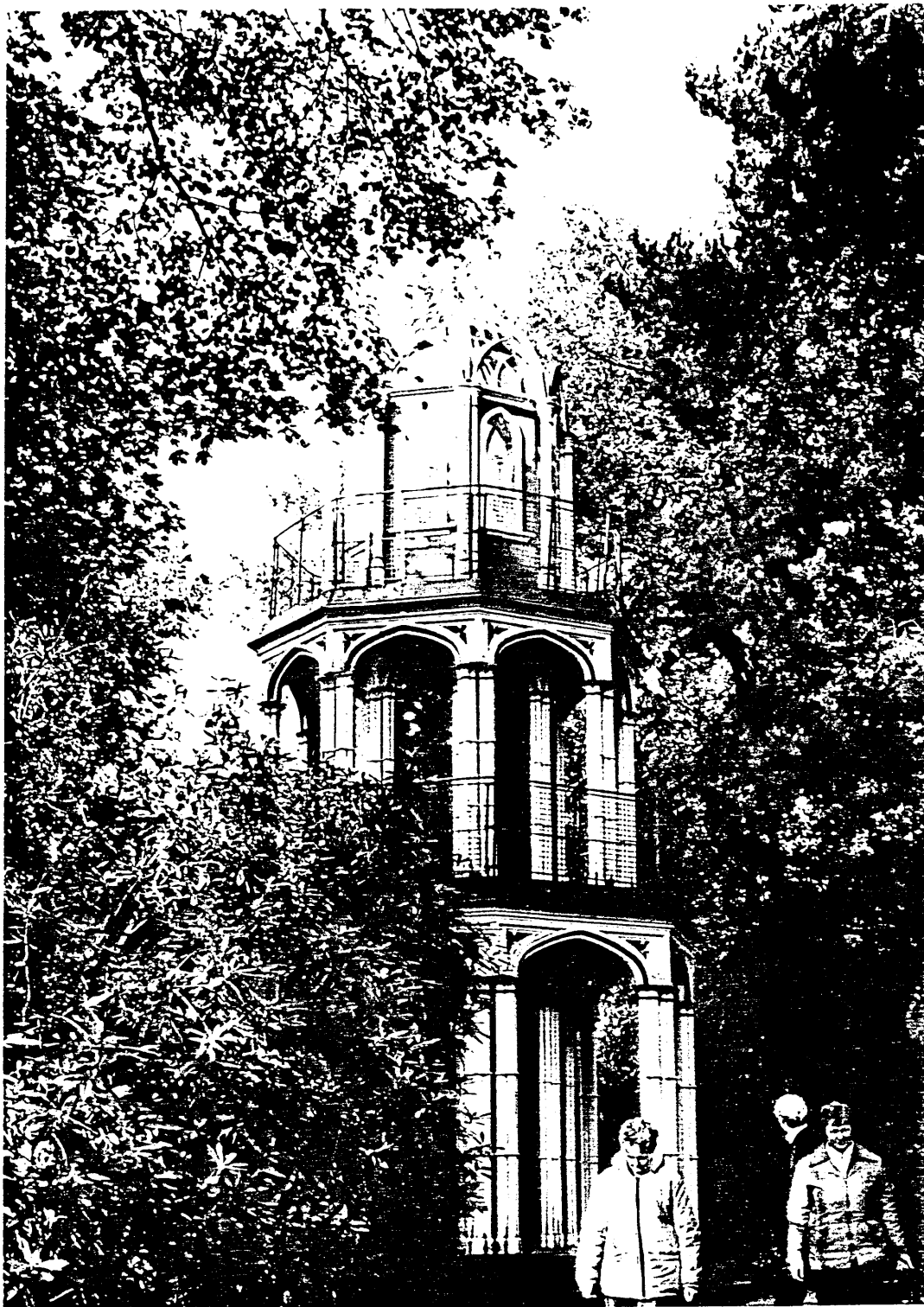


Fig 166.
Alton Towers.
The Gothic Temple or prospect
tower.

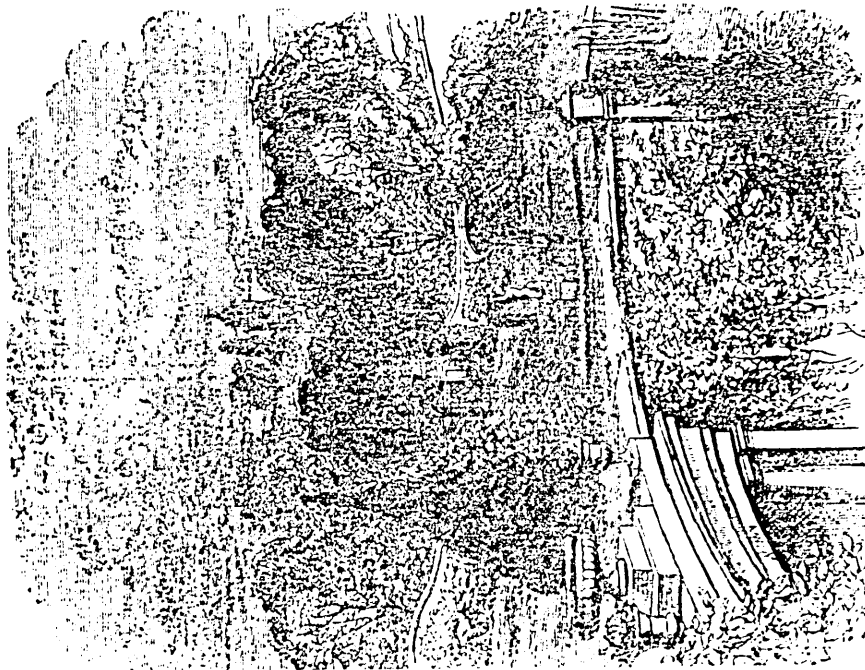


Fig 167. Two romantic 19th century prints suggesting a warm southern atmosphere.

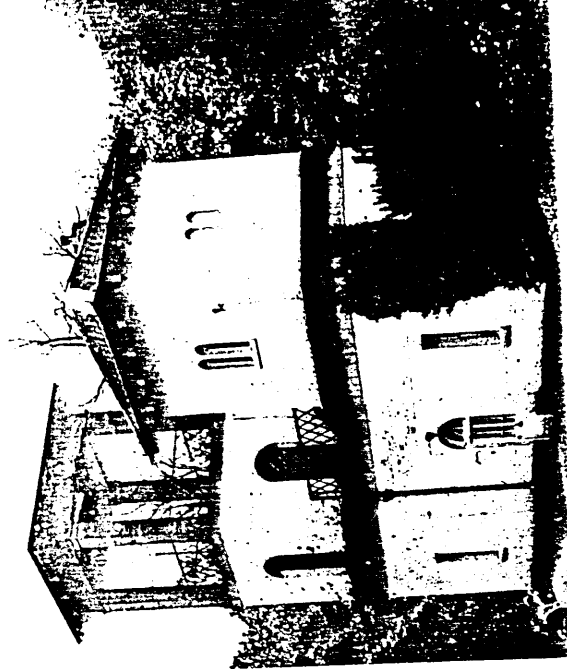
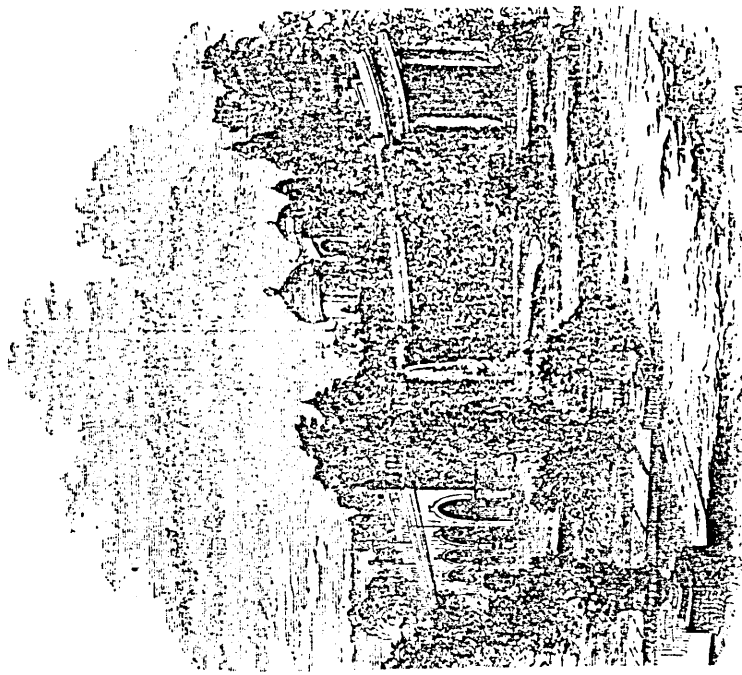


Fig 168. The Pink Lodge.

Alton Towers.

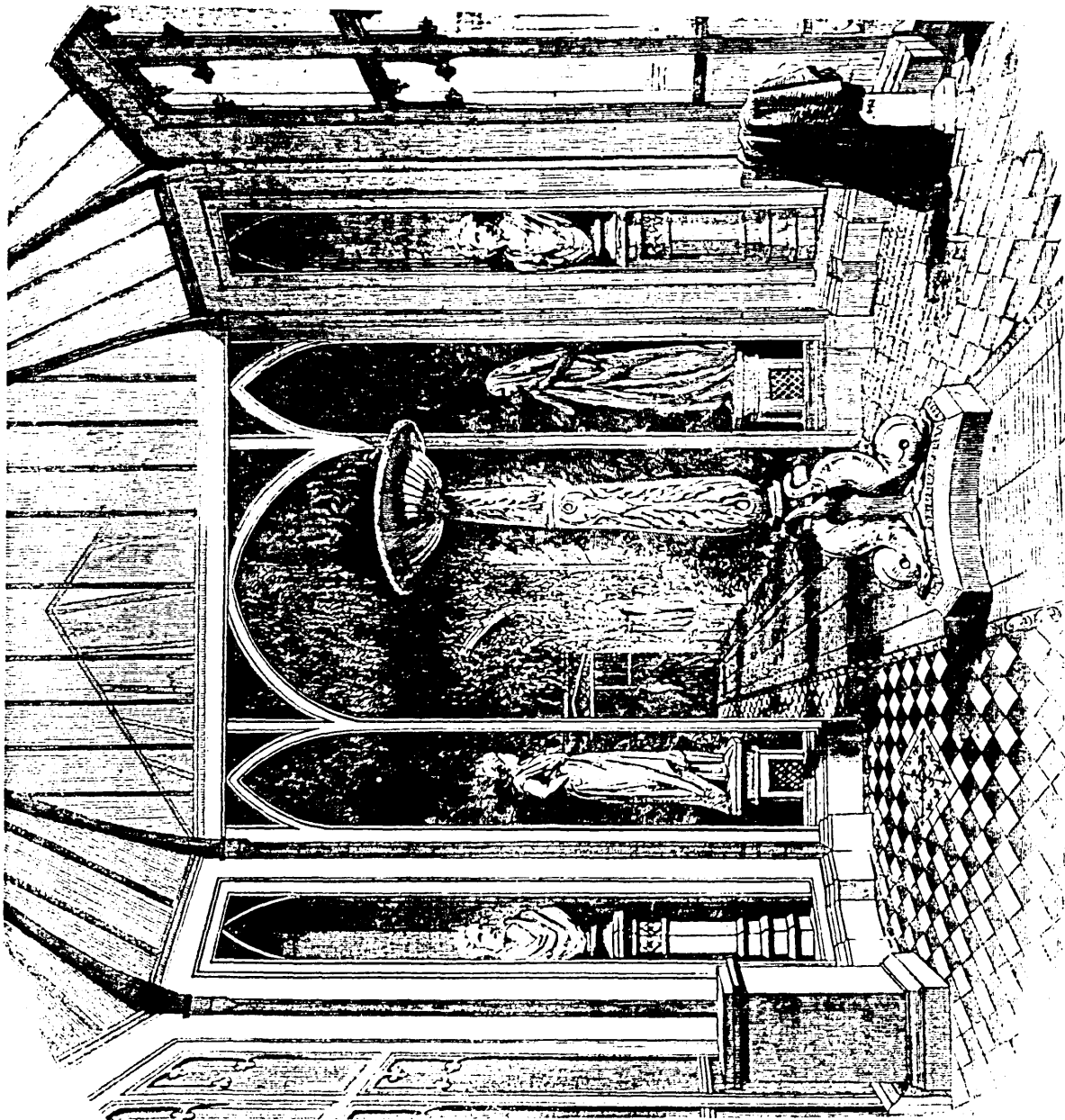


Fig. 169

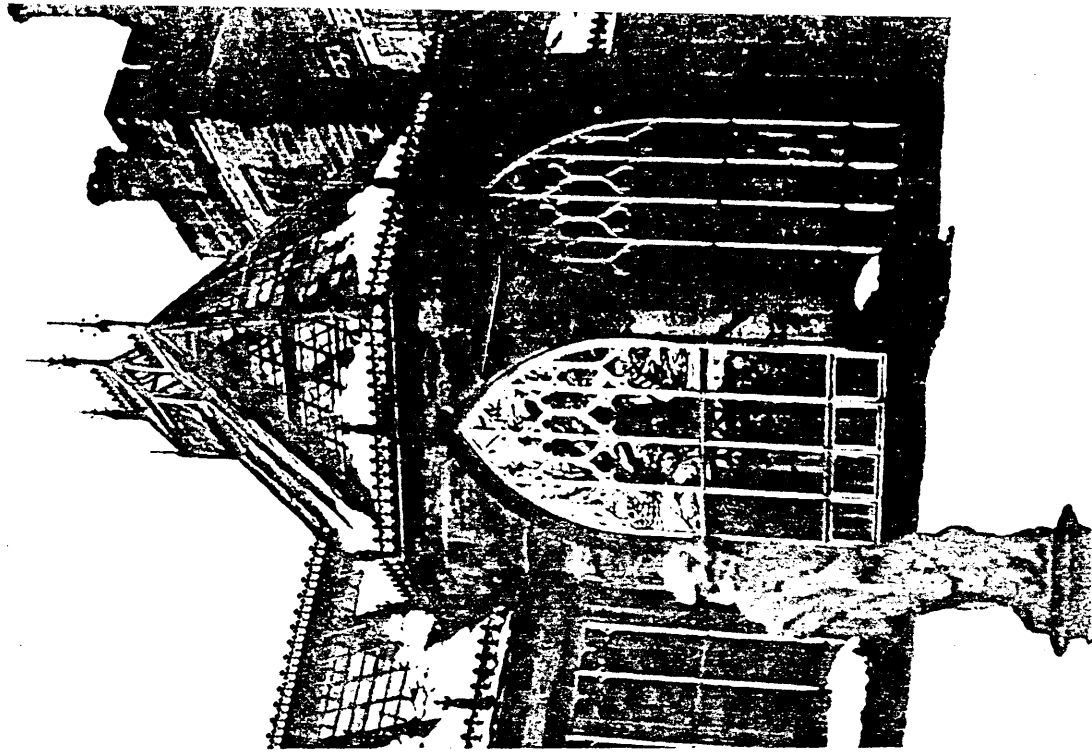


Fig. 170

Alton Towers
Pugin's Gothic
Conservatory.

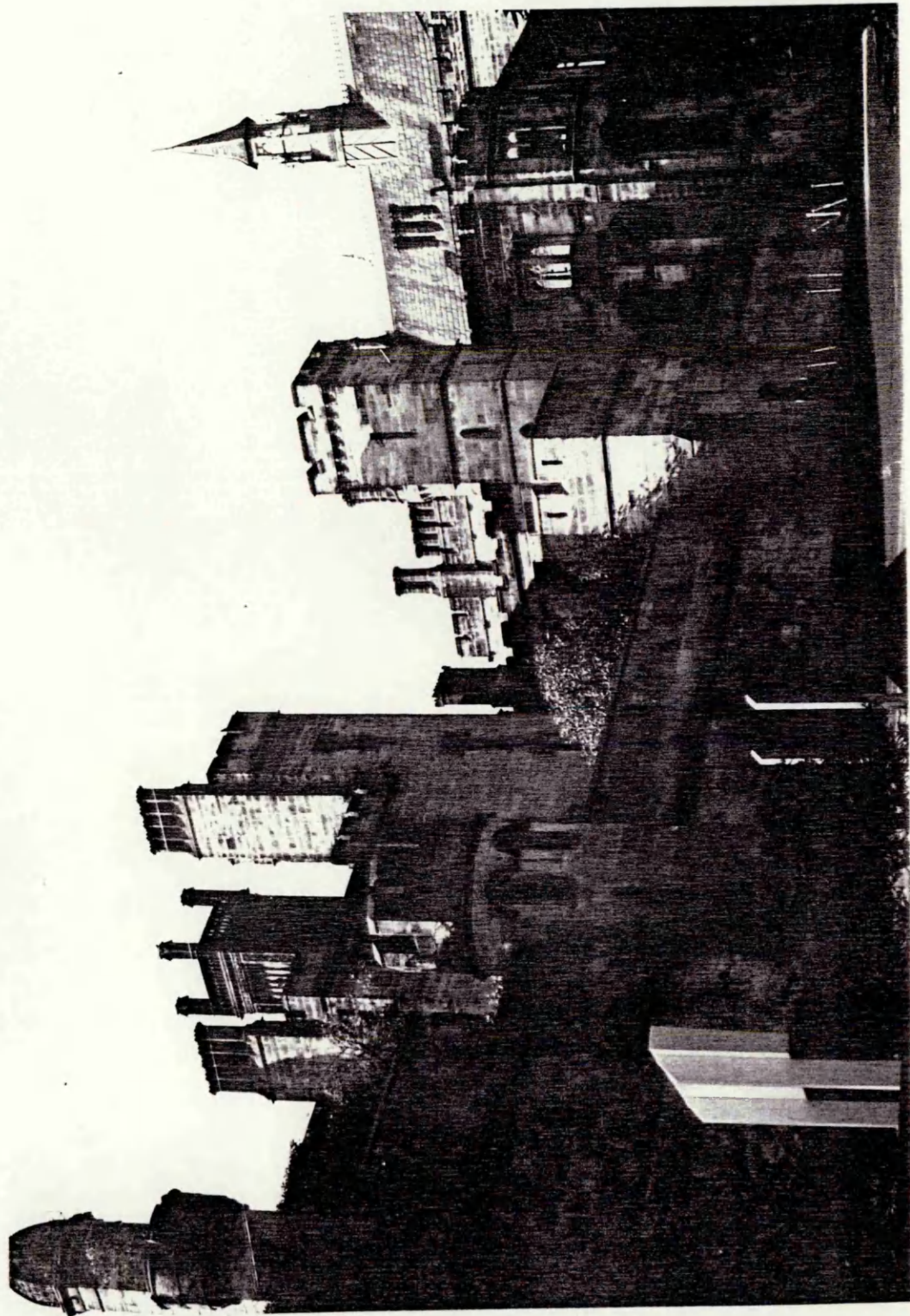
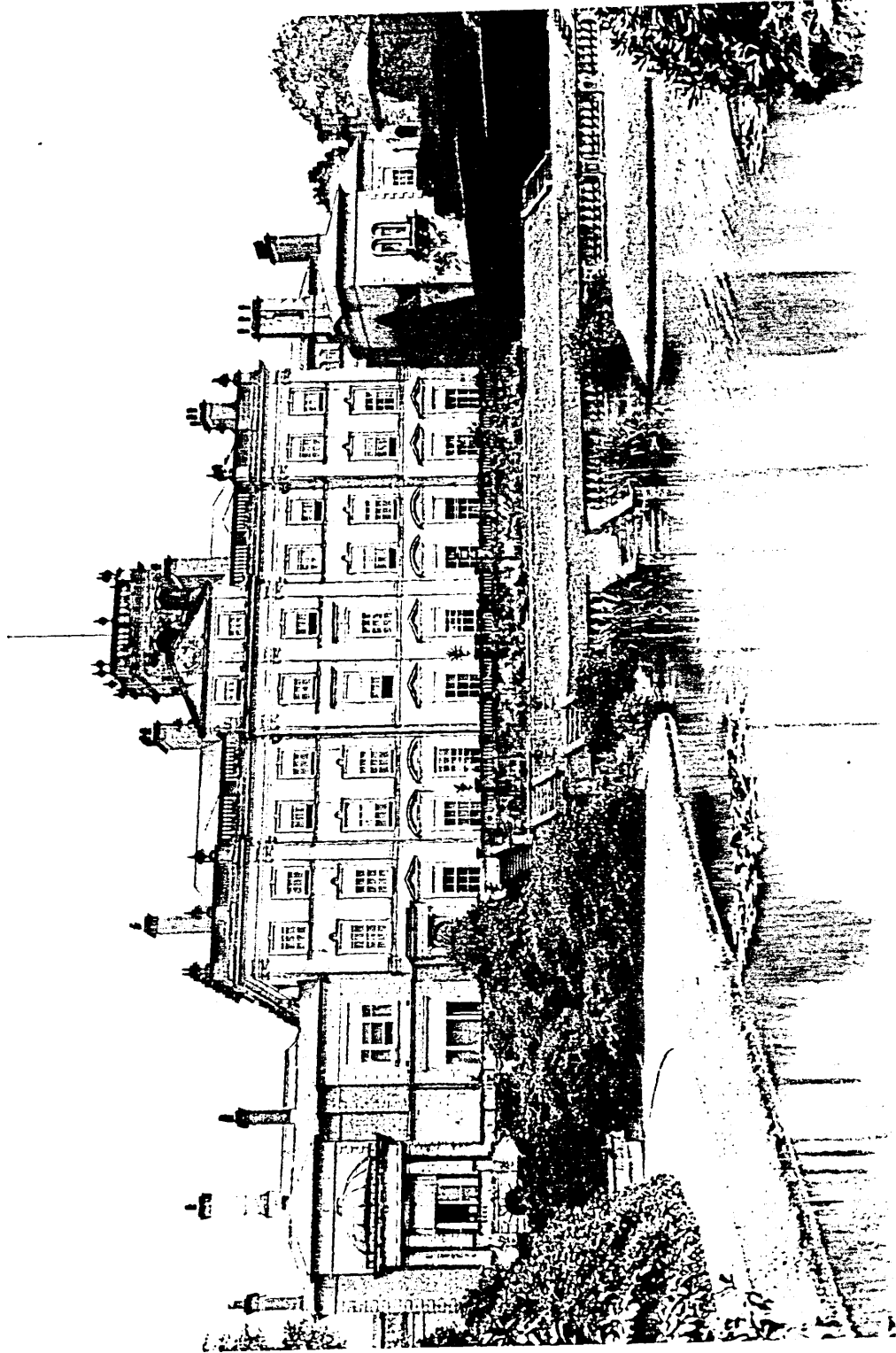


Fig 171. Alton
Towers today. A
picturesque gothic
spectacle.

Fig 172.
Biddulph Grange.
The south point.



Plan showing layout of gardens in 1862.

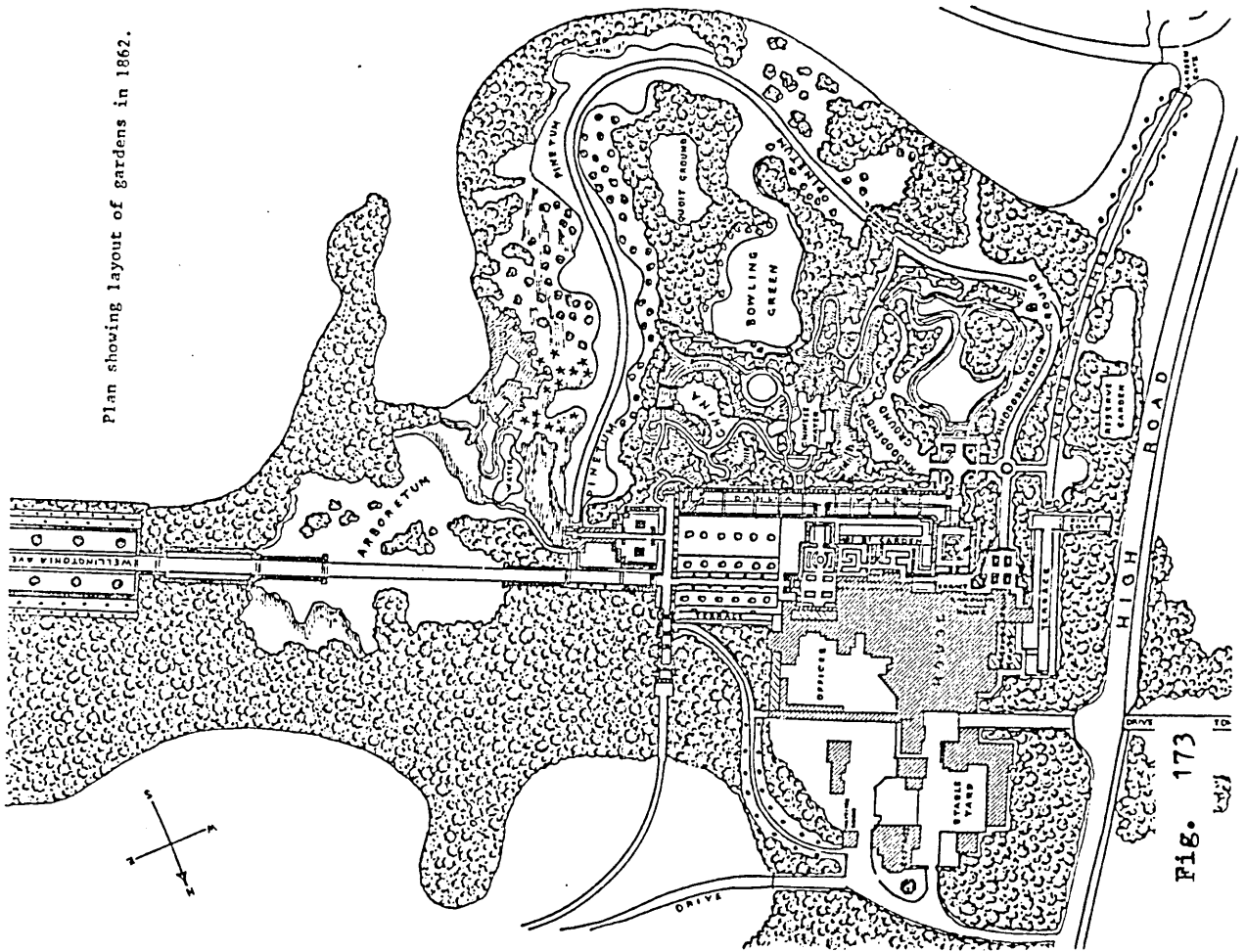


Fig. 173



Fig. 175

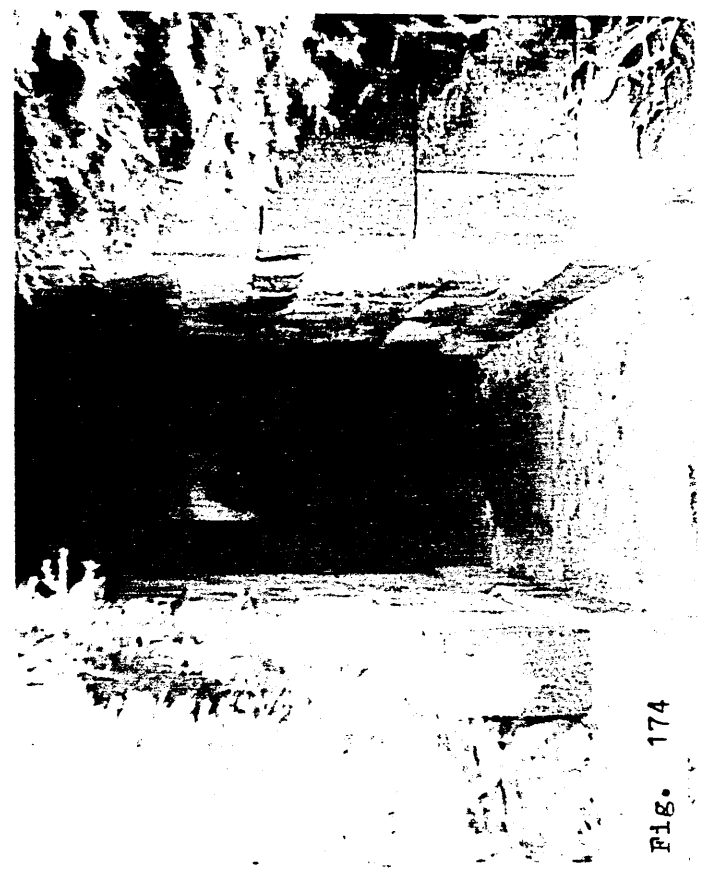


Fig. 174

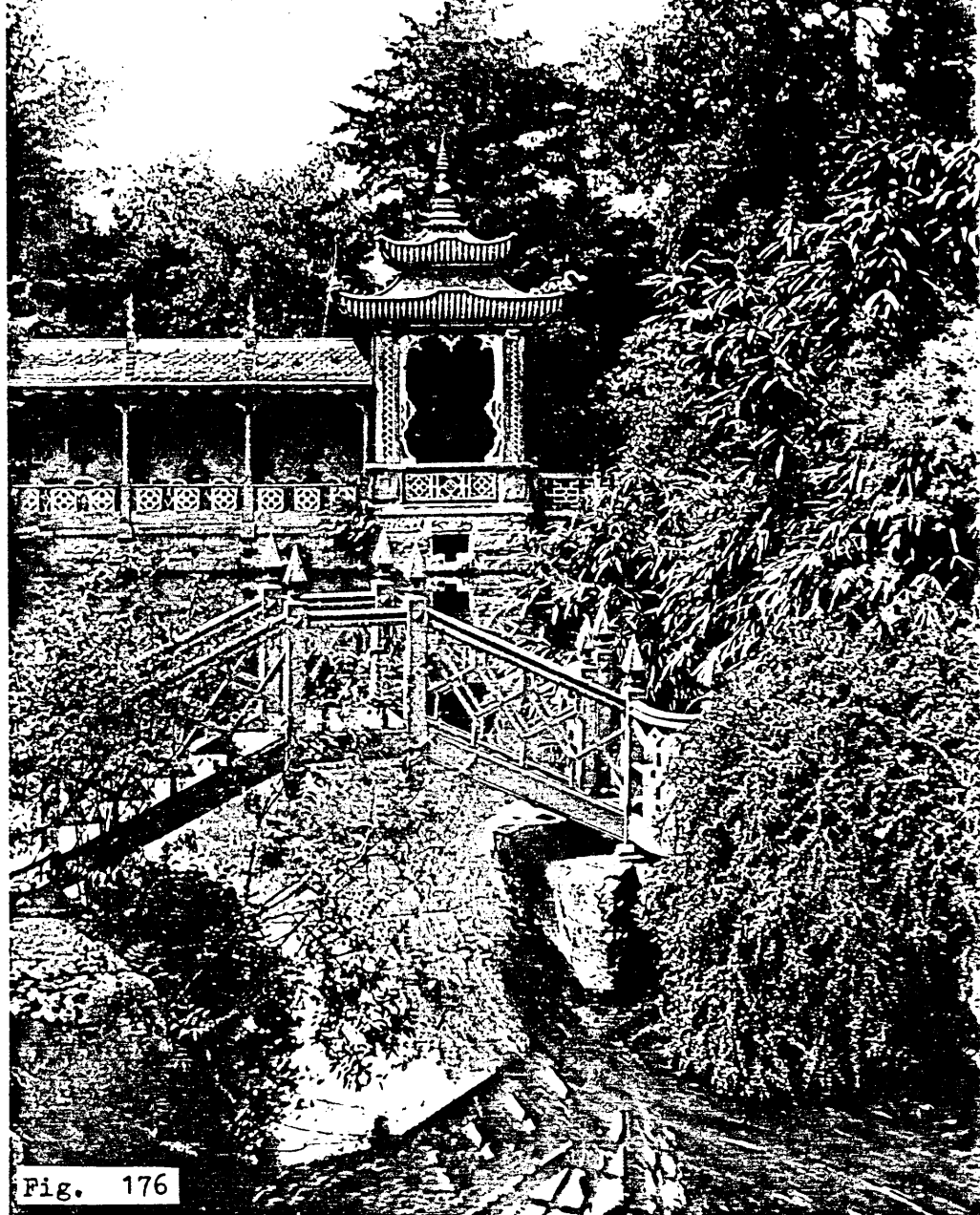


Fig. 177

Biddulph Grange.
'China' and its
hidden entrance.

Fig 178.
Biddulph Grange
The Egyptian Court

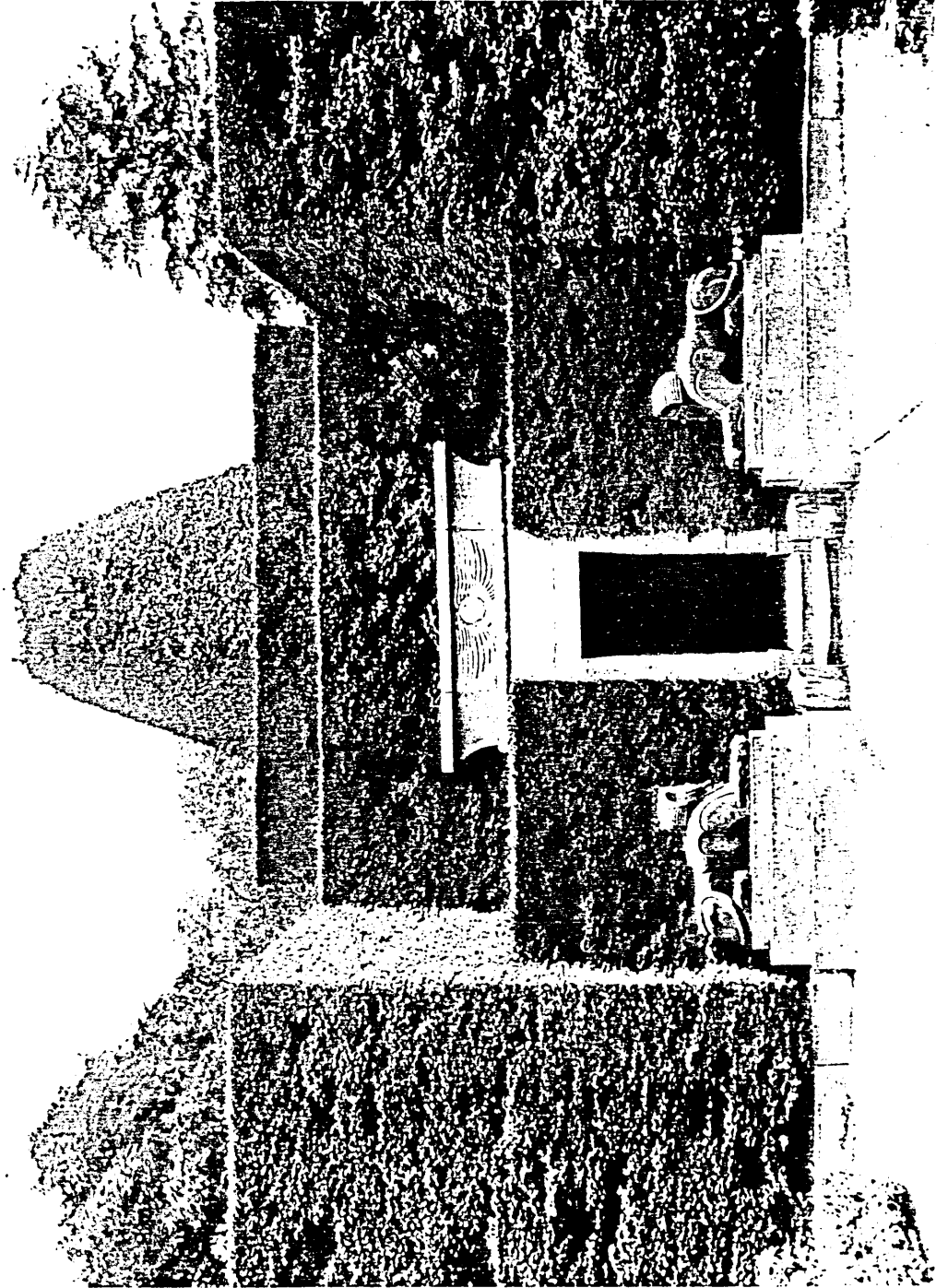


Fig 179.
Biddulph Grange
The Egyptian garden.

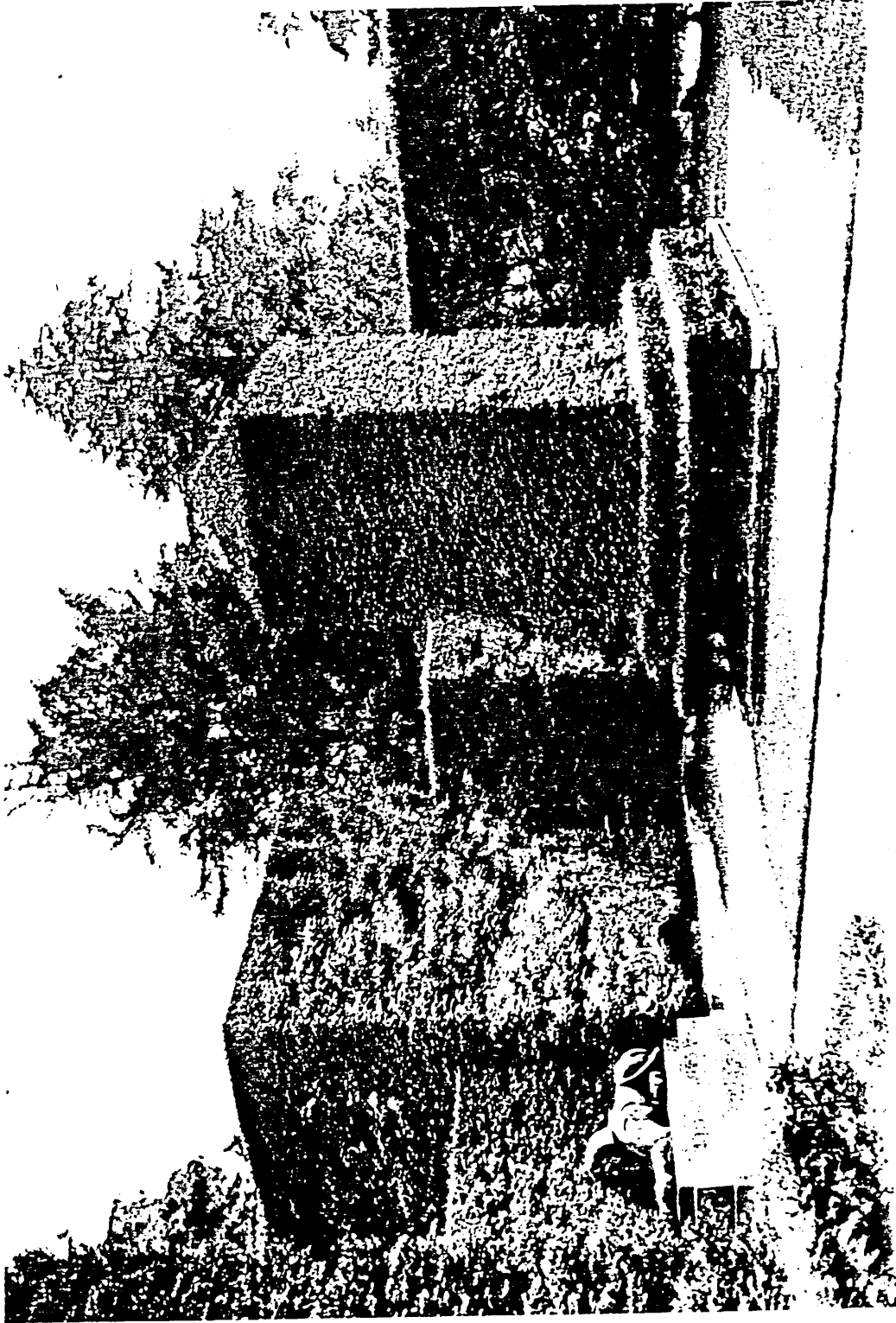




Fig. 180



Fig. 181

Hardwick Hall.
The old fashioned garden enclosed
within the original Elizabethan walls
to the south.

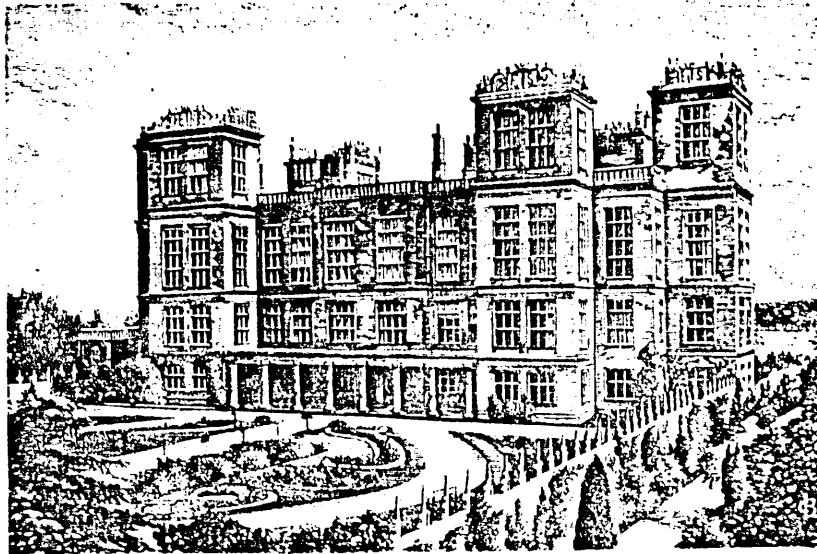
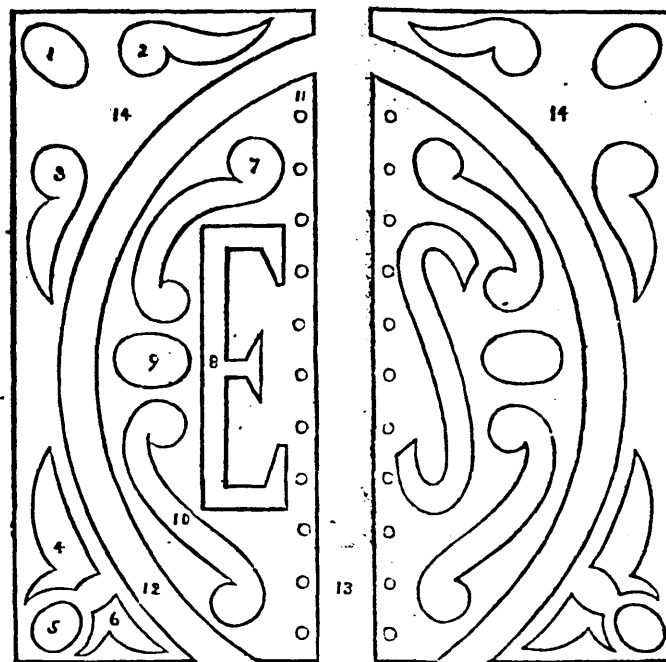


Fig. 182



Fig. 183

Hardwick Hall.
 Bess of Hardwick's monogram on the
 skyline mirrored in the bedding-
 cut on the west front.



HOUSE

Fig. 2.—PLAN OF FLOWER GARDEN AT HARDWICK HALL.

THE FLOWER GARDEN AT HARDWICK HALL.

We append a plan of the flower garden at Hardwick Hall which was described last week. In the design the initials of the Countess of Shrewsbury have the same prominence that is given them on many portions of the old mansion. The plan is engraved on a very small scale, but an idea of the extent of the garden is afforded by the carriage drive which traverses the beds; and the brilliant effect of the large sheets of colour,

- 1, Roses.
- 2, Pelargonium William Thompson, edged with *Stachys lanata*.
- 3, Pelargonium Amaranth (very good), edged with *Lobelia speciosa*.
- 4, *Tagetes signata pumila*.
- 5, Centre, yellow *Calceolaria*, then a band of *Verbena Purple King*, edged with *Euonymus japonicus variegatus*.
- 6, Centre, Pelargonium Lord Palmerston, encircled with *P. Cloth of Gold* edged with *Lobelia speciosa*, and margined with *Echeveria secunda* [feather].
- 7, Centre row *Ageratum* (blue), next Pelargonium Stella, edged with Golden
- 8, Scarlet Dahlias.
- 9, Hollies of different sorts.
- 10, Centre, Pelargonium Corsair, then a row of *P. Bijou*, next Belvoir Castle Beet, edged with *Cerastium*.
- 11, Standard Roses in the centre of each bed, and filled-in with Pelargoniums light and dark alternately planted.
- 12, Carriage drive.
- 13, Flag walk up to front door.
- 14, Large Cedar trees.
- 15, Lodge and entrance.

Fig. 184

Hardwick Hall.
Bedding-cut plan 1876.

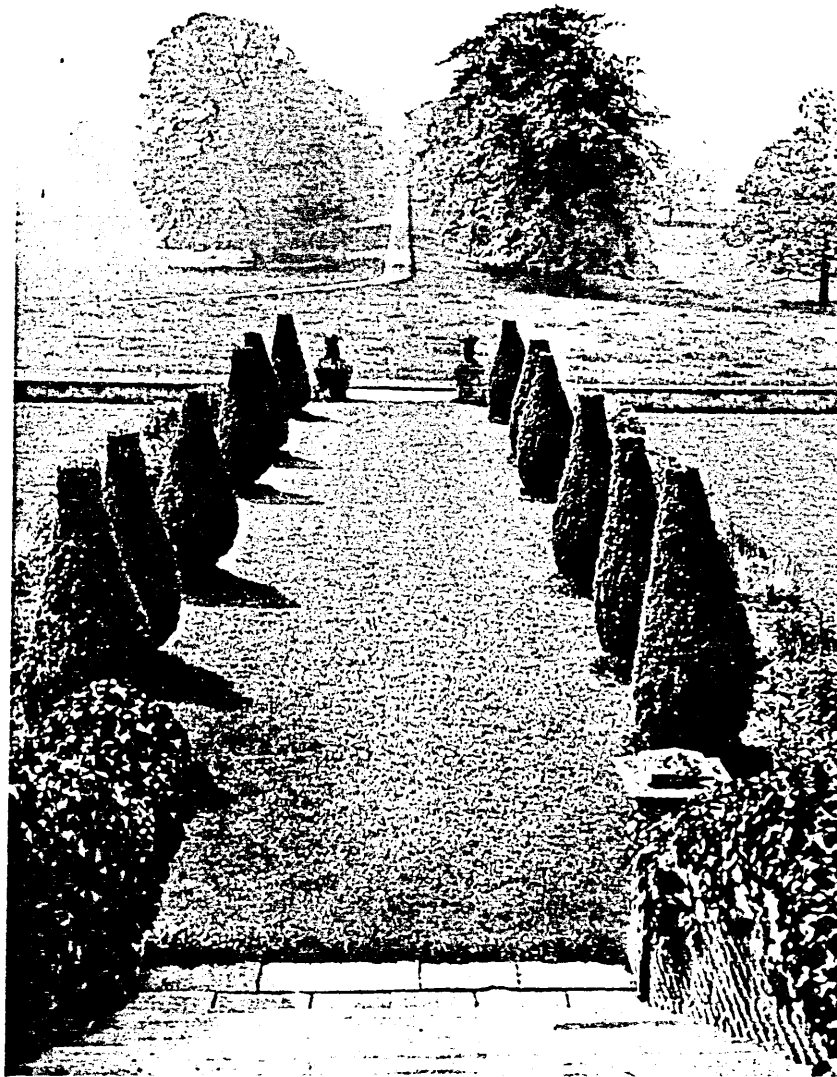
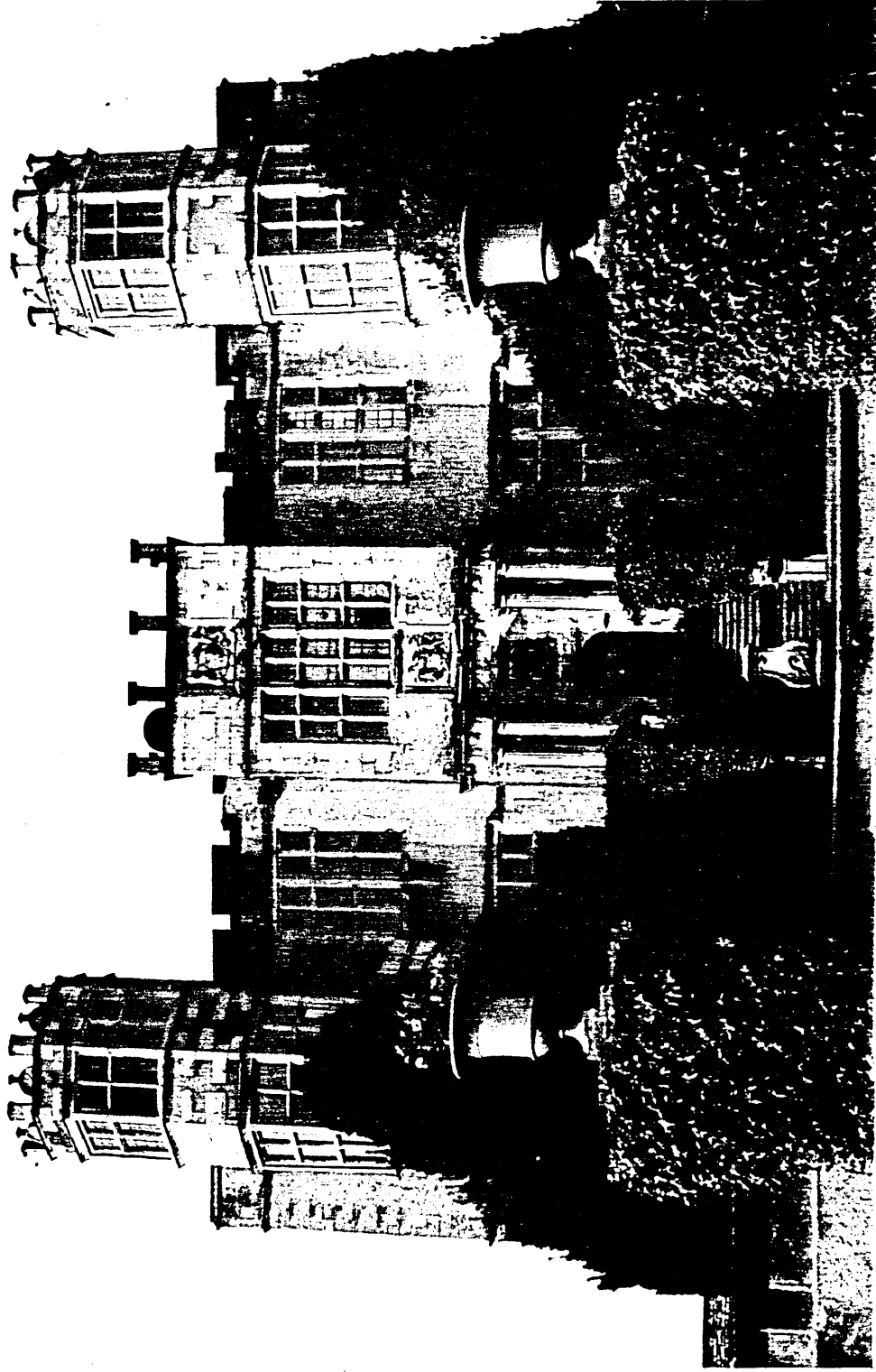


Fig 186. Barlborough Hall.
The alignment of the
sentinel yews with the
avenue of limes.

Fig 187.
Barlborough Hall
today. South
garden.



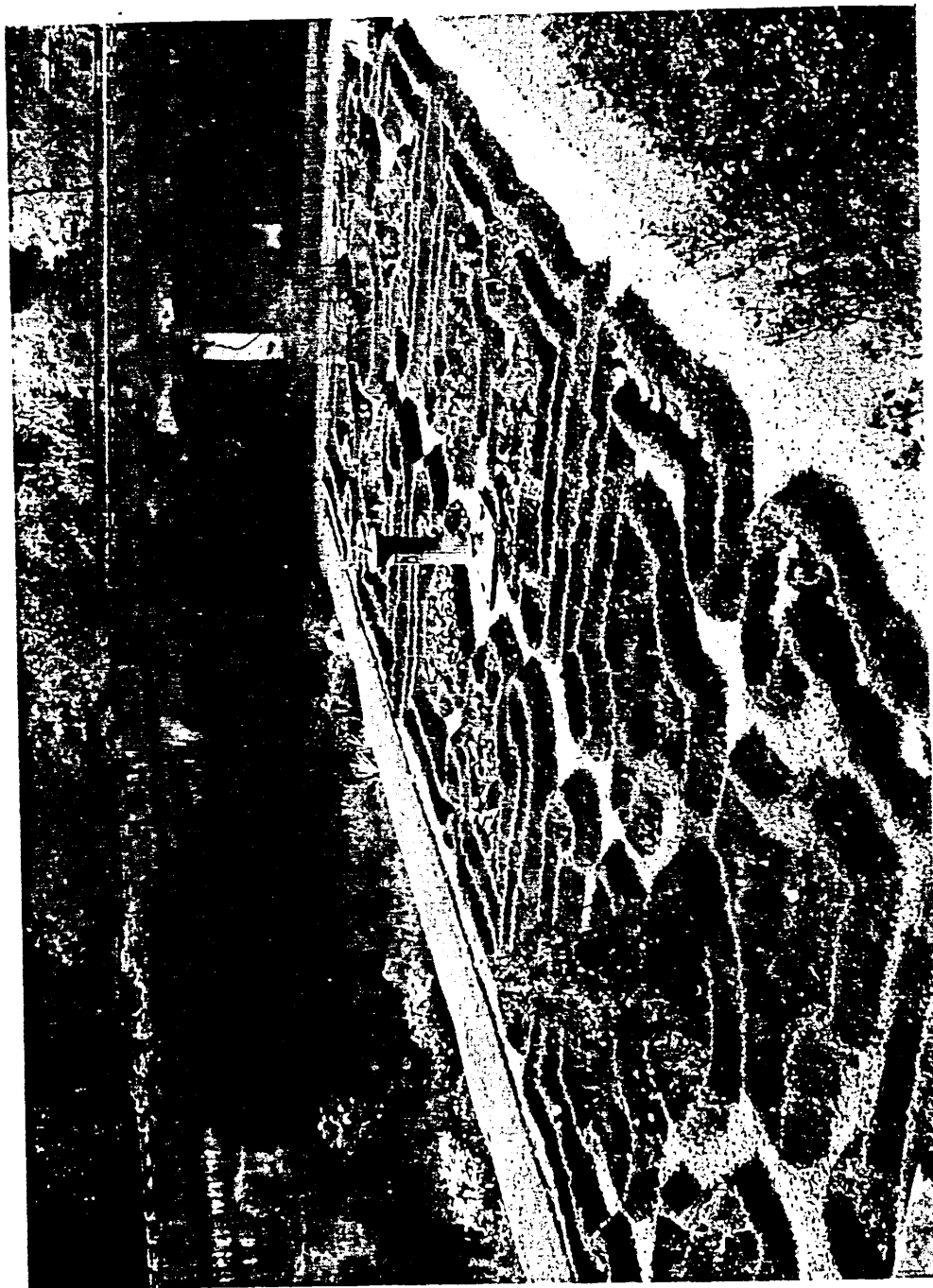


Fig 188.
Holme Pierrepont,
The parterre garden.

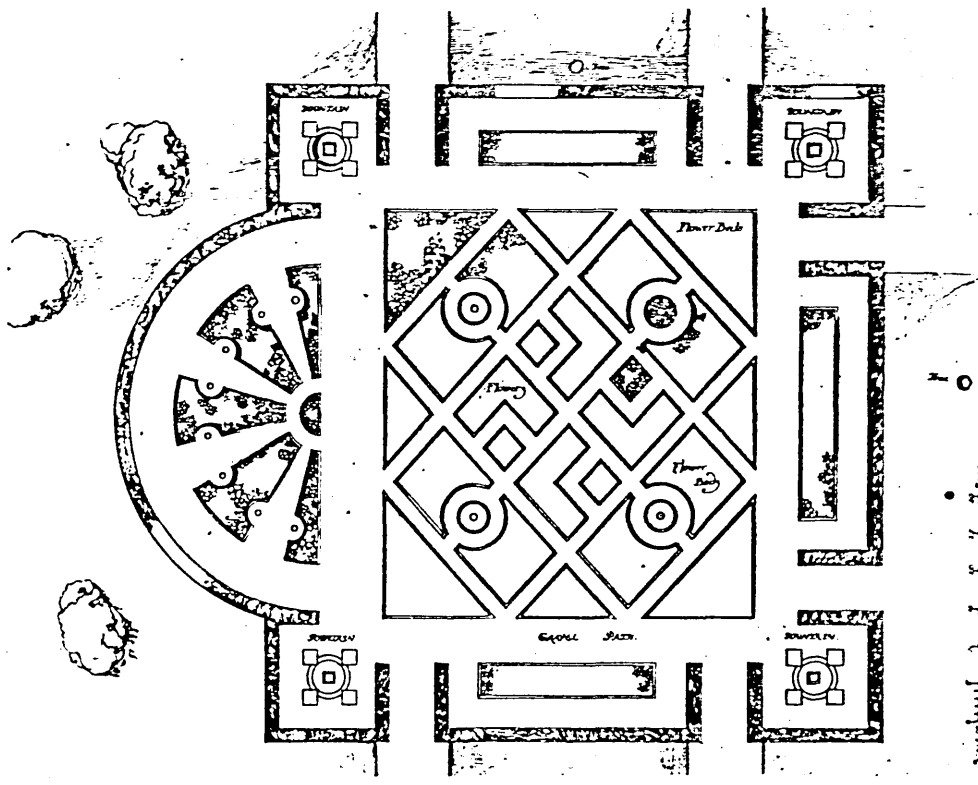


Fig. 189

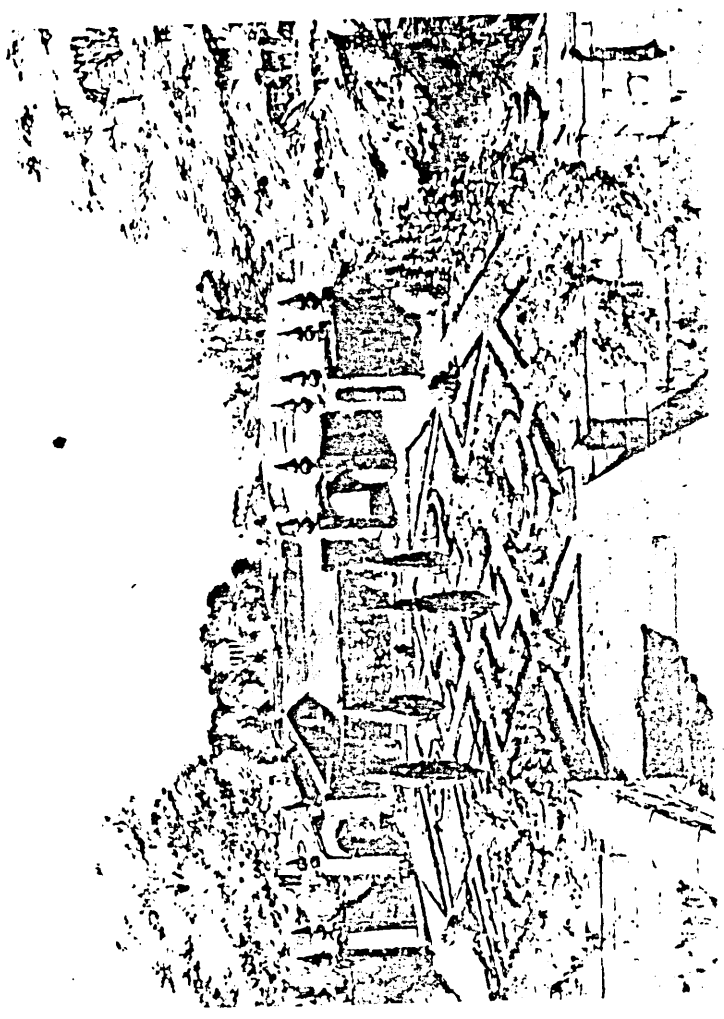


Fig. 190

Garden-Craft Old and New (1891)
by Sedding. Plan and perspective of
sunk flower garden and yew hedges.

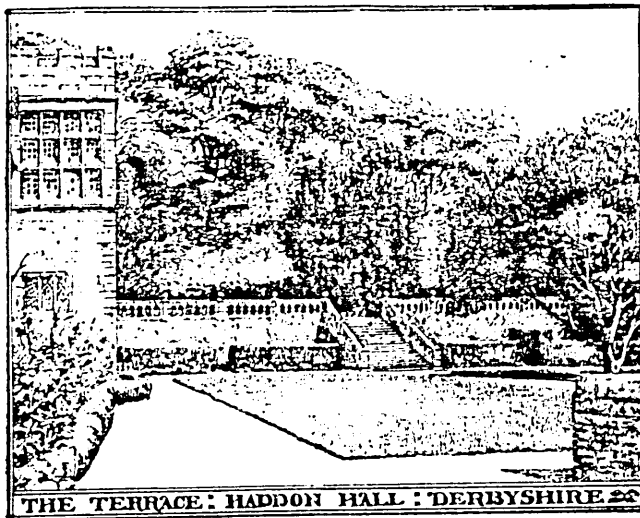
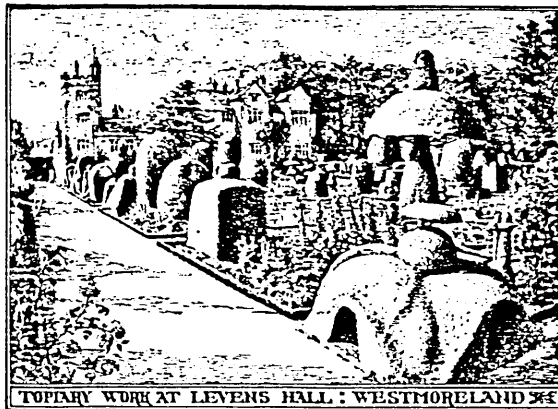
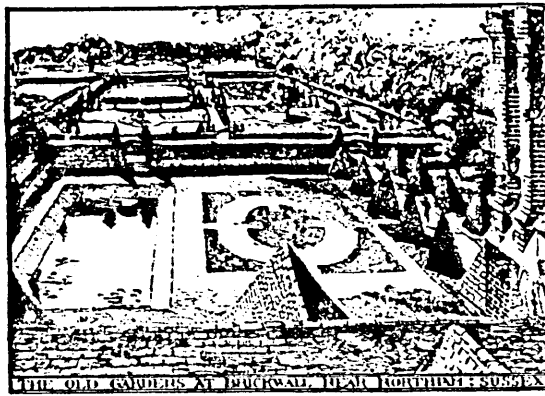


Fig 191. Illustrations by Inigo Thomas from The Formal Garden in England (1892) by Blomfield.

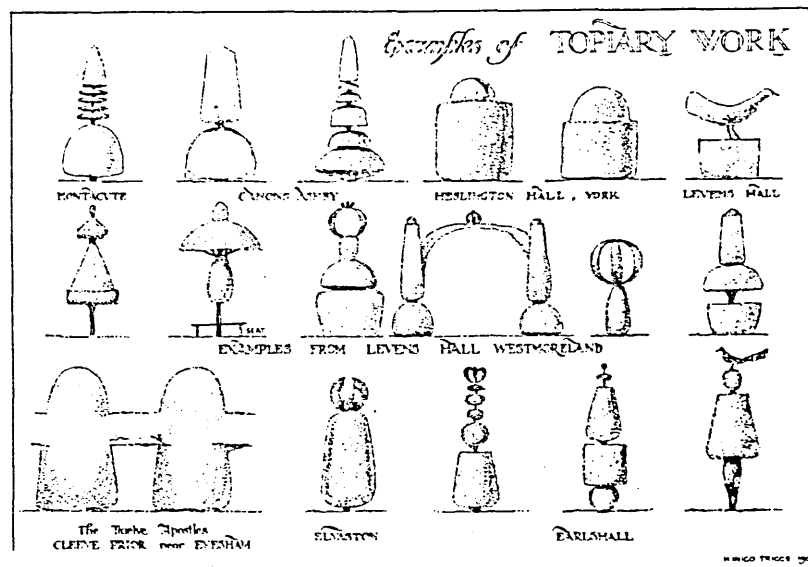
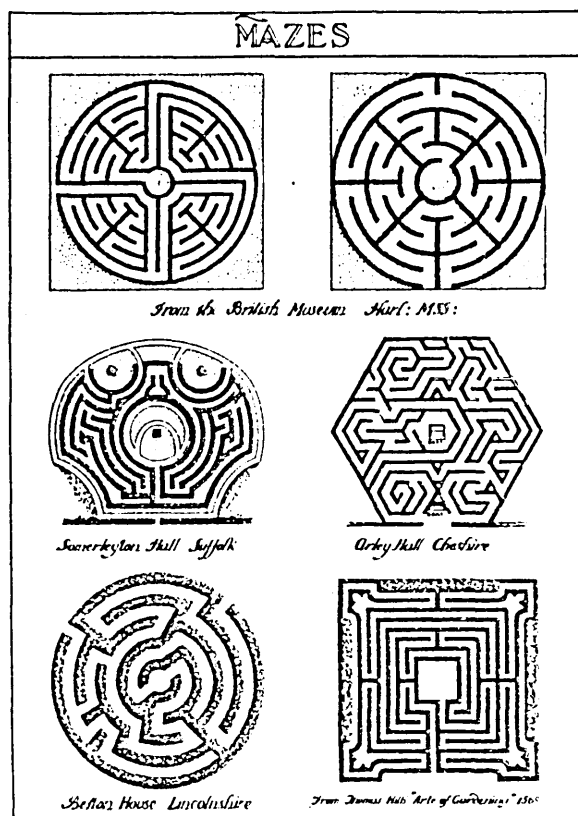


Fig 192. Designs from Formal Gardens
in England and Scotland
(1902) by Inigo Triggs.

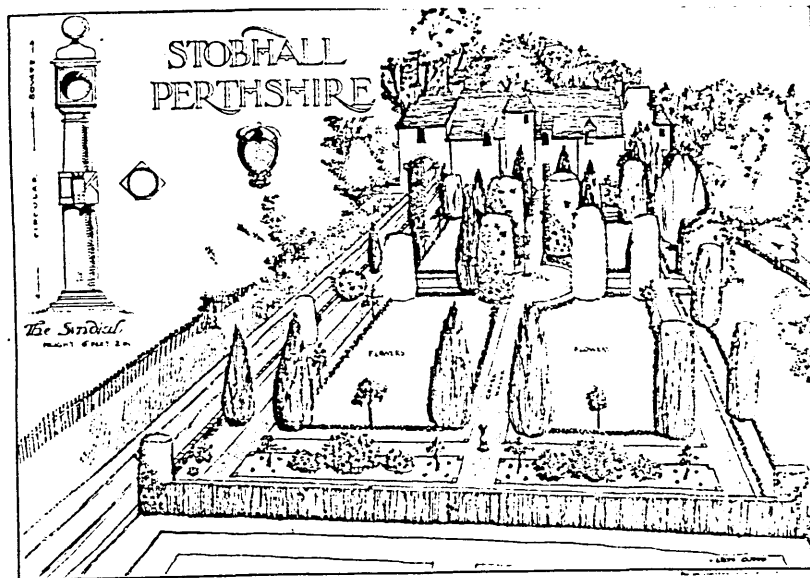
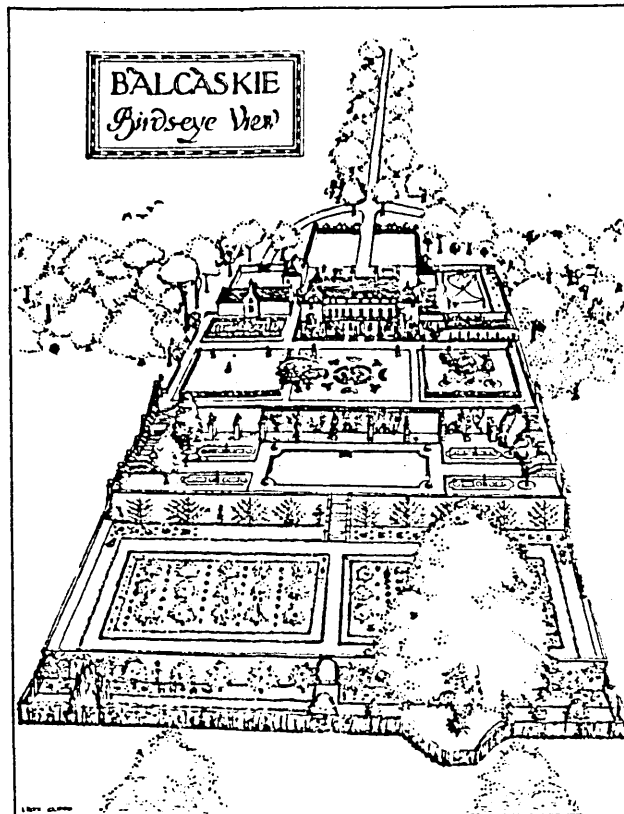


Fig 193. Aerial perspectives from Formal Gardens in England and Scotland (1902) by Inigo Triggs.

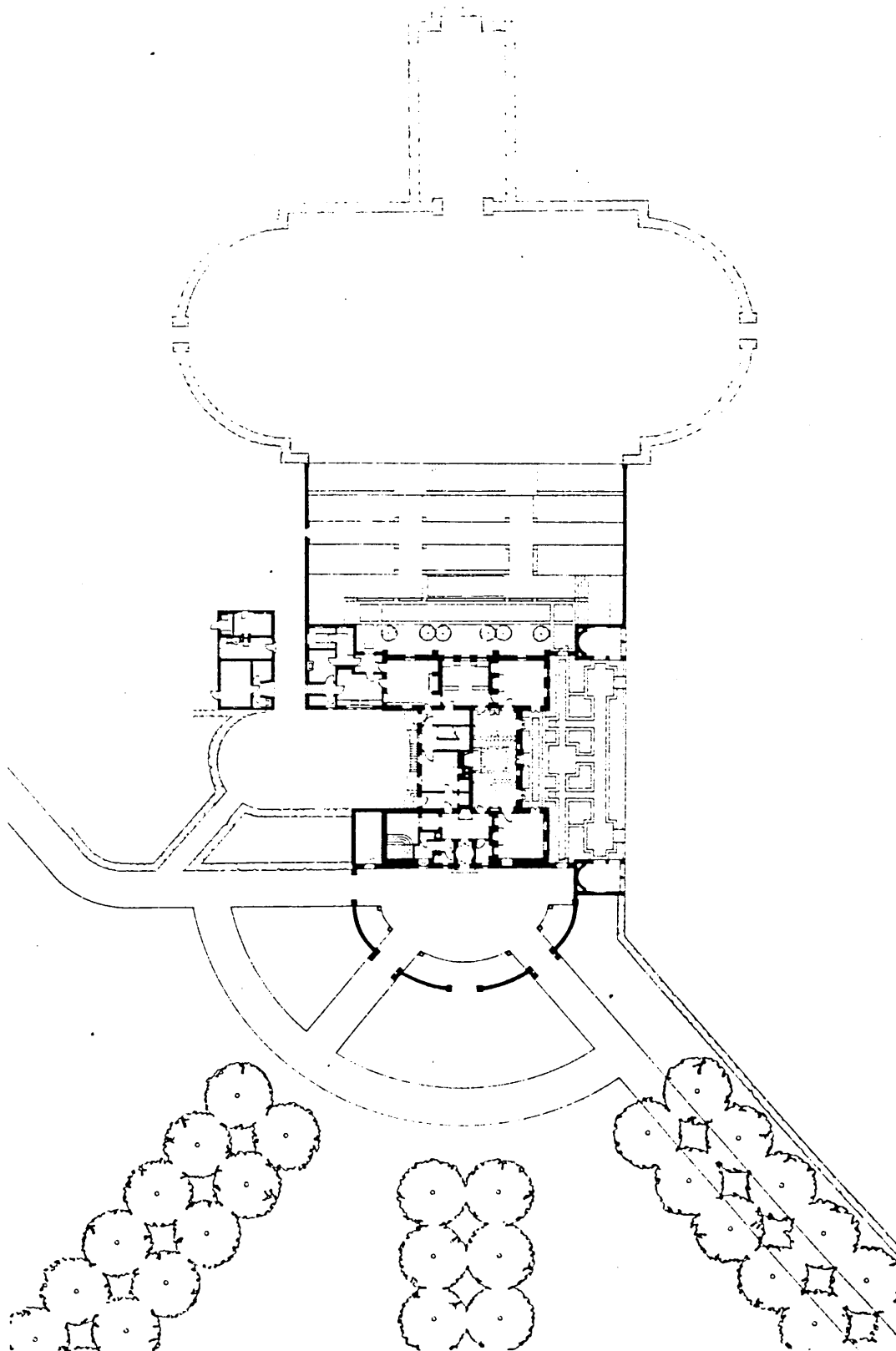


Fig 194. Ednaston Manor.
Plan drawn by Eleni Laskou.



Fig 195.
The encircling walls
of the forecourt at
Ednaston Manor.

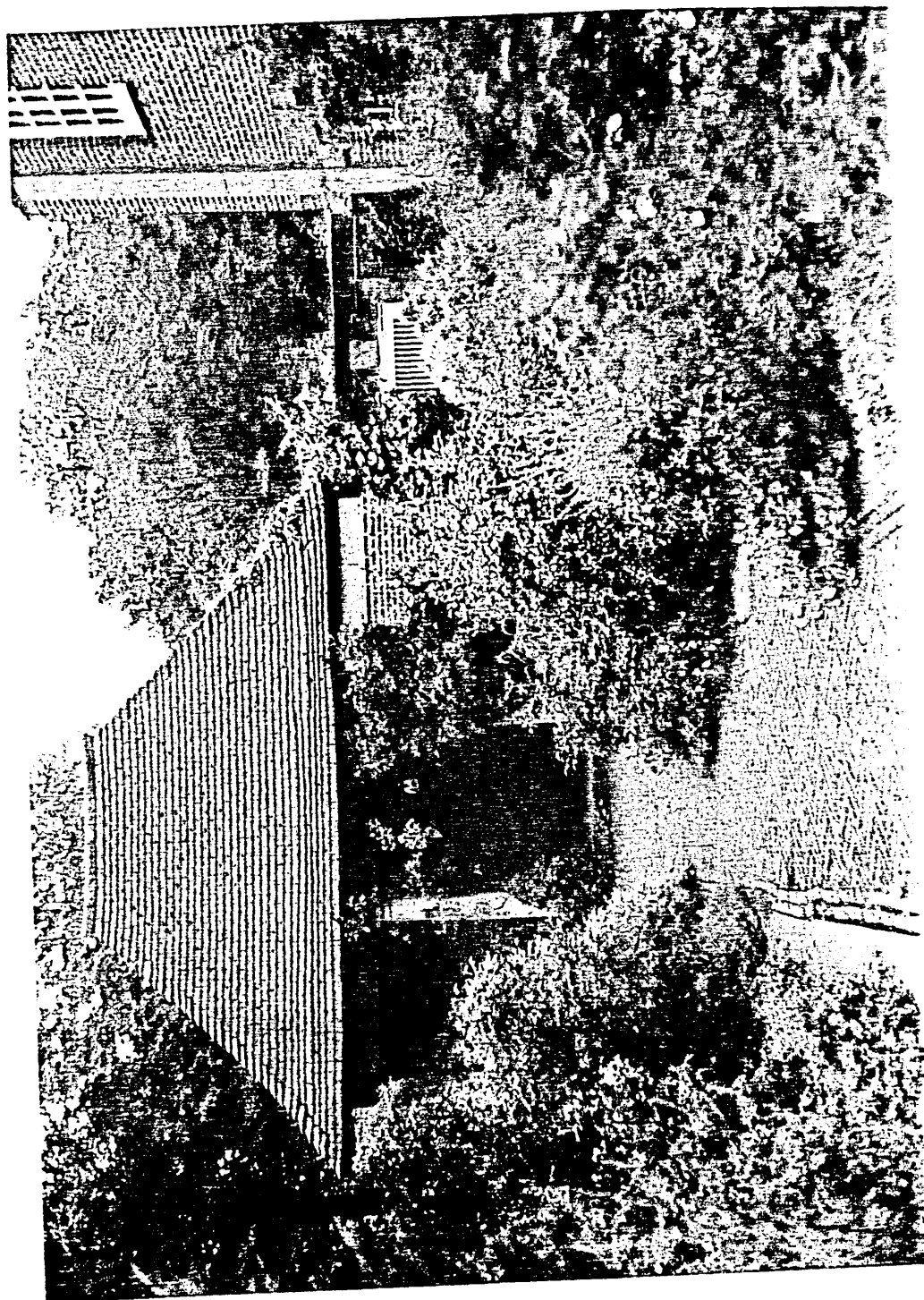


Fig 196.
Western pavilion on
south terrace
Ednaston Manor.



Fig 197. Ednaston Manor.
The south terrace parterre
garden where the same
long, thin red bricks as
are used on the house are
used in the herring-bone
brickwork paths.

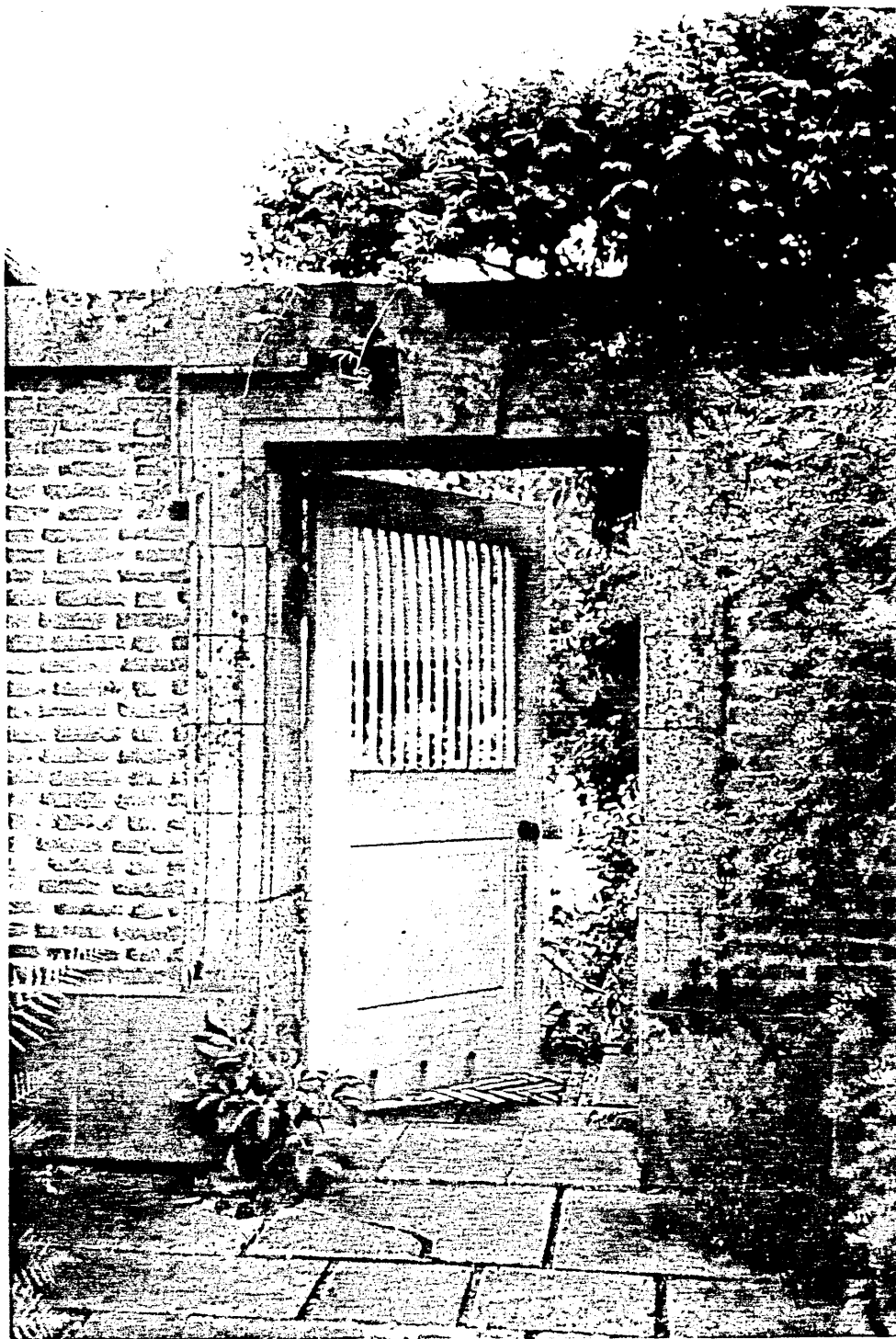


Fig 198. Ednaston Manor.
Doorway from the south
terrace into the east
garden.

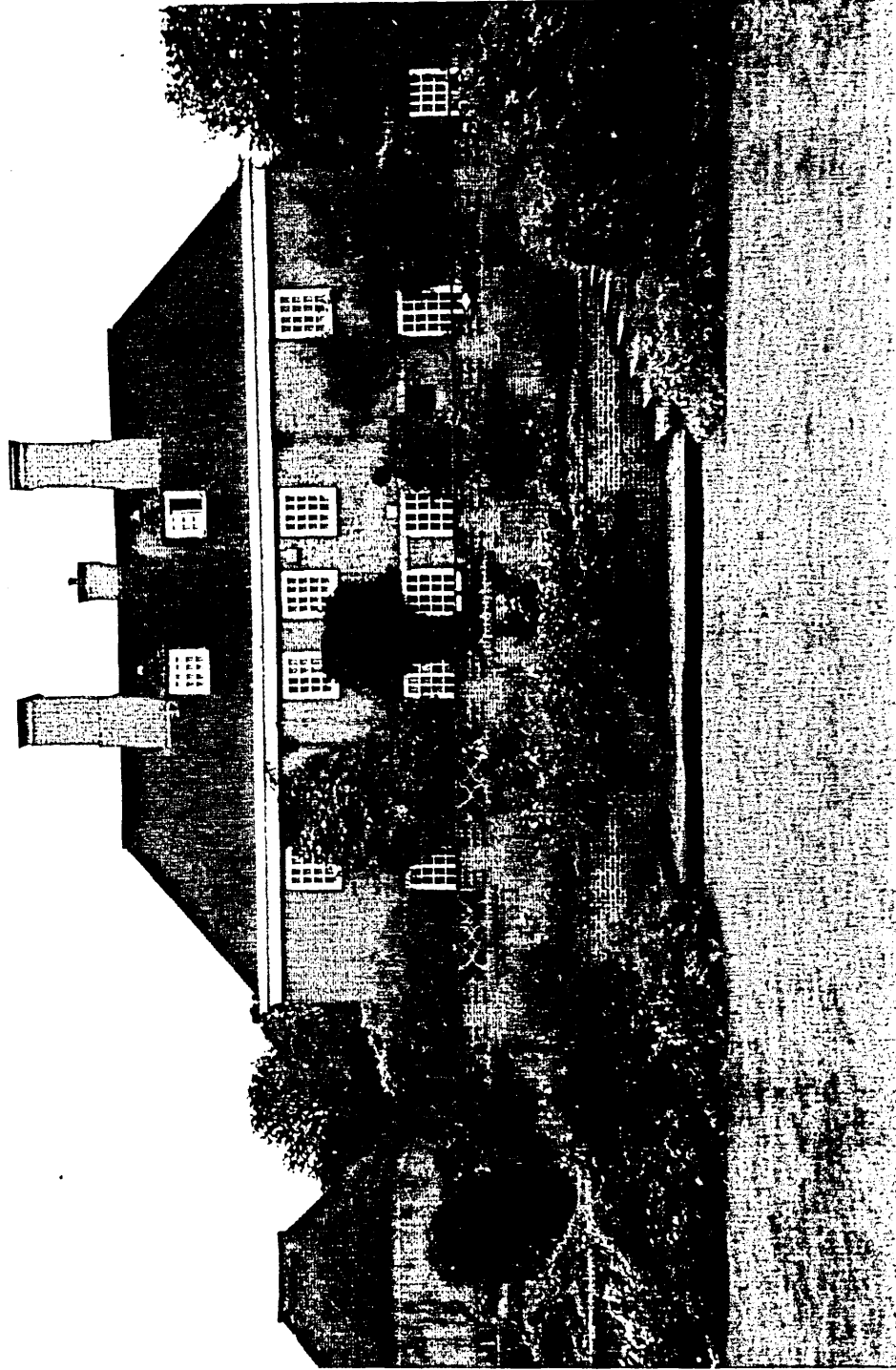


Fig 199.

The east front Ednaston Manor. The elaborate double terrace which descends by pairs of steps to the lawn provides the architectural extension of the house to the garden.

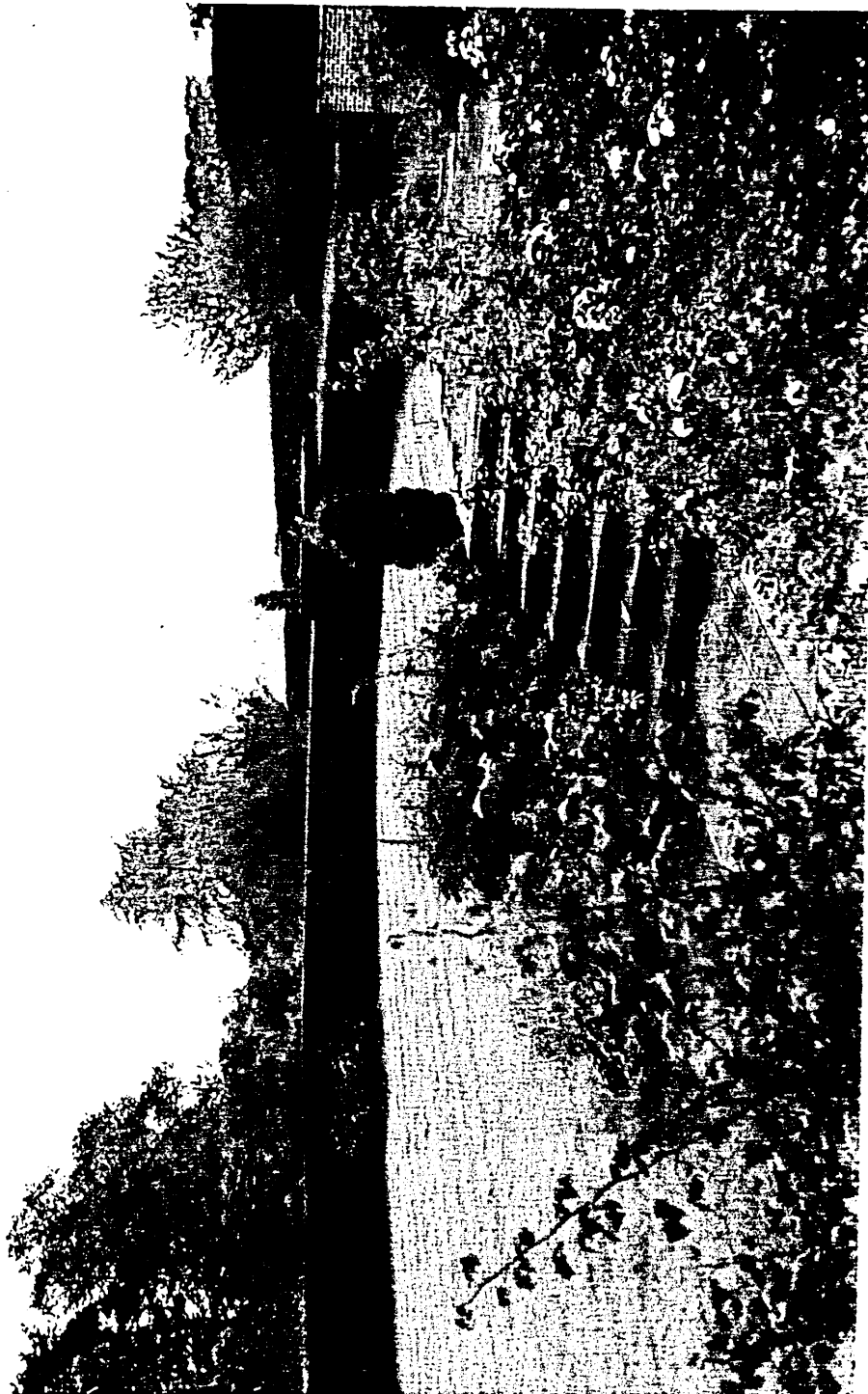


Fig 200.
Ednaston Manor.
Yew-hedged enclosure
in east garden.



Fig 201. Ednaston Manor.
The central axis through
the garden lines up sym-
metrically with the house,
the chimneys and the
sloping roof.

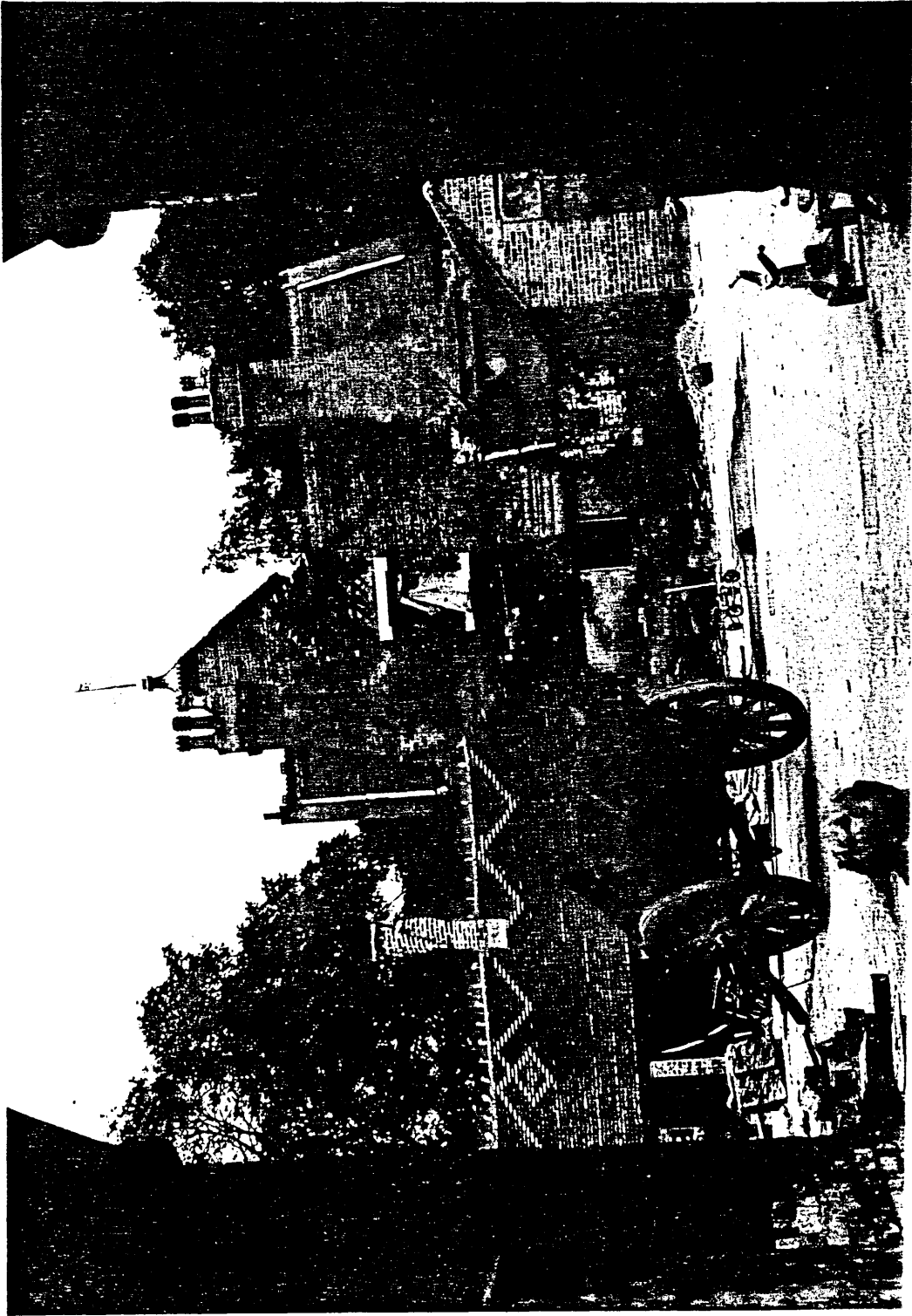


Fig 202.
Shipley
The home farm.



Fig 203. Shipley.
The ornamental home, farm
and dairy designed by
W E Nesfield 1860-1.

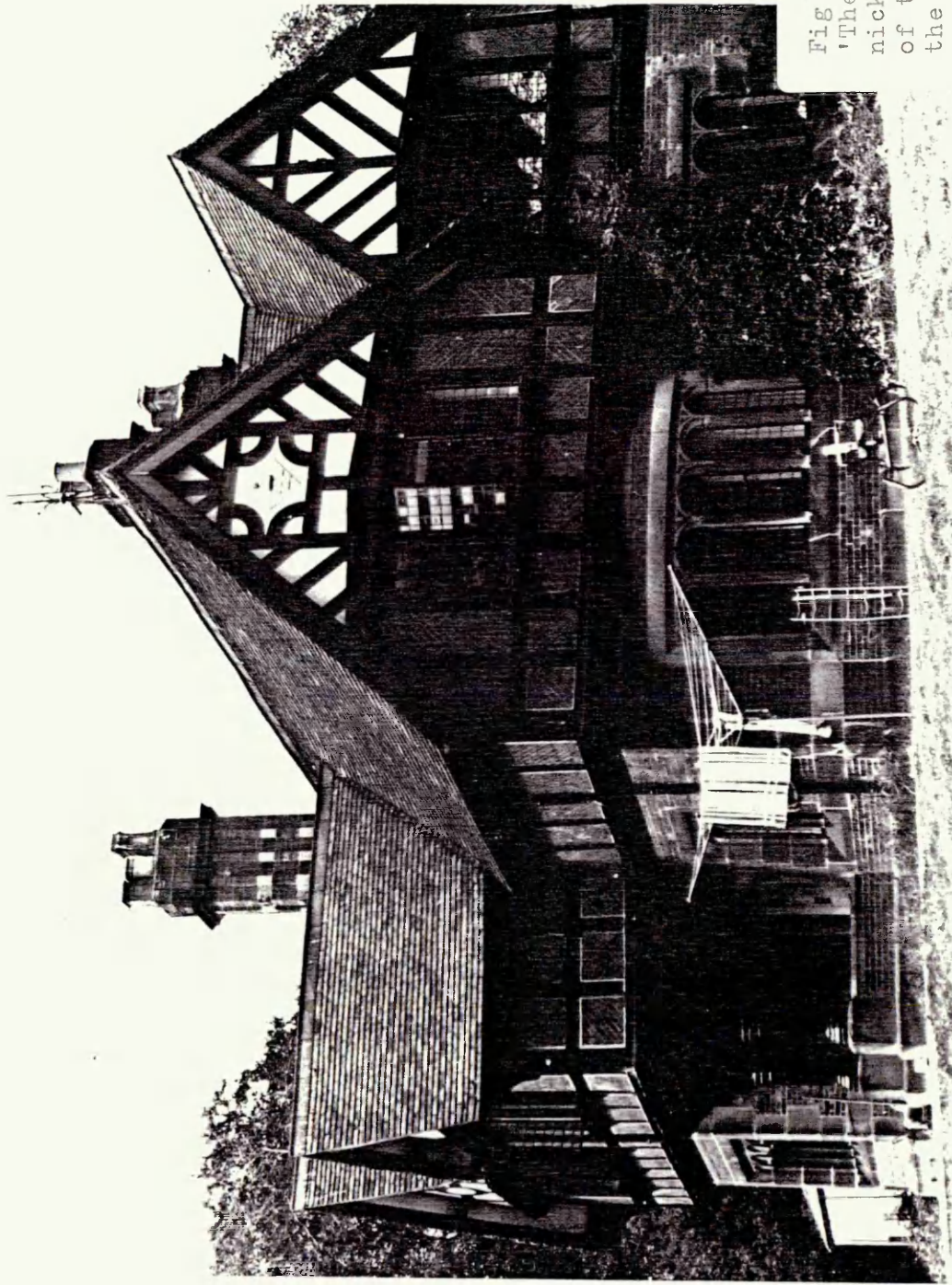


Fig 204.
'The Gardens' at Shipley,
nicknamed Sunflower Cottage because
of the wrought-iron sunflower on
the gable end. See p.197.

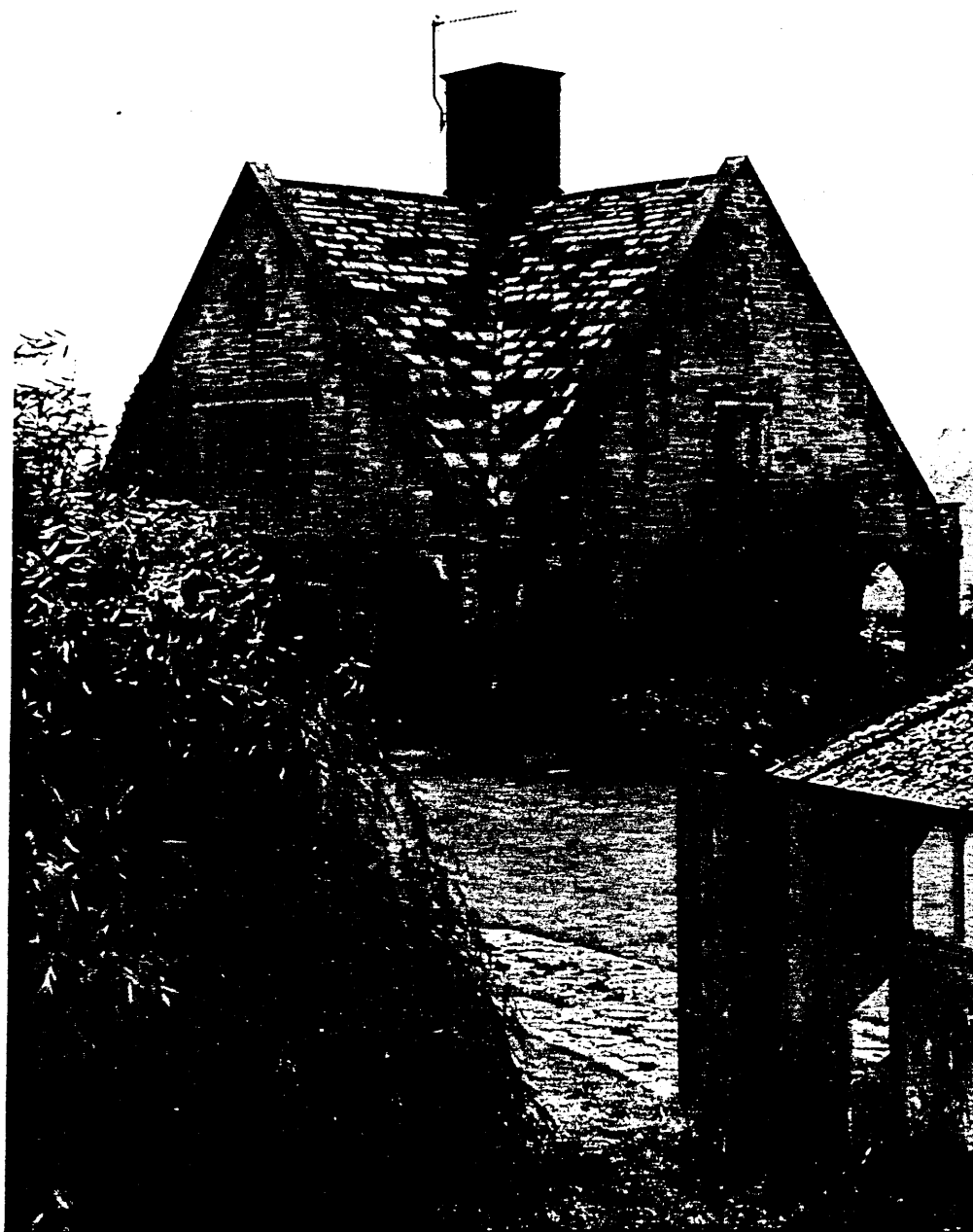


Fig 205.
The lodge house at Shipley
designed by Lutyens in 1911.

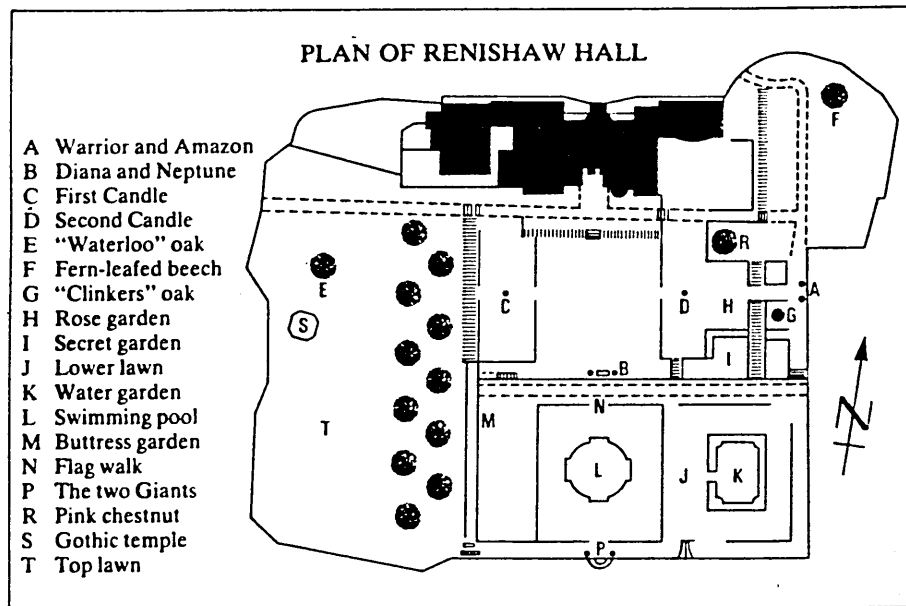


Fig 206: Renishaw Hall.
 Plan of the garden layout
 today. Changes have taken
 place since Sir George's
 day, but the underlying
 geometric framework
 remains the same.

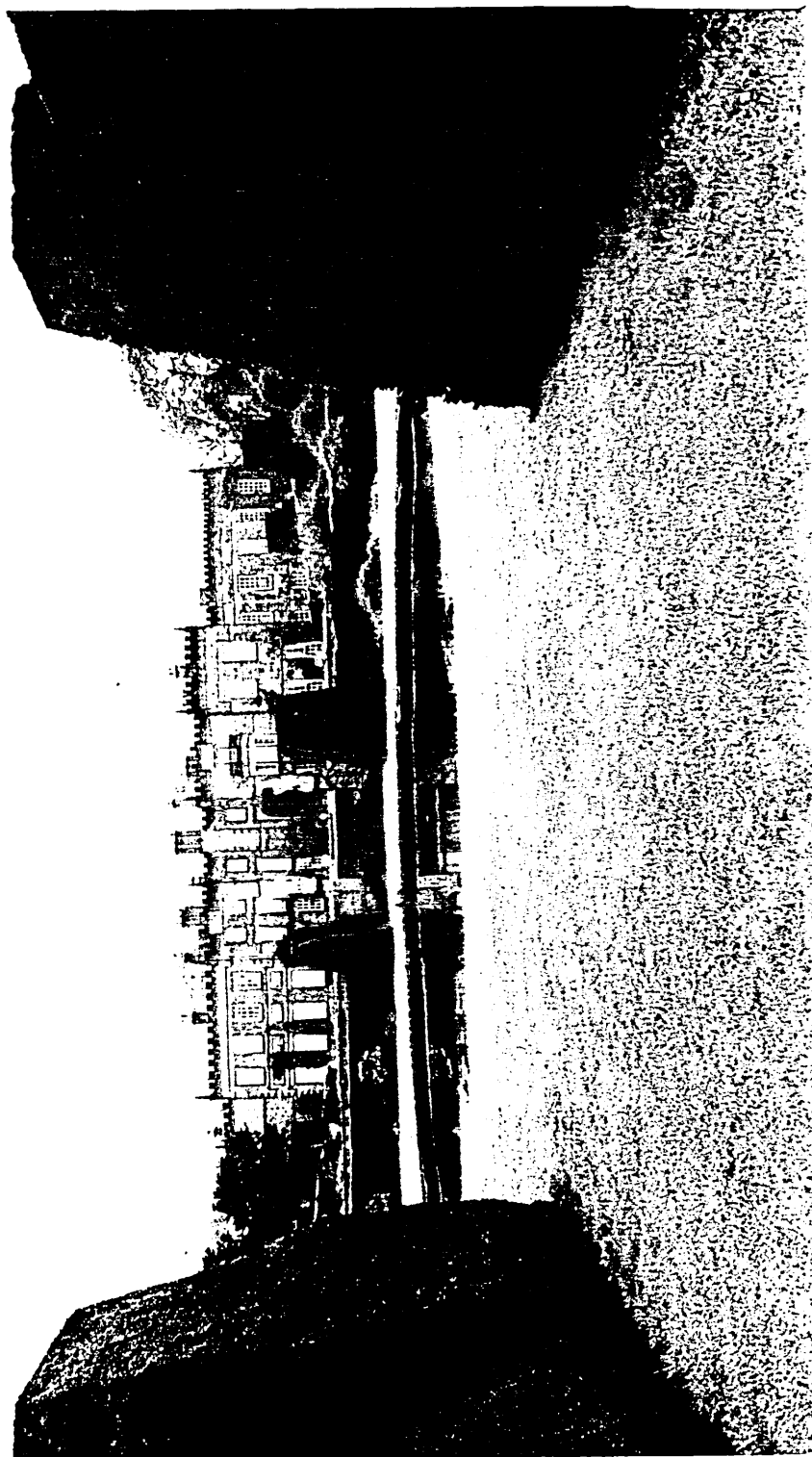


Fig 207. Renishaw Hall. The central axis of the garden.

Fig 208. Renishaw
Hall. Even the
massive statues turn
their backs on the
house.



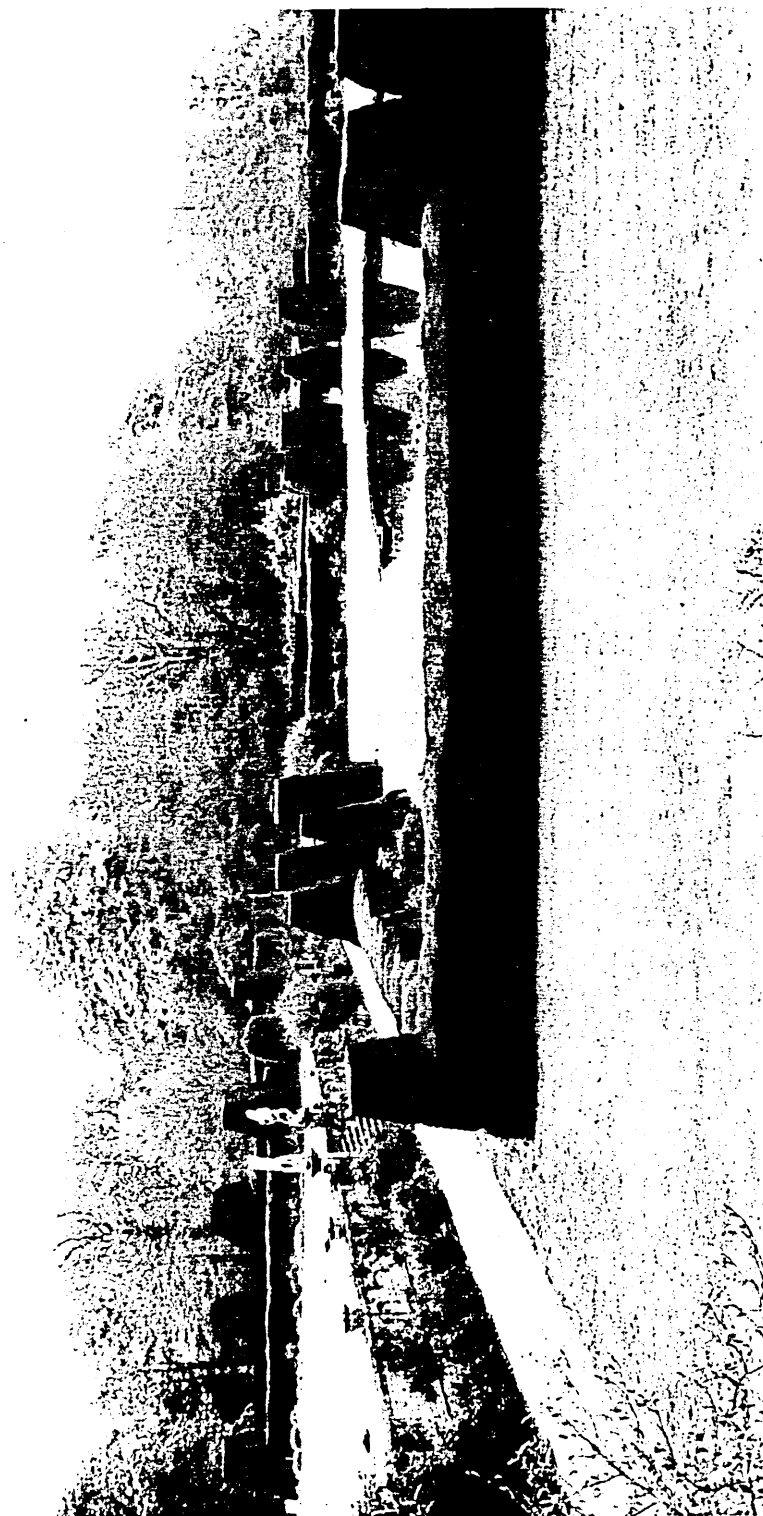


Fig 209. Renishaw Hall. View across the garden to the wilderness.

Fig 210. Renishaw
Hall. Diagonal view
across the garden to
the lake below.

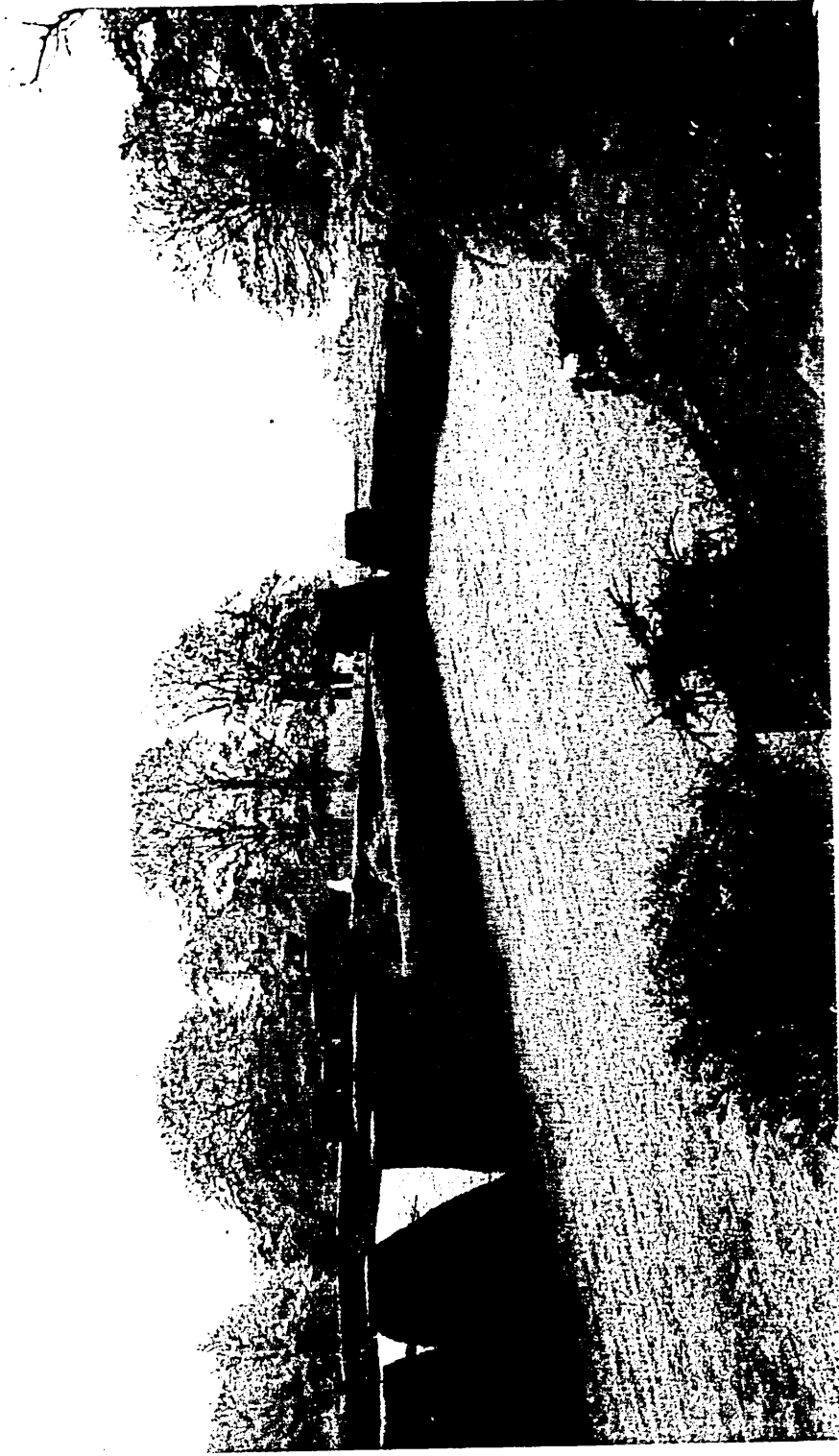




Fig 211: Renishaw
Hall. Diagonal vi
across the south
garden back toward
the house.

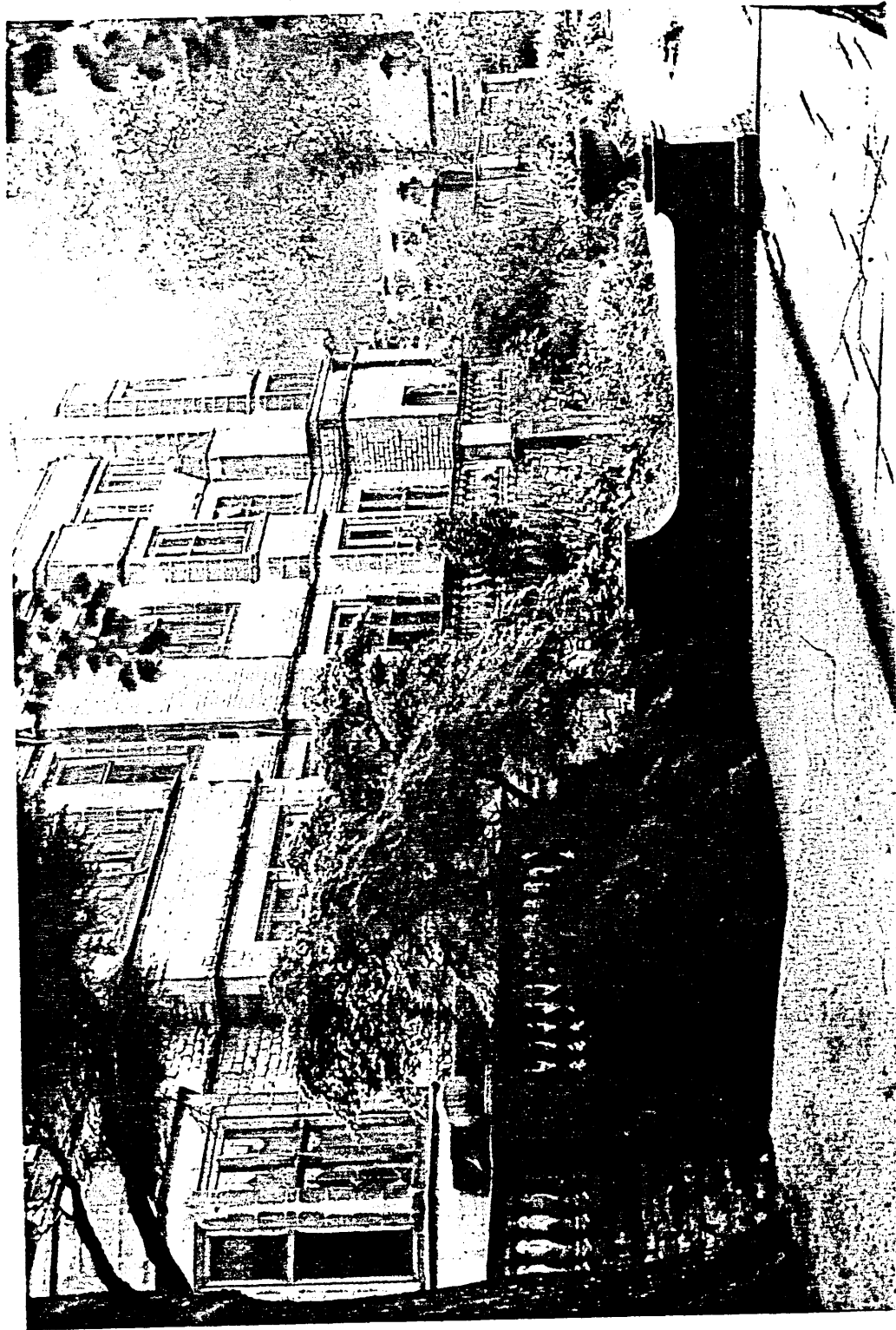


Fig 212. Thornbridge Hall. Note similarities to Haddon.



Fig 213. Thornbridge Hall. The addition of urns and balustrading emphasize the architectural formality of the terraces

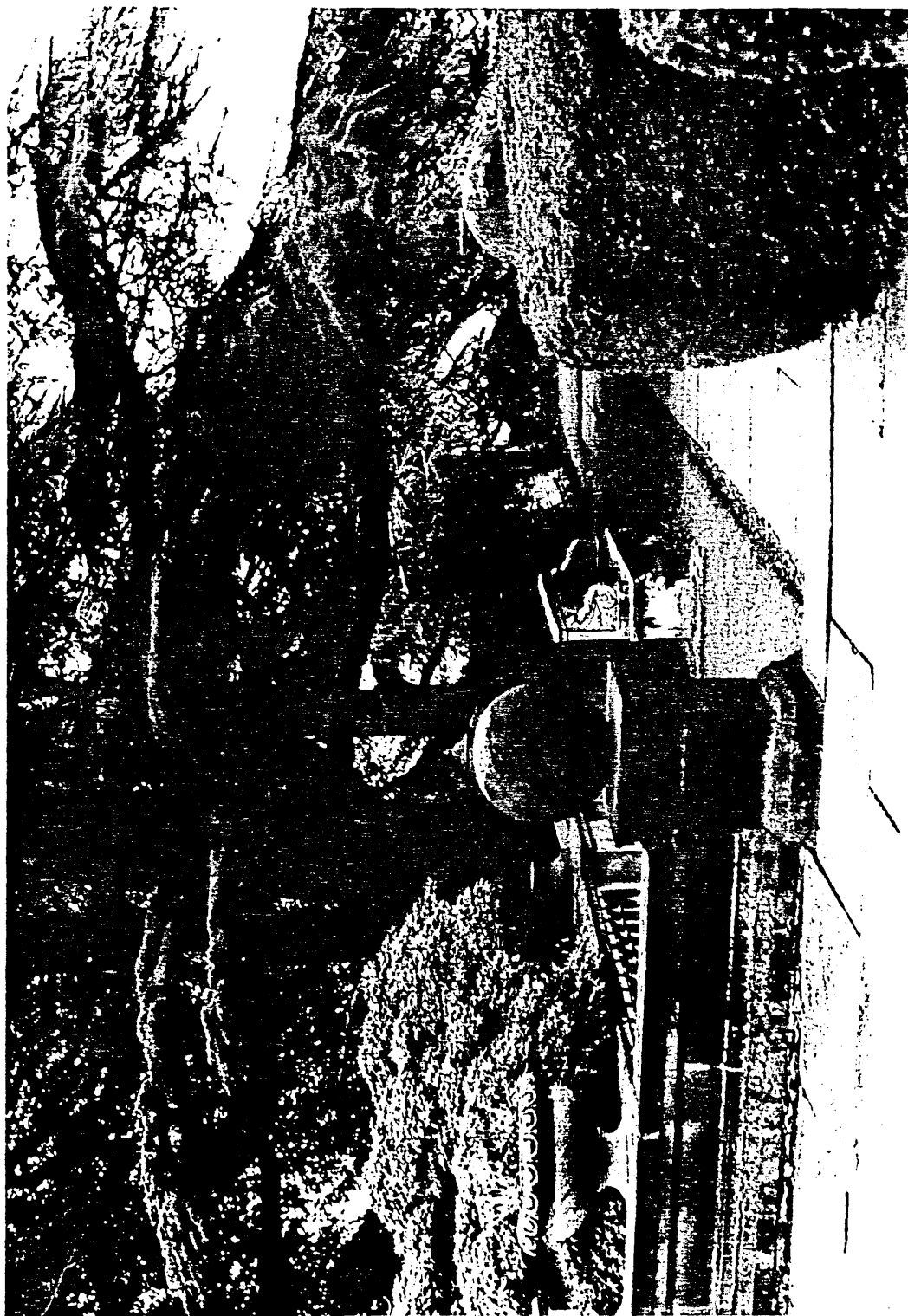


Fig 214. Thornbridge
Hall.



Fig 215. Thornbridge
Hall. Formerly the
Dutch Garden.

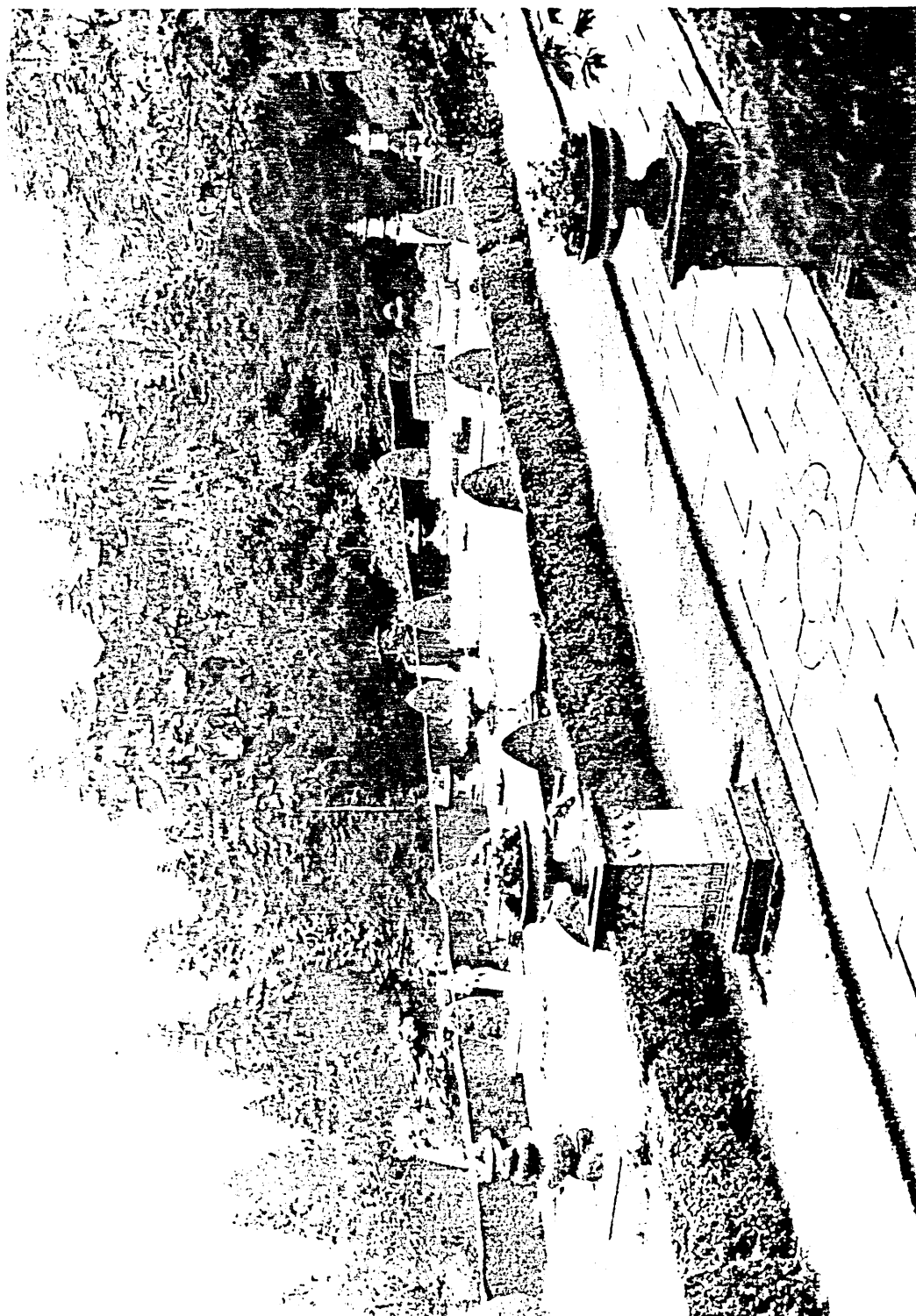


Fig 216. Thornbridge
Hall. Formerly the
Dutch Garden.

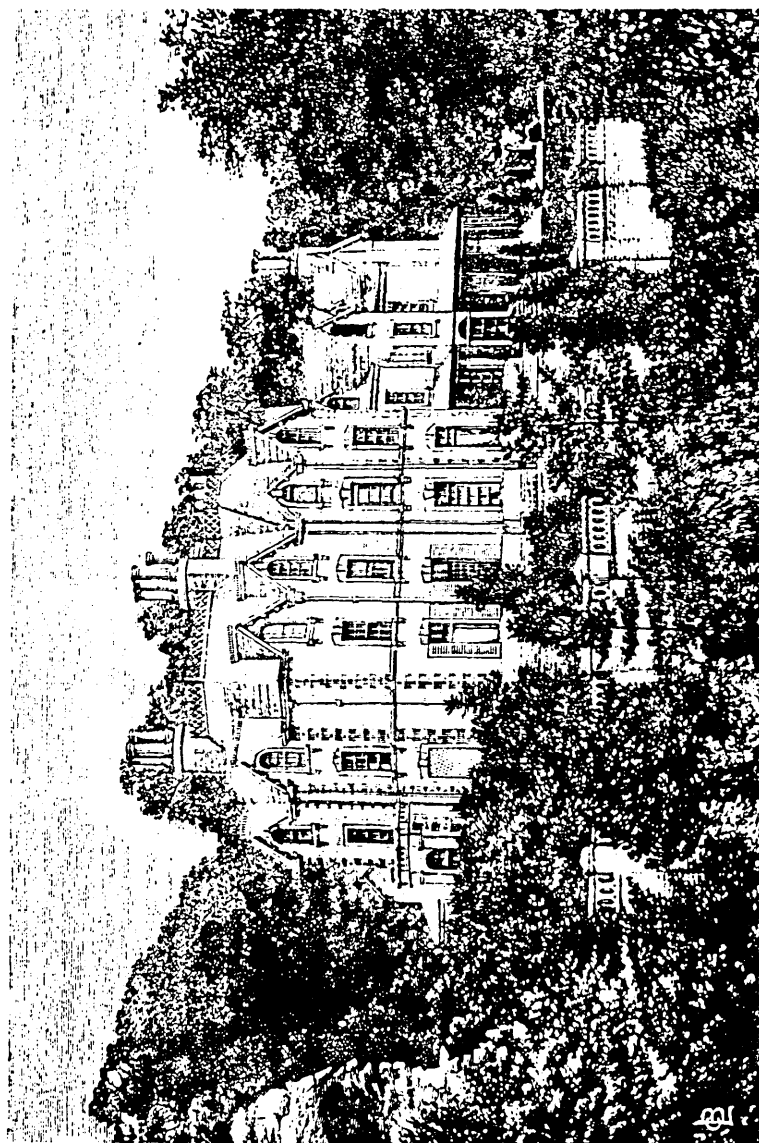


Fig 217.

Pleasley Vale 1874.
A complex system of formal
gardens was laid out here.
Note the buttressed
terrace with its arcaded
balustrade.

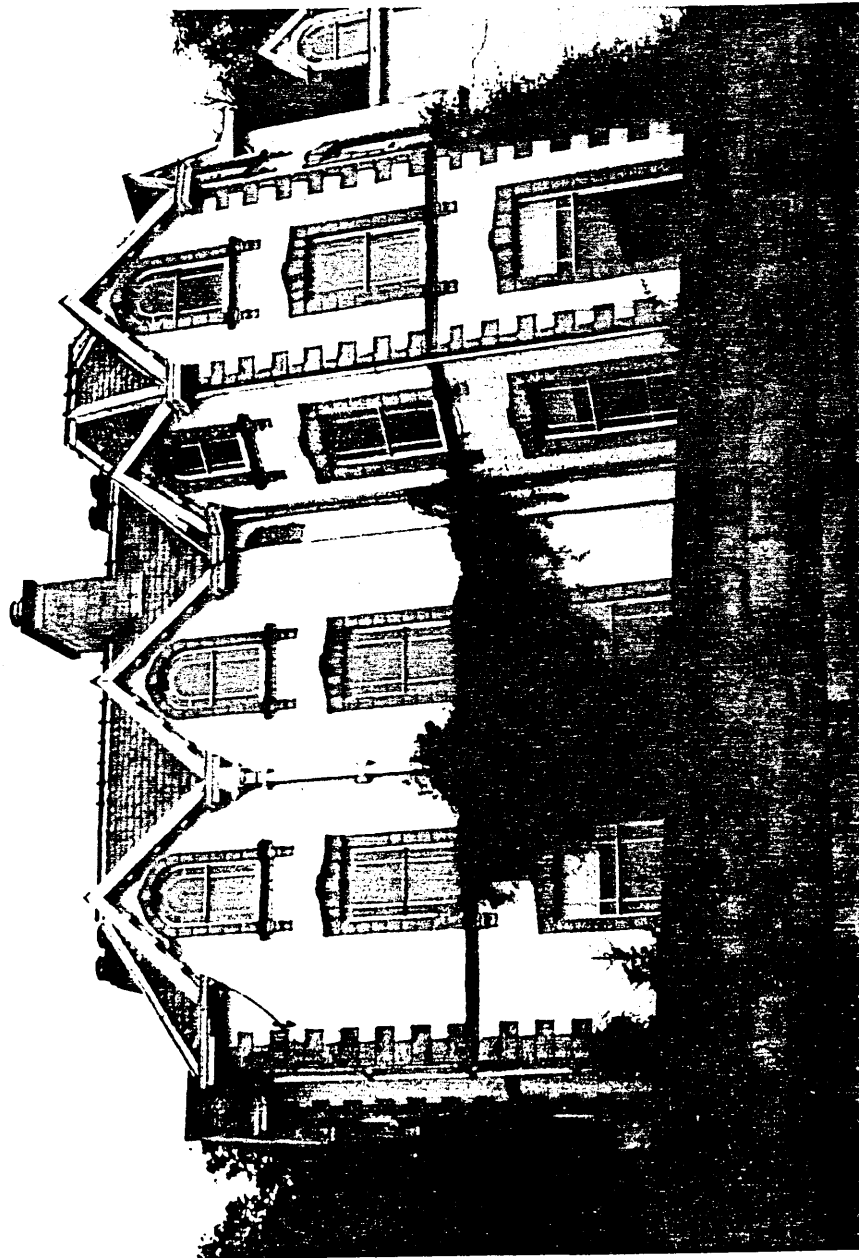


Fig 218.

Pleasley Vale today -
forlorn and abandoned.