

**Gardens of the Restoration: a new approach to establishing  
the Englishness of gardens in England 1660-1680.**

**Sarah Hundleby**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy

Department of Landscape Architecture

University of Essex

Date of submission for examination: April 2020

## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates whether an English character can be identified in garden design in the twenty years after the Restoration in England, 1660-1680. I argue that the influence of France and the Netherlands on English garden design before 1680 is not as dominant as previously thought<sup>1</sup> and that landowners returning from exile in 1660 did not necessarily all build gardens inspired by their experience of continental gardens. Four case studies are used to test this idea.

The thesis puts forward a new approach to identifying English garden style. By analyzing contemporary garden treatises, writings and visual evidence of engravings, paintings and estate maps, the principles, characteristics and features of English, French and Dutch garden design at this time are identified. This establishes a means by which the extent of French, Dutch or English influence on gardens can be assessed. The hypothesis is that in the gardens of the period 1660-1680 there is a discernable English character, which can be identified in individual gardens by analysing documentary and visual evidence and by applying the analysis developed in chapter four, to identify the characteristics of English, French and Dutch gardens. This suggests that in the cases studied, traditional English features continued to be incorporated into garden design and the influence of continental design principles was limited.

---

<sup>1</sup> This has been suggested by garden historians such as Tom Williamson, Timothy Mowl and David Jacques and is discussed in Chapter One, pp. 15-17 and Chapter Two, pp.31-33.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks are due to my supervisors for knocking me into shape with patience and tact, particularly to Sally Jeffery, who has generously given her time and knowledge. My parents were always encouraging and maintained a deep belief in education, but sadly, were unable to stay the course. My friends and sister have been unfailingly supportive, providing counselling, alcohol and diversion. Anne Gaskell has painstakingly read the 'tome' and claims to have enjoyed the process, while Charles Pryor has helped with figures and formatting. I have received lots of help from librarians, archivists, caretakers and owners, whose knowledge has been indispensable.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of contents	4
List of figures	6
1. Introduction	
1.1 Research questions	13
1.2 Discussion of the period 1660-1680	15
1.3 Hypothesis	17
1.4 Discussion of terms	18
1.5 Structure	19
2. Literature Review	
2.1 Historiography of the Restoration	21
2.2 Consideration of Exile 1646-1660	23
2.3 Restoration gardens	27
2.4 Cultural patronage	39
2.5 Conclusion	42
2.6 Summary	43
3. Methodology	
3.1 The case study approach	44
3.2 Case study selection	47
3.2.1 Criteria for selection of sites for case study	48
3.3 Case study methodology for garden history research	52

3.4	Summary	57
4	Garden design 1660-1680	
4.1	Principles and characteristics of French garden design	59
4.2	Principles and characteristics of Dutch garden design	93
4.3	Principles and characteristics of English garden design	135
4.4	Summary	198
5.	Case Studies	
5.1	Ham House, Surrey	200
5.2	Cheveley Park, Cambridgeshire	242
5.3	Ryston Hall, Norfolk	280
5.4	Althorp, Northamptonshire	325
5.5	Summary	363
6.	Analysis of the case studies	364
7.	Conclusion	375
	References	383
	Appendices	409

## LIST OF FIGURES

### Section 4.1: **Principles and characteristics of French garden design**

4.1.1	Vaux-le-Vicomte, photo: author, 2017.	64
4.1.2	Vaux-le-Vicomte, engraving, Silvestre, 1661.	64
4.1.3	Ancy-le-Franc, engraving, Du Cerceau, c.1570.	67
4.1.4	Parterre design, Estienne and Liébault, 1583.	70
4.1.5	Parterre design, Jacques Mollet, <i>Theatre des plans et jardinage</i> , 1652.	71
4.1.6	Fontainebleau, detail of figure 13.	73
4.1.7	<i>Grand parterre du jardin de la reyne a Luxembourg</i> , Boyceau.	74
4.1.8	<i>Jardin à fleurs</i> , Liancourt, engraving, Silvestre, 1655.	76
4.1.9	Bird's eye view of Liancourt, engraving, Mauperché, 1654.	77
4.1.10	Vaux-le-Vicomte, <i>Parterre des fleurs</i> , engraving, Silvestre, c.1661.	79
4.1.11	Liancourt, <i>Face du coste des cascades</i> , engraving, Silvestre, 1656.	83
4.1.12	Liancourt cascades and fountain, engraving, Silvestre, 1656.	84
4.1.13	Cascades at Vaux, photo: author, 2017.	85
4.1.14	The Grand Canal, Fontainebleau, engraving, Perelle, unknown date.	86
4.1.15	The Long Water, Hampton Court, oil, Danckerts, c.1665.	86
4.1.16	<i>Fontaine du Tiber</i> , Fontainebleau, engraving, Silvestre, unknown date.	87
4.1.17	Fountains at Fontainebleau, engraving, Tomasso de Francini c.1620.	88
4.1.18	Liancourt, 1656, detail of figure 9.	90

### Section 4.2: **Principles and characteristics of Dutch garden design**

4.2.1	Honselaarsdijk, van der Groen, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	97
4.2.2	Map of De Werve near Voorburg, Elandts, engraving, 1666.	99
4.2.3	<i>Hof-gedachten</i> , Cats, engraving, 1655.	100

4.2.4	André Mollet's second ideal plan, <i>Le Jardin de Plaisir</i> , 1651.	102
4.2.5	Constantijn Huygens, <i>Vitaulium</i> or <i>Hofwijk</i> , unknown engraver, 1653.	104
4.2.6	<i>A corner of the garden at Hofwijk</i> , C. Huygens Jr, pen and pencil, 1669.	105
4.2.7	Trellis seat, van der Groen, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	108
4.2.8	<i>Huis ten Bosch</i> , van der Heyden, oil, c.1668.	109
4.2.9	Obelisks, van der Groen, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	110
4.2.10	Buitenhof garden, Hendrick Hondius, print, 1620.	111
4.2.11	<i>Ter Nieuburgh</i> , J Julius Milheusser, engraving, 1644.	112
4.2.12	<i>Honselaarsdijk</i> , Balthazar Florisz van Berckerode c.1638.	114
4.2.13	Detail of figure 12, <i>parterres</i> at Honselaarsdijk.	115
4.2.14	Models for French <i>parterres</i> , <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	118
4.2.15	Models for flowerbeds, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	119
4.2.16	House, garden & flowerbeds, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	121
4.2.17	Dutch house & flowerbeds, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	122
4.2.18	French foliage work, <i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , 1669.	123
4.2.19	<i>Vredenburg</i> , Peter Post & Jan Mathys, engraving, unknown date.	125
4.2.20	<i>Honselaarsdijk</i> , Daniel Stoopendaal, engraving, 1685-1690.	126
4.2.21	<i>Honselaarsdijk</i> , Petrus Schenck, engraving, c. 1690.	126
4.2.22	A country house along a river, W Schellinks attrib., oil, c.1660-70.	128
4.2.23	Detail of figure 22.	129
4.2.24	Detail of figure 10.	130
4.2.25	Gerard van der Rijp in his city garden, Amsterdam, anon, c.1700.	132
4.2.26	Capriccio of a Netherlandish garden, Robinson, attrib., c. 1670-80.	135
4.2.27	<i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , p. 31, 1669.	136
4.2.28	<i>Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier</i> , p. 28, 1669.	134

### Section 4.3: Principles and characteristics of English garden design

4.3.1	Plan of William Cecil's house in the Strand, London, 1562-5.	138
4.3.2	Ideal plan of an orchard, <i>A new orchard and garden</i> , Lawson, 1618.	138
4.3.3	Wilton, De Caus, engraving, late 1640s.	141
4.3.4	Wilton garden, Magalotti, drawing, 1669.	141
4.3.5	Bedwell Park, <i>Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire</i> , Chauncy, c.1685.	145
4.3.6	Bedwell Park, detail of figure 5.	147
4.3.7	Coley Park, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , Kip & Knyff, 1707.	148
4.3.8	Design for a wilderness, <i>The English gardener</i> , Meager, 1670	151
4.3.9	Design for a wilderness, <i>The English gardener</i> , Meager, 1670	152
4.3.10	Design for a plot, <i>The English gardener</i> , Meager, 1670	152
4.3.11	Round garden plan, <i>Systema Horticulturae</i> , Worlidge, 1677.	155
4.3.12	<i>L'Orto botanico di Padova nell'anno 1842</i> , Roberto De Vasiani.	155
4.3.13	Square garden plan, <i>Systema Horticulturae</i> , Worlidge, 1677.	157
4.3.14	<i>Euston Hall east front</i> , Suffolk, Prideaux drawing, c. 1700.	164
4.3.15	Dawley House, Middlesex, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , Kip & Knyff, 1707.	168
4.3.16	Sayes Court house and garden plan, flower garden, detail, 1653.	173
4.3.17	Coley Park, detail of Figure 18.	175
4.3.18	Coley Park, Reading, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , Kip & Knyff, 1707.	175
4.3.19	Chiswick House, detail, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , Kip & Knyff, 1707.	176
4.3.20	Aspenden Hall, <i>Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire</i> , Chauncy, c.1685.	179
4.3.21	Sayes Court, house and garden plan, orchard, detail, 1653.	180
4.3.22	Whitehall Privy Garden from John Fisher's survey, made 1680.	182
4.3.23	Sayes Court house & garden plan, forecourt/bowling green, detail, 1653.	186
4.3.24	Londesborough, Yorkshire, bowling green, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , 1707.	187
4.3.25	Pishiobury, <i>Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire</i> , Chauncy, 1700.	189

4.3.26	Wyddial Hall, <i>Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire</i> , Chauncy, 1700.	190
4.3.27	Chatsworth, Derbyshire, bowling green, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , 1707.	191
4.3.28	Sketch of the oval <i>parterre</i> at Sayes Court, attributed to John Evelyn	194

#### Section 5.1: **Ham House case study**

5.1.1	Plan of Ham House and Garden, Slezer and Wyck, c.1671-2.	204
5.1.2	Plan of Ham House and Garden, attributed to John Smythson, c. 1609.	204
5.1.3	The Smythson plan superimposed on the Slezer and Wyck plan.	205
5.1.4	Detail of figure 5.	208
5.1.5	Katherine Bruce, miniature, Alexander Marshall, 1649.	208
5.1.6	Part of page 8, <i>Bibliothèque de Monseigneur le Duc de Lauderdale</i> , 1690.	212
5.1.7	The Helmingham Plan. Survey Plan of Ham House & Grounds, c.1740.	216
5.1.8	Ham House, view of the south front, William Samwell attrib., c.1675-6.	218
5.1.9	Undated list of plants, c.1682, photo: author.	222
5.1.10	St Germain-en-Laye, engraving detail, 1614.	224
5.1.11	Fontainebleau, 1614, engraving after Alessandro Francini	224
5.1.12	Sayes Court house & garden plan, detail of the grove/ wilderness, 1653.	225
5.1.13	Ham House from the south, Hendrik Danckerts attrib., c.1675-79.	227

#### Section 5.2: **Cheveley Park case study**

5.2.1	Cheveley Park remains and listed buildings, Historic England.	243
5.2.2	Cheveley Park, Jan Siberechts, oil, c.1681.	247
5.2.3	OS 6" map of Cheveley, surveyed 1884.	248
5.2.4	OS 25" map of Cheveley, revised 1901.	248
5.2.5	Plan of Cheveley House, northeast wing, c.1732.	254
5.2.6	Cheveley Park estate plan, 1775.	256

5.2.7	Estate plan with outline of house & garden as in Siberechts painting.	259
5.2.8	Detail of Figure 2, flower garden, c. 1681.	262
5.2.9	Detail of Figure 2, flower garden and southwest garden.	263
5.2.10	Chiswick House, detail from <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , Knyff & Kip, 1707. (Figure 19, section 4.3)	264
5.2.11	Garden plans, <i>The English gardener</i> , Leonard Meager, 1670.	264
5.2.12	<i>The Great Parterre at Longleat</i> , Robert Thacker, oil, c.1700	266
5.2.13	Map of Somerset's alterations at Cheveley, c.1735, showing an 'Old Flower Garden.'	267
5.2.14	Map of Cheveley when sold c.1732	267
5.2.15	The terrace today, photo: author.	270
5.2.16	Gate piers to stable yard, detail of figure 2	272
5.2.17	Lodge (18 <sup>th</sup> century), wall and gate piers, garden house entrance, late 17th century, listed grade II.	272
5.2.18	Gate piers, Stud entrance, late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II.	274
5.2.19	Gate piers, Isinglass Stables, late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II.	274
5.2.20	Gate piers, Hope Cottage, late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II.	275
5.2.21	Gate piers, Gypsy Walk, late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II.	275
5.2.22	Cheveley Park, Ely and Newmarket: Location, Google Maps	279

### Section 5.3: **Ryston Hall case study**

5.3.1	Ryston Hall, Faden's map of Norfolk, 1797.	281
5.3.2	Ryston Hall c. 1680, photo: Sally Jeffery.	284
5.3.3	Ryston estate plan 1715, detail, photo: author.	285
5.3.4	<i>Plan of Ryston gardens</i> , R. T. Gunther	286
5.3.5	'Limon S. Remi', <i>Hesperides</i> , Ferrari, 1646	291



5.3.6	'The Hesperides offering the first lemons to the god of lake Garda' <i>Hesperides</i> , Cornelius Bloemaert/ Nicholas Poussin, 1646.	291
5.3.7	Frontispiece, <i>De Florum Cultura</i> , Ferrari, 1646.	292
5.3.8	Ryston estate plan 1635.	295
5.3.9	Ryston estate plan 1786, detail.	297
5.3.10	Ryston estate plan c.1800, detail	297
5.3.11	Detail of figure 2, showing garden seat/ summer house.	302
5.3.12	Main entrance gate piers, detail of figure 2.	307
5.3.13	Ordnance Survey Landranger map 143, 1992 showing Kett's Oak, 'Snowre' Hall and 10 metre contour.	309
5.3.14	Detail of figure 1 showing Snore Hall and Hill.	310
5.3.15	Stagenhoe, <i>Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire</i> , Chauncy 1700	312
5.3.16	Aspenden Hall, <i>Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire</i> , Chauncy, 1700.	312
5.3.17	Detail of figure 16, showing specimen conifers.	313
5.3.18	Specimen trees, detail of figure 2.	314
5.3.19	The Spitzberg, southeast of Cleves, P.Schenk engraving, c. 1680.	315
5.3.20	'Bought of John Reynolds' Feb 22 1671.	318
5.3.21	'Bought of Leonard Gurle at the nursery Whitechapel' Feb 22 1671	320
5.3.22	Ryston Hall location, Google maps.	324

#### Section 5.4: **Althorp case study**

5.4.1	Althorp park and garden, Historic England location map.	326
5.4.2	Althorp estate location, Google maps.	326
5.4.3	Althorp, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , 1707, Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip.	329
5.4.4	Althorp, Johannes Vosterman (attrib.) oil on canvas, c.1675.	331
5.4.5	Althorp, Artist unknown, watercolour wash drawing, 11 August 1721.	332

5.4.6	<i>Robert Earl of Sunderland</i> , Carlo Maratta, oil, c.1664.	336
5.4.7	'Elevation of Althorp', <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> , 1717, Colen Campbell.	341
5.4.8	'Althorpe', <i>Travels of Cosmo the third</i> , Magalotti, c.1669.	343
5.4.9	Detail of Figure 3 showing moat with water and fruit trees against walls.	349
5.4.10	Detail of Figure 3 showing forecourt gate piers.	351
5.4.11	<i>Althorp Liberties in the parish of Brington, Northamptonshire</i> , estate plan, J Corris, 1778.	354
5.4.12	Detail of figure 3 showing orangery.	356
5.4.13	Undated invoice for keeping the bowling green, photo: author, 2019.	360

## **Gardens of the Restoration: a new approach to establishing the Englishness of gardens in England 1660-1680.**

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1 Research questions

The aim of this study is to investigate how far there is a discernable English character in the gardens developed during the first twenty years of the Restoration<sup>2</sup>, from 1660 to 1680, despite the influence of continental garden design. In order to distinguish English design features, the study analyses the characteristics of the three most influential European garden cultures at the time: French, Dutch, and English. This establishes a means by which to assess how far gardens demonstrate the principles and features of each, which is applied in four case studies.

Therefore the research question is: Is there an identifiable Englishness in gardens of the period 1660-1680, which can be recognised by analysing the characteristic features of English, French and Dutch garden design in order to determine which features predominate in English gardens from 1660 to 1680?

The study arose from my earlier research carried out for an MA dissertation, into the gardens of Euston Hall, Suffolk, developed by Lord Arlington, a leading Restoration statesman, from 1666 until his death in 1685. This

---

<sup>2</sup> The Restoration is generally accepted as continuing from 1660 to the death of Charles II in 1685.

illustrated the importance of continental influence on garden design. Lord Arlington's taste was shaped by his continental travels since he spent most of the period from 1644 to 1661 on the continent, in France, the Netherlands and Spain; and in 1666 married a member of the Dutch aristocracy. Thus the landscape reflected continental gardens, designed by a committed courtier and monarchist, to impress.<sup>3</sup>

Questions arose which were beyond the scope of the original study, such as: how far was Euston an outstanding and exceptional garden? Were contemporary gardens of similar status equally continental in origin? Were such gardens as Tim Mowl suggests, 'an imposition ... alien, un-English and disconnected?'<sup>4</sup> What were the characteristics and features of French and Dutch gardens emulated in such gardens? The present study sets out to investigate these questions, and in the process has discovered that there was an English garden design that has received less attention in garden histories, which have tended to emphasise the continental influence. Thus the current study pursues the English influence on garden design after the Restoration.

---

<sup>3</sup> Further details of the continental influence at Euston can be found in Appendix 1.

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen Gardeners, the Men who Created the English Landscape Garden* (Stroud: History Press, 2010 edition), p. 48.

## 1.2 Discussion of the period 1660-1680

The generally accepted view of the development of English garden design in the seventeenth century is that it received a new impetus from abroad after the Restoration of 1660, when royalist exiles such as Lord Arlington returned from France, the Netherlands and Italy, inspired by the gardens they had seen, eager to create something similar in England. For example, Tom Williamson suggests that although the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries bequeathed a 'dual legacy - the Italianate and the indigenous,' this 'was temporarily obscured in the late seventeenth century by fashions coming into England from Holland and France' because 'during the Civil War many English landowners had been exiled abroad and returned with new ideas.'<sup>5</sup> David Jacques, writing in the *Oxford Companion to Gardens*, states that 'garden design in England during the period 1660-1714 was, in common with the rest of Europe, much influenced by the French style.' He does however recognise that English gardens 'were given a peculiarly English flavour' and identifies a liking for plain grass and cut turf parterres with statues, as English features.<sup>6</sup> While the English influence on gardens of the period has therefore been recognised in the literature, it has not been the focus of existing research.

---

<sup>5</sup> Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> David Jacques, in Geoffrey and Susan Jellicoe et. al., eds., *Oxford Companion to Gardens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 165.

Garden histories have usually considered early Restoration gardens as part of a longer period, from 1660 to c.1714, where the overall trend is identified as being one of continental influence. This reached its apogee during the reign of William and Mary after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and was exemplified during the 1680s by gardens such as Chatsworth and Longleat as depicted in Knyff and Kip *Britannia Illustrata* during the early 1700s. David Jacques for example, in his unpublished thesis considers the period 1660-1735.<sup>7</sup> However, his most recent book covers a wider period from before the Civil War and identifies subdivisions within the period, including an analysis of English garden design from 1630 to 1680 and a chapter considering continental influence from 1680 to 1700, entitled 'Rays from Versailles.'<sup>8</sup>

Tom Williamson carefully delineates the period 'c.1680 - c.1735' as 'the Triumph of Geometry' and distinguishes the late seventeenth century within that as one predominantly characterised by continental influence.<sup>9</sup> By starting at 'c.1680' Williamson recognises that the period before 1680 stands apart, but does not give any explanation for c.1680 as a starting point.

The probable explanation is that it was not until the 1680s that those gardens usually considered as epitomising the formal, continental tradition in England, were created. The founding of the Brompton Park Nursery, Kensington in

---

<sup>7</sup> David Jacques, *The Grand Manner: Changing styles of Garden Design 1660-1735* (Ph.D. Thesis, Courtauld Institute, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> David Jacques *Gardens of Court and Country, English Design 1630-1730* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*.

1681 marks the beginning of a flourishing period of garden making, when grand gardens such as Chatsworth (from 1684) and Longleat (from 1683) were created with the help of plants and garden designs supplied by the Brompton Park Nursery. By 1681 the practice of garden design and creation had developed to such an extent that there was a need for a coordinated organisation, which could supply plants and design advice. The Brompton Park partnership was formed by four leading gardeners who together demonstrated an impressive accumulation of experience and expertise, developed between 1660 and 1681.

The intention of this thesis is to examine the period that culminated in this creation, to investigate the first twenty years of the Restoration and to assess how far garden making followed the example of the continent. Despite the recent important addition to the literature provided by David Jacques, this period has not been studied in-depth. It has been overshadowed by the last twenty years of the seventeenth century and subsumed into studies of the major flourishing of the formal garden in England, when continental influence prevailed.

### 1.3 Hypothesis

The hypothesis is that in the gardens of the period 1660-1680 there is a discernable Englishness, which can be identified in individual gardens by analysing documentary and visual evidence and by applying the criteria

developed in chapter four, to identify the characteristics of English, French and Dutch gardens. This suggests that in the cases studied, traditional English features continued to be incorporated into garden design, the influence of continental design principles was limited and an identifiable Englishness prevailed.

#### 1.4 Discussion of terms

Garden historians have debated the use of terms such as ‘the French garden’ or ‘the Dutch garden’ particularly since such epithets have been used to describe gardens of different eras, which have interpreted the terms in different ways and accepted or rejected them according to prevailing taste.<sup>1</sup> This thesis is an attempt in part to move away from such problems by analyzing the development of gardens in those nations at a particular period – the early seventeenth century up to 1660. It is not intending to apply labels but to arrive at a set of characteristics and features common to each country at that time, some of which may also be common to both since they to some extent shared a common heritage. These characteristics and features were adapted according to local conditions such as, topography, climate, economics, landownership, demographics, resulting in gardens of differing character. Despite these differences it is not necessary or appropriate to ascribe labels, but to understand from the seventeenth century English garden developer’s point of view, how such gardens inspired, what features

---

<sup>1</sup> This is discussed further in Chapter two, section 2.3, particularly pages 31-37.



impressed, what characteristics were selected for adoption and how they were adapted.

The term 'English' is generally reserved for the 'English landscape garden', which superseded gardens of the seventeenth century. The suggestion that gardens of this period could have English characteristics, is not intended to imply that there is a constant force of 'Englishness' determining change in English gardens, but that through interpreting, selecting and adapting influences from abroad, resulting gardens took on an independent character, characteristic of England. The term 'Englishness' is used to refer to that English character, whose components are identified alongside those of French and Dutch gardens in chapter four.

## 1.5 Structure

A comprehensive review of the literature of the Restoration is presented in chapter two, considering how attitudes to the Restoration have changed since the 1970s, how far studies of exile have shown that exile had a significant effect on the culture of the Restoration, recent studies of cultural patronage and the historiography of garden history.

Chapter three investigates the case study approach as a methodology for garden history research, discussing methods of case study selection and the criteria used for the selection of sites for this thesis. A framework for case

study research in garden history is established, which can be followed in each case.

In chapter four the development of French, Dutch and English garden design from c.1640 to 1680 is analysed in order to identify the principles and characteristics of garden design in each country. The conclusion of each section establishes a set of features and principles, which are used to aid in assessing how far a garden can be said to be French, Dutch or English, in its design or inspiration.

Chapter five contains the case studies: Ham House, Surrey; Cheveley Park, Cambridgeshire; Ryston Hall, Norfolk and Althorp, Northamptonshire; chosen for their intrinsic interest, the accessibility and availability of evidence and the accessibility of extant remains of the site. While the case studies all consider courtly gardens, given the limited space available, the royal gardens of the Restoration have been excluded from this study since these gardens have been thoroughly researched and shown to be inspired by the continent.<sup>11</sup>

Chapter six is a synthesis and evaluation of the findings from the case studies in order to assess how far an English approach to garden design can be identified in the period 1660 to 1680.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis.

---

<sup>11</sup> Most recently and comprehensively in David Jacques, *Court and Country*.

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1 Historiography of the Restoration

During much of the twentieth century the history of the Restoration was largely ignored in favour of the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the 'Glorious Revolution' when the ferment of radical political ideas and experimentation in new forms of government, which characterized these periods, made them fashionable subjects of study. In contrast, the Restoration of the monarchy was not considered to be of interest. Ronald Hutton, writing *The Restoration: a Political and Religious History of England and Wales* in 1985, comments on the lack of studies of this period when compared with the Civil War, 'the history of the English Revolution now reads like a marvellous story with the last chapter missing,'<sup>12</sup> an omission which he went some way towards correcting, providing a detailed political narrative of the first years of the Restoration. Philip Major, editing a collection of articles, confirms that the historiography of the English Revolution at this time concentrated on parliamentarians while royalists were not considered of intrinsic importance.<sup>13</sup> Lisa Jardine also points out that at the end of the twentieth century, the greatest period of intellectual and cultural growth in the seventeenth century was considered to have taken place during the republican Commonwealth, which was admired as 'an energetic forward thinking environment,' whereas

---

<sup>12</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: a Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Philip Major, ed., *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath 1640-90* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 2.

the Restoration was seen as an unfortunate interruption.<sup>14</sup> Anna Keay sums it up: 'The Restoration has always had something of an uneasy position in English history, trapped awkwardly between two revolutions, neither exactly *ancien regime* nor yet quite enlightenment ... something of an unsatisfactory afterthought.'<sup>15</sup>

In the last twenty years however, the Restoration has received more attention. There has been much debate over whether the Restoration can be seen as a turning point since the republican experiment was never repeated, the monarchy and episcopacy were restored and survived. However, Neil Keeble stresses the uncertainty and instability of the period, showing that the Restoration was an inconclusive process rather than an event.<sup>16</sup> Gerald MacLean agrees, arguing that although constitutional and social changes might suggest a return to pre Civil War conditions, debate continued, religious dissent, radical and republican thought continued to simmer.<sup>17</sup> Thus historians have more recently emphasized the unity of the seventeenth century, showing the diversity of opinion and thought after the Restoration, suggesting continuity with the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth.<sup>18</sup> This is relevant for the current study, which also indicates continuity in garden design

---

<sup>14</sup> Lisa Jardine, Foreword, *Literatures of Exile*.

<sup>15</sup> Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Continuum, 2008), p.3.

<sup>16</sup> N H Keeble, *The Restoration in England in the 1660s* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> Gerald Maclean, ed., *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century Political Instability in a European Context* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); Philip Major, *Literatures of Exile*.

where trends apparent in pre-Civil War designed landscapes continue through the Commonwealth period into the Restoration. The study also suggests that the uncertainty and instability of the period is reflected in a conservative tendency in garden design before 1680 and a concern about being too ostentatious.

## 2.2 Consideration of exile 1646-1660

Geoffrey Smith, in 2003, writing the first study of the royalists in exile for fifty years, attempts to evaluate the effects of exile on Restoration culture and politics but concludes that the wide variety of experiences and the diversity of backgrounds, personalities and circumstances make it impossible to generalize. His study does however examine in detail those who experienced exile, showing that a cross section of society was represented since exiles often took their families, servants and households with them. He questions the prevailing view of earlier historians such as Eva Scott, writing in 1905, that the royalist exile was entirely negative and demoralizing and that it was responsible in part for the sloth and depravity of the court during the Restoration.<sup>19</sup> Smith attempts to discover what the positive effects of exile may have been and what other values and attitudes the exiles may have brought back, mostly looking at their later roles in Restoration politics and government, showing that despite the factional nature of politics, returning

---

<sup>19</sup> Eva Scott, *The King in Exile 1646-54* (London: A. Constable, 1905) and *The Travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders 1654-1660* (London: A. Constable, 1907).

exiles were not an identifiable group since their political views were varied and changing. In his concluding chapter he alludes to the possibility that 'returning royalists hastened the introduction of European ideas and attitudes in literature, especially drama, architecture, manners and in the ephemeral world of fashion.'<sup>20</sup> However, he doesn't investigate this proposition and doesn't mention the garden as a possible cultural output that might have been affected. He shows that the experience of exile was in part a continuation of the practice of foreign travel, which had already been growing among the upper classes in England during the first half of the seventeenth century so that many royalist exiles were familiar with living abroad and often went to countries they already knew. Travel abroad was increasingly expected to be part of the education of a gentleman and would have occurred with or without the condition of exile.

This confirms John Stoye's work of 1952, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667*, which concludes that the 'special quality of life often associated with the Restoration ... in which foreign and especially French influences are readily perceptible, does not owe much to the new court and the returned cavaliers; it owes even more to the steady stream of travellers over sixty years.'<sup>21</sup> Thus, for example, at Ham House, continental influence is apparent in both the house and garden well before the Restoration, due in part to the travels of the owners in the early seventeenth century.

---

<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile* (London: Palgrave, 2003), p. 203.

<sup>21</sup> John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 328.

The importance of exile in forming the cultural and political landscape of the Restoration has more recently been the subject of several studies, particularly investigating the literature that resulted from exile. An interdisciplinary collection of articles edited by Philip Major<sup>22</sup> examines the wide variety of writing, including letters, diaries, plays, treatises, translations and poetry, which resulted from the experience of exile. Lisa Jardine in her foreword to this book is in no doubt that 'what these exiles learned ... contributed in important ways to their ways of thinking and writing once they returned.' She also emphasizes the 'continuous currents of intellectual exchange between those in exile and those who remained behind' suggesting that 'only if we recognize this and take account of it can the intellectual and cultural history of the British Isles in the second half of the seventeenth century be fully understood.'<sup>23</sup>

Tim Raylor, while not contradicting Lisa Jardine in feeling that the two-way intellectual exchange was important, places more emphasis on the intellectual and cultural links between England and the continent that existed before the Civil War. He, as Philip Major puts it, 'qualifies the notion that the royalist exile in and of itself was a significant catalyst for or conduit of European transculturalism.'<sup>24</sup> Raylor feels that 'there is no clear consensus about the

---

<sup>22</sup> Major, *Literatures of Exile*.

<sup>23</sup> Jardine, foreword, *Literatures of Exile*, p. xviii.

<sup>24</sup> Major, *Literatures of Exile*, p. 2.

cultural significance of royalist exile.<sup>25</sup> He demonstrates that in Science and Literature it has proved difficult to show that participation in the ferment of ideas on the continent significantly changed the progress of scientific investigation or literary and philosophical theory. Nevertheless he notes the volume of literature that resulted from exile, including philosophical and scientific treatises, translations, memoirs, as well as evidence of major book collections being formed during exile. However, he makes the case for continuity, arguing against the view that the experience of exiles abroad was significantly different from the experience of travellers abroad before the Civil War. He reiterates the point that educational travel was already a well-established convention for the upper classes by the 1630s and that courtly taste was already cosmopolitan. He therefore supports the findings of Geoffrey Smith and John Stoye so that there is a consensus among historians that intercultural exchange was significant in forming ideas during this period but that this exchange was already occurring long before the royalist exile.

For the current study it is important to consider what the exiles actually saw on the continent and what evidence there is to show how this informed garden making. While this is to some extent debated in current garden histories, there has been an assumption that returning exiles were influenced by what they saw. This may in part be based on the evidence of John Evelyn, who undoubtedly used his observations of foreign gardens to inform his 'Morin'

---

<sup>25</sup> Tim Raylor, 'Exiles, Expatriots and Travellers: Towards a Cultural and Intellectual History of the English Abroad 1640-1660,' in Major, *Literatures of Exile*, p. 17.



garden at Sayes Court<sup>26</sup> and his collaboration with his brother at Wotton and whose diaries describe his perception of continental gardens seen while exiled. But Evelyn was exceptional and probably not representative. This study will investigate how far the gardens of the first twenty years of the Restoration reflect the experience of exile or whether a more conservative Englishness can be detected, which in itself may reflect earlier foreign influence, thus confirming the above wider studies of the experience of exile, which do not consider garden design.

### 2.3 Restoration Gardens

Garden History has long been dominated by the influence of Horace Walpole's *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*, published in 1780. Walpole, as the son of the great Whig Prime Minister, who had witnessed the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, was intent on claiming the English landscape garden of the eighteenth century as the culmination of the long march to liberty, a freedom from foreign absolutism represented by the formal garden of the Stuart dynasty. His essay, as John Dixon Hunt suggests, is 'fiercely patriotic and political'<sup>27</sup> and as Mark Laird comments 'the history of English

---

<sup>26</sup> Discussed below in section 4.3.13. Prudence Leith-Ross, 'The Garden of John Evelyn at Deptford,' *Garden History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Winter 1997), pp. 138-152 and 'A Seventeenth-Century Garden in Paris,' *Garden History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Winter 1993), pp. 150-157.

<sup>27</sup> John Dixon Hunt ed. and introduction, Horace Walpole, *History of Modern Taste in Gardening* (New York: Ursus, 1995) p.7; John Dixon Hunt, 'Approaches to Garden History,' in *Perspectives in Garden History*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), pp.77-90.

gardening has been prone to a Walpolian bias ever since.’<sup>28</sup> Laird is in part referring to a lack of concern for the living and organic, the natural history of gardening, which his magnificent book puts right, but more importantly he also refers to the ‘labelling’ tendency of garden history, dividing garden design styles into formal/ informal, French/ English, which derives from Walpole. As a result the term ‘English’ is irretrievably attached to the landscape garden and inconceivable as a descriptive term for the formal garden. This thesis puts forward the case for an English formal garden.

As a result of this tendency to categorise, the Restoration period in garden history is usually considered together with gardens of the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth century and labelled as the period of the formal or geometric garden.<sup>29</sup> This fails to recognise continuity with gardens before the Restoration and fails to consider the Restoration in detail despite more recent studies of individual gardens.<sup>30</sup>

Laird, writing in 1992, felt that ‘a comprehensive work on the formal traditions in Britain after 1660 awaits its author.’<sup>31</sup> However, the recent publication of David Jacques’ *Gardens of Court and Country 1630-1730* has largely filled

---

<sup>28</sup> Mark Laird, *A Natural History of English Gardening* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Jellicoe and Jellicoe et. al., *Oxford Companion to Gardens*; Jacques, *The Grand Manner*; Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players*; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*.

<sup>30</sup> For example in *Garden History*: Sally O’Halloran and Jan Woodstra, “‘Keeping the Garden at Knolle”: the Gardeners of Knole in Sevenoakes, Kent 1622-1711,” vol. 40, no. 1 (Summer 2012), pp.34-55; Sally Jeffery, “‘The Flower of all the Private Gentlemens Palaces in England:” Sir Stephen Fox’s “Extraordinarily Fine” Garden at Chiswick,” vol. 32, no. 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 1-19 and ‘The Formal Gardens at Moor Park in the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries,’ vol. 42, no. 2 (Winter 2014) pp. 157-177; Suzannah Fleming, ‘The “Convenience of Husbandry” in the Adaptation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury’s Garden and Park in Dorset,’ vol. 43, no. 1 (Summer 2015), pp.3-32.

<sup>31</sup> Mark Laird, *The Formal Garden* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), p. 45.

the gap and includes the first detailed treatment of Restoration gardens giving due consideration to the specific nature of gardens at this time, detailing the arguments made in his pre-publication lectures and in an article of 2001.<sup>32</sup> This vast work builds on Jacques' chronological analysis of Restoration gardens, written to establish the background to a study of the gardens of William and Mary in 1988, which is remarkable for a total lack of referencing rendering it fairly useless as a basis for further research.<sup>33</sup> Jacques's unpublished PhD dissertation of 1998, on the other hand, is thoroughly researched and referenced, attempting a quantitative analysis of developments which becomes unwieldy and lacking in interpretation, an omission which his new book has rectified despite a still rather 'cavalier' attitude to references, which he feels would make the book too unwieldy.<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime the work of historians such as Tom Williamson has questioned the neat divisions of garden history, using detailed site research to show that for example, the formal or geometric garden style continued well into the eighteenth century, suggesting a more complex picture than the narrative progression first put forward by Walpole.<sup>35</sup> Laird has also shown that

---

<sup>32</sup> David Jacques *Gardens of Court and Country*, *English Design 1640-1730*, Garden History Society lecture 30 Jan 2013; 'Court and Country' lecture, *Gardens of the Restoration*, Birkbeck Study Day, 28 February 2009. Jacques, *Court and Country*. David Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century' in *Architectural History*, vol. 44, *Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman* (2001), pp. 365-376.

<sup>33</sup> David Jacques and Arend Jan van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (London: Christopher Helm, 1988).

<sup>34</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.vii.

<sup>35</sup> Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, also in Edward Harwood, Tom Williamson, Michael Leslie and John Dixon Hunt, 'Whither garden history?' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 27:2 (April-June 2007), pp. 91-112.

'geometric' patterns of flower planting continued in 'picturesque' flower gardens concluding (perhaps questionably) that 'such geometries are plainly an ordering inherent in any design that is an artifice of nature.'<sup>36</sup> Dixon Hunt has shown that the English landscape garden before Capability Brown continued to 'emulate' Italian Renaissance models, following a tradition dating back to the sixteenth century, which did not 'collapse in the face of French or Dutch taste in the seventeenth century.'<sup>37</sup> Thus it is clear that the English landscape garden may not be so English, the chronology of changing garden styles may not be so straightforward, the distinctions have been blurred as research has developed and Hunt aptly describes the terms 'formal' and 'informal' as 'awkward.'<sup>38</sup> Into this more complex picture a study showing the Englishness of early Restoration gardens adds an additional dimension.

Tom Williamson has placed more emphasis on the social and economic motives for change rather than philosophical and literary ideas, extending garden history to the study of gardens from a wider range of society, rather than considering the 'key' pivotal or trend-setting sites only. He describes this as 'the new garden history' in 1995,<sup>39</sup> pointing out that the 'elite' larger sites, though trend setting, may not be representative of gardens developed by the mass of local gentry, who could be more conservative, more materially

---

<sup>36</sup> Laird, *A Natural History of English Gardening*, p. 4. and Mark Laird and John H. Harvey "A Cloth of Tissue of Divers Colours": The English Flower Border, 1660-1735,' *Garden History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Winter 1993), pp. 158-205.

<sup>37</sup> John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove* (London and Melbourne: Dent, 1986), p. xviii.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

<sup>39</sup> Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p.4.

constrained, or make different demands on their estates, which might function in different ways. He puts forward a methodology for garden history, which consists of a systematic survey of a large number of sites in a restricted area, using a wide variety of sources including archaeology, aerial photography and field evidence, placing less emphasis on literary texts and treatises than earlier garden histories.<sup>40</sup> In this way a broader understanding of how gardens developed in their social and economic context can be developed. For the present study however, it is unfortunate that the more elite gardens are studied since there is a dearth of primary evidence for this period and the evidence that survives doesn't extend to the lower ranks of society. Nevertheless this suggested methodology is a useful framework for the current study, particularly in its emphasis on using a broad range of sources, which is followed up in chapter three on methodology.

The question of how far seventeenth century gardens are English, French, Dutch or Italian has continued to exercise garden historians. Perhaps the most vociferous and colourful exponent of the view that 'formal' gardens were foreign, is Timothy Mowl. He includes the Restoration in the period 1660-1715 and considers it as one of Franco-Dutch layouts, which 'stand apart' as 'an imposition', 'alien, un-English and disconnected.'<sup>41</sup> Following the Whig/Walpolian tradition, he sees these gardens as particularly inappropriate in a period when parliamentary liberty was gaining ascendancy over monarchical

---

<sup>40</sup> Tom Williamson, 'Garden History and Systematic Survey' in *Garden History, Issues, Approaches and Methods*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), pp.59-78.

<sup>41</sup> Mowl, *Gentlemen Gardeners*, p.48.

government. Describing the gardens of Gloucestershire in 2002, he characterises the period as ‘an exceptionally un-English period of garden design’ and ‘a faintly discreditable forty years of English history.’<sup>42</sup> The gardens were ‘always ... a foreign imposition, basically dysfunctional in the average Gloucestershire estate.’<sup>43</sup> In an article on the Drapentier drawings of Hertfordshire, Mowl accepts that the evidence shows a more varied adoption of formal lines than expected<sup>44</sup> and by 2012 has tempered his ideas, writing on the historic gardens of Herefordshire in the seventeenth century with no mention of foreign imposition. Instead, the chapter on the seventeenth century entitled ‘Harnessed Water, Formality and Earnest Husbandry’<sup>45</sup> reflects the move in garden history towards more detailed analysis of individual gardens in their local context rather than a concern to slot gardens into a continuum of development or progress. As Williamson suggested in 1995, ‘It may be better, perhaps, to take each phase of garden design on its own terms, and study it in its own context, than to look at it simply as a stage on a path leading to something else.’<sup>46</sup> Mowl’s more recent studies of historic gardens have followed this proposition as does the current study, using a number of case studies.

---

<sup>42</sup> Timothy Mowl, *Historic Gardens of Gloucestershire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), p. 39.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>44</sup> Timothy Mowl, ‘John Drapentier’s Views of the Gentry Gardens of Hertfordshire,’ *Garden History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 152-170. Discussed in section 4.3.4.

<sup>45</sup> Timothy Mowl, *Historic Gardens of Herefordshire* (Bristol: Redcliffe, 2012), pp. 34-61.

<sup>46</sup> Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 4.

Tom Williamson's most recent discussion of the continental influence on English gardens, in Norfolk in this case, is somewhat dismissive of the issue, particularly of the French/Dutch distinction, concluding that 'by the middle decades of the seventeenth century these two broad styles, in so far as they had ever been truly distinct, had effectively merged at the highest social levels in Europe.' Moreover he feels that 'much of what we see in English gardens anyway had, in large measure, indigenous roots, and developed in particular ways which reflected wider cultural changes and specific social and economic circumstances.'<sup>47</sup> The current study investigates this proposition with regard to gardens of the first twenty years of the Restoration.

The debate about cultural influence and cultural exchange in garden history has perhaps become more sophisticated in recent years with what Mark Laird describes as increasingly 'pan-European and pan-disciplinary' scholarship, triggered initially by the tercentenary studies of the gardens of William and Mary in 1988 and later by studies engendered by the four hundredth anniversary of André Le Nôtre's birth in 2013.<sup>48</sup> The 1988 anniversary gave impetus to further detailed research into Dutch gardens making greater use of Dutch sources, giving a clearer picture of what constitutes a Dutch garden and of their development over time as well as their translation abroad.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Patsy Dallas, Roger Last and Tom Williamson, *Norfolk Gardens and Designed landscapes* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Mark Laird, 'Revisiting English Gardens 1630-1730, the French Connection in Britannia,' in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*, eds. Patricia Bouchenot-Dechin and Georges Farhat (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 312.

<sup>49</sup> John Dixon Hunt, ed., *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, XII (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and

Most useful for the purpose of establishing what constitutes a Dutch garden in the seventeenth century, is the double issue of the *Journal of Garden History*, 'The Anglo-Dutch garden in the age of William and Mary.'<sup>50</sup> This includes a detailed and well illustrated catalogue to accompany an exhibition held in 1988/9 in Het Loo, Apeldoorn and Christie's, London, analysing a large number of Dutch gardens and assessing over twenty English gardens for their Dutch characteristics. The unindexed dual language publication is cumbersome and also frustrating when not everything is translated, as for example Johan Maurits's (1604-1679) interesting comments on Zorgvliet in 1675 before its development, where he remarks that the stream should be allowed to run its course 'as crookedly and bent as the stream runs, as straight lines are not always pleasant,'<sup>51</sup> an unusual advocacy of naturalism at this date. Whilst this comment is translated to whet the appetite, the complete text is given in an appendix, but only in Dutch.

Nevertheless, there is a vast amount of information and some thought provoking ideas such as the dubious identification of Dutch features at Ham House: 'Ham House, especially its gardens, must be seen as some adaptation of Dutch garden designs, notably its riverside location, the walks between hedges of the wilderness, the regularly planted orchards and the

---

Collection, 1990); John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong, eds., 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary', *Double Issue of Journal of Garden History VIII*, 2-3, 1988; Jacques and van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*.

<sup>50</sup> See note 38.

<sup>51</sup> Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' p.164 and Appendix 5, p.335.



relative simplicity of the *parterres*.<sup>52</sup> The riverside location is more likely the result of the need for good transport links with Westminster, which could have dictated the choice of site from the 1630s. It is too simplistic to suggest that any riverside site is a Dutch influence. Although many Dutch gardens were located along rivers<sup>53</sup> this was a geographical necessity rather than a design choice, though it may have had an effect on design. The other features at Ham cited as Dutch, could equally be claimed as English (the *parterres* and the orchards) or French (the hedged walks in the wilderness). This seems to be a misconception and illustrates the problem of attributing nationality to stylistic features without more supporting evidence.<sup>54</sup>

A further tercentenary, in 2002, marking the death of William III, stimulated and funded an issue of *Garden History* devoted to Dutch gardens from the seventeenth to the twenty-first centuries.<sup>55</sup> This included the seminal article by David Jacques 'Who knows what a Dutch garden is?' in which he reassessed the changing reputation of the Dutch garden since the seventeenth century, highlighting how the reaction against formal gardens, which accompanied the development of the landscape garden, has coloured research and interpretation. He demonstrated the difficulties inherent in identifying national

---

<sup>52</sup> James Yorke in Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' Catalogue, p.258.

<sup>53</sup> Particularly along the river Vecht, Hunt and de Jong, p.26.

<sup>54</sup> Ham is discussed as a case study in section 5.1.

<sup>55</sup> *Garden History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Winter 2002).

styles and called for garden historians to abandon national style labels.<sup>56</sup> However, he did suggest that detailed research can lead to a deeper understanding of the varied ways in which gardens develop, taking into account topography, climate, how quickly stylistic fashions are adopted and adapted, depending on owner preference, so that individual sites might be shown to reflect foreign influence.

Jacques also suggests that 'people did not think in terms of English designs being 'Dutch' in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.'<sup>57</sup> This could be because garden designers naturally saw themselves as making English gardens, suitable for English conditions. John Evelyn in his diaries is quite clear about what is French or Italian (for example describing 'Chattam' due to its 'banqueting house, potts, status, Cypresses' as 'resembling some villa about Rome'),<sup>58</sup> and particularly in architecture (for example describing Euston and Montague House, as 'after the French manner.'<sup>59</sup> However he doesn't seem to identify anything as Dutch, apart from the skates on the frozen river Thames ('with scheets after the manner of the Hollanders')<sup>60</sup> and despite his admiration for Dutch order and skill evident in his comments on visiting in 1641 when he particularly appreciated the lime trees: 'delicious

---

<sup>56</sup> David Jacques, 'Who knows what a Dutch garden is?' *Garden History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Winter 2002), pp. 114-130.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.129.

<sup>58</sup> Esmond, Samuel, De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Selected and introduced by Roy Strong. (London: Everyman, 2006), 10 August 1663, p.412. Subsequent references to this will be abbreviated to 'Evelyn, *Diary*.'

<sup>59</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 16 October 1671, p.506 and 7 May 1676, p.560.

<sup>60</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 1 Dec 1662, p.408.

walkes planted with Lime-trees' at 'Risewick,'<sup>61</sup> the streets of Amsterdam 'planted and shaded with the beautiful lime trees, which are set in rows before every mans house, affording a very ravishing prospect.'<sup>62</sup> Despite the problems identified by Jacques of attaching national labels to stylistic features, a considerable part of the rest of the *Garden History* issue nevertheless pursued the question of Dutch influence.<sup>63</sup>

Perhaps the most thought provoking and theoretical approaches to analysis of cultural exchange in garden history have occurred through the auspices of the Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium. In his article in *Baroque Garden Cultures* Erik de Jong studies the correspondence between William III and Bentinck, William's favourite and garden adviser, while Bentinck was in France and finds that the letters show a critical appraisal of French gardens and an interest in the practical aspects of garden making such as the setting, planting, maintenance, water technology, costs. From this he concludes that French gardens were not necessarily perceived as culturally or stylistically superior but were seen as the result of a process of design, implementation and adaptation, which made use of novelties and innovations, to which gardeners might aspire whilst still appreciating the qualities of their own gardens. Further correspondence and the exchange of gifts and garden plans

---

<sup>61</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 13-21 August 1641, p27.

<sup>62</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 21-24 August 1641, p.29; cited in Sally Jeffery, 'The Way of Italian Gardens,' in *A Celebration of John Evelyn*, ed. Mavis Batey (Godalming: Surrey Gardens Trust, 2007), p. 23; Mowl, *Gentlemen Gardeners*, p.36.

<sup>63</sup> *Garden History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Winter 2002): Vandra Costello, 'Dutch Influences in Seventeenth-Century Ireland,' pp.177-190; Linda Cabe Halpern, 'Wrest Park 1686-1730s: Exploring Dutch influences,' pp.131-152.

between Bentinck and the owner of Chantilly after Bentinck returned home, shows that they corresponded on equal terms and through this intellectual communication and material exchange the process of cultural influence took place.<sup>64</sup> De Jong, concludes that 'influence in Baroque garden culture should not be understood as the result of a process of reception and exchange but should rather be defined as the process itself.'<sup>65</sup> In other words there should be an emphasis on what led to the end result rather than the end result itself. De Jong describes the commercial and trading network that linked countries on the North Sea and Baltic coasts, which enabled the exchange of knowledge, materials, ideas and people. He suggests that the garden 'as part of a common material culture, shared its goods, knowledge and expertise in an international framework.'<sup>66</sup> In this process 'certain individuals become "pioneering" agents in the process of exchange, directing it and influencing private and professional spheres.'<sup>67</sup> These ideas seem particularly relevant to the current project and could be applied to the period in question, providing a different approach to the study of continental influence on gardens, since there is little doubt that similar networks of exchange existed, both internationally and within national boundaries. The study of Ham House shows that as well as employing French gardeners, the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale visited gardens in Britain and probably exchanged ideas and plant

---

<sup>64</sup> Erik de Jong, 'Of Plants and Gardeners, Prints and Books: Reception and Exchange in North European Garden Culture, 1648-1715' in *Baroque Garden Cultures*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), pp.37-84.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.47.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.49.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.52.

material, since several gardeners from leading English gardens are recorded as receiving payments in the accounts, and so they participated in a network of exchange that demonstrates the importance of gardens as part of cultural connoisseurship.<sup>68</sup>

## 2.4 Cultural patronage

While the work of De Jong has examined cultural exchange with regard to gardens, several recent studies have investigated cultural exchange in the Arts during the Restoration, excluding gardens from consideration. Helen Jacobsen's work on the role of ambassadors in providing luxury goods to the court includes a study of Lord Arlington's role in promoting French culture and fashion but omits his development of the garden at Euston, which was also a vehicle for displaying continental fashion.<sup>69</sup> Thus she describes in detail his importing marble busts of the Caesars from Carrara but overlooks the import of a long list of plants and seeds from Italy sent via the same agent.<sup>70</sup> In this way gardens can be ignored in favour of other Arts. The current study aims to fill in this gap and place gardens in a central role as a means of demonstrating cultural exchange and connoisseurship.

---

<sup>68</sup> Section 5.1.6.

<sup>69</sup> Helen Jacobsen, 'Luxury Consumption, Cultural Politics, and the Career of the Earl of Arlington, 1660-1685,' *The Historical Journal*, 52, 2 (June 2009), pp. 295-317.

<sup>70</sup> TNA SP 98/9, f. 324, September 15/25, 1668, Sir John Finch to Lord Arlington; f. 461, December 1/11, 1668; f. 301, undated.

Gesa Stedman's study of cultural exchange in seventeenth century France and England does include a section on parks and gardens but this is rather cursory and takes no account of any English tradition.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless she does very usefully discuss the theory of cultural exchange or 'transfer', a term preferred rather than 'influence' since it is considered not to place one culture above another. Based on the work of French and German cultural historians, she identifies three phases in the development of cultural exchange in seventeenth century France and England. In the initial phase Queen Henrietta Maria is seen as a central figure in transmitting French culture before the Civil War, though her role in promoting garden design is not fully explored. The second phase is after the Restoration when Charles II is the central figure in a network of cultural mediators, the reception of French innovations is discussed and described as cultural collision, where the desire to emulate French fashion clashes with the fear of losing national identity. This is explored through literary text, visual imagery and within Restoration comedies. In the third phase cultural collision is transformed into cultural exchange as interchange between France and England continues. Whilst the theoretical discussion is useful, this study only considers France as a source of cultural transfer, omitting the Netherlands, which were probably equally important and does not fully investigate garden design as a significant cultural input.

---

<sup>71</sup> Gesa Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth Century France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

A more comprehensive study of luxury consumption and cultural borrowing can be found in *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* by Linda Levy Peck.<sup>72</sup> This analyses the increase in imported luxury goods which occurred from the early seventeenth century, showing how English manufacturers moved from importing and imitating towards manufacturing and trading in home produced goods over the century. A useful case study of Charles Cheyne, created Viscount Newhaven in 1681, who in 1670 commissioned a funerary monument to his wife Lady Jane Cavendish, to be designed and crafted in Rome, provides a demonstration of how documentary evidence can give insight into motivation for cultural borrowing. Using letters, account books, eulogies and agents' letters Levy Peck analyses the reasons why Cheyne chose to go to Rome, noting that he visited Italy and Rome as a royalist exile. A further chapter on cultural exchange and the newly built environment gives due consideration to gardens and gardening as 'an additional site of cultural borrowing and luxury display',<sup>73</sup> taking the seventeenth century as a whole and concluding that the 'desire for rare plants and new garden design did not belong to a single historic moment but was a long term theme in the expansion of luxury consumption from the sixteenth century onwards.'<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Linda Levy Peck, *'Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

## 2.5 Conclusion

The Literature Review has shown that there is a place for further study of cultural exchange and transfer with regard to gardens and garden design in the period 1660 to 1680. Although this period has been included in studies of seventeenth century gardens, it is generally the later period, from 1680 to c. 1702, which has received more attention, when more elaborate formal gardens were developed and these have been studied as a means of contrasting and understanding later developments. The period 1660 to 1680 has not been investigated as a period of transition where continental taste may have prevailed but at the same time been modified. The work of Tom Williamson and more recently, Timothy Mowl among others, has demonstrated that in-depth study of individual gardens can show that what actually happened may not reflect generally accepted trends. Therefore a study of the period in question can contribute to further understanding of how gardens developed and how garden makers formed their taste. The work of De Jong in garden history and of others such as Helen Jacobsen and Linda Levy Peck in cultural and economic history has examined how continental tastes were transmitted through networks of exchange and through the increasing consumption of luxury goods. Some detailed case studies such as that by De Jong of the correspondence between Bentinck and French gardeners of the later seventeenth century, and that by Levy Peck of the commissioning of an Italian funeral monument, have shown how continental ideas were received and what motivated their adoption. In a similar way this



study will discover how continental ideas of garden design and practice were received and adapted so that what resulted may be characterised as having English as well as continental qualities.

## 2.6 Summary

The Literature Review indicates that the period 1660 to 1680 has not been researched in detail, the process of cultural transfer in garden design is not fully understood and there is a need for further in-depth study of individual gardens.

The following chapter puts forward the case study approach as an appropriate methodology to enable further study of the period. It discusses the advantages of such an approach for garden history research, the issues involved in case study selection and the criteria for selecting the cases chosen. It also sets out an outline research procedure, which is followed for each case study and reported in chapter five.

### 3 Methodology

#### 3.1 The case study approach.

For this project it was decided to use case studies as a means of exploring a selection of gardens designed during the period 1660-1680. Case study research is used to enable an in-depth focus on particular examples of a phenomenon in order to give a detailed account of developments, experiences or processes in a specific situation.<sup>75</sup> By focusing on one or several instances of the phenomenon being investigated, the researcher hopes to gain insights that may have wider implications, which may not have become apparent through a more general survey approach.<sup>76</sup> For the current study it would be particularly useful to understand the motivations of individual landowners, their experience or knowledge of and exposure to continental gardens and other constraints or influences on their garden making which may have been political, cultural, economic or religious. These motivations are difficult to ascertain due to the scarcity of evidence at this time, but are more likely to be discovered through a detailed case study approach rather than a broader survey.

The case study approach takes a given situation as a whole and investigates its complexities, studying the way in which factors interrelate, giving more emphasis to process rather than outcome. Although outcomes and end

---

<sup>75</sup> Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (California: Sage, 1995), p.8.

<sup>76</sup> Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social and Research Projects*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (McGraw Hill: Open University Press, 2007), p.36.

products are important, the case study enables a detailed investigation of the process of development, which could be particularly useful in assessing how far a garden resulted from continental inspiration or was constrained by geographical, climatic or environmental factors, for example. A case study makes it possible to explain how or why rather than just considering the end result. So for example, rather than listing the number of gardens during the period that exhibited continental features such as avenues or canals, the value of the case study approach is that it should go some way towards explaining why or how those features developed in specific circumstances.

The case study tends to be associated with qualitative rather than quantitative research, although a variety of research methods could be used within the case study. For this study a quantitative approach might not yield meaningful results of significant interest. Although it is possible, having identified 85 gardens that were remodelled or built anew during the period, to survey these gardens and, having identified principles of continental garden design, to come to a quantifiable conclusion as to how many can be said to be continental in inspiration, the conclusion would be of superficial interest. It could be a useful basis on which to start, but further questions would arise as to why certain gardens were continentally inspired, whether identifiable groups of landowners followed continental principles such as courtiers anxious to follow courtly fashion or demonstrate allegiance to the crown, whether religious or political views played any part, how far economic constraints or the need for a garden to be productive had any influence on

design, how far design principles were understood as being continental or indigenous in origin and whether this was considered important. These more detailed questions of taste, culture and emotion are more subjective and more likely to be effectively explored through a qualitative approach using the case study.

Edward Harwood in 'Whither garden history?' argues in effect for a case study approach: 'We do not need bird's-eye views so much as serious digging among the garden beds. What was actually being done on the ground? What ideas did garden owners and designers think they were projecting through their landscaping efforts, and how were they understood by those who saw their efforts?'<sup>77</sup>

The disadvantage of the case study is that because it looks at the details and specifics of a situation it is not possible to generalize from its findings. It could be said that the findings are unique to the particular case. However for this study the interpretation of the findings of several cases will highlight similarities and differences between cases, which will enable comparisons and conclusions to be reached. Stake maintains that 'we do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case.'<sup>78</sup> The period under investigation is not thoroughly researched at

---

<sup>77</sup> Edward Harwood in Edward Harwood, Tom Williamson, Michael Leslie and John Dixon Hunt, 'Whither Garden History?' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 27:2, (April-June 2007), pp. 91-112, p.96.

<sup>78</sup> Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, p.4.

present so that detailed research into individual gardens is needed. Generalisations are less useful for this project for which more detailed examples are more likely to illuminate the issues. The selection of gardens to use for case study is therefore very important.

### 3.2 Case study selection

Bent Flyvbjerg suggests two approaches to case study selection: random selection and information-orientated selection.<sup>79</sup> With random selection the aim is to consider a sample of sufficient size that is sufficiently representative to enable generalisation of findings to take place and to avoid subjective bias. As suggested above this is less helpful in the current context, where detailed study may inform on general trends. With information-orientated selection, cases are carefully chosen for their significance, based on known expectations. They may be extreme cases, which may contrast from the norm, or critical cases, which can be exemplars, or typical cases where similarities suggest that generalisations can be drawn through logical deduction.<sup>80</sup> Cases may be selected that are theoretically interesting, which either confirm or challenge theory or hypothesis, or innovative cases, which might exemplify new or original approaches, or traditional cases which might exemplify conventional approaches. Several cases can be used for comparison, using cases that have similar or diverse characteristics so that

---

<sup>79</sup> Bent Flyvbjerg, 'Five Misunderstandings about Case Study Research,' *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2) (2006), 219-45.

the researcher may be able to identify variables, which influenced the outcome.<sup>81</sup> How these issues are related to the cases selected for this project will be discussed in the next section.

Practical considerations are also criteria to be taken into account for case selection.<sup>82</sup> These include issues such as accessibility of sites, availability of documents and limited time and resources.

### 3.2.1 Criteria for selection of sites for case studies

For this project the information-orientated selection approach was chosen taking into account the following criteria:

- Availability of sources

There is a relative dearth of sources for the period 1660-1680 when compared with later periods. It would be reasonable therefore to choose cases where there are known sources that are available and accessible. This would include documentary sources such as estate and family records which might include deeds, wills, accounts, letters, garden note-books, plans, diaries; these might be located in local or national archives or family/ estate archives on site. It would also include maps and plans of the period or later, including estate plans, local parish or county maps, tithe maps, enclosure maps, Ordnance

---

<sup>80</sup>Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*, p.40.

<sup>81</sup> Bent Flyvbjerg, Case Study (June 1, 2011). Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), pp. 301-316. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2278194>

<sup>82</sup>Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*, p.41.

Survey maps. Visual sources such as paintings, drawings, engravings are also important. These should preferably be of the period, but careful scrutiny of later sources such as the Knyff and Kip illustrations, can reveal earlier designs especially if confirmed by other evidence.

If the site is mentioned in the diaries of John Evelyn<sup>83</sup> or Samuel Pepys,<sup>84</sup> this could make it a useful case for study since both diarists were aware of gardens and Evelyn in particular probably played a significant part in garden design on some sites, a part which is well documented in his diaries and papers. Celia Fiennes' travelogue can also be useful despite being later.<sup>85</sup> Other visitor descriptions such as those by Philip Skippon,<sup>86</sup> who recorded Euston Hall being built in 1667, or Lorenzo Magalotti,<sup>87</sup> who visited England in 1668-9 and described Althorp in 1669, would be a helpful addition.

Clearly the better documented a site is, the more effective it may be as a case study.

---

<sup>83</sup> Esmond Samuel De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>84</sup> Robert Latham, and William Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, a New and Complete Transcription* (London: Bell, 1970-1983).

<sup>85</sup> C. Morris, ed., *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London: Cresset Press, 1947).

<sup>86</sup> C. Hood, 'An East Anglian Contemporary of Pepys: Phillip Skippon of Foulsham, 1641-1692,' *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXII (1924), pp.147-189.

<sup>87</sup> W.E. Knowles Middleton, *Lorenzo Magalotti at the Court of Charles II* (Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980).

- Extant remains

As with documentary sources, surviving physical remains of gardens of this period are few. Where a site has features such as the remains of terraces or avenues or garden buildings such as grottoes or pavilions, or architectural features such as gate piers, walls or surviving parts of the house of the period, these are very valuable and might make the site attractive for case study. This is particularly true if the site is associated with a known architect or patron such as Roger Pratt. Physical features can be found on maps and sometimes on aerial photographs, as well as on the ground by field walking and site visits. However, archaeological techniques such as geophysical surveys, though very useful, are beyond the scope of this project unless the site has already been surveyed, due to the technical skills and large amounts of money needed to carry out such surveys.

- Logistics of site visits

Bearing in mind time, financial and environmental constraints it would be sensible to choose sites that do not involve too much mileage, or can be combined with other visits. Sites need to be open and accessible or possible to visit by private arrangement within the timescale.

- Intrinsic interest

Perhaps most importantly sites should be chosen for their intrinsic interest or their potential in supporting or challenging the hypothesis. A range of sites



that support or challenge the hypothesis is needed so that comparisons can be made as suggested above. Four sites were selected: Ham House, Surrey; Cheveley Park, Cambridgeshire; Ryston Hall, Norfolk and Althorp, Northamptonshire.

Ham House is an interesting subject for study since the known expectation is that continental influence prevailed. A reappraisal of Ham however, makes it possible to challenge this expectation in support of the hypothesis.

Cheveley Park contrasts with Ham House partly because less evidence survives either on paper or on the ground. However one surviving painting presents the intriguing possibility that it is less continentally inspired than would be expected. Cheveley was developed by a prominent courtier, known for his Catholicism, whose association with Queen Henrietta Maria and travels in France suggest that his garden would have French characteristics. The painting contradicts these assumptions, making Cheveley a site possibly supporting the hypothesis.

Ryston Hall is of intrinsic interest as the house and garden Sir Roger Pratt developed for himself. Pratt's notebooks give useful insights into the cultural mindset of a well-travelled architect, committed to continental styles so that the gardens might be expected to disprove the thesis.

Althorp may also be expected to disprove the thesis since it was developed by a statesman with extensive experience of France and Spain, a known connoisseur of the Arts. Relatively well documented but with no extant

remains of the seventeenth-century gardens, Althorp is not well known as a Restoration garden.

### 3.3 Case study methodology for garden history research

For the current project 83 gardens were identified as having been remodelled or designed during the period 1660-1680. These were mostly taken from David Jacques list of 300 garden overlays for the period 1660-1730, included as an appendix in his unpublished thesis.<sup>88</sup> Jacques listed the name of the place, owner and date of work. A broad survey of the gardens was carried out in order to add information on documentary sources available for each site; visual sources such as maps, plans, paintings, engravings; whether the site was included in Knyff and Kip;<sup>89</sup> extant remains and further points of interest. This information was collated in tabular form (Appendix 2). The information was found in Historic England listing reports, UK Parks and Gardens website, David Jacques recent book,<sup>90</sup> John Harris's seminal study of the artist and the country house.<sup>91</sup> The survey was used as a basis from which to select suitable sites for case study.

---

<sup>88</sup> Jacques, *The Grand Manner*.

<sup>89</sup> Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata: Or Views of Several of the Queens Palaces, as Also of the Principal seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain, Curiously Engraven on 80 Copper Plates* (London, 1707).

<sup>90</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*.

<sup>91</sup> John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House. A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain, 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby Park Bernet, 1979).

Having selected the sites a methodology was developed based on previous experience of researching garden histories and on several recent publications which have outlined the research process for garden history in order to facilitate a growing need in the past thirty years, for sites to be recorded and assessed for conservation and management purposes. These include the English Heritage handbook *The Management and Maintenance of Historic Parks, Gardens and Landscapes* (2007) which builds on and substantially quotes *Parks and Gardens: A researcher's guide to sources for designed landscapes* by David Lambert et al (3<sup>rd</sup> edition 2006), first published in 1991 as *Researching a garden's history from documentary and published sources*. More recently *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation* by Marion Harney (2014) is a collection of essays by leading practitioners in landscape conservation, which includes a chapter on the research process by David Lambert. The following methodology for case study research was developed:

### 3.3.1 Preliminary online research

- A Google search was found to be rewarding as a first step. This was able to reveal whether the site has a website, the site owner, accessibility, references to articles and books which mention the site and a plethora of other information which was assessed for usefulness.

- A search of Historic England's Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest showed whether the site is listed.<sup>92</sup> If it is listed the reports are usually quite comprehensive in recording the history, ownership, development and current state of the site using the following headings: Historic Development, Description (Location: area, boundaries, landforms, setting; Entrances and Approaches; Principal Building; Gardens and Pleasure Grounds). There is also a useful list of references to published and unpublished sources.
- Parks and Gardens UK maintains a database of historic designed landscapes compiled from a variety of sources, including many from County Gardens Trusts. These may repeat information from Historic England but do often also include details of unlisted sites.<sup>93</sup>
- National Register of Archives<sup>94</sup>. This online database contains details of records held at the National Archives at Kew as well as 2500 other archives in the UK. Therefore a search here could reveal those documentary and manuscript sources which have been catalogued and also showed where records for a site may be held, where there may be further relevant but uncatalogued records.

---

<sup>92</sup> [historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/](http://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/)

<sup>93</sup> [parksandgardens.org](http://parksandgardens.org)

<sup>94</sup> [discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk)

- A search of Jstor<sup>95</sup> revealed any articles that mention the site, from relevant periodicals such as *Garden History* as well as a wide range of academic journals from other relevant disciplines such as History, the History of Art or Landscape Architecture.
- The British Library catalogue<sup>96</sup> was a valuable source of information on books, journals, maps, dissertations and electronic resources. A search of the archives and manuscripts catalogue was also sometimes fruitful, giving access to a collection of personal, family and estate records.

### 3.3.2 Study of the documentary and published sources

The next step was to follow up the leads identified from the preliminary search by visiting relevant repositories, retrieving the materials, studying them and making carefully recorded notes.

### 3.3.3 Site visit

Site visits were organized in conjunction with studying the documents. In particular a study of maps and plans was done before the first site visit in order to gain a quicker understanding of the lie of the land and the spatial arrangement of the landscape and designed garden features in relation to the

---

<sup>95</sup> jstor.org

<sup>96</sup> explore.bl.uk

orientation of the house and outbuildings (which may have changed since the period, as for example at Cheveley). Several site visits might be necessary as a deeper understanding of the site developed and as the written sources were seen to correlate, or not, with evidence on the ground. The site visit should make it possible to identify and locate any remaining features, the site boundaries of the period, the possible viewpoints or connections with the surrounding landscape, any remaining evidence of planting schemes such as overgrown yew hedging marking former wooded areas (as at Euston, for example), or remains of ancient trees marking avenues or field boundaries. In the end the synthesis of evidence from the ground, from written sources and from visual sources and from maps and plans should enable an accurate idea of the site in the period 1660-80 to emerge.

#### 3.3.4 Writing up, analysis, relating to hypothesis

Having researched sources and gathered all available information on the site for the period, the case study reports were written.

Each case study covers the following information:

- Location
- Sources of Information
- Context: historical/political/geographic/economic
- Conjectural description of the site layout in the period and its stylistic character
- Identification of key design features

In analysing the sites the tasks were to:

- Trace the development of the site, showing how the site might have evolved, expanded or changed during the period, how it might have built on or changed an earlier landscape
- Establish key dates and chronology
- Establish key personnel: owner/architect/head gardener/consultant
- Determine how far the known design could be said to be continental in inspiration or of more English origin and what evidence there is for this using the characteristics identified in chapter 4
- Assess how far it is possible to know what motivated the garden design from the evidence available
- Determine patterns or similarities and differences with other cases
- Consider the case's overall significance in supporting or disproving the hypothesis and how individual features and parts contribute to this.

### Section 3.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the use of case study methodology for garden history research. It has argued that a case study approach will enable more detailed understanding of the garden maker's motivations for adopting particular garden designs, within the constraints imposed by limited evidence. The issues involved in case study selection have been considered, as well as the reasons for using an information-orientated approach to case study selection for this research. The criteria used for selection of the cases are

identified for each case study. Finally, a methodology for garden history research is developed and a process to be followed in each case study is delineated.

In the chapter that follows the principles and characteristic features of garden design in France, The Netherlands and England in the first half of the seventeenth century up to 1660, are identified so that in chapter five, where the case studies are reported, how far the case study gardens illustrate these ideas can be discussed, following the research process described in chapter three, section 3.3.



## 4 Garden design 1640-1660

### 4.1 Principles and characteristics of French garden design

#### 4.1.1 Introduction

Garden design in France was very much influenced by Italy from the beginning of the sixteenth century, prompted by the military campaigns of Charles VIII (1483-1498), which took him to Italy in pursuit of his claims to the kingdom of Anjou. Charles VIII was famously impressed by the gardens of Naples<sup>97</sup> and although he was not there for long the lasting impression they made on him and others in his service, resulted in the import of Italian artists, architects and craftsmen who followed in his train back to France. This direct influence continued through further incursions into Italy during the reigns of Louis XII (1498-1515) and Francis I (1515-1547) resulting in what Anthony Blunt describes as 'a reverse invasion of France by Italian taste.'<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, two Medici brides brought continuing Italian influence: Catherine de' Medici (1519-1589), in 1533 married Henri II (reigned 1547-1559), acting as regent from 1560 to 1563 for Charles IX (reigned 1560-1574) and Maria de' Medici (1575-1642) in 1600 married Henri IV (reigned 1589-1610), regent from 1610-1617 for Louis XIII (reigned 1610-1643). Both were significant patrons of the Arts and centres of cultural patronage, important figures in

---

<sup>97</sup> William Howard Adams, *The French Garden 1500-1800* (London: Scholar Press, 1979), p.13; Kenneth Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens, the Origin and Development of the French Formal Style* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), p. 40.

<sup>98</sup> Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press: Pelican History of Art, revised edition, 1999), p. 1.

transferring Italian culture to France. Thus French garden design reflected developments in Italy, while adapting to French conditions and to some extent these developments occurred concurrently with, for example villa Aldobrandini (1598-1603) being built at the same time as the gardens of St Germain-en-Laye (1599-1610). Therefore, while the French formal garden may have reached its apogee with the gardens of André le Nôtre (1613-1700), the principles and characteristics of the French garden had already developed in the century before, so that Le Nôtre built on and refined characteristics which were already present from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century.

For this thesis it is important to consider gardens before Le Nôtre and particularly to examine those gardens that might have been seen by the English exiles in the 1640s and 50s. The extravagant developments at Versailles, which were so impressive in ambition and scale, were started from 1661 and could not have been experienced by the exiled landowners, although they may have witnessed the building of Vaux-le-Vicomte for Nicolas Fouquet (1615-1680), Le Nôtre's prototype for Versailles, whose opening 'fête' was attended by the exiled Queen Mother Henrietta Maria and her daughter Henriette Anne in 1661.<sup>99</sup> Claude Mollet's dedication to Fouquet in his *Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages*, referring to the 'superb gardens of Vaux-Le-Vicomte where you set Art to fight with Nature' was published in 1652,

---

<sup>99</sup> Simon Thurley, 'A Country House Fit for a King: Charles II, Winchester and Greenwich,' in *The Stuart Court*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp.214-239.

suggesting the gardens were underway at this time.<sup>100</sup> Fouquet bought the land in several acquisitions from 1641 to 1653 and seems to have started work on the gardens before the château with ‘importants ouvrages de terrassement et d’adduction d’eau.’<sup>101</sup> It is quite likely that these works could have been observed by English exiles, though no accounts of visits are known.

The grand gardens of Le Nôtre at Versailles were seen and described by English visitors during the 1670s, for example by John Locke in 1677 and 1678<sup>102</sup> and Thomas Povey before 1682. Povey particularly admired the skilled cultivation of trees and hedges: ‘admirable verdure ... a perfection inconceivable ... as smooth, thick and even as velvet.’<sup>103</sup> Locke also admired the skilfully kept ‘verdure’ but was especially impressed by the hydrology of the waterworks, which he saw as the chief glory of the gardens, despite the difficulties involved in maintaining the water supply.<sup>104</sup> The gardens of Versailles were huge, dazzling and complex and continually changing so that successive engravings were published, which made the designs accessible. However, it would have been very difficult for English imitators to emulate

---

<sup>100</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.188.

<sup>101</sup> Aurélia Rostaing, *Les Jardins de Le Nôtre en Île-de-France* (Monum: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2004), p. 23.

<sup>102</sup> Ann Friedman, ‘What John Locke saw at Versailles,’ *The Journal of Garden History*, vol. 9, no.4 (October-December, 1989), pp.177-198.

<sup>103</sup> Thomas Povey, ‘*Versailles*,’ c.1682, LPL MS 745 (Misc. Cod. Tenison 745). I am grateful to Gordon Higgott for the transcription and to Sally Jeffery for alerting me to the manuscript.

<sup>104</sup> Friedman, ‘What John Locke saw at Versailles,’ p.177 and 180.

gardens on such a scale. Nevertheless, certain principles and characteristics of the French formal garden may have been distilled into manageable form.

The following sections identify the main design principles and characteristics of the French formal garden as it had evolved by 1660, taking into account the development of garden landscapes since the sixteenth century.

#### 4.1.2 Nature controlled

The overriding design principle was that nature should be controlled. Order was imposed on topography through the use of a predetermined geometric, rectilinear plan of straight lines imposed on the landscape without consideration for or acceptance of the lie of the land. As Sten Karling states, the definitive characteristic of the French formal garden is 'the architectonic capacity of dominating the landscape,' which developed in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>105</sup> In later gardens changes in level were disguised, to create an impression of land continuing to infinity, or exploited, to create surprise where features were hidden from view until encountered. The element of surprise is exemplified at Vaux where the two transverse canals are only revealed to the walker on the ground from certain standpoints and the grottoes can appear to be nearer whereas in fact they are beyond the

---

<sup>105</sup> Sten Karling, 'The Importance of André Mollet and his Family for the Development of the French Formal garden,' in *The French Formal Garden*, eds. Elizabeth MacDougall and F. Hamilton Hazlehurst (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974) p.4.

Grand Canal.<sup>106</sup> Although it might be said that the predominantly flat French countryside lent itself to this type of design, extensive earthworks were required to achieve this kind of blanket imposition of the straight line.<sup>107</sup> Woodbridge describes the subtle changes in level at Vaux 'so skilfully managed that the boundaries between them are hardly noticeable; one moves easily from one to the other, so much so that the revelation of the cascades and the canal is all the more dramatic'<sup>108</sup> (Fig. 4.1.1 & 4.1.2). This kind of optical illusion and experimenting with tricks of perspective, sometimes levelling and sometimes exploiting natural land features became a feature of later gardens by Le Nôtre, after 1660.

---

<sup>106</sup> Georges Farhat, 'Great Vistas in the Work of André Le Nôtre,' in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*, Bouchenot-Dechin and Farhat, p. 172.

<sup>107</sup> According to Louise Leates, massive earthworks were needed at Vaux in order to achieve subtle changes in level, lecture 'The Early Work of André Le Nôtre: the Tuileries, Vaux-Le Vicomte, Fontainebleau,' 5 May 2009, Birkbeck. Earthworks also mentioned by Woodbridge in *Princely Gardens* p.188.

<sup>108</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.188.



Figure 4.1.1 Vaux-le-Vicomte (photo: author 2017).

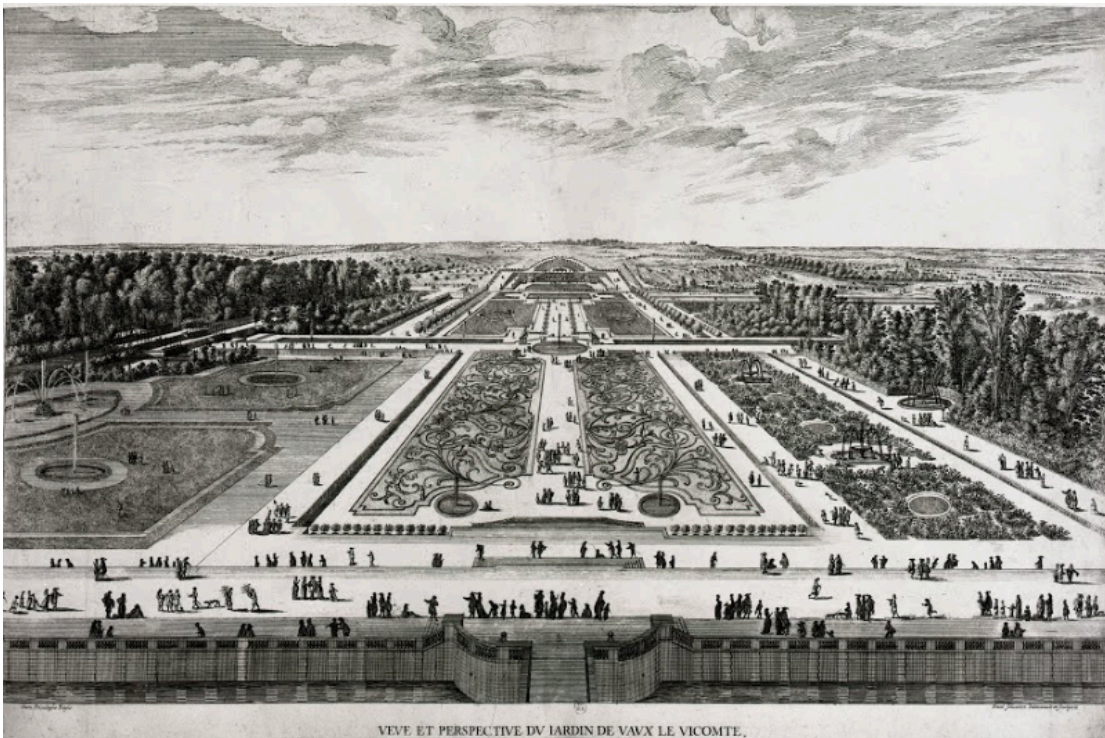


Figure 4.1.2 *Vue et perspective du jardin de Vaux Le Vicomte*, engraving by Israel Silvestre, 1661, (*parterre des fleurs* to the right) from Woodbridge, p.186-7.

This principle also resulted in controlled and constrained vegetation ‘strictly and aesthetically disciplined.’<sup>109</sup> Trees were planted in straight lines at regular intervals to form extensive avenues or ‘*allées*,’ or to enclose subdivisions within the garden, in which case they were trimmed to a set height and width to form hedges or palisades. Flowers and shrubs were contained within shapes set into *parterres*. Thus nature was brought into line for the sake of aesthetics.

#### 4.1.3 Dominance of aesthetics over utility

A second principle was the predominance of aesthetics over utility. As set out by Jacques Boyceau (c.1602-c.1633) in his ‘*Traité du Jardinage*,’ 1638, the main purpose of a garden was to give aesthetic pleasure to the spectator<sup>110</sup>. The cultivation of vegetables and fruit trees was mainly carried out elsewhere so that the kitchen garden was not part of the design of the *jardin de plaisir*. Boyceau does mention the garden of utility and suggests that it also can be made attractive if arranged symmetrically, but it is very much subordinate and separate from the *jardin de plaisir*, particularly in elite gardens.<sup>111</sup> This is reiterated in André Mollet’s English version of *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, 1671, where the kitchen garden is entirely banished.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Karling, ‘The importance of André Mollet and his family,’ p.3.

<sup>110</sup> Jacques Boyceau de la Baraudiere, *Traité du Jardinage selon les Raisons de la Nature et de l’Art*, Paris 1638, described in Franklin Hamilton Hazlehurst, *Jacques Boyceau and the French Formal Garden* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1966), pp.30-31.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31.

<sup>112</sup> See p.159, section 4.3.5 English garden design.

The French formal garden of the elite was intended to delight and entertain, providing a setting for spectacle, theatre, fireworks, fetes. In this way, as Kenneth Woodbridge suggests, 'formal' can be understood as 'ceremonious.'<sup>113</sup> These gardens were designed to convey guests through a hierarchy of space designed to impress, to demonstrate power, status, wealth and possession through their aesthetic beauty achieved through the control of nature. Thus Kenneth Woodbridge's complaint about Vaux 'as a place of private enjoyment it is almost entirely useless'<sup>114</sup> seems inappropriate as this was not the purpose of the French formal garden as he convincingly demonstrates. While there probably were places for private retreat and contemplation in the French garden, for example in the *bosquets*,<sup>115</sup> the fact that the garden was primarily a public space for formal entertainment and spectacle, prescribed its character.

#### 4.1.4 Axial layout

Perhaps the dominant feature of such gardens was an axial layout, usually centred on the house, creating a unity of house and garden. The central axis emphasised the scale of the composition, stretching to the horizon or to the limits of the estate, with tricks of perspective used to create an illusion of further space and with avenues extending further into the landscape. The

---

<sup>113</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.9.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>115</sup> Suggested by Hazelhurst in the Preface to *The French Formal Garden*, p. v.



main axis was crossed by one or more axes or *allées* at right angles to the main, creating a rectangular grid.

The axial layout developed from the mid sixteenth century through the influence of Italian Renaissance ideas. At Ancy-le-Franc, for example, from 1546 an integrated, rectilinear house and garden plan<sup>116</sup> with a central axis running from the entrance steps through to the *bosquet*, was developed by Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), an Italian architect and theorist.<sup>117</sup> (Fig.4.1.3)

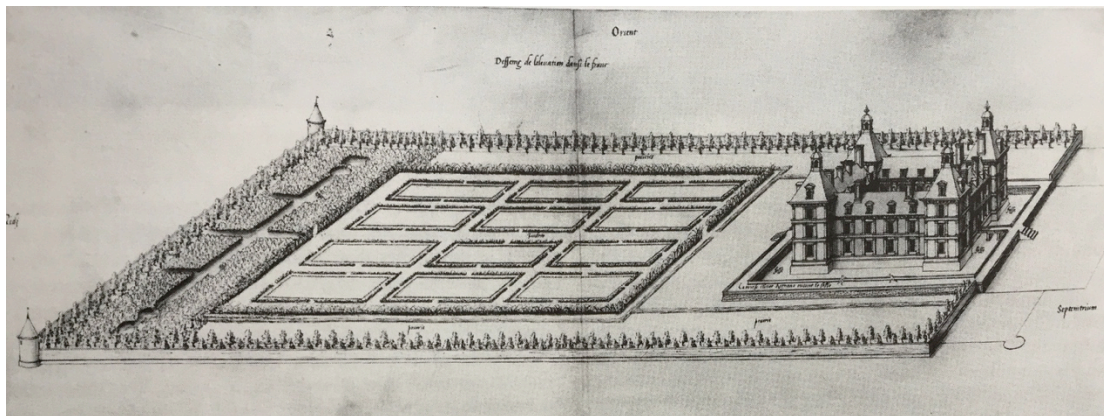


Figure 4.1.3 Ancy-le-Franc, engraving Du Cerceau, c.1570 from *Princely gardens*, p.63.

An axial and symmetrical design was further developed at Anet from c.1546 to 1552 by the French architect Philibert de l'Orme (c.1510-1570), who had studied in Rome and wrote a treatise in French *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, published in 1568. Here the design had to accommodate older existing buildings but still maintained a symmetry and axuality, with a central approach through a gateway. The garden also included an aviary, orangery

<sup>116</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.63.

<sup>117</sup> Serlio published *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* between 1537 and 1547, in French and Italian, which the English architect Sir Roger Pratt purchased in 1657 (see section 5.3.3).

and a heronry in the park. At this stage the garden was fully enclosed by walls and lines of trees, but as the French garden developed, while the axial plan remained, the walls were dispensed with as a means of dividing the space and pushed to the outer limits as gardens expanded in scale.

#### 4.1.5 The *Parterre*

Symmetrically arranged on either side of the central axis nearer the house, the divisions created by the crossing *allées*, were filled with *parterres*. These were planting beds cut into the turf or gravel, shaped with increasing intricacy and artistry as the French garden developed. Parterres were arranged according to a strict hierarchy, with the more elaborate being near the house. *Parterres de broderie* appeared to have been embroidered, with curvaceous naturalistic designs planted in box and placed so that their sophistication could be admired from the house, while *parterres de gazon* were simpler, less elaborate patterns cut into turf and placed further from the house. These helped to create a visual transition from the ornamentation of the *broderies* near the house to the greenery of the *bosquets* beyond.<sup>118</sup> *Parterres de gazon* were sometimes described as *à l'Angloise* and seen as originating in the English ability with grass, as illustrated at Liancourt in figure 9 below, where Silvestre shows the cascades '*à côté du parterre à l'Angloise.*'

---

<sup>118</sup> Gabriela Lamy and Felice Olivesi, 'Parterres and Floral Embellishments in the Royal Residences of Louis XIV,' in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*, Bouchenot-Dechin and Farhat, p. 230.

The *parterres de broderie* became a distinctive feature of the French garden, developed from earlier Italian patterns. Perhaps the earliest inspiration for Italian parterres was the *Hypnerotomachia Polyphili* by Francesco Colonna, a 'strange, pagan, pedantic, erotic, allegorical, mythological romance'<sup>119</sup> which became an essential Renaissance text and was translated into French in 1546 as *Le songe de Polyphile* by Jean Martin. The gardens described and illustrated, which were adapted in the French version, became a source of inspiration, which influenced Estienne and Liébault.<sup>120</sup>

The French treatise, by Charles Estienne (1504-1564) originally written in Latin and translated into French as *L'agriculture et maison rustique* in 1564, by Jean Liébault, in its revised version of 1582,<sup>121</sup> included a chapter on *parterres* with diagrams of interlacing patterns.<sup>122</sup> These were not 'de broderie' but in some cases included some of the twirls that later developed into more elaborate forms (Fig.4.1.4).

---

<sup>119</sup> Joscelyn Godwin (transl.) Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Polyphili* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), flyleaf.

<sup>120</sup> Hazelhurst, *Jacques Boyceau and the French Formal Garden*, p.14.

<sup>121</sup> translated into Dutch in 1588 and into English (by Richard Surfleet) in 1600.

<sup>122</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.97 and *Oxford Companion to Gardens* entry p.179. David Jacques suggests it was only in later editions such as 1594, that diagrams of interlacing patterns were included, in 'The Compartment System in Tudor England,' *Garden History*, vol. 27, no. 1 (Summer 1999), pp.32-53, note 109, p.46. However, the 1583 edition, online at gallica.bnf.fr, includes 18 designs for parterres, some interlacing and one maze.

DE LA MAISON RVSTIQUE.

147

COMPARTIMENT SIMPLE.

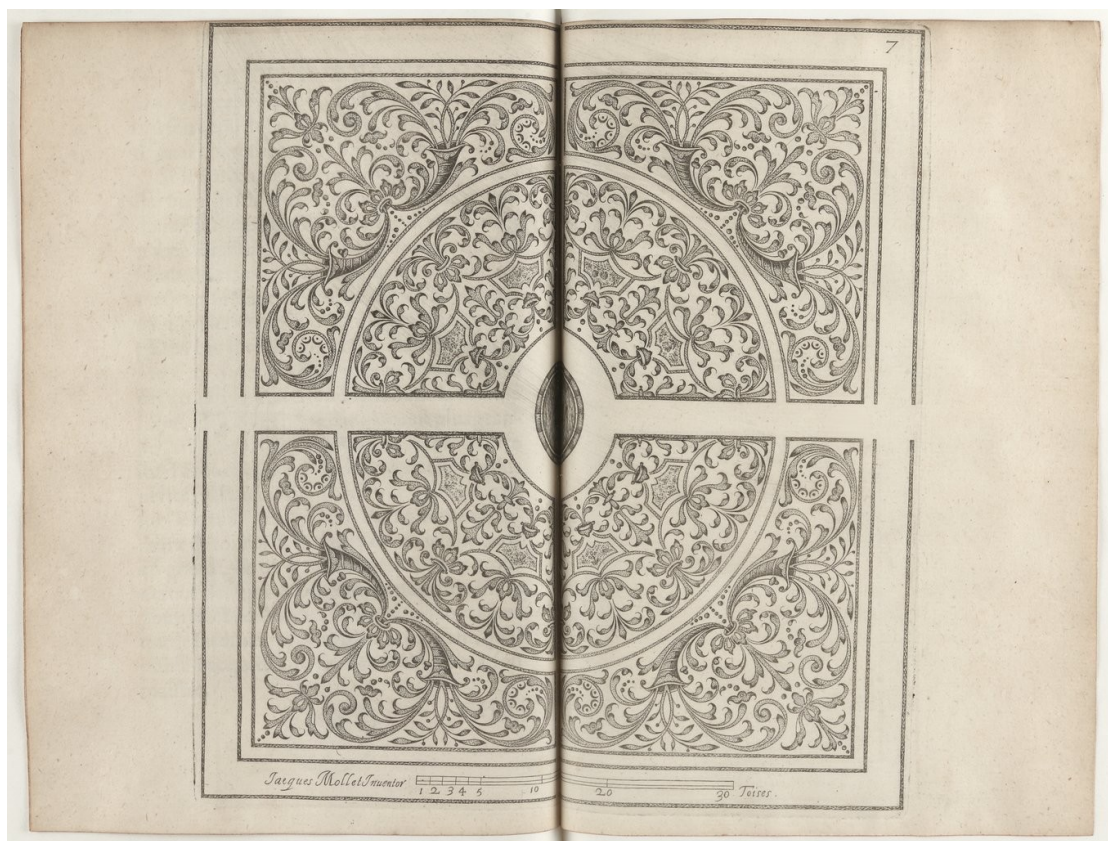


Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 4.1.4 Parterre design, Estienne and Liébault, 1583 p.146v.



By 1600 Olivier de Serres' (1539-1619) *Théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs* included designs for *parterres* by Claude Mollet in the Tuileries, St Germain-en-Laye and Fontainebleau. Claude Mollet (c.1564-c.1649) in his own treatise *Théâtre des plans et jardinage*, 1652 claimed to have designed the first *parterre de broderie* at Anet with Etienne du Pérac and included examples designed by his sons André, Jacques II (Fig.4.1.5) and Noel. He also describes his experiments with box and decision to use box for *parterres* as a plant tough enough to withstand extremes of temperature.<sup>123</sup>



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 4.1.5 Parterre design by Jacques Mollet, *Théâtre des plans et jardinage*, 1652.

<sup>123</sup> Claude Mollet translated and quoted in Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.108.

It is clear that in discussing *parterres de broderie* Mollet is not only referring to the 'embroidered' pattern but also to the practice of moving away from square *compartiments* towards a conception of the *parterre* as a larger united space as in Figure 4.1.5, where the space is divided by paths centred on a basin, but not divided into four separate areas. As Mollet puts it (translated by Woodbridge) 'I no longer stopped at making compartments in little squares, one of them one way and another in another.'<sup>124</sup> However, it seems wrong to suggest, as Woodbridge does, that Mollet was not also referring to the flowing forms that he used to illustrate the book, since this type of motif is also apparent in his designs for de Serres and in engravings of his designs for Fontainebleau (Fig.4.1.6) and St Germain, although his sons' designs have more finesse.

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.108.

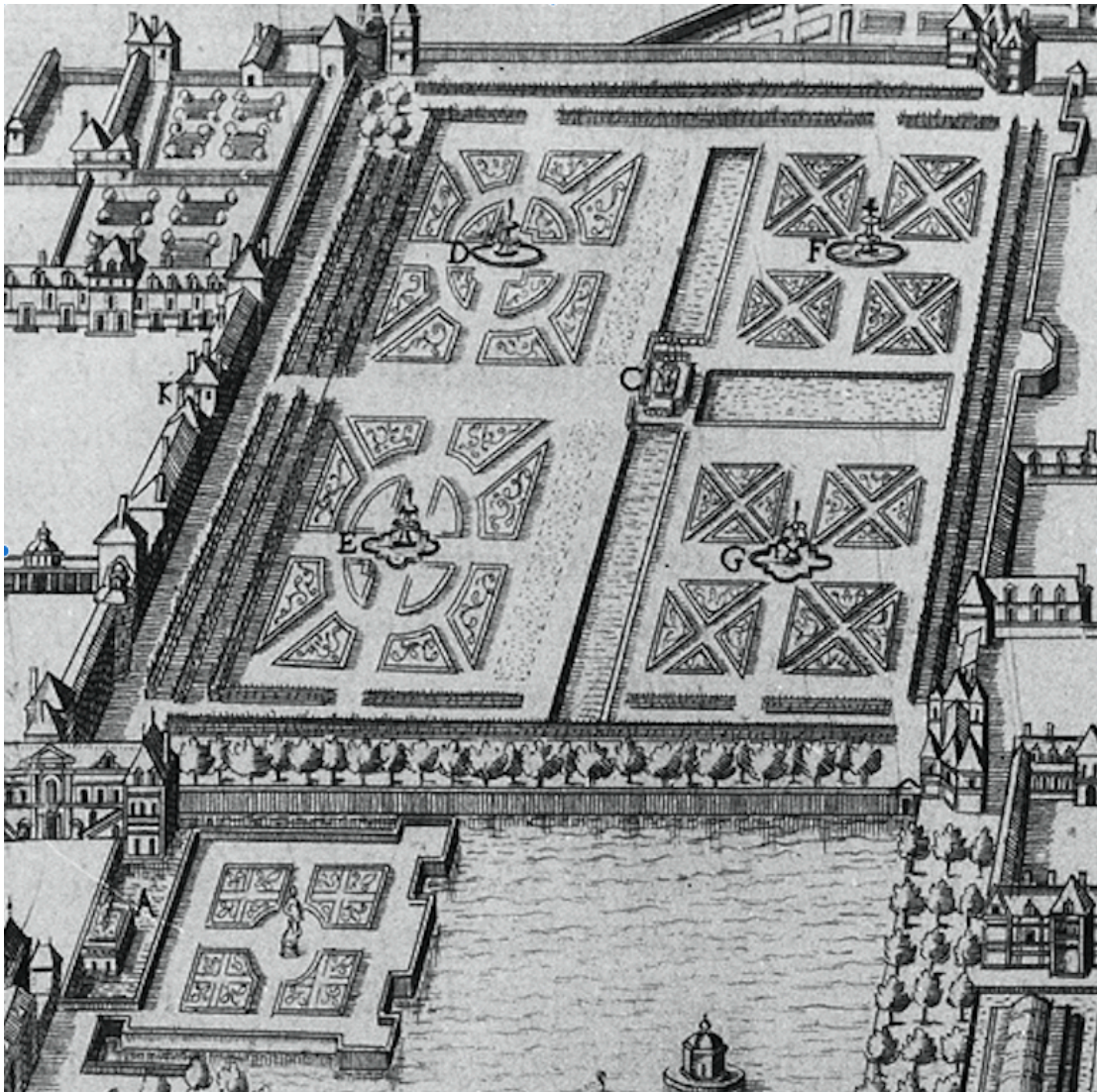


Figure 4.1.6 Fontainebleau, detail of figure 13.

*Parterres de broderie* were also illustrated earlier, in Boyceau's *Traité du jardinage*, 1638, including the design for the Luxembourg gardens for Marie de' Medici, made while Boyceau was *Intendant des jardins du roi* for Louis XIII (Fig.4.1.7). How far Boyceau was responsible for this cannot be certain in the absence of definite evidence. Sten Karling makes a strong case attributing the illustrations to Claude Mollet II.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Karling, 'The importance of André Mollet and his family,' pp.16-18.



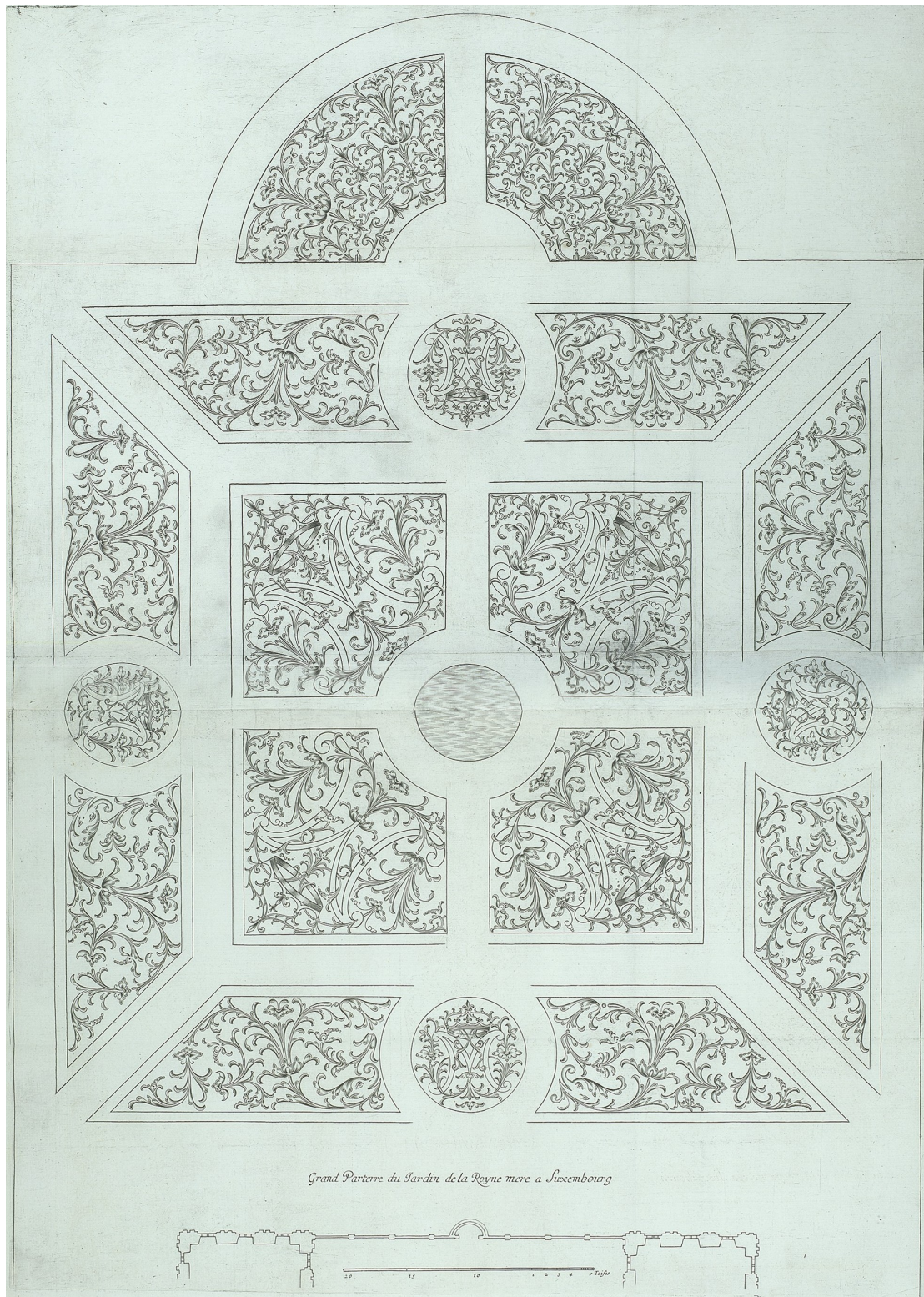


Figure 4.1.7 *Grand parterre du jardin de la reine a Luxembourg*, Boyceau (Wikipedia).



The Mollet family clearly played a significant role in the development of the *parterre de broderie*, which developed in France and contributed to creating a unified garden plan as well as to its ornament. For the English exiles, the *parterres de broderie* demonstrated French expertise and invention, which had been seen in England before the Civil War, in the work of André Mollet.<sup>126</sup> At the Luxembourg in 1644, Evelyn having noted the scale of the gardens, 'neare an English mile in compass,' remarked that 'the Parterr is indeed of box; but so rarely designed, and accurately kept cut; that the [e]mbroidery makes a stupendous effect.'<sup>127</sup>

#### 4.1.6 The role and place of flowers

Flowers are generally considered to be a less significant feature of the French formal garden and tended to be set aside in specially designed areas such as at Louis XIV's private garden at the Trianon in Versailles, dating from 1668-1670. Earlier examples are the *Parterre à fleurs* at Vaux-Le-Vicomte (1655-1661) (Fig.4.1.2 & 4.1.10) and at Liancourt (1635-1654) (Fig.4.1.8) In the development of *parterre* design, flowers were less important while ornamentation through design took over as discussed above.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> Discussed in section 4.3.3 and 4.3.5.

<sup>127</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 1 April 1644, p.70.

<sup>128</sup> Lamy and Olivesi, 'Parterres and Floral Embellishments,' p.230.



Figure 4.1.8 *Jardin à fleurs*, Liancourt, engraving by Israel Silvestre, 1655, from Woodbridge, p. 107.

The flower garden at Liancourt was placed on the east side of the château, with beds of various shapes, straight and curved, a flower border surrounding the whole and a *jet d'eau* fountain in the middle. The surrounding border seems to comply with Claude Mollet's instructions in *Théâtre des plans et jardinages*, 1652 to surround *parterres* with a six-foot wide border of taller flowers.<sup>129</sup> Silvestre's engraving is not detailed enough to suggest what the flowers were, though they appear most likely to be bulbs, with strap-like leaves. The gardens at Liancourt were developed from the 1580s, when the château was rebuilt, and enlarged by Roger du Plessys, Duc de Liancourt, in the 1630s,<sup>130</sup> so would have been well established in the 1640s and 50s when

<sup>129</sup> Claude Mollet translated and quoted in Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, note 23, p.295. Claude Mollet is known to have worked at Liancourt, and probably also Claude II (d.1663), but his exact responsibilities are uncertain (Rostaing, *Les Jardins de Le Nôtre*, p.3 and 5-6).

<sup>130</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.139.

they became particularly well known for their water features (see 4.1.7), even being mentioned in the English garden treatise by Worlidge.<sup>131</sup> As depicted in Silvestre's engraving the flower garden looks impressive, but when seen as a part of the complete complex, which covered 200 acres in 1637, according to a visitor Denis II Godefroy,<sup>132</sup> it seems to have a relatively very minor role (Fig. 4.1.9).

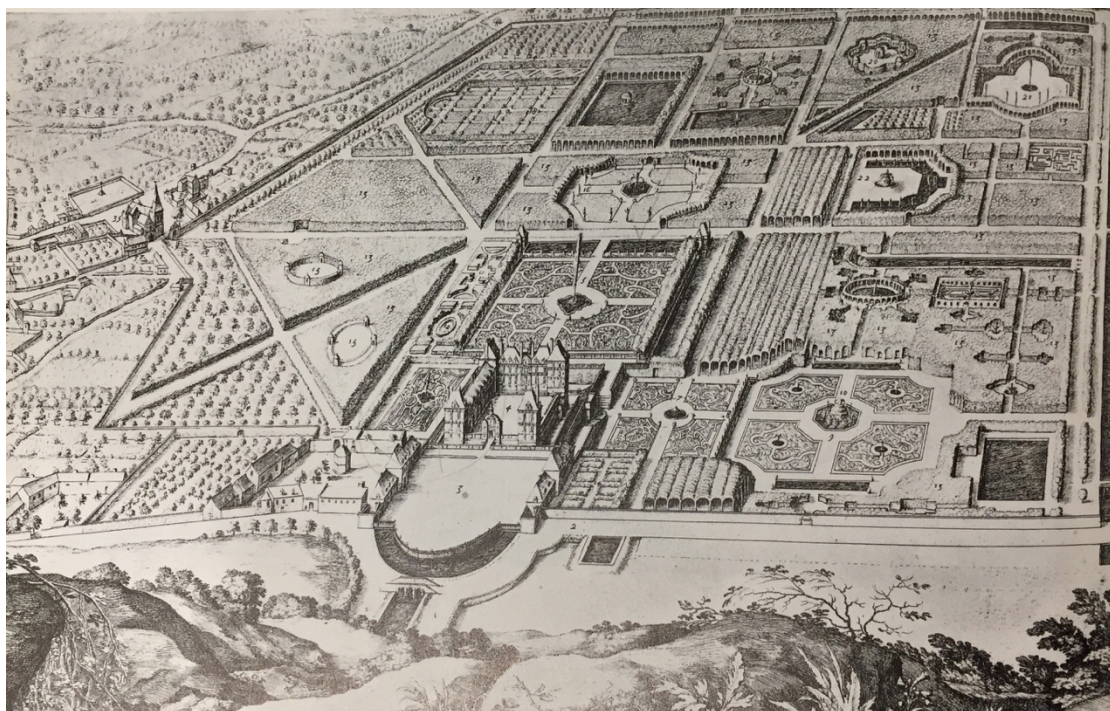


Figure 4.1.9 Bird's eye view of Liancourt, engraving by Henri Mauperché, 1654, (flower garden to left of château) from Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p. 138.

<sup>131</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening*, 1677, Book 1, p.42, quoting from René Rapin *Hortulum libri IV cum disputatione de cultura hortensi*, 1665 quoting in English, possibly from the translation by John Evelyn's son John *Of gardens, four books*, 1672.

<sup>132</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.139.

Flowers were nevertheless valued, particularly as new varieties and species were collected and cultivated.<sup>133</sup> The Morin nursery in Paris was established by 1619 and grew exotic plants and bulbs as noted by Evelyn who visited in 1644: 'the tulips anemones, ranunculuses, crocuses etc are held to be of the rarest.'<sup>134</sup> Flowers were painted and recorded by botanical illustrators, chief amongst whom was Nicolas Robert (1614-1685) from 1640, employed by Gaston d'Orléans, brother to Louis XIII, who maintained a botanical garden at Blois, which Louis XIV inherited in 1660 and continued to develop.<sup>135</sup>

The *parterre des fleurs* at Vaux (Fig.4.1.10) is given a more significant position as one of the three *parterres* in front of the chateau, a highly ornamental area. Symmetrically arranged along its axis<sup>136</sup> with fountains, circles of grass and flowerbeds of a variety of shapes, it is not dissimilar to Liancourt (Fig.4.1.8). What the flowers at Vaux were is unknown but Mark Laird speculates that they would have been bulbs such as tulips, hyacinths and narcissi in spring and a range of perennials and annuals such as poppies, larkspur and honesty in summer, disposed symmetrically.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> Elizabeth Hyde, 'Flowers of Distinction: Taste, Class and Floriculture in Seventeenth-Century France,' in *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*, ed., Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), pp.79-100, p.82.

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.104.

<sup>135</sup> Jérémie Benoit, ed., *Fleurs du Roi*, Exhibition catalogue (Château de Versailles, 2013), p.47.

<sup>136</sup> Laird, *The Formal Garden*, p.74.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.



The engraving by Silvestre of the *parterre des fleurs* at Vaux unhelpfully does not seem to show any flowers, perhaps as they were not in season at that time (Fig.4.1.10). Since Fouquet was particularly concerned to impress, the flowers would have been the latest and rarest introductions, requiring the greatest skill since, as Elizabeth Hyde suggests, flowers were recognised and celebrated for their rarity and for the skill involved in their cultivation.<sup>138</sup> Thus flowers were maintained in the French garden, but in designated areas as a means of displaying taste, learning and status.



Figure 4.1.10 Vaux-le-Vicomte, *Parterre des fleurs*, engraving by Silvestre, c. 1661, from Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.189 (detail).

<sup>138</sup> Elizabeth Hyde, 'Flowers of Distinction,' pp.86-100.

#### 4.1.7 The role of water

Water, both static and moving, played a major role in the French garden. Sheets of water could be used to emphasise the axes as at Richelieu and Vaux or to reflect architecture as at Chantilly and Fontainebleau, while elaborate fountains or cascades were important features such as at Vaux and Liancourt.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw an increasing use of water for ornamental purposes in garden design and of associated buildings such as grottoes.<sup>139</sup> Marie de' Medici's connections brought the Francini brothers<sup>140</sup> from Italy, experts in fountains, water engineering and hydraulics, to work at Fontainebleau, St- Germain-en-Laye and the Luxembourg gardens, and at Rueil for Richelieu, from 1598 until the 1640s. These were all places associated with the English royalist exile, since Henrietta Maria maintained the exiled court mostly at St Germain; Fontainebleau was visited particularly for hunting, and the Luxembourg gardens were open to the public and visited for meetings and entertainment.

Lord Willoughby spotted the younger royals at play in the gardens of Rueil in 1648,<sup>141</sup> where he observed 'great variety of most rare and excellent

---

<sup>139</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p. 123.

<sup>140</sup> Tomasso (1571-1651) and Alessandro (d.1649)

<sup>141</sup> Diary by John Pridgeon of Lord Willoughby's travels in France, quoted in John Lough, *France Observed by British Travellers* (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1985).

waterworks.’<sup>142</sup> Evelyn also admired the ‘magnificent’ gardens at Rueil, noting the ‘noble brass statues perpetually spouting water,’ a moving fountain so swift it was ‘impossible to escape wetting’ and the great stepped cascade of water ‘which rolls downe a very steep declivity and over the marble degrees and basins, with an astonishing noyse and fury ... flowing like sheets of transparent glass...’<sup>143</sup>

At St Germain a complex series of terraces and staircases descended to the Seine with grottoes and automata built into the hillside, with a fountain of Mercury set at a high point between a confluence of stairs. The gardens were developed from 1599-1610 and became the favourite palace of Louis XIII but were neglected after his death in 1643.<sup>144</sup> Thus by the time of the royalist exile the gardens were in decline and by 1660 some of the terracing had collapsed. Nevertheless, Evelyn was clearly impressed in 1644 by the grandeur of the ‘incomparable’ terraces and describes the grotto scenes worked ‘by force of water’ in detail.<sup>145</sup> These gardens must surely have had an impact on other English visitors to the court.

The water features at Liancourt were particularly admired and likely to have been known by English exiles. The gardens at Liancourt were depicted by

---

<sup>142</sup> Diary by John Pridgeon of Lord Willoughby's travels in France, HMC *Calendar of Ancaster Manuscripts*, pp.418-24, transcribed online at [discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk). unpaginated.

<sup>143</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 27 February-1 March 1644, p.62.

<sup>144</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.133.

<sup>145</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 27 February-1 March 1644, p.62.

Silvestre in a series of engravings *Differentes veues du chasteau et des jardins, fontaines, cascades, canaux et parterres de Liencourt* (sic), 1656, most of which focussed on a water feature. Mauperché's engraving of the whole complex (Fig.4.1.9) was accompanied by a legend in which fourteen fountains are mentioned, as well as cascades, *nappes d'eau*, canals and numerous *jets d'eau*. The gardens were visited and described by Louis Huygens (1631-1699), son of Constantijn,<sup>146</sup> in 1655, providing a useful appreciation.

Louis Huygens was particularly impressed by Liancourt, 'ce jardin tant fameux, qu'on dit n'avoir point de semblable de tout de France.'<sup>147</sup> His brother Christian (1629-1695) agreed that 'Liancourt est merveilleux pour l'abondance et diversités des Fontaines, la beauté du plantage et de ce qu'il est proprement entretenu que nostre Hofwijk.'<sup>148</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup> Whose gardens at Hofwijk are discussed in section 4.2.4.

<sup>147</sup> Henri L. Brugmans, 'Chateaux et Jardins de l'Ile de France d'après un Journal de Voyage 1655,' in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* XVIII (1937), pp.93-113, p.100. Translation: 'This famous garden, which one may say, is not matched in the whole of France.'

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109. Translation: 'Liancourt is marvellous for the abundance and diversity of its fountains, the beauty of its planting and for being as well looked after/ neatly maintained as our Hofwijk.'



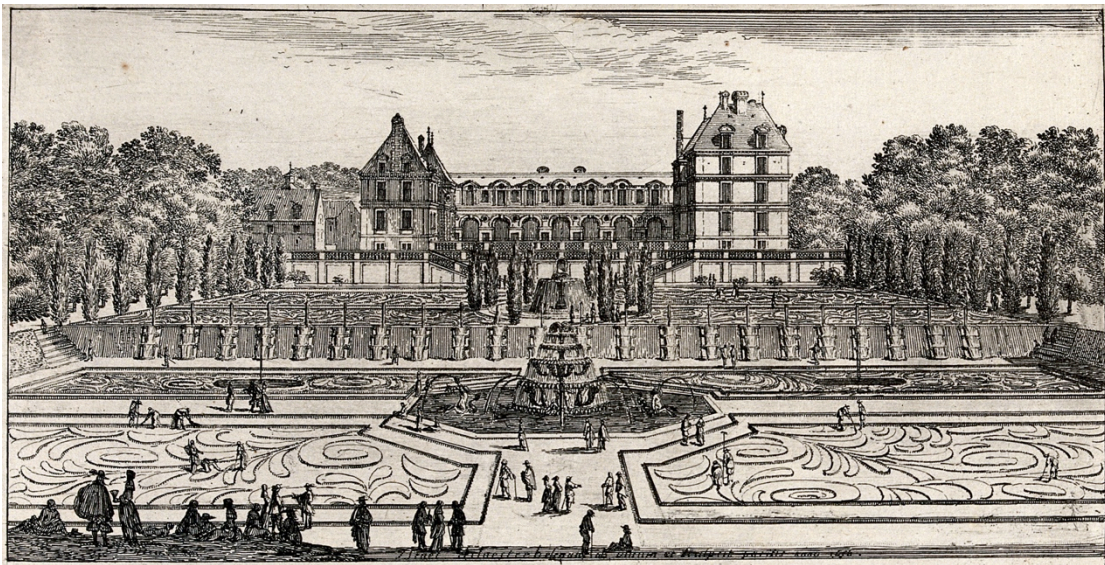


Figure 4.1.11 Liancourt, *Face du costé des cascades*, 1656, Silvestre. Credit: Wellcome Collection, CC BY

Louis singled out the cascades to the west side of the chateau: ‘Mais le plus (beau) de tous, à mon avis, est le parterre qui est a costé du chateau qui est entoure de fort belle alées d’arbres et une très belle fontaine au milieu dans laquelle des monstres marins jettent une quantité furieuse d’eau’<sup>149</sup> (Fig.4.1.11 and 4.1.12). These were described in the Mauperché key (Fig.4.1.9) (number 10) as ‘fontaine du milieu dudit jardin où est un rocher couvert d’eau avec 12 autre jets dans le même bassin, le tout portant environ 180 pouces d’eau.’<sup>150</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 100. ‘But the most beautiful of all, in my opinion, is the *parterre* beside the chateau which is surrounded by beautiful allées of trees and a very fine fountain, in the middle of which sea monsters throw a furious quantity of water.’

<sup>150</sup> ‘fountain in the middle of the garden where there is a rock covered in water with 12 other jets in the same basin, the total carrying about 180 pouces (?inches measure of water) of water.’



Figure 4.1.12 Liancourt cascades and fountain, 1656, Silvestre. Credit: Wellcome Collection, CC BY.

The cascades at Liancourt, where the water fell into shell bowls, were a precursor to those at Vaux, (Fig.4.1.13) and could be the inspiration for Sir Roger Pratt's enthusiastic suggestion for terraces dividing the house from the garden which 'if they be of a greater height ... then are there niches many times made in the front of them, for statues, fountains etc'<sup>151</sup> though he is not known to have visited.

<sup>151</sup> Sir Roger Pratt's notebooks discussed in section 5.3 below. NRO PRA742 'Of those for Noblemen,' unpaginated.





Figure 4.1.13 Cascades at Vaux (photo: author, 2017).

Areas of flat water were also a feature of French gardens where the topography allowed or necessitated this. At Fontainebleau, a long established royal hunting seat with gardens developed from the 1520s under François I, a large lake was the centrepiece of the design, needed for drainage in a marshy area as was the canal made by Henri IV from 1606-1609.<sup>152</sup> 1145 metres long, Evelyn described it as an English mile, with ‘at the margent ... incomparable walks planted with trees.’<sup>153</sup> (Fig.4.1.14) This marked the start of a French liking for lengths of water, which culminated in the canals of Vaux and Versailles. The canal at Fontainebleau would have been known by

<sup>152</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.123; Rostaing, *Les Jardins de Le Nôtre*, p. 47.

<sup>153</sup> Evelyn, *Diary* 7 March 1644, p.66.



Charles II and might have inspired his similar creation at Hampton Court in 160-1661.<sup>154</sup> (Fig.4.1.15).

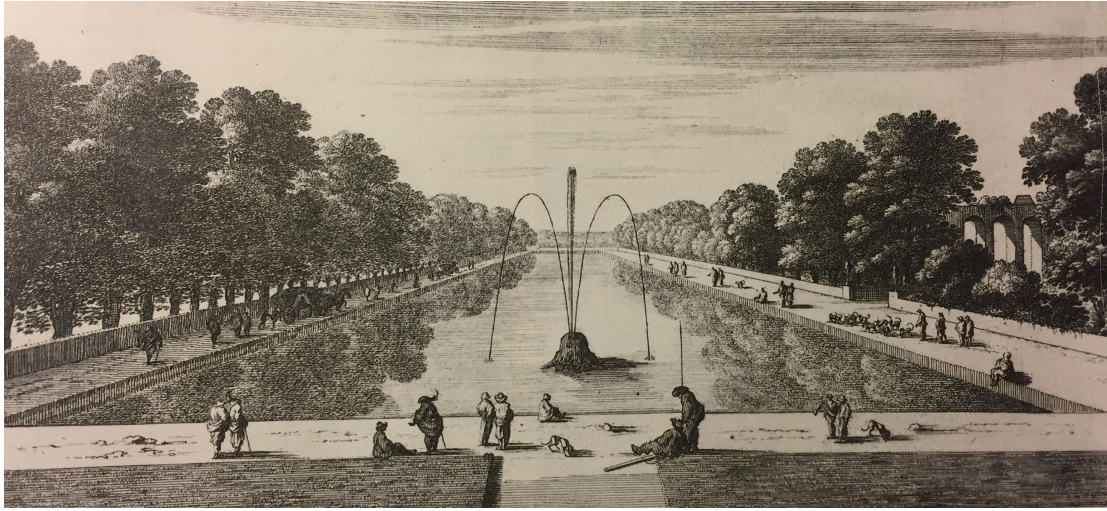


Figure 4.1.14 Gabriel Perelle (1604-1677) *The Grand Canal*, Fontainebleau



Figure 4.1.15 Danckerts, *The Long Water*, Hampton Court, c.1665, Royal Collection Trust.

<sup>154</sup> Also suggested by Jacques, *Court and Country*, p. 84 who also mentions the canal at St James Park and points out the possible Dutch influence.

Fontainebleau was also adorned with a variety of fountains of symbolic significance placed at focal points (Fig.4.1.17), such as the fountain of Tiber, the river God controlling life giving water in the king's garden (Fig.4.1.16) and of Diane the huntress in the Queen's. By the beginning of the seventeenth century therefore, water played a very important part in the composition of the French garden.

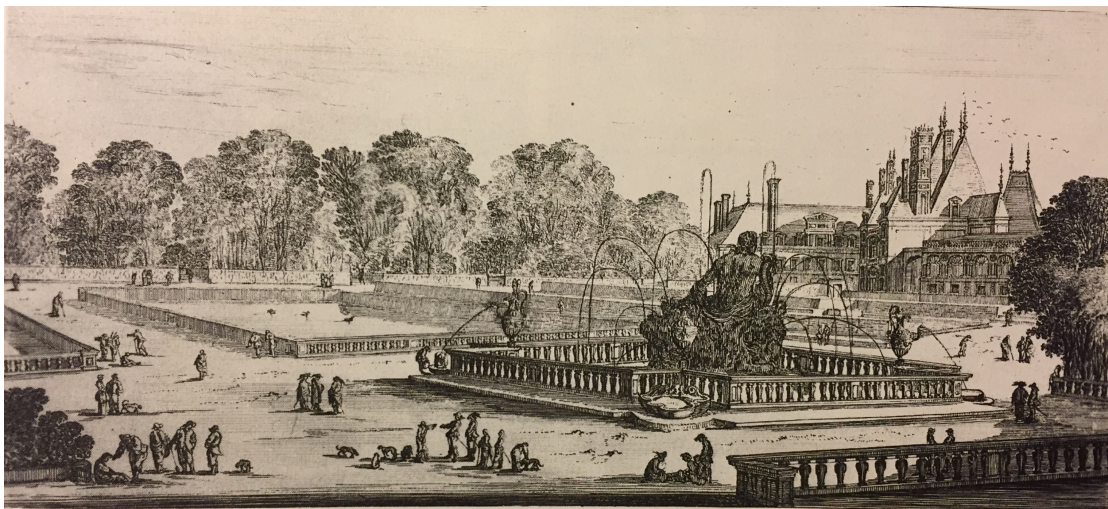


Figure 4.1.16 Silvestre, *Fontaine du Tiber*, Fontainebleau, unknown date, Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.125.



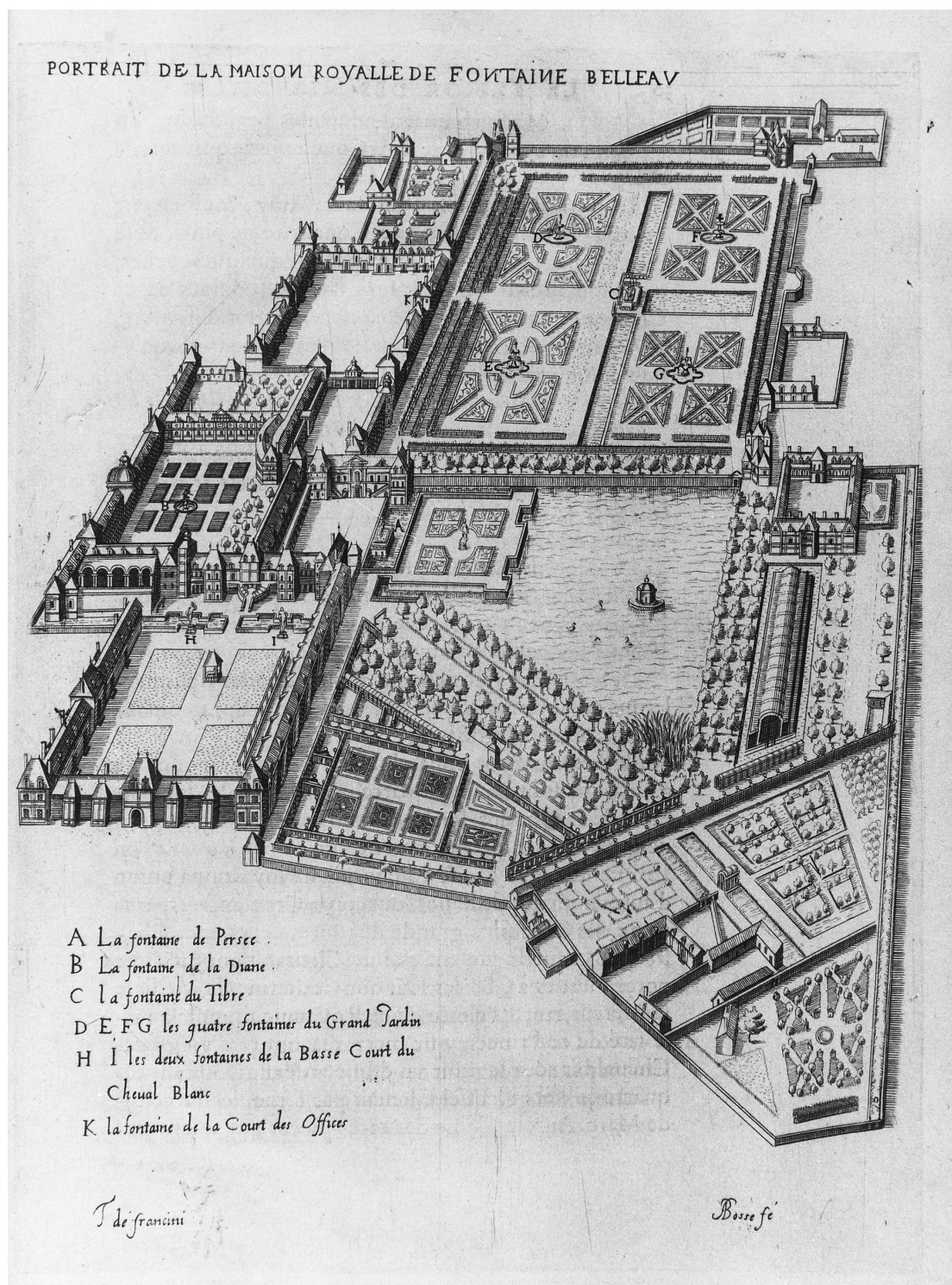


Figure 4.1.17 Tommaso de Francini, Fountains at Fontainebleau, c.1620.

#### 4.1.8 Ornamental woodland

Areas of ornamental woodland were also significant components of the French garden. Further from the house these were usually symmetrically placed on either side of the main axis and were described as *bosquets* probably derived from the Italian *bosco*. These might contain hidden attractions such as fountains and areas for theatrical display, a practice which originated during Catherine de' Medici's regency when successive celebrations and entertainments took place at Chenonceaux from 1560 and at Fontainebleau in 1564 in temporary structures, which later became a permanent feature of the French garden,<sup>155</sup> particularly exemplified at Versailles. *Bosquets* also contained walks arranged in geometric patterns, perhaps converging on a central space containing a fountain, basin or statue. Mauperché's view of Liancourt shows large areas organised as *bosquets*, some evergreen: 'figures entourées de bois toujours verts' (numbered 15) or 'bois' (13) or 'petits cabinets d'arbres toujours verts' (12) (Fig.4.1.18), though the term *bosquet* is not used.

---

<sup>155</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.81.

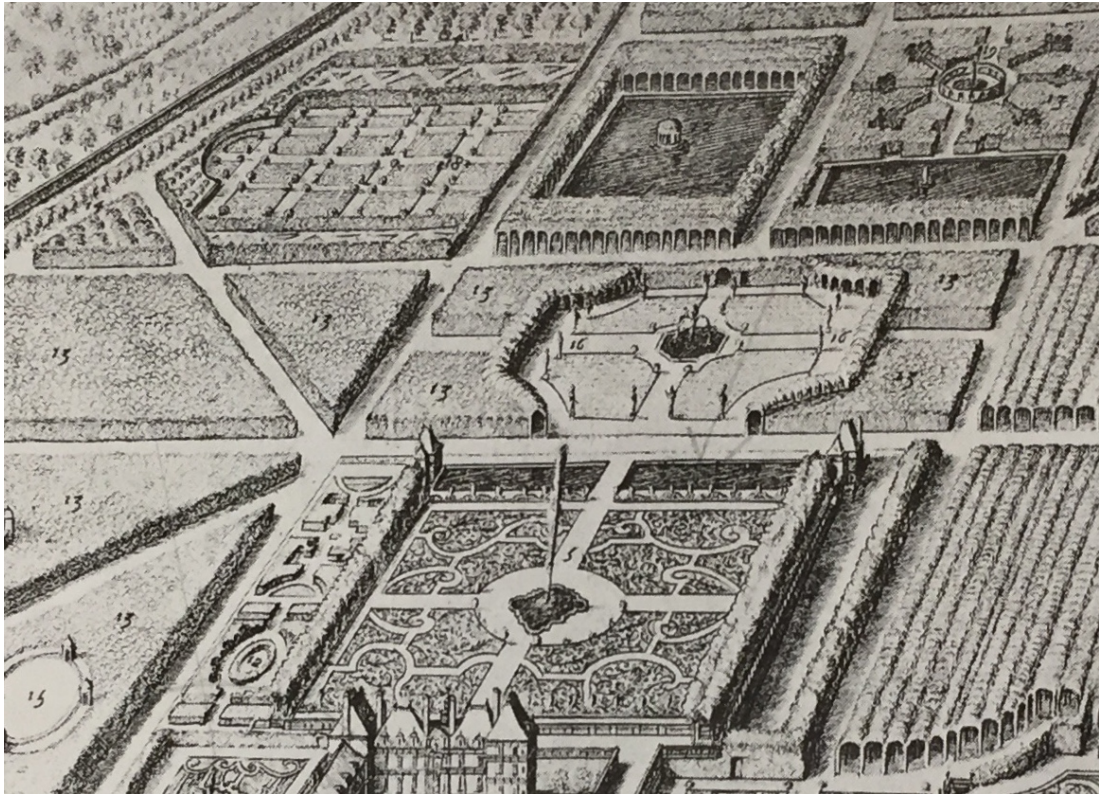


Figure 4.1.18 Liencourt 1656, detail of figure 4.1.9.

French skill in maintaining *bosquets* and 'verdure' in general was much admired by English observers such as Thomas Povey and John Locke, as noted earlier. Christian Huygens remarked on how well kept ('proprement entretenu') were the gardens at Liencourt so that French skill in garden maintenance was also a feature of the French garden, contributing to its aesthetic precision.



#### 4.1.9 Conclusion

The French formal garden was therefore a work of Art, which had developed over a long period. The gardens seen by English exiles were those of the elite: princely and aristocratic in a country dominated by an absolute monarch, mostly concentrated in the Île de France near Paris, where the garden as an art form developed to perfection. These were gardens of wealth, power and lavish display on a large scale. In summary such gardens demonstrated the following principles and features, which characterized French gardens of the seventeenth century before 1660:

- The main principle was that nature should be controlled. The natural landscape would be overlaid by a predetermined geometric pattern so that nature was constrained and controlled to achieve this.
- The straight lines were emphasized by rows of trees, hedges or palisades maintained at regular heights and spaced at regular intervals, which lined the paths, *allées* or lengths of water that created the geometric framework of the garden.
- An axial plan centred on the house or chateau, allowed the parts of the garden to be aligned usually symmetrically on either side of the main axis, while relating the house to the garden. Thus the garden was conceived 'as a unit with all the parts contributing to the unity of the whole.'<sup>156</sup>
- A second principle was the dominance of aesthetics over utility. The

---

<sup>156</sup> Hazlehurst, '*Jacques Boyceau*,' p.33.

purpose of the French formal garden was to impress and to entertain, to provide a setting for display. The *jardin de plaisir* did not include utilitarian areas, so that fruit and vegetable production took place elsewhere.

- The use of the garden for formal entertainment led to a hierarchy of space, with the most impressive parts being nearer the house, so that the most elaborate parterres and fountains might be seen from the chateau.
- Elaborate *parterres de broderie* became the defining decorative feature of the French garden, placed close to the house for detailed admiration. Less elaborate *parterres de gazon* were used further from the house and sometimes described as *à l'angloise*.
- Ornamentation with water played a significant role, whether flat water in canals to emphasise axial lines and reflect architecture, or moving in elaborate fountains, cascades or grottoes.
- The cultivation of flowers was valued as a means to display skill and fashionable taste so that the latest exotics were placed in *parterres des fleurs*, areas set aside for this purpose.
- Areas of ornamental woodland or *bosquets* situated further from the chateau displayed infinite variety, with some being simply divided into geometric walks while others were more densely planted to enclose fountains, basins or statuary.
- Trees and hedges were skillfully cultivated to impressive levels of perfection.

## 4.2 Principles and characteristics of Dutch garden design.

### 4.2.1 Introduction

The Protestant Dutch Republic was founded in 1581, with William the Silent (1533-1584), Count of Nassau and founder of the house of Orange, as the first Stadholder. The subsequent war of independence from Spain continued under Prince Maurits (1567-1625) and Frederik Henry (1584-1647) until the Treaty of Munster and Peace of Westphalia in 1648 recognized the United Provinces of the Netherlands. During the first half of the seventeenth century, concurrent with a preoccupation with war and military prowess, the Netherlands made rapid economic progress, building a vast commercial empire and becoming a leading maritime power as well as a centre of art and scholarship in painting, architecture, horticulture and garden design.<sup>157</sup>

Garden design particularly flourished under Frederik Henry whose three-way correspondence with his wife Amalia (1602-1675) and his secretary Constantin Huygens (1597-1687) shows that even while on military campaigns he gave much thought to the creation of his estates.<sup>158</sup> Gardens such as Honselaarsdijk, Ryswick and Huis ten Bosch are very well documented partly because of their absentee patron. Surviving documents include deeds, building accounts, estimates, surveyors' plans, architects'

---

<sup>157</sup> Jacques and van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*; Timeline of Dutch History, accessed 19 May 2019. <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/rijksstudio/timeline-dutch-history>.

<sup>158</sup> Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland 1600-1650* (Woodbridge: Garden Art Press, 2001), Chapter One.

plans and gardeners' contracts so that the design process has been investigated in detail, particularly by Vanessa Bezemer Sellers in *Courtly gardens in Holland*. At the same time gardens of the merchant classes were also flourishing as new lands were reclaimed and towns expanded along the rivers.<sup>159</sup>

Thus at the time of the English court's exile from 1642 to 1660, many of the leading gardens in the Netherlands were recently built or continuing to be developed, which must have been fascinating and inspirational to experience as is indicated in the travel diaries of visitors such as John Evelyn and William Brereton, which will be discussed in section 4.2.5. The following sections discuss the principles and features of Dutch gardens in the seventeenth century, considering the period up to 1680.

#### 4.2.2 Art and labour improve on nature

In 1687 Agnes Block (1629-1704), whose garden on the river Vecht had developed from 1670, commemorated the first pineapple to be produced there by having a medal struck, which read "Fert arsque laborque quod natura negat" or 'Art and labour bring about what nature cannot achieve.'<sup>160</sup> This neatly encapsulates the combination of a classical tradition in which art

---

<sup>159</sup> Erik de Jong, "'Nederlandish Hesperides" Garden Art in the Period of William and Mary 1650-1702,' in 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary,' eds. Hunt and de Jong, pp. 15-40.

<sup>160</sup> De Jong translation, "'Nederlandish Hesperides," p. 18.

perfects nature and a Protestant belief in the virtue of hard work, which was characteristic of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century.<sup>161</sup>

This is also emphasized by Jan van der Groen, the court gardener, in *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, the Dutch treatise on gardening published in 1669. He celebrated nature as the creation of God and quoted Jacob Cats' country house poem in support: 'No matter how small the animal, no matter how fragile the plant/ Even without a voice, they proclaim the Great Creator.'<sup>162</sup> Yet nature could be perfected, by the grace of God. As summarised by Erik de Jong, van der Groen felt that Nature had to be 'arranged, embellished, put into good order, decorated and made pleasurable by Art.'<sup>163</sup> Thus one principle governing Dutch garden design was that nature needed to be improved on through a combination of hard work and artifice. This was in part due to the demands of a landscape constantly under threat from the elements.

#### 4.2.3 The landscape must be engineered to create a garden

The nature of the Dutch landscape, particularly in the west of Holland, made specific demands and constraints on garden design.<sup>164</sup> Much of the land was flat, wet grassland, fringed on the coast by a strip of sand dunes and subject

---

<sup>161</sup> Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (London: Collins, 1987), p.35-39.

<sup>162</sup> From a longer quote in Erik de Jong, *Nature and Art, Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650-1740* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 7.

<sup>163</sup> De Jong, "Nederlandish Hesperides," p. 18.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20. This paragraph.

to strong westerly and northerly winds. Sophisticated drainage systems were required to make the land habitable and productive. Protection from winds was essential. Some of the land was recently reclaimed through a grid like system of strictly geometric drainage canals and dykes. The Dutch were highly skilled at engineering and controlling the landscape.

This is made clear in Vanessa Bezemer Sellers' description of the building of the gardens at Honselaarsdijk, based on a meticulous study of this well documented site.<sup>165</sup> The early development of the gardens was 'a constant struggle with water.'<sup>166</sup> Letters and accounts show that valuable trees were lost due to salt water contaminating the ground, necessitating large sums of money repeatedly being spent on new sewers and drainage systems even in 1631, ten years after work first started.<sup>167</sup> In 1635 further drainage works were required for André Mollet to be confident that his box *parterres* would not be inundated.<sup>168</sup> As the gardens expanded in the late 1630s and 40s massive works of land reclamation and drainage took priority over aesthetic considerations. As Bezemer Sellers suggests 'these factors had an impact on the size and shape of the garden as well as on the choice of plant material.'<sup>169</sup> Honslaarsdijk, though an extensive garden, remained one of rigid

---

<sup>165</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, Chapter One.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29-31.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

subdivisions, compartmentalized, with 'little dynamic integration of parts' or 'spatial flow'<sup>170</sup> (Fig.4.2.1).

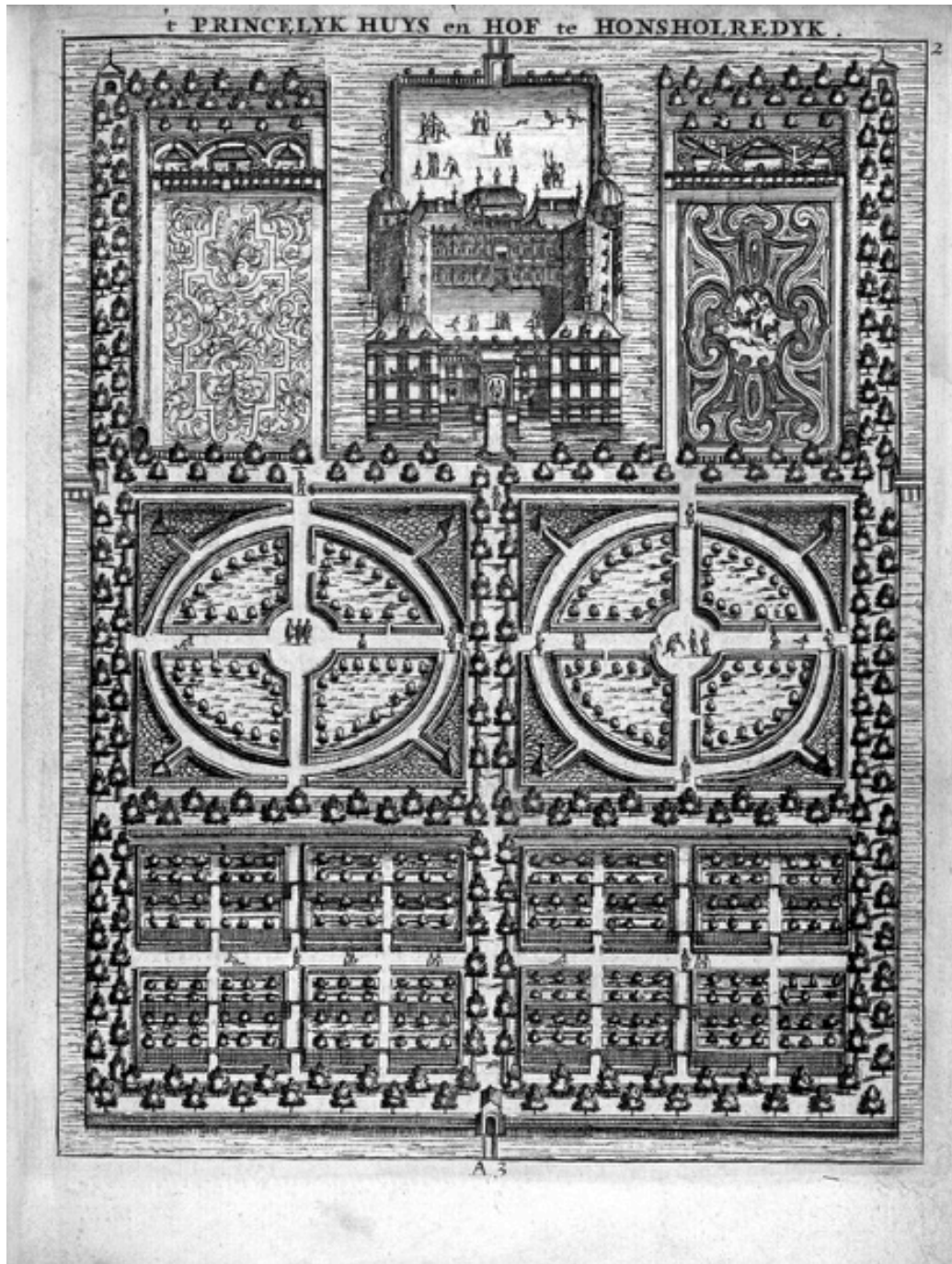


Figure 4.2.1 Honselaarsdijk, from Jan van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669, p. 8 <https://vdocuments.mx/den-nederlandsten-hovenier-dl-01.html>, accessed 20 February 2019<sup>171</sup>

<sup>170</sup> John Dixon Hunt, 'Reckoning with Dutch Gardens' in 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary,' eds. Hunt and de Jong, pp.41-60, p. 51.

The impact of the pattern of drainage on garden design is also clear in smaller gardens so that in some ways straight lines and geometric forms, while conforming to classical ideals of proportion and mathematics, were a necessity anyway. This is illustrated in a map of De Werve, near Voorburg by Cornelis Elandts of 1666 (Fig.4.2.2), which shows both the house and garden of De Werve and the adjoining lands of Hofwijck, owned by Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the Princes of Orange and author of a country house poem celebrating his gardens.<sup>172</sup> The map shows a flat landscape bisected by drainage channels in regular parallel lines, forming strips of meadowland and cultivated areas. Hofwijck can be seen on the left, while De Werve is located to its right. Cartouches show details of the De Werve gardens, while along the top The Hague can be seen in the distance (not in the figure). Both gardens are constrained by the drainage pattern. Hofwijk is less ambitious in scale and achieves an overall design within a narrow plot, while De Werve is more ambitious and seems to have expanded in a piecemeal fashion by adding more narrow plots of land. The manor of De Werve was purchased in 1641 by Franciscus van Halewijn (d.1689) and extended over the next twenty years. As De Jong suggests 'This fragmentary way of purchasing land prevented him from ever achieving a great architectonic concept ... the traditional division of land and water greatly restricted the design of the garden.'<sup>173</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> All subsequent illustrations from *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier* are from the same online source, downloaded, 19 February 2019.

<sup>172</sup> De Jong in Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' Catalogue, pp. 110-112.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p.111.



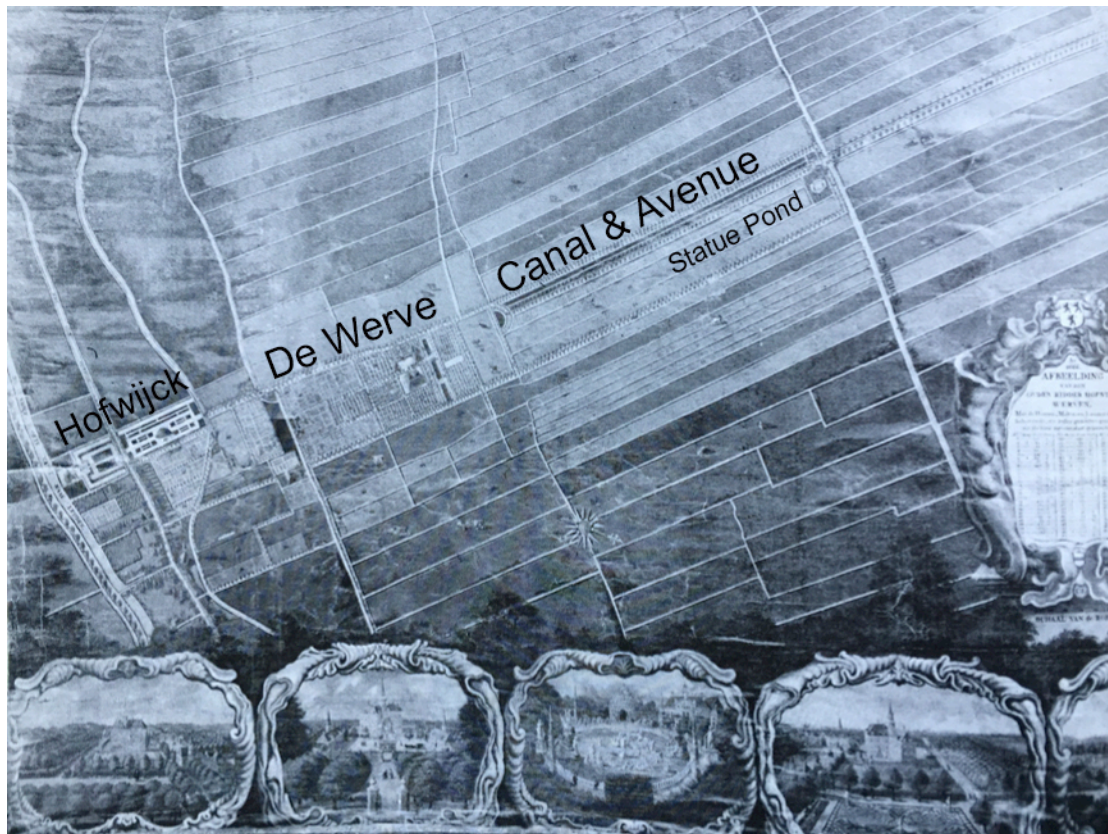


Figure 4.2.2 Cornelis Elandts, *Afbeelding van den Ouden Ridder Hofsted Werven*, Map of the house De Werve near Voorburg, 1666. Voorburg, Western Road building Centre, in Hunt and De Jong p. 110.

Van Halewijn's most ambitious expansion, to the northwest, was an extended avenue following the course of a dyke which was made into an ornamental canal, lined with trees and leading to a small enclosure housing a pavilion with a circular statue pond, designed as an Italianate classical garden, as De Jong suggests, to demonstrate his knowledge of classical antiquity.<sup>174</sup> Yet even here, the landscape and the need to engineer the drainage seem to have determined the shape rather than any principles of design.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 111. This can be seen in the third cartouche from the left on the map, with the canal avenue lying diagonally pointing towards the top right of the map.

Dutch gardens were therefore forced into spaces between waterways resulting in smaller spaces or a series of self-contained areas, enclosed by water, trees and hedges so that there was less emphasis on prospect, compared with English or French gardens.<sup>175</sup> If a view out was required, this necessitated building a viewing mount as at Hofwijk (Fig.4.2.5) or a viewing platform over water (Fig.4.2.3). Due to the constraints of the landscape, Dutch gardens 'could not orchestrate their spatial forms' to provide extended vistas as for example at Vaux-le-Vicomte in France.<sup>176</sup> This also resulted in gardens of a smaller scale as compared with the French.



Figure 4.2.3 Jacob Cats, *Hof-gedachten*, 1655. The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., in J D Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch garden in the seventeenth century*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1990, p. 179.

<sup>175</sup> Hunt, 'Reckoning with Dutch Gardens,' pp. 41-60.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p.51.

The use of canals to make a rectilinear framework for the garden became a feature of Dutch gardens apparent both in courtly gardens and in those of lesser status. Courtly gardens such as Honselaarsdijk (Fig.4.2.1), Hofwijk (Fig.4.2.5) and Ter Nieuburgh (Fig.4.2.10) followed a rectilinear layout emphasized by surrounding canals lined with trees. Merchant gardens such as at Vredenburg (Fig.4.2.17) also made use of canals to frame the main space. While the trees and canals had a functional purpose, providing drainage and protection, they were also aesthetically important in organizing the space along strict geometrical lines, as well as providing an opportunity for garden buildings overlooking water and for ornamental, yet functional bridges. At Hofwijk and Honslaarsdijk moats, which had enclosed earlier buildings, were also kept for practical (the 'exigencies of terrain' rather than for defence)<sup>177</sup> and aesthetic purposes, forming inner rectilinear spaces. The success of using canals in this way is shown by André Mollet's promotion of the design in his 1651 book, *Le jardin de plaisir*, where his second ideal plan shows an enclosing canal, a moat surrounding the house and pavilions at the southern ends of the canals, such as can be seen at Honselaarsdijk (Fig.4.2.4). Successive historians have pointed out the similarity of this plan to Honselaarsdijk,<sup>178</sup> yet it does depart from Honselaarsdijk in its exedral end, perhaps in this feature being more like Ter Nieuburgh, though there the exedra was contained within the rectangle. Nevertheless, Mollet was clearly impressed by the use of canals to enclose and define space and their

<sup>177</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.178.

<sup>178</sup> Florence Hopper, 'The Dutch Classical Garden and André Mollet,' *Journal of Garden History*, vol 2, no 1 (1982), pp. 25-40; Jacques and van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*, p. 10; Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.195.



aesthetic appeal, which he had observed in the Netherlands. He therefore recommends the framing canal on aesthetic grounds, when their practical use for drainage would not have been needed in other topographies.

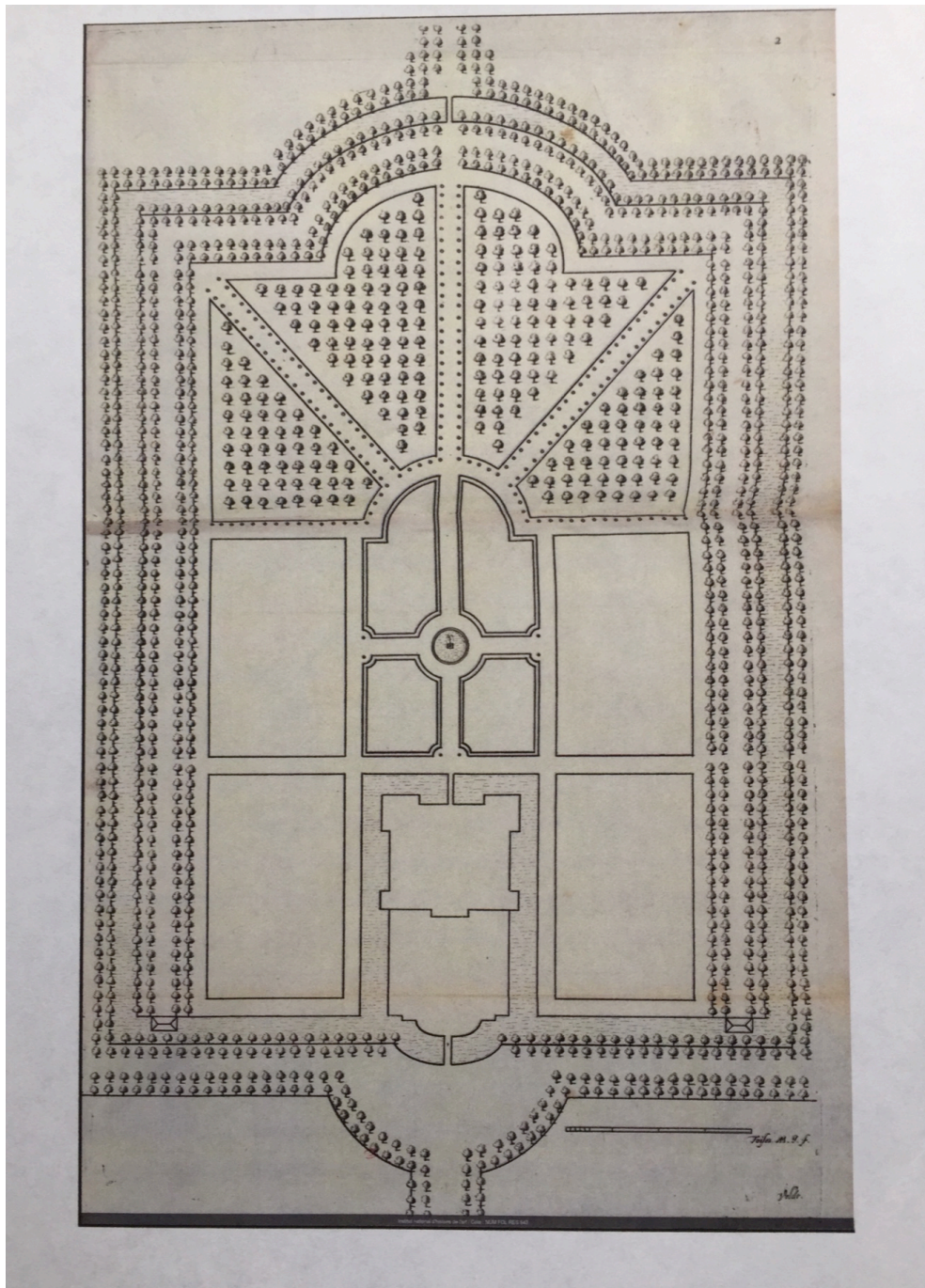


Figure 4.2.4 André Mollet's second ideal plan, *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.

#### 4.2.4 The importance of trees

In the gardens of Constantijn Huygens' country estate at Hofwijk, completed between 1640 and 1642,<sup>179</sup> the importance of trees can be demonstrated. Huygens' design 'consisted mainly of the planting of trees'.<sup>180</sup> The trees featured prominently in his poem describing the concept and design of the garden. The poem, which combined thoughts on the practicalities of cultivation with philosophical meditations on nature, creation and aesthetics, was published in 1653, accompanied by a plan, enabling the reader to follow the description (Fig.4.2.5). The garden was enclosed by windbreaks of black alder along the northern edge and elm along the straight edge of the river Vliet. The elm trees are praised for their 'Utility, Pleasure and Glory', strengthening the banks of the river, providing shade as well as beauty.<sup>181</sup> Huygens' pine trees are grown for masts and manured by roses: 'And from that rotting sweet, from that corruption fair/ mast after mast is fed, til buds swell everywhere.'<sup>182</sup> The poem declares that Huygens' heirs must never uproot Hofwijk's avenues of oak trees unless Holland itself is destroyed.<sup>183</sup> The reader is asked to imagine the trees when they have reached full glory in a hundred years' time.<sup>184</sup> Thus the trees seem to take on a greater

---

<sup>179</sup> Wybe Kuitert, 'Japanese Robes, "Sharawadgi", and the Landscape Discourse of Sir William Temple and Constantijn Huygens,' *Garden History*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Winter 2013), pp. 157-176.

<sup>180</sup> Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' Catalogue, p.112.

<sup>181</sup> Willemien B. De Vries, 'The Country Estate Immortalized' in *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Hunt, pp. 81-97.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, quoted p. 92.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85-6.

significance than the purely practical, perhaps understandably in a barren land recently reclaimed from the sea.

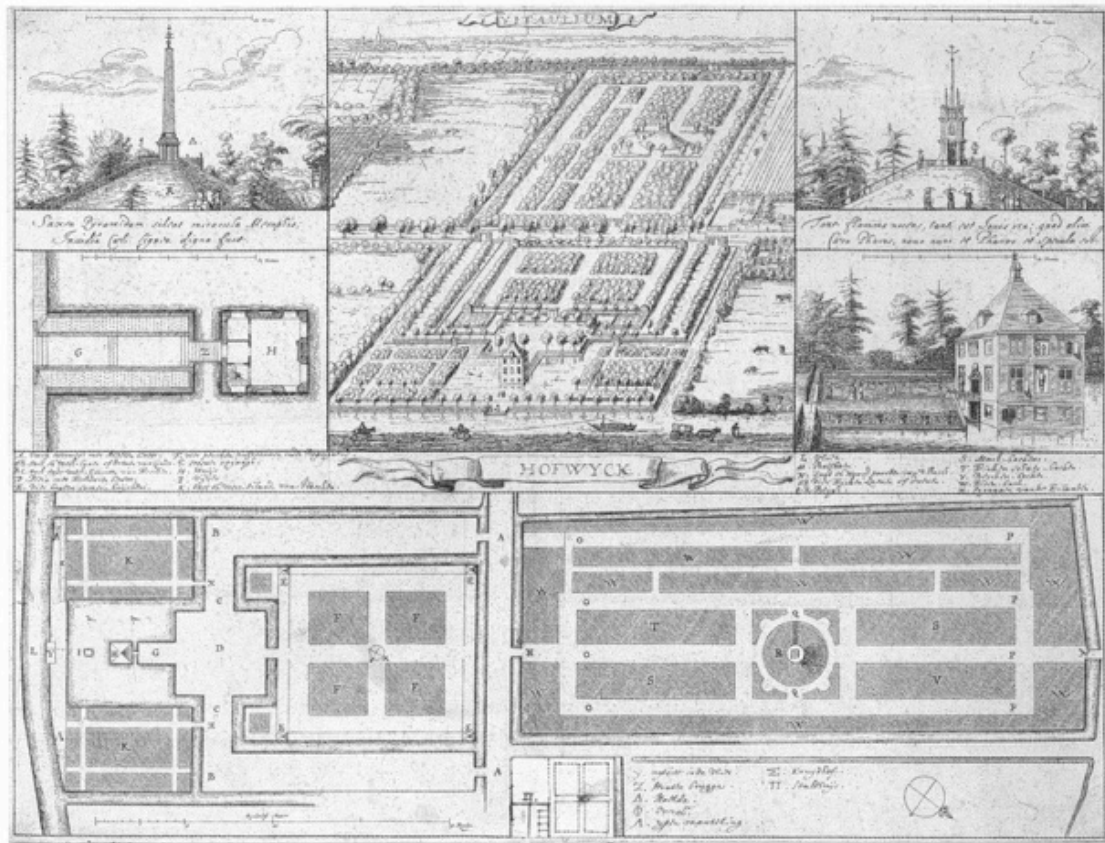


Figure 4.2.5 Constantijn Huygens, *Vitaulium* or *Hofwijk*, unknown engraver, 1653. Huygens Museum, Hofwijk, The Hague in Wybe Kuitert, 'Japanese robes, "Sharawadgi", and the landscape discourse of Sir William Temple and Constantijn Huygens', *Garden History*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (winter 2013), p. 158.

The garden was divided into two by a road running through it (labelled A on the plan, Fig.4.2.5), with the poorer sandy soils to the north and better clay soils to the south. Although the plan was rigorously geometric, with straight-sided planting blocks, in the sandy section the trees were regarded as a wilderness, planted informally, with blocks of pine, birch and coppiced oak said to suggest 'the semi-natural, coppiced oak woods of the inner dune

landscape.<sup>185</sup> These ideas were also followed by Jacob Westerbaen (1599-1670) at Ockenburgh, where he only used a geometric layout in the orchard and kitchen garden.<sup>186</sup> Despite the predominance of geometry therefore, in the planting of trees a more naturalistic approach was apparent in some Dutch gardens (Fig.4.2.6).



Figure 4.2.6 C. Huygens Jr, *A corner of the garden at Hofwijk*, pen and pencil, 1669. Berlin, Staatliche Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett in Hunt and De Jong, p.20.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., p. 161. The supporting note for this is in Dutch, not translated.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p. 161.



Dutch skill in cultivating trees in rows on the other hand, was particularly admired by visiting travellers such as Evelyn at Ryswijk and Amsterdam.<sup>187</sup> Their practical use as windbreaks planted in avenues or walks surrounding the garden is noted by De Jong, who suggests that this gave the garden its sense of enclosure and an 'inward looking orientation.'<sup>188</sup> Their use in towns to line streets and in fortifications to add strength, was also much admired. Edward Browne (1644-1708), travelling in 1668 noted 'handsome rows of trees' near Rotterdam and in Utrecht, and in Leyden he described 'divers large streets, beautified with rows of trees and water passing through the middle of them.'<sup>189</sup> He also noted the route from The Hague to the coast at Scheveling (Scheveningen) 'from whence his Majesty returned to England' as 'very remarkable, it being a straight way cut through the Sand-hills, and paved with Brick for three miles having on each hand four or five rows of trees and Scheveling Steeple at the end of it.'<sup>190</sup> Thus trees were clearly used in the wider landscape as well as in gardens for their use in providing shade and shelter as well as to impress.

---

<sup>187</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 13-21 August 1641, p.27; 21-24 August 1641, p.29; Sally Jeffery, 'The Way of Italian Gardens,' pp.22-51; Mowl, *Gentlemen Gardeners*, p.36.

<sup>188</sup> De Jong, 'Netherlandish Hesperides,' p.20.

<sup>189</sup> Edward Browne, *An account of several travels through a great part of Germany, part 1 from Norwich to Cologne*, printed in London, 1677, pp.1-38.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid. The Scheveningen Weg was designed by Constantijn Huygens in 1653 and completed by 1663 (Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p. 192).



#### 4.2.4 Hedges, *berceaux*, trellis and topiary

Sir William Brereton (1604-1661) visited Holland in 1634 and described the gardens of Lord Offerbeake near Alphen. What particularly impressed him were the ‘most curious hedges and walls covered ...a square plot converted into garden and walks, and most curious hedges ... ’twixt every walk dubbed hedges kept in most curious order.’<sup>191</sup> Here the term ‘curious’ is used to mean skilled (an archaic usage today): ‘made or prepared skillfully, with painstaking accuracy or attention to detail’<sup>192</sup> while the term ‘dubbed’ (also archaic) means ‘dressed or adorned.’<sup>193</sup> He goes on to name twelve different kinds of plant used for hedging, including ‘apple-tree hedges both thick platted and kept dubbed in good order.’ The impression is of a highly tended and trained garden meticulously pruned and maintained.

As Hunt comments, Brereton particularly responds to the neatness and ingenuity of the hedging.<sup>194</sup> Other English travellers, such as William Aglionby (c.1642-1705) in 1669<sup>195</sup> also noted the Dutch gardens’ neatness, while Evelyn in a letter in 1686 reminisced on Dutch gardens: ‘though the French at present may boast of their vast designs, their Versailles, and portentous

---

<sup>191</sup> Taken from Hunt’s more extensive quote in ‘Reckoning with Dutch Gardens,’ p.42.

<sup>192</sup> [Http://www.dictionary.com/browse/curious](http://www.dictionary.com/browse/curious), accessed 24 March 2019.

<sup>193</sup> [Https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/dub](https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/dub), accessed 24 March, 2019.

<sup>194</sup> Hunt, ‘Reckoning with Dutch Gardens,’ p.45.

<sup>195</sup> William Aglionby, *The Present State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries*, London, 1669, p.267.

works; yet Gardens are nowhere so spruce, and accurately kept [as in the Netherlands].<sup>196</sup>

Brereton also noted some form of trellis work: 'the first [garden] wherein you enter ...along the sides and ends whereof a strong frame of timber, which guides and nourisheth a brave thick cover of a kind of elms.'<sup>197</sup> Hunt suggests that this kind of 'artful manipulation of natural materials into topiary or supported on pergolas and trellis work were a striking feature' of Dutch gardens for much of the seventeenth century.<sup>198</sup> This is confirmed in the Dutch gardening treatise by Jan van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669, which includes many designs for complex trelliswork, though none showing foliage (Fig.4.2.7).

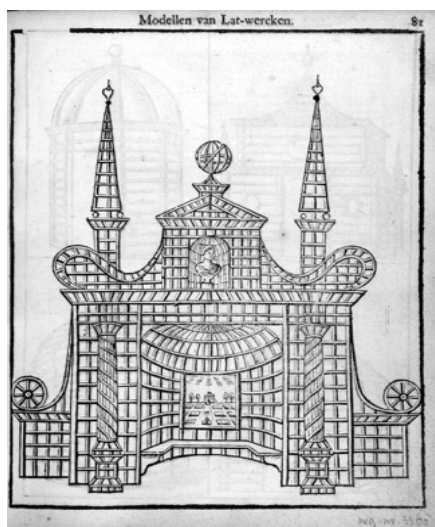


Figure 4.2.7 Design for trellis seat, 'Modellen van Lat-wercken', Jan van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, p.114.

<sup>196</sup> Evelyn, Letter to Robert Berkeley July 16, 1686, (BL, Letter 540(538) f 39 Add 78299 Liber IV).

<sup>197</sup> Taken from Hunt's quote in Hunt, 'Reckoning with Dutch Gardens,' p.42.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., p. 47.



Figure 4.2.8 Jan van der Heyden, *Huis ten Bosch*, c.1668. Metropolitan Museum New York, in Bezemer Sellers, Plate xiv, opposite p.209.

The gardens of Huis ten Bosch, near the Hague, built as a summer retreat from 1645, for Amalia, wife of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange Nassau, as depicted in a painting of the 1660s (Fig.4.2.8), show trellis work obelisks, similar to those illustrated in *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier* (Fig.4.2.9); and carefully manicured hedges of the type described by Brereton thirty years earlier.

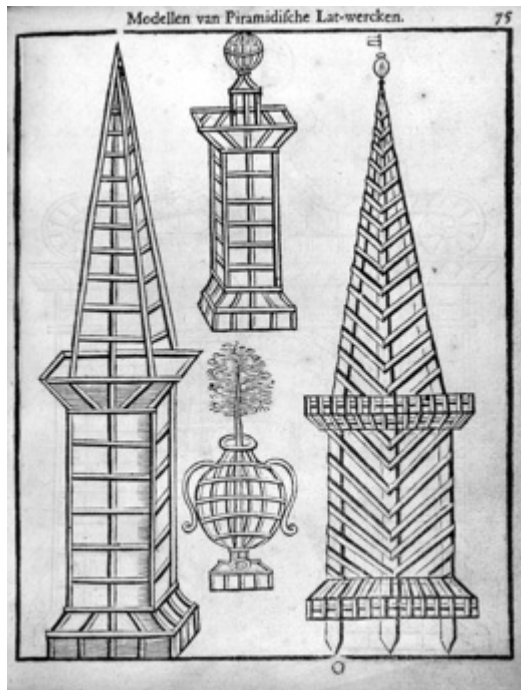


Figure 4.2.9 Obelisks, 'Modellen van Piramidische Lat-wercken', Jan van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, p.108

Trellis was also used to make *berceaux*: walkways and arbours covered in foliage. *Berceaux* became common from the 1620s when used in the gardens of the Buitenhof, in the centre of The Hague, built by Prince Maurits and completed after Prince Maurits' death in 1625 by his brother Frederik Hendrik who succeeded him as Stadholder.<sup>199</sup> Two circular *berceaux*, which supported beech trees, surrounded *parterres de broderie*, with several arbours, all enclosed within a galleried arcade (containing a grotto) and crenellated walls (Fig.4.2.10). This was an original design by a multi-talented virtuoso Flemish artist of miniatures and botanical drawings, Jacques de Gheyn II (d.1629), following carefully worked geometric proportions but including a variety of decorative amusements. Among those who admired the garden was Evelyn,

<sup>199</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, pp. 120-124.

who visited in 1644 and described it as 'full of ornament, close walks (probably referring to the *berceaux*), statues, marbles, grots, fountains and artificial music.'<sup>200</sup>

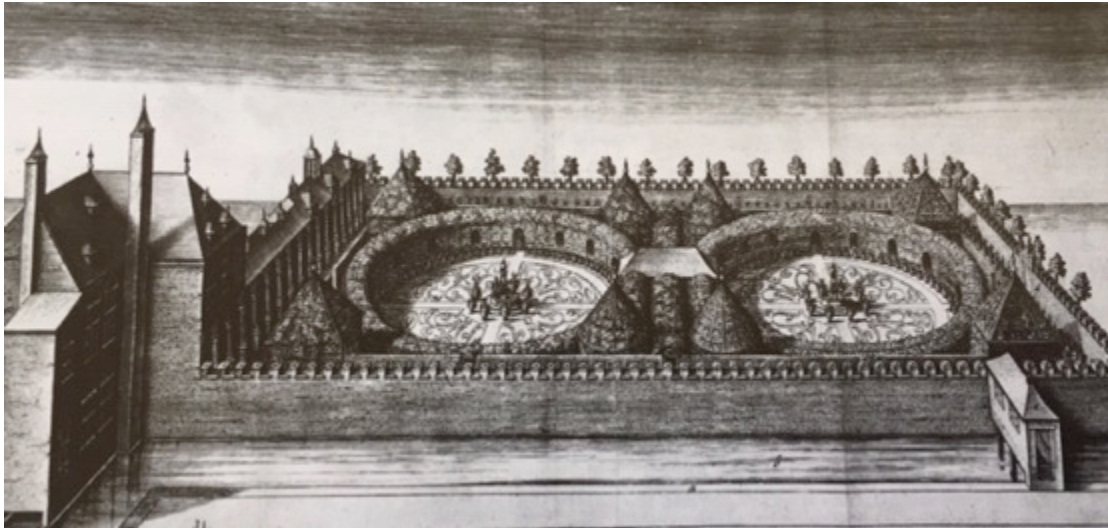


Figure 4.2.10 *Buitenhof garden*, print by Hendrick Hondius, 1620. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam in Bezemer Sellers, p.121.

A French envoy, Charles Ogier (1595-1654), who visited in 1634 was also impressed: 'a lovely and well kept garden: in particular two round *berceaux* of bent trees.'<sup>201</sup> The double circular *berceaux* became a popular feature of Dutch gardens in the 1620s and 30s, particularly those of the court circle, where they occur in six gardens of the Stadholder Frederik Henry and his relatives.<sup>202</sup> Although the twin circle motif may have had some iconological significance, particularly in the context of the court interest in classical and

<sup>200</sup> Quoted in Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p. 122; Evelyn, *Diary*, 13-21 August 1641, p.27.

<sup>201</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.320, note 95.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p.234.



Renaissance ideas of geometry and harmony, as discussed by Bezemer Sellers, the use of *berceaux* to define areas also had the practical advantage of adding to the sense of enclosure and giving shelter from the elements.

At Ter Nieuburch, Rijswijk, extensive *berceaux* were used to delineate the garden, separating the 'aesthetic' *parterres* from the 'utilitarian' fishponds and embracing the end section of the garden with a semi-circular exedra extending to two wings, marked at the angles and end points by pavilions (Fig.4.2.11).

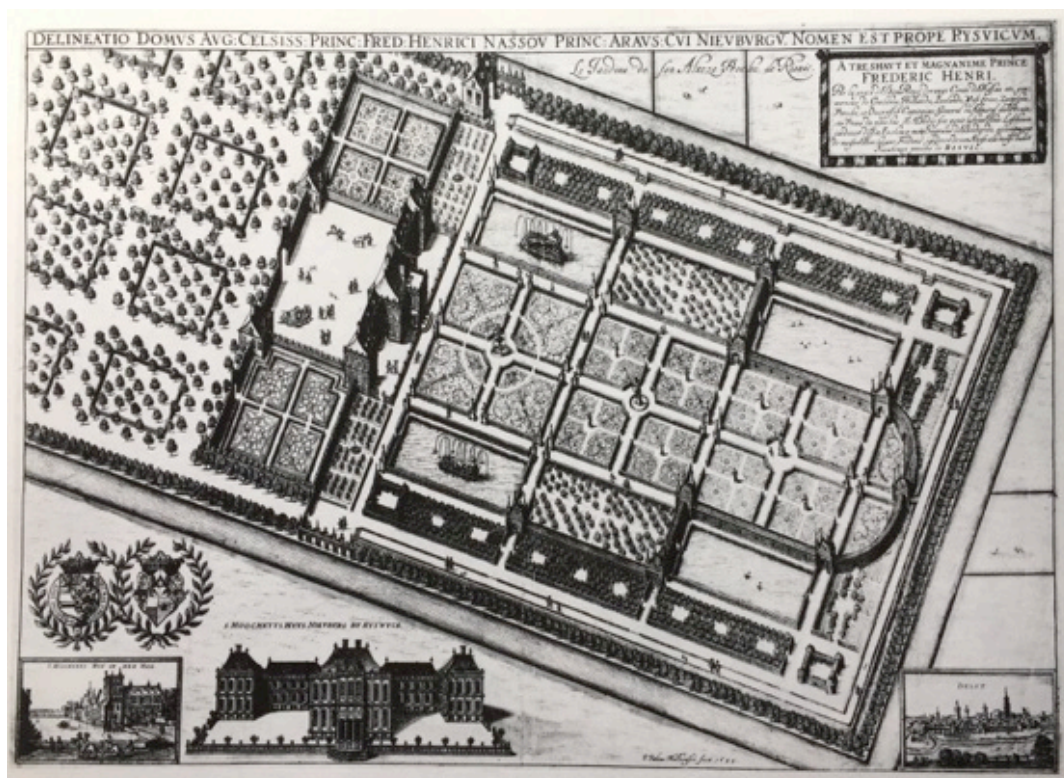


Figure 4.2.11 J Julius Milheusser, *Ter Nieuburch* 1644. Germeentearchief, The Hague in Bezemer Sellers, p.65.

This arrangement remained until the end of the century,<sup>203</sup> helping to unify the design but adding to its compartmentalized character so that although this garden has been said to be more modern in form with its clear central axis,<sup>204</sup> it remains, like other seventeenth century Dutch gardens, a grid of squares and rectangles, enclosed by a raised walkway, rows of sheltering trees and a canal.<sup>205</sup>

*Berceaux* continued to be a significant feature of Dutch gardens from the 1670s at courtly gardens such as Sorgvliet and Het Loo<sup>206</sup>, during William III's reign, valued along with other forms of hedging and trellis work, as a means of dividing space, providing shelter and displaying horticultural expertise.

#### 4.2.5 Parterres

The garden at Buitenhof (Fig.4.2.10) was also innovative in its use of elaborate *parterres de broderie*, which became a feature of Dutch courtly gardens in the 1630s and 40s. At Buitenhof the design was based on four flowing letters 'M', glorifying Prince Maurits.<sup>207</sup> Further ornate *parterres de broderie* were designed and their planting supervised, by André Mollet from 1633 to 1635 at several of Frederik Henry's gardens, including

---

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>205</sup> Jacques and van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*, p. 10.

<sup>206</sup> Hunt, *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, pp.110-111 and 146-148.

<sup>207</sup> Jacques and van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*, p.9.

Honselaarsdijk, Ter Nieuburch, Zuylesteyn and Buren.<sup>208</sup> At Honselaarsdijk Mollet was sufficiently pleased with his designs to reproduce them in *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, published in 1651.<sup>209</sup> These were the two *parterres* flanking the palace beyond the moat (Fig.4.2.12 & 4.2.13). Both designs consisted of intricate arabesque swirls planted in box. In an account book of 1633, Mollet is paid 400 livres 'for the parterres en broderie and compartiments de gazon' of Honslaarsdijk.<sup>210</sup> The *parterre* to the west or right side was centred on the Dutch rampant lion, with areas of grass and filled in with coloured stone, gravel and shells, while the *parterre* to the left was a more intricate *parterre de broderie*.<sup>211</sup>

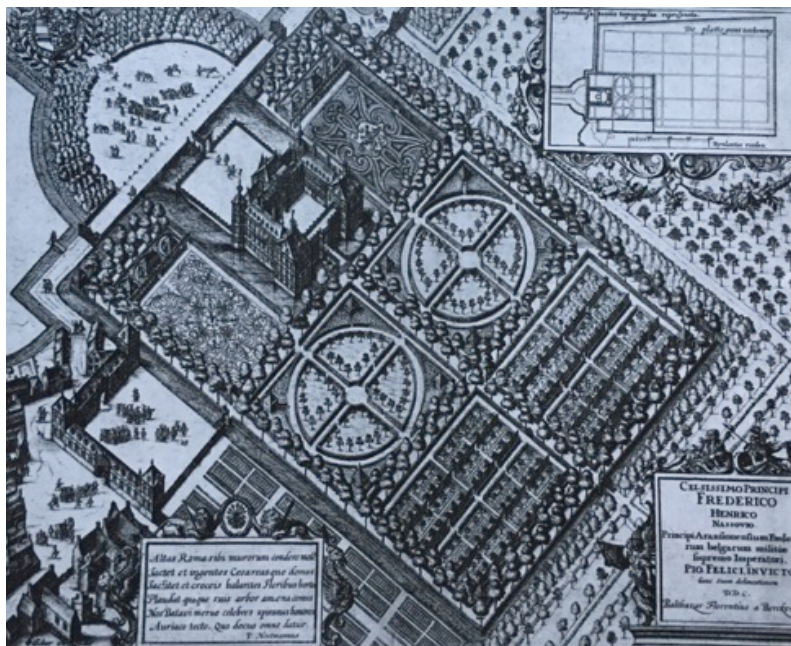


Figure 4.2.12 Balthazar Florisz van Berckerode, *Honselaarsdijk*, c.1638. Gemeentearchief, The Hague Bezemer Sellers, p. 21

<sup>208</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>209</sup> Florence Hopper, 'The Dutch Classical Garden and André Mollet,' pp.25-40; Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.38-39.

<sup>210</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, accounts listed p.37.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., p. 38.



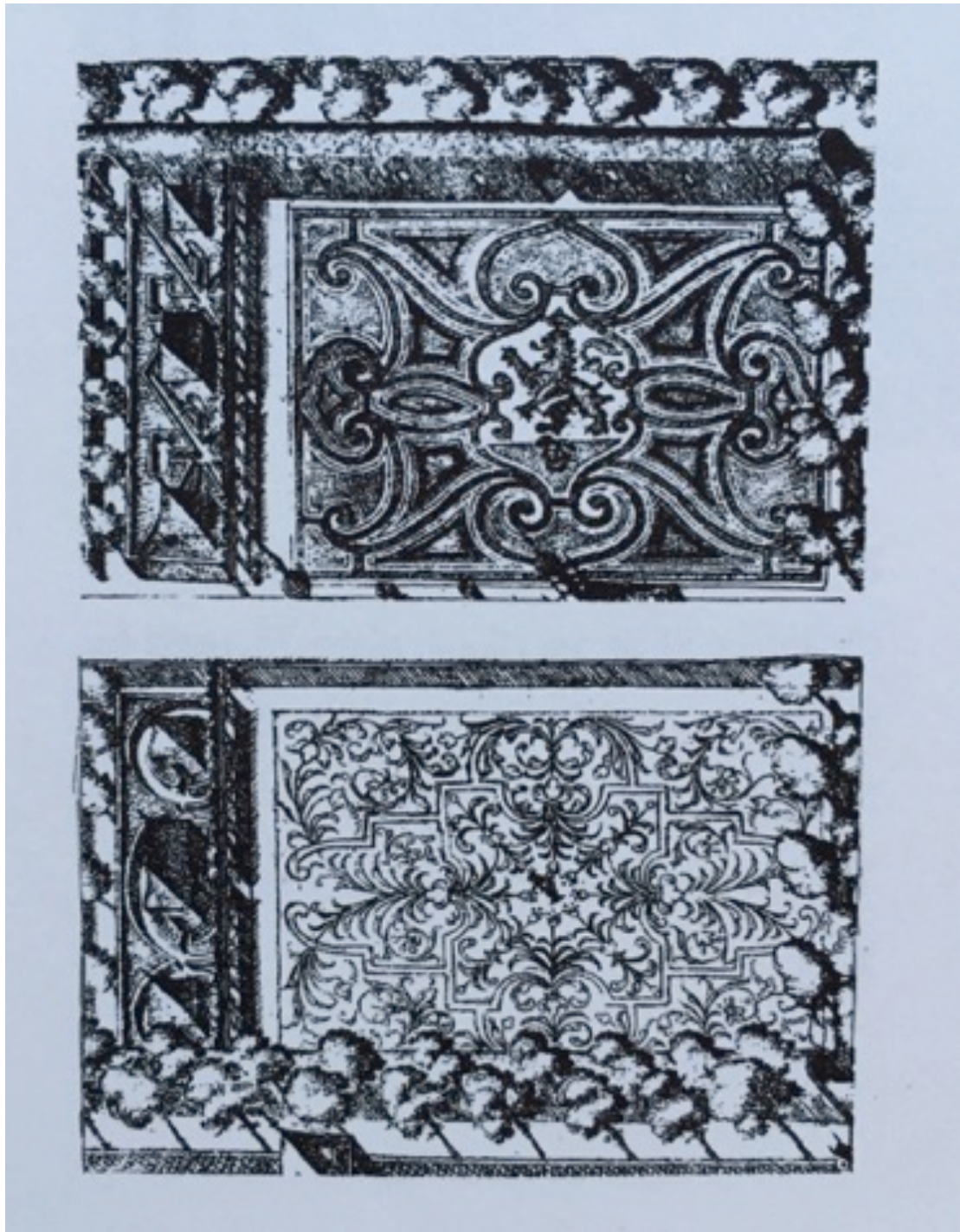


Figure 4.2.13 Detail of Fig. 4.2.12, *parterres* at Honselaarsdijk.

As noted above, Mollet was also impressed by the overall plan at Honselaarsdijk, which had been developed before he arrived in Holland, reproducing a version of this as an ideal plan in his book,<sup>212</sup> an interesting example of a two way process of cultural exchange taking place within the international milieu of courtly design.

At Ter Nieuburch (Fig.4.2.11) this international mix of ideas is also apparent. The design for Ter Nieuburch seems to have been a collaborative effort as suggested by a letter from Constantijn Huygens of 1638 indicating that both Frederik Henry and his architect Jacob van Campen made designs.<sup>213</sup> Of the eight extant plans showing alternative designs, one is considered to be French since measurements are given in French *toise* but none are signed or dated. Mollet, as supervisor of the Stadholder's gardens, is one possible author, while Simon de la Vallée, who held the title of 'Stadholder's Architect' from 1634 until he left for Sweden in 1637, is another possibility. Joseph Dinant, also French, was employed as *fontainier-grottier* from 1634 and stayed as supervisor of works at Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuburch for twenty years. The *parterres* at Ter Nieuburch stylistically appear to be of Mollet's design although the account books do not specifically mention him.<sup>214</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.39; Hopper, 'The Dutch Classical Garden and André Mollet,' p. 34 and Jacques and van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*, pp.10-11.

<sup>213</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, this paragraph, pp.67-77.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

The court of Frederik Henry was therefore at the forefront of developments in architecture and garden design, creating a centre of thought and creativity, disseminating ideas. René Descartes (1596-1650) lived in Holland from 1629-49 and was a close friend of Huygens, who consulted Descartes on matters of mathematics and architecture.<sup>215</sup> Prints and drawings of the Palais de Luxembourg were requested by Descartes to be sent from France to enable him to advise his friends on garden design. Huygens received a book described as 'un grand livre des Parterres ou Jardins de France' in 1642, which he forwarded to Descartes. This was probably Jacques Boyceau's *Traité du Jardinage*, of 1638.<sup>216</sup> As de Jong points out this orientation towards French gardens was not new, as is shown by the early translation into French of *Maison Rustique* (1564) by Estienne and Liébault,<sup>217</sup> published in Dutch in 1588, but not translated into English until 1600. He also suggests that the inspiration for Van der Groen's *parterre* designs in *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier* was Daniel Rabel (1578-1631) *Livre des differents desseigns de parterres*, published in 1630.<sup>218</sup>

Van der Groen differentiates clearly between French and Dutch designs in his illustrations, giving 'models for French *parterres*' (Fig.4.2.14), while many of his other suggested designs are described as 'models for flowerbeds' (Fig.4.2.15).

---

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., p.67-77.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>217</sup> De Jong, 'Netherlandish Hesperides,' p.34.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

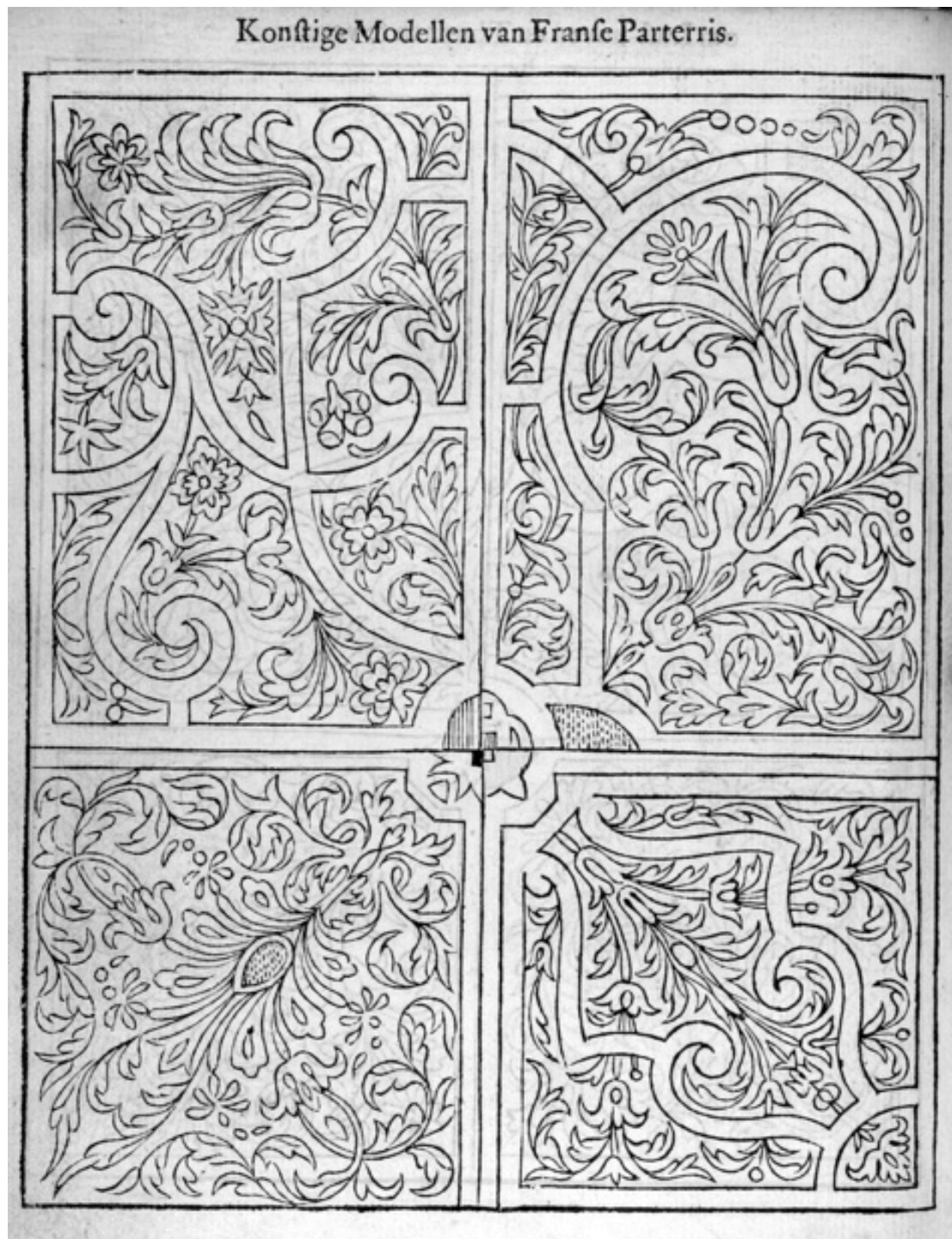


Figure 4.2.14 Models for French *parterres*, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669, p.139.

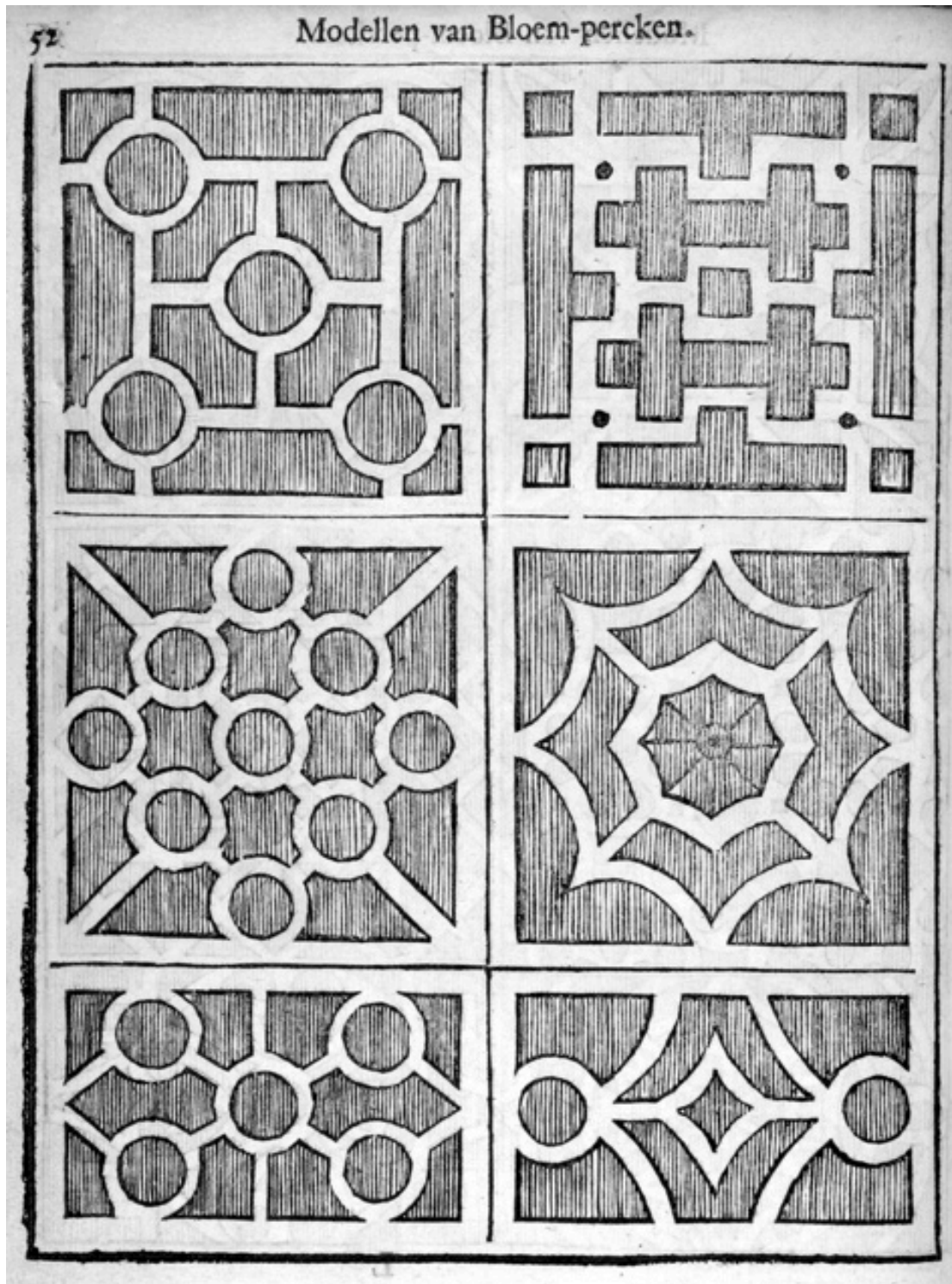


Figure 4.2.15 Models for flowerbeds, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669, p. 85.



The models for flowerbeds are much more geometric and similar to those put forward in the English garden treatises of the 1660s. In his plan of a house, garden and flowerbeds (Fig.4.2.16), the beds are rectilinear and straight, with only one area given a more flowing curvilinear form. In further illustrations he contrasts a 'Dutch house and garden with flower beds' (Fig.4.2.17) with a garden of 'France foliage work' (Fig.4.2.18). The Dutch house is more modest and the garden is more enclosed, with again a small area given to a *parterre de broderie*, within straight-sided shapes. The French garden is more expansive with half the area given to *parterres de broderie*.

While fashionable French forms of *parterre* were advocated therefore, and promoted through courtly gardens and the employment of skilled French designers, geometric forms were used at the same time, so that both types of *parterre* were a feature of Dutch gardens.

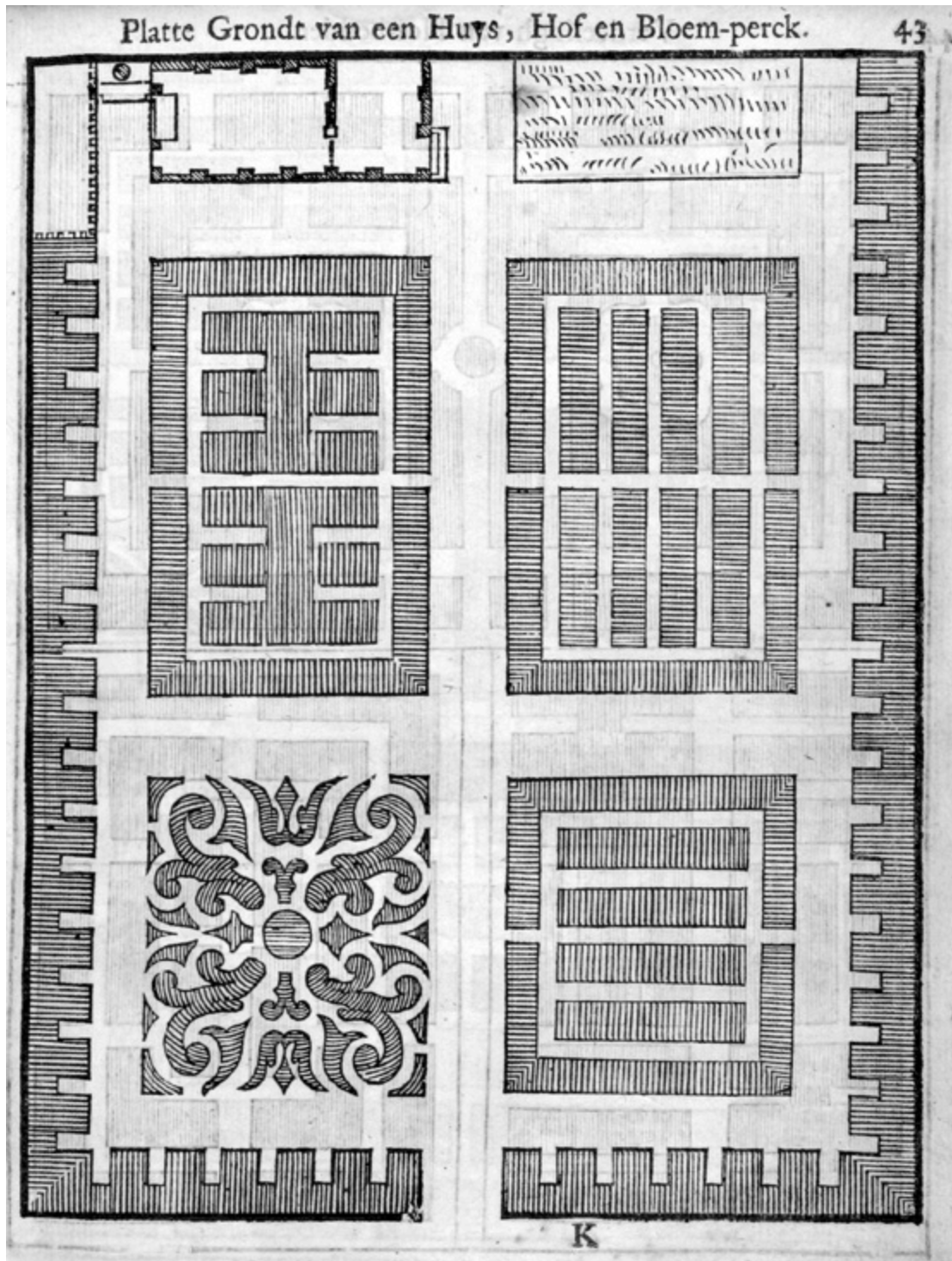


Figure 4.2.16 Ground plan of a house, garden and flower beds, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669, p.76.

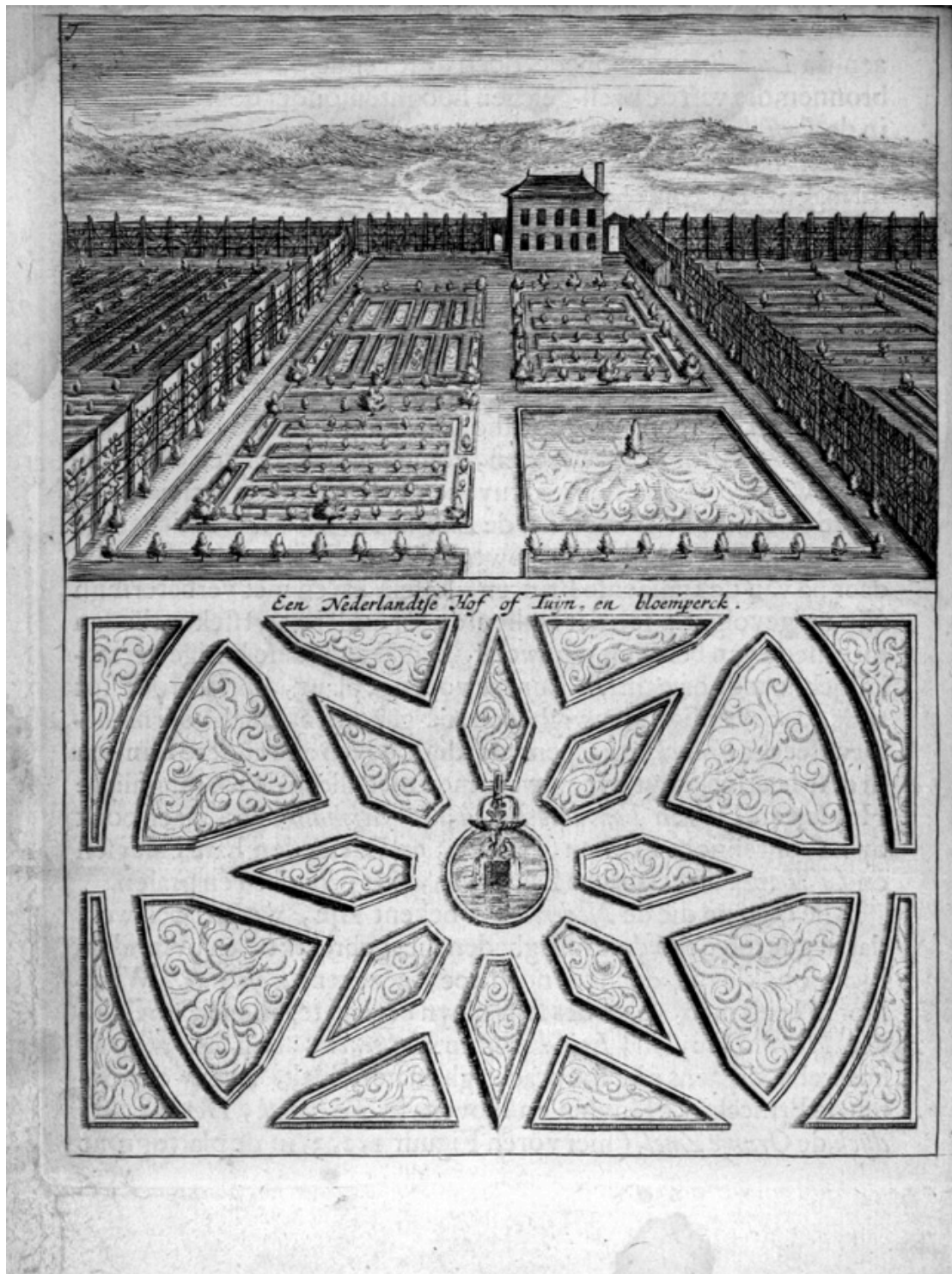


Figure 4.2.17 Dutch house and flowerbeds, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, p. 19.



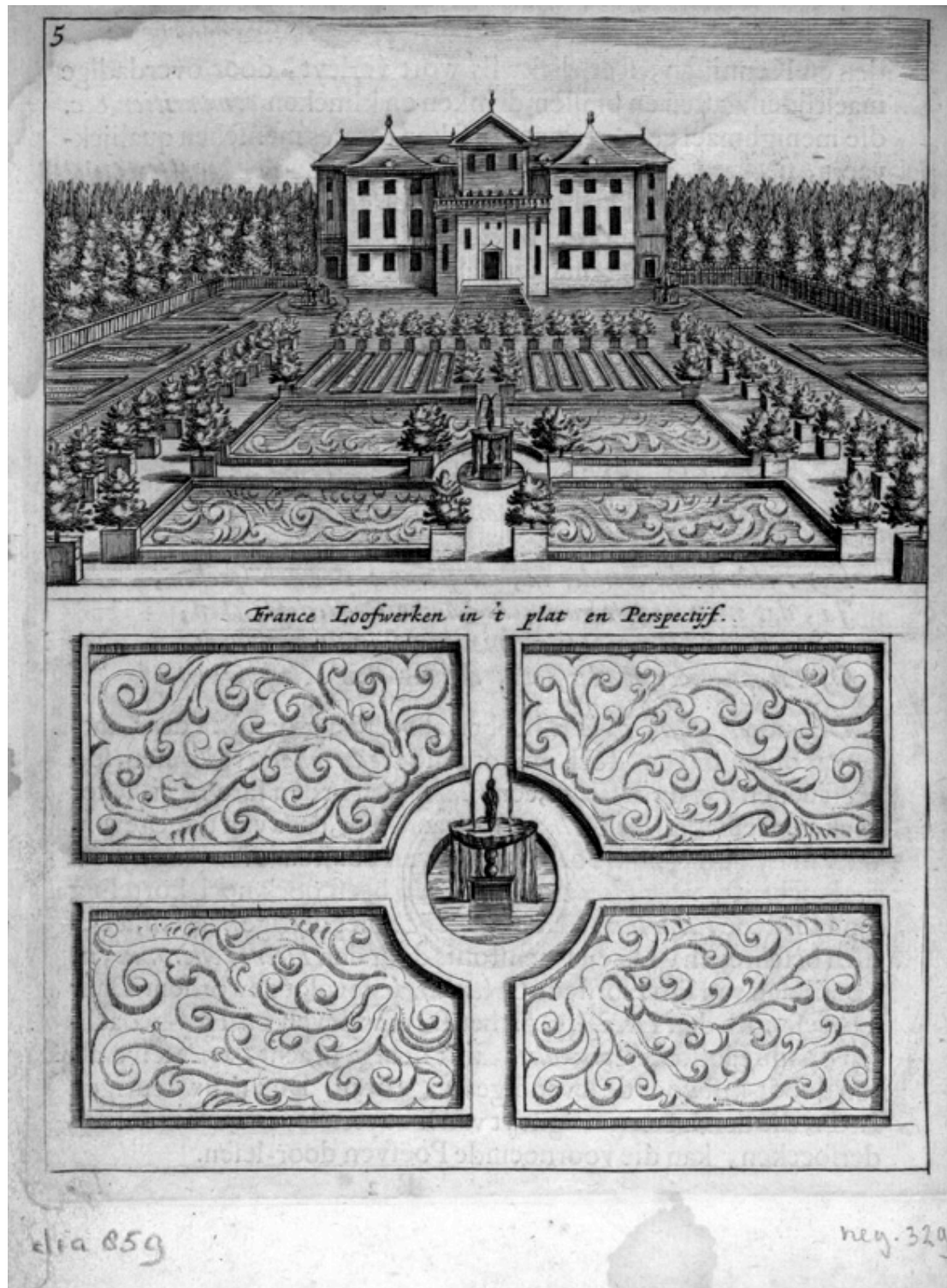


Figure 4.2.18 French foliage work on the ground and perspective, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, p.15.

The continuing importance of geometric *parterres* is illustrated by the house and garden at Vredenburg, on the Beemster Polder, near Amsterdam, designed from 1639-1642, by its owner Frederik Alewijn and completed by the architect Pieter Post (1608-1669) (Fig.4.2.19). Alewijn was from a merchant family but part of the court circle and had studied Palladio and Scamozzi as is perhaps evident from the rigid geometry of the design, which De Jong describes as 'sober' due to the estate's role as an agricultural investment rather than a pleasure ground.<sup>219</sup> The decorative gardens and in particular, the *parterres*, are strictly geometric and symmetrical. As part of the court circle Alewijn would have been aware of the latest trends, but has eschewed any fanciful French *broderies*, which confirms that the fashion for plainer *parterres* continued as is suggested by the models in *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*.

However, further developments at Honslaarsdijk in the late 1640s, after Mollet's departure, show that French *parterres de broderie* were still in ascendance for a major courtly garden. The twin circular *berceaux* garden, which had become a 'leitmotif' for Dutch princely gardens as described above, were swept away in favour of a large area of *parterres*. The new *parterres* centred on three fountains set on the transverse axis, giving a much less enclosed and more open and expansive layout (Fig.4.2.20 & 4.2.21).<sup>220</sup> Mollet's *parterres* were also revised and divided, each into four smaller

---

<sup>219</sup> De Jong in Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' Catalogue, p.116.

<sup>220</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.49.

*parterres de broderie*, without the heraldic element.

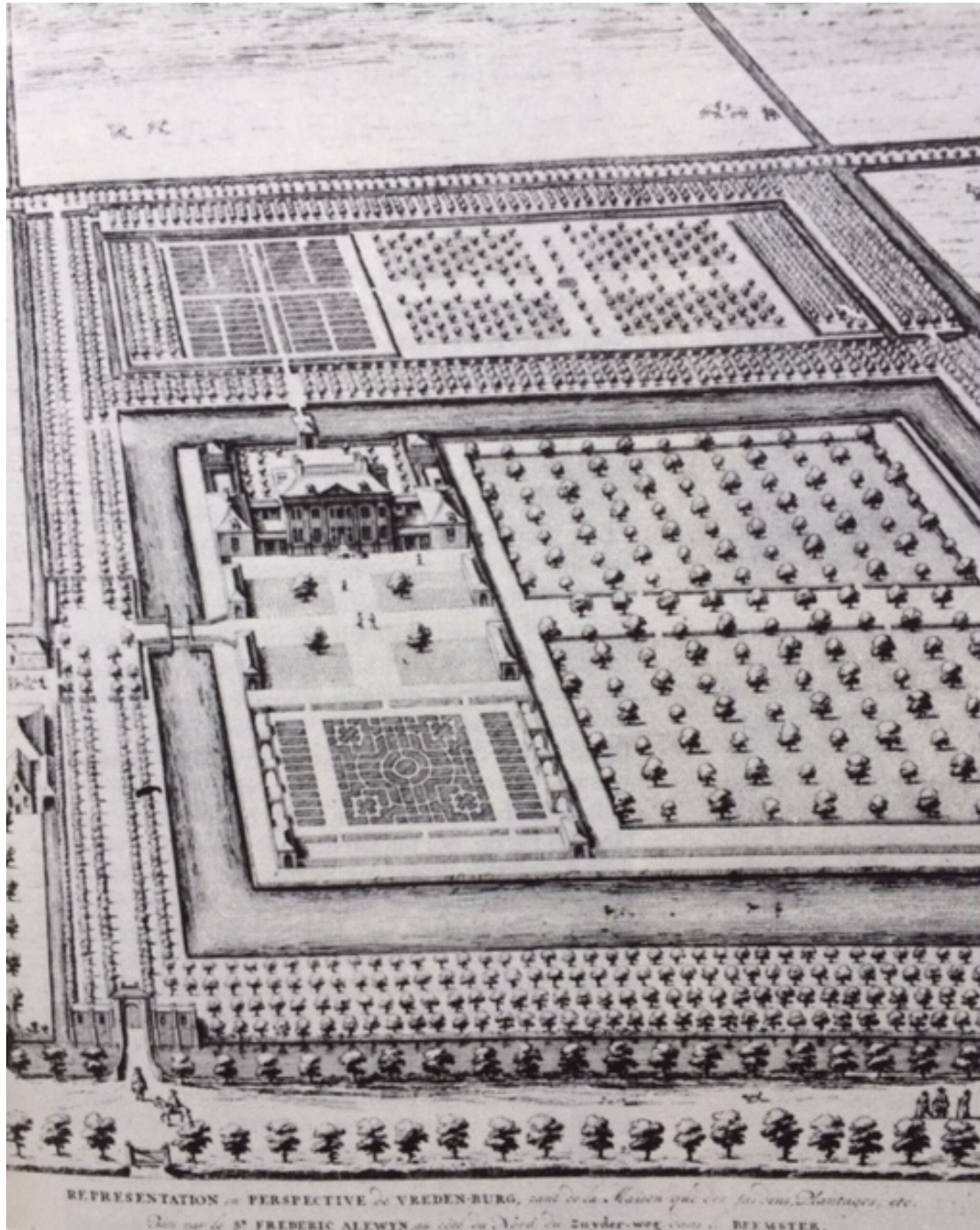


Figure 4.2.19 Peter Post (1608-1669) and Jan Mathys (active 1657-1685), *Vredenburg*. Haarlem, Topografische Atlas, Rijks Archief inde Province Noordholland TA G (492.629.012) 6-iii in Hunt and De Jong, p.115.





Figure 4.2.20 Daniel Stoopendaal, *Honselaarsdijk*, 1685-90 in Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.48.



Figure 4.2.21 Petrus Schenck, *Honselaarsdijk*, c. 1690. Bibliotheek Landbouwniversiteit, Wageningen in Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.49.

Thus just before Frederik Henry's death in 1647, developments at Honselaarsdijk show that in what was a major princely garden, French *parterres* were an important feature and by accommodating them into one large area, French ideas of spatial organization were being adopted, where the space was more expansive and the composition of the garden was seen as a whole unified space rather than as a series of enclosures.

#### 4.2.6 Ornamentation

Another feature of Dutch gardens was a fondness for ornamentation in the form of adornments such as fountains, grottoes, orangeries, aviaries, statues and sculpture, balustrades, pots of flowers and a variety of garden buildings such as pavilions built over canals (Fig.4.2.3). In the garden of Huis ten Bosch (Fig.4.2.8) for example, as well as the neatly shaped hedges, *parterres* and trelliswork, the garden was adorned with classical statuary and pots mounted on pedestals as can be seen in the painting. While Bezemer Sellars describes it as 'decorated sparsely,'<sup>221</sup> perhaps because there were no fountains, grottoes or other significant entertainments, yet the overall impression is that the garden was well adorned and this seems to be a typical Dutch garden characteristic.

A more modest garden is illustrated in a painting attributed to W Schellincks (1627-1678), depicting a country house along a river, possibly Ruimzicht, on

---

<sup>221</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p.114.

the river Liede, near Haarlem, of c.1660-70 (Fig.4.2.22 & 4.2.23). Despite its lower status than the courtly gardens of Huis ten Bosch, there is a cornucopia of ornamentation. De Jong considers that 'there is no seventeenth-century painting that more adequately illustrates Dutch garden design around 1660-70.'<sup>222</sup> The garden is divided into three enclosed areas, with a more utilitarian section to the right for fruit trees and bushes and the pleasure gardens in front of the house and to the left. As well as an aviary (bottom middle), there is an



Figure 4.2.22 W Schellinks (1627-1678) attributed, *A country house along a river*, c.1660-70. Amsterdam Historisch Museum A 23894 in Hunt and De Jong, colour plate II, Cat. No. 7.

<sup>222</sup> De Jong in Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' Catalogue, p.119.



orangery (orange trees on boards on wheels, waiting to be moved)<sup>223</sup>, two grotto fountains, statues, high spouting fountains, a curved hedge or exedra, clipped hedges forming the outer boundaries, various topiary trees or shrubs in pots, an abundance of flowers and shrubs trained and carefully spaced, within the curvilinear parterres marked out by low box edging. As De Jong suggests, the garden is a museum of plants, fountains and sculpture, with something to excite all the senses, a demonstration of its owner's ability to improve on nature.

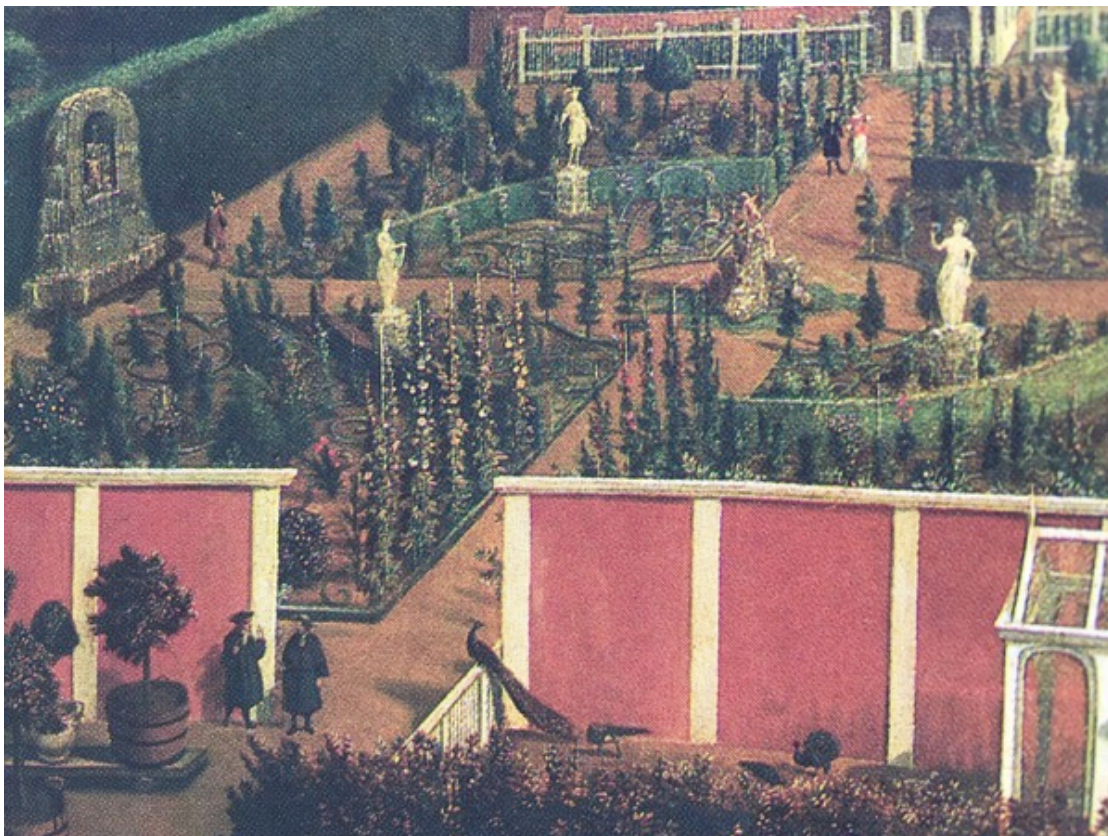


Figure 4.2.23 detail of figure 4.2.22.

<sup>223</sup> This could also be the orange trees' permanent display area during the summer months, as suggested by Jan Woudstra's work re-instating the greenhouse quarter at Hampton Court, in Jan Woudstra, 'The Re-instatement of the Greenhouse Quarter at Hampton Court Palace,' in *Garden History*, vol. 37, no. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 80-110, p. 89.

#### 4.2.8 Plants and flowers

The interest in horticulture and the cultivation of plants and flowers is an important feature demonstrated above and in most Dutch gardens as can be seen in the illustrations accompanying this text. For example, at Buitenhof (Fig.4.2.10 & 4.2.24), the circular *berceaux* sheltered a collection of plants in pots displayed inside the circles, a smaller circle of pots surrounding the central fountain and a larger circle lining the *berceaux*. The gardens also contained an aviary and the earliest grotto in the Netherlands.<sup>224</sup>

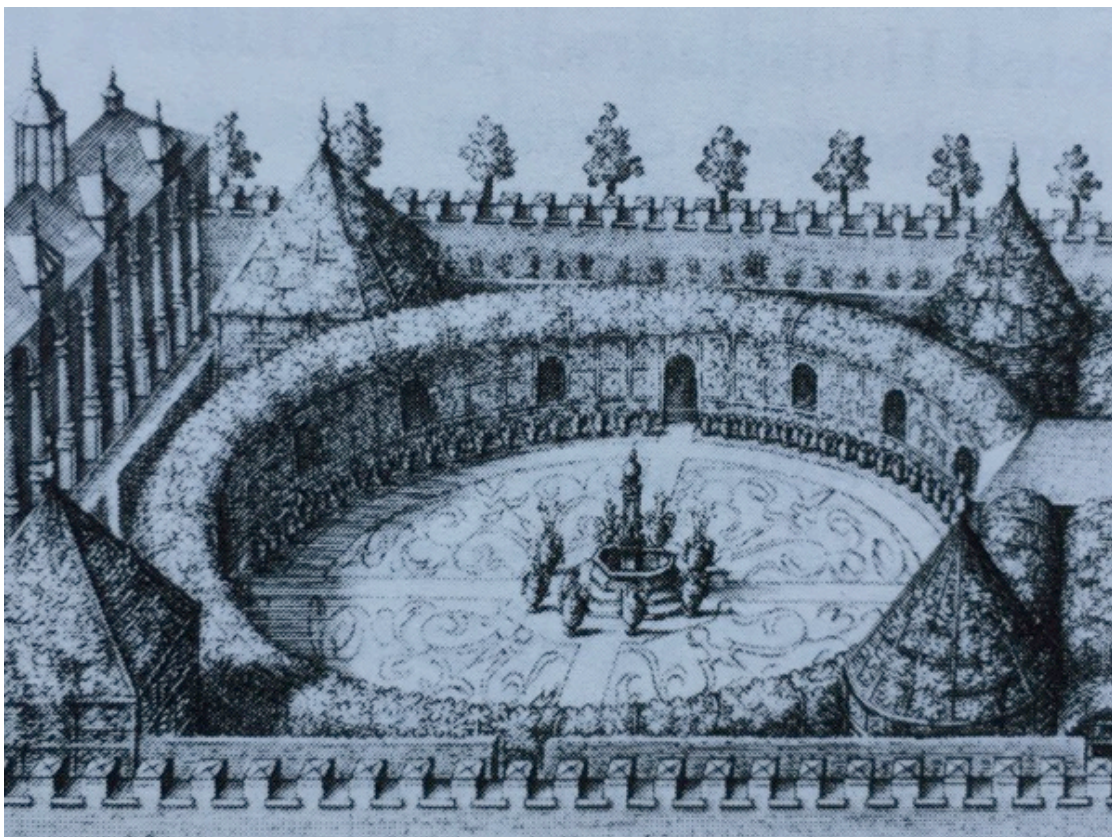


Figure 4.2.24 detail of Buitenhof, Fig.4.2.10, showing the plant collection in pots.

<sup>224</sup> Florence Hopper in *The Oxford Companion to Gardens*, Jellicoe and Jellicoe, eds., p.80.



Rare and exotic plants continued to be grown in the Stadholder gardens through the seventeenth century, as evidenced in the account books at Honselaarsdijk and the publication of *Hortus Regius Honselaerdicensis* later in the century,<sup>225</sup> although this was in part based on the private collection of Gaspar Fagel (1633-88) bought by William III.<sup>226</sup> Plant collecting had become a fashionable pastime by the 1660s and 70s, particularly among the merchants of Amsterdam, building on the work of the botanical garden at Leiden led by Clusius (1526-1609) and the trading links of the Dutch maritime empire, so that their display became a significant part of the embellishment of the Dutch garden.

A painting of Gerard van de Rijp standing in his city garden demonstrates a more modest flower garden made up of flowerbeds in geometric patterns growing more commonplace flowers (Fig. 4.2.25).<sup>227</sup> Painted apparently at the height of the summer, with hollyhocks and roses in full bloom, the planting is relatively sparse, with each prized plant given space and carefully supported. De Jong characterizes the garden as exuding 'an atmosphere of simplicity and repose.'<sup>228</sup>

---

<sup>225</sup> Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, p. 43.

<sup>226</sup> Elizabeth den Hartog and Carla Teune, 'Gaspar Fagel: his Garden and Plant Collection at Leeuwenhorst,' *Garden History*, vol. 30, no.2 (Winter 2002), pp.191-205.

<sup>227</sup> De Jong in Hunt and de Jong, 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden,' Catalogue, p.127.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.



Figure 4.2.25 Anon, *Gerard van der Rijk standing in his city garden*, c.1700. Amsterdam, Kerkeraad van der Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, in Hunt and de Jong, p.126.

Gerard van der Rijk was a Mennonite merchant who died in 1733 leaving money for a charitable community to be founded.<sup>229</sup> Hence this garden may perhaps illustrate a more restrained, less lavish Protestant tendency. Yet there is still considerable ornament in the pedestals surmounted by Delft or China pots and the arcaded gallery supporting flourishing greenery; and some pleasure to be had in the summerhouse. The sparse planting is more likely to be a horticultural than a religious choice. The importance of the cultivation of flowers is clear.

<sup>229</sup> <http://www.kalab.nl/nl/g/rijp/list/prog.html>, also the source of the colour reproduction of figure 4.2.25.

#### 4.2.9 Conclusion

In conclusion the Dutch gardens of the 1630s and 40s are remarkably well documented, particularly those built for the Stadtholder and the court. In the correspondence which survives between Frederik Hendrick, his wife Amalia and his secretary Constantijn Huygens it is possible to understand something of the process of commissioning, planning and following through the garden design of some of the major courtly gardens of the period. It is also clear that architects, land surveyors and engineers played important roles in conjunction with their patrons, because of the particular nature of the Dutch landscape. From the documentary evidence it is possible to see the process of foreign influence occurring in Dutch garden making, with the employment of leading French garden designers and the procurement of French books on garden design.

In summary, the following features characterized Dutch gardens of the seventeenth century before 1680:

- Classical ideas of the need for Art to improve on Nature combined with a Protestant work ethic.
- Skilfully engineered gardens in which drainage channels and earthworks were required for protection from the elements.
- Rectilinear, geometric, symmetrical designs in which the garden was a series of compartments enclosed by, trees, hedges, *berceaux* and canals.

- Gardens that were inward looking, smaller scale and intimate rather than using expansive vistas.
- Rows of trees used for windbreaks, walks and avenues, as well as for commercial timber.
- Trees also used in some gardens to create more naturalistic woodland.
- Carefully and skillfully cultivated and manicured hedges, *berceaux*, trelliswork, topiary to create divisions and enclosures.
- Horticultural expertise in the cultivation of exotic flowers and plants, which were displayed in flowerbeds and in pots and tubs.
- *Parterres de broderie* particularly in courtly gardens, influenced by French designs and practitioners, while rectilinear and geometric flowerbeds were also very commonly used.
- A variety of ornamentation.

### 4.3 Principles and characteristics of English Garden Design

#### 4.3.1 Introduction

The Civil War (1642-1651) to some extent interrupted the development of English garden design as money was diverted to pay for war rather than being invested in beautifying estates.<sup>230</sup> The temporary halt in royal and aristocratic patronage continued during the Commonwealth and Protectorate period, also known as the Interregnum (1649 -1660), as royalist sympathisers escaped to the continent. Gardening did continue and writers such as Thomas Hanmer and John Rea saw developing their gardens as a refuge from political turmoil,<sup>231</sup> others such as Samuel Hartlib concentrated on the productive aspects of gardening, husbandry and land management, which were more acceptable in a Puritan climate.<sup>232</sup> John Evelyn helped to design his brother's garden at Wotton in 1652 along Italian lines inspired by his travels on the continent and worked on his own garden at Sayes Court from 1652.<sup>233</sup> General Sir John Lambert (1619-1684), a parliamentarian, having purchased Wimbledon Manor in 1652 corresponded with Hanmer, exchanging tulip

---

<sup>230</sup> Charles Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden: a Social History* (London: Viking, 2001), pp. 65-66.

<sup>231</sup> John Rea referring to the period as 'the long winter', quoted in Margaret Willes, *The Making of the English Gardener: Plants, Books and Inspiration 1560-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p.242.

<sup>232</sup> Mowl, *Gentlemen Gardeners*, pp. 11-22.

<sup>233</sup> Jellicoe and Jellicoe, *The Oxford Companion to Gardens*, p.614 and 500.

plants and maintaining the gardens.<sup>234</sup> Many royalist estates were sequestered and sold on, their assets such as timber exploited to supply the Commonwealth navy.<sup>235</sup> It is generally accepted therefore that after the Restoration house and garden building resumed as exiles returned<sup>236</sup> and particularly after 1680, a period of greater stability resulted in further expansion of gardens and garden design.<sup>237</sup>

The following sections will consider how far continental ideas had influenced garden design before 1660 despite the continuing tendency for gardens to be haphazard in plan. A study of garden writings of the period, supplemented by the visual evidence of contemporary engravings, will discuss the characteristics and features of English garden design, from 1660 to 1680.

#### 4.3.2 Continental influence before 1660

By 1660 English garden design had already absorbed some continental influence, a process which had continued from the mid-sixteenth century as Renaissance ideas of design were assimilated, so that concern for symmetry, axuality and order in garden plans was already apparent in some Tudor gardens. A plan of William Cecil's house in the Strand, for example, executed

---

<sup>234</sup> Willes, *The Making of the English Gardener*, p. 263-266.

<sup>235</sup> Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden*, p.94.

<sup>236</sup> Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: the Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p.19.

<sup>237</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.117; Tom Williamson, *The Parks and Gardens of West Hertfordshire* (Letchworth: Hertfordshire Gardens Trust, 2000), p.16.

between 1562-5, shows the formal garden arranged on a central axis running from the entrance through the house and quadripartite gardens to a banqueting house placed on the garden boundary<sup>238</sup> (Fig.4.3.1).

This axuality is also illustrated in William Lawson's plan of an ideal 'orchard' or garden, published in *A new orchard and garden*, 1618 (Fig.4.3.2). A central path runs on an axis from the house, dividing the garden, with the compartments arranged symmetrically. Although some of the garden elements might have been considered to be old fashioned by 1618, such as the mounts at each corner and the possible topiary of a horse and soldier, the overall plan shows an awareness of symmetry, axuality and regularity.

Lawson's book was published again, with *The country housewife's garden*, in 1623 and 1626 and then issued in Gervase Markham's *A way to get wealth*, in 1623, which was published a further eight times before 1683.<sup>239</sup> Hence these ideas of planning regularity were widely distributed during the period.<sup>240</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005), plan p.10.

<sup>239</sup> Blanche Henrey, *British Horticultural Literature before 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1975.

<sup>240</sup> Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.109.





Figure 4.3.1 Plan of William Cecil's house in the Strand, London, 1562-5, from Paula Henderson, *The Tudor house and garden*, p.10.

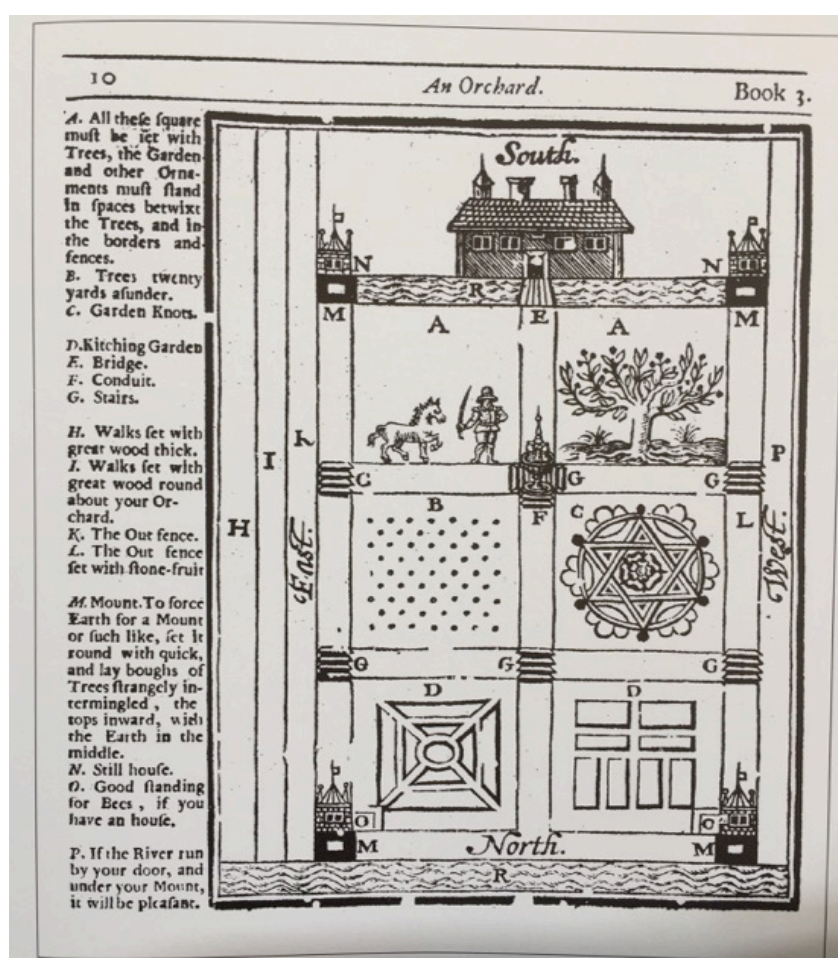


Figure 4.3.2 William Lawson's ideal plan of an orchard, from *A new orchard and garden*, 1618, Book 3, p. 10.

#### 4.3.3 Courtly gardens before the Civil War

In some elite gardens further foreign influence can be seen, particularly in those that made use of foreign designers, such as Wilton and Wimbledon Manor, created in the twenty years before the Civil War. Wilton epitomized what may be described as the Renaissance garden in England, while at Wimbledon embellishments were added such as an orangery and aviary, which owed much to continental influence.

Wilton as described and illustrated by its designer Isaac de Caus in his publication of 1640 (Fig.4.3.3), demonstrated the principles of continental design, with its symmetry, axial alignment on an intended new south front, elaborate parterres, complex hydraulics in grottoes and fountains, and liberal use of classical sculpture.<sup>241</sup> A compact design on a flat landscape, perhaps the only unusual feature was the incorporation of the river Nadder, allowed to follow its natural course through a designed wilderness, placed unusually in the centre of the garden. This has caused successive garden historians concern, from Evelyn, who thought the river should be 'cleansed and raised',<sup>242</sup> to Roy Strong who makes a case for its symbolic significance but points out that de Caus excluded the river from his drawings<sup>243</sup> (though this is only the case in the close-up drawing of the wilderness), to Paula Henderson

---

<sup>241</sup> Paula Henderson, 'Clinging to the Past: Medievalism in the English "Renaissance" Garden' in *Renaissance Studies* 25.1, (February 2011), pp.42-49.

<sup>242</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 21 July 1654, p.310.

<sup>243</sup> Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979 and 1998), p.158.

who feels that the inclusion of the river complies with Sir Henry Wotton's suggestion that there should be designed irregularity in a garden,<sup>244</sup> while David Coffin presumes that the wilderness was placed around the river in order to obscure it,<sup>245</sup> an idea also suggested by Roy Strong. To leave the river incongruously in its natural state would be the cheapest and most practical option, so perhaps this was a pragmatic solution, particularly since it was an attractive river, with the characteristics of a chalk stream, of clear waters and abundant brown trout.<sup>246</sup> It could also be an example of the English attitude to design discussed below, which recommended owners to follow their own desires rather than design rules.

---

<sup>244</sup> Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p.141.

<sup>245</sup> David R. Coffin, 'Venus in the Garden of Wilton House,' *Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 25-31, The University of Chicago Press.

<sup>246</sup> [www.wiltontown.com/feature/rivernadder](http://www.wiltontown.com/feature/rivernadder) (accessed 23/05/2019)



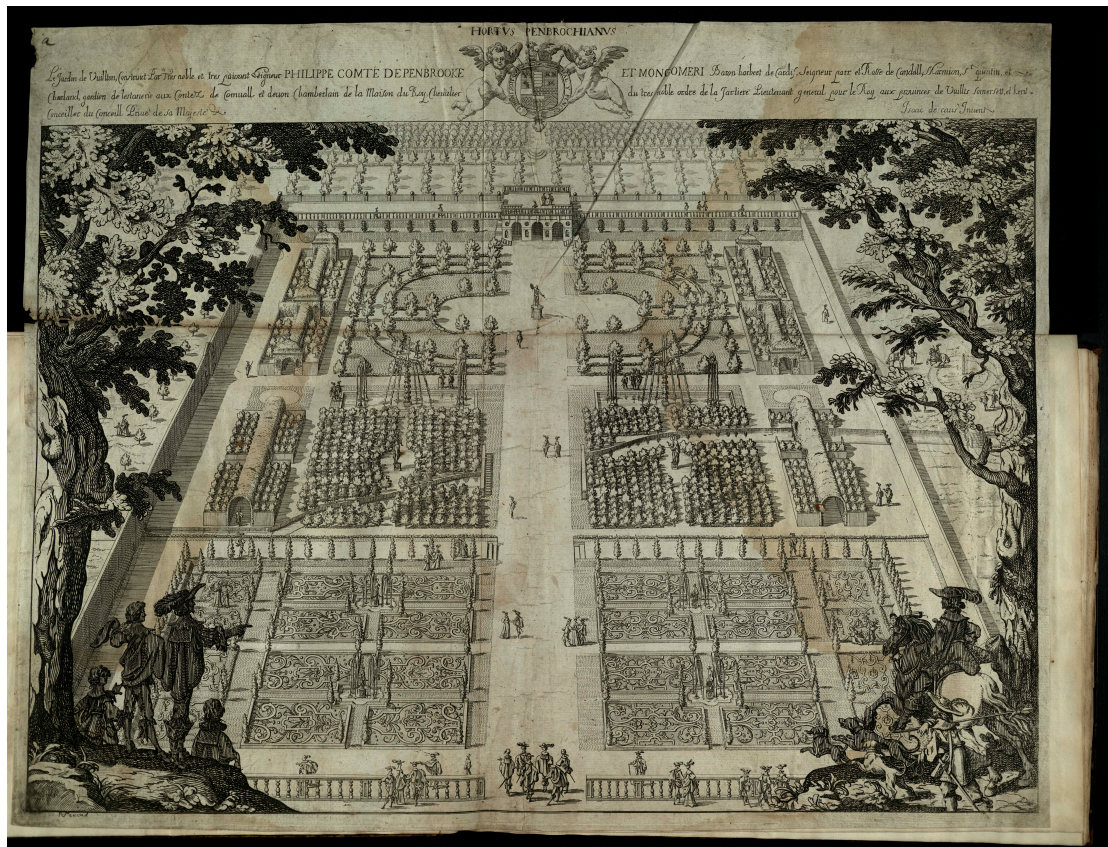


Figure 4.3.3 Wilton garden, engraving by De Caus, late 1640s, The Crewe Collection, Trinity College Cambridge, accessed online, 1 May 2017  
[\[https://trinitycollegelibrarycambridge.files.wordpress.com/2016/03/wiltongarden.jpg\]](https://trinitycollegelibrarycambridge.files.wordpress.com/2016/03/wiltongarden.jpg).

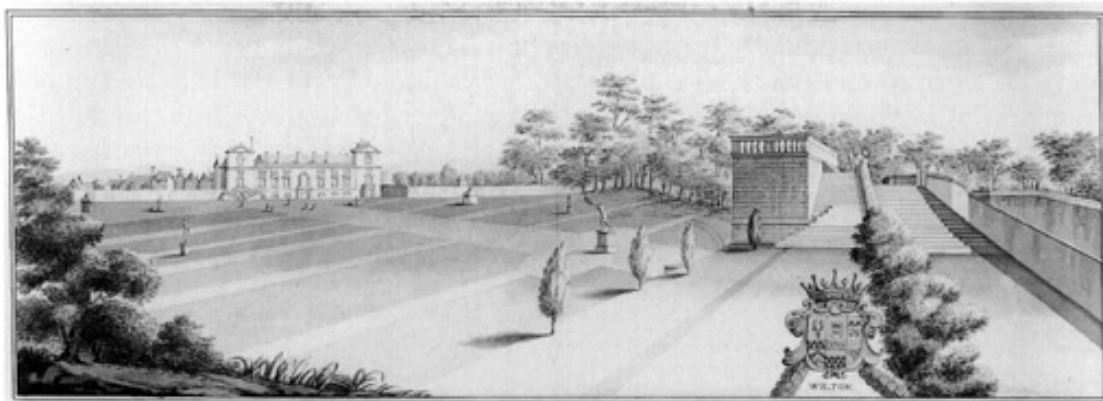


Figure 4.3.4 Wilton garden in a drawing by Lorenzo Magalotti, 1669, British Library, Add. MS 33767B, fols 23-24 (from D Jacques 'Garden design in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century,' p.327).

By 1669 as illustrated by Lorenzo Magalotti (Fig. 4.3.4) the elaborate *parterres* had been replaced by plain grass quarters, which must have happened before Evelyn's visit in 1654 when he describes the garden as a 'large handsome plaine' and refers to the garden as 'heretofore esteemed the noblest in all England,'<sup>247</sup> suggesting that the continental taste had retreated during the Commonwealth period, to be taken over by a taste for plain grass. This may in part reflect the religious and political culture of the Commonwealth, no longer dominated by a courtly elite.

At Wimbledon the patronage of Queen Henrietta Maria resulted in the employment of André Mollet to work on the gardens in 1642, just before the start of the Civil War. Records show that he was paid to transport 280 trees from London to Wimbledon in March and for half a year's work in April 1642.<sup>248</sup> Exactly what he did is uncertain but David Jacques states that his work included 'recasting' the Orange Garden.<sup>249</sup> The garden is described in appreciative detail in the parliamentary Survey of 1649, which can be compared to an earlier plan by Smythson of 1609, giving some idea of Mollet's probable changes. In the parliamentary survey the *parterres* are described as 'knots' but sound intricate enough to have been designed by Mollet: 'fitted for the growth of choice flowers, bordered with box in the points,

---

<sup>247</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 21 July 1654, p.310.

<sup>248</sup> Wynnstey Archives, National Library of Wales, Accounts of Sir Richard Wynn, Treasurer to Queen Henrietta Maria, Wynnstey MSS, MS 167, and note 8, warrant given at The Hague, 10 April 1642, cited in Laurence Pattacini, 'André Mollet, Royal Gardener in St James's Park, London,' *Garden History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Summer, 1998), pp. 3-18.

<sup>249</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.82.

angles, squares and roundlets and handsomely turfed in the intervals or little walks thereof.<sup>250</sup> The knots were enclosed by 'four large and handsome graveled walks' and in the middle was a marble fountain. The Orange Garden was clearly substantial, with 60 orange trees, one lemon, one pomecitron and six pomegranates, all in boxes housed at the time of the survey, in a greenhouse. Further *parterres* or knots are described along the south front of the house at the lower level adorned with marble fountains and cypress trees, while the aviary or 'birdcage' is described as 'a great ornament both to the house and the garden.'<sup>251</sup> Thus a continentally inspired garden was installed at Wimbledon, created for the French Queen of England by a leading peripatetic French designer who was employed by the major royal houses in Europe. He had worked in the Netherlands from 1633 for Prince Frederik Henry on the gardens at Ryswijk and Honselaarsdijk<sup>252</sup> and went on to Sweden in 1648 working for Queen Christina until 1653, where he first published *Le jardin de plaisir* in 1651, probably returning to England in 1658 just before the Restoration.<sup>253</sup>

---

<sup>250</sup> Parliamentary Survey of Wimbledon, transcribed in Alicia Amherst, *History of Gardening in England* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1895), pp.315-27.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> As discussed in section 4.2.5.

<sup>253</sup> Laurence Pattacini, 'André Mollet, Royal Gardener in St James's Park, London,' pp. 3-18.

#### 4.3.4 The haphazard plan

The gardens at Wilton and Wimbledon therefore illustrate an elite international continental style, followed in the leading courts of Europe. These were exceptional and outstanding but probably not representative of prevailing practice in gardens of lesser status. Contemporary engravings suggest that many English gardens continued to be haphazard in plan, the result of additions and accumulations. Gardens were extended and reworked in an ad hoc manner, seemingly with little concern for an overall plan, perhaps due to a lack of concern for design as discussed below, or for reasons of economy or sentiment. This is illustrated by Thomas Atkin's garden at Bedwell Park, Hertfordshire, noted in David Jacques' *Gardens of court and country* as an example of 'the many odd assemblages of gardens at the time'<sup>254</sup> (Fig. 4.3.5).

---

<sup>254</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.52.



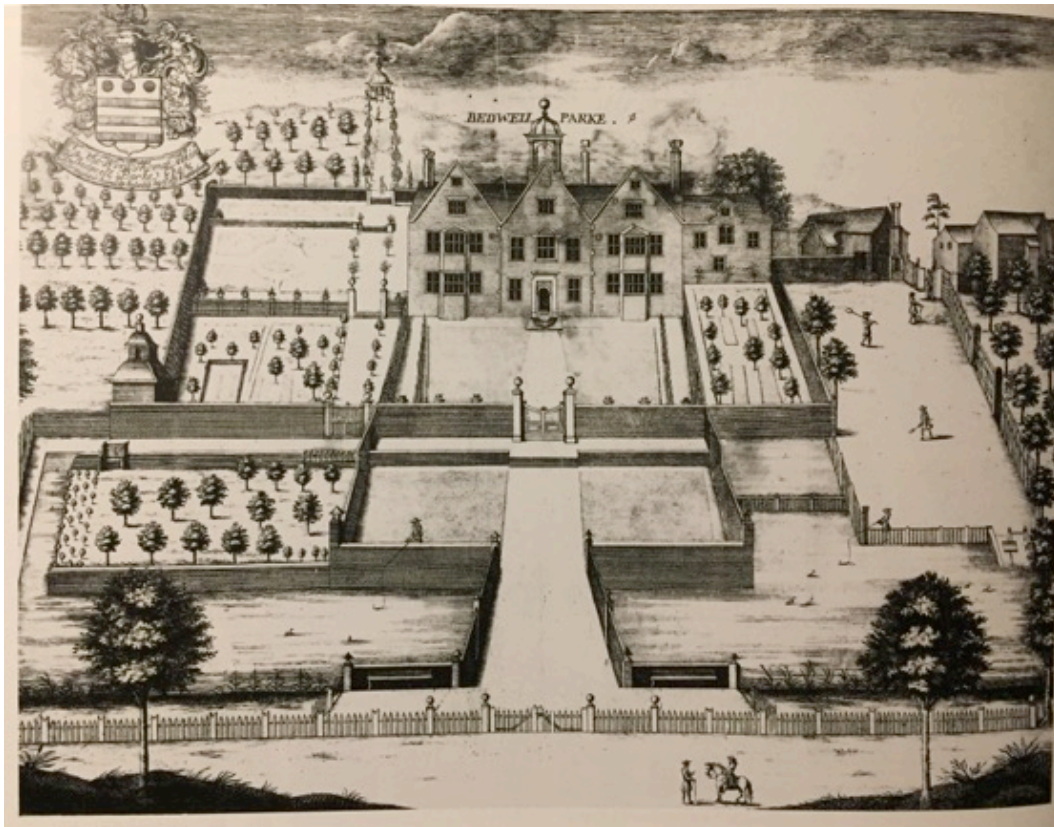


Figure 4.3.5 Bedwell Park, Hertfordshire, c.1685 in Henry Chauncy, *The historical antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700.

Thomas Atkins (1631-1701) inherited the estate in 1651 and according to Chauncy he 'much adorned this seat with pleasant gardens.'<sup>255</sup> An irregularly shaped area of water in the foreground may have been an earlier moat, as suggested by Jacques. Other straight-sided walled enclosures of different shapes and sizes are clustered on either side of the forecourt. A later addition seems to be the avenue or walk lined with trees leading to a domed pavilion to the top left, which leads from a more formal garden divided into a *parterre* of plain grass plats, with a wall adorned with plants in pots, suggesting some interest in more ornate and fashionable elements of garden design, despite the lack of an overall plan (Fig. 4.3.6). While there is to some extent an axial approach to the house, crossing the moat and two forecourts, this is not extended as it is cut off by a fence, seen in the foreground, presumably needed to provide a further protective enclosure.

Chauncy's *Historical antiquities of Hertfordshire* provides further examples of gardens which appear to show little awareness of foreign influence or interest in formal planning.<sup>256</sup> These were gardens of the gentry and merchant classes rather than the more aristocratic estates represented in Knyff and Kip's *Britannia illustrata*. Timothy Mowl tentatively suggests that there were two strands of garden design at this period: the aristocratic and courtly gardens following a Franco-Dutch formality and the other being 'a far more relaxed,

---

<sup>255</sup> Henry Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, vol 1, 1700, p.544.

<sup>256</sup> Timothy Mowl, 'John Drapentier's Views of the Gentry Gardens of Hertfordshire,' *Garden History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 152-170.

gentry style as practiced by landowners indifferent to Court politics,' the gentry gardens maintaining an interest in 'an accumulation of features ... added by several generations of gardeners over the course of an uncertain century' while showing no evidence of a taste for *parterres* or formality.<sup>257</sup> Based on a study of Chauncy's *Hertfordshire*, this seems to be a valid conclusion. However, the evidence of Knyff and Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* also suggests a variety of approaches to design and in some examples a similarly relaxed attitude to formal planning, which was not confined to the gentry.

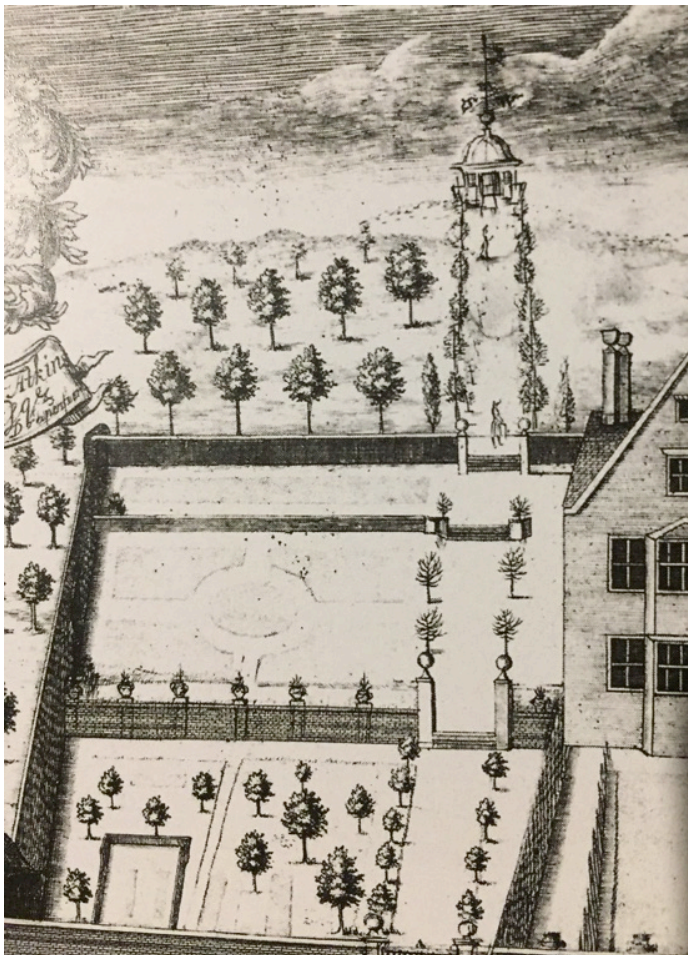


Figure 4.3.6 Bedwell Park, detail of Figure 4.3.5.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., p.161-2.

One example of this can be seen in Coley Park, near Reading (Fig.4.3.7) Here the gardens, discussed further in section 4.3.9, though lavish and impressive, are clustered around an Elizabethan house without regard for axial planning.



Figure 4.3.7 Coley Park, Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, David Mortier, 1707, plate 80.

Therefore one feature of English garden design up to 1680 was a lack of concern for design. This can be seen in contemporary engravings as well as in the advice given in garden treatises. This apparent flexibility does not suggest total indifference to design however, so that certain underlying ideas seem to have been common to most writings. These include: an understanding that there should be some symmetry, the importance of



prospect (the view of the garden from the house) and avenues, the need for enclosure (with brick walls usually preferred and brick gate piers for access), the centrality of flowers, the importance of grass and walks of grass or gravel, the inclusion of a bowling green, an appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of orchards and fruit trees, and the evolution of the *parterre* from the knot. These will be discussed in the following.

#### 4.3.5 The status of design

Some idea of English garden design practice can be found in contemporary writings on gardening. The second half of the seventeenth century saw a rapid increase in the number of books, handbooks and treatises on gardening, many published in several editions, giving some indication of the popularity of gardens at this time.<sup>258</sup> This evidence can be supplemented by visual evidence from paintings and engravings. However, perhaps the overriding impression from the garden literature is that design was not considered significantly important. More important and of higher status since it was considered to require more skill, was the practice of horticulture. For example, Sir Hugh Platt, in *The garden of Eden or A brief description of all sorts of flowers and fruits, with means how to advance their Nature and Growth in England*, 1653, disdainfully dismisses design: 'I shall not trouble the reader with any curious rules for shaping and fashioning of a garden or orchard; how long, broad or high, the Beds, Hedges, or Borders should be contrived; for

---

<sup>258</sup> Henrey, *British Horticultural Literature*.

every man may dispose it as his House or quantity of ground requires ... I look on such work as things of more facility than what I now am about ... such niceties ... call for very small invention and less learning.<sup>259</sup> This was first published in 1608 as *Floreas Paradise* but proved to be very popular during the period 1660-80, with a fourth edition reworked and renamed, published in 1653 and further editions in 1654, 1659, 1660, and 1675.

Leonard Meager published *The English Gardener or a Sure Guide to young planters and gardeners in three parts* in 1670, rapidly running through nine editions until 1699. Nothing is said about design in part one, on fruit trees, or part two, on the kitchen garden. In part three 'Of the ordering the garden of pleasure', where thoughts on design might be expected, Meager has little to say other than 'In the first place, erect it in such a place where it will give you most delight, in regard of its Prospect from your House, or some chief rooms thereof; and withal if it may be pretty well defended from injury of the sharpest Winds; and in so doing you will have in a manner a perpetual Spring ... but let every one do as their Means, Minds or conveniences will permit.'<sup>260</sup> Evidently design is not his main interest and is quickly subsumed by practicalities. In the same section he offers: 'I have for the ease and delight of those that do affect such things, presented to view divers Forms of Plots for Gardens, amongst which it is possible you may find some that may near the matter fit most ordinary Grounds, either great or small; and shall leave the Ingenious

---

<sup>259</sup> Sir Hugh Platt, *The Garden of Eden* (London: W. Leake, 1654), p. 2.

<sup>260</sup> Leonard Meager, *The English Gardener* (London: 1670), p.90.

Practitioner to the Consideration and Use of that he most affects.'<sup>261</sup> This refers to twenty four illustrations of possible plans, which seem to be basic *parterres* (though he uses the term 'knot' in the text, indicating perhaps what could be said to be an old fashioned or an English approach as discussed below), inserted at the back of the book with no further comment, though two are captioned as Wildernesses (Fig 4.3.8, 4.3.9 & 4.3.10). Thus he divests himself of any responsibility for design.



Figure 4.3.8 Design for a wilderness, Leonard Meager, *The English gardener*, 1670, p.24.

---

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., p.90.





Figure 4.3.9 Design for a wilderness, Leonard Meager, *The English gardener*, 1670, p.23

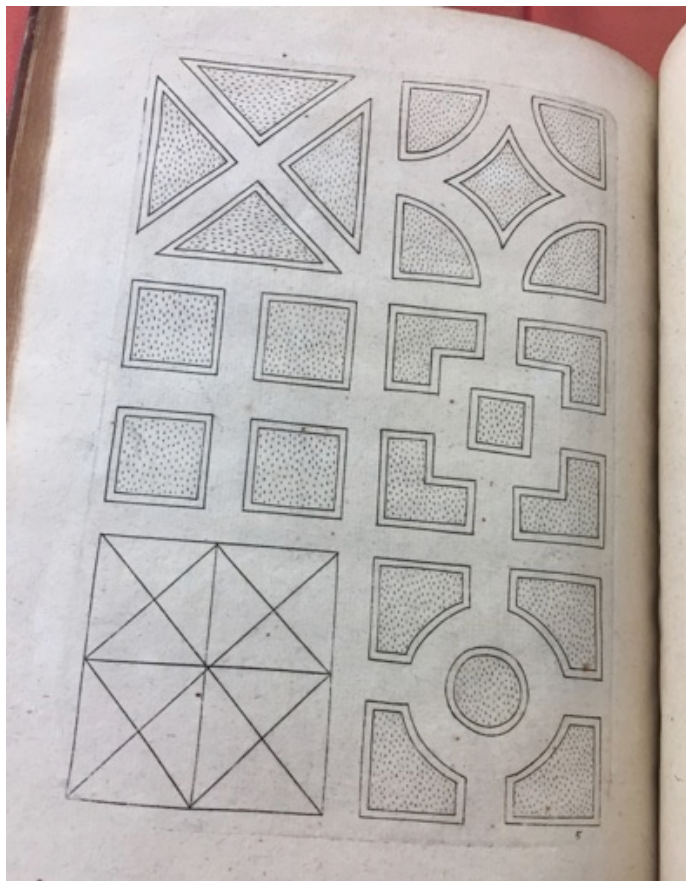


Figure 4.3.10 Design for a plot, Leonard Meager, *The English gardener*, 1670, p.5.

While the wilderness designs appear to be quite intricate and almost maze like, the plot designs are more simple. The extensive use of what appears to be grass is interesting and could be said to be an English feature. The diagrams do not have an explanatory key but the text suggests herbs 'to set Knots with or to edge borders to keep them in fashion,' among which Box is suggested as the 'handsomest, the most durable and cheapest to keep.'<sup>262</sup> Meager, although he alludes to fashion, is uninterested in design and places his horticulture within fairly traditional layouts, referring to 'Borders, Knots or Quarters as occasion serves.'<sup>263</sup>

John Worlidge in *Systema Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening*, published in 1677, describes Horticulture as an Art, subject to fashion and is much more aware of recent trends and foreign influences, paying more attention to design. He declares that the Art of Horticulture 'is of late years much improved in every part thereof' giving the planting of avenues as an example, saying it is not long since 'our choicest Avenues were first planted with those Ornamental Shades that now are become common.'<sup>264</sup> Interestingly however, he stresses aspects of Englishness such as the climate and soil, extolling the virtues of English soil and addressing the importance of climate in affecting vegetation, suggesting his readers should look to Nature noticing what grows naturally in the wild to understand what and where to plant. Having noted a

---

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> John Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening* (London, 1677), preface.

recent proliferation of treatises on gardening, he stresses (using italics for emphasis) the recent trend for treatises translated which '*were written for other countries whose Horticulture (as their climate) varies much from ours,*' which in his own work 'I have endeavoured to avoid.'<sup>265</sup> Thus Worlidge takes a firmly English stance.

Worlidge offers two possible garden plans: the round and the square, both seemingly modest in size, perhaps in keeping with his aim to appeal to not only those 'as have fair Estates, and pleasant Seats in the country, to adorn and beautify them; but to encourage the honest and plain countryman in the improvement of his ville.'<sup>266</sup> The round design (Fig.4.3.11) seems most original, though he claims there are some 'curious' round gardens 'in foreign parts' without giving examples.<sup>267</sup> Perhaps he used the much visited botanic garden in Padua as a precedent,<sup>268</sup> though he doesn't use the square within the circle as at Padua, rather following the outer circle using curved beds. Although he points out the advantages of this design - being able to walk as long as you please always forwards; the round walls being good for fruit trees as mitigating strong winds – he in the end prefers the square as 'the most perfect and pleasant form' with straight lines 'pleasing to the eye'.

---

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p.16.

<sup>268</sup> Among others, Evelyn visited Padua in 1645, bringing back a collection of pressed plants, *Hortus Hymalis* now in the BL, Add MS 78334.

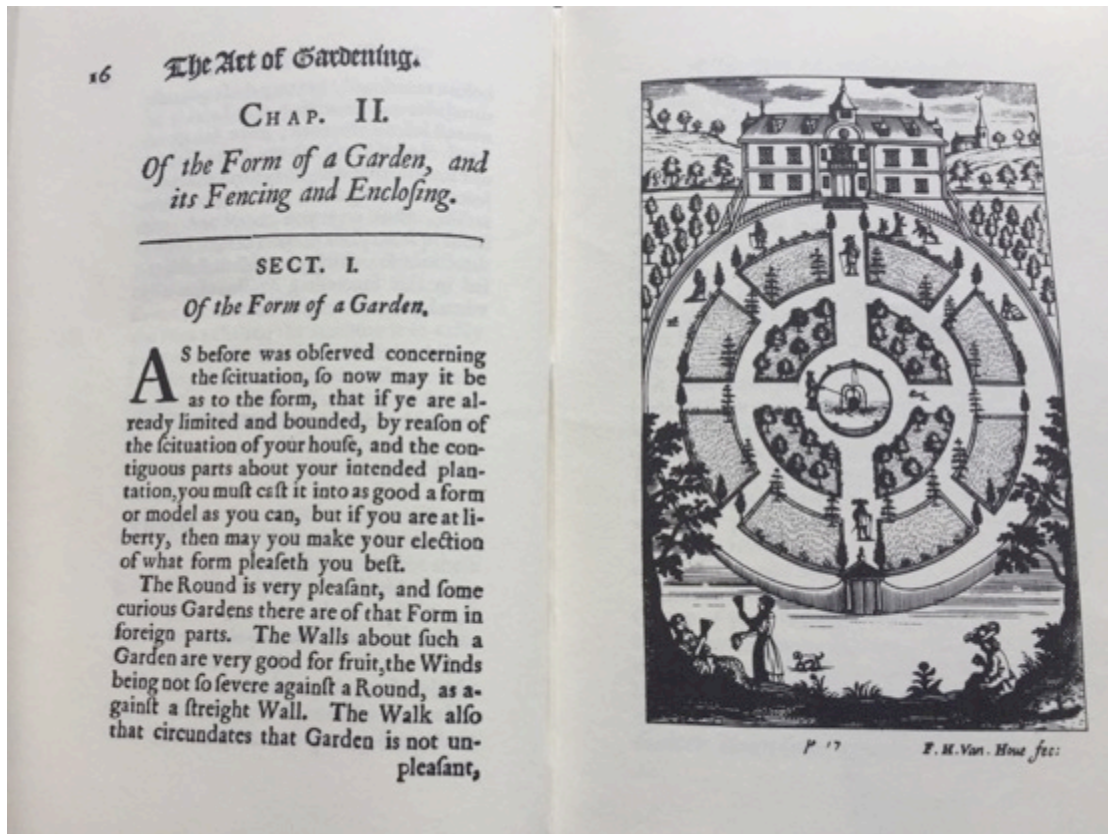


Figure 4.3.11 Round garden plan, John Worlidge, *Systema Horticultrae or the Art of Gardening*, 1677 edition, p.16.



Figure 4.3.12 Padua botanic gardens in Roberto De Vasiani 'L'Orto botanico di Padova nell'anno 1842'<sup>269</sup>

<sup>269</sup> Downloaded from Wikipedia. The ornate gates and balustrade were added in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but the plan was largely the same as when designed in 1545.

For the round plan Worlidge suggests the outer walk should be lined with Cypress trees with borders of flowers, while the inner parts consist of grass plats with fir trees and the central quadrants planted with a variety of fruit trees, a fountain or banqueting house in the centre. The integration of productive areas (though the kitchen garden isn't mentioned) within the garden of pleasure as a whole is an interesting feature, but Worlidge seems to lose confidence in this and returns to a more conventional layout in the square plan (Fig.4.3.13), which he decides is 'the most perfect and pleasant Form that you can lay your Garden into, where your ground will afford it, every Walk that is in it being straight and every Plant and Tree standing in a direct Line, represents it to your eye very pleasing.'<sup>270</sup> Here he suggests the garden should be divided into three parts: the 'middle' (which is nearest the house in the picture) subdivided by gravel walks, into grass plots edged with borders for flowers and choice plants, with flower pots at each corner and fruit on the walls; the kitchen garden and the orchard. The illustration only shows the middle section and the orchard viewed through the palisade 'that the prospect of the adjacent Orchard may not be lost'<sup>271</sup> indicating an appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of the orchard, which perhaps shows that although Worlidge was aware that design ideas were changing, he still maintained the importance of the orchard, a very traditional and utilitarian garden feature.

---

<sup>270</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, p. 16 (1700 edition).

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., p.18.



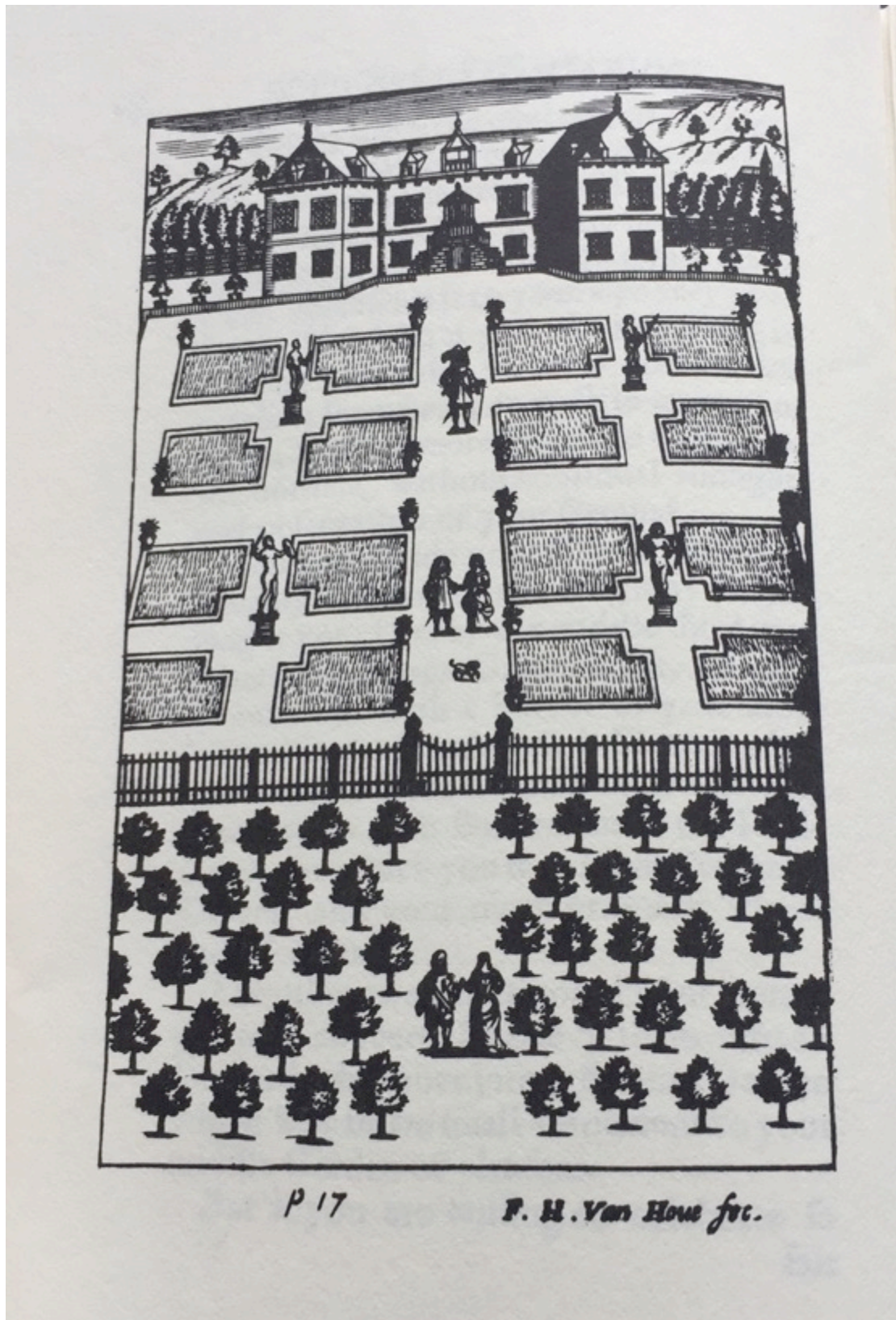


Figure 4.3.13 Square garden plan, John Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening*, 1677 edition, p.17.

He concludes, like Platt and Meager with a *laissez-faire* English attitude to design, that every builder of a garden should please himself: 'The infinite variety of forms that might be drawn and here represented to you, would but increase your charge; when perhaps every builder may better please himself in the shape and contrivance of his garden, than any other can do for him.'<sup>272</sup>

This contrasts strikingly with the dictatorial tone of André Mollet's *The Garden of Pleasure* 1670, a translation of the 1651 *Le jardin de Plaisir* reworked for the English market, which lays out much stricter design precepts, following French ideas. Mollet was aiming at a more aristocratic market, which might be prepared to spend more money to impress and make drastic changes to conform with fashion, and therefore preferring to create an overall design rather than accept an accumulation of features. Nevertheless, Mollet exemplifies a fundamentally different approach to design. Having listed the features of a garden<sup>273</sup> he declares that 'all these things confusedly and ill disposed, cause no pleasant effect; therefore we shall strive to dispose them each in its proper place.'<sup>274</sup> First, the house 'must be in an advantageous place.' Second, there must be a 'great walk of double or treble rank of Elms or Limes drawn by Perpendicular line to the front of the house and of proportionable breadth.' Next, if space, 'large walks on the Right and Left of the said Front, which must be parallel to the said house.'<sup>275</sup> Thus he describes

---

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., p.20, 1677 edition.

<sup>273</sup> ground works, wilderness, choice trees, palisades, alleys or walks, fountains, grottoes, statues, perspectives and 'other such ornaments'

<sup>274</sup> André Mollet, *The Garden of Pleasure*, 1670, p.1.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., p.1-2.



French design principles of axiality, geometry and symmetry. For Mollet, Nature is subject to Art. Art helps Nature to display 'in a regularity, which offends neither the understanding nor the eye-sight, but affords wonderful satisfaction and pleasure.'<sup>276</sup>

The kitchen garden and orchard, where nature may be less controlled, have to be separate from the garden of pleasure: 'We do not allow that the Garden of Pleasure should admit of common herbs nor yet of Fruit-Trees except they be planted as Wall-Fruit but rather that those gardens or Orchards be by themselves.' The kitchen garden is described as a 'deformity', which 'may be hid by high *palissados*.'<sup>277</sup> Mollet was however more flexible in practice in England after the Restoration as his design for the royal garden at St James' Palace in 1661 shows, where he combined fruit trees and flowers and omitted any embroidered groundworks as the awkward, urban site meant these could not have been viewed from the house. The combination of fruit trees and flowers was stipulated in his contract, so he may have had to accept this English approach in view of his client's demands.<sup>278</sup> The preservation of an existing oak tree which he was able to place as a focal point in a symmetrical design, is an interesting acknowledgment of sentiment and symbolism since the 'Royal Oak' became a significant part of the folklore attached to Charles

---

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., p.1.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., p.4.

<sup>278</sup> André Mollet and his nephew Gabriel were appointed 'to be our gardeners to keep the Garden that is to be planted with fruit trees and flowers in St James Park between James Park House and the Spring Garden wall', Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1661, 20-30 September, quoted in Pattacini, 'André Mollet, Royal Gardener in St James's Park, London,' pp. 3-18.

Il's stories of his escape from Worcester. Thus Mollet adapted to national constraints.

In contrast to Mollet's treatise, which only considers the garden of pleasure, the English garden treatises which were being consulted during the period 1660-1680, consider all parts of a garden and place less emphasis on design than on horticultural expertise. As noted above a certain amount of individuality and variety of design is advocated, with allowance being made for particular circumstances, whether these were economic, geographic, climatic or personal inclination.

#### 4.3.6 Symmetry

According to Sir Christopher Wren, writing on Architecture in 1677, 'Beauty is a harmony of Objects, begetting Pleasure by the Eye. There are two causes of beauty – natural and customary. Natural is from Geometry, consisting in Uniformity (that is Equality) and Proportion ... Always the true test is natural or geometrical Beauty. Geometrical Figures are naturally more beautiful than any other irregular; in this all consent, as to a Law of Nature.'<sup>279</sup> The principle of symmetry and balance in beauty as explained above for architecture was accepted in garden design, having originated in the gardens of Persia and continued through monastic gardens to gardens of the Italian Renaissance. That the layout of the garden should be symmetrical was understood and

---

<sup>279</sup> Sir Christopher Wren in Tract 1 on Architecture, 1677, in *Parentalia, or Memoirs of the family of the Wrens* ... (London, 1750), pp. 351-360.

demonstrated in garden plans, although it is not always stated. Worlidge, for example, in describing the positioning of arbours and ‘places of repose,’ suggests that having placed one, another should be placed ‘of the same form to answer it,’ opposite or in another corner.<sup>280</sup> Ornaments such as flowerpots are also placed in straight lines, along walks, or ‘in the corners of your squares,’ implying symmetry.<sup>281</sup> John Rea, in *Flora, Seu, De Florum Cultura*, first published 1665, explaining how to place flowers in a ‘fret’ or knot suggests they should be set so that ‘those of a kind set in several Beds may answer one another’ with taller flowers placed at the corners of each bed.<sup>282</sup> Samuel Gilbert, in *The Florist’s Vade-mecum*, published in 1683 offers two symmetrical designs, suggesting that in the square design with a central circle, this can be undivided with a statue or fountain in the middle, plus other statues, one in each corner, thus accentuating a basic symmetry.<sup>283</sup>

#### 4.3.7 Prospect and avenues

The importance of prospect in relating the house to the garden is mentioned in most of the garden treatises, with the view of the garden from the house being particularly valued. Meager, as noted above, feels that the garden will give most delight if positioned to be seen from the house, as well as in a position sheltered from winds. This is echoed in Rea who suggests the garden

---

<sup>280</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, p.37.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p.68.

<sup>282</sup> John Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura or A Complete Florilege* (London, 1676), p.9, book 1.

<sup>283</sup> Samuel Gilbert, *The Florist’s Vade-mecum* (London, 1683), p.7.

should be on the south side of the house 'in respect of Prospect from the Windows, and the benefit of Sun and Shelter.'<sup>284</sup> Worlidge mentions the prospect of the orchard through the palisade in his square plan, as something clearly attractive and desirable.

David Jacques suggests that new ideas of axial planning were starting to be taken up in the mid seventeenth century, as evidenced by the increasing use of avenues aligned on gates through a forecourt, leading along a broad walk to the front door.<sup>285</sup> However, this is not evident in the garden treatises, where although the view of the garden from the house is often emphasized, there does not seem to be an interest in further views or an overall extended prospect. The emphasis on walled enclosure prevails, which to some extent prevents an extended prospect.

The recent development of avenues is alluded to by Worlidge as noted above, but the English garden treatises do not discuss avenues, perhaps because this is seen as a recent foreign influence. However, it is perhaps more likely to be because they do not cover the areas outside the garden walls, so that avenues are not mentioned. Moses Cook in *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees: Also, How to Plant, Make and Keep Woods, Walks, Avenues, Lawns, Hedges, etc.*, 1676 does explain how to plan and plant avenues, making it clear that he is not discussing the area within the

---

<sup>284</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, book 1, p.3.

<sup>285</sup> David Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 44, *Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman* (2001), pp. 365-376, pp.370-371.

garden walls, but only those areas 'without the walls.' Cook gives precise instructions on the spacing of trees according to mathematics and geometry and dismisses the 'Drafts and Knots' in other garden books 'all done by guess and none of them fitted to a Scale ... so that they are as fit for Butter Prints as for Knots in a Garden.'<sup>286</sup> His concern for precision perhaps results from his knowledge of foreign practice since as gardener for the Earl of Essex he had been sent to France to view Versailles and other French gardens<sup>287</sup>, so that being well versed in French practice he shows little regard for English garden treatises.

He emphasises the importance of proportion to allow space for prospect: 'Do not mask a fine Front, nor veil a pleasant Prospect (as too many do) by making the walks too narrow. If you make any Walk that leads to any pleasant Front of a House, or other Object; if it be but half a Mile long, let it be at least forty foot wide, but if longer more, as 50 or 60 foot wide, or the Breadth the Length of your Front.'<sup>288</sup> Evelyn also advocates avenues in *Sylva* where he exhorts 'great persons' to adorn their estates with 'Stately walks and avenues' and 'trees of the most venerable Shade and profitable Timber' and to 'cut those ampler enclosures into lawns and Ridings for exercise, health and Prospect.'<sup>289</sup>

---

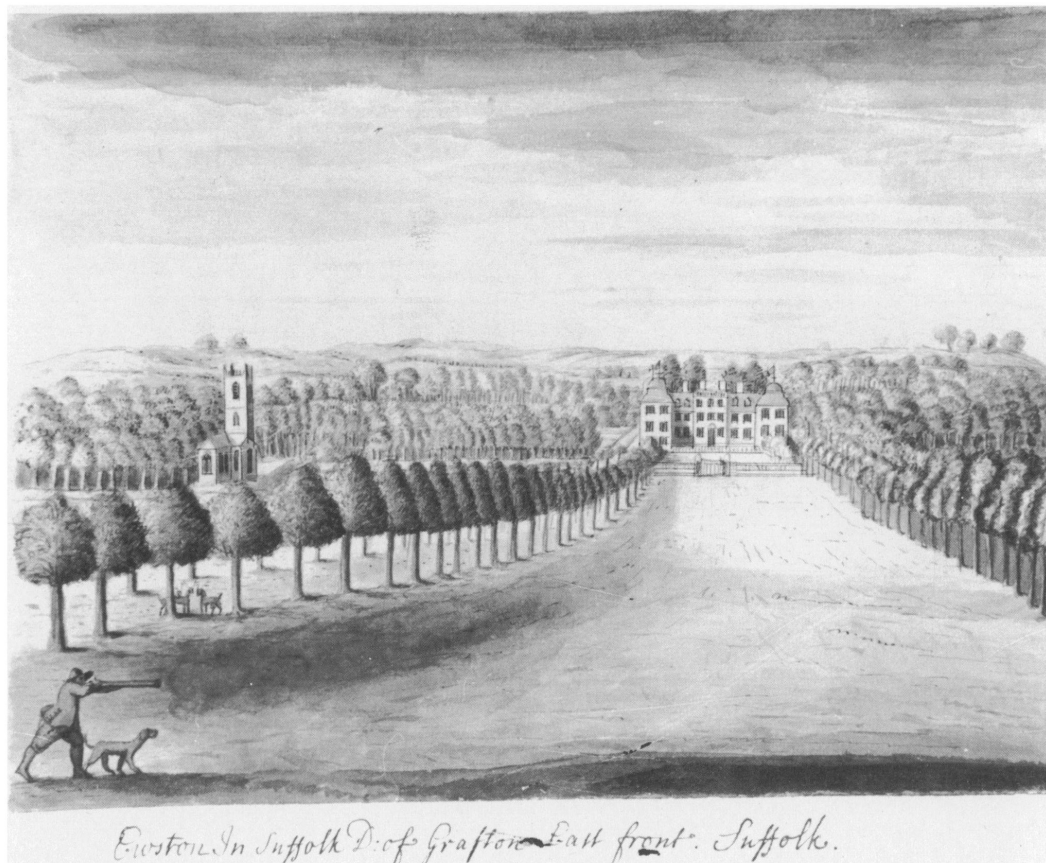
<sup>286</sup> Moses Cook, *The Manner of Raising, Ordering and Improving Forest and Fruit Trees* (London, 1677), p.183.

<sup>287</sup> Williamson, *The Parks and Gardens of West Hertfordshire*, p.17.

<sup>288</sup> Cook, *The Manner of Raising ... Forest and Fruit Trees*, p.186.

<sup>289</sup> John Evelyn, *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees* (London, 1679), p.239.

The practice of laying out approach avenues increased after the Restoration as landowners reasserted their presence and power. For example, a broad avenue aligned on the east front at Euston of c.1676, appears to follow Moses Cook's directions (Fig. 4.3.14).



28. EUSTON The east front

Figure 4.3.14 Prideaux drawing, *Euston Hall east front*, Suffolk, from John Harris, (ed.) 'The Prideaux Collection of Topographical Drawings' *Architectural History*, 7 (1963), pp.58.

However, although the importance of the prospect of the garden is clearly reiterated in English garden treatises and so may be claimed as an English garden design principle, the use of expansive avenues extending across the landscape seems more of an adopted continental or French practice, which



became more frequent in England as landowners were able to assert their power: 'a highly visible expression of man's imposition of order over nature: an avenue could be seen as a symbol of control over the landscape and its inhabitants.'<sup>290</sup> Thus the avenue could be seen as a symbol of absolutism as reasserted after the Restoration in courtly gardens, particularly after 1680. English garden design before the 1680s remained more inward looking and focused on enclosure.

#### 4.3.8 Enclosure

David Jacques suggests that 'the tradition of square walled gardens was, by and large, respected until 1680.'<sup>291</sup> This is very much evident in the garden literature where although there is much discussion of different materials to 'inclose' the garden, there is general consensus that brick walls function best, being warm and dry and good for fruit growing. John Rea compares England with the continent and though lamenting the fact that the English climate can't 'boast the benignity ... which meliorates their fruits in Italy, France and Spain' feels that with 'reflection from good walls, well gravelled walks, the choice of fit kinds and positions proper to each particular' it is possible to grow 'many delicious fruits.'<sup>292</sup> He proceeds to give precise instructions on how to build

---

<sup>290</sup> Sarah M. Couch, 'The Practice of Avenue Planting in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Garden History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Autumn 1992), pp. 173-200, p.173.

<sup>291</sup> Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,' p.367.

<sup>292</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, the epistle dedicated to Lord Gerrard, no page number.

brick walls of the right dimensions and structure.<sup>293</sup> The use of walls for fruit growing is confirmed by contemporary visual evidence such as the Siberechts painting of Cheveley (Fig.5.2.2) and the Knyff and Kip engraving of Althorp (Fig.5.4.3), both discussed as case studies below.

Rea also describes the preferred square plan of adjoining walled squares: there should be two gardens 'joined together and onely divided with a wall, so as their may be a passage out of the one to the other; and both of these for delight, recreation and entertainment.' A third walled square for the kitchen garden may be 'more remote.'<sup>294</sup>

The square plan is also advocated in Stephen Blake's *The Compleat Gardiner's Practice* of 1664, referring to 'the modellizing and contriving' of the garden, he suggests 'to compose it of the bigness according to the cost intended for it, in the making of it up and the keeping of it afterwards' and 'to raise it by a direct square' which needs to 'answer the face of the house.' If it is not a true square 'all things will seem to stand askew when there is any prospect took of it from a window or balcony.'<sup>295</sup> John Evelyn, writing in the late 1650s in his unpublished *Elysium Britannicum*, states that the square plan is the most common.<sup>296</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, book 1, p.3.

<sup>294</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, book 1, p.2.

<sup>295</sup> Stephen Blake, *The Compleat Gardener's Practice* (London, 1664), p.2.

<sup>296</sup> BL, Evelyn MS 42; John Evelyn, *Elysium Britannicum*, ed. John Ingram (Philadelphia: University of Penn Press, 2001), p.59, quoted in Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,' p.367.

While a distinction between walls that enclose the whole garden, and those that enclose sections of the garden should perhaps be made, in English gardens, as we have seen above, the conglomerate nature of the garden meant that surrounding walls are less frequent. One exception is Thorpe Hall, Peterborough, where a planned layout of squares was contained within a walled rectangle, developed during the Commonwealth from 1654.<sup>297</sup> As garden layouts became more extensive and more planned after the Restoration, the examples shown in Knyff and Kip suggest that few gardens were completely surrounded by walls, so that a characteristic of English garden design would be a collection of enclosed spaces rather than a regular and completely enclosed plot. For example, the engraving of Dawley in Middlesex by Knyff and Kip of c. 1707, shows several enclosed spaces within the garden, while the irregular overall shape, bounded in part by a road, is not completely enclosed (Fig. 4.3.15).

---

<sup>297</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p. 64.

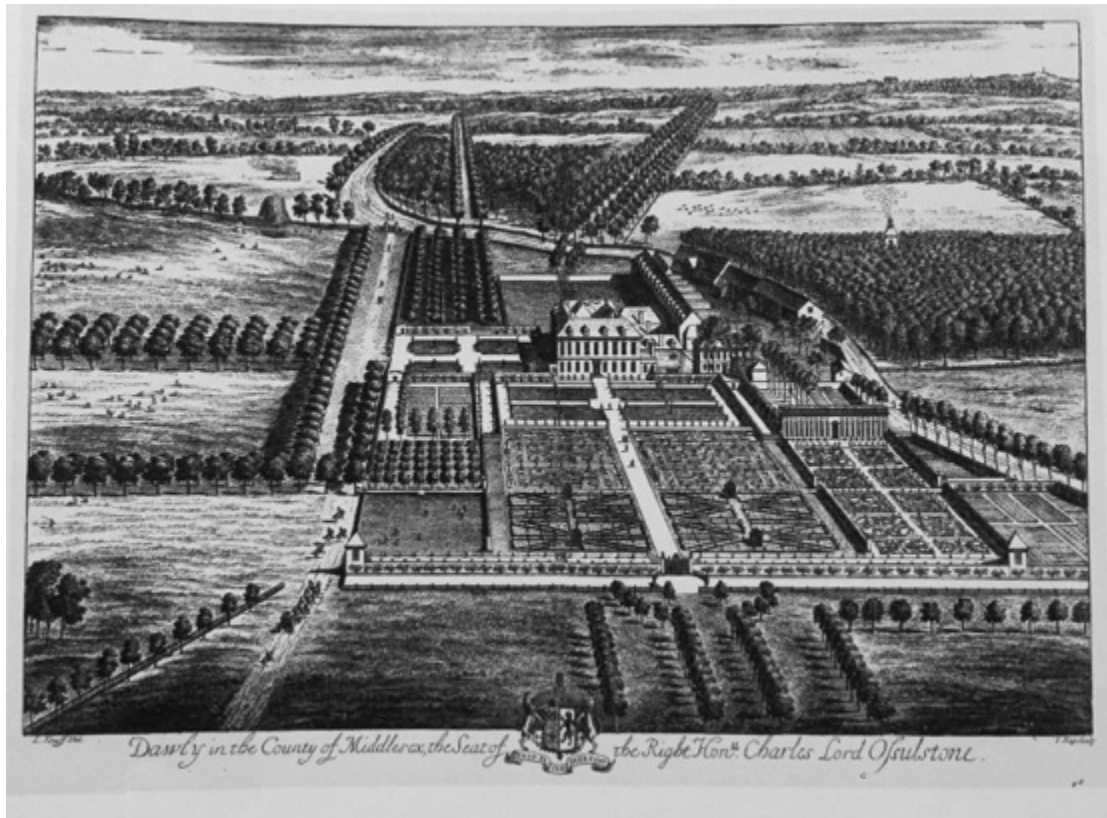


Figure 4.3.15 Dawley House, Middlesex from Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, David Mortier, 1707, plate 48.

One adjunct of the enclosed garden was the need for access through gates supported by gate piers. These became a significant means of display in the English garden during the period 1660-80, replacing the gatehouse and lodge of earlier gardens, from the 1630s.<sup>298</sup> Many examples of gate piers can be seen in visual evidence of the period such as paintings and engravings, with gate piers being equally frequent in the Knyff and Kip engravings in *Britannia Illustrata* and in county histories such as Chauncy's *Hertfordshire*. Gate piers have also often survived on the ground when the garden or house has not, as for example at Cheveley, Coleshill, Euston and Hampstead Marshall. From

<sup>298</sup> Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,' p.371.

this evidence it is clear that a variety of architectural motifs were used to adorn gate piers, depending on their position and prominence in the garden. For example, at Wyddial Hall in Hertfordshire (Fig.4.3.26), Drapentier's drawing shows five sets of gate piers of differing designs, with the most elaborate being nearest the house, made of cut stone with stone plinth, rustication, cornices, scrollwork and ball finials. The outer gates are more restrained, made of brick with stone ball finials. Thus a 'hierarchy of design,' as Sally Jeffery characterizes it, indicated the level of importance, with the opportunity for display being most exploited nearer to the house.<sup>299</sup> As Hunneyball suggests the popularity of gate piers was a result of the prevailing mode of garden planning, which required walled enclosure, but 'their high recognition level as independent motifs is seen clearly in the fact that they were the one consistent feature of most gardens, regardless of which other elements were present.'<sup>300</sup> Gate piers were perhaps a relatively easy and adaptable way of conforming to fashion and indicating status, as may be demonstrated at Ryston and Cheveley and Althorp in the case studies below.

---

<sup>299</sup> Sally Jeffery, 'Gardens and Courtyards,' in *The Renaissance Villa in Britain*, eds. Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack (Reading: Spire 2007), p. 124.

<sup>300</sup> Paul M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p.110.

#### 4.3.9 The centrality of flowers

The main source for the importance of flowers during the period 1660-1680, is John Rea, whose garden treatise *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura or A Complete Florilege*, 1665, is in part a polemic intended to promote flower gardening from the point of view of a 'florist' who railed against the fashion for plain *parterres* devoid of floral ornament. At the same time (c. 1659-1660) Sir Thomas Hanmer wrote a garden handbook, which describes in detail the planting of his garden. Although it was not transcribed and published until 1933, Hanmer was a correspondent of John Evelyn and contributed to Evelyn's unpublished *Elysium Britannicum*, as well as a friend of John Rea, whose book contains a dedication to Hanmer, which suggests that Hanmer was probably influential within a circle of gardening virtuosi centred on Evelyn. His garden book and Rea's *Flora* have been the subject of several studies using their detail to reconstruct and visualise how flower gardens might have looked.<sup>301</sup> The evidence of Hanmer and Rea gives some indication of the importance of flowers in the English garden of this period.

John Rea felt that flowers were the most effective garden ornaments whose cultivation required more skill on the part of the owner than was needed for house building and hard landscaping: 'A choice collection of living Beauties, rare Plants, Flowers and Fruits, are indeed the Wealth, glory and delight of a

---

<sup>301</sup> Peter Goodchild, 'John Rea's Gardens of Delight: Introduction and Construction of the Flower Garden,' *Garden History*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1981), pp. 99-109 and Ruth Duthie, 'The Planting Plans of some 17<sup>th</sup> century Flower Gardens,' *Garden History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1990), pp.77-102.

Garden and the most absolute indication of the Owner's ingenuity; whose skill and care is chiefly required in their Choice, Culture and position.'<sup>302</sup> As a result 'fair houses are more frequent than fine gardens ... the latter requiring more skill in the owner, few gardens being found well furnished out of the hands of an affectionate florist.'<sup>303</sup> This is written in part as a justification for his book since he sets out to furnish the reader with the necessary skill to establish a garden of plants and flowers and fruit trees, but at the same time his strength of feeling and opposition to gardens 'of the new model' is clear: 'I have seen many Gardens of the new model, in the hands of unskilled persons, with good walls, walks and Grass-plots; but in the essential ornaments so deficient, that a green meadow is a more delightful object; there Nature, alone without the aid of Art, spreads her verdant Carpets, spontaneously embroidered with many pretty Plants and Pleasing Flowers, far more inviting than such an immured Nothing.'<sup>304</sup>

He objects to the hard landscaping features characteristic of continental gardens: 'as Noble Fountains, Grottoes, Statues &c are excellent Ornaments, and marks of Magnificence; so all such dead works in Gardens, ill done, are little better than blocks in the way to intercept the sight.'<sup>305</sup> This is a view reiterated by Worlidge, perhaps having read Rea. Worlidge makes clear that the use of statuary 'and other invegetative ornaments' is seen as a foreign

---

<sup>302</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, book 1, p. 2.

<sup>303</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, Book 1, p.1.

<sup>304</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, Book 1, p.2.

<sup>305</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, Book 1, p.2.



influence, admiring their use in Italian gardens and commenting that 'this mode of adorning gardens with curious workmanship is now becoming English' but lamenting that they obscure the view of 'those natural Beauties that so far exceed them'<sup>306</sup> so establishing the superiority of 'natural beauties' for the English garden, declaring that 'vegetating ornaments' are 'proper and very well becoming the gardens of the most curious.'<sup>307</sup>

Further evidence of flower gardens is scarce although Evelyn's own flower garden is relatively well documented and discussed. Roy Strong feels that interest in flowers increased during the Civil War when flower gardeners such as Evelyn and Hanmer retreated to their gardens and 'found solace in gardening and the cultivation of plants.'<sup>308</sup> Rea could be added here since he refers to the period as 'our long Winter ... so well over' and states that he can now 'adventure to bring forth my plants and flowers into the open air' by publishing his book.<sup>309</sup> The gardens specifically for flowers described by Hanmer, Rea and Evelyn, were smaller private areas devoted to the cultivation of special plants, many recently discovered and introduced. Evelyn's flower garden at Sayes Court, shown on his plan of 1653 (Fig.4.3.16) is described as 'My Private Garden of choice flowers and simples' (number

---

<sup>306</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, p.66.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

<sup>308</sup> Roy Strong, *The Artist and The Garden* (New haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p.155.

<sup>309</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, book 1, p. 2.

54).<sup>310</sup> The plan shows a brick walled enclosure divided into symmetrical quarters with a fountain in the middle and the quarters surrounded by a walk (number 56).

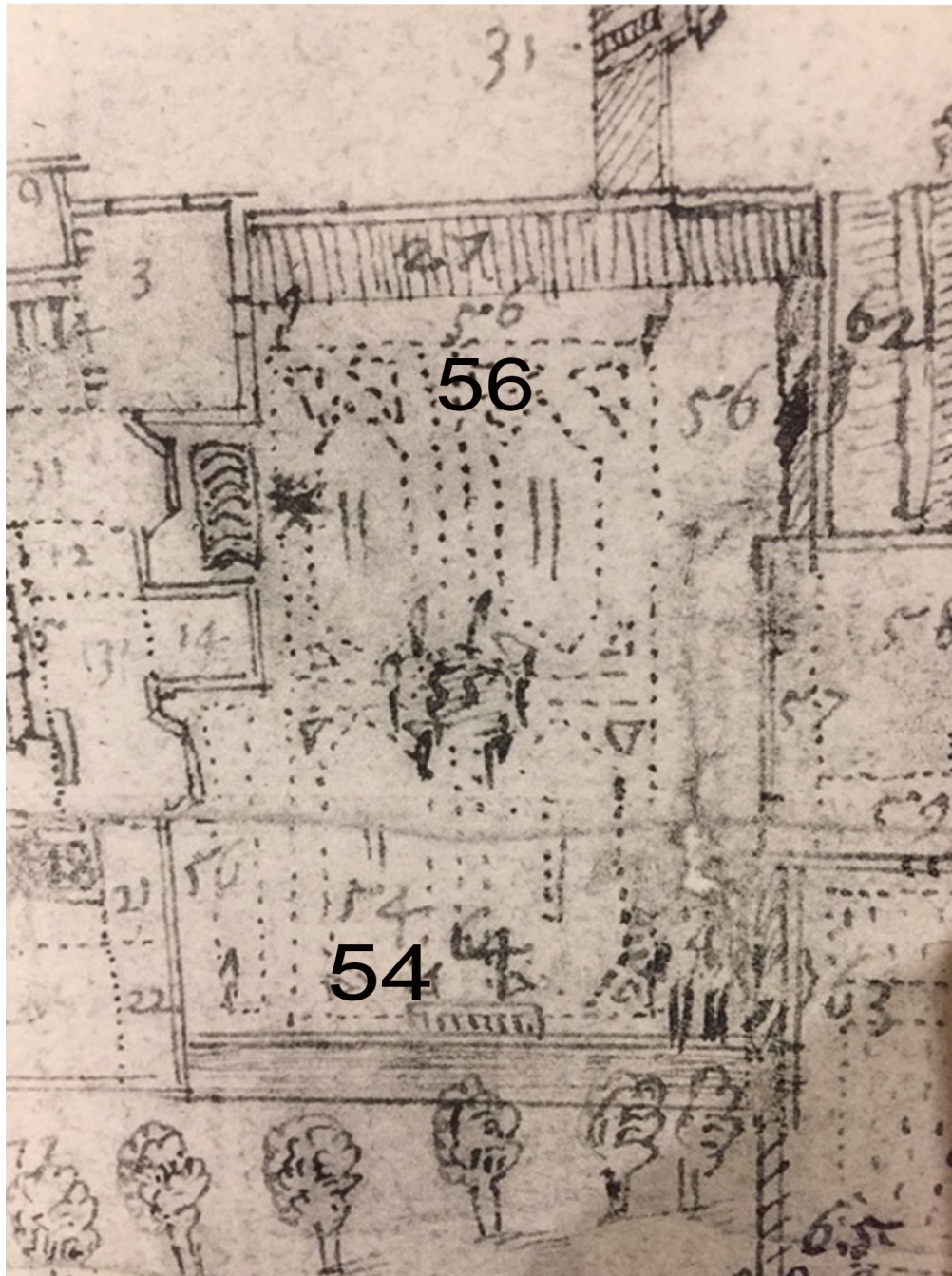


Figure 4.3.16 Detail of Sayes Court house and garden plan 1653, showing flower garden. BL online gallery, Deptford plans and drawings [<https://www.bl.uk>].

<sup>310</sup> Shown in Strong, *The Artist and The Garden*, p. 157.

Hanmer similarly refers to a 'little private seminary or piece to sow and raise plants and trees and keep such treasures as are not to be exposed to everyone's view'<sup>311</sup> while Rea suggests, for the flower garden, to 'fashion it in the form of a cabinet, with several boxes fit to receive and securely keep, Nature's choicest Jewels.'<sup>312</sup>

Glimpses of gardens such as these may be found in the engravings of Knyff and Kip in *Britannia Illustrata* of 1707 but it is difficult to date them. Coley Park, near Reading, for example, shows what could be a private flower garden of the type described by the garden writers (Fig.4.3.17). Here, as with Evelyn's example, the garden is associated with an earlier, late Elizabethan house so that although the landscape shown is a snapshot of about 1700-1707, the garden could be of 1660 to 1680, or earlier. The owner Tanfield Vachell died in 1658, when a cousin Thomas Vachell inherited aged 16, who died in 1683 when another Tanfield Vachell inherited, who was the owner named in Knyff and Kip, who died in 1705, deeply in debt, perhaps having worked extensively on the garden.<sup>313</sup> The surrounding gardens shown in Knyff and Kip are continentally inspired and probably post 1680 in date, with elaborate *parterres*, a maze and several expanses of flat water (Fig. 4.3.18).

---

<sup>311</sup> Hanmer's *Garden Book* as transcribed by Ruth Duthie in 'The Planting Plans of some 17<sup>th</sup> century Flower Gardens,' p.84.

<sup>312</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, book 1, p. 6.

<sup>313</sup> 'The borough of Reading: Manors ', in *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 3*, ed. P H Ditchfield and William Page (London, 1923), pp. 364-367, accessed 23 December 2018. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/berks/vol3/pp364-367>.



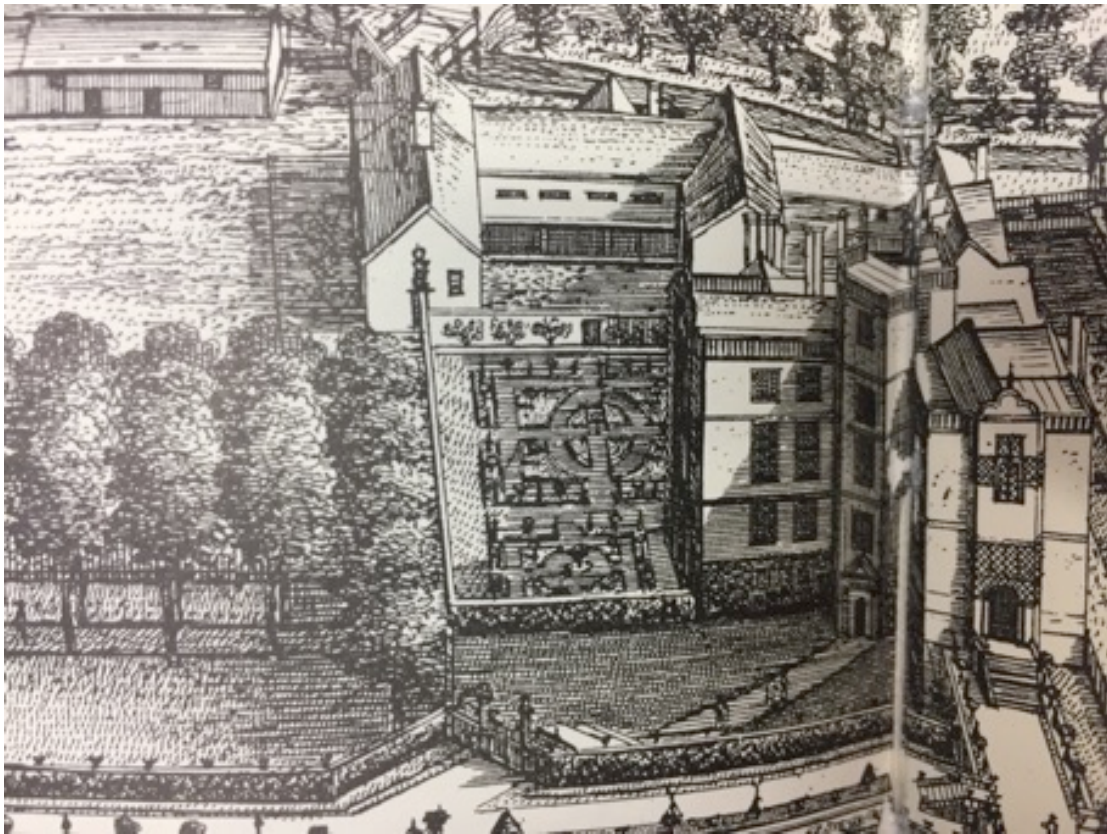


Figure 4.3.17 Coley Park, detail of Figure 4.3.18 from *Britannia Illustrata*, plate 80.



Figure 4.3.18 Coley Park, near Reading, from Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, David Mortier, 1707, plate 80.

Another example can be seen in the Knyff and Kip illustration of Chiswick house, where the grass paths surround geometrically shaped beds of the type illustrated in Meager, probably intended for flowers at the right season, though apparently empty at the time of the drawing, seen behind the stable building (Fig.4.3.19).

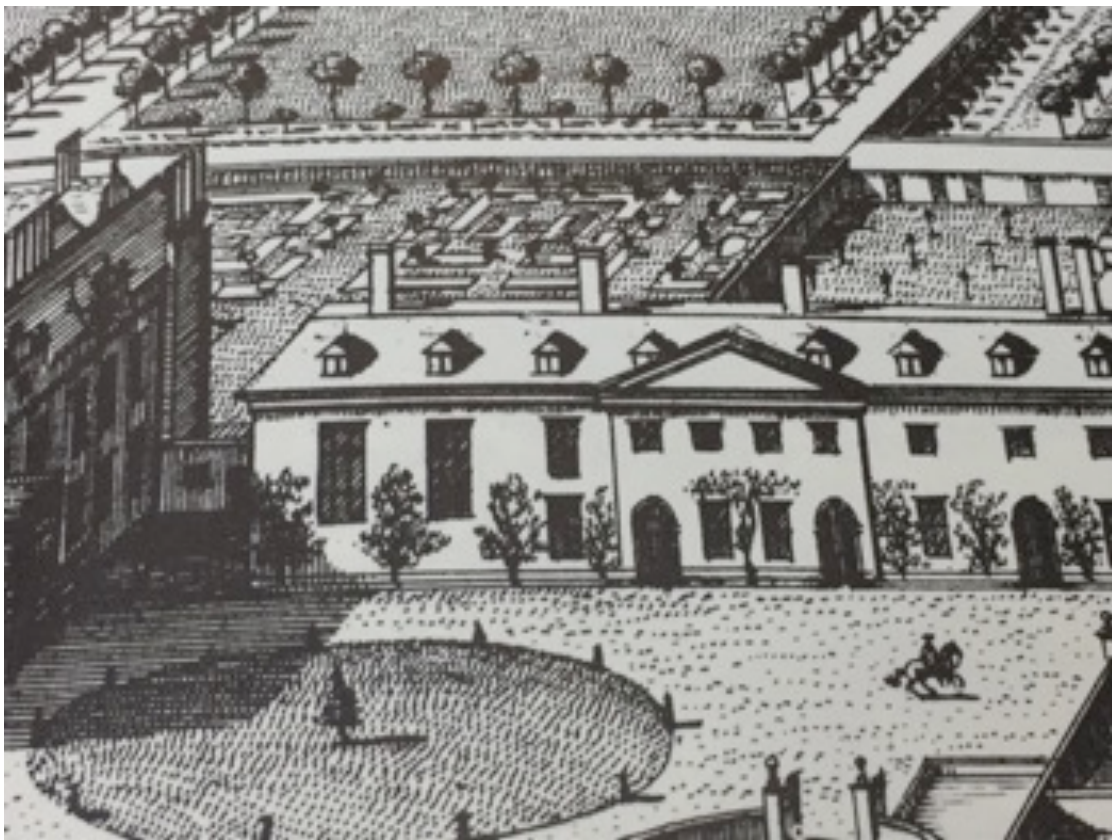


Figure 4.3.19 Chiswick House, garden behind the stables and carriage drive, detail from Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, David Mortier, 1707, plate 30.

Thus the cultivation of flowers was an important component of English garden design in the period 1660-1680, fervently promoted by some English garden writers in the face of more recent trends for plainer gardens adorned by 'invegetative' ornament.

#### 4.3.10 The importance of orchards and fruit growing

A recent study of orchards in the landscape of Norfolk has shown that orchards were an important part of the garden and the rural environment from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, found in both urban and rural environments and in lesser gardens as well as those of the gentry and aristocracy.<sup>314</sup> From the point of view of English garden design in the late seventeenth century, the growing of fruit trees both on walls and in orchards, was regarded as an essential part of gardening both aesthetically and horticulturally, and received a considerable amount of coverage in the English garden treatises.

This is perhaps not surprising since fruit was an important part of the diet. Pears for example were grown not only as dessert pears, but also for drying, baking, stewing and storing through winter, providing a valuable source of starchy carbohydrate.<sup>315</sup> Fruits were pickled and preserved or made into drinks such as cider or perry. The growing of orchard fruit was therefore a practical necessity.

The aesthetic delights of an orchard were also celebrated and valued. This is particularly apparent in William Lawson's *A new orchard and garden* (1618) where he implies that an orchard should be close to the house where owners

---

<sup>314</sup> Patsy Dallas, Gerry Barnes and Tom Williamson, 'Orchards in the Landscape: a Norfolk Case Study,' *Landscape*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (June 2015), pp. 26-43.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.



can 'set open their cazements into a most delicate Garden and Orchard whereby they not onely see that wherein they are so much delighted, but also to give fresh, sweet and pleasant ayre to their galleries and chambers.'<sup>316</sup> Lawson becomes quite ecstatic in describing the pleasures of an orchard, which can make all the senses 'swimme in pleasure.'<sup>317</sup> The blossom, fruit, bees and birdsong, even a brood of nightingales, meant that: 'A thousand of pleasant delights are attendant in an orchard.'<sup>318</sup>

John Rea also mingles fruit and flower growing in his garden of pleasure, which is primarily a flower garden, described in the first book of *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura or A Complete Florilege*, 1665, while also advocating an orchard placed next to the flower garden, near the house.

The evidence of engravings shows that orchards were often included in walled enclosures as part of the garden, though not always adjacent to the house. At Bedwell Park for example, a rather sparsely planted walled orchard of standard trees is shown some way from the house, with several rows of fruit bushes and a seat indicating the orchard's pleasurable role (Fig.4.3.5). At Aspenden an orchard is shown close to the house, as part of the kitchen garden with a central fountain, clearly distinguished from a conifer plantation across a long walk (Fig.4.3.20). At Londesborough, a garden designed in the

---

<sup>316</sup> William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 1618, p.69.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, p.73.



1670s and therefore probably later than Bedwell and Aspenden, the probable orchards are extensive and placed further from the house, although not all the plantations here are orchards (Fig. 4.3.24).



Figure 4.3.20 Aspenden Hall, Hertfordshire, c.1685 in Henry Chauncy, *The historical antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700.

One well-documented orchard is that of Evelyn at Sayes court, planted according to his diary, in February 1653<sup>319</sup> and shown on the plan of that date (Fig.4.3.21). Here the orchard takes up a major part of the garden, placed some way from the ornamental parts, perhaps in keeping with Evelyn's largely continental view of gardening and the French practice of maintaining a separation between the pleasurable and the productive parts of the garden. The orchard is numbered 118 on the plan: 'The Great Orchard planted with 300 fruit trees of the best sorts mingled and warrented upon a bond of 20

<sup>319</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 19 February 1653, p.295.

pound.'<sup>320</sup> Thus Evelyn proudly indicates the status and expense of fruit growing, the skill and money invested in this important component of the garden, which Lawson felt would provide, at 'the end of all your labours in an orchard: unspeakable pleasure and infinite commodity.'<sup>321</sup>



Figure 4.3.21 John Evelyn's house and garden plan, Sayes Court, 1653, detail showing 'The Great Orchard' to the right and below 'The Grove.' Available at BL online gallery, Deptford plans and drawings [<https://www.bl.uk>].

<sup>320</sup> John Evelyn's house and garden plan, Sayes Court, 1653. Available at BL online gallery, Deptford plans and drawings [<https://www.bl.uk>], quoted in Prudence Leith-Ross, 'The Garden of John Evelyn at Deptford,' *Garden History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Winter, 1997), pp. 138-152.

<sup>321</sup> Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p.67.

#### 4.3.11 The importance of grass and grass or gravel walks

One of the main uses of a garden at this period was for walking or 'taking the air.' Worlidge declares 'it is not the least part of the pleasures of a garden to walk and refresh yourself either with your friends or acquaintances or alone, retired from the cares of the world.'<sup>322</sup> The well known conversation of Samuel Pepys and Hugh May in 1666 is usually quoted to lend support to the idea that English gardens particularly exemplified superior grass and gravel, for which it is a very helpful quote, but the conversation is actually about gardens for walking in, where the purpose is to take the air or as Pepys puts it, 'our business here being ayre.' The conversation took place while walking 'up and down' at Whitehall:

to Whitehall where saw nobody almost but walked up and down with Hugh May, who is a very ingenious man. Among other things discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make them plain, that we have the best walks of gravel in the world, France having no nor Italy; and our green of our bowling allies is better than any they have. So our business here being ayre, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome ... And then for flowers they are best seen in a little plat by themselves; besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden: and then for fruit the best way is to have walls built circularly, one within another, to the south, on purpose for fruit and leaving the walking garden only for that use.<sup>323</sup>

---

<sup>322</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, p.27.

<sup>323</sup> Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 22 July 1666, vol. 7, p.213.



The Privy Garden at Whitehall was a recognised venue for courtiers to meet and walk in and probably gave rise to the conversation since it exemplified the trend for plain grass plots, in this case adorned with statues taken from St James palace and placed at Whitehall during the Interregnum (Fig.4.3.22).

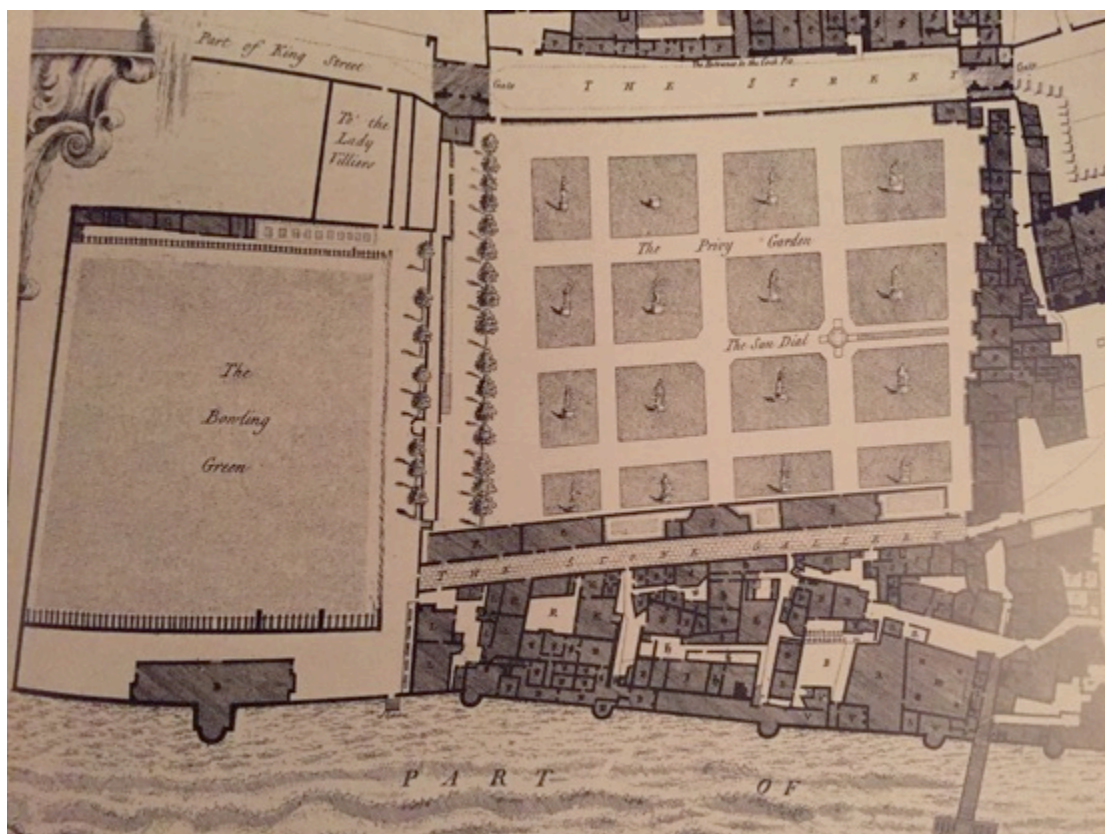


Figure 4.3.22 Whitehall Privy Garden from John Fisher's survey, made 1680, published 1747 From David Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.71.<sup>324</sup>

The garden writers give much advice on different materials for walks and how to lay them. Worlidge advocates stone paving as best, followed by gravel, especially if fine screened and regularly rolled, while in summer walks of grass are to be preferred.<sup>325</sup> Samuel Gilbert in *The Florist's Vade-Mecum*,

<sup>324</sup> The bowling green was made in 1661 and the sundial in 1666.

<sup>325</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, pp.28-30.

1683 prefers gravel with turfed sides to protect flowers from the reflected heat of the sun and gives a helpful key to his two garden plans showing the distribution of grass, gravel and planting.<sup>326</sup> Mollet also felt that the English excelled in their use of grass, particularly in 'garden alleys' or walks, 'which are the Chiefest Ornaments of a Garden, and wherein England excelleth other countrys as well as by its art in Turfing.'<sup>327</sup> He felt that English gardeners 'are more skillful in laying and keeping of Turf than any other Country's Gardiners' and proceeded to give detailed instruction on how to look after turf 'in the English manner.'<sup>328</sup> William Temple in 1685 reiterated the idea that the English excelled in gravel and grass: 'Two things particular to us, that contribute much to the beauty and elegance of our gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the fineness and almost perpetual Greenness of our Turf.'<sup>329</sup>

Hanmer described the fashion for grass *parterres* in 1659: 'our knots or quarters are not hedged about with privet, rosemary or other tall herbs which hide the prospect of the worke and nourish hurtful worms and flys ... but all is now commonly near the house layed open and exposed to the view of the chambers ... the next adjacent quarters or Parterr as the French call them are

---

<sup>326</sup> Gilbert, *The Florist's Vade-Mecum*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>327</sup> Mollet, *The Garden of Pleasure*, p.9.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9.

<sup>329</sup> William Temple, 'Upon the gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening, in the year 1685' in *Miscellanea, The Second Part, in Four Essays*, William Miller, 1692, p. 114, quoted in Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.69.

oft of fine turf, kept as low as any greens to bowl on.'<sup>330</sup> While Hanmer admired the practice, the prevalence of areas of grass and gravel walks was seen as an undesirable 'new model' by John Rae mainly because it omitted flowers, an opinion also held by Worlidge who felt that this type of garden was more appropriate in an urban context but lamented the practice in country seats where flowers, 'the miracles of nature' were 'banished.' He hoped 'that this new, useless, and unpleasant mode, will like many other vanities grow out of fashion.'<sup>331</sup>

The garden literature therefore points to there being two possibly contradictory or opposing themes in English garden design at this time: a move towards simplicity using grass plats or quarters divided by gravel walks, and a promotion of the importance of flowers and the skills needed to grow the increasing variety of species available. In practice the two themes were compatible in different parts of the garden as exemplified in Cheveley below, where there were enclosures for flowers as well as for grass.

#### 4.3.12 Bowling greens

One English garden feature which demonstrated English success with turf, whether due to climate or skill, was the bowling green, for which the English became very well known to the extent that the term was exported to France

---

<sup>330</sup> Sir Thomas Hanmer, *The Garden Book of Sir Thomas Hanmer*, 1659 as transcribed by Ruth Duthie in 'The Planting Plans of some 17<sup>th</sup> century Flower Gardens,' p.84.

<sup>331</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, p.19.

as ‘*boulingrin*’, where it was used to describe both grass *parterres* and bowling greens.<sup>332</sup> Bowling had been a popular sport since the Middle Ages, appealing across the social classes, from the lower orders who were entertained at public greens in towns, inns and taverns, to the gentry, aristocracy and royalty who laid out private greens, which became a frequent feature of English gardens.<sup>333</sup> Evelyn considered the sport, which afforded ‘incomparable divertissement,’ to be ‘singular to the English nation above all others in the world.’<sup>334</sup> His own garden at Sayes Court included an area labelled as bowling greens on the 1653 plan, which is the grass *parterres* in the forecourt, so that these seem to have performed a dual role, perhaps indicating the significance of the bowling green, placed in the forecourt, the first opportunity to impress the visitor (Fig.4.3.23).

---

<sup>332</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.42.

<sup>333</sup> Hugh Hornby, *Bowled over: the Bowling Greens of England* (Swindon: Historic England 2015), p.44.

<sup>334</sup> John Evelyn, *Elysium Britannicum*, p.134.



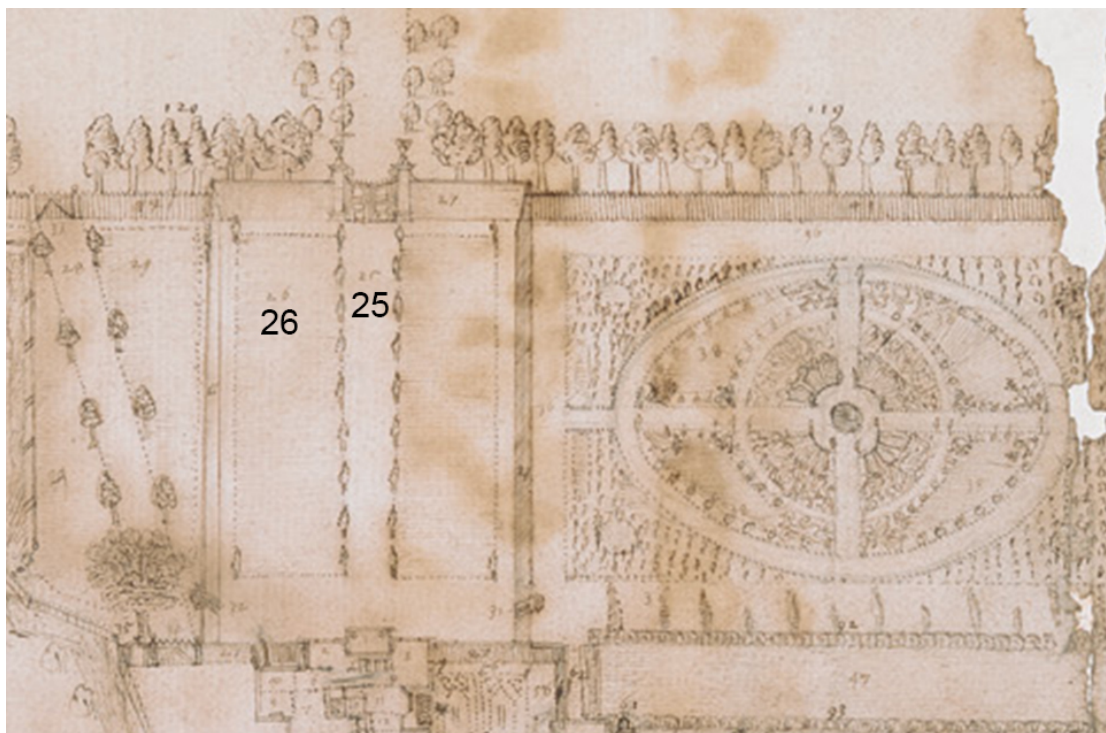


Figure 4.3.23 Detail of Sayes Court house and garden plan 1653, showing Evelyn's garden forecourt/bowling green. BL online gallery, Deptford plans and drawings [<https://www.bl.uk>].<sup>335</sup>

Charles II created new bowling greens at Whitehall in 1661 (Fig. 4.3.22) and at Windsor Castle in 1663,<sup>336</sup> among his first acts in garden making after the Restoration. Evidence of the prevalence of bowling greens is found in the many examples shown in the Knyff and Kip engravings in *Britannia Illustrata*, where bowling greens can be identified in 32 of the 80 plates, though these may be difficult to date. At Londesborough Hall, Yorkshire, estate records show that the bowling green depicted in Knyff and Kip plate 31 (Fig. 4.3.24),

<sup>335</sup> Number 25 'The Court with fair gravel walks planted with Cypress and the walls with fruit', 26 'The Bowling Greenes betwixt', 27 'The brick walls 10 foot high with double gates'.

<sup>336</sup> Hornby, *Bowled Over*, p.52.

was laid out in the winter of 1678/9 when Robert Hooke redesigned the house and garden from 1676.<sup>337</sup>

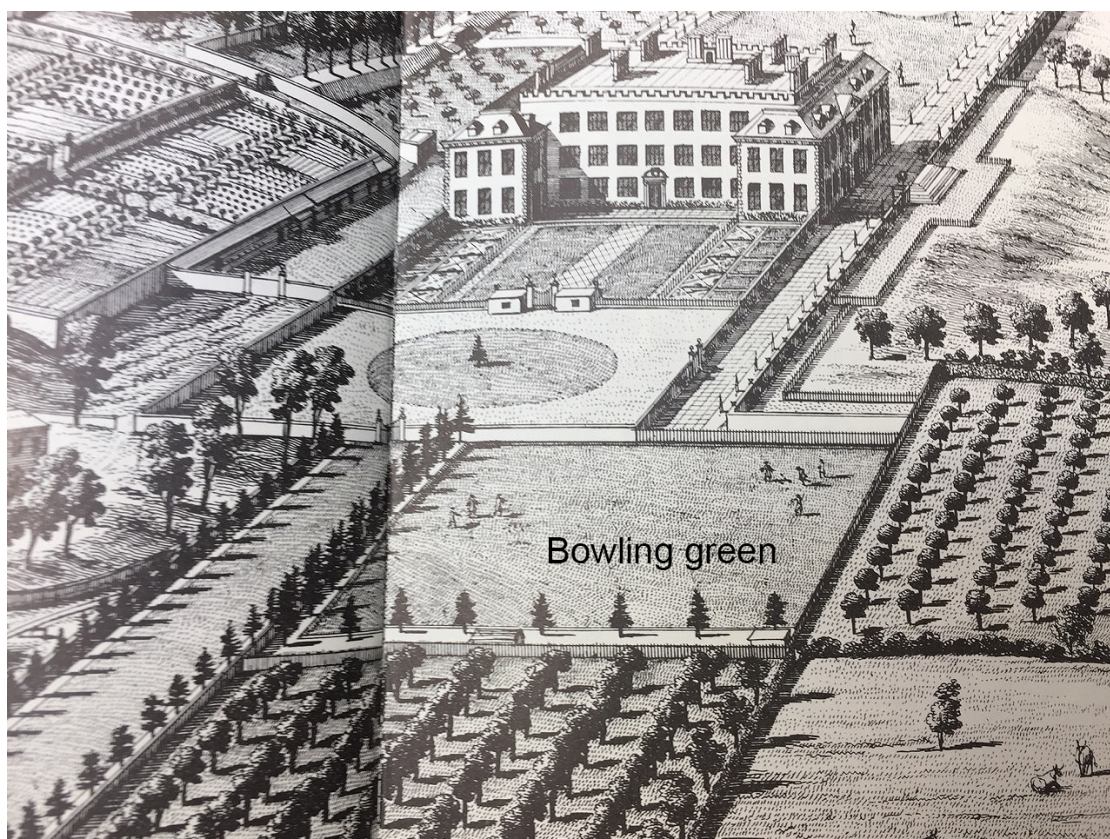


Figure 4.3.24 Londesborough, Yorkshire, detail showing bowling green in foreground, from *Britannia Illustrata*, plate 31.

Although there is information on turfing in the garden treatises, there is little on the design of bowling greens. Stephen Blake includes ‘how to make bowling allyes with great ease and little cost’ in his list for future writing ‘in hand’ but this was never realized as far as is known.<sup>338</sup> The most detail before

<sup>337</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.220; Historic England List, entry number 1000924; D Neave, ‘Lord Burlington’s park and gardens at Londesborough, Yorkshire,’ *Garden History*, vol 8, no 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 69-90, p. 73.

<sup>338</sup> Stephen Blake, *The Compleat Gardener’s Practice*, p. 6.

1680 is provided in Evelyn's unpublished *Elysium Britannicum*, where he advocates incorporating some unevenness or 'imperceptible elevations and depressions'<sup>339</sup> to improve the game, while maintaining an attractive sward, in such detail that he must himself have been an aficionado of the game. He also advocates four foot high banks to surround the green 'to deaden a harde thrown bowle' and a 'seat theatrical', neither of which appear in his own garden, so that perhaps the use of the forecourt as a bowling green was just an economical way of not being deprived of the 'divertissement'. If this was common practice, there are more bowling green/forecourts to be seen in the Knyff and Kip engravings.

Further evidence of bowling greens is found in the Drapentier engravings of twenty seven Hertfordshire houses published by Henry Chauncey in 1700, where Mowl identifies five bowling greens and three bowling alleys, suggesting that even in gardens of the gentry, bowling was well catered for.<sup>340</sup> Again, if Evelyn's practice of placing the bowling green in the forecourt was common, there are more possibilities shown in Chauncey, as for example at Bedwell park (Fig. 4.3.5). The garden at Pishiobury includes a bowling green in an area that may also have been a forecourt since there is an approach avenue aligned on gates into the enclosure (Fig. 4.3.25). At Wyddial Hall the grass in the outer forecourt is shown to be slightly more uneven, so that this

---

<sup>339</sup> Evelyn, *Elysium Britannicum*, p. 134.

<sup>340</sup> Mowl, 'John Drapentier's Views of the Gentry Gardens of Hertfordshire,' pp. 152-170.



could also perhaps be a bowling green of the type described by Evelyn<sup>341</sup> (Fig.4.3.26).

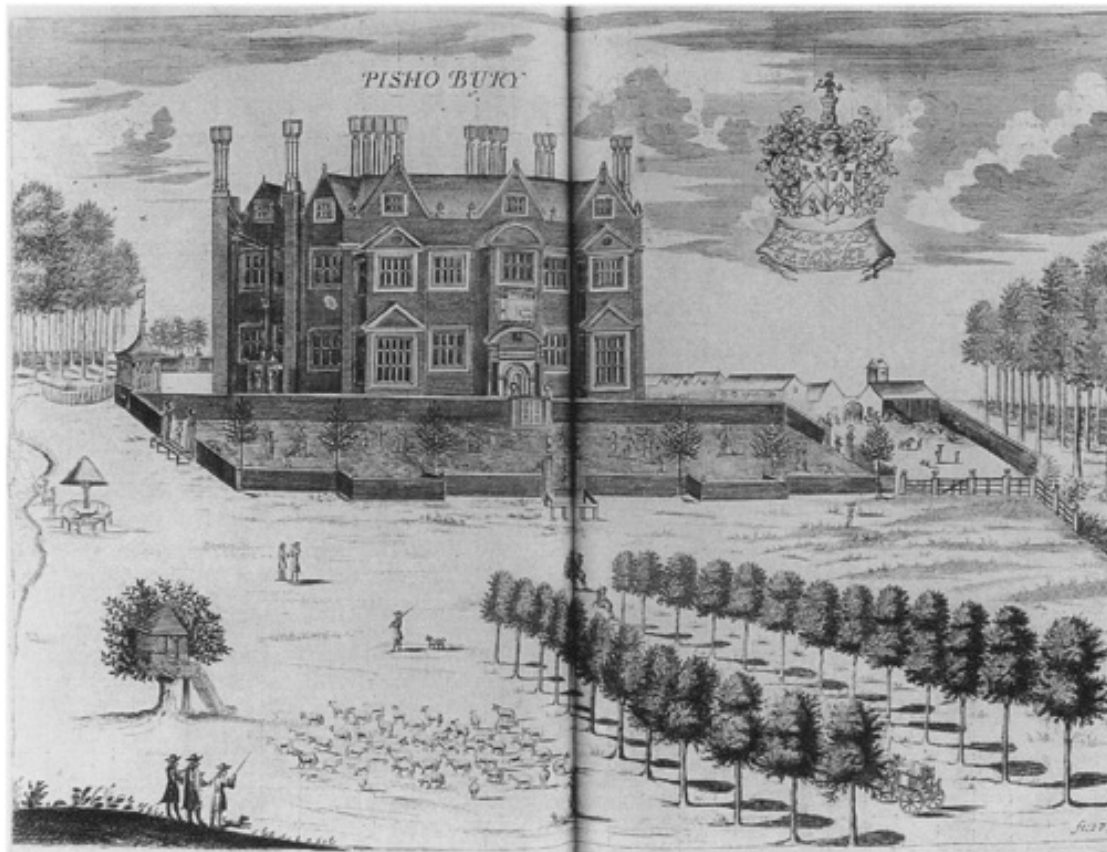


Figure 4.3.25 Pishiobury, Hertfordshire in Henry Chauncy, *The historical antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700.

<sup>341</sup> There is also however, a possible bowling alley shown to the right.

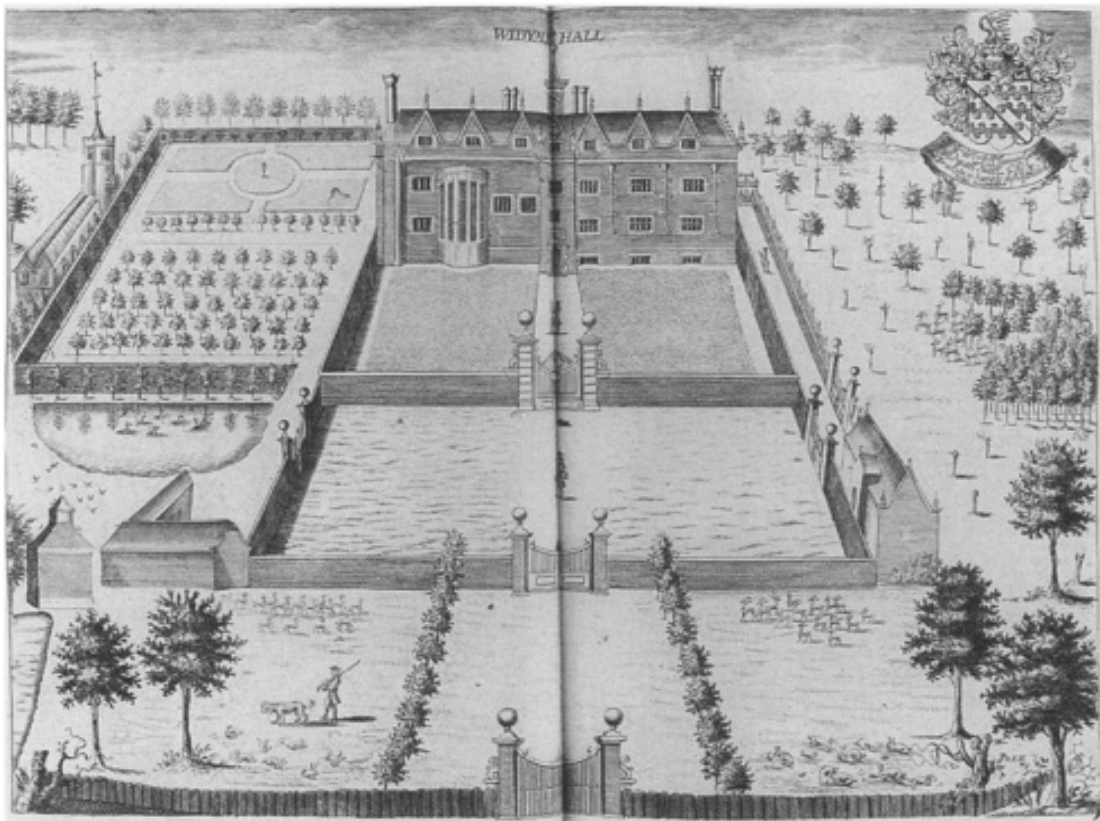


Figure 4.3.26 Wyddial Hall, Hertfordshire in Henry Chauncy, *The historical antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700.

Bowling greens continued to be a prominent feature of English gardens into the eighteenth century, when for example, one was made at Knole, Kent for which there is detailed evidence of its construction found in the gardener's contract of 1710.<sup>342</sup> Garden treatises at this date also provide more detail on how to make a bowling green, with more elaborate designs provided for example in London and Wise's translation of a French treatise, *The Retir'd Gardener* in 1707, where a surrounding of tall trees is suggested. This is also suggested by Moses Cook in 1672, who advises pine trees to surround a

<sup>342</sup> Sally O'Halloran and Jan Woudstra, 'Keeping the Gardens at Knole in Sevenoaks, Kent, 1622-1711,' *Garden History*, vol 40, no 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 34-55, p.46.

bowling green as 'their leaves will not do any harm.'<sup>343</sup> This may have been perhaps to obscure the view of the bowling green since they do seem in some cases to sit somewhat uncomfortably among *parterres de broderie*, as for example at Chatsworth (Fig.4.3.27), where the bowling green was made in 1688 and its accompanying 'seat theatrical' or bowling green house from 1693-95, according to building accounts.<sup>344</sup>

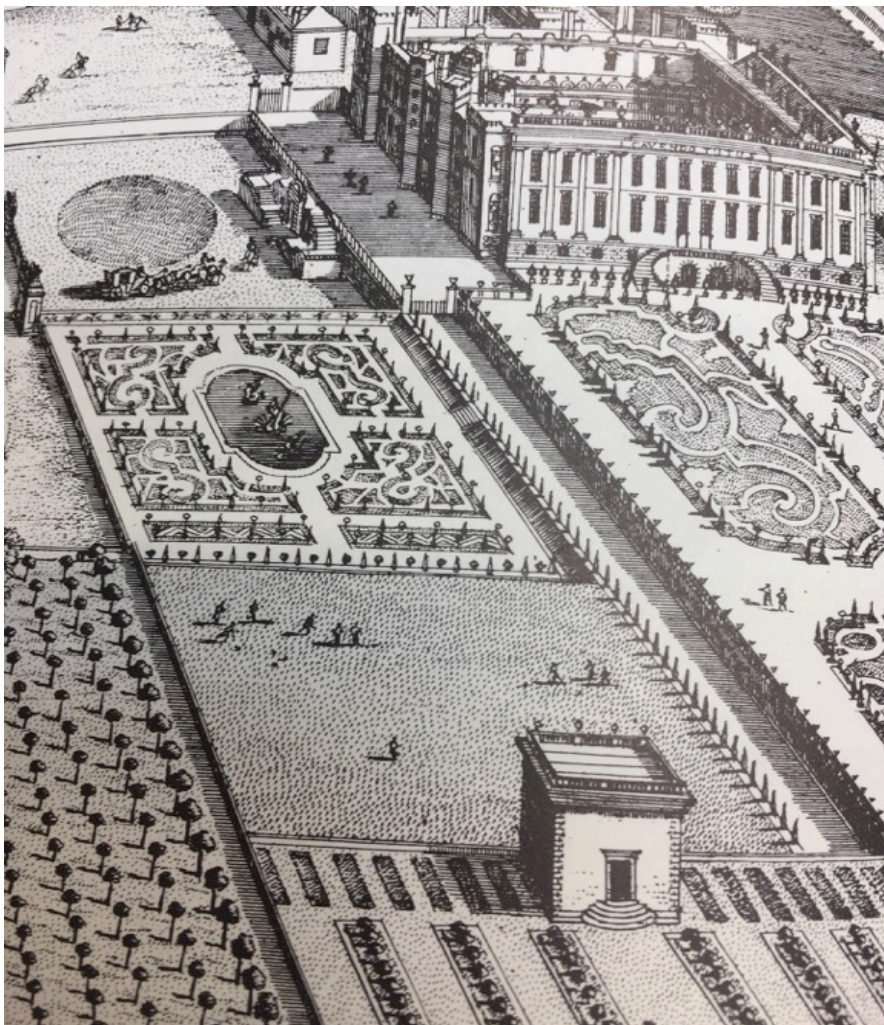


Figure 4.3.27 Chatsworth, Derbyshire, detail showing bowling green and house, *Britannia Illustrata*, plate 17.

<sup>343</sup> Cook, *The Manner of Raising ... Forest and Fruit Trees*, p.117.

<sup>344</sup> John Barnatt and Tom Williamson, *Chatsworth: a Landscape History* (Bollington: Windgather), 2005, p.61.



In some cases such as at Cassiobury in 1672 (where Moses Cook worked as head gardener), the bowling green was placed outside the main gardens and screened by three rows of spruce firs,<sup>345</sup> perhaps suggesting it may not have been regarded as sufficiently ornamental. *The retir'd gardener* suggests that bowling greens are 'only made in spacious gardens and always laid in those places of 'em which are most out of the way, because they would else take away the prospect by the Tallness of the Trees which ought to be placed around them.'<sup>346</sup> The French debt to the English is acknowledged as the bowling green is explained as 'a compartment of a Garden which the French learned of the English.'<sup>347</sup> Another translation of a French book, *The theory and practice of gardening*, translated by John James in 1712, acknowledges the English origin: 'the invention and original of the word Bowling-green comes to us from England' and comments admiringly on 'the way they keep their grass in England ... you can't do better than to follow this method used in England where their grass plots are of so exquisite a Beauty, that in France we can scarce ever hope to come up to it.'<sup>348</sup>

The bowling green therefore endured as an English garden feature although its role as a sporting venue perhaps made it difficult to incorporate in an ornamental garden. It continued to be accommodated and admired since it demonstrated the English success with turf.

---

<sup>345</sup> Cook, *The Manner of Raising ... Forest and Fruit Trees*, p.190.

<sup>346</sup> George London and Henry Wise, *The Retir'd Gardener*, second edition (London: 1717), p.431.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, p.430.

<sup>348</sup> John James' translation of Dezallier D'Argenville *Theory and Practice of gardening*, 1712, p.61 and 68, also quoted in part in Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.222.

#### 4.3.13 The evolution of the *parterre* from the knot

The period 1660 to 1680 is clearly a period of transition, where foreign influence resulted in a gradual change of practice. This is particularly apparent in the garden writings on the subject of how to shape areas of earth or grass within the garden square, where it is clear that English garden design and the vocabulary used to describe it, was on the cusp of change. The terms 'knot' and *parterre* were used interchangeably, but English garden design at this period appears to have favoured either plain grass areas as described above (section 4.3.11), or geometrically shaped knots or *parterres*, while more elaborate curvaceous forms or *parterres de broderie* such as were seen at Wilton in the 1640s, do not seem to have prevailed again until the late 1680s.

Hanmer uses the term *parterre* in 1659 as noted above, to describe quarters of 'fine turf.' In contrast, Evelyn uses the term to describe the central circle within his oval 'Morin' garden on the Sayes Court plan in 1653 'the round par:terre of Box with 12 Beds of flowers and passages betwixt each bed'<sup>349</sup> where the box *parterre* appears to be *de broderie*. (Fig.4.3.28).

---

<sup>349</sup> Number 39 on the Sayes Court plan, Figure 23.

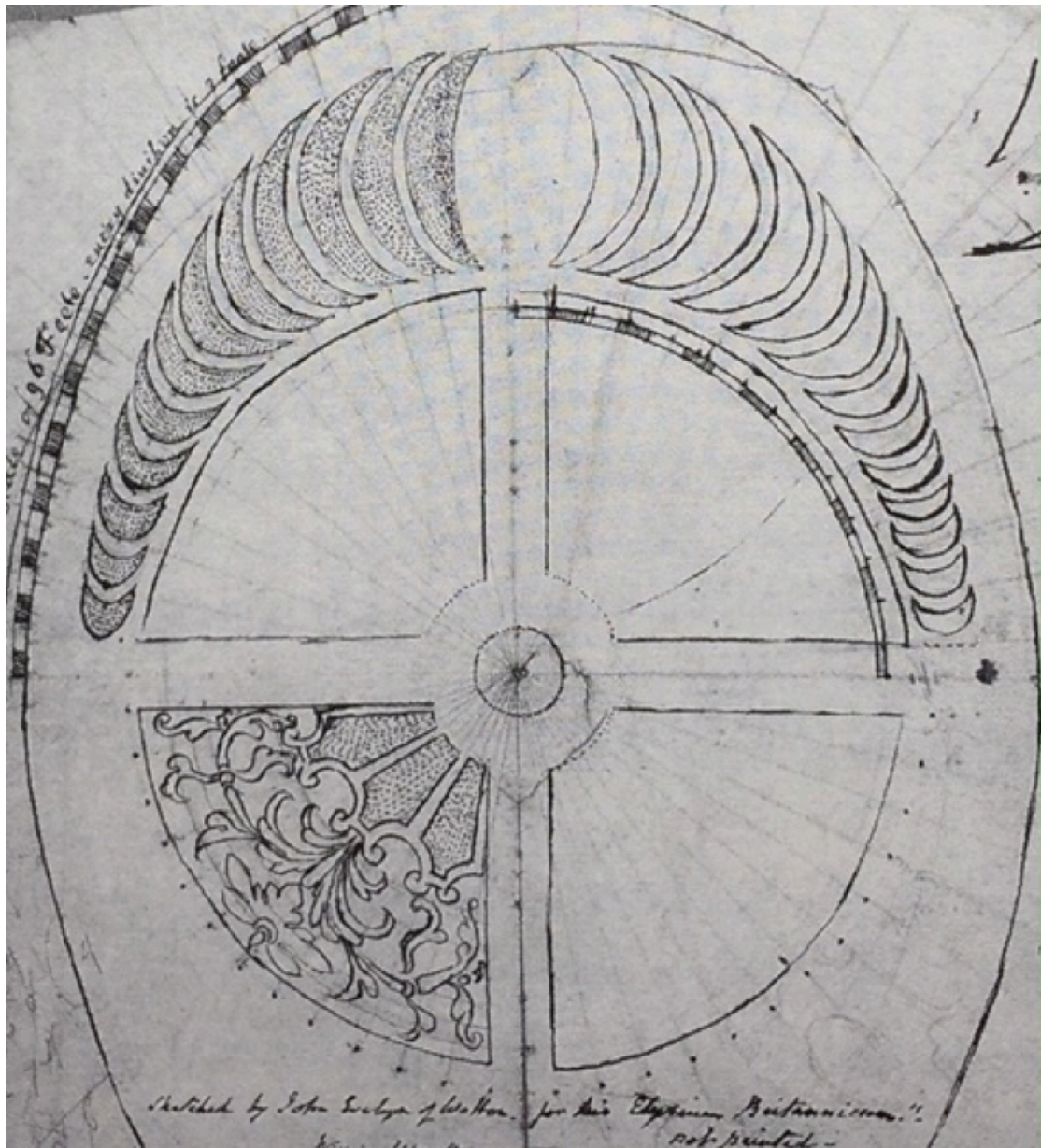


Figure 4.3.28 Sketch of the oval *parterre* at Sayes Court, attributed to John Evelyn, now considered uncertain, RIBA Drawings Collection, in *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European gardening*, Eds. Therese O'Malley & Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, p.172.

Evelyn's curvaceous forms here seem to be quite exceptional at this date, but his 'Moline garden' was unashamedly imitating the oval garden he saw in Paris, hence it is an example of French inspired design in England. Evelyn, like other garden writers such as Meager described above, used the terms

'*parterre*' and 'knot' interchangeably, so that it seems the distinction was not important. He describes a *parterre* planted with box, where the interstices are filled with coloured sand or 'these spaces be a little embossed with mould, planted with low growing flowers.'<sup>350</sup> As Mark Laird suggests this could equally be a knot or a flowerbed. In his chapter 'Of knots, {Fretts} Parterrs, Compartiments, Bordures and Embossments' for the unpublished *Elysium Britannicum* no clear distinction is made between these terms and in fact Evelyn concludes that these parts of the garden are not so significant: 'for it is our opinion that *Viridaria*, *Vireta*, ... , Walkes, Mounts, Groves, Fountaines etc be the more principall, & all *Parterrs* and *Flowry Areas* but the trimmings and accessories of a noble garden.'<sup>351</sup>

The visual evidence in Knyff and Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, while it is often difficult to date, does suggest that even in elite gardens of a later period, many examples of more simple and plain geometric *parterres* can be seen as shown in section 4.3.9, as areas for flowerbeds, while in the Drapentier engravings of Hertfordshire, published in 1700, there are no examples of decorative *parterres* of the French *broderie* type. It is reasonable to conclude therefore that these were not a feature of the English garden in 1660-1680. Instead plain grass quarters and rectilinear flowerbeds prevailed, perhaps

---

<sup>350</sup> John Evelyn, *Elysium Britannicum*, p.124, quoted in Mark Laird, 'European Horticulture and Planting Design' in *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening*, eds. Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), p.175.

<sup>351</sup> John Evelyn, *Elysium Britannicum*, p.125.

because turf thrived in the English climate or due to a sense of modesty and restraint surviving from the Commonwealth period.

#### 4.3.14 Conclusion

In conclusion, the period 1660-1680 was a period of gradual change and adaptation of ideas absorbed from the continent. These ideas had influenced garden design since at least the mid sixteenth century so that it is difficult to identify what might have been 'English.' The organization of a garden into square enclosures for example, was a feature common to continental and English gardens from the medieval period, so that it is perhaps difficult to characterise this as 'Englishness.' Yet the prevailing practice of maintaining square enclosures is 'English' in that it continued to be advocated in garden literature and followed throughout the period in question. Other features such as avenues, for example, can be identified in the English landscape from about 1620, but their origin is accepted as being continental and more recent. Further questions remain to be decided in the light of the case studies: how far the English garden of this period was simply old fashioned, or whether it had an independent character and how far differences in English garden design were the result of status suggesting that 'English' denoted gentry or lower status gardens rather than elite aristocratic or courtly gardens.

In summary, having considered garden writings of the period supported by visual evidence of engravings, paintings and plans, the following features may be said to characterize English garden design from 1660 to 1680:

- A lack of interest in design principles leading to a 'laissez faire' attitude to design with greater appreciation of horticultural rather than design skills.
- A toleration and appreciation of gardens which had developed over time, accumulating sections and features in an ad hoc or organic manner, rather than following a designed layout, whether for economic, sentimental or philosophical/ nostalgic reasons.
- The importance of enclosure using brick walls or palisades/ fences, pierced by gates supported on gate piers of varying degrees of elaboration, depending on their position.
- Divisions within the garden created by straight-sided enclosures, usually square.
- An understanding that symmetry and balance were required in the internal organization of the garden such as in the positioning of garden buildings, flower pots, specimen trees, plants, or flowers, but less interest in overall symmetry despite the beginnings of the development of an axial plan.
- The importance of prospect, particularly in providing a view of the garden but not in giving a vista out of the garden, leading to an inward looking garden rather than an interest in the landscape outside



(although this was developing as seen in the increasing use of avenues and gates that could be seen through).

- The importance of grass and gravel walks and the use of the garden for 'taking the air.'
- Bowling greens, which took advantage of the English climate and skill with turf, serving an English interest in a sport that could be accommodated in the garden.
- The importance of flowers and flower gardens, often close to the house providing more intimate spaces, sometimes incorporating more unusual recently discovered or developed varieties.
- The importance of orchards and fruit growing, both for utilitarian benefit and for pleasure, with walls universally being used for espaliered, more tender varieties, rarely left 'naked.'
- *Parterres* mostly of simple rectilinear, geometric shapes, often of plain grass 'plats' or quarters, or flowers accommodated in straight-sided beds cut out of grass.

#### Section 4.4 Summary

Chapter four has analysed garden design in France, the Netherlands and England in the seventeenth century up to 1660 in order to establish the principles, characteristics and design features of each garden culture at this time, with the aim of understanding what might have inspired English exiles before the Restoration. The conclusion of each section outlines a list of these

features, which are used in the four case studies that follow in chapter five, to enable a clear indication of how far such features were adopted in each case. A summarising table of these features can be found in Appendix 3. In chapter five the development of each garden is discussed, following the framework set out in chapter three, section 3.3.4. How far the principles and features of continental garden design are seen in the case study gardens is discussed with a view to understanding which features were accepted, adapted or rejected, according to local conditions or motivations.

## 5. Case Studies

### 5.1 Ham House, Surrey

Ham House is the most complete surviving house and garden of the period, which, although it has been well researched, is still open to reinterpretation and has not been identified as an English garden. It is relatively well supported by accessible documentary evidence, yet the development of the gardens in the seventeenth century is not completely understood and they have been wrongly claimed as Dutch inspired,<sup>352</sup> suggesting that there is potential for further research on Ham.

#### 5.1.1 Location

Located in the London Borough of Richmond, about ten miles west of Westminster, on the south bank of the river Thames, Ham House is a remarkable survival of the Restoration. Both the house and the garden remain recognisably of the period in which they were created,<sup>353</sup> a place where the age of Charles II is still tangible, which still 'retains the full savour of those years'<sup>354</sup> as noted by Avray Tipping in 1920. The gardens and park, now

---

<sup>352</sup> Referred to in the Literature Review, section 2.3.

<sup>353</sup> The gardens have been substantially restored since 1975, following the Slezer and Wyck plan (see below). The Platts were reinstated, the Wilderness replanted, the Cherry Garden redesigned in 1976 (using the Slezer and Wyck design which the evidence suggests was never installed), work on the south terrace took place in 1992/3. Andrew Eburne, *The Gardens of Ham House Surrey*, unpublished Conservation Management Plan (National Trust, 2009) p. 119. Restoration of the kitchen garden took place from 2012.

<sup>354</sup> H. Avray Tipping, 'Ham House, Surrey, a seat of the Earl of Dysart,' *Country Life*, March 20 1920, p.372.

covering 21 acres, are listed grade II\* on the English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens and managed by the National Trust.<sup>355</sup>

### 5.1.2 Sources of information

Ham House is well documented. Surviving manuscript documents held at Buckminster Park Archives include the Duchess of Lauderdale's accounts for the period 1672-1683,<sup>356</sup> plant lists of 1682 and 1693,<sup>357</sup> invoices and receipts for work done on the house and gardens by masons, painters and carpenters, and deeds and particulars detailing land purchases.<sup>358</sup> Further documents are held at Ham House Archives, including inventories of 1653 and 1679, and at Surrey History Centre.<sup>359</sup> Visual records include three surviving plans for the period: a drawing by John Smythson of 1609,<sup>360</sup> the Slezer and Wyck plan of c. 1671-2<sup>361</sup> and the Helmingham plan of c.1740;<sup>362</sup> as well as a drawing possibly by Slezer, now attributed to William Samwell,<sup>363</sup> of the south front of

---

<sup>355</sup> English Heritage List Entry: *Ham House*, Number 1000282, 1997, accessed 4 April 2013. <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk>.

<sup>356</sup> Buckminster Park Archives (BPA) 413

<sup>357</sup> BPA 365 and 366

<sup>358</sup> Manuscript references will be given below when referred to.

<sup>359</sup> Including a 1675 copy of a survey of the manors of Ham and Petersham K58/2/4/2, a copy of the parliamentary survey of 1649, K58/2/4/4 and papers relating to the title to the manor and rights to Ham Common, K58/2/4/5.

<sup>360</sup> National Trust Collections, Ham House, Petersham, Surrey.

<sup>361</sup> RIBA Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

<sup>362</sup> Suffolk Records Office, Helmingham papers T/Hel/21/3, T/Hel/29/18.

<sup>363</sup> David Adshead, "‘Altered with skill and dexterity:’ the Caroline house," in *Ham House: 400 years of Collecting and Patronage*, ed. Christopher Rowell (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p.101.

c. 1673<sup>364</sup> and a painting attributed to Hendrik Danckerts of the south front and wilderness in c. 1675.<sup>365</sup> Ham was also visited and described by writers such as Evelyn and Aubrey. This relative wealth of material has meant that Ham has been thoroughly studied particularly with the intention of restoring and recreating the furnishing and decorating schemes of the house and the layout and planting of the gardens. There has been little published on the gardens despite the documentary evidence, with the most thorough work being a short booklet produced by the National Trust in 2012.<sup>366</sup> In 2013 the National Trust published *Ham House: 400 years of collecting and patronage*<sup>367</sup>, a collection of specialist academic articles which was the culmination of many decades of research since taking over Ham in 1949, but unfortunately it failed to consider the gardens, which is a major omission when the gardens were undoubtedly an important part of the estate. Several unpublished Conservation Management Plans consider the gardens in detail. In particular the work of Andrew Eburne in 2009, made full use of documentary evidence as well as clarifying the development of the gardens in the seventeenth century while putting the changes of the 1670s in the context of garden design in the seventeenth century.

---

<sup>364</sup> RIBA Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

<sup>365</sup> National Trust Collections, displayed at Ham House, Petersham, Surrey.

<sup>366</sup> Louise O'Reilly and Sally Jeffery, *The Gardens at Ham House*, The National Trust, 2012.

<sup>367</sup> Christopher Rowell, ed., *Ham House: 400 years of Collecting and Patronage* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

### 5.1.3 Historical context and development

Ham House was built in 1610 for Thomas Vavasour but passed to William Murray (*d.* 1655), a courtier created Earl of Dysart in 1643, who first leased, in 1626 and then bought the house in 1637. On William Murray's death in 1655, his daughter Elizabeth Murray (*bap.*1628, *d.*1698) became Countess of Dysart and inherited Ham. She continued to live there during her first marriage in 1648 to Sir Lionel Tollemache (1624-1669) and second marriage in 1672, to John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale (1616-1682), created Duke later in 1672, making Elizabeth Duchess of Lauderdale. After the death of the Duke in 1682, the Duchess continued to live at Ham until her death in 1698.<sup>368</sup>

Considerable embellishments were made to the house and gardens during William Murray's tenure, before further development took place in the 1670s under the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale. Ham House is therefore an important subject for study when considering the development of garden design from 1660 to 1680.

#### 5.1.3.1 Expansion in the 1630s

The plan of Ham House and Gardens of c.1671-2 by John Slezer (*d.*1717) and Jan Wyck (c.1645-1700) (Fig.5.1.1) shows a considerably expanded garden when compared with the plan of 1609 by John Smythson (*d.*1634).

---

<sup>368</sup> English Heritage List Entry: *Ham House*; Doreen Cripps, *Elizabeth of the Sealed Knot* (Kington: Roundwood Press), 1975.



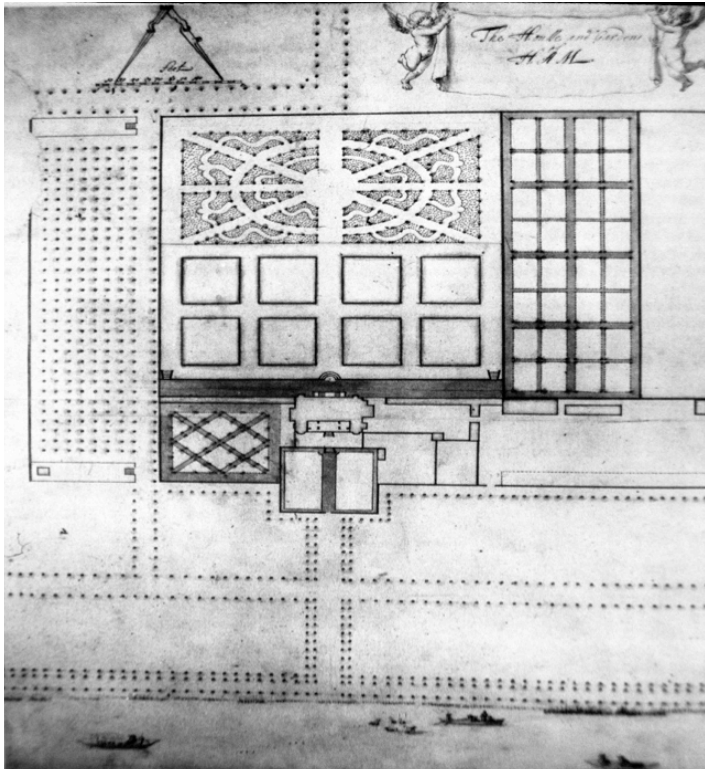


Figure 5.1.1 *Plan of Ham House and Garden*, drawn by John Sleszer and Jan Wyck, c.1671-2, Ham House, Petersham, Surrey.

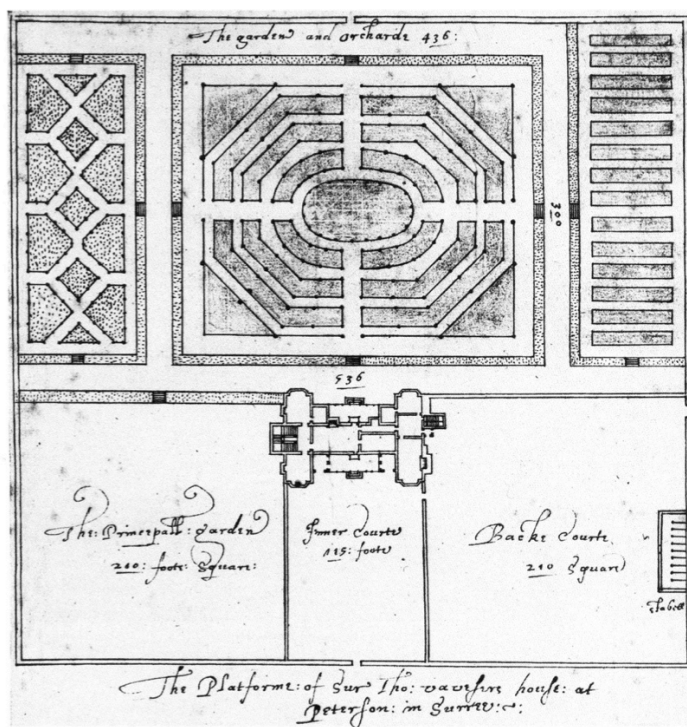


Figure 5.1.2 *Plan of Ham House and Garden*, attributed to John Smythson, c. 1609, RIBA Drawings, V and A, London.

This is made clear when the two plans are overlaid to approximately the same scale (Fig.5.1.3).

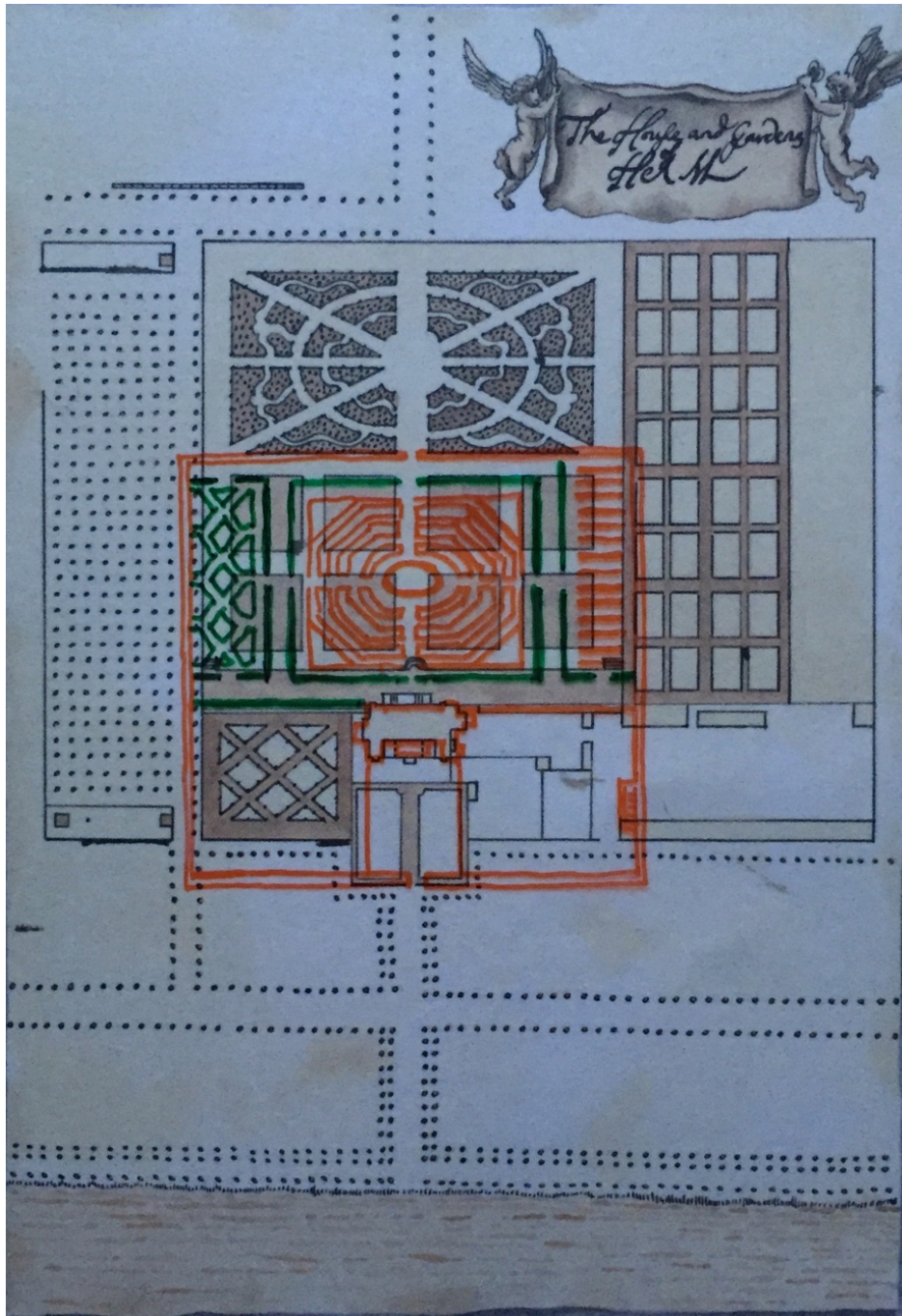


Figure 5.1.3 Smythson plan superimposed on the Slezer and Wyck plan.<sup>369</sup>

<sup>369</sup> Two plans taken from Louise O'Reilly and Sally Jeffery, *The Gardens at Ham House*, p.10 and 11.

The overall scheme remains, with a tripartite division, the orchard on the left, kitchen garden on the right and *parterre* and wilderness in the middle, but the garden is on a much larger scale although the footprint of the house remains almost the same, despite doubling in size through careful infilling under the Lauderdale's.<sup>370</sup>

The documentary evidence suggests that the extension of the gardens shown in the plans was largely achieved during the 1630s at the same time as William Murray was developing the house. Successive parcels of land to the south were purchased so that 'the land needed for the later and larger gardens had almost certainly been acquired' by the end of the 1640s.<sup>371</sup> In addition, articles of agreement drawn up between William Murray and Robert Pasmere, bricklayer of Twickenham in April 1633, detail the building of a garden wall at this time.<sup>372</sup> Pasmere was paid £75 in July and August at 42 shillings per rod, indicating a length of 415 metres.<sup>373</sup> Where the wall was located is not known except that it was to 'wall in the house,' suggesting a surrounding garden wall.

---

<sup>370</sup> The Slezer and Wyck plan was drawn before the decision to add outer bays to the house, so the footprint would have been slightly larger (David Adshead, 'Altered with skill and dexterity,' p. 102).

<sup>371</sup> Andrew Eburne, *The Gardens of Ham House, Surrey* (Conservation Management Plan, The National Trust, 2009), p. 17. Subsequently referred to as CMP 2009. Land purchases are recorded in BPA 121 (1636), 137 (1637) and 131 (1638).

<sup>372</sup> BPA 116. 'a good and sufficient Brickwall to containe eight foote in height from the foundation to the top of the coping and 2 bricks in length to the watertable according to the foundation of the oulde brick wall and from the watertable to the coping one brick and a halfe at or neare the house ... which is agreed between them to be walled in.'

<sup>373</sup> Eburne's calculations, CMP 2009, p.16. David Jacques has calculated the length as 1214 feet, (personal communication). Unfortunately it has nevertheless not been possible to locate the wall.

A miniature portrait copied by Alexander Marshall in 1649 of Katherine Bruce, William Murray's wife, who died in 1649, shows a double avenue of trees leading to the north front of Ham House<sup>374</sup> (Fig.5.1.4 & 5.1.5). This was probably the elm avenue noted by Aubrey in 1673-4,<sup>375</sup> so that the planting of avenues pre dates the work of the 1670s and probably dates from before the Civil War (1642-1649).

A particular taken after Katherine Murray's death in 1649 lists 'the house & garden & Wilderness the Elme grove & all the fforefield betweene the Thames and the house in Petersham parish,'<sup>376</sup> suggesting that a wilderness existed in 1649 as well as an elm grove, although it is possible that these refer to the same area, judging by the phrasing of the sentence.<sup>377</sup>

---

<sup>374</sup> Eburne, CMP 2009, p.17.

<sup>375</sup> John Aubrey, sketch of the north front of Ham House, 1673-4, Bodleian MS Aubrey 4 f.199r.

<sup>376</sup> BPA 380 (Michaelmas 1649) quoted in Eburne, CMP 2009, p.18.

<sup>377</sup> This is further discussed in section 5.1.4.5.

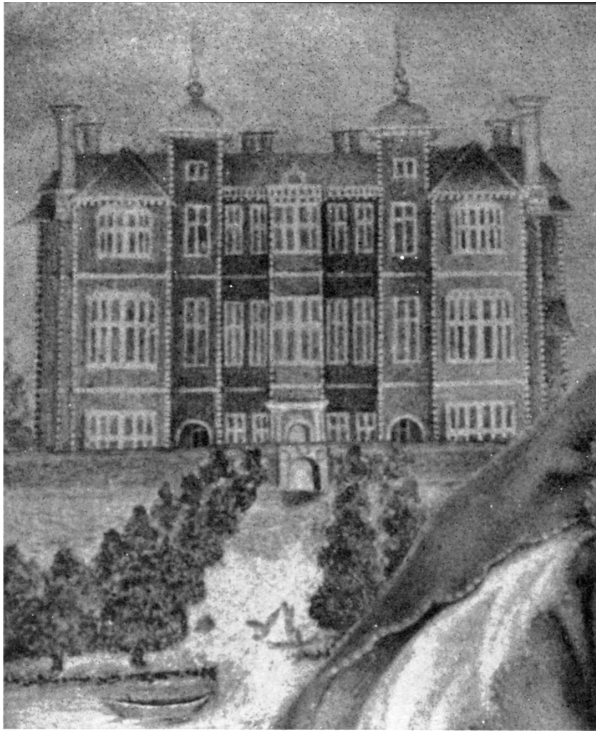


Figure 5.1.4 Detail of figure 5.1.5 showing Ham House north front avenue, from Eburne CMP, 2009 p.18



Figure 5.1.5 Alexander Marshall miniature, *Katherine Bruce*, 1649, National Trust Collections, Ham House.



### 5.1.3.2 Changes in the 1670s

From the documentary evidence it is clear that the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale implemented a programme of improvements to the house and garden from c. 1671 until the Duke's death in 1682 when the Duchess was left in debt and no further work was done.<sup>378</sup> The main changes were the addition of an orangery and possibly a new garden to accompany it; the addition of an aviary; the extension in the depth of the terrace; the embellishment of the cherry garden with a statue, new steps and doors; the provision of statues, furniture and doors for the wilderness; and the development of the forecourt and new avenues. These are all recorded to some extent in the documents, supported partially by the plans and illustrations, though questions remain. These features will be discussed below as key design features.

### 5.1.3.3 The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale's continental experience

Both the Duke and Duchess were highly educated intellectuals. Elizabeth had been given an unusually thorough education for a woman of the seventeenth century studying philosophy, divinity, history and mathematics. During the Civil War and Interregnum she travelled to the continent on clandestine missions supporting the royalist cause and reporting on the situation in Britain. At the restoration her efforts were recognised with the award of a pension

---

<sup>378</sup> Debts of £8696, Eburne, CMP 2009, p.87.



from Charles II of £800 per year.<sup>379</sup> Her father, William Murray, Earl of Dysart also travelled frequently to the continent. In the 1630s he was sent to the Spanish Netherlands and to the Hague to negotiate on Charles I's behalf over the fate of his exiled mother-in-law, Maria de' Medici. He also travelled to the Netherlands and Paris as emissary between Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and acted as intermediary in negotiations between Charles and the Scottish politicians.<sup>380</sup> William Murray carried out an extensive programme of refurbishment at Ham from 1637-8, installing the latest fashionable designs in ceiling plasterwork and a progressively styled staircase, employing continental artists.<sup>381</sup> The Dysarts, daughter and father, were therefore very well-travelled and open to cultural exchange though it is not known whether they were able to pursue an interest in garden design while travelling. As far as is known there is no written evidence of their experiences and impressions of continental gardens.

The Duke of Lauderdale was also highly educated and scholarly, partly through matriculating at St Andrew's University in 1631 and partly through having spent his time studying while in prison from 1651 to 1660. He was later noted as reading Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and having a particular

---

<sup>379</sup> Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Murray, Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale and suo jure Countess of Dysart (bap. 1626, d. 1698),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 1 May 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19601>.

<sup>380</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Murray, William, First Earl of Dysart (d. 1655),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008, accessed 1 May 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19653>

<sup>381</sup> Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin, 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House', *National Trust Studies*, 1980, pp.21-34.

enthusiasm for theology and history.<sup>382</sup> Although he may not have been as well travelled as his wife during the Civil War, he did spend the years from 1648 to 1651 with the exiled court at The Hague, presumably becoming acquainted with the skilled Dutch craftsmanship, which he later employed at Ham and at his Scottish properties. He also visited Paris as a younger man in 1637, as part of his education, though little is known about this.<sup>383</sup>

He maintained an extensive library, which was sold after he died to pay debts. The catalogues of sale show that he possessed the *Traité du Jardinage* by Jacques Boyceau, 1638 as well as several copies of du Cerceau and Philibert De l'Orme.<sup>384</sup> Perhaps these were purchased while he was in Paris as a young man since there are no later French treatises relating to gardens, apart from a copy of de Caus's treatise on hydraulic engineering and a 1673 French translation of Vitruvius (Fig. 5.1.6).

---

<sup>382</sup> Ronald Hutton, 'Maitland, John, Duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2006, accessed 1 May 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17827>

<sup>383</sup> Giles Mandelbrote, 'The Library of the Duke of Lauderdale', in *Ham House: 400 years*, p.223.

<sup>384</sup> *Bibliothèque de seu Monseigneur le Duc de Lauderdale*, 1690 p. 8, BL General Reference Collection, shelfmark s.c.1036 (16) from the library of Sir Hans Sloane.

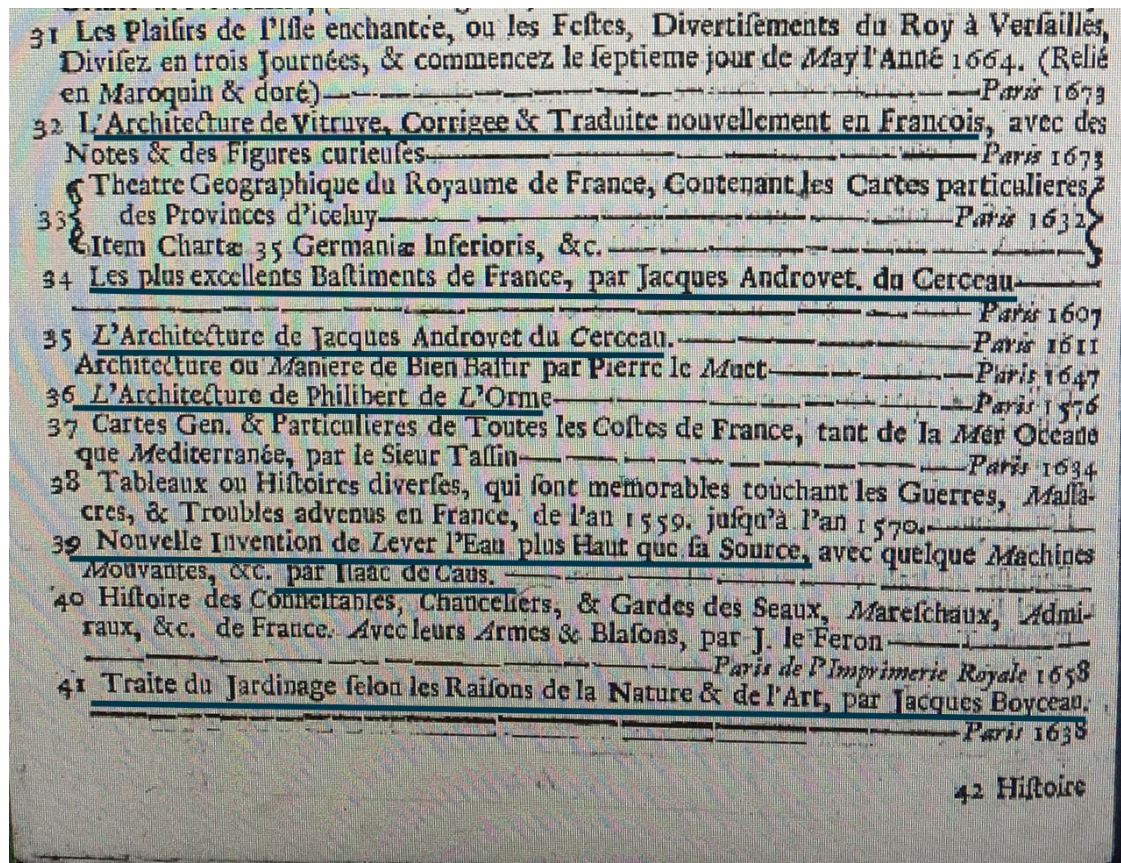


Figure 5.1.6 Part of page 8, *Bibliothèque de seu Monseigneur le Duc de Lauderdale* 1690 (Books of interest underlined).

#### 5.1.4 Identification of key design features

##### 5.1.4.1 The 'Principall' or 'Cherry' garden

Comparing the Slezer and Wyck plan (Fig.5.1.1) with the Smythson plan (Fig.5.1.2), two features remain much as shown in the Smythson plan: the long terrace running along the south front and the enclosed garden to the northeast, known as the 'Principall garden' on the Smythson plan and given a diagonal pattern on the plan of 1671-2. It is generally thought that the Slezer and Wyck plan was a proposal and the diagonal pattern was never

realised.<sup>385</sup> However, the enclosed square known as the ‘Principall garden’ remained and on the survey plan of c.1740, known as the ‘Helmingham’ plan (Fig.5.1.7), it is shown as a private enclosed garden with a central plinth for a statue, with access from the house and to the terrace, referred to as ‘Flower garden.’

The garden was not named when inventoried for lease in 1653. Andrew Eburne feels that an area described in the inventory as ‘by the *parteros* next the blacke walke’<sup>386</sup> was probably the cherry garden because it contained 84 cherry trees and 84 cypresses.<sup>387</sup> But it seems likely that this was the east side of the grass plats. Opposite this ‘on that side of the *parteros* next the kitchen garden’ were 57 cherry trees and 16 vines against the terrace. Therefore these two entries could describe the planting of the east and west walls of the *parterre* garden, or grass plats south of the terrace. The cherry garden is not mentioned. This could be because it wasn’t included in the lease.<sup>388</sup> However, a letter of 1709 does mention cypress trees in the cherry garden<sup>389</sup> and perhaps the mention of cherry trees in 1653 is compelling.

---

<sup>385</sup> Louise O'Reilly and Sally Jeffery, *The Gardens at Ham House*, p.11; English Heritage List Entry.

<sup>386</sup> The ‘blacke walk’ is most likely to have been the walk later known as the ‘melancholy walk’ further discussed in section 5.1.4.6.

<sup>387</sup> Eburne, 2009 CMP, p.26.

<sup>388</sup> This cannot be verified as the lease could not be found in 2009 and I have not been able to find it. Neither the forecourt nor the cherry garden is mentioned as far as is known, possibly because they were not leased while the family continued to live in the house.

<sup>389</sup> Eburne, 2009 CMP, p. 50, source of the letter is not given.

The name 'Cherry Garden' is used in the 1679 inventory<sup>390</sup>, which does not list plants, when it contained 'one marble statue upon a stone pedestal, twelve flowerpots of stone upon stone pedestals, ten flowerpots of lead guilt and ten wooden stooles with backs painted.'<sup>391</sup> It seems to have been a more private flower garden, its location and function reminiscent of the Italian *giardino segreto* and typical of the flower gardens noted in section 4.3.9, as a feature of English gardens in this period. The design is relatively plain, with no knot or *parterre* but a simple grass plat surrounded by a gravel walk. The materials used cannot be known from the plans. In fact, if the Helmingham plan uses consistent colouring, the central square could be of gravel and the surrounding path could be of some other paving material, since the square plat is the same colour as the walks in the main *parterre* garden. However, a grass plat seems more likely and is indicated on the 1739 plan in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.<sup>392</sup> Grass is also suggested in the documents by a payment for 'rounding ye rowle for ye cherry garden'<sup>393</sup> presumably for rolling the grass. Considering the number of flowerpots, this garden may have functioned in a similar way to the orangery, as a place to display tender plants or specimen flowers during the summer.

---

<sup>390</sup> David Jacques has suggested that the name could refer to the garden's earlier use as a cherry garden, a typical Jacobean garden name as at Syon, for example (personal communication). This would suggest that the 1653 lease does show the content of this area though without using the name 'cherry garden.'

<sup>391</sup> Ham Inventory 1679, Ham House Archives.

<sup>392</sup> Engraved bird's-eye view, plate 65-6 in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 4, engraved by J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, London, 1739.

<sup>393</sup> BPA 442, John Lampen, mason's bill 11 November 1674.

Changes that were made by the Lauderdales are noted in the mason's bills. New steps were made, probably from the terrace as shown on the Helmingham plan, with '2 new pedestals and plints at ye foot of ye stares.'<sup>394</sup> The carpenter also worked on 'making the stares in the cherry garden.'<sup>395</sup> A 'double Architrave dorecase goeing from ye terras walk to ye cherry garden' is also noted in the mason's bill.<sup>396</sup> The painter's bill of September 1673 notes 2s 6d 'ffor painting a great pedestal for the cherry garden.'<sup>397</sup> This could have been for the statue of Bacchus, the pedestal for which is noted in the mason's bill of 4 March 1672.<sup>398</sup> In this way the cherry garden was improved and adorned.

---

<sup>394</sup> BPA 442 '101 foot 3 inches of new steps in ye cherry garden, £25 6s 3d' Mr Lampen's bill 11 Nov 1674.

<sup>395</sup> BPA 438 2 May 1674 Humphrey Owen, carpenter's bill.

<sup>396</sup> BPA 442

<sup>397</sup> BPA 443 Nicholas Moore bill for painting and gilding.

<sup>398</sup> BPA 442 'ffor 1 pedestall for ye figure Bacchus £6.'



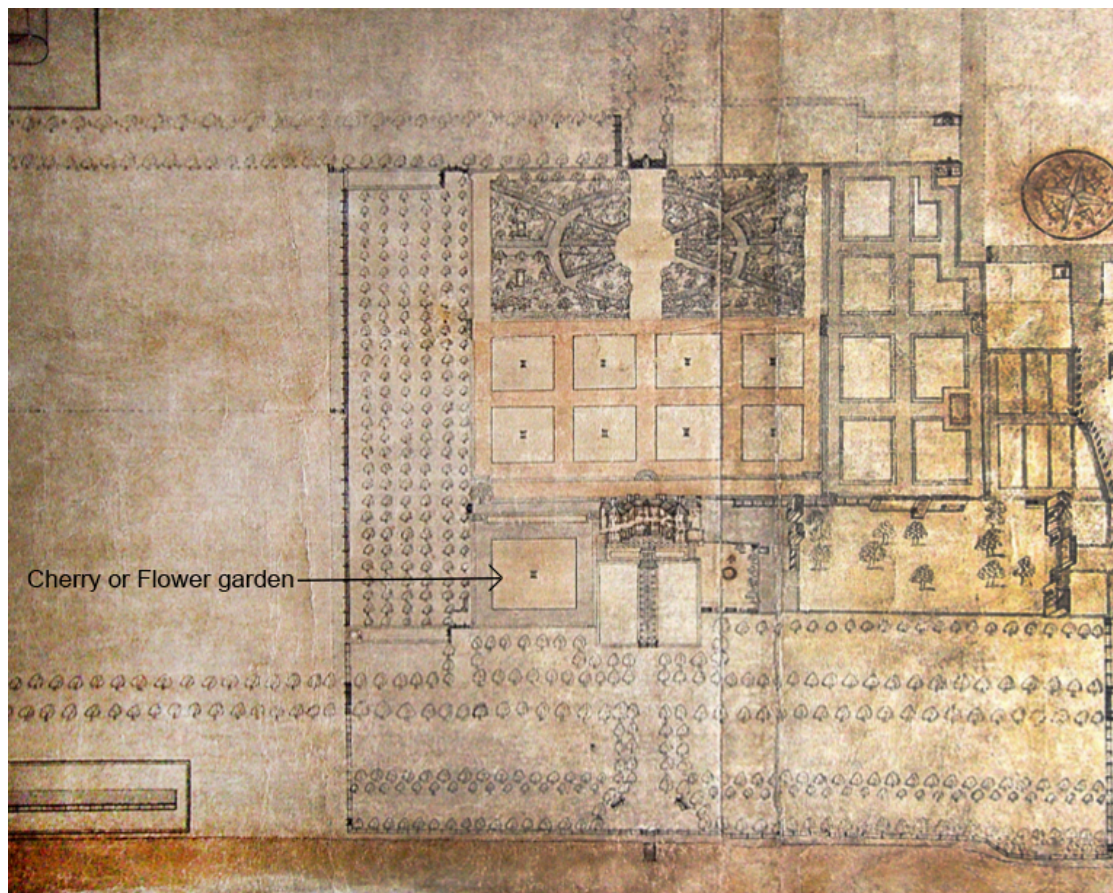


Figure 5.1.7 Survey Plan Ham House and Grounds, 'The Helmingham Plan', c.1740.

#### 5.1.4.2 The terrace

The terrace is also a feature that remains from the earlier garden, which was extended and embellished in the 1670s. David Jacques suggests the adoption of a terrace running along the garden front is a development that took place in the 1660s, aiding the axial plan (which terraces on other sides would impede), giving Roger Pratt's Horseheath Hall (1663-1665), Cambridgeshire, as an early example.<sup>399</sup> Euston Hall, Suffolk is another example developed in the

<sup>399</sup> Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,' p. 372.

1660s.<sup>400</sup> Ham appears to be considerably earlier, functioning as a viewing terrace providing views of the garden, showing the importance of prospect as stated in the English garden treatises.<sup>401</sup> Worlidge considers this to be an earlier feature, saying that a terrace walk, giving 'benefit of air and prospect on your garden' was 'much celebrated in former Ages.'<sup>402</sup> The terrace would have given views of the garden, the wilderness and along the avenue to Richmond Park, a vista connecting Ham to royal lands.

The terrace may have been lined with ornate flowerpots as is shown in the drawing attributed to Samwell (Fig.5.1.8) although they are not shown in the Danckerts painting (Fig.5.1.12). These would probably have been moved according to the season and would have contained specimen plants such as those listed in the c.1682 list of plants (Fig.5.1.9), which includes orange and lemon trees, Spanish jasmine, myrtle and phillyrea, all in pots.<sup>403</sup> The Samwell drawing suggests that the pots were all the same and possibly evergreen but not topiarised. Eburne is doubtful about the use of the terrace for pots, yet the practice is, as he shows, not uncommon in courtly gardens such as St James's palace.<sup>404</sup> Another example is the terrace at Cheveley, discussed below (section 5.2 figs.5.2.2 & 5.2.8). These could be considered a

---

<sup>400</sup> Sarah Hundleby, *Euston Hall and Park 1666-1685, a Restoration Garden*, MA dissertation (Birkbeck College, 2010), shown in two of the Prideaux drawings of Euston. See Appendix 1.

<sup>401</sup> Discussed in section 4.3.7.

<sup>402</sup> Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, 1677, p.27.

<sup>403</sup> BPA 365 undated, also in Eburne, 2009 CMP, Appendix 4 dated c. 1682 it is not known on what basis.

<sup>404</sup> Eburne, 2009 CMP, p. 54.

continental feature, particularly Dutch, as suggested in sections 4.2.7 and 4.2.8 (figs.4.2.18, 4.2.21 & 4.2.24).

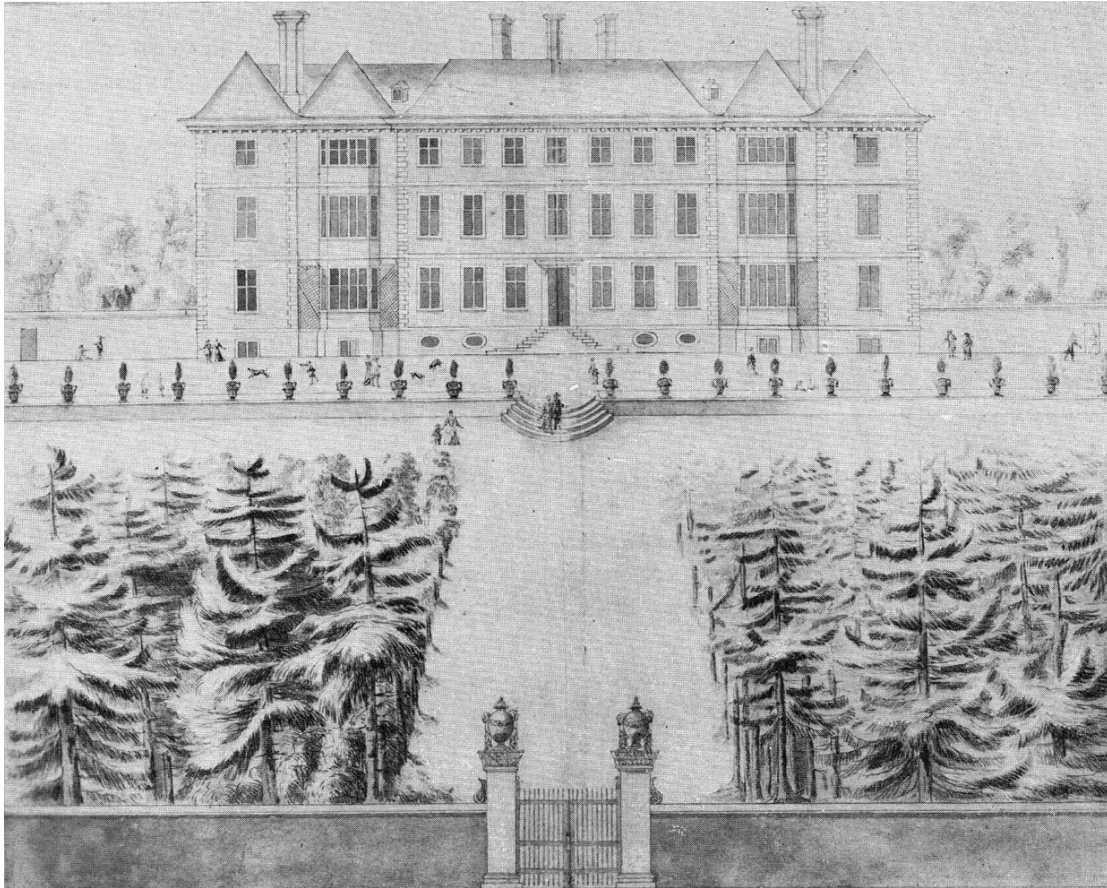


Figure 5.1.8 Ham House, Surrey, view of the south front, attributed to William Samwell, c.1675-6 (RIBA Drawings Collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

Work on the terrace took place in the 1670s when the carpenter billed for ‘shoring’ and for making ‘centers’ for the great stairs ‘in ye terras walk.’<sup>405</sup> The mason was paid for ‘456 feet 2 inches of coping ye terras walk’ in November 1674.<sup>406</sup> Therefore the terrace became a more significant and impressive feature of the garden though retained from an earlier era.

<sup>405</sup> BPA 438 date uncertain: 2 May 1674 on the cover, April 1672 inside.

<sup>406</sup> BPA 442.

The retention of two features, the terrace and the cherry garden from the earlier Jacobean garden is an interesting link to the past. There is no direct evidence that can explain this, except that the renovations and expansion of the house also took account of the earlier architecture and largely retained it. It could be that these parts of the garden functioned well and satisfied the needs of the garden users. The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale must have valued the style and convenience of the earlier architecture and associated terrace and garden, which led them to maintain a connection and continuity with the past, despite wishing to expand, elaborate and innovate. Roger North, who was a frequent visitor to Ham, admired this aspect of the developments: 'I do not perceive any part of the old fabric is taken down but the wings stand as they were first sett, onely behind next the garden they are joined with here.'<sup>407</sup> He also particularly appreciated the way in which the new was experienced after passing through the old. As already mentioned, both the Duke and Duchess were highly educated. In the Duke's extensive library, history is well represented and a copy of Dugdale's *Monasticum Anglicanum*, 1655-1661,<sup>408</sup> testifies to his interest in the growing appreciation of antiquities at this time, which developed in part as a result of the destruction caused by the Civil War and its aftermath. Ham House survived through careful politicking by the Duchess and her former husband, so it is perhaps understandable that it was important to preserve its venerable age at the

---

<sup>407</sup> quoted in David Adshead, 'Altered with skill and dexterity' p.113, (quoting Howard Colvin and John Newman, eds., *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p.144).

<sup>408</sup> Giles Mandelbrote, 'The Library of the Duke of Lauderdale', p.223. No. 44, p.14 in *Biblioteca Instructissima*, London, 1692 (BL s.c.1036 (15)).

same time as embellishing it. Financial constraints may also have had some effect since adapting is likely to have been cheaper than a total rebuild and the carefully kept building accounts do suggest a cautious attitude to money despite the large sums spent.

#### 5.1.4.3 The grass plats

The terrace looked down onto a *parterre* garden of eight plain grass plats surrounded by gravel walks, according to the Slezer and Wyck plan (fig.5.1.1). The date of the grass plats and their place in the Lauderdale's improvements is uncertain. The 1653 lease refers to 'ye grasse platts' and 'gravelled ... walks'<sup>409</sup> and the accompanying inventory, as mentioned before, describes this area as 'parteros' so that something similar to the Slezer and Wyck plan clearly existed before the 1670s. One reference to 'new grass platts' is found in the carpenter's bill of 1664,<sup>410</sup> which suggests that the plats may have been relayed or reorganised in some way, but there is no other evidence to support this.

Nevertheless, a plain grass *parterre* suggests a garden of the 'new model' discussed approvingly by Hugh May and Samuel Pepys but denigrated by garden writers such as Rea and Worlidge, due to the lack of flowers<sup>411</sup>. In the

---

<sup>409</sup> Lease described in Eburne, CMP, 2009 p.27.

<sup>410</sup> BPA 438 'roles and fraimes for ye new grass plats.'

<sup>411</sup> As discussed in section 4.3.11.

three documents listing plants at Ham, of 1653, c. 1682 and 1693 there is a predominance of productive plants and fruit trees, so that the lamented loss of flowers in the *parterres* seems to be true here, despite the probable importance of flowers in the cherry garden and the orangery garden.

#### 5.1.4.4 Flowers

The c.1682 list (Fig.5.1.9) includes a number of flowers, some of which are traditional species such as hollyhocks, hellebores, gillyflowers ('july flowers' 50 of which are noted 'in ye borders') and 'bloudy' wallflowers. More recent introductions include auricular, polyanthus, cyclamen, jonquil and tuberose. This suggests an interest in the cultivation of flowers, particularly the more recent exotic species, which would have required more skill in the gardener, but there is no record of their location.



6. Great orange trees in boxes.  
 3 Great Linnon trees in boxes.  
 17. Small orange trees in boxes.  
 32 orange trees in pots.  
 2. Small Linnon trees in boxes.  
 3. Linnon trees in pots.  
 05 orange stocks in pots.  
 1. box w. small orange stock.  
 14 Spanish Yucca in pots.  
 11. Elms in boxes.  
 14. Elms in pots.  
 1. ~~box~~ w. cedar in boxes.  
 1. ~~box~~ w. cedar in a pot.  
 15. ~~box~~ w. cedar in pots.  
 2. ~~box~~ w. cedar in pots.  
 5. ~~box~~ w. cedar in pots. and pomegranate  
 2 pots of Arbutus in boxes.  
 150 July flowers in pots.  
 50. July flowers in garden.  
 3 pots of Delphiniums.  
 64 Marigold trees.  
 20 althaea trees.  
 50 Double Hellebore.  
 10 Dwarf Daffodils.  
 10 Hellebore.  
 50 Double Rock.  
 4 Dwarf almond trees.  
 6. Sassafras trees.  
 4 Hesperis alba trees.  
 6 white currant trees.  
 50. white Yucca trees.  
 20 Honey Suckle trees.  
 2. Large pomegranate trees in pots.  
 2. Almonds trees in pots.  
 6. Honey Suckle trees.  
 200 off the bar. etc.  
 100 off the bar & double auricula. etc.  
 200 off the bar auricula. etc.  
 200 off the bar etc.  
 20. Jack conifers.  
 4 Glady wall flowers.

Figure 5.1.9 BPA 335 undated list of plants, c.1682 (photo: author).

#### 5.1.4.5 The wilderness

Beyond the grass plats was a more innovatory feature: a wilderness, though again the date is uncertain. This was an ornamental area of woodland, divided by eight symmetrically arranged walks, radiating from a central clearing, according to the Slezer and Wyck plan. The wider central walk, maintained the north-south axis. The wilderness was further divided by an oval path running around the centre. The plan shows additional meandering walks arranged perfectly symmetrically but unusually wiggly for this date. It could be that this idea was never realised since the Helmingham plan omits the meanders, but this doesn't detract from the creativity of the plan on paper, the origin of which is unknown. The star shape within a rectangle is not uncommon and can be seen in earlier gardens in France so that this could be an example of French influence. For example at St Germain-en-Laye in the gardens laid out for Henri IV, engraved in 1614, in the rectangular parterre and in the wilderness, where there is a double star (Fig.5.1.10).<sup>412</sup> Also at Fontainebleau, at the same date the *parterres* follow a similar pattern (Fig.5.1.11).<sup>413</sup> Both the Duke and Duchess would have been familiar with St Germain-en Laye having visited Paris before and during the Civil War, when St Germain was frequently the home of the exiled court.<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>412</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.129.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*, p.124.

<sup>414</sup> This would have been mostly in the 1640s and 50s, though the Duke visited Paris in 1637. While the gardens may have changed by that date (though Fontainebleau not until 1661) the designs could still have been seen in engravings.



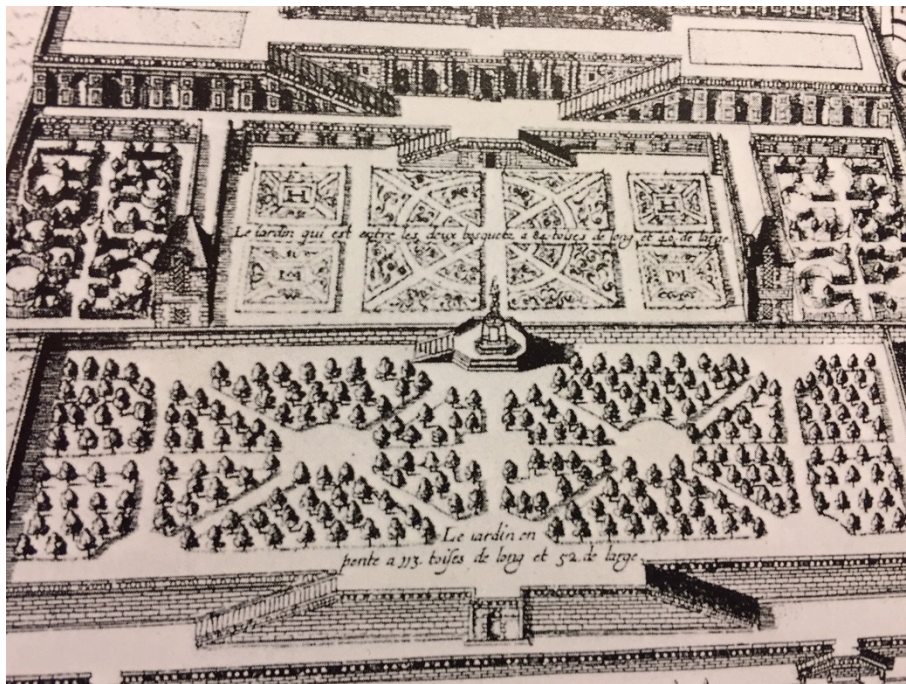


Figure 5.1.10 St Germain-en-Laye, 1614, engraving detail, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

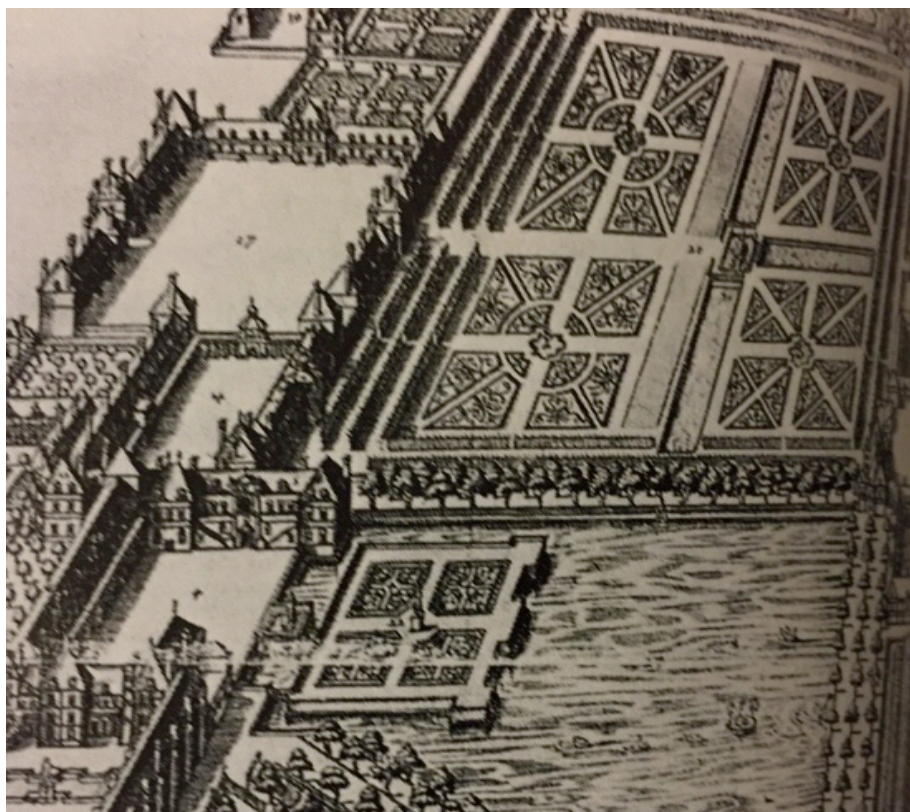


Figure 5.1.11 Fontainebleau, 1614, engraving after Alessandro Francini, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

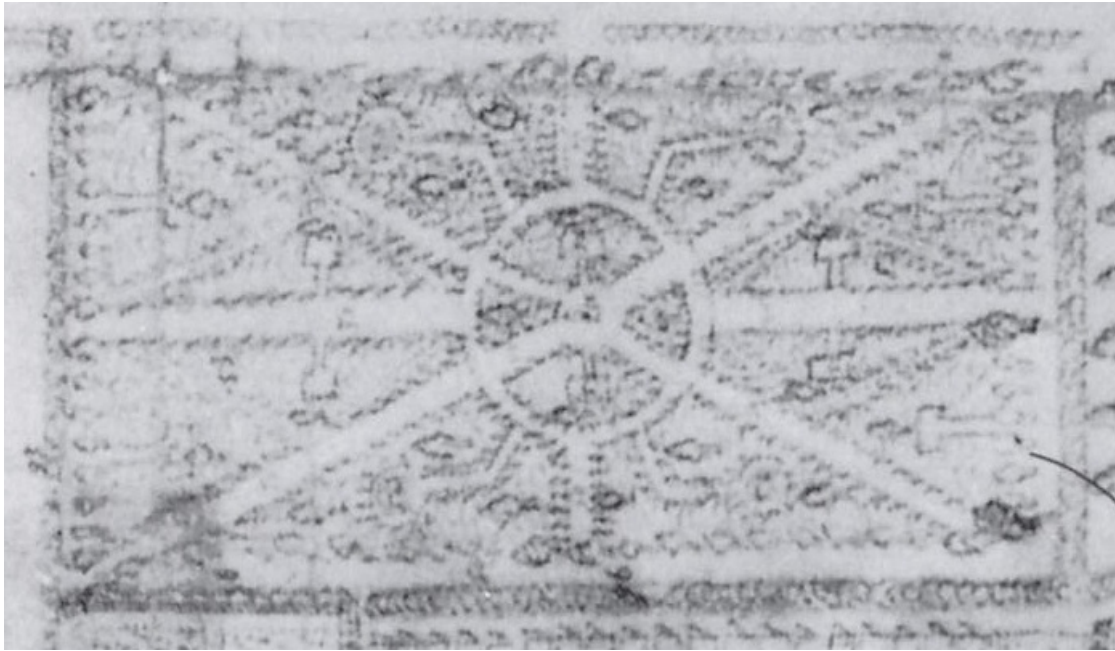


Figure 5.1.12 Sayes Court house and garden plan, detail of the grove or 'wilderness,' 1653 BL online gallery.

A further example is Evelyn's grove at Sayes Court, as illustrated in the plan of 1653 (Fig.5.1.12),<sup>415</sup> which Lauderdale visited when accompanying the king in 1663.<sup>416</sup> This is a similar pattern, which Evelyn describes as a grove of trees. Here the central area is a planted mount rather than a clearing. Rather than meandering paths, Evelyn has short angled paths, which he describes as 'spider claws,' ending in small circular or square clearings or 'cabinets', achieving the effect of a French *bosquet*.<sup>417</sup> As Jan Woudstra suggests, this is 'clearly adopted continental practice.'<sup>418</sup> The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale could have been influenced by Evelyn since they were well

<sup>415</sup> Also shown in Figure 21, Chapter 4.

<sup>416</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 30 April 1663, p.410.

<sup>417</sup> Plan of Sayes Court, BL online gallery, Add.Ms 78628A1.

<sup>418</sup> Jan Woudstra and Colin Roth, eds., *The History of Groves* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 114.

acquainted and dined together, although Evelyn doesn't mention Lauderdale as one of those he advised.

The date of the wilderness is uncertain since there was a wilderness at Ham in 1649 as well as an elm grove as noted above. In 1653 the wilderness is noted as having borders with fruit trees, a pond, and 253 fir trees.<sup>419</sup> The records of the 1670s give no indication of work on the wilderness, the removal of the pond and the firs or the planting of trees so that it is difficult to determine how far the wilderness changed under the Lauderales. The only detail given in the records is of statues being placed there and furniture being mended.<sup>420</sup>

These are illustrated in a painting attributed to Henrik Danckerts of c.1675 (Fig.5.1.13). The central clearing is shown as an area for entertainment, with seats, statues and potted plants, which are confirmed in the 1679 inventory listing: '14 wooden stooles with backs painted, 10 statues of lead whereof 2 upon stone pedestals and 8 upon wooden pedestals.'<sup>421</sup> The trees are shown to be immature<sup>422</sup> and could possibly be the elms purchased in 1673 and

---

<sup>419</sup> 1653 inventory, Ham House Archives.

<sup>420</sup> BPA 441 Joiner's bill 27 March 1673 for 'a new back for a chair in ye Wilderness and mending another and boring holes through all ye rest for ye passage of ye water.' BPA 442 Mason's bill July and August 1672 'for removing ye small statues from ye waterside to ye wilderness and setting them on their pedestals.'

<sup>421</sup> Christopher Rowell, ed., *Ham House: 400 years*, Appendix 5 (150) p.451.

<sup>422</sup> Identified as Elms by Jan Woudstra (Wilderness Study Day, Birkbeck, 2013) though Aubrey states 'groves of firr and pine' (Bodleian MS Aubrey 4f.199r) as shown in the Samwell drawing (Fig. 5.1.8), and groves of Lime, all of unknown location. Possibly the elms replaced the firs after Samwell's drawing.



recorded in the accounts,<sup>423</sup> kept pruned to allow for light and to be able to see people on the walks. The walks are lined with narrow hedges or palisades as can be seen to the right of the Duke and Duchess shown walking into the wilderness clearing.

The impression is that the wilderness functioned like a French *bosquet* as somewhere to entertain and impress and probably it was adapted for this role by the Lauderdale family.



Figure 5.1.13 Ham House from the south, c.1675-79, attrib. Hendrik Danckerts, National Trust Collections.

An earlier example of a wilderness is Mollet's Wimbledon, described in the parliamentary survey in 1649 as having 'many young trees, woods and sprays of a good growth and height, cut and formed into several ovals, squares and

<sup>423</sup> BPA 413, discussed below section 5.1.5.



angles,<sup>424</sup> which the Lauderdales could also have seen, since they paid the gardener there in 1663 for some unknown service.<sup>425</sup>

The wilderness as depicted by Danckerts (Fig.5.1.13) is therefore an innovatory French influenced feature. There is insufficient evidence to be able to date the planting of the trees, or to decide when the 'furies' mentioned in the 1653 lease and shown in the Samwell drawing (Fig.5.1.8)<sup>426</sup> were replaced by elms depicted in Danckerts. The illustrations are not definitively dated, nor is the Slezer and Wyck plan (Fig.5.1.1) so that it is not possible to sequence them. It seems most likely that the Danckerts shows the culmination of the Lauderdales' plans, since at least the furniture can be confirmed in the documents, although we cannot be certain how far it suggests aspiration as much as reality.

#### 5.1.4.6 The Melancholy Walk

Wildernesses at an earlier date were woodland used for quiet contemplation, as suggested in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, where he suggests walking in an 'artificial wilderness' as well as other parts of the

---

<sup>424</sup> Parliamentary survey of Wimbledon, transcribed in Alicia Amherst, *History of Gardening in England* (Bernard Quaritch, 1895), pp.315-27.

<sup>425</sup> See section 5.1.6.

<sup>426</sup> The Samwell drawing may show deciduous trees at the front area of the wilderness and is mainly focused on the house, therefore doesn't show the wilderness in any detail. It may be a proposal for the architecture since some of the details such as the basement windows were slightly different when realised.

garden, as an antidote to melancholy.<sup>427</sup>

At Ham the Melancholy Walk, presumably served this function. This is mentioned in the 1679 inventory, and in the 1653 inventory as the 'Blacke walk.'<sup>428</sup> The Melancholy Walk was a straight path running alongside the orchard outside the garden wall to the east of the house. Roy Strong describes the preoccupation with melancholy as a late Elizabethan and early Stuart phenomenon<sup>429</sup> so that this again is a feature probably retained from that time. As intellectuals, the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale would have appreciated the association of woods with melancholy, which at this time meant intellectual activity, creativity, contemplation and meditation.<sup>430</sup> At the same time the Melancholy walk was a further link with the past.

#### 5.1.4.7 The kitchen garden and orangery

To the west of the house was the productive garden, including the kitchen garden and the orangery. The 1653 garden inventory makes it clear that utility was very important in this garden. Every wall is carefully listed, with its accompanying fruit trees. It is clear that the walls were not just a design feature but fulfilled a horticultural role and provided extra space for nurturing

---

<sup>427</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1621), p.342, mentioned in Kristina Taylor, 'The Earliest Wildernesses: Their Meanings and Developments,' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 28:2, 2008, p.247 and quoted in Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p.216.

<sup>428</sup> 1679 and 1653 inventories Ham House Archives. The date of planting is not known.

<sup>429</sup> Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p.215.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*

fruit trees. For example, on 'the west side of the wall in the kitchen garden' were '2 vynes, 9 peaches, 6 pears, 10 peares where the wall is fallen down, 1 cherry tree, 16 apricocke trees.'<sup>431</sup> The loss of such walls would have severely reduced production.

The accounts also show that large amounts of money were spent on developing two areas of the gardens: the orangery and the aviaries, both of which were fashionable and innovatory additions to gardens at this time, characteristic of French gardens. The garden inventory taken in 1653 shows that fruit trees were already a valuable part of the garden and a large number and variety of fruit trees were grown. As well as hardier fruit trees such as apples, pears, medlars and quinces more tender varieties of peach, apricot, cherry, plum and pear were trained on the walls of the kitchen garden and other enclosures.<sup>432</sup> Therefore the expansion of this aspect of the garden probably followed an established tradition at Ham.

However, there was now an emphasis on the more exotic, tender plants, which would need housing in winter in the newly built green house. This is recorded in the bills of the carpenter, working on the roof, the *lucernes*, the lights and the windows in September 1674.<sup>433</sup> On 1 May 1675, the gardener

---

<sup>431</sup> 1653 Garden Inventory, Ham House Archives. Also transcribed in Eburne, CMP 2009, p.21.

<sup>432</sup> 1653 Garden Inventory, Ham House Archives.

<sup>433</sup> BPA 436 Mr Owen the carpenter's bill.

Will Groome was paid for 'the new garden.'<sup>434</sup> This was probably the garden associated with the new greenhouse.<sup>435</sup> Two lemon trees were purchased from Thomas Jennings in May 1675 for two pounds,<sup>436</sup> 8 orange trees and 12 jasmines from Mr Quineo in July 1675 at £49 10s,<sup>437</sup> and a further 12 orange trees and 4 lemons from Mr Looker in August 1675, at £25,<sup>438</sup> making an expenditure of nearly a hundred pounds in one year on fruit trees. In the final purchase of fruit trees, in March 1676, the supplier is not named and only £15 is paid for '50 Orringe and Lemon trees and a dozen Spanish Jesseemes,' the price having considerably decreased.<sup>439</sup> By March 1676, 76 orange and lemon trees must have adorned the orangery in summer, to be stored in the green house (shown on the Slezer and Wyck and Helmingham plans) in winter. Coincidentally perhaps, though also due to the design element where each tree would be allotted a space in a symmetrical pattern, this is almost the same number as the 73 listed in the 1693 inventory.<sup>440</sup> Orangeries such as this became increasingly popular. For example, new orangeries were developed at Eltham, Euston and Kew during the period. As well as being a fashion accoutrement in the garden, it is clear from the accounts that fruit was an important and quite expensive part of the diet, since large quantities of fruit

---

<sup>434</sup> BPA 413

<sup>435</sup> Also suggested by Eburne, CMP 2009, p.73.

<sup>436</sup> BPA 413

<sup>437</sup> Ibid.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid.

<sup>440</sup> Louise O'Reilly and Sally Jeffery, *The Gardens at Ham House*, p.5.

were regularly purchased, including oranges, lemons, apricots, quinces, 'pom. Citrions' and 'Ffrensh plomes.' This also suggests that their cultivation was not always successful, but after December 1676 as the new trees began to bear fruit there was less fruit bought in. In fact '2 dozen pom citrions' at £2 10s and 'a box of frensh plomes' at £2 10s were the last fruits purchased in the accounts, in December 1676.<sup>441</sup>

#### 5.1.4.8 Aviaries

Aviaries were incorporated in the new south wing at Ham, cleverly attached to the house and built out from the windows so that the birds could fly in fresh air but easily be watched from the house,<sup>442</sup> as can be seen on the drawing attributed to Samwell (Fig.5.1.8). The first birds and birdseed 'sent to Ham' were bought in November-December 1674 and February 1675.<sup>443</sup> Thereafter increasing amounts were spent between 1676 and 1680 on birdseed, cages and exotic birds such as canaries, East Indian pigeons, parrots, unidentified 'red birds' and more familiar species such as 'robin red breasts' and woodlarks. Aviaries were another increasingly fashionable garden feature, of classical origin popular in France, revived from the period before the Commonwealth when aviaries were made at Wimbledon for Henrietta

---

<sup>441</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>442</sup> John Dunbar, 'The Building Activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale 1670-82,' *Archaeological Journal*, 1975, vol. cxxxii, p.226.

<sup>443</sup> BPA 413.

Maria<sup>444</sup> and at Coombe Abbey for the young Elizabeth of Bohemia (Charles I's sister).<sup>445</sup>

#### 5.1.5 Documentary evidence of continental taste

Evidence of the Lauderdale's continental tastes can be clearly seen in the surviving accounts of the Duchess of Lauderdale, which cover building activity from 1672, concluding soon after the Duke's death in 1682.<sup>446</sup> The accounts reveal that the Lauderdale household was decidedly multicultural. It has frequently been noted that the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale employed skilled craftsmen from the continent such as bricklayers, joiners, painters and plasterers, upholsterers and embroiderers.<sup>447</sup> In addition, judging by their names, a French cook, Mr Joyeux<sup>448</sup> and a Dutch baker, Cornelis Rictfeld and presumably his wife, 'ye Dutch woman, Mrs Ritvelt'<sup>449</sup> were also employed among many other 'foreign' names, so that the Lauderdale's continental tastes extended from the higher arts through to perhaps more mundane

---

<sup>444</sup> Noted in section 4.3.3.

<sup>445</sup> Lady Frances Erskine, *Memoirs relating to the Queen of Bohemia by one of her ladies* (1770), p.113-4. She kept an aviary and menagerie in the wilderness at Coombe Abbey, she was 'extremely fond of all the feathered tribe,' c.1610.

<sup>446</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>447</sup> James Yorke, 'French Furniture Makers at Ham', *Furniture History*, XXVI, 1990, pp.236-8; Hentie Louw, 'Dutch Influence on British Architecture in the late Stuart Period 1660-1712,' *Dutch Crossing*, vol. 33 no. 2, October 2009, p. 83-120.

<sup>448</sup> BPA 413, paid regularly.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid., both paid regularly.



culinary pleasures, including along the way a French wigmaker, 'Mr Chevalier.'<sup>450</sup>

The accounts also show that French gardeners were employed, though it is not clear in what capacity. Possibly they were employed on an advisory or consultancy basis since they are only paid occasionally, whilst other 'English' names are paid on a regular basis. The main gardeners appear to have been English. From 1672 to 1675 Thomas Clithero 'ye gardiner' was paid repeatedly though not regularly. His main role appears to have been to supply trees, such as 200 elm trees in January 1673<sup>451</sup> and a further one hundred and fifty elm trees in February 1673,<sup>452</sup> possibly the elm avenue noted by Aubrey in 1673-4<sup>453</sup> or trees for the wilderness as noted above or to supply further extension of avenues in the fore field grounds between the house and the river Thames and to the south of the house.<sup>454</sup> He was also paid quarterly wages in September 1673 though these are not repeated, possibly because he retired through old age or ill health, since by 1675 he was no longer being paid but was occasionally 'given' small amounts.

Will Groome 'ye gardiner' was paid more regularly and seems to have been the main practising gardener at Ham, since he was first paid in February 1673

---

<sup>450</sup> Ibid.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid.

<sup>453</sup> Bodleian MS Aubrey 4f.199r

<sup>454</sup> Suggested in Eburne, CMP 2009, p.85.

and from October 1674 received regular quarterly wages until his death in 1683. In addition, he was paid £50 on May 1 1675, 'in full for Makinge: ye: New Garden at Ham,'<sup>455</sup> probably an orangery garden as mentioned above. Mr Groome was replaced by Mr Looker, paid quarterly wages from May 1683,<sup>456</sup> who had previously supplied orange and lemon trees in 1675.<sup>457</sup> Roger Looker was one of the four founders of the Brompton Nursery in 1681. During the period covered by the accounts therefore, the status of the main gardeners employed by the Lauderdale, was raised as evidenced by the move from occasional to regular pay until at the end of the surviving accounts, one of the leading nurserymen of the period was employed. Perhaps the Lauderdale were aware of the problems suffered by the gardening profession as mentioned in Samuel Gilbert's *The Florists' Vade-mecum*, 1683 where he laments the fact that 'this Art is abused and undervalued' and advises gentlemen not to hire gardeners for short periods but to guarantee work for five or six years so that they are encouraged to stay and see their designs to fruition.<sup>458</sup> Clearly the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale valued their gardens enough to employ high status gardeners long term.

At least two French gardeners were employed during the period of the accounts. The first was an unnamed 'FFrench gardiner' paid £2 'by your

---

<sup>455</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>456</sup> Ibid.

<sup>457</sup> Ibid.

<sup>458</sup> Samuel Gilbert, *The Florist's Vade-mecum*, 1683, preface to the reader.

Graces Order' on 27 September 1673.<sup>459</sup> This was an exceptional payment, a one off, but a relatively small amount. John Fflaigmell 'ye Ffrench Gardiner,' paid in full £9 13s a week later, on 6 October 1673, is possibly the same person.<sup>460</sup> On 26 May 1674 Mrs Henderson was given £13 6s 8d to pay 'the Ffrench Gardiner his wages in full.'<sup>461</sup> On 12 January 1675 Jacques Chesneau 'ye Ffrensh Gardiner' was paid £5.<sup>462</sup> These do not seem to be large amounts so that their purpose is difficult to conjecture. Perhaps they were paid for horticultural advice since French gardeners were considered to possess advanced skills, which might have been required as new gardens were being developed. The amounts are not enough to suggest that they were for garden designs, though they could be for advice on design, or the cultivation of citrus fruit.

#### 5.1.6 Documentary evidence of garden networking and exchange

It seems that other gardeners were also approached for help or advice or perhaps plants, since there were several payments to gardeners from other establishments, presumably highly regarded. In August 1673 Thomas Clithero was paid 10s 'which he gave to the Earle of Bristol's Gardiner,' who was given

---

<sup>459</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., Eburne notes that Chesneau may have been related to a French family of gardeners working at Versailles and Chateauden in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, citing Dominiques Garrigues and Joel Cornette, *Jardins et Jardiniers de Versailles au Grand Siecle* (Paris: 2001), p.339.

a further 5s on 17 April 1676.<sup>463</sup> The Earl of Bristol at this time owned Wimbledon House, which had been Queen Henrietta Maria's house and possessed a fine garden of French inspiration,<sup>464</sup> 'a delicious place for prospect and the thickets,' according to Evelyn.<sup>465</sup> On 2 July 1674 5s was given 'on your Graces order' to Sir Henry Capel's gardener,<sup>466</sup> presumably the gardener at Kew where Sir Henry Capel maintained a garden particularly admired for its fruit trees.<sup>467</sup> On 24 September, 1675 £1 was paid to Mrs Astley 'which she gave to My Lady Devonshire's Gardiner by her Graces Order' and 5s was given to 'My Lord Devonshire's Gardiner' on 3 January 1676.<sup>468</sup> This would probably be the gardener at Roehampton rather than Chatsworth, where Lady Devonshire and her husband, the third Earl of Devonshire, lived at this time, not far from Ham, a garden also visited by Evelyn and pronounced 'pretty, the Prospect most agreeable.'<sup>469</sup>

Money was also given to the Duke of Somerset's gardener and Lord Craven's gardener in September 1676, when the Lauderdale's travelled to Bath to take the waters.<sup>470</sup> Payments to inns at Marlborough and Newbury at the same

---

<sup>463</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>464</sup> See section 4.3.3.

<sup>465</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 17 February 1662, p.397.

<sup>466</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>467</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 27 August 1678 p.582; John Gibson, 'A short account of several gardens near London ... upon a view of them in December 1691, *Archaeologia*, 12 (1796), pp.181-192.

<sup>468</sup> BPA 413.

<sup>469</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 8 March 1677 p.567.

<sup>470</sup> BPA 413.

time suggest that the Lauderdale's visited the Duke of Somerset's seat at Marlborough and Lord Craven's at Hamstead Marshall, near Newbury. Both would have had interesting gardens – an extensive formal garden built around the old castle mound at Marlborough<sup>471</sup> and a newly developing garden on a lavish scale at Hamstead Marshall.<sup>472</sup> It is impossible to know what the various monies paid to the gardeners were for. Clearly they confirm an interest in gardens and current garden making. Perhaps these amounts are tips given to gardeners for garden tours, rather than for advice or help, though they do suggest an enthusiastic exchange of ideas and inspiration.

#### 5.1.7 Conclusion

Although Ham is the best documented of the four case studies, questions remain regarding the Lauderdale's changes in the 1670s, particularly the planting and date of the wilderness and the cherry garden. Nevertheless, when Evelyn visited in August 1678 he was overwhelmingly impressed and pronounced Ham 'indeed inferior to few of the best Villas in Italy itself, The House furnished like a great Princes; The Parterrs, flo: Gardens, Orangeries, Groves, Avenues, Courts, Statues, Perspectives, fountains, Aviaries, and all this on the banks of the sweetest river in the World, must needs be surprising.'<sup>473</sup> Of the garden features listed by Evelyn, most can be said to be

---

<sup>471</sup> 'Parishes: Preshute', *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 12, VCH*, accessed online.

<sup>472</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Craven, William, Earl of Craven (bap. 1608, d. 1697),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007, accessed 1 May 2013.

<sup>473</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 27 August 1678, p.583.

'continental', except the 'courts' and 'flo: (flower) gardens,' which are identified as English features in section 4.3. The fountains and perspectives<sup>474</sup> cannot be shown to have existed with any certainty. The continental garden features are what most impressed Evelyn particularly as such a garden could be achieved on the banks of the river Thames. Yet despite these features, the overall impression is of a garden following an English pattern: a series of enclosed spaces with brick walls; a symmetrical arrangement in the grass plats, the wilderness and the terrace; a separately enclosed square flower garden; no overall plan or overriding guiding principal despite the central axis; areas of plain grass *parterres* and gravel walks; the importance of prospect shown in the retention of the terrace; the importance of fruit cultivation. Some of the features are retained from an earlier period, such as the terrace, the square 'cherry' or flower garden and the melancholy walk, indicating considerable continuity and an appreciation of the past and following a traditional formal plan whose continental precedents date from well before the Restoration.

It is clear from a study of the Duchess of Lauderdale's accounts, that French gardeners were employed in some capacity along with an army of other workers from France and the Netherlands, who were employed for their skill and 'sober' attitude, according to the Duke in a letter.<sup>475</sup> The use of French gardeners was part of the contemporary 'mindset' as Hentie Louw describes

---

<sup>474</sup> This usually means perspective drawings or painted scenery rather than views, which Evelyn usually refers to as 'prospects' or 'vistos'.

<sup>475</sup> John Dunbar, 'The Building Activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale 1670-82,' p.226.



it, which was one of 'deferring to Italy and France in matters relating to classical culture' and regarding the Netherlands as intermediary.<sup>476</sup> This had been established and reinforced through foreign travel over a long period as is shown at Ham, where Elizabeth Dysart's father had already been inspired by continental travel to make changes to the house and garden, employing Franz Cleyn for the interiors for example, so that Ham was well before the Civil War 'a notable expression of the most advanced taste in art and decoration to be seen in England.'<sup>477</sup> It seems likely that the overall design of the gardens was established at this time. It is difficult, despite the apparent abundance of documentary evidence, to identify exactly what changes the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale made, particularly in the wilderness and the grass plats. However, the gardens at Ham do not seem to reflect very much recent continental influence. The wilderness might be said to demonstrate French inspiration, but it seems to be from an earlier period. Perhaps the main development, which was of French inspiration, is the greenhouse or orangery garden, which was probably the new element and which the accounts show was the object of considerable expenditure. The plant list of 1682 also indicates an interest in more recent and exotic flowers fashionable in France, such as tuberose. Other parts of the garden suggest an attachment to older features. This may have been because of its use as a long established home, lived in by the Duchess since 1626, where her children and grandchildren continued to live in the 1670s and 80s, reinforced perhaps by nostalgia for a

---

<sup>476</sup> Hentie Louw, 'Dutch Influence on British Architecture,' pp. 83–120.

<sup>477</sup> Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin, 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House,' *National Trust Studies*, 1980, p.21.

past that had been threatened by recent upheavals. Therefore, although the garden was given fashionable continental adornments, it remained traditional in design, with an emphasis on productive utility as well as pleasure and a continuing concern for providing enclosed, sheltered spaces such as the cherry garden.

## 5.2 Cheveley Park, Cambridgeshire

In contrast to Ham, Cheveley Park is a relatively undiscovered house and garden developed from 1671, with few extant remains or documentary evidence. However, an impressive contemporary oil painting appears to show an intriguingly 'English' garden.

### 5.2.1 Location

Cheveley Park is located in Cambridgeshire, three miles south east of Newmarket. The proximity to Newmarket would have been an attraction to the courtier Henry Jermyn (*bap.*1636-1708), who developed the house and landscape at Cheveley, since Newmarket was Charles II's favourite venue for horse racing, where he had recently built a palace to accommodate his frequent visits.<sup>478</sup>

### 5.2.2 Sources of Information

Cheveley Park is not well documented and is not well known as a Restoration landscape. It is not listed on the Historic England *Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest*. Although the remains of the garden terrace can still be seen, this is presumably not considered enough to make

---

<sup>478</sup>James Bettley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Suffolk: West* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp.431-3.

the site significant.<sup>479</sup> The stables also remain, converted into housing, but are not listed, while several late seventeenth century gate piers and sections of garden wall are Grade II listed buildings.<sup>480</sup> (Fig.5.2.1)



Figure 5.2.1 Cheveley Park remains and listed buildings

Writing in 1979, John Harris remarked that Cheveley house ‘has never had its biographer,’ which is still the case.<sup>481</sup> It has been noted mainly for the magnificent painting by Jan Siberechts (1627-1703), which depicts the house

<sup>479</sup> Criteria for listing: ‘Sites with a main phase of development before 1750 where at least a proportion of the layout of this date is still evident, even perhaps only as an earthwork,’ English Heritage, *The Register of Parks and Gardens, an Introduction*, 2001.

<sup>480</sup> These include: Gate piers to Cheveley Park Stud entrance and boundary wall, NGR: TL6684461216; gate piers and wall to west of Hope Cottage, TL 6720360844; gate piers and wall to Gipsy’s Walk, TL6692761333; wall and gate piers to Isinglass Stable Yard, TL6701260991; wall and gate piers to garden house entrance, TL 6707360963.

<sup>481</sup> Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, p. 71.

and garden in c.1681 soon after it was built (Fig.5.2.2).<sup>482</sup> This constitutes one of the main sources of evidence for the house and garden and has been commented on by John Harris in *The artist and the country house* and in more detail by Roy Strong in *The artist and the garden*.<sup>483</sup> John Harris describes the architecture but also notes the importance of the painting as a rare document depicting a formal flower garden, while Roy Strong uses the painting as evidence of flower gardens of the period, discussing their design and status. David Jacques notes the house as an example of the flower garden placed to the side of the forecourt and for the fact that a road was diverted to accommodate the park.<sup>484</sup>

As far as is known therefore, the gardens have not been studied, except as depicted in the painting and there have been no studies of the accuracy of the painting as a document of the garden. Cheveley is not included in the *Historic gardens of England* series, Cambridgeshire, by Timothy Mowl and Laura Mayer,<sup>485</sup> though it is described in the *Gazetteer* produced by Cambridgeshire Gardens Trust.<sup>486</sup>

---

<sup>482</sup> *Cheveley Park, Prospect of the House and Stables*, by Jan Siberechts, oil on canvass, 280.5 cm by 257cm, collection: the Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, Rutland, reproduced in John Harris *ibid*, pp.70-71.

<sup>483</sup> Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, pp. 158-166.

<sup>484</sup> Jacques, *Court and country*, p.67 and p.111.

<sup>485</sup> Timothy Mowl and Laura Mayer, *The Historic Gardens of England: Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (Bristol: Redcliffe, 2013).

<sup>486</sup> *The Gardens of Cambridgeshire, a Gazetteer* (Easton: Cambridgeshire Gardens Trust, 2000), p.81.

Earlier published sources include *Sporting and rural records of the Cheveley estate*, 1899 and a *History of Newmarket*, 1886, by J P Hore, which both contain useful, sometimes referenced information embedded among anecdotes and stories of local life.<sup>487</sup> These provide one of the main sources for the *Victoria County History* entry on Cheveley manors and estates.<sup>488</sup>

There is some documentary evidence of the house after it was bought by the Duke of Somerset in 1732, including several plans of c.1735 showing parts of the surrounding gardens with notes regarding proposed changes.<sup>489</sup> This is useful for comparison with the Siberechts painting but also poses further questions since considerable changes were made in the fifty years between the 1680s and 1730s, so that the 'old' gardens noted on the plan do not resemble the gardens in the painting. The Duke of Somerset documents also include an inventory of 1736, taken after the death of Henry Jermyn's wife,<sup>490</sup> this as well as notes by Vertue at this time,<sup>491</sup> give some useful information of the paintings in the house and the garden ornaments.

---

<sup>487</sup> J. P. Hore, *Sporting and Rural Records of the Cheveley Estate* (London: for private circulation, 1899) and *History of Newmarket* (London: A H Bailey and co., 1886).

<sup>488</sup> A. F. Wareham and A. P. M. Wright, "Cheveley: Manors and Estate," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 10, Cheveley, Flendish, Staine and Staploe Hundreds (NorthEastern Cambridgeshire)*, (London: Victoria County History, 2002), 46-49. *British History Online*, accessed January 6, 2019, <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol10>.

<sup>489</sup> Swindon and Wiltshire History Centre, Accession 1332, Duke of Somerset papers, box 51.

<sup>490</sup> SWHC, Accession 1332, Duke of Somerset papers, box 51.

<sup>491</sup> *Vertue Notebooks II*, Vol XX (The Walpole Society: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 24 and 86. Noted in Harris and in Strong.

An estate survey of 1775 (Fig.5.2.6) by Thomas Warren of Bury St Edmonds for the Marquis of Granby with accompanying terrier, shows how the site developed, depicting the avenues and tree planting in the wider landscape, some of which could be contemporary with the painting.<sup>492</sup> The plans of 1732 and 1775 are listed in a *Carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire estate maps* by Sarah Bendall, with description of the mapped features and transcriptions of the notes.<sup>493</sup> Bendall also discusses the Siberechts painting as functioning in a similar way to estate maps, as a means of demonstrating ownership and power.<sup>494</sup>

Ordnance Survey maps show the ensuing development of the house and landscape. The 6-inch map surveyed and published in 1884 (Fig.5.2.3), shows that the house, reduced in size, the terrace, stables, stable pond and northeast avenue remain. The 25-inch map, revised in 1901 and published in 1903 (Fig.5.2.4), shows the newly built mansion. The earlier features remain except the stable pond and the terrace appears to have been extended in front of the new northeast wing.<sup>495</sup>

---

<sup>492</sup> Cambridgeshire Records Office 101/p/2.

<sup>493</sup> Sarah Bendall, *Maps, Land and Society, a History with a Carto-Bibliography of Cambridgeshire Estate Maps 1600-1836* (Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.220.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6 and 177.

<sup>495</sup> OS Cambridgeshire XLII. SE, 6 inch, surveyed and published 1884; XLII.15, 25 inch, revised 1901, published 1903.



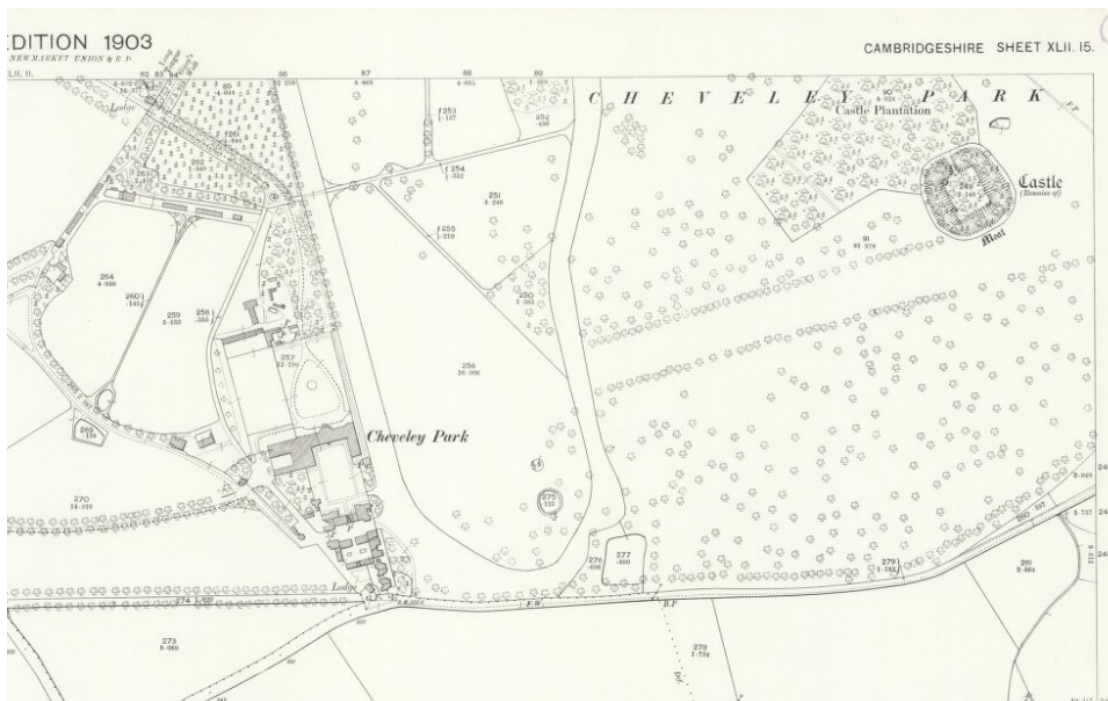


Figure 5.2.2 Cheveley Park, Jan Siberechts, c.1681, Belvoir Castle (8x7'), see note 473.



View: Cambridgeshire XLII.SE (includes: Ashley; Cheveley; Wood Ditton.) - Ordnance Survey Six-inch England and Wales, 1842-1952  
<https://maps.nls.uk/view/101571958>

Figure 5.2.3 OS 6" map, surveyed 1884.



View: Cambridgeshire XLII.15 (Cheveley; Wood Ditton) - Ordnance Survey 25 inch England and Wales, 1841-1952  
<https://maps.nls.uk/view/114487168>

Figure 5.2.4 OS 25" revised 1901.

### 5.2.3 Historical context and development

Cheveley Manor was purchased in 1671 by Martin Folkes, possibly on behalf of the Roman Catholic Henry Jermyn, who owned it by 1674<sup>496</sup> when he was granted authority to divert a road. The manor had been the property of the Cotton family since 1450 so there was already a house on the site, built by Sir John Cotton (d.1620), which Jermyn rebuilt.<sup>497</sup> The house was located in the southwest corner of a park probably created around a moated castle by John Pulteney, who received licence to crenellate in 1341.<sup>498</sup> The castle was still walled with towers in the early seventeenth century<sup>499</sup> and remains as a moated and wooded site to the northeast of what remains of Cheveley Park today.

Henry Jermyn was a prominent courtier who had spent most of the Civil War in the service of Henrietta Maria with his uncle, also Henry Jermyn, created earl of St Albans in 1660 (also a Catholic), living at the palaces of the Louvre or St Germain-en-Laye, exposed to the influence of French culture and design.<sup>500</sup> In 1656 he entered the service of James Duke of York in France, becoming his Master of the Horse and retaining this role after the Restoration

---

<sup>496</sup> Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: Manors and Estate,' pp.46-49.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid.

<sup>498</sup> Historic England Scheduled Monument record, list entry number 1015199.

<sup>499</sup> Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: Manors and estate,' pp.46-49.

<sup>500</sup> John Miller, 2008 "Jermyn, Henry, third Baron Jermyn and Jacobite Earl of Dover (*bap.* 1636, d. 1708), Courtier and Army Officer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* accessed 21 Jan 2019. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14781>.

until the Test Act of 1673 banned Catholics from holding office.<sup>501</sup> He was known as a typical Restoration rake, gambling, womanizing and duelling but after losing his post he retired to Cheveley and married a 'silly country girl' in 1675.<sup>502</sup> This was Judith Poley (1654-1725), daughter of Sir Edmund Poley (1619-1671) of Badley, near Euston, Suffolk who worked for Lord Arlington (*bap.*1618-1685) (also declared a Catholic at death), to whom he was related by marriage, in developing the house and landscape at Euston.<sup>503</sup> Roy Strong speculates, for no apparent reason except presumably her gender, that the flower garden at Cheveley may have been the work of Judith Poley.<sup>504</sup> The connection with Lord Arlington's gardens at Euston, although they may not have featured a flower garden as far as is known, could lend some credence to Strong's idea, since Arlington's garden in London was known for its flowers.<sup>505</sup>

Jermyn resumed an active political life after the succession of the Catholic James II in 1685, when he was created Earl of Dover. He then fell out of favour with the accession of William III and was attainted and briefly exiled before being pardoned and allowed to retire once again to Cheveley.<sup>506</sup> By the

---

<sup>501</sup> Ibid.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid. (Quoting A. Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Court of Charles II*, 1846).

<sup>503</sup> Hundleby, *Euston Hall*, (Euston is located about 25 miles northeast of Cheveley).

<sup>504</sup> Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, p.159.

<sup>505</sup> Hundleby, *Euston Hall*. The flowers were celebrated in a poem by John Dryden.

<sup>506</sup> Miller, 'Jermyn, Henry, third Baron Jermyn.'

time of his indictment in 1691-2 the park was estimated to be 250 acres, with an additional 450 acres owned by the estate.<sup>507</sup> After a lavish funeral for which detailed accounts survive, he was buried in Bruges in 1708.<sup>508</sup>

On Henry Jermyn's death, the estate passed to his widow Judith (d.1726) during her lifetime.<sup>509</sup> It was subsequently sold to Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset in 1732. He greatly enlarged the estate and made alterations to the house. The house was demolished in 1893 and its replacement demolished in 1920 so that by the 1990s the site was taken over by woodland. From the seventeenth century, only the stables, some gate piers, parts of the park walls and the vestiges of the garden terrace remain.

#### 5.2.4 Conjectural description of site layout in the period and its stylistic character

The existing house at Cheveley in the 1660s and in 1674 had 21 hearths, so was already fairly substantial.<sup>510</sup> It is difficult to say how much of this house and its gardens might have been reused by Jermyn, but the house shown in the painting is typical of the 1670s.<sup>511</sup> The *Victoria County History* suggests that the north wing, containing the great hall, had 'presumably been

---

<sup>507</sup> Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: Manors and Estate,' Hore, *Cheveley Estate*.

<sup>508</sup> London Metropolitan Archives ACC/313/001, 1708.

<sup>509</sup> This paragraph: Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: Manors and Estate.'

<sup>510</sup> Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: Manors and estate.'

<sup>511</sup> Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, p.71.

incorporated from the Cottons' house.<sup>512</sup> This is confirmed by the plans of the 1730s, which show the old hall in the north wing (Fig.5.2.14).<sup>513</sup> The main entrance façade of seven bays with two projecting wings, as shown in the painting, faced northeast and contained the principal rooms in a double-pile arrangement, built of brick with stone dressings, of two storeys with attics and basements. This can be seen in a plan of c. 1732, which does not include the gardens<sup>514</sup> (Fig.5.2.5). John Harris describes the house as 'nothing spectacular, just handsome and fine' while Roy Strong calls it 'run of the mill.'<sup>515</sup> Pevsner notes the house as 'another of Cambridgeshire's lost great houses' and pronounces it 'of the Pratt type.'<sup>516</sup>

The architect is not known, nor is an architect suggested in any of the sources. However, William Samwell (1628-1676) is a possibility. He was working at Newmarket on the king's palace from 1668 to 1671<sup>517</sup> and must have known Henry Jermyn as a fellow member of the court circle. He also worked at Ham House, from 1672 to 1674<sup>518</sup> and at Felbrigg in Norfolk from 1674 to 1675,<sup>519</sup> where in both cases he extended existing Jacobean houses,

---

<sup>512</sup> Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: manors and estate.'

<sup>513</sup> SWHC, Accession 1332, Duke of Somerset papers, box 51.

<sup>514</sup> Ibid.

<sup>515</sup> Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, p. 71; Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, p.159.

<sup>516</sup> Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Cambridgeshire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2015), p.455.

<sup>517</sup> H. M. Colvin et. al., *History of the king's Works*, vol. 5, (London: HMSO, 1976), pp. 214-217.

<sup>518</sup> Dunbar, John, G., 'The Building-Activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82,' pp. 202-230.

<sup>519</sup> R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: the Story of a House* (London: Futura, 1982), pp.53-56.

which was the task also faced by the architect at Cheveley. The style of Cheveley is similar to that of Samwell whose buildings are said to be plain yet fine, sophisticated in plan and well crafted often in brick.<sup>520</sup> The 1732 plan shows a double pile arrangement with closets, as in Newmarket (Fig.5.2.5). Evelyn disapproved of the fireplaces at the Newmarket palace being in the corners, a new mode introduced by the king from France.<sup>521</sup> The Cheveley plan also shows fireplaces in the corners. Whoever the architect was, the house is plain, impressive and modern in plan, yet not ostentatious, in keeping with the gardens.

---

<sup>520</sup> John Bold, 2004 "Samwell, William (*bap.* 1628, d. 1676), architect." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 7 Feb. 2019.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37933>.

<sup>521</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 22 July 1670, p. 488.



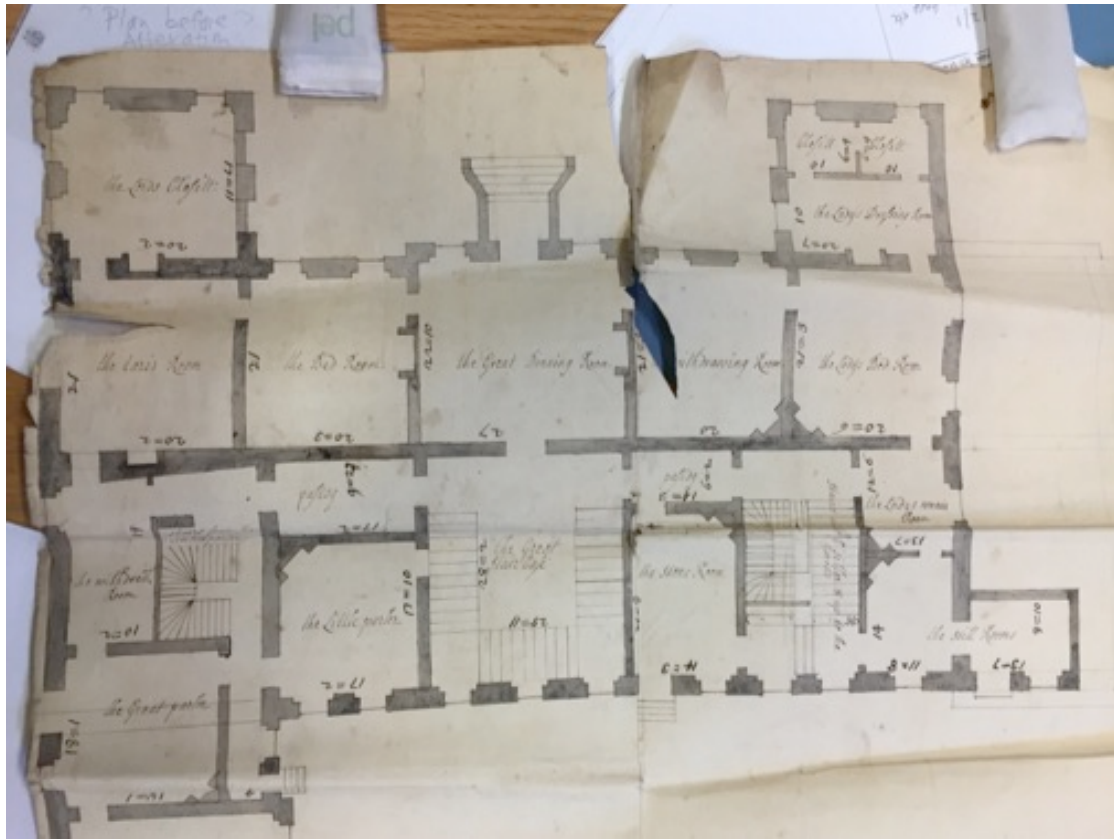


Figure 5.2.5 Plan of Cheveley House, northeast wing, c.1732.<sup>522</sup>

By orientating the house to face northeast, Jermyn was not following the usual advice given in garden treatises that the house should face south<sup>523</sup> and presumably was not following the existing orientation, which would have been north/south if the north wing did contain the great hall of the earlier house. By facing northeast it is possible that he was taking the castle into account. The castle might have been a valued asset in an era when there was an increasing interest in antiquities, which had been under threat during the Civil War and Interregnum.<sup>524</sup> An ancient English castle could perhaps have given

<sup>522</sup> SWHC, Accession 1332, Duke of Somerset Papers, Box 51.

<sup>523</sup> See section 1.5 English garden design 1660-1680.

<sup>524</sup> There was increasing interest in recording localities in detail as for example in William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), Robert Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686) or John

added status to the site and by orientating the principal façade to the northeast, the approach avenue would have passed the castle.<sup>525</sup> An avenue is shown on the 1775 map but isn't definite in the painting, where the area immediately outside the gates appears to be a clearing in the woods rather than a planted avenue, or a cleared avenue, so the date of the avenue in the 1775 map is uncertain, though likely to have been of the late seventeenth century<sup>526</sup> (Fig.5.2.6).

---

Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* (1693), whether for philosophical reasons, showing man's 'growing empire over creation', or for reasons of pride and ownership, or for political reasons as discussed in Nick Grindle, 'Chorography and Natural Philosophy in late 17<sup>th</sup> Century England,' British Library article online in *Picturing Places*, bl.uk, accessed 11 Feb, 2019.

<sup>525</sup> Interestingly, at Eaton Hall, Cheshire, built by William Samwell, between 1675 and 1682, the gardens were laid out in an axial plan focussed on Beeston Castle (David Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.64).

<sup>526</sup> Avenues became increasingly common from the early seventeenth century, following the advice of Scamozzi in his *L'idea dell'architettura universale* (1615), the first being at New Hall, Essex in 1620 (David Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.57). 'The proliferation of avenues was perhaps the most distinctive feature of the period [late seventeenth century]' (Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p.26). At Cheveley the avenues are probably part of Henry Jermyn's works (especially as they seem to end short, before the park was expanded by the Duke of Somerset) but they could also be part of an earlier landscape of the 1620s to 1660s.



Figure 5.2.6 Cheveley Park 1775 (CRO 101/P/2) (North is top, the castle mound, in a square field, to northeast).

The Siberechts painting is dated 1681 by John Harris and Roy Strong, but at Belvoir Castle, where the painting is displayed, the date is said to be 1671, written on the dead tree trunk in the right-hand foreground. John Harris notes that it is 'indistinctly dated, but probably 1681.'<sup>527</sup> It has not been possible to verify this as the painting is too high and too poorly lit to be able to see the detail. 1671 is unlikely as Jan Siberechts is believed to have come to England at about 1672-74 during the second Anglo-Dutch war when Dutch craftsmen were encouraged to migrate to England by a royal proclamation of 1672

<sup>527</sup> Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, p.47.

allowing full liberty of worship and no need for a passport.<sup>528</sup> He is also said to have come with the Duke of Buckingham who met him in Antwerp and employed him at Cliveden, but no known paintings survive of Cliveden.<sup>529</sup> The first work known in England by Siberechts is a *Landscape with shepherds and flock* in Lord Tollemache's collection, dated 1674, presumably originally at Ham House. In 1675 he painted the first of three views of Longleat, Wiltshire, for Sir Thomas Thynne. So he was certainly active in England by 1674-5. A date of 1671 for Cheveley is too soon after the purchase since the house shown is clearly the new house. 1681 is more likely as the house is shown to be complete and the planting is mature, with the espaliered fruit trees cloaking the walls. Siberechts is felt to achieve some accuracy in his painting of plants as demonstrated in the way the creepers on Longleat are shown to have grown between paintings in 1675 and 1678.<sup>530</sup>

The Cheveley painting however, does not seem to be an accurate representation of the landscape, even taking into account the bird's eye viewpoint. Siberechts has re-orientated the house in order to be able to show it in an English landscape displaying important and venerable ancient buildings. The landscape shown to the top of the painting, which should have been to the southwest, is an accurate portrayal of what could be seen to the north, if the house were orientated north/south and the top of the painting was

---

<sup>528</sup> Adshead, 'Altered with skill and dexterity,' p.99.

<sup>529</sup> Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, p.46.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, p.47 and p.69.

north, but the top of the house in the painting is actually southwest so none of the depicted landscape could be seen in that position. In the middle distance to the top is Newmarket, clearly recognisable with its two churches (one with a spire) and the king's newly built palace. In the far distance to the right is Ely cathedral; to the left is Swaffham Prior church, both very recognisable. While it is true that Cheveley Park is set within this glorious English landscape and Ely Cathedral can be seen on a clear day, the house has been repositioned to make it possible to show those features that might be venerated and admired. This must have been Henry Jermyn's wish as the commissioning patron. Siberechts is believed to be an accurate topographical painter as for example in his *View from Richmond Hill along the Thames towards Twickenham*, 1677<sup>531</sup> or the series of views in and around Henley, done in the 1690s.<sup>532</sup> Clearly Henry Jermyn felt the need to not only demonstrate and celebrate his wealth and status, but to root himself in history and tradition. This may have had some connection with his Roman Catholicism. There are a number of churches shown with considerable accuracy and these would of course date from a time of union with Rome. Catholics were under threat in the 1670s resulting, as mentioned above, in the Test Act of 1673, which barred Catholics from public office. The argument that Catholics were English and Christian and therefore not a threat to the stability of the protestant state, was put forward during the political crises of the 1670s and 1680s, criticizing anti-

---

<sup>531</sup> Ibid., p.68.

<sup>532</sup> Laura Wortley, 'Jan Siberechts in Henley-on-Thames,' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 149, No. 1248, British Art (March 2007), pp. 148-157.



papists.<sup>533</sup> So it is possible that Jermyn was making a statement about his position, emphasizing his Englishness despite his Catholicism. Perhaps his garden also needed to be relatively plain with an English flavour rather than reflecting a pan-European largely Roman Catholic culture.



Figure 5.2.7 1775 estate plan with outline of house and garden as in Siberechts painting.

The house is in fact orientated northeast/southwest, with the northeast front being the entrance front (Fig.5.2.7). The gardens as shown in the painting

<sup>533</sup> Scott Sowerby, 'Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England,' *Journal of British Studies*, vol 51, no. 1 (January 2012), pp.26-49.

could be said to be typical of the period 1660-1680,<sup>534</sup> consisting of four straight-sided, walled enclosed spaces: the forecourt, the kitchen garden, the flower garden and a larger garden to the south-west of the flower garden. The forecourt, centred on the northeast entrance front, is divided by gravel walks into four quarters of grass, symmetrical and unadorned apart from a narrow bed of white flowers around the edges at the foot of the walls which are all covered in espaliered fruit trees. The forecourt gives access to the kitchen garden to the southeast and the flower garden to the northwest through symmetrically placed ornate gates. Dividing the larger southwest garden from the flower garden is a raised terrace lined with large pots containing flowering shrubs. A pyramid of steps gives access from the terrace to the flower garden. The southwest garden is divided into four large grass plats probably of equal size, surrounded by straight gravel walks. The furthest area of the southwest garden seems to be divided into two rectangular beds for trees, probably fruit trees, quite densely planted.

The overall impression is of an unostentatious, unadorned garden. There are no fountains, statues or elaborate *parterres*. The main ornament is provided by the flowers and fruit trees, so that this garden could have been developed by someone following John Rea's precepts. The garden displays 'a choice Collection of living Beauties, rare Plants, Flowers and Fruits [which] are indeed the wealth, glory and delight of a Garden and the most absolute indications of the Owner's ingenuity; whose skill and care is chiefly required in

---

<sup>534</sup> As discussed in section 1.5 English garden design.



their Choice, Culture and Position.’<sup>535</sup> The rarity of the plants at Cheveley cannot be judged since there are no other records such as plant lists or accounts to supplement the evidence of the painting. But the painting does suggest an emphasis on planting and production, a utilitarian garden.

## 5.2.5 Identification of key design features

### 5.2.5.1 The flower garden

The flower garden, as Roy Strong suggests, is quite spectacular, ‘an explosion of spring blossom’ and reflects a person with a passion for flowers.<sup>536</sup> This idea is reinforced by Vertue in 1725, who recorded the house as being filled with landscapes and flower paintings by Herman Verelst and Joris van Son, both notable for their flower pieces. These paintings were included in the sale of the contents of the house in 1727 which Vertue attended.<sup>537</sup> An inventory taken ten years later when the house was sold, unfortunately gives no details of the paintings, but there are over 60 paintings noted, many over the doors and chimneys where landscapes might be expected.<sup>538</sup>

The flower garden is quite large and not placed adjacent to the house, facing south as advocated in the garden treatises, so that it does not appear to be a

---

<sup>535</sup> Rea, *Flora: Seu, De Florum Cultura*, Book 1, p.2.

<sup>536</sup> Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, 2000, p.159.

<sup>537</sup> Ibid.

<sup>538</sup> Inventory of Cheveley, dated March 12<sup>th</sup> 1736/37, SWHC 1332/2/1.

private space for choice flowers such as Evelyn maintained at Sayes Court.<sup>539</sup>

Rather the intention seems to be to grow and display large quantities and varieties of flowers, aided by the viewing terrace. The flowers are placed in geometric parterres cut out of the turf but the design is difficult to discern. (Fig.5.2.8 & 5.2.9)

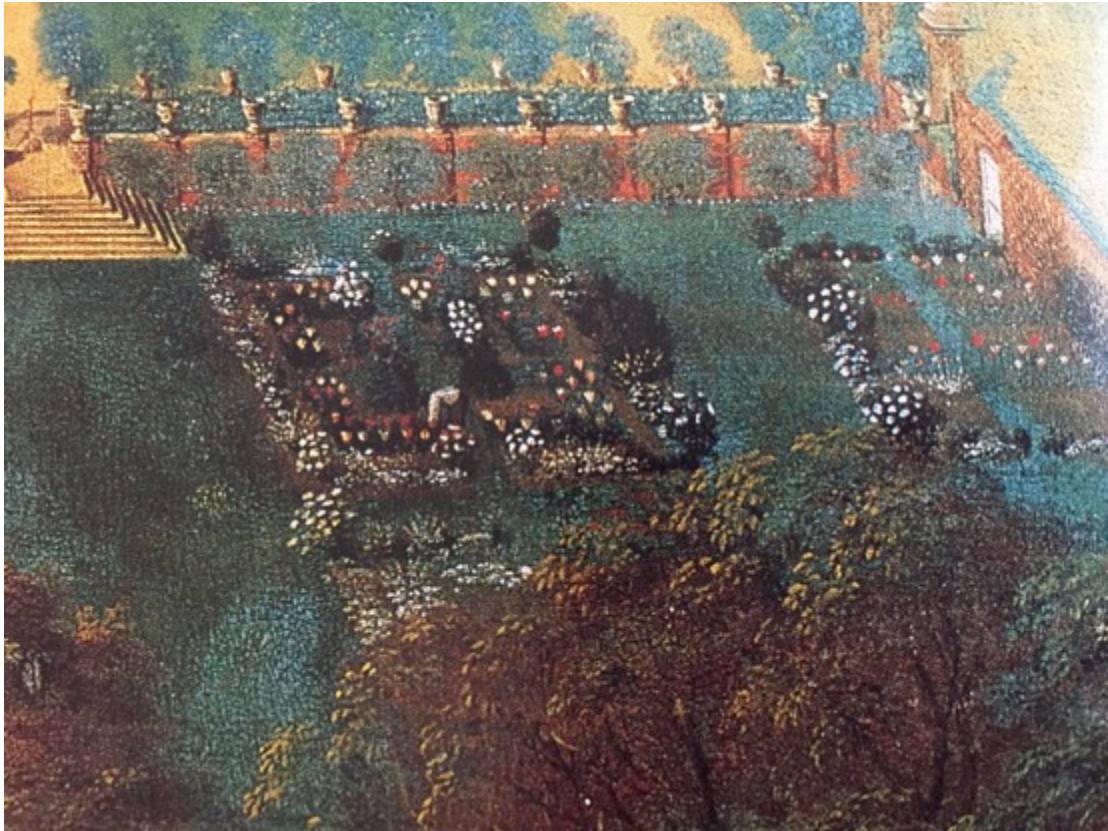


Figure 5.2.8 Detail of flower garden from Jan Siberechts painting of Cheveley, c. 1681 (Figure 5.2.2).

---

<sup>539</sup> See section 4.3.9 English garden design.



Figure 5.2.9 Detail of Figure 5.2.2, showing the flower garden and southwest garden.

There are four, square *parterres* in the centre, with patterns cut out of the turf similar to the designs put forward in Meager or Rea, but there is no sign of the boarded edging or latticework fencing suggested by Rea.<sup>540</sup> This suggests that the beds are more modern in design, as described by Hanmer, without higher edging plants or fences, which would obscure the view.<sup>541</sup> On either side of the central beds are more flowerbeds, which run directly to the walls. The pattern is reminiscent of the flower garden glimpsed behind the stables at Chiswick, but without the straight beds running to the wall (Fig. 5.2.10).

<sup>540</sup> Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, p.162.

<sup>541</sup> Hanmer's *Garden Book* as transcribed by Ruth Duthie in 'The Planting Plans of some 17<sup>th</sup> century Flower Gardens,' p.84.



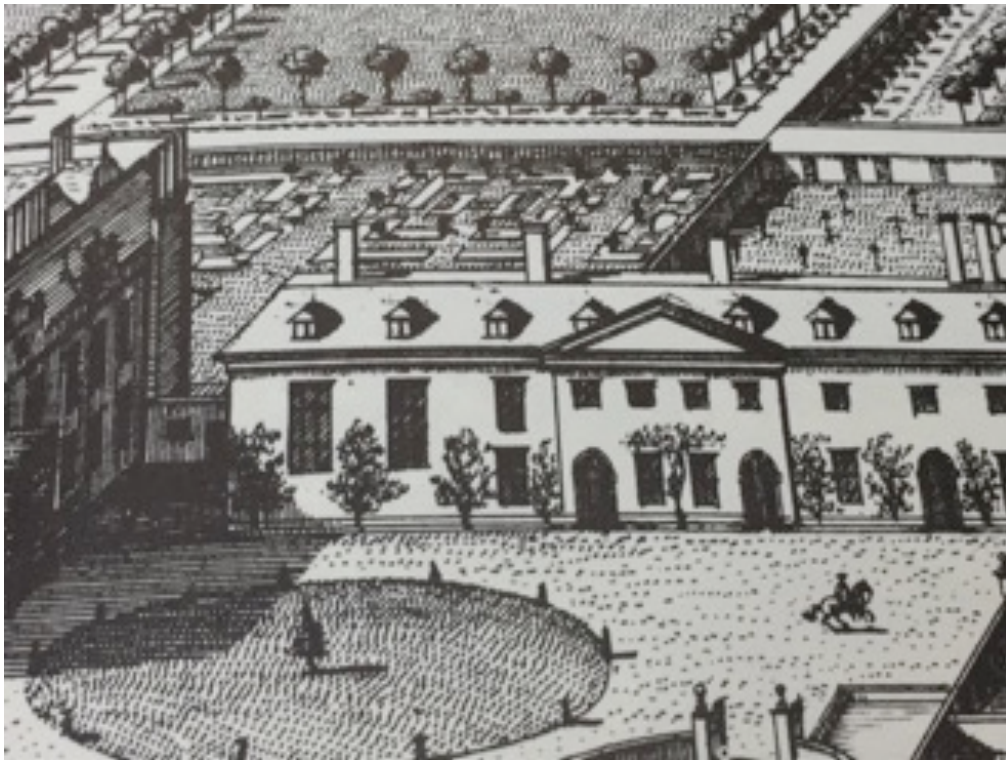


Figure 5.2.10 Chiswick House, detail from *Britannia Illustrata*.

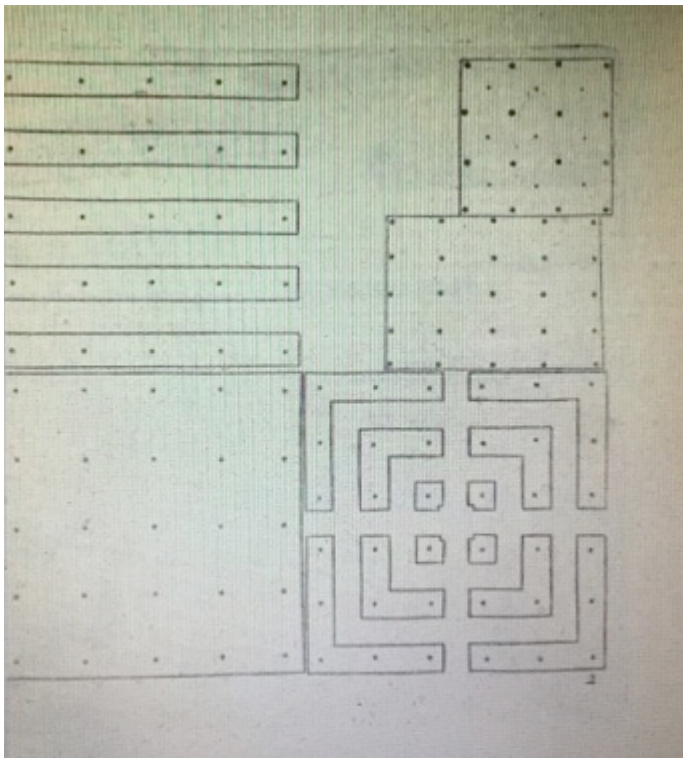


Figure 5.2.11 Leonard Meager, *The English gardener*, 1670, garden plans, illustration 2.

The central beds seem most similar to Meager's plan in the bottom right of illustration number two, (Fig.5.2.11) which has no explanation in the text. This also seems to show something similar to the beds running to the walls, at the top left. The design is relatively simple, geometric and symmetrical, designed in part probably for ease of cultivation with accessible beds to work as shown in the picture. Strong suggests the beds which run to the walls can be compared to Evelyn's 'Coronary Garden' in *Elysium Britannicum*, a flower garden where the planting is in rows.<sup>542</sup> 'Coronary' referred to flowers used for crowns, garlands and wreaths, though in Sir Thomas Browne's explanation as sent to Evelyn, it seems to include flowers for various uses in the house.<sup>543</sup> Evelyn also refers to flowers for 'Nosegays, for shew, for the House etc.'<sup>544</sup> Evelyn's Coronary garden does not seem similar to the Cheveley wall beds in design since it includes a fountain in the middle and cypresses in oval beds. It is likely that the Cheveley flower garden was used in this way however, to produce flowers in quantity to use in the house, perhaps also for culinary and medicinal use. Although it is difficult to identify the flowers at Cheveley, tulips are clearly shown in a mix of red, yellow and white, planted with more space than the other flowers, which generally give an impression of profusion. As Strong points out, there is no rigid repetition of colour and size as is

---

<sup>542</sup> Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, p.163.

<sup>543</sup> Sir Thomas Browne, letter to Evelyn, published in 1684, 'Of Garlands and Coronary or Garland-Plants,' quoted in Mark Laird, 'European Horticulture and Planting Design,' p.201.

<sup>544</sup> Evelyn, *Elysium Britannicum*, p.317, quoted in Mark Laird, 'European Horticulture and Planting Design,' p.202.

exemplified in Robert Thacker's painting of Longleat a few years after 1684,<sup>545</sup> which could be said to be of continental inspiration since it has the regularity and neatness associated with Dutch gardens (Fig. 5.2.12). The flower garden at Cheveley is less ornamental and more utilitarian.



Figure 5.2.12 Robert Thacker, *The Great Parterre at Longleat*, c.1700.

Interestingly, the plans of Cheveley dating after the sale of the house to the Duke of Somerset, suggest that this area was no longer a flower garden. A garden is named as 'the old flower garden' but this is a small walled section of the old stable yard, below the oval pond. It adjoined Lady Dover's bedroom. The area that was the kitchen garden has been partly taken into the park as can be seen in Figure 5.2.13.<sup>546</sup>

<sup>545</sup> Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, p.163.

<sup>546</sup> SWHC, Accession 1332, Duke of Somerset Papers, Box 51.



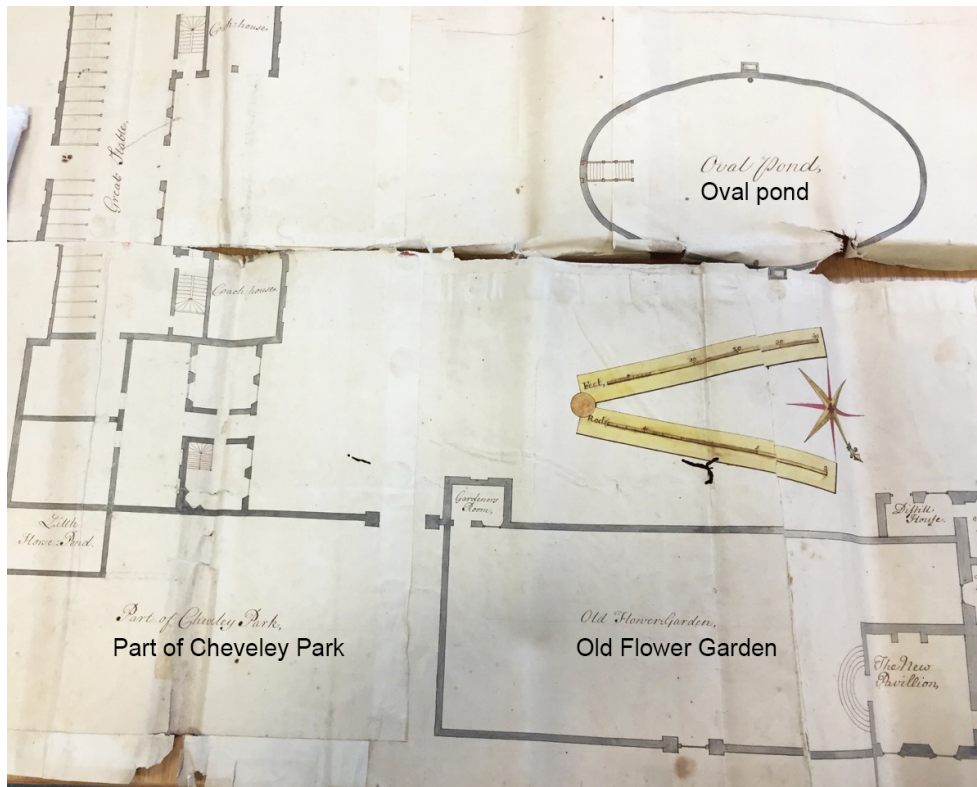


Figure 5.2.13 Map of Somerset's alterations at Cheveley, c.1735, showing an 'Old Flower Garden'

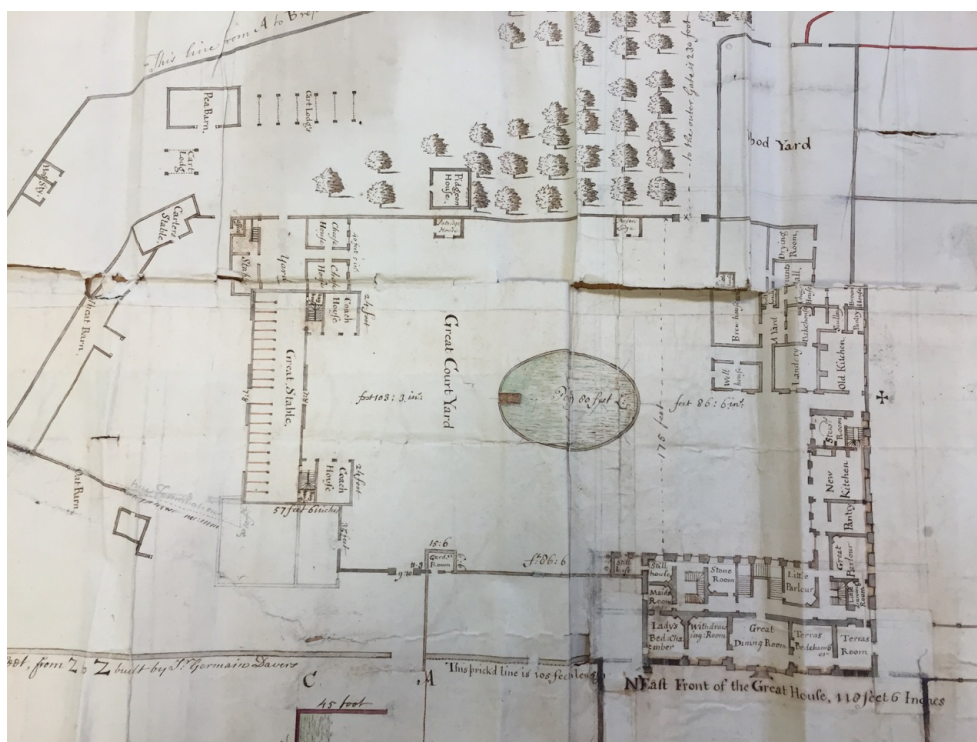


Figure 5.2.14 Map of Cheveley when sold c.1732.



This is also shown on a slightly earlier map of Cheveley when sold in 1732, with notes on suggested alterations, but it is not named as a flower garden (Fig.5.2.14)<sup>547</sup>

So a smaller, private flower garden was made sometime after the painting and before Lady Dover's death in 1726. In addition, the area marked as the old kitchen garden and orchard, to the top right, outlined in red, is not where the kitchen garden is on the painting. Clearly significant changes were made before 1732 so that these plans are not very useful as evidence confirming the painting.

#### 5.2.5.2 The terrace

The terrace is an impressive and significant feature, the most ornate part of the garden and a feature that has survived (Fig.5.2.15). The dimensions are given in Figure 5.2.14 as '366 feet long By 22 feet 6 inches Breadth.' As discussed in the Ham case study, viewing terraces had become fashionable in the early seventeenth century and frequently ran along the house garden front as at Ham, or surrounded the parterre garden as proposed at Greenwich in 1663 by Le Nôtre and by Evelyn in his sketch of Wotton in 1653.<sup>548</sup> At Cheveley the terrace is rather unusual as it is not along the house front, nor does it surround the garden. While it gives access to and views of the flower

---

<sup>547</sup> Ibid.

<sup>548</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.95.

garden and the southwest garden, it is not part of an overall plan to provide prospect or vistas. The 40 urns lining the terrace (39 are noted in the inventory of 1736/7)<sup>549</sup> add some glamour but the design does not seem to be part of an overall composition. It is more of an enthusiastic addition, perhaps making pragmatic use of the spoil from the new building works.<sup>550</sup>

Henry Jermyn would have been familiar with the terracing at the gardens of St Germain-en-Laye and at the Tuileries in Paris, where the *Terrace des Feuillants* was a lasting feature of Henri VI's garden still apparent in Gomboust's map of 1652, which ran along one side of the gardens.<sup>551</sup> He would probably also have known of developments taking place at Euston from 1666, through his wife's relations and his own familiarity with the court. At Euston there was a newly built viewing terrace along the main house front giving views of grass plats and a vista through woods to a pond; and a more innovatory diagonal raised terrace walk, part of a goose foot plan in a wilderness, giving views of the surrounding countryside.<sup>552</sup> These features were part of a more ambitious continentally inspired composition at Euston, in a landscape of c.2000 acres whereas Cheveley was a more modest project of c.250 acres. At Cheveley the terrace seems to be part of a more ad hoc arrangement. Nevertheless, it is the most ambitious feature at Cheveley and

---

<sup>549</sup> SWHC, Accession 1332, Duke of Somerset papers, box 51.

<sup>550</sup> David Jacques suggests terraces were made in this way in 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', pp. 365-376.

<sup>551</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.115; Gomboust map 1652, commons.wikimedia.org

<sup>552</sup> Hundleby, *Euston Hall*. See also Appendix 1.

probably the most continentally inspired despite inspiration also being available more locally at Euston.



Figure 5.2.15 The terrace today (photo: author 2019).

#### 5.2.5.3 Walls

Cheveley uses brick walls for all its boundaries and divisions. In the painting these appear to be entirely covered in fruit trees, except on the outer sides. As with Ham the walls must have made a significant contribution to the productive garden. They are obviously also valued for their aesthetic qualities since they line the forecourt, the flower garden and the south garden as well

as the kitchen garden. Fruit trees would have been one of the most noticeable features of the garden from the first sight of the house through the gates to the forecourt. This display would also demonstrate the owners' wealth and horticultural prowess as Rea suggests 'the most absolute indications of the owner's ingenuity,' quoted above<sup>553</sup>, particularly if the latest varieties of tender fruits were grown. While these would have been additional reasons for showing fruit trees, clearly their appearance was appreciated and not considered something to be banned from the pleasure garden. The garden was therefore as productive as it was attractive.

#### 5.2.5.4 Gate piers

Five pairs of gate piers survive from the seventeenth century and are listed Grade II by Historic England. As noted in section 4.3.8, the design of gate piers gave landowners an opportunity for display, which varied depending on the significance of the gateway so that principal gates to the forecourt might be more elaborate than those at the sides or back. At Cheveley however, according to the painting, all eight pairs of gate piers depicted follow the same basic design, being brick piers capped with stone ball finials, perhaps in keeping with the restraint and modesty suggested in the garden. The forecourt set are given greater significance by the wall in front of the house being recessed towards the house giving an increased sense of openness and welcome. This is emphasized by the wall being made low and topped

---

<sup>553</sup> P. 261 and discussed in section 4.3.9.

with a 'transparent' rail so that the view of the house and forecourt is opened up.

Unfortunately of the gate piers depicted on the Siberechts painting, only one set survives in situ. These are the gate piers to the current garden house entrance, located in the painting behind the house, leading into the stable yard (Fig. 5.2.16 & 5.2.17).



Figure 5.2.16 Gate piers to stable yard, detail of Fig. 5.2.2.





Figure 5.2.17 Lodge (18<sup>th</sup> century), wall and gate piers to garden house entrance, late 17th century, listed grade II, map ref TL 6707360963 (photo: author)

The other four sets of gate piers listed by Historic England as 'late seventeenth century' are all part of the perimeter park walls established when Henry Jermyn expanded the existing park to surround the house in c. 1675.<sup>554</sup> Interestingly, some of these are more ornate with pineapple and acanthus leaf finials, perhaps placed at more significant entrances (Fig. 5.2.18 & 5.2.19). The other two pairs are of the ball finial type depicted in the painting (Fig. 5.2.20 & 5.2.21).

<sup>554</sup> The date of a grant to divert a road 'for the enlargement of his park' in Hore, *Sporting and rural records of the Cheveley estate*, p.42.





Figure 5.2.18 Gate piers to stud entrance, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II (photo: author).



Figure 5.2.19 Gate piers to Isinglass stables, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II (photo author).





Figure 5.2.20 Gate piers at Hope Cottage, Cheveley Park, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, listed grade II (photo: author).



Figure 5.2.21 Gate piers, Gypsy walk, Cheveley, late 17<sup>th</sup> century listed grade II (photo: author).

### 5.2.6 Conclusion

The only evidence for Cheveley Park gardens is The Siberechts painting. The inaccurate orientation can be corroborated by the continuing existence of the stables and the garden terrace, but apart from that there is no other source that can confirm the accuracy of the painting. It is clear that in commissioning Siberechts Henry Jermyn was intending to make a political statement so that the painting is not only a display of wealth and status but it also demonstrates his position as a Catholic rooted in English history and tradition. If this is accepted then the style of the house and the gardens would also need to reflect this position, which might explain the apparent modesty and simplicity of the gardens. In terms of 'Englishness', many of the characteristics identified as English, are apparent here.

This is an enclosed, perhaps defensive and relatively intimate garden. The gardens are divided into straight sided, geometric enclosures surrounded by brick walls, as advocated by English garden writers such as John Rea. There is a considerable amount of symmetry in the organization of the forecourt, the flower garden and the larger garden to the southwest of the flower garden, also in the organization of the flowerbeds and the arrangement of the urns on the terrace, but the overall organization suggests an ad hoc approach rather than a coordinated plan. There is a preponderance of grass plats and gravel walks in keeping with current fashion in the 1670s and the English fondness for walking to enjoy fresh air, or possibly for a game of bowls on the well-

tended turf, an English feature. The flower garden is particularly important, taking up a large area and probably producing large quantities of flowers for the house. The flower garden also seems to be admired for its ornamental value, being viewed from the terrace. There is an abundance of fruit trees suggesting that they were appreciated for their attractiveness as well as demonstrating the skill of the gardeners and the wealth of the owners. The cultivation of fruit, flowers and vegetables is to some extent integrated since all the walls bear fruit trees. Together with the kitchen garden, this suggests a largely productive, utilitarian garden.<sup>555</sup>

Apart from the terrace (which had also become a frequent feature of English gardens from the early seventeenth century), there are none of the features associated with continental taste such as fountains, statues, canals, grottoes, aviaries, orangeries, or elaborate *parterres*. There is no overall axial composition, apart from the forecourt and possible approach avenue. The absence of continental features is quite surprising since Henry Jermyn spent most of the Civil War and the Interregnum living in Paris with the exiled court either associated with the queen, Henrietta Maria, or James, Duke of York and must have been aware of French garden design. The reasons could be financial. Jermyn owned other property in London and inherited interests in the west end of London where his uncle was responsible for the development

---

<sup>555</sup> According to Hore, regular supplies of fruit and game were sent to Henrietta Maria, Queen Dowager, at Somerset House, London. (*Sporting and Rural Records*, 1899, p.37).

of the area around St James's Square, Jermyn Street and Dover Street.<sup>556</sup> Perhaps Cheveley was not prioritized for investment. It is also likely that as a Catholic a more modest house and garden were appropriate at a time when anti-popery was rife. Even non-Catholic landowners expressed concern at being too ostentatious at this time. Henry Cornbury, writing to Evelyn in 1663 expressed his concern for his new house at Cornbury: 'splendid enough ... we shall be very commode both in towne and in country, though perhaps too much envied.'<sup>557</sup> Thomas Povey, in conversation with Pepys in 1667 felt that the building at Euston should be halted 'considering the unsafeness of laying out money at such a time as this and besides the enviousness of that particular county, as well as all the kingdom.'<sup>558</sup> The Restoration government was not a secure regime in the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>559</sup> Cornbury's fears were justified when an angry mob cut down trees and broke windows at Clarendon House, the family's London house in Piccadilly, which was deemed too extravagant, among other grievances.<sup>560</sup> In 1688 Cheveley was attacked by a Protestant mob, destroying Jermyn's Catholic chapel.<sup>561</sup>

Whilst the development of Cheveley Park was not exactly self-effacing, the house and gardens have a restrained yet elegant modesty, rooted in an

---

<sup>556</sup> Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 2003, p.624, 609, 522.

<sup>557</sup> BL Add.MS 78678 f.78-79, Cornbury to Evelyn, 24 January 1663.

<sup>558</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 24-25 June 1667, vol.8, p.288.

<sup>559</sup> Keeble, *The Restoration in England in the 1660s*; Scott, *England's Troubles*.

<sup>560</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 14 June 1667.

<sup>561</sup> Wareham and Wright, 'Cheveley: Manors and Estate.'

English rather than a continental culture. The reorientation of the house in the painting, in order to show it embedded in an English landscape, displaying ancient buildings; and the positioning of the house to focus on the castle, serve to emphasise the importance of an English tradition. The gardens reinforce this impression of Englishness.

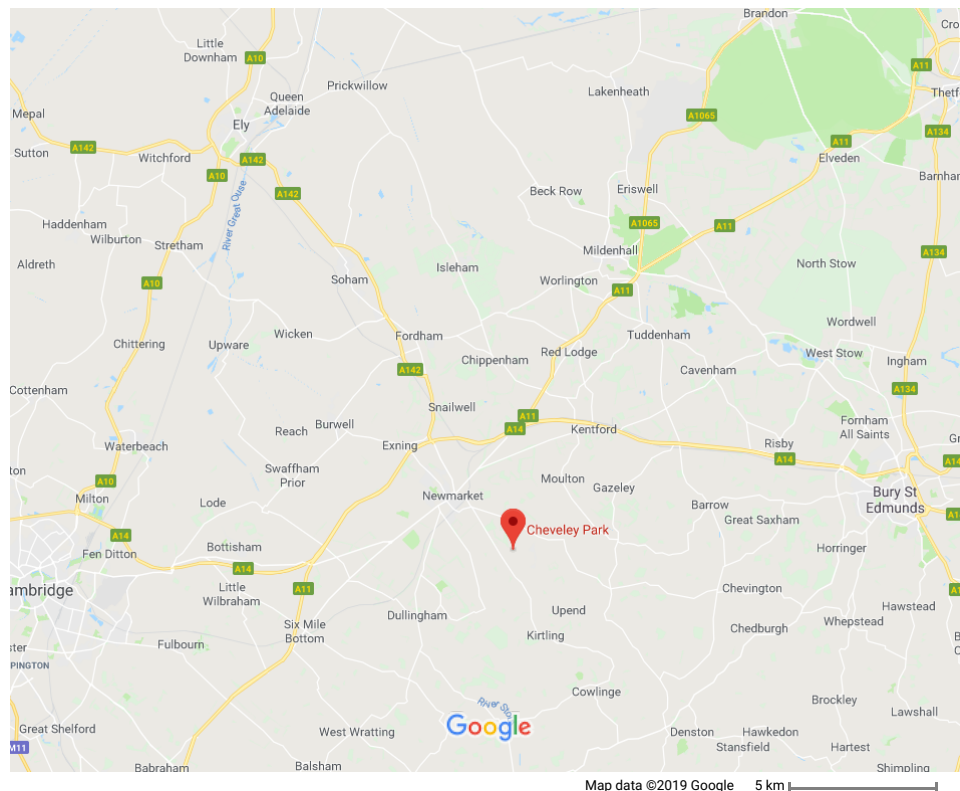


Figure 5.2.22 Cheveley Park, Ely and Newmarket: Location, Google Maps.

### 5.3 Ryston Hall, Norfolk

Ryston Hall is important as the house and garden of Sir Roger Pratt, a leading Restoration architect, built from 1669 to 1672. The development of the estate is recorded in Pratt's notebooks and in a considerable archive of manuscript material, which give some insight into Pratt's motivation and inspiration. Having travelled abroad, Pratt was convinced of the value both of continental architecture and of experiencing it in reality, so that his house and garden might be expected to reflect this, making them an interesting subject for study, which might be expected to disprove the hypothesis.

#### 5.3.1 Location

Ryston Hall is located on the edge of the East Anglian fens in West Norfolk, about fourteen miles south of King's Lynn, just south of Downham Market and east of the village of Denver where Vermuyden established the first sluice on the river Great Ouse in 1652<sup>562</sup> to improve fen drainage (Fig. 5.3.1).

---

<sup>562</sup> G. Lloyd, 'Denver Sluice and the Ely Ouse-Essex transfer scheme,' *Geography*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (January 1975), pp.48-51.





Figure 5.3.1 Ryston Hall (known here as Ruston Hall), Faden's map of Norfolk, 1797.

### 5.3.2 Sources of information

Ryston Hall is well known as the house which Sir Roger Pratt (1620-1685), one of the most influential post Restoration architects in England, built for himself from 1669 to 1672. The Hall is grade II\* listed by Historic England, list entry number 1205569. The gardens and park (which was developed later and first features on the Faden map of Norfolk of 1797, Fig. 5.3.1) are not listed. Although the house is considered to be 'oddly provincial'<sup>563</sup> when

<sup>563</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *The Buildings of England, Norfolk 2: Northwest and South*, second edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1999), p. 624.

compared to his more ambitious and influential work such as at Coleshill and Clarendon House, it has received considerable attention from architectural historians, of interest as the house built by the architect for himself.<sup>564</sup>

The gardens have also been the subject of detailed research although they are not listed and not included in *Parks and Gardens UK*, the online database for garden history. Benefitting from its location in Norfolk, Ryston has been studied by Tom Williamson and the Landscape History department of the University of East Anglia. A double issue of the *Journal of Garden History* 'Some early geometric gardens in Norfolk' 1991 by Anthea Taigel and Tom Williamson, includes a detailed entry on Ryston in the gazeteer.<sup>565</sup> This is summarised also in the gazeteer of *the archaeology of the landscape park: garden design in Norfolk, England c.1680-1840* by Tom Williamson, 1998.<sup>566</sup> Sally Jeffery also considers Ryston in a chapter discussing the Renaissance influence on garden planning in *The Renaissance Villa in Britain*, 2004.<sup>567</sup>

---

<sup>564</sup> John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (London: Penguin, 1953); Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, forth edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); Nigel Silcox-Crowe, 'Sir Roger Pratt 1620-1685, the Ingenious Gentleman Architect' in *The Architectural Outsiders*, ed., Roderick Brown (London: Waterstone, 1985), pp. 1-20; Nigel Silcox-Crowe, *The Life and Work of Sir Roger Pratt 1620-1685*, unpublished PhD thesis (Reading University, 1986).

<sup>565</sup> Anthea Taigel and Tom Williamson, 'Some Early Geometric Gardens in Norfolk,' *Journal of Garden History*, vol 11, no. 1 and 2 (Jan-June 1991), pp. 3-111.

<sup>566</sup> Tom Williamson, *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park: Garden Design in Norfolk, England c.1680-1840*, BAR British Series 268 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>567</sup> Sally Jeffery, 'Gardens and Courtyards of the Seventeenth-Century Villa and Smaller House,' in *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700*, eds., Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack (Reading: Spire Books), pp. 111-126.

Further useful articles consider aspects of Sir Roger Pratt as an architect, such as his library and his development of the practice of architecture.<sup>568</sup>

The main source for Ryston however, is Sir Roger Pratt's own writings on architecture and the development of the estate, contained in ten notebooks and several bundles of related documents including bills, receipts, miscellaneous lists, now lodged in the Norfolk Records Office. These are written on a variety of papers such as notebooks started by earlier relatives, blank pages contained in almanacks, notebooks started from both ends, some upside down. His musings, memoranda, lists, accounts, sums, notes on architecture, lists of things to be done, things done and things yet still to be done, all constitute a rich source from which it is possible to glean some insight into his approach to garden design, his priorities and his influences. These writings were transcribed and organized by R T Gunther in 1928 in *The architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*,<sup>569</sup> which provides a helpful tool. Gunther's priority was the architecture so that although he does cover the gardens, he did not always select items relevant to the gardens, making recourse to the original documents a necessity for this study.

---

<sup>568</sup> Kimberley Skelton, 'Reading as a Gentleman and as an Architect: Sir Roger Pratt's library,' *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, Vol. 53 (2009), pp.15-50; Simona Valeriani, 'Lovers, Gentlemen and Farmers: Architecture, Estate Management and Knowledge in Sir Roger Pratt's Unpublished Writings,' in *Prospectus- the Varied Role of the Amateur in Early Modern Europe* special issue of *Nuncius*, Vol. 31(2016), pp. 584-610; Simona Valeriani, 'Learning about Architecture and Building in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England. The Case of Sir Roger Pratt,' in *Akten der 45. Tagung für Ausgrabungswissenschaft und Bauforschung*, Koldewey Gesellschaft, Dresden: Thelen Verlag (30 April-4 May 2010), pp.127-35.

<sup>569</sup> R. T. Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928).



Further evidence of the gardens is found in an oil painting of Ryston, by an unknown artist (Fig.5.3.2) and estate plans of 1635 (Fig.5.3.6), 1715 (Fig.5.3.3), 1786 (Fig.5.3.7) and c.1800 (Fig.5.3.10), still kept at the house. The estate plan of 1715 is the most useful and is clearly the basis for Gunther's plan of 1928 (Fig.5.3.4).



Figure 5.3.2 Ryston Hall c. 1680 (Photo: Sally Jeffery).





Figure 5.3.3 Ryston estate plan 1715, detail (Photo: author 2019).



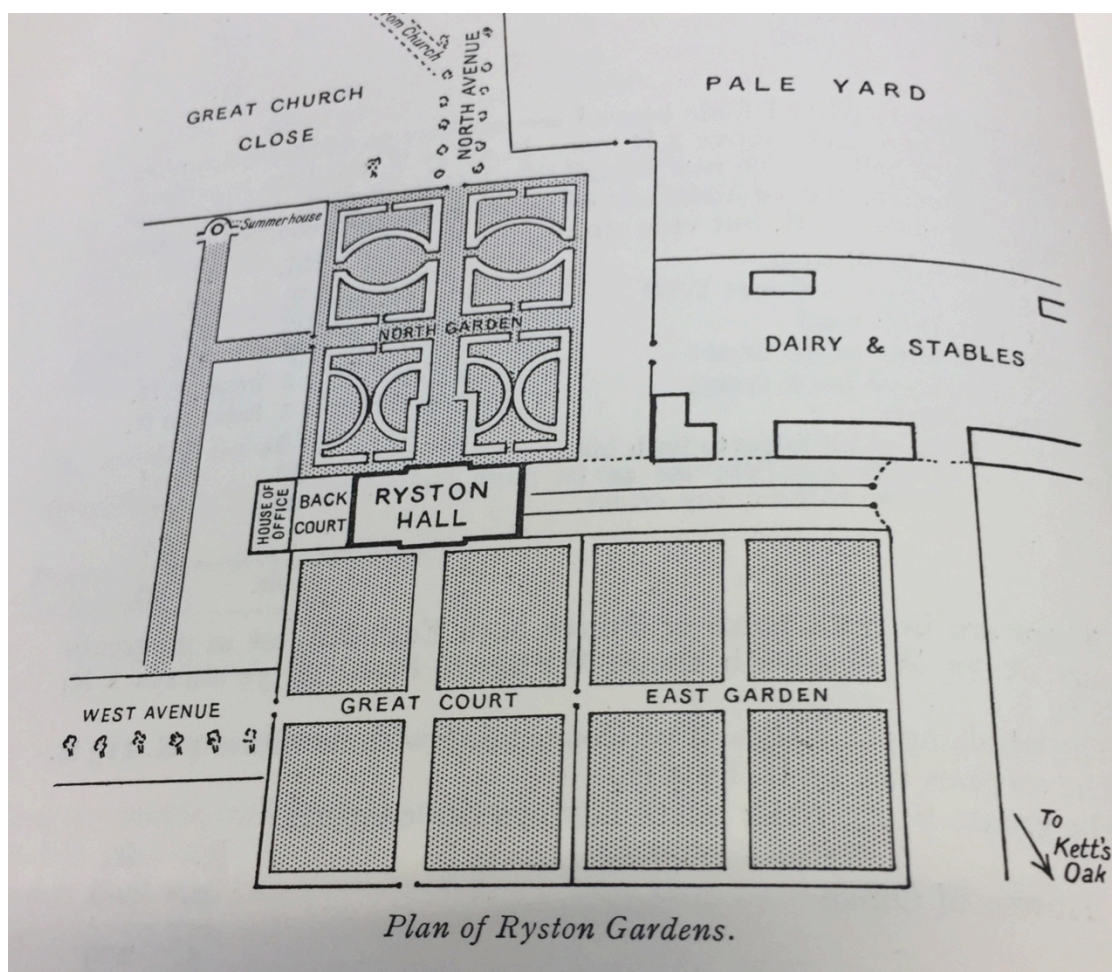


Figure 5.3.4 *Plan of Ryston Gardens*, R. T. Gunther, p. 178.

### 5.3.3 Historical context and development

The manor of Ryston had been owned by the Pratt family since the 1500s.<sup>570</sup>

Sir Roger Pratt inherited the estate in 1667, and began work on the hall and estate after his marriage in 1668. By this date Pratt had established himself as one of the most important gentleman architects of the period, having built Coleshill House (after 1649-1662) for his cousin Sir George Pratt, Kingston Lacy (1663-1665) for Sir Roger Banks, Horseheath Hall (1663-1665) for Lord

<sup>570</sup> Taigel and Williamson, 'Some Early Geometric Gardens,' p. 91.



Allington and, Clarendon House (1664-1667) in Piccadilly, London for the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor.<sup>571</sup> He was appointed to advise first on the repair of St Paul's cathedral in 1665, then as one of the three commissioners for rebuilding after the Great Fire of London in 1666.<sup>572</sup> His detailed notes on this testify to his conscientious application, which presumably led to his knighthood in 1668.

Pratt had travelled on the continent for six years during the Civil War: 'I went out of England about April 1643 and continued travelling in France, Italy, Flanders and Holland etc till August 1649 viz about six and a half years and returned after ye warres and ye death of ye king &c.'<sup>573</sup> No travel dairies survive but it is likely that his interest in architecture was aroused during this time, perhaps encouraged by Evelyn whom he met in Rome.<sup>574</sup> Some idea of his itinerary can be gleaned from his notes on architecture. He mentions Richelieu, Verneuil, the Luxembourg, Louvre and Tuileries,<sup>575</sup> all of which had notable gardens, but they are not commented on. The Pitti Palace is 'most noble for its Court and its various gardens'<sup>576</sup> and at the Luxembourg palace 'ye rise of its situation ... and most open gardens to its reare with groves and

---

<sup>571</sup> Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 828.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 828.

<sup>573</sup> NRO, PRA 739, unpaginated.

<sup>574</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 14 July 1655, Pratt 'my old acquaintance in Rome etc' invited to dinner, p.327.

<sup>575</sup> Quoted in Silcox-Crowe, *The Life and Work of Sir Roger Pratt*, p.25.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31.

walkes of most pleasant green,<sup>577</sup> seems to be a comment made from an English perspective, but generally the gardens are only noted in passing.

### 5.3.3.1 Pratt's library

After his return to England, a notebook listing expenses for the years 1657-1672, shows that he amassed an extensive library of books and prints on architecture and the classics, turning himself into a self-educated virtuoso. The major French and Italian Renaissance treatises on architecture were purchased in January 1657, including 'Vitru: French in folio, Serlio in Italian folio 5 books, Alberti French folio, ... Androuet Cerceau in folio French.'<sup>578</sup> Later, among expenses for coach hire and hairdressing, is 'Palladio Fr in qto,<sup>579</sup> ye prints of Richelieu, il monumento d'il Papa'<sup>580</sup> while a print of Villa Aldobrandini is mentioned earlier<sup>581</sup> and in December 1659 'ye palazzo di Roma, ye state house of Amsterdam, diverse other prints.'<sup>582</sup> In February 1664 he lists books for binding including Virgil, Plinius, Seneca, Horace and a similar list on July 9 1664, includes Ovid, Tacitus, Philippe de Comines,

---

<sup>577</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>578</sup> NRO PRA 728, f. 4 r. These are probably the following: Vitruvius *Architecture, ou Art de bien bastir*, Paris, 1547 (though 3 additional versions survive in the Pratt library); Serlio, *Il Primo Libro d'Architettura*, Venice 1551 (listed as in the library by Gunther); Alberti, *L'Architettura*, Florence, 1550; Androuet Du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture ... de Cinquante Bastiments*, usually called *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*, Paris, 1579.

<sup>579</sup> Palladio, *Les Quatre Livres d'Architecture d' Andre Palladio*, Paris 1650.

<sup>580</sup> NRO PRA 728, f.9 r.

<sup>581</sup> NRO PRA 728, f.3 v.

<sup>582</sup> NRO 728, f.17 v.

Balsac, and Erasmus.<sup>583</sup> Further prints are listed for binding including the 'Chasteau de Richelieu, 8 pieces of ye Louvre, fontaineBeleau, Hesperidum Cultura'.<sup>584</sup>

Pratt's interests ranged widely but, there is a clear emphasis on architecture and it is the books on architecture, still surviving in the library at Ryston Hall, which are most thoroughly annotated, underlined and paraphrased in his notes.<sup>585</sup> Scamozzi<sup>586</sup> was also acquired at some point since it is in the library and extensively used by Pratt but not recorded as an expense.

However, it is difficult to see a deep interest in gardens. Many of the prints could have included illustrations of gardens, such as those of Aldobrandini, Richelieu, Fontainebleau. The prints from *Hesperidum Cultura* are probably from Giovanni Baptista Ferrari (1584-1655) *Hesperides*,<sup>587</sup> published in Rome 1646, a study of citrus fruit, which mixed classical mythology with practical instruction. Pratt's prints could have been botanical illustrations of lemons (Fig.5.3.5) or engravings based on Poussin's classical drawings (Fig.5.3.6). Pratt certainly possessed Ferrari's first book *Flora, seu de florum cultura*, lib. IV Amsterdam, 1646, first published in 1633, a treatise on flowers from Cardinal Barbarini's gardens in Rome, which is still in the collection at Ryston

---

<sup>583</sup> NRO PRA 728, unpaginated.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid.

<sup>585</sup> Skelton, 'Reading as a Gentleman and as an Architect,' pp.15-50.

<sup>586</sup> Scamozzi, *L'Idée della Architettura Universal*, Venice, 1615. Noted in Skelton *ibid*.

<sup>587</sup> Thanks to Sally Jeffery for suggesting this.

Hall (Fig.5.3.7), though not mentioned in Pratt's notes.<sup>588</sup> Parkinson's *Herball and Flowers*, volume 2 is noted as purchased on 17 February 1664, but is not now in the library at Ryston.<sup>589</sup> The notes also mention two unspecified books in English on horticulture bought in March 1659 for £1 5s.<sup>590</sup> While the architectural works contain much of relevance to the layout of the grounds surrounding the house and positioning of the house, particularly as the Renaissance ideal planned the house and grounds as one integrated concept, it cannot be said that Pratt was especially interested in gardening on the evidence of his library, despite some aspirational interest in exotics indicated by the Ferrari books. He was clearly more interested in the Renaissance ideas of design and planning which he had seen exemplified on the continent and was able to study in his library. Apart from Parkinson and the two 'bookes de horto Eng' there appear to be no works in English in his library.

---

<sup>588</sup> Listed by Skelton, *Ibid.*, p.40. Mentioned by Silcox-Crowe in his thesis *The Life and Work of Sir Roger Pratt* as what is probably referred to in the notes as 'Ferrario', p.34 note 137.

<sup>589</sup> PRA 728, unpaginated. Mentioned by Skelton, *ibid.*, p. 44, but wrongly dated.

<sup>590</sup> PRA 728 f.11 'It: for Ferrario, Lawrent: 2 bookes de Horto Eng: 1. 5s.' This is the reference noted by Silcox-Crowe (note 27 above) as referring to Ferrari, but it seems more likely that 'Ferrario' is the bookseller!

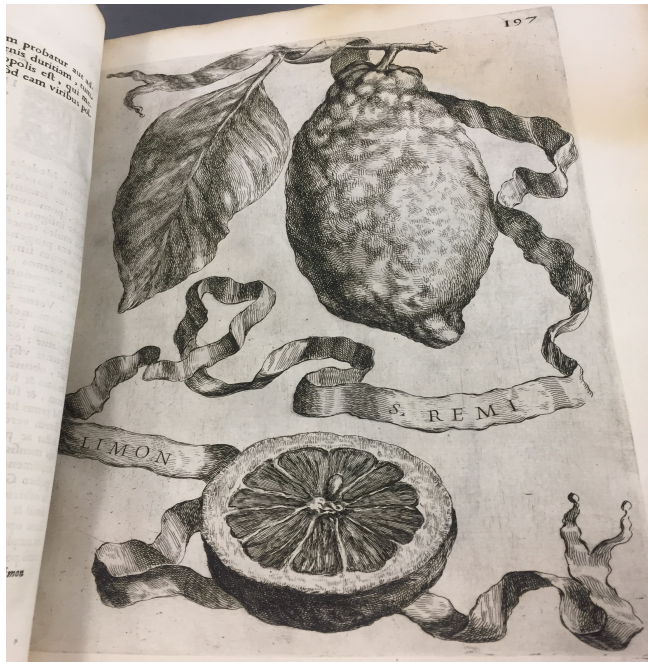


Figure 5.3.5 Limon S. Remi, Ferrari, *Hesperides*, 1646 p.197.

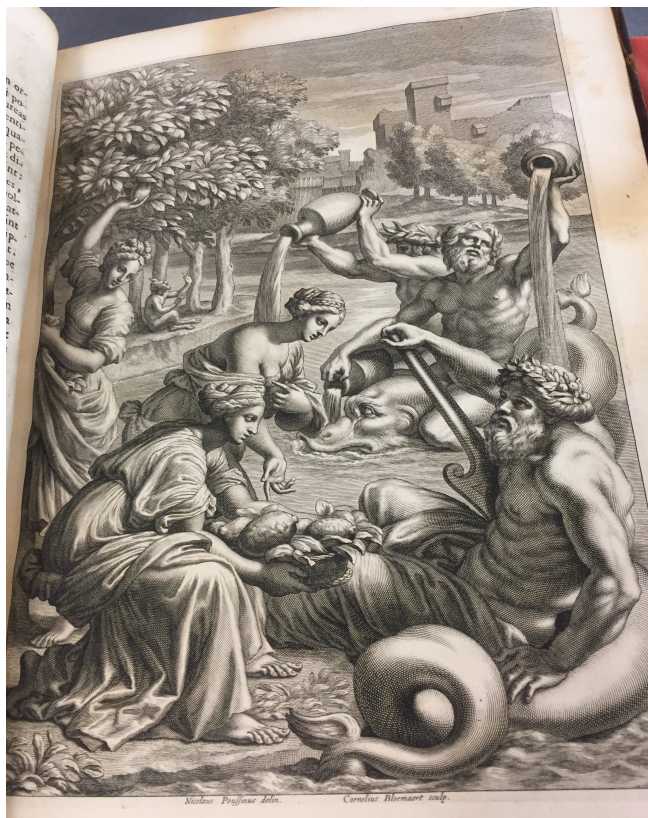


Figure 5.3.6 Cornelius Bloemaert/ Nicholas Poussin, The Hesperides offering the first lemons to the god of lake Garda, *Hesperides*, 1646 p. 96.



Figure 5.3.7 Frontispiece, Ferrari *De Florum Cultura*, 1646, Ryston Hall.

#### 5.3.3.2 Developing the gardens

It is clear from Pratt's notes that Ryston Hall had substantial gardens when he inherited the estate. While he appears to have totally rebuilt the house, it is possible that some of the original gardens were retained. In notes written in 1672, in which he is reminiscing and taking stock, he writes that after inheriting in 1667, 'ye first two years were spent altering and repairing ye houses which were very inconvenient and much out of order and in Fencing, trenching and leveling severall parts of ye grounds, scrubbing up of Whinney (gorse) and Bushes, felling of rotten tymber, pruneing up of ye young &c.'<sup>591</sup> He stresses that the grounds were overgrown and unkempt 'all things at ye

<sup>591</sup> NRO PRA 739 unpaginated.



time lying as rude and confused as a Wilderness and not so much as an appearance of a walke about Riston ye hedgerows onely excepted.' He estimates the costs from December to April 1669 for 'setting all my grounds in order wch at yt [that] time were but very little worth and lay like a wilderness' as £121 3s 4d.<sup>592</sup> From this it seems that he may not have totally redesigned the gardens and that there were 'walkes' though over grown,<sup>593</sup> although it is probable that the 'grounds' included a wider area than the immediate gardens. In another note book, on March 13 1668 he estimates costs: '11 dayes leveling ye short walkes in ye paled yard, 11s; sawing out ye rotten tymber in ye home close 10s, 5 dayes each 2 people.'<sup>594</sup> On April 24 'for clearing woods 14s, outmeadows 7s 6d, home close 1s 6d.'<sup>595</sup> Of these, 'ye paled yard' is continually mentioned and remained as part of the gardens, with seats being planned provided from felled sycamore.<sup>596</sup>

Further details of the existing gardens can be gleaned from a memorandum of January 20 1668, in which Pratt lists things to be done: 'The olde moate next ye Paled yard to be filled up with ye mount this ye breadth onely of the new intended garden, ye residue of ye ditch northwards still to be left open for a fence. The remainder of ye mount to ye greate oake to be taken downe to fill

---

<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

<sup>593</sup> also suggested in Taigel and Williamson, 'Some Early Geometric Gardens,' p.92.

<sup>594</sup> NRO PRA 738 unpaginated.

<sup>595</sup> Ibid.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid.

up ye hither ende of ye moat at ye beginning of my new walk.”<sup>597</sup> The old moat and mount were to be removed in favour of the new ‘intended’ garden and ‘my new walk.’ Part of the moat running north was to remain suggesting that the new garden was not as big or not in the same position. The mount seems to have been further south, nearer the ‘greate oake’, which must be the still existing ‘Kett’s Oak’ noted on the estate maps from 1635 (Fig.5.3.8) onwards and on OS maps (Fig.5.3.12). The 1635 map appears to faintly show the moat and mount to the south. So it seems probable that the new house and garden were to be further north where the land rose slightly, more in keeping with ideas of Palladio as followed at Coleshill and Horseheath.<sup>598</sup>

---

<sup>597</sup> NRO PRA 738 unpaginated.

<sup>598</sup> Jeffery, ‘Gardens and Courts,’ p. 124.



Figure 5.3.8 Ryston estate plan 1635, detail (Photo: author, 2019).<sup>599</sup>

<sup>599</sup> A later owner has labelled the dove house (removed in 1820) and sketched the position of Pratt's house, but the straight lines of the (?) moat and mount seem to be part of the original. Strangely the original house isn't shown.

The memo ends with the last item: 'to speedily resolve upon ye forme and situation of my house, courts, gardens, orchards &c and to exactly draw them out ye better to discerne ye imperfections of them.' Unfortunately, if these plans were drawn, they have not survived. However, it is clear that Pratt conceived of the house and gardens as a whole, integrated plan.

The house and grounds were finished by 1672, according to Pratt's note on the cover of his memoranda book of 1671-1688, where he notes the total cost as £2880 7s 7d.<sup>600</sup> Sir Roger Pratt died in 1684. An estate plan of 1786 (Fig. 5.3.9) shows some remains of walled gardens. Sir John Soane made substantial changes to the house in 1787-8. The undated plan showing the estate after Soane's changes, of c. 1800, shows some remaining walls, but of the walks or avenues only a trace of the north walk can be seen in remaining trees (Fig.5.3.10). The Faden map of 1797 (Fig.5.3.1) shows no sign of formal gardens (although it is not a very detailed map), as is the case in subsequent OS maps. Today there is nothing left of Sir Roger Pratt's gardens although 'ye greate oake' survives from before his interventions.

---

<sup>600</sup> NRO PRA 739, cover.





### 5.3.4 Conjectural description of site layout and stylistic character in the period

#### 5.3.4.1 Architectural character of the house

Ryston Hall is considered to be rather different from Sir Roger Pratt's earlier houses, perhaps due to its lesser status as a house built by a member of the gentry, albeit with London and courtly connections. The cost of building was considerably less than Horseheath, which Evelyn estimated at £20,000<sup>601</sup> and Clarendon House, which was said to have cost £50,000.<sup>602</sup> John Summerson considered Ryston to be 'rather novel' and 'reflecting his (Pratt's) French sympathies in a central high roofed pavilion,'<sup>603</sup> while Pevsner considered it to be 'oddly provincial' and the central pavilion to be 'a French solecism.'<sup>604</sup> Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw are very derogatory in *Architecture without kings*: 'a laughable gesture of a house,' 'a deplorable little toy house,' perhaps because they wanted to prove Inigo Jones' involvement at Coleshill by showing Pratt to be inadequate.<sup>605</sup>

---

<sup>601</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 21 July 1670, p.488.

<sup>602</sup> Edward Walford, 'Mansions in Piccadilly', in *Old and New London: Volume 4* (London, 1878), pp. 273-290. Accessed 1 September 2019. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol4/pp273-290>

<sup>603</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p.95.

<sup>604</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *The Buildings of England Norfolk 2: Northwest and South*, p. 624. 'Solecism' in first edition, 1962, 1976 reprint, p.59.

<sup>605</sup> Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.58-59.



The evidence of the painting shows a nine-bay single storey house with raised basement, the central three projecting bays having a second storey, topped by a segmental pediment with clock and turret. The architectural historians seem to agree on there being some French influence, while an English touch is provided by the English bond brickwork which can still be seen in surviving parts of the walls, which 'shows how late in the century that fashion persisted.'<sup>606</sup> Thus the house is relatively modest, though still innovatory with its double pile plan, demonstrating some continental influence while respecting English tradition.

#### 5.3.4.2 Evidence of the painting, notebooks and estate maps on garden layout

The main evidence of the garden layout comes from the painting and the estate map of 1715, used by Gunther as the basis for his plan of 1928. The notes repeatedly list various parts of the garden, probably at times using different terms for the same area.<sup>607</sup> While it is difficult to work out the layout from the notes and the plans, it seems certain that the painting does not give the whole picture.

---

<sup>606</sup> Pevsner and Wilson, *Norfolk 2: Northwest and South*, p. 624.

<sup>607</sup> Also suggested in Taigel and Williamson, 'Some Early Geometric Gardens,' p.92.

The painting shows walled gardens to the north, south and east of the house. To the south is the forecourt, called the 'Great Court,'<sup>608</sup> divided by wide gravel walks into four grass quarters, each with a specimen conifer planted in the middle and under planted with flowers, the walls lined with fruit trees and pierced by gate piers with 'transparent gates' (as Pratt described them) to the south, east and west. Tom Williamson describes this as 'a rather simple arrangement.'<sup>609</sup> It is certainly modest and not innovatory, a reasonably common arrangement seen in many contemporary engravings, except for the specimen trees. These are discussed below as a key design feature.<sup>610</sup>

The north garden, referred to as 'ye great Garden North,'<sup>611</sup> is shown completely grassed, divided into four quarters each edged by a *plat bande* planted with flowers, with another set of gate piers and transparent gates axially aligned to the north, solid gates to east and west symmetrically arranged. This could be the flower garden referred to in the notes, although it doesn't appear to contain many flowers. Tom Williamson notes an avenue 'just visible' leading northwards from the north gate, possibly one of Pratt's 'long walkes.'<sup>612</sup> The avenue is confirmed in the estate map of 1715 (Fig.5.3.3) and indicated on Gunther's plan (Fig.5.3.4).

---

<sup>608</sup> NRO PRA 741, f. 64 r.

<sup>609</sup> Williamson, *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park*, p.29.

<sup>610</sup> Section 5.3.5.5

<sup>611</sup> NRO PRA 741, p.62 v.

<sup>612</sup> Williamson, *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park*, p.29.

The gate to the west leads to an unwallled area, which Anthea Taigel and Tom Williamson suggest is 'probably' the Paled Yard.<sup>613</sup> This is clearly mistaken since there is no visible fencing (though this could be covered by foliage) and no apparent short walks as mentioned in the notebooks. The Paled Yard was also intended to have a pair of transparent gates, which are not visible here.<sup>614</sup> But most importantly, the estate plan of 1715 shows the 'Pale Yard' to the northeast, also named on the 1786 plan.

The unwallled area to the west in the painting is shown as enclosed in some way on the 1715 plan and was probably subsequently walled since it survives on the 1785 and 1800 plans, where on both it is shown as walled. In the painting it contains an interesting structure, which may be one of the three seats planned for the Paled Yard, but it seems more elaborate than the planned seats made of sycamore planks.<sup>615</sup> It looks reminiscent of the trelliswork found in Dutch and French gardens and could be a seat or a small summerhouse. Interestingly, in London and Wise's translation of a French work on gardens, the section on trellis was omitted, as it was not considered of use in English gardens.<sup>616</sup> So here Pratt was including a rather more innovative garden ornament, something probably seen on his travels and relatively affordably replicated and transposed. Nevertheless, nothing like this

---

<sup>613</sup> Taigel and Williamson, 'Some Early Geometric Gardens,' p.92.

<sup>614</sup> NRO PRA 740 f. 64 r.

<sup>615</sup> NRO PRA 738, unpaginated.

<sup>616</sup> London and Wise, *The Retir'd Gardener*, 2nd edition (London, 1717), preface.

is referred to in the notes (apart from the sycamore seats), as far as is known (Fig.5.3.11).



Figure 5.3.11 Detail of figure 5.3.2, showing garden seat/ summerhouse.

To the east on the painting a further walled area is shown to the south of the service buildings accessed from the Great Court by a transparent gate aligned symmetrically with the west gate. This area is shown more fully on the estate plan and seems to be a kitchen garden, divided into four square beds, the whole slightly wider than the forecourt. In the painting the beds appear narrower and edged by possible fruit bushes. This area could be 'Wills Gardens East' or 'the greate additional kitchen garden' or most likely these refer to the same part of the garden. It is unusual to refer to an area by the name of the gardener, yet this seems to be the case. Will the gardener's wages are mentioned<sup>617</sup> and the fact that he worked for Pratt for four years.

<sup>617</sup> NRO PRA 728, f.42 v: under 'Servants Wages,' 'Will: Gardiner. He came to me Jan 1670' wages to Sep 1674, total £31 5s. Also NRO PRA 739 unpaginated: 'Will Howdell, gardiner' Jan 26 1674 when outstanding monies are paid to him including 3s for cherry stocks.

A memo of June 29 1671 lists 'without doors' to be made by Simons the 'Joyner,' including '5 pairs of Transparent gates and 1 pair of greate back gates.'<sup>618</sup> In the same memo two further doors are listed for 'Wills Gardens East,' which may be this area but the doors are out of the frame of the painting and the plan does not show any doors in this area. The 'greate back gates,' which significantly are not transparent, probably closed off access to the service area, as suggested in the 1715 plan.

The layout proposed by Gunther based on the 1715 plan (Fig.5.3.3 & 5.3.4) is supported in Pratt's notes made in 1675, where he is looking back and justifying his expenses. He describes the Paled Yard again as 'so formless that there was not the least sign of a walke in it (for these were afterwards all drawn out be me) and ye ground all digged and leveled; three great ditches were likewise filled up there and an ill favoured gravell pit reduced into fine walkes, seats &c where now ye little wood is.'<sup>619</sup> 'Likewise ye walkes brestring the Paled Yard, the cross one to ye church, & yt from ye North Garden gate to ye cross one aforesaid.'<sup>620</sup> Pratt goes on to say 'a broad walk was digged and leveled from ye North transparent gates of ye Paled yard to ye highway passing by Bexwell close.'<sup>621</sup> Yet, while the walks across to the church and from the north garden gate, are clear on the 1715 plan, the location of the Pale yard north transparent gate and walk from it, is not indicated. In the

---

<sup>618</sup> NRO PRA 740 f.62 v.

<sup>619</sup> NRO PRA 726, unpaginated.

<sup>620</sup> Ibid.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid.

same section Pratt mentions another walk 'from ye West transparent gates of ye greate Court, down to Peppers lane,' which is shown on the plans and visible in the painting.

The estate/Gunther plans show some differences from the painting. The grass plats in the Great Court are shown too large compared to the painting (and without the conifers), while those in the East Garden are shown to match the Great Court and the summerhouse is depicted further north, with a straight walk leading to it. Thus the plans suggest more regularity than is apparent in the painting. Whether this is the result of later changes is not known. The curved beds shown in the North Garden must have been introduced before 1715 and after the painting. Their design is slightly more elaborate and could have dated from the later 1680s or after Pratt's death since there is no evidence in the notebooks of their design.

The layout of the gardens at Ryston therefore remains conjectural since the notes though prolific are less helpful in visualizing the layout than might be expected.

#### 5.3.4 Identification of key design features

##### 5.3.5.1 A planned layout

There is no doubt that Sir Roger Pratt was aiming at a planned layout at Ryston. This is clear from his notes in general and from his resolve to make a plan and draw it out as quoted above. Although he had to contend with the remains of an earlier garden and the major clearance needed weighed heavily



on his mind, (the description of the state of the grounds as a 'wilderness' was repeatedly stated), his aim was for planned regularity. The constraints of the existing grounds and buildings may have resulted in a relatively limited planned layout, so that axuality was achieved mainly in the north-south arrangement of the house and garden. Pratt's writings provide a rare instance of being able to gain some insight into an architect/ designer's thought processes. From this, while a regular plan was clearly important, it is also apparent that improving the value of the estate was a significant motivation. As stated previously, he points out that the grounds when inherited were 'but very little worth.'<sup>622</sup> And further, 'would have been dearly let for a crowne an Acre.'<sup>623</sup> Later when assessing his achievements, he notes his estate as 'being much likewise advanced in its annual income' though he does first mention that it is 'comparable to ye best in this county of Norfolk both for beauty and pleasure.'<sup>624</sup>

#### 5.3.5.2 Walled enclosure

While it is clear that Pratt planned the garden in conjunction with the house, the result is within the tradition of square walled enclosures, characteristic of English gardens at this time. The importance of getting the walls right is evident in the lists of walls, their measurements and costs. The foundations of

---

<sup>622</sup> NRO PRA 739, unpaginated.

<sup>623</sup> NRO PRA 726, unpaginated.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

the garden walls so far built were measured in September 1671 resulting in several lists disputed and reworked.<sup>625</sup> Gunther concludes that by this date the garden walls and outbuildings had been completed.

#### 5.3.5.3 Gate piers

Details of the gate piers are given in the stonemason's contract of February 19 1669/1670.<sup>626</sup> This mentions five pairs of piers and two sets of steps to be finished by the end of August by the stonemason, Will Ash, who had been employed at Horseheath. The stone work for the piers was to include 'base stones, cornishes, kick stones and Balls, grate scrole stones to reache from ye Cornish and lye upon ye toppe of ye Court walls ... and whatsoever also shall be found necessary ... for each of the aforesaid Peeres respectively to compleately finish them.' The dimensions were also given in detail and mouldings were 'to be wrought according to directions' suggesting that drawings or further instructions accompanied the contract. This is also suggested in the details on 'two pairs of greate stone staires, ye one towards ye Court, ye other towards ye Garden at ye new house of Sir Roger Pratt at Ryston aforesaid, according to ye designs showed to him for them.' The stone was to be 'the whitest that can be found at Ketton, Northamptonshire.'

---

<sup>625</sup> NRO PRA 740, lists of walls: f. 3 r., 5 r., 6 v., 7 r. and v.

<sup>626</sup> NRO PRA 727, unpaginated. All details in this paragraph.

All of this work was completed and is visible in the painting, apart from stairs to the garden, which would be behind the house, and the fifth pair of gate piers, whose location is unknown, except that there is a transparent gate mentioned for the Paled Yard as discussed above.

In keeping with usual practice at this time the main gate piers leading into the Great Court or forecourt, were the most elaborate, with scrolls as well as ball finials, placed as detailed in the contract (Fig.5.3.12). The scrolls appear rather small and crude, but this is probably due to the painter rather than the stonemason.



Figure 5.3.12 Main entrance gate piers, detail of Figure 5.3.2.

The gate piers supported 'Transparent' gates thereby allowing a view both of the garden and of the view out. This was something Pratt debated in his notes, finally deciding on transparency and the importance of prospect.<sup>627</sup>

<sup>627</sup> NRO PRA 740, Memorandum December 6 1671, f. 63 v.

#### 5.3.5.4 Prospect

In 'Notes as to the building of country houses' Pratt explains the importance of the view beyond the house as well as the view of the gardens: 'besides the content which may be had by viewing your own plantations and grounds, you may likewise enjoy a most pleasant prospect of the country round about it.' This he feels is best when 'pleasantly varied, as here pasture, there arable, here wood, there water ... the view yet clear and uninterrupted, the horizon made by some pleasant hills not so near as to stop the eye in the half-way of its course, nor yet so far distant as to be almost tired before it can reach it.'<sup>628</sup> This was followed in practice at Ryston where he may have removed hedges, which impeded the view.

In a memorandum of January 20 1668, Pratt's musings on the view from the house, suggest that he considered removing two hedges, one running north-south and the other east-west. These seem to have impeded the view of Snow Hill: 'ye prospect of ye house towards Snow hill and ye most graceful wood upon it.'<sup>629</sup> This is located about a mile south of Ryston, noted on modern maps as 'Snowre Hill,'<sup>630</sup> the site of an extant Elizabethan house, on a slight rise above 25 feet. Ryston is above the 50-foot contour on land sloping southwards with a slight dip before Snow Hill rises, constituting a hill

---

<sup>628</sup> Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, p.55-56.

<sup>629</sup> NRO PRA 738, unpaginated.

<sup>630</sup> Gunther transcribes it as Snore Hill (p.165) while Tom Williamson (*The Archaeology of the Landscape Park*, p.723) agrees with the author. Snore Hill was also known as Snow Hill.

in this part of Norfolk (Fig.5.3.13 & 5.3.14). Pratt suggests an alternative: 'If not, ye olde Hedge to be taken away wch dividing Oxepickles from ye house close and a single rayle<sup>631</sup> to be putt there instead of it to mende yet ye prospect but then ... ye gateway then to be changed, and sett right against ye court gate.' This again suggests it is the area south of the house that he has in mind, so that if the second option were chosen the gate in the rail would align with the gates to the forecourt. It is not known which solution was chosen but the importance of the view beyond the gardens is clear.

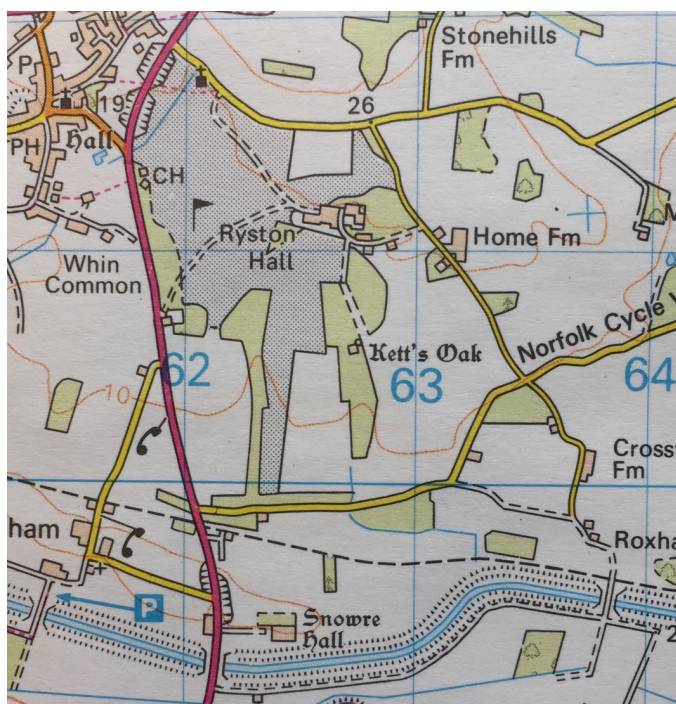


Figure 5.3.13 Ordnance Survey Landranger map 143, 1992 showing Kett's Oak, 'Snowre' Hall and 10 metre contour.

<sup>631</sup> Gunther, 'soyle' p. 168.



Figure 5.3.14 Detail of figure 5.3.1 showing Snore Hall and hill.

Further comments in his 'reasons for the raising with steps to a house after my manner' stress the importance of prospect, (despite other practical reasons such as not needing to dig out the cellars, which can be above ground avoiding drainage issues): 'A prospect is more pleasant to a house than where none; as must necessarily fall out where we cannot see over the top of our out-walls.'<sup>632</sup> Thus the steps up to the house, while adding to the 'height and majesty of the house' enabled a view over the walls. This was something that was not generally advocated in English garden treatises,

<sup>632</sup> NRO PRA 732, p. 98 v.



although the prospect of the gardens was considered important. Pratt's emphasis on the view out may have been the result of his experience in France and the Netherlands. It indicates a conflict between enclosure and prospect, resolved at this time by the planting of avenues or walks, the use of 'transparent' gates and steps up to the house at Ryston.

The cupola (turret at Ryston) also enabled a view, as was admired by Celia Fiennes at Coleshill, where, echoing Pratt's words above, she appreciated the ability to see the proprietor's lands as well as the further countryside: 'This gives you a great prospect of gardens, grounds, woods that appertaine to the Seat, as well as sight of the Country at a distance.'<sup>633</sup>

#### 5.3.5.5 Forecourt specimen trees

The use of a specimen conifer in the centre of each of the four grass plats in the forecourt, is unusual. Sir Roger Pratt obviously appreciated trees for their beauty, as shown by his description of 'ye most graceful wood' on Snow Hill. While examples of specimen conifers can be found in the engravings of Drapentier and Knyff and Kip, they are not commonly placed in the centre of grass plats. For example, at Stagenhoe, a garden probably developed between 1650 and 1672,<sup>634</sup> there are two specimen conifers placed

---

<sup>633</sup> C. Morris, ed., *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p.24-5, quoted in Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.38 and Jeffery, 'Gardens and courtyards,' p.122.

<sup>634</sup> Mowl, 'John Drapentier's views,' p. 154.

symmetrically on either side of the entrance gates outside the garden wall (Fig.5.3.15).

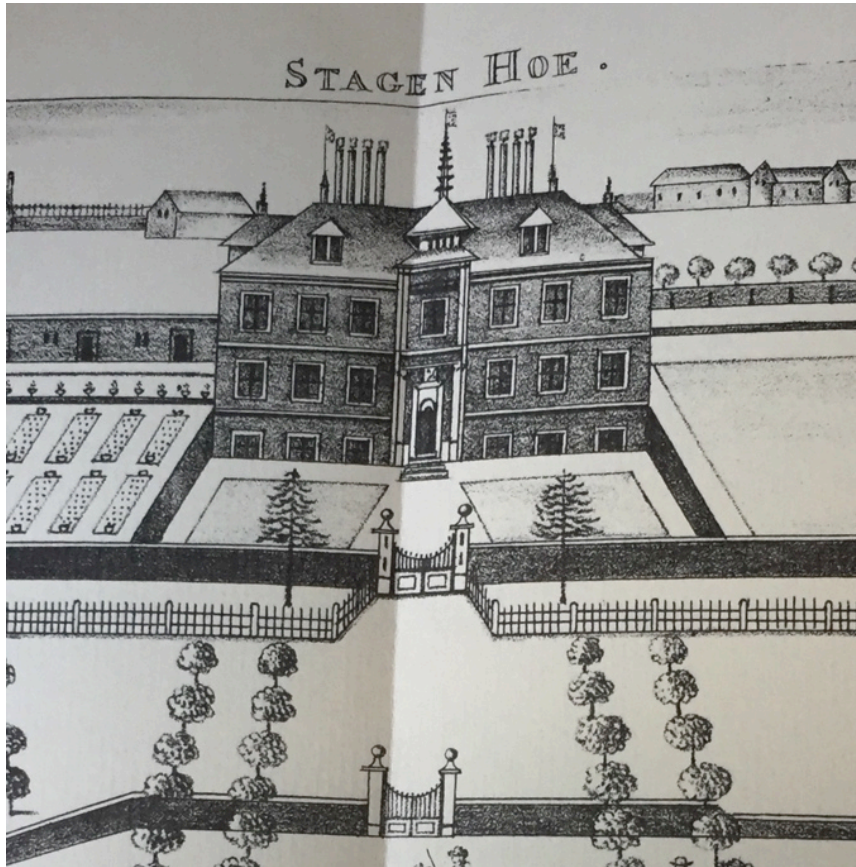


Figure 5.3.15 Stagenhoe, in Henry Chauncy, *The historical antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700 p. 414.

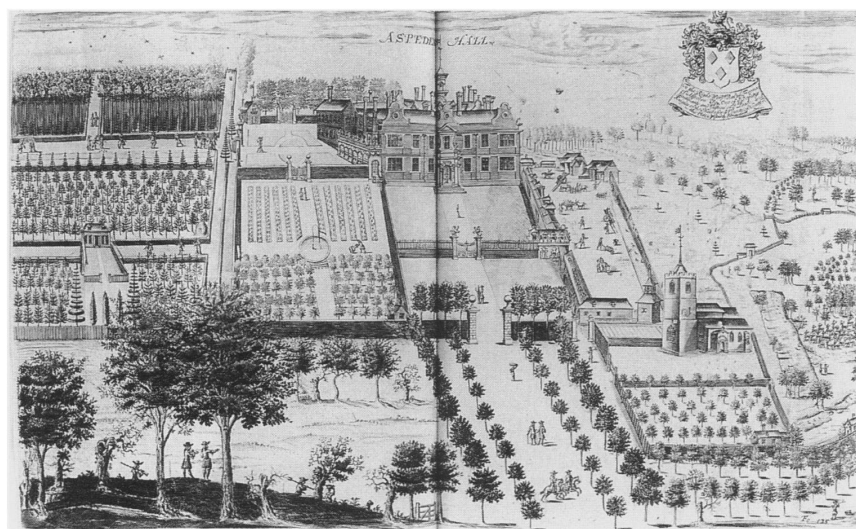


Figure 5.3.16 Aspenden Hall, Hertfordshire, in Henry Chauncy, *The historical antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700, p.240.

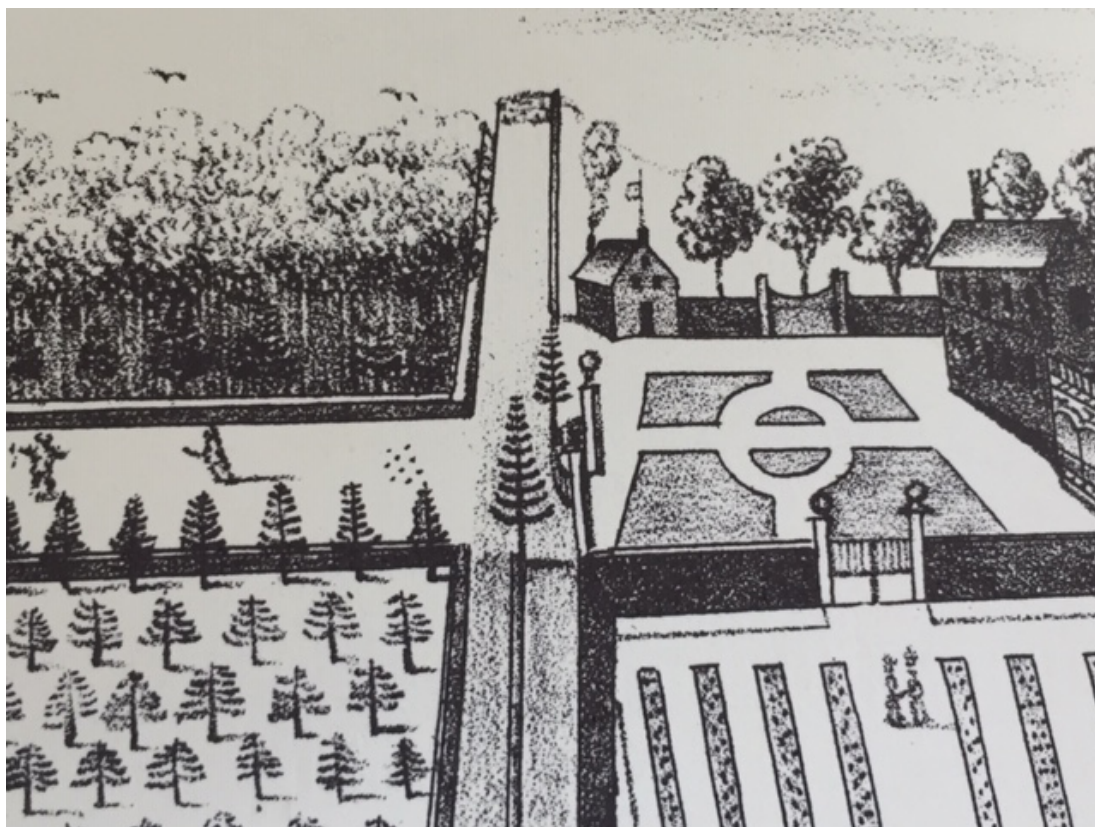


Figure 5.3.17 detail of figure 5.3.16, showing specimen conifers.

At Aspenden Hall two specimen conifers are similarly placed outside the gate piers to the west court<sup>635</sup> (Fig.5.3.16 & 5.3.17). So while conifers were admired as specimen trees, placing them prominently in the forecourt as at Ryston is unusual. The species of conifer is not known. Among Pratt's list of trees and plants purchased from Leonard Gurle's Whitechapel nursery in February 1671, are twenty 'Spruce ffires' and thirty 'Cippriss trees.'<sup>636</sup> The 'spruce firs ' could have been *Picea* (the Spruce Fir) or *Abies* (the Silver Fir) since both genera were considered to be the same. Evelyn for example,

<sup>635</sup> The garden was improved by the second Ralph Freeman, from 1634-1665 and the third after that so may date from 1630s to 1680s. (Chauncey, p.249.)

<sup>636</sup> NRO PRA 727, unpaginated.



understood one to be male and the other female.<sup>637</sup> As far as can be seen in the painting, *Abies Alba* is most likely as the trees have a silvery appearance (Fig.5.3.18). These were relatively expensive, costing £2 10s for twenty, compared with £2 for thirty Cypresses.



Figure 5.3.18 Specimen trees, detail of Figure 5.3.2.

Sir Roger Pratt's interest in trees as focal points might have been encouraged by his experience in the Netherlands, particularly if he visited Cleves, where Johan Maurits (1604-1679), Stadholder from 1647, created artificial mountains surmounted by objects from nature or works of art intended as viewing points from which to see a vista as well as to be seen as focal points.<sup>638</sup> The Spitzberg was planted with two sets of seven firs surrounding a bigger tree in the centre (Fig.5.3.19). The gardens at Cleves soon became

<sup>637</sup> Maggie Campbell-Culver, *A Passion for Trees, the Legacy of John Evelyn* (London: Eden Project Books, 2006), p.152.

<sup>638</sup> Wilhelm Diedenhofen, "Belvedere," or the Principle of Seeing and Looking in the Gardens of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen at Cleves,' in *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, ed., John Dixon Hunt (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), pp.49-80, p.53.

famous, with a set of oil paintings of Cleves being recorded as hanging at Windsor palace by 1679.<sup>639</sup> The Spitzberg was one of the first areas to be developed so it is possible that Pratt visited, though his itinerary while abroad is not known.

There is no doubt that Pratt admired the ‘stately fir’ (a tree that Moses Cook felt was underrated)<sup>640</sup> enough to plant four in his ‘Greate Court.’

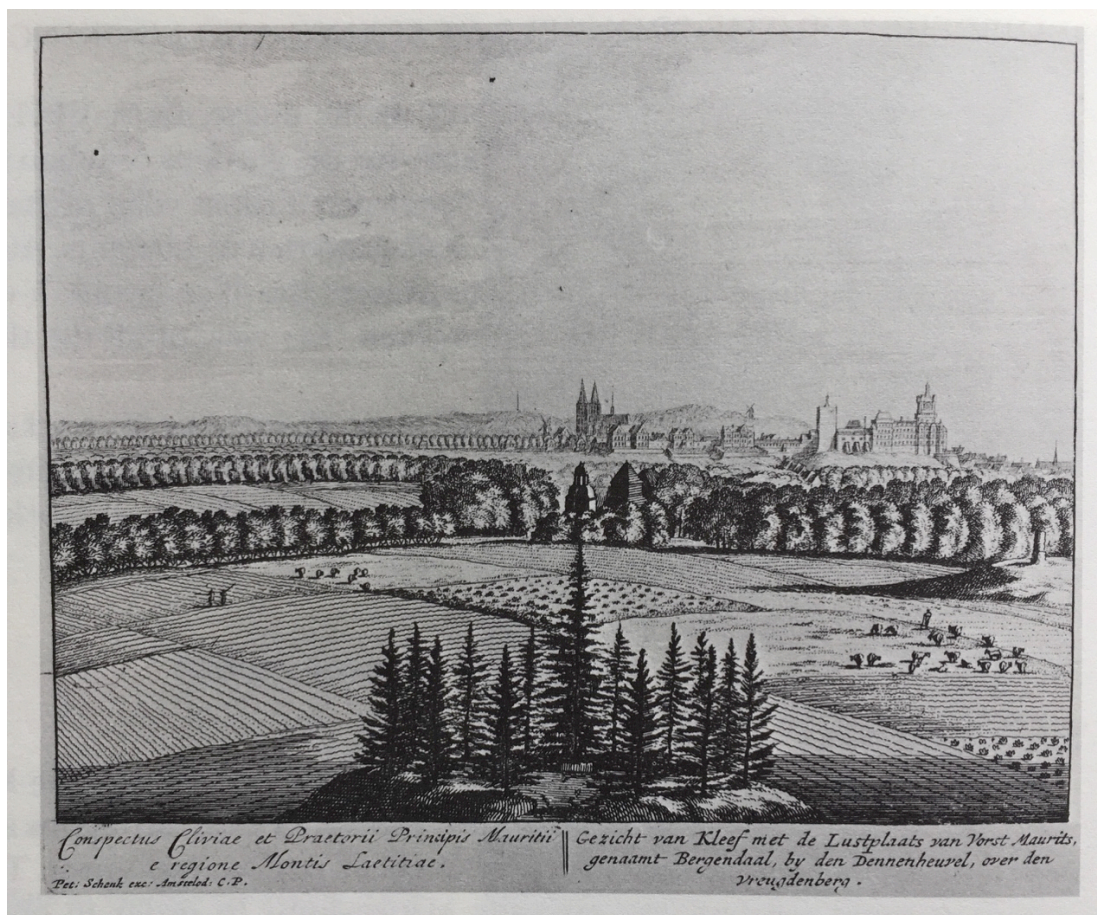


Figure 5.3.19 The Spitzberg, southeast of Cleves, P.Schenk engraving, c. 1680, from *The Dutch garden in the seventeenth century*, p. 52.

<sup>639</sup> Vanessa Remington, *Painting Paradise, the Art of the Garden* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2015), p.123.

<sup>640</sup> Moses Cook, *The Manner of Raising ... Forest and Fruit Trees*, p.114.

### 5.3.5.6 Trees, fruit and flowers

Sir Roger Pratt's notebooks contain at least eight lists of trees and plants, some of which are bills or receipts, while others are 'wish lists' or planting ideas for various walls.<sup>641</sup> It is well known that Leonard Gurle supplied a quantity of fruit and ornamental trees and flowering plants,<sup>642</sup> but supplies were also provided from two other sources: John Alcock<sup>643</sup> supplying fruit trees and John Reynolds<sup>644</sup> vegetable and flower seeds. These lists considered together suggest that this was mainly a productive garden, with fruit trees predominating, including 28 different varieties of apple tree, 20 varieties of pear, 10 of peach, five of quince, five nectarine, five grape, three bergamot, three apricot, one damson, one cherry and one white fig. Many of these were planted against the brick walls as is evidenced in the painting as well as the notes, though it is not possible to say which walls are referred to. Thus a considerable quantity of fruit must have been produced, though there is no information on yield in the notebooks. There is only one mention of an orchard, referring to the old orchard as 'ye before most formless orchard,' implying that it was renovated but no details are given.<sup>645</sup> Most likely there

---

<sup>641</sup> NRO PRA 740, Memorandum, December 6 1671, 'Garden,' f.13 r., also ff. 15-17.

<sup>642</sup> NRO PRA 727, Feb 22 1671, unpaginated.

<sup>643</sup> Ibid., May 27 1672.

<sup>644</sup> Ibid., Feb 22 1671. John Reynolds may have been the London seedsman whose inventory of 1673 is discussed in Malcolm Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England before the late Eighteenth Century - II, the Trade in Seeds to 1760,' *Agricultural History Review* vol. 38, no. II (1990), pp. 105-116.

<sup>645</sup> NRO PRA 726, unpaginated.



would have been an orchard to accommodate the large numbers of fruit trees, but its location is not known and it is not shown on the plans.

A large variety of vegetables were also cultivated. Pratt's memorandum of December 6 1671 lists 18 types of vegetable 'to be provided.' Mixed in among this random list are flowers such as 'Nasturtium ... Sweet brier, Woodbine, Pinks, Roses red, white and Damask.'<sup>646</sup> These also feature in 'Mr Alcocks noate to me concerning fruit trees' including '100 damask roses, Lavander sufficient, challots or ye best savory Onion seede, the best garden Pease or greate French beanes'<sup>647</sup> and so on. Later, a mixture of vegetable and flower seed is purchased from John Reynolds on February 22 1671, including: peas, gilliflower, French marigold, larkspur, onion, carrot, savory, lettuce, radish, spinach, 'colliflowre,' parsnips, at a total cost of 12s 1d.<sup>648</sup> (Fig.5.3.20)

---

<sup>646</sup> NRO PRA 740, Memorandum, December 6 1671, 'Garden,' f.13 r.

<sup>647</sup> NRO PRA 727, unpaginated.

<sup>648</sup> Ibid.

Bought of John Reynolds	
Feb 22 1671	
1/2 Rock sand	10
1/2 primrugs	01
1/2 Double Brink	02
1/2 Double Gilliflowre	01
1/2 Stock Gilliflowre	04
1/2 Apyrander	06
1/2 French marigold	06
1/2 French tartion	06
1/2 Double Larkspur	04
4 onions	08
2 carrots	06
1/2 pound saffron	03
1/2 pound mairiam	04
1/2 pound short turneps	02
1/2 Lettuce	02
1/2 Radish	02
1/2 Spinage	02
1/2 Red & white Beets	04
1/2 Turney Grass	02
1/2 Colliflowre	06
1/2 Asparagus	07
the box	07
	11
	07
	12

Figure 5.3.20 'Bought of John Reynolds' Feb 22 1671 NRO PRA 727 (photo: author).

Fruit, vegetables and flowering plants were considered together when planning and ordering. There is a relative lack of flowers and those that are mentioned are all traditional English varieties. John Rea dismisses the damask rose for example, as so well known 'that it needeth no further

description'<sup>649</sup> and similarly the nasturtium 'so well known I need not to be curious in describing it.'<sup>650</sup> There are no exotic or recently introduced flowers, no bulbs and no tender plants or fruit needing a greenhouse mentioned. Thus the plants suggest a relatively ordinary English productive garden.

Pratt may have been more interested in trees however, perhaps in part due to their commercial value. In his memorandum of January 20 1668, where he lists the tasks ahead, he includes 'New plantations of all sorts of trees to be made viz Oake, Ash, Elm, vide if not much with Alder.'<sup>651</sup> In a further memo of December 2 1671 he notes 'send for 100 Oakes, 30 Ashes, 20 Abeles [White Poplar], 8' high.'<sup>652</sup> Later, a list of trees planted 'this year' (probably 1672 since a later note is dated April 1672) includes: 428 Oakes, 170 Abells, 60 Holly, 180 Ashes, a total of 838 'this year planted trees, they cost £13 16s 6d.'<sup>653</sup>

The Leonard Gurle invoice includes a number of ornamental trees such as two 'Barbarye trees' [*Berberis*], six 'Lawerstinnies' [*Viburnum tinus*], 30 Cypress, 20 Spruce fir and 40 'best Dutch Limes',<sup>654</sup> which might have been used to line the walks or for the Paled Yard where a 'little wood' with fine

---

<sup>649</sup> John Rea, *Flora Seu de Florum Cultura*, Book I, 1676, p.26.

<sup>650</sup> Ibid., Book II, p.180.

<sup>651</sup> NRO PRA 738, unpaginated.

<sup>652</sup> NRO PRA 740, f.63 v.

<sup>653</sup> NRO PRA 741, f. 23, r.

<sup>654</sup> NRO PRA 727, February 22 1671, unpaginated

walks was planted on an old gravel pit, clearly a more ornamental wooded area.<sup>655</sup> (Fig.5.3.21)

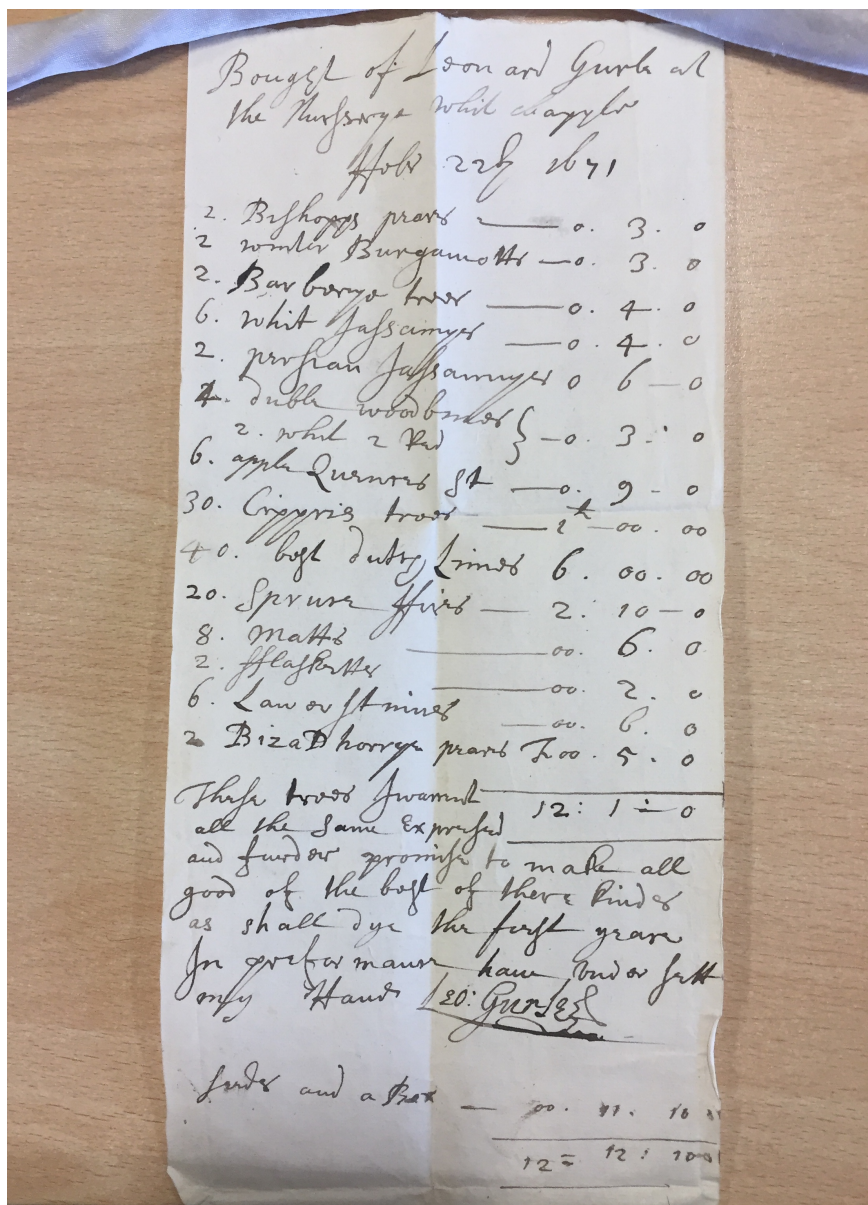


Figure 5.3.21 'Bought of Leonard Gurl at the nursery Whitechapel' Feb 22 1671 NRO PRA 726 (photo: author).

<sup>655</sup> NRO PRA 726, unpaginated.

### 5.3.5 Conclusion

The overall impression of the garden at Ryston Hall is that it was primarily conceived as a productive part of the estate. This is particularly suggested by what is known of the planting. As Simona Valeriana suggests, Pratt was probably not interested in gardening 'as a design activity or as a polite occupation related to flowers and aesthetics.'<sup>656</sup> This is confirmed by the lack of flowers in the garden and the relative lack of herbals or books on gardens or flowers in his library. So it seems that horticulture was not particularly of interest although productivity was, especially when considering the whole estate, as is suggested by the notebooks, which contain many pages devoted to lists of crops and livestock. Thus the garden was seen as a largely utilitarian part of the whole estate.

The garden plan complies with English practice at this time as discussed in section 4.3, being a series of square or rectangular walled enclosures. In this it is similar to Pratt's earlier houses at Coleshill and Horseheath, whose gardens consisted of regular, walled enclosures.<sup>657</sup> The use of brick walls as advocated in the English garden literature, is another feature that makes the garden seem part of an English tradition. The extensive use of these walls to bear fruit is clear from the evidence of the painting, resulting in an integration of fruit, vegetable and flower growing, another English feature.

---

<sup>656</sup> Valeriani, 'Lovers, Gentlemen and Farmers,' pp. 584-610.

<sup>657</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.64 on Horseheath; Jeffery, 'Gardens and courtyards,' p. 124; Paul Pattison, David Field and Stewart Ainsworth, eds., *Patterns of the Past: Essays in Landscape Archaeology for Christopher Taylor* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1999), pp. 107-114.

On the other hand, Pratt's interest in design and planning is shown in his determination to make an integrated plan to include the house, outbuildings and gardens. The resulting axial design demonstrates an interest in symmetry and regularity despite the fact that from the notebooks it is known that there were additional parts of the garden, such as the additional kitchen garden and an orchard, which are not seen in the painting. While the painting shows some regularity, the reality may have been more haphazard, since like many other landowners, Pratt had to adapt to the existing lands and buildings that he had inherited and therefore had to incorporate earlier parts of the garden. These may not have been shown on the painting since Pratt would have been eager to show the more impressive and innovative aspects of his house and garden.

Some aspects of the garden are more innovatory and probably result from Pratt's continental experience. There is clearly an interest in the view from the garden to the surrounding countryside. This is apparent in Pratt's notes on building as well as the features of his garden. The steps up to the house front door, the transparent gates placed on a north - south axis and possibly the turret, were intended to enable a view over the walls. This is not something advocated in the English garden literature although it was an idea that was gradually becoming adopted, as is shown by the increasing use of avenues, which Pratt also introduced at Ryston, although he describes them as walks.

Making use of specimen conifers in the design of the forecourt is also innovatory, although the idea that this could have been inspired by something experienced in the Netherlands is conjectural, as is the suggestion that the



trelliswork seat or summerhouse could also have been seen in the Netherlands. There is also an interest in ornamental woodland, apparent in the notes though not in the painting, which probably derived from Pratt's continental experience.

Apart from these features however, there is little to suggest that this is a continentally inspired garden. There are no elaborate *parterres*. Where the turf is cut into beds, these are geometric and straight-sided (although the 1715 plan suggests some curves may have been introduced later). The grass plats in the forecourt are surrounded by wide gravel walks as advocated in English garden writing. There are no garden ornaments such as urns, flowerpots, statuary, fountains, or waterworks.

Pratt certainly believed that continental models and a continental education were a necessary part of an architect's training and famously advocated that a prospective house builder should find an architect who had travelled abroad and seen buildings in *situ*, not simply in engravings.<sup>658</sup> However, he may not have applied this belief to garden design and in his own garden there is little evidence of continental inspiration.

This is a modest, largely utilitarian garden of geometric design, which complements the house in being rather unassuming though carefully designed.

---

<sup>658</sup> Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667*, p.144.

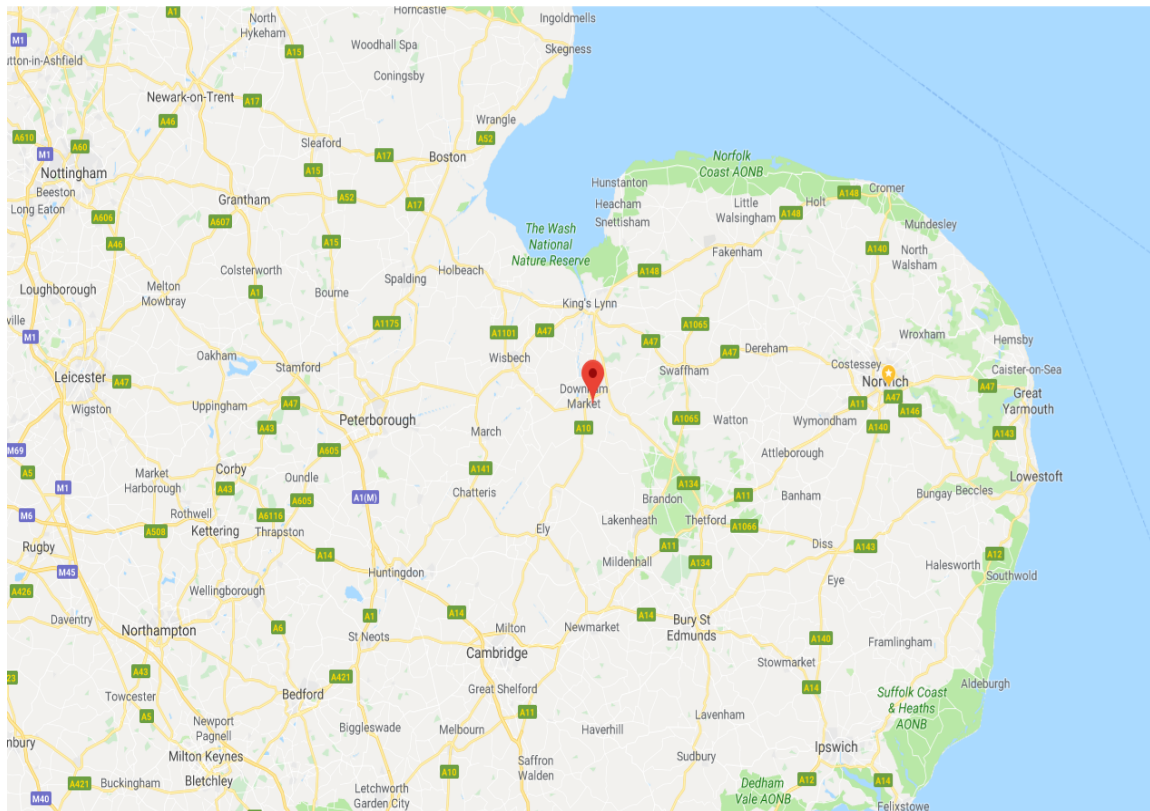


Figure 5.3.22 Ryston location, Google Maps.

## 5.4 Althorp, Northamptonshire

Althorp was developed by the earl of Sunderland from 1666 to 1697, a well-travelled courtier who could be expected to create a continentally inspired house and garden. Althorp is a relatively well documented site, with archive material kept at the British Library and sufficient visual evidence to support this.

### 5.4.1 Location

Althorp is a Historic England grade II\* listed park and garden currently of 250 hectares,<sup>659</sup> surrounding a grade I listed country house,<sup>660</sup> located in the parish of Brington, about six kilometres northwest of Northampton, in the midst of fertile Midlands sheep pasture, a source of prosperity since the sixteenth century.

---

<sup>659</sup> Historic England listed park and garden, entry number 1001023. National Grid Reference SP6801165024.

<sup>660</sup> Historic England listed building, entry number 1356626.

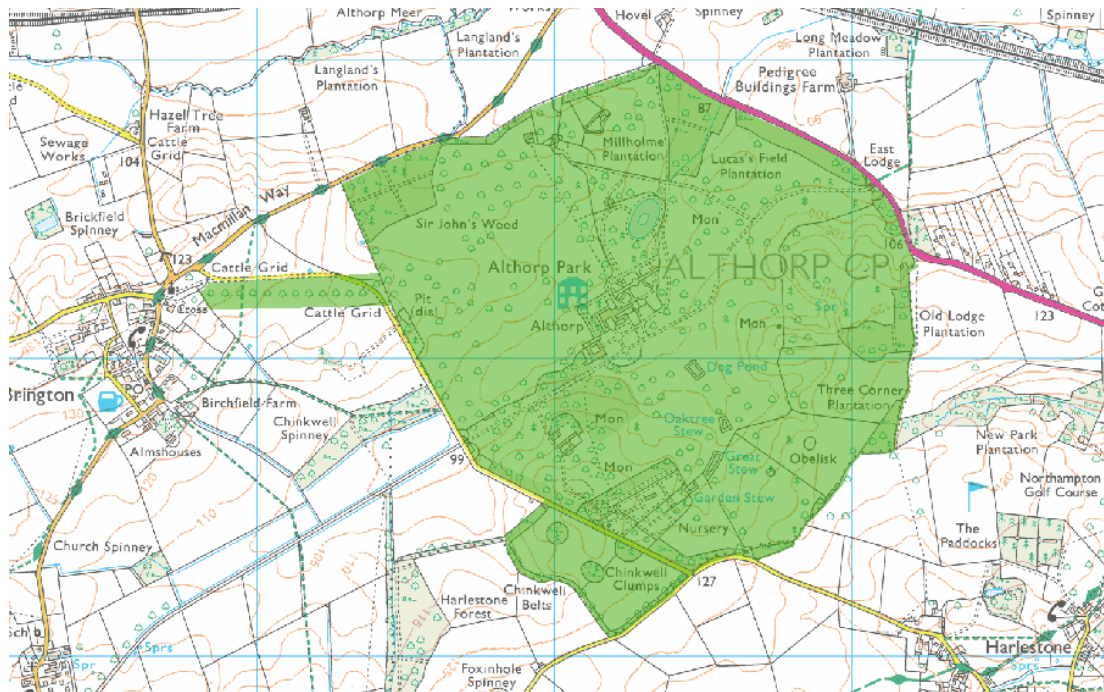


Figure 5.4.1 Althorp park and garden, Historic England.

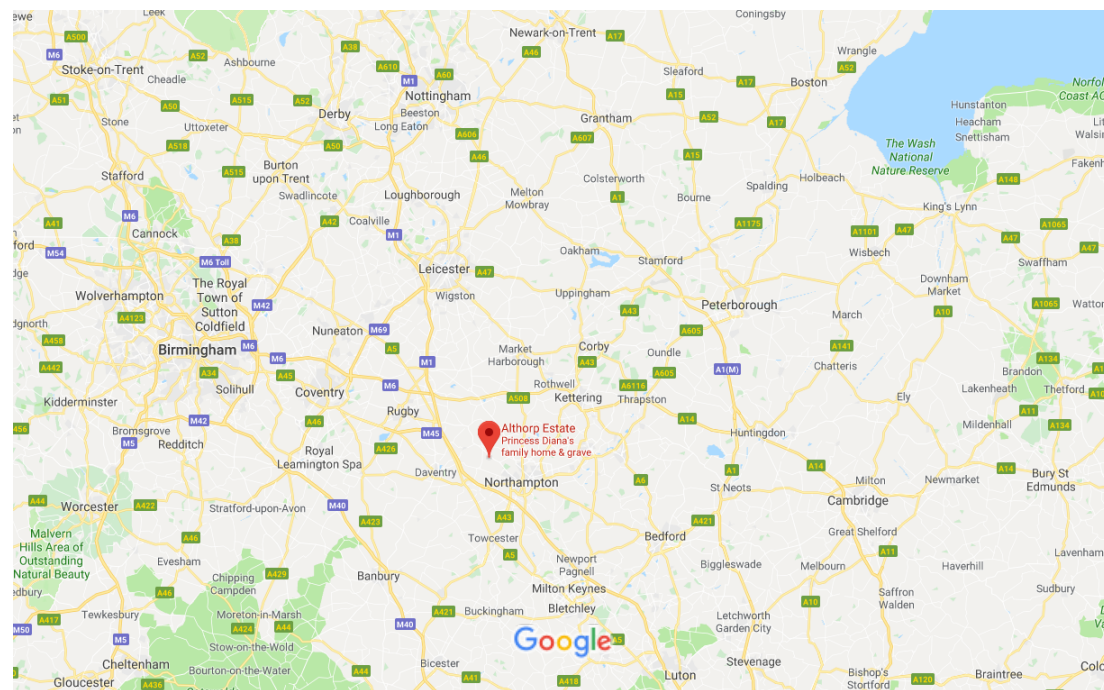


Figure 5.4.2 Althorp estate, Google maps.

#### 5.4.2 Sources of Information

Althorp is known as a seventeenth century landscape owned by the Spencer family, earls of Sunderland from 1643, leading aristocrats in the service of the monarchy. A considerable amount of documentary evidence of Althorp has survived from the seventeenth century, now kept at the British Library, Althorp and Blenheim papers. However, much of this is correspondence relating to diplomatic and state affairs in various languages, which yields little of relevance to the history of the gardens. There are also, more usefully, several volumes of accounts and miscellanea that partially document the improvements to the house and gardens which took place from the 1660s and also those which dismantled the seventeenth century landscape in the 1790s.

A Knyff and Kip engraving from *Britannia Illustrata* of c. 1700 constitutes a main source of evidence of the second earl of Sunderland's improvements to the house and gardens in the 1660s<sup>661</sup> (Fig.5.4.3). This is complemented by an oil painting of c. 1675 attributed to Johannes Vosterman, now kept at Althorp (Fig.5.4.4), which is most likely to have been the painting seen by John Evelyn on 22 January 1678, displayed at the earl's London house (henceforward referred to as the Vosterman painting).<sup>662</sup> Further useful illustrations of Althorp include a watercolour wash drawing of 11 August 1721,

---

<sup>661</sup> Knyff and Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, plate 27.

<sup>662</sup> Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, p. 67.

by Peter Tillemans<sup>663</sup> (Fig.5.4.5) and an engraving illustrating Lorenzo Magalotti's *Travels of Cosmo the third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England during the reign of Charles II*, published in 1821 (Fig.5.4.8).<sup>664</sup> Magalotti's description of his visit in 1669, gives some information on the gardens and the house, which complements Evelyn's descriptions in his diary of his two visits in 1675 and 1688.<sup>665</sup> There are also some references to Althorp in Evelyn's letters since he was a regular correspondent of the second earl of Sunderland's wife, Anne, countess of Sunderland.

Althorp was thoroughly described by *Country Life* in several articles during the twentieth century<sup>666</sup> and by H Avray Tipping in *English Homes*, 1926, which describes and photographs the house, analysing its history with the help of the then Earl Spencer's work on documents kept at the house.<sup>667</sup>

---

<sup>663</sup> BL Add. MSS 32467 fol 4. Thanks to David Jacques for this attribution, in Bruce Bailey, *Northamptonshire in the Early Eighteenth Century* (1966), p.4.

<sup>664</sup> Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England during the Reign of Charles II ... and 39 views of the Metropolis, Cities, Towns and Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats as Delineated at that period by Artists in the Suite of Cosmo* (London: J. Mawman, 1821) pp.249-251.

<sup>665</sup> Detailed below.

<sup>666</sup> *Country Life* articles: Anon., 'Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire I' (11 June 1921), vol. 49, pp.714-721; 'Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire II' (18 June 1921), vol. 49, pp. 764-771; 'Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire III' (25 June 1921), vol. 49, pp. 792-797; 'Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire IV' (2 July 1921), vol. 50, pp. 14-20; H Avray Tipping, 'Furniture at Althorp, Northamptonshire I' (11 June 1921), vol. 49, pp. 721-723 and 'Furniture at Althorp, Northamptonshire II' (18 June 1921), vol. 49, pp. 771-773; E K Waterhouse, '17<sup>th</sup> Century Pictures at Althorp' (19 March 1938), vol. 83, pp. 293-296; Christopher Hussey, 'Historic Homes Revisited: Althorp, Northamptonshire' (19 May 1960), vol. 127, pp. 1122-1125 and (26 May 1960), pp.1186-1189 (refers to articles thirty years earlier by Lord Spencer ie the 'anon.' unauthored articles); Dorothy Stroud, 'Amid Stately Woods and Groves, Althorp, Northamptonshire in its Setting' (30 July 1981), vol. 170, pp. 375-378.

<sup>667</sup> H Avray Tipping, *English Homes Period VI vol I, Late Georgian 1760-1820* (London: Country Life, (1926), pp.299-320.



More recently, the most useful discussion of the seventeenth-century gardens is an article in *Garden History* by Alan Fletcher investigating the possibility that an early ha-ha can be seen in the Knyff and Kip illustration of Althorp<sup>668</sup> (Fig.5.4.3). This includes an examination of available sources.



Figure 5.4.3 Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, Althorp, *Britannia Illustrata*, 1707, plate 27.

An interesting interpretation of Althorp is found in Timothy Mowl and Clare Hickman's *The historic gardens of England: Northamptonshire*, in which Althorp is considered to dispel the myth that gardens of the period 1660-1720

<sup>668</sup> Alan Fletcher, 'An Early Ha-Ha?' *Garden History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Autumn 1991), pp. 146-154.

‘were expressions of power and status and were full of flowers.’<sup>669</sup> How far this is a currently believed myth, and if so, which part of the given period it refers to, is questionable, but these comments indicate that Althorp is a worthwhile landscape to investigate in assessing the extent of continental influence, in order to seek to explain the character of the gardens, which seems more restrained than might be expected, as Mowl and Hickman are suggesting.

Several references to Althorp are made in David Jacques *Gardens of Court and Country* which identify the main features and note Althorp as a planned layout ‘rationally planned as a set of squares’ with no *parterres* but with an ornamental fruit garden and an orangery.<sup>670</sup> Thus Althorp is established as a forward looking landscape, containing at least some of the features associated with continental gardens.

---

<sup>669</sup> Timothy Mowl and Clare Hickman, *The Historic Gardens of England: Northamptonshire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), pp. 65-66.

<sup>670</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.37.



Figure 5.4.4 Johannes Vosterman (attrib.) *Althorp* oil on canvas c.1675.<sup>671</sup>

<sup>671</sup> [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Althorp\\_in\\_1677\\_by\\_John\\_Vosterman.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Althorp_in_1677_by_John_Vosterman.jpg)



Figure 5.4.5 Peter Tillemans, *Althorp* 11 August 1721, watercolour wash drawing, BL Add. MSS 32467 fol. 4.

### 5.4.3 Historical context and development

When Robert Spencer, the second Earl of Sunderland (1641-1702) inherited Althorp in 1643 it had been in the possession of the Spencer family since 1508, when John Spencer purchased the land, in 1512 acquiring licences to crenellate and to empark about 180 hectares.<sup>672</sup> By 1603 the house and family were of sufficient standing to be able to entertain Queen Elizabeth I and were reputed to be the wealthiest in the country.<sup>673</sup> This wealth was acquired through sheep farming, due to high quality pasture, low labour costs and

<sup>672</sup> Historic England, *Althorp Park and Gardens* list entry 1001023, 2000.

<sup>673</sup> *Ibid.*



successful sheep breeding.<sup>674</sup> By the middle of the seventeenth century however, a depression in the wool trade led the Spencers to turn from farming to leasing the land so that an increasing proportion of the estate income came from rents.<sup>675</sup> The second earl was therefore not as wealthy as his forebears and his impecunious state was compounded by gambling and profligate spending on rebuilding, embellishing the house and lavish entertaining,<sup>676</sup> which may have had some constraining effect on the designed landscape. He was not a conscientious estate manager and laments this in a letter of 1694, saying that one of his manors then let for less than half the rent received fifty years earlier.<sup>677</sup>

He inherited the estate at the age of two when his father, the first earl of Sunderland, a reluctant royalist, was killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643, so that the estate was managed by his mother Dorothy Spencer, née Sydney, daughter of the Earl of Leicester, until his coming of age in 1662.<sup>678</sup> Her parliamentary brothers enabled the release of the sequestered Spencer lands without massive fines in 1651, at which point the family returned to live at Althorp having spent most of the time since 1643 living at Penshurst, her

---

<sup>674</sup> M.E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families* (Northamptonshire Records Office, OUP, 1956), pp.38-65.

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>676</sup> W.A. Speck, *Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Online edition, Jan 2008. Accessed 1 January 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26135>.

<sup>677</sup> Letter to the Duke of Newcastle quoted in J.P. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland 1641-1702* (London: Longmans, 1958), p.11.

<sup>678</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

Sydney family home.<sup>679</sup> As a staunch Anglican, Dorothy ensured that Robert Spencer was privately educated by an Anglican priest ejected from Oxford University during the Interregnum.<sup>680</sup> This seems to have been unsuccessful since Spencer in his adult career, changed his religion according to need, becoming Catholic after 1685 for James II and reverting to Protestantism for William III, causing great consternation to his mother, his wife and to John Evelyn and presumably prompting Roy Strong's denouncement that he was 'unprincipled even by the standards of the age.'<sup>681</sup>

More successful was his cultural education, which took place on the continent. From 1658 to 1665 the young earl flitted between France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy and England with remarkable ease.<sup>682</sup> Although it is not known exactly where he went, it is likely that he began to collect the works of art that eventually constituted a considerable collection, housed in an updated Elizabethan long gallery at Althorp.<sup>683</sup> He sat for his portrait in Rome as an antique Roman in toga and sandals, painted by Carlo Maratti (1625-1713), an

---

<sup>679</sup> Ibid., p.1.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>681</sup> Roy Strong, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Everyman, 2006), glossary p. 984.

<sup>682</sup> Speck, *Robert Spencer* and Kenyon, *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland*, pp.5-6.

He was on the continent from 1658 to 1660, in France with William Penn in 1661 but in House of Lords May 1661, back in Althorp 1663, then back on continent from July 1663 (December in Madrid, then France, Switzerland and Italy) until April 1665.

<sup>683</sup> Charles Spencer, *Althorp, The Story of an English House* (London: Viking, 1998), p.46.



early example of what became known as the 'Grand Tour Portrait', which still survives at Althorp<sup>684</sup> (Fig.5.4.6).

Further exposure to continental taste must have occurred during his several ambassadorial posts from 1670: as envoy to France after the Treaty of Dover, then in Madrid in 1671 and in France as ambassador in 1672-1673<sup>685</sup> and later as envoy in France in 1677 and 1678.<sup>686</sup> While in France, Helen Jacobson notes that Sunderland, 'a noted connoisseur ... collected art avidly and was in direct contact with the art market in Paris, bringing back several paintings on his return.'<sup>687</sup> In Madrid, the earl of Sunderland took over Baron de Batteville's house, which, as he wrote to Lord Arlington, had 'a very fine Garden full of Orange Trees and Fountains.'<sup>688</sup> Clearly he appreciated the garden and perhaps this is where he developed a taste for orange trees.

---

<sup>684</sup> Kenyon *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland 1641-1702*, p.6; Edgar Peters Bourdon and Peter Bjorn Kerber, *Pompeo Battoni Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.51.

<sup>685</sup> Kenyon, *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland*, p.11 and Speck, *Robert Spencer*.

<sup>686</sup> Speck, *Robert Spencer*.

<sup>687</sup> Helen Jacobson, *Luxury and Power, the Material World of the Stuart Diplomat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.76. (TNA PRO/32/50 fo.55).

<sup>688</sup> Ibid. Quoted p.41 (from *Hispania Illustrata* 3 Feb 1672 (London: 1703) p.142).



Figure 5.4.6 Carlo Maratta, *Robert Earl of Sunderland*, c.1664, from *Charles Spencer, Althorp* p.44.

On Spencer's return from his intermittent 'grand tour' in 1665, he married Lady Anne Digby (1645-1715), a cultured and highly educated daughter of the earl of Bristol who became a great friend and correspondent of John Evelyn.<sup>689</sup>

The remodelling of the existing house and gardens at Althorp began soon after. The 'first payment concerning the building' of £100 was paid to 'Mr Ellis by my lord's order in full' on 18 February 1665/6 and on the 28<sup>th</sup> 10s was

---

<sup>689</sup> The letterbooks of John Evelyn contain c.40 letters from Anne Spencer covering a wide range of subjects including family condolences, commiseration on Sunderland's conversion, advice on children's upbringing etc.

'given to the workmen for the lading of the first stone.'<sup>690</sup> Further accounts, bills and receipts give some idea of the progress of the work. On 6 October 1666 a letter from John Downes, the bricklayer explained the difficulty of getting workmen prepared to come from London and asked for 'lyme' and sand to be made ready as he had managed to arrange men.<sup>691</sup> He had received £20 on 13 September 'towards the foundations of the walls'<sup>692</sup> and then received £50 for rubbing of bricks and for 19 and a half rods of the foundation of the garden walls and for a further 15 rods of the brick wall on 11 November 1666.<sup>693</sup>

The accounts list further payments in 1667: on 27 April £4 7s 9d was paid for 'work done about the foundations' to the brick layer, John Downes;<sup>694</sup> 30 July Downes received £55 'for the brick work of the gardin wall'<sup>695</sup> and £60 'in part for work doun towards the Brike wall' on 24 August.<sup>696</sup> The brick maker was paid for bricks 'that are remaining in the park', £80 on 7 November<sup>697</sup> and for the 'first 1000 of bricks besides those that are remaining in his lordship's parke.'<sup>698</sup>

---

<sup>690</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.139 also noted in Fletcher, 'An Early Ha-Ha?'

<sup>691</sup> BL Add. MSS 61490 fol. 210.

<sup>692</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.146.

<sup>693</sup> BL Add. MSS 61490 fol.189.

<sup>694</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.150.

<sup>695</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.151.

<sup>696</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.152.

<sup>697</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.154.

<sup>698</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.153.

The bricklayer's and the brickmaker's bills are also found in the records. The bricklayer's bill on 5 October was for £301 9s 4d, for 204 rods,<sup>699</sup> while the brickmaker on 7 October submitted a bill for £629 4s for 968 thousands of bricks for garden walls at 13d a thousand.<sup>700</sup> The records are not complete enough to show that these bills were fully paid.

In 1669 there are payments to glaziers and ironworkers, suggesting that the work on the house was nearing completion. The accounts also suggest that some of Sunderland's employees were of continental origin, such as the housekeeper, Mrs Corbeau and the person who was the main steward, who received rents and paid accounts, Mr Deschavaux.

There are three payments to Mr Ellis, the first, mentioned above, as the first payment for the building in 1665/6, the second on 1 May 1666 '£100 more about the building £200' and the third 21 August 1666 also for £100 and described as the fourth payment.<sup>701</sup> Pevsner states that Anthony Ellis (1620-1671), an apprentice of Nicholas Stone (1586-1647) the master mason for James I and Charles I, was responsible for the building of Althorp.<sup>702</sup> This is

---

<sup>699</sup> BL Add. MSS 61490 fol.192 also noted in Fletcher, 'An Early Ha-Ha?'

<sup>700</sup> BL Add. MSS 61490 fol.191 also noted in Fletcher, 'An Early Ha-Ha?'

<sup>701</sup> BL Add. MSS 61489 fol.142.

<sup>702</sup> Bruce Bailey, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 79. He does say 'in the Blenheim archives', so this could be the documents already cited.

confirmed by Colvin, citing the above document references.<sup>703</sup> Stone is associated with two Spencer monuments in the estate church, at Great Brington, of 1638, which are noted in his account book of 1631-1642,<sup>704</sup> so perhaps his apprentice was asked back twenty years later although he would not have been known to the earl. Colvin suggests that Ellis worked to his own designs. Magalotti however, having admired the layout of the principal rooms, states that the earl of Sunderland obtained a design from Italy and concludes that 'it may be said to be the best planned and best arranged country seat in the kingdom; for though there may be many which surpass it in size, none are superior to it in symmetrical elegance.'<sup>705</sup> He was however, much less complimentary about the gardens as will be discussed below.

The house was probably complete by the time of Magalotti's visit in 1669, which is also suggested by the documents since there are no further payments after 1669 relevant to house or garden building. The accounts show that the house and gardens were being built concurrently, but there are no references to other landscape features apart from the garden walls and the 'motte'. The use of workmen from London and the probable employment of Anthony Ellis suggest an aspiration to build something sophisticated and fashionable, which is confirmed in the design of the house, but there is no

---

<sup>703</sup> Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects 1600-1840*, p.352. Colvin adds that Ellis received at least £2800 (Blenheim Palace Muniments, Box XVI/56).

<sup>704</sup> Walter Lewis Spiers, *The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone* The Walpole Society, vol 7, ed., A. J. Finberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919), p. 75 and p. 142 (ref to son John Stone's monument of 1656).

<sup>705</sup> Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third*, p.250.

evidence that any of the named workmen were employed by the Office of Works and the role of Anthony Ellis is unclear apart from the fact that he was paid large amounts 'for the building.'

The completed house and gardens were used for lavish entertainment no doubt helping Sunderland's political career to progress, at first promoted by Lord Arlington and after Arlington's fall, by close attachment to Charles II's French mistress, Louise de Keroualle, so that by 1679 Sunderland was appointed Secretary of State.<sup>706</sup> This brought him into contact with William Temple, during the exclusion crisis prompted by fear of the catholic James II's succession. Sunderland remained as Secretary of State with one interruption, until Charles II's death in 1685 and then managed to become principal adviser to both James II and William III, despite some hiccups along the way. Consequently he is generally considered to have been a consummate and ruthless politician with a formidable intellect, but opportunist and unprincipled.

Further changes were made to the house most significantly by Henry Holland in 1787-1790, when the exterior pilasters were removed and the building was clad in mathematical tiles made to look like white brick,<sup>707</sup> making it far more austere than the second earl's house would have been. Nevertheless, the overall plan is largely intact and the main features of the seventeenth century

---

<sup>706</sup> Speck, *Robert Spencer*, this paragraph.

<sup>707</sup> Bruce Bailey, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *Northamptonshire*, p.80.



(the staircase, modified long gallery and the chapel) remain.<sup>708</sup> At the same time, under Henry Holland, the moat was filled in and changes were made to the formal garden in keeping with prevailing fashion.<sup>709</sup>

#### 5.4.3 Conjectural description of the site layout in the period and its stylistic character

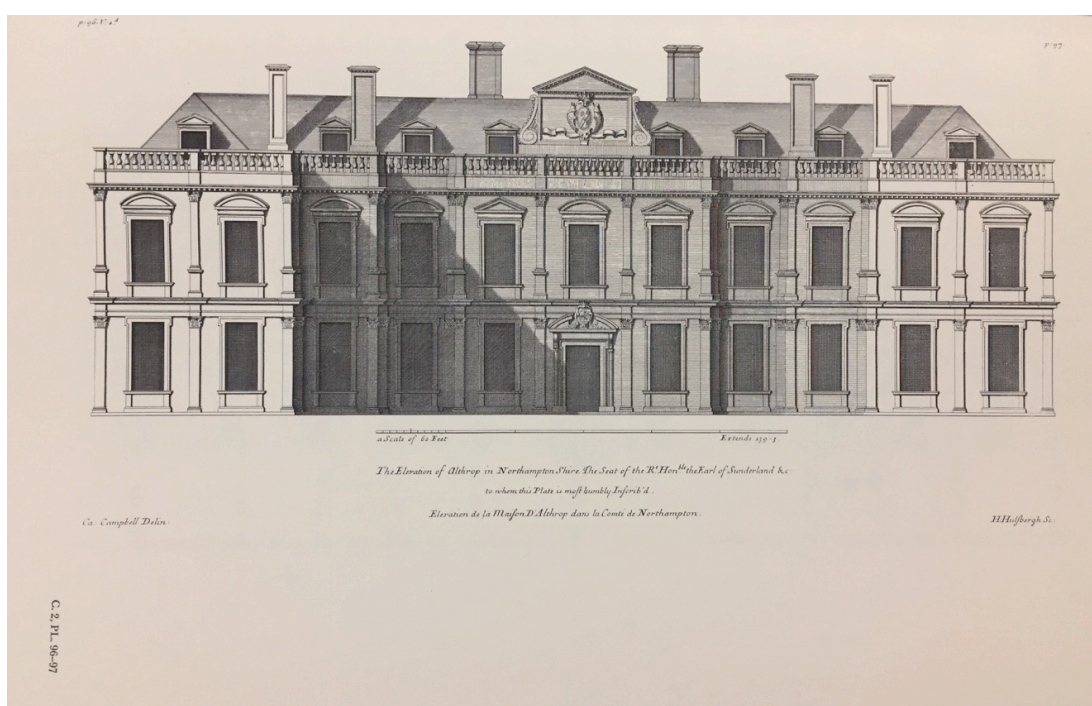


Figure 5.4.7 Colen Campbell, 'Elevation of Althorp', *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1717, 2, plate 97.

<sup>708</sup> Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire. *Design and Plan in the Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 247.

<sup>709</sup> Documented in BL Add. MSS 77972.

The house as remodelled, as shown in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Fig.5.4.7), was large and impressive without being ostentatious and despite being a reworking of an earlier house. The courtyard of the Tudor house was covered to form a grand hall containing a staircase 'of a unique monumentality for its date in England ... one of the grandest and most classical.'<sup>710</sup> Magalotti was most impressed, describing it as 'constructed with great magnificence.'<sup>711</sup>

The house in its designed setting is shown in the Knyff and Kip engraving, probably executed in c.1697, when the earl of Sunderland held the office of Lord Chamberlain (19 April – 26 December) as noted on the engraving. While he may have made additions and adjustments to the garden after his initial building campaign, he is unlikely to have made major changes due to a constant lack of funds, so that the Knyff and Kip can be taken as a reliable indication of the gardens in the 1660s and 1670s. One interesting discrepancy however, is that the Elizabethan gatehouse is not shown. Instead a more 'classical' building is shown to the bottom left, where the gatehouse would have been and where in 1733 a Palladian stable block was built.<sup>712</sup> The old gatehouse is shown on the 1721 sketch (Fig.5.4.5), as a more amorphous Tudor building with multiple chimneys, not at all in keeping with the second earl of Sunderland's rational plan and therefore omitted. It is also shown on

---

<sup>710</sup> Bruce Bailey, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *Northamptonshire*, p.80 and 40.

<sup>711</sup> Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third*, p.250.

<sup>712</sup> Bruce Bailey, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *Northamptonshire* p.82.

the illustration accompanying Magalotti's *Travels*, published in 1821, though said to have been 'delineated' in 1669 by artists in the train of Cosimo dei Medici (Fig.5.4.8).<sup>713</sup> Evelyn mentions it in 1675: 'an old, yet honorable Gate house standing a wry, & out housing mean, but designed to be taken away.'<sup>714</sup> If the gatehouse was intended to be removed as well as the outhouse, this would explain its omission from the Knyff and Kip engraving, though it was not actually removed until 1733.



Figure 5.4.8 'Althorpe' from Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England during the reign of Charles II* (London: J. Mawman, 1821).

<sup>713</sup> The original manuscript is kept at the State Archives, Florence and contains some drawings by Magalotti, but the artist of 'Althorpe' is unknown. See also note 58.

<sup>714</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 14 July 1675, p. 552.

Magalotti praised the symmetry and construction of the house but was not impressed by the gardens:

except some ingenious divisions, parterres, and well-arranged rows of trees, there is little to be seen that is rare or curious; as it is not laid out and diversified with those shady walks, canopied with verdure, which add to the pleasantness of the gardens of Italy or France, but of which the nature and usage of this country would not admit.<sup>715</sup>

This is an interesting comment since Magalotti is quite clear that Althorp doesn't have those features that he finds pleasant in an Italian or French garden, lacking 'shady walks.' He excuses this failing as being due to 'nature and usage' in England, seemingly accepting a national difference caused by nature (probably meaning climate) and practice.

He also mentions *parterres*, which are illustrated, yet there are none in Knyff and Kip, nor in the Vosterman painting (Fig.5.4.4). The drawing of the gardens seems sketchy, with strange breaks in the walls that are unlikely, and the whole area of the kitchen garden appears not to have been built at this time. There is no large forecourt, as in the Knyff and Kip and in the Vosterman painting. Instead there is a small chicken coup-like building (which could be Evelyn's outhouse) and a stretch of fencing. These are not the kind of feature an artist would choose to add. The delineation of the building is careful,

---

<sup>715</sup> Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third*, p.249.

showing variations in the balustrading and the pilasters. This illustration was not commissioned by the earl so it might actually be more accurate. The other two representations present something more consistent and plausible, more planned but perhaps more aspiration than reality.

The Magalotti drawing is the earliest, suggesting that the gardens were not complete at this time, in 1669. It must also have been taken from sketches done quite quickly as the party were only there for one day, so that the details of what was in the walled enclosures may have been added from memory, or Magalotti's description, or the artist's expectation.<sup>716</sup> John Evelyn's visits in 1675 and 1688 show his appreciation. In 1675:

tis placed in a pretty open bottome, very finely watred and flanked with stately woods and groves in a Parke with a *Canale*, yet the water is not running, which is a defect: The house a kind of modern building of Free stone ... It was moated round after the old manner, but it is now dry & turf'd with a sweete Carpet; above all are admirable and magnificent the several ample Gardens furnish'd with the choicest fruit in England, & exquisitely kept: Great plenty of *Oranges*, and other Curiosities: The Parke full of Fowle & especialy Hernes [herons], & from it a prospect of *Holmby*

---

<sup>716</sup> Mawman's engravings were taken from the original drawings but greatly cropped and reduced. A facsimile copy of the original, *Viaggio di Cosmo 3 in Inghilterra 1669*, dated 1890 (BL MS 33767B) and a photograph of the original, in Anna Maria Crinò, *Un principe di Toscana in Inghilterra e in Irlanda nel 1669. Relazione Ufficiale del Viaggio di Cosimo de' Medici tratta dal Giornale di L. Magalotti, con gli Acquerelli Palatini*, Rome, 1968 (Figure 14), shows that the fence on the left extended further, following the line curving to the right, which would eventually be planted as an approach avenue as shown in the Knyff and Kip engraving.

[Holdenby] house, which being demolished in the late Civil Warre, shews like a Roman ruine shaded by the trees about it, one of the most pleasing sights that ever I saw, of state & solemne.<sup>717</sup>

Evelyn therefore admires the setting and describes the garden as ‘admirable’, ‘magnificent’ and ‘ample,’ ‘furnished with the choicest fruit.’ This seems to corroborate the Knyff and Kip engraving which indicates the key design features discussed below.

#### 5.4.5 Identification of key design features

##### 5.4.5.1 A planned layout

David Jacques identifies Althorp as an example of a planned layout, ‘rationally planned as a set of squares,’<sup>718</sup> noting that the forecourt covers an area the same size as the house within its moat, with the walled gardens making a double square alongside.<sup>719</sup> He quotes Magalotti’s admiration of its ‘symmetrical elegance.’ However, as suggested above, the forecourt and the kitchen garden were not yet completed when Magalotti visited and his comment on symmetry refers to the arrangement of the house rather than the house and grounds, coming as it does, within his description of the interior.

---

<sup>717</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 14 July 1675, p. 552.

<sup>718</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.37

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.



Nevertheless, the Knyff and Kip engraving does give the appearance of a rational and carefully planned layout, so that this may have been what Sunderland intended to achieve in the 1660s and probably had largely succeeded in completing by the time of the Vosterman painting of c. 1675. Indeed Knyff and Kip's engraving portrays something similar to the French and Dutch landscapes in its geometry and proportion and the inclusion of the moat is quite in keeping with this.

The area of park grassland defined by a double avenue at the rear of the house to the north, was perhaps also intended to be an ornamental area, though not realised. It would have made the overall plan more extensive and impressive in scale and would have developed an axial composition characteristic of French garden design. It might also explain why the walled gardens alongside the forecourt and the house were kept for utilitarian purposes, if this undeveloped area were intended for ornamental *parterres* and *bosquets*, but this idea is conjectural since there is no evidence of the earl's intentions.

#### 5.4.5.2 The moat

The moat is most likely to have been an earlier feature that was kept and probably straightened. There is one mention in the documents of work done by masons in the 'motte' but no detail: 4 September 1666, £20 'to the masons

that work in the motte.<sup>720</sup> Evelyn is quite clear that it was turfed in 1675 with 'a sweet carpet.' Alan Fletcher points out that it would be difficult to tend the espaliered trees on the walls of the moat if it held water.<sup>721</sup> The Vosterman painting in fact shows quite clearly a path or platform at the base of the walls that would have made this possible, but nevertheless Evelyn's comment is probably conclusive. Magalotti states that the intention was for water, describing the bridge to the house, 'under which is to have water, which will collect in great abundance from the springs that issue from the surrounding hills.'<sup>722</sup> The Knyff and Kip engraving differentiates between grass and water and certainly suggests water in the moat so perhaps water was returned to the moat by this date (Fig.5.4.9). A moat containing water would seem more appropriate and give a more continental feel to the design.

---

<sup>720</sup> BL Add MS 61489, fol.142.

<sup>721</sup> Fletcher, 'An Early Ha-Ha?' p.147.

<sup>722</sup> Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third*, p.249.

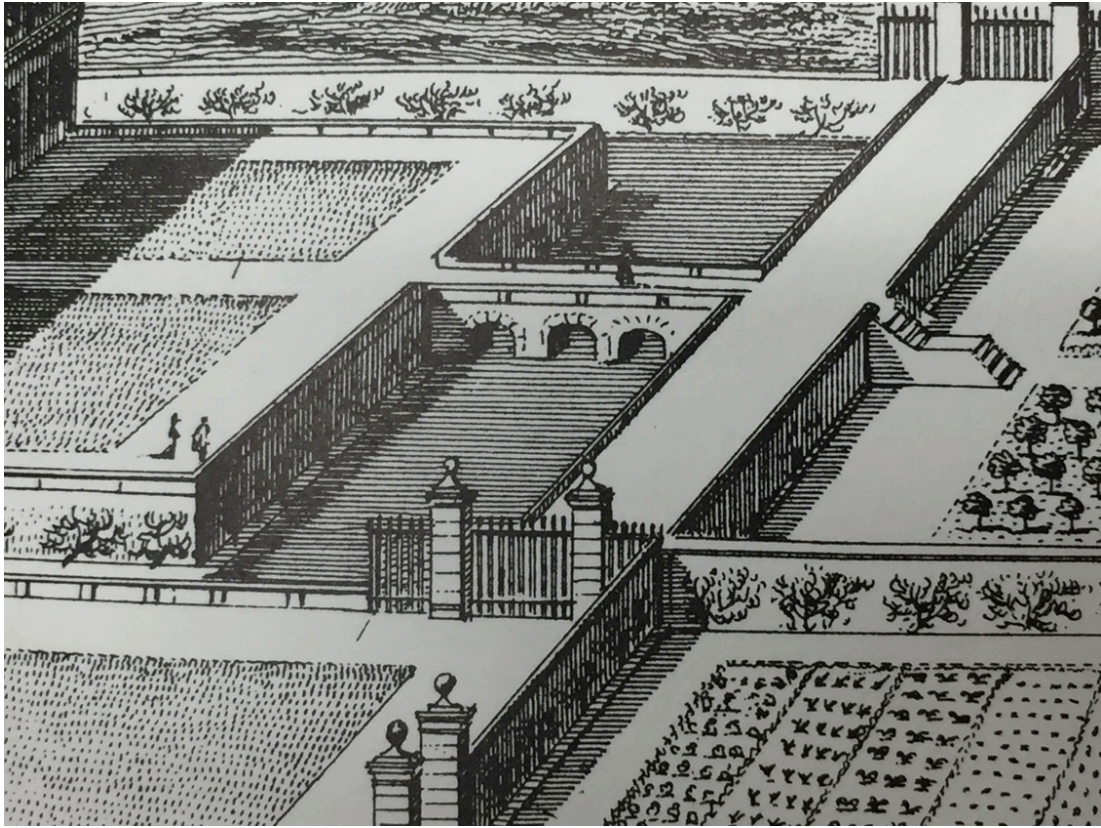


Figure 5.4.9 Detail of figure 5.4.3, showing the moat with water, fruit trees against the walls.

#### 5.4.5.3      Walled enclosure, gate piers and 'ingenious divisions'

Althorp is clearly a walled garden with the two main garden enclosures to the east of the house comprehensively walled. References to the building of the garden walls between 1666 and 1668 are found in the documents as detailed in section three above. The Knyff and Kip engraving shows that walls surround the whole area of the gardens and forecourt. The only boundaries not walled are the west and north sides where parkland abuts the outer side of the moat. Fletcher argues that the boundary is formed by an early ha-ha, but only considers the west side. The fundamental problem with the argument is that the engraving does not seem to indicate a ditch with retaining wall but shows the ground simply sloping down to the walk on the outer side of the moat. Perhaps the moat itself, with or without water, was an adequate boundary. Fletcher does not make use of Magalotti's 'ingenious divisions' as evidence and Magalotti does not explain, but it is possible that he could be referring to the suggested ha-ha, or at least to the way in which the parkland abuts the moat on two sides of the house.

There are fifteen sets of gate piers shown on the Knyff and Kip engraving, mostly providing access through garden walls. Those within the garden are relatively humble brick piers with ball finials, while a more ornate double set, with outer niches, scrolls, crowns and elaborate urn finials, give access to the forecourt (Fig.5.4.10), and a similar set give access to the house court across the moat. Thus the earl of Sunderland made use of ornamental gate piers as

a way of displaying status, in common with other English landowners at this time.

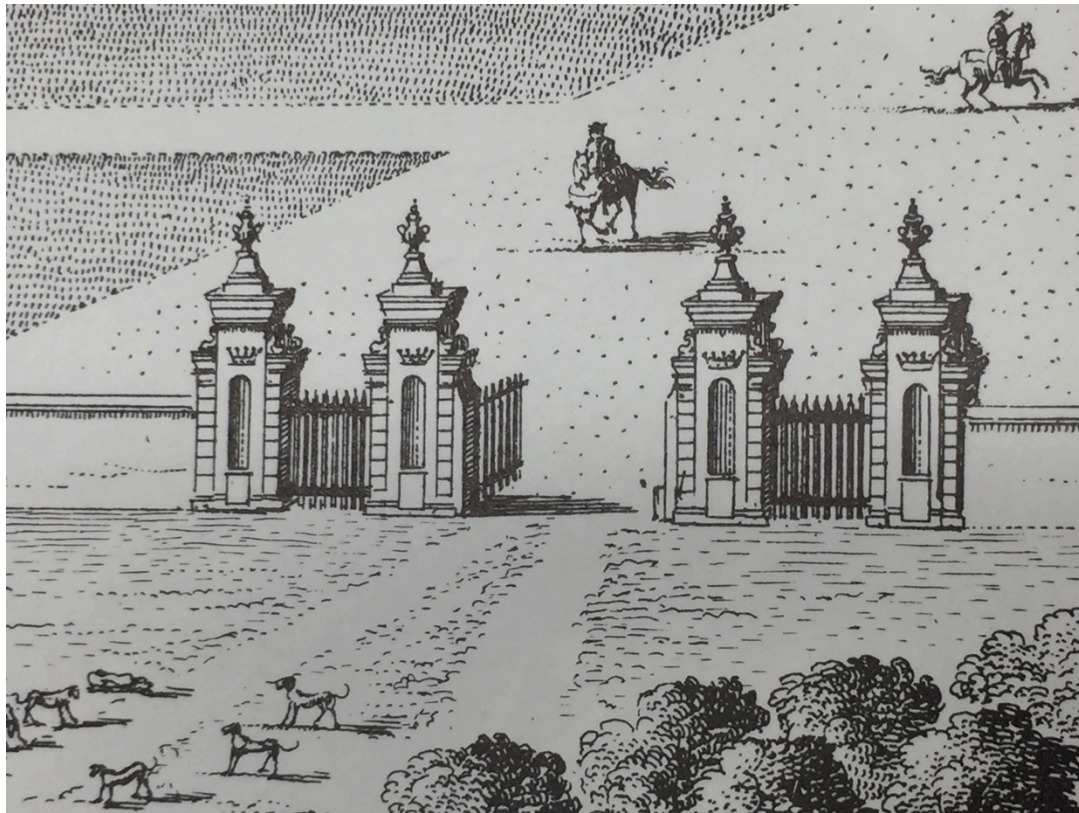


Figure 5.4.10 Detail of figure 3, showing forecourt gate piers.

#### 5.4.5.3.1 Avenues and tree planting

Evidence of avenues can be seen in the Knyff and Kip engraving but is not visible in the Vosterman painting, and not mentioned in Evelyn's description of his first visit, nor is there any reference to tree planting found in the documents, as far as is known. However, Magalotti does mention 'well arranged rows of trees' as one of the exceptions to the generally poor show in

the gardens.<sup>723</sup> After his second visit in 1688 Evelyn mentions the park 'planted with rows and walkes of Trees.'<sup>724</sup> An estate plan of 1778 shows an approach avenue, part of which can be seen in Knyff and Kip curving to the right as it approaches the forecourt. The double row of trees seen surrounding the walled gardens to the east and surrounding the park grassland to the north, can also be confirmed in the plan (Fig. 5.4.11). These avenues can also be seen in the slightly earlier watercolour sketch of 1721 (Fig.5.4.5). Therefore the earl of Sunderland certainly planted avenues to adorn his landscape. Although the date of planting is not known, some trees in rows were visible in 1669, if Magalotti is to be believed. Fletcher suggests the early 1680s as a possible date judging by the maturity of the trees in Knyff and Kip and because Sunderland enjoyed a brief period out of office from February 1681 to September 1682, which seems a sound conclusion.<sup>725</sup>

Tree planting at Althorp was a venerable tradition and was marked by stone pedestals recording the date of planting. Those from 1567, 1589, 1602, 1624, 1798, 1800 and 1901 survive, but unfortunately there is nothing commemorating anything from the late seventeenth century.<sup>726</sup> Evelyn recommends this practice in *Sylva* and cites Althorp as the only example he

---

<sup>723</sup> Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the third*, p. 249.

<sup>724</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 20 August 1688, p. 788.

<sup>725</sup> Fletcher, 'An early ha-ha?' p153.

<sup>726</sup> John Anthony, *The East Midlands: Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire* (London: Batsford, 1979), pp.17-22. Evelyn, *Sylva*, 1706, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, p.45.



knows, wishing that 'Gentlemen were more curious of transmitting to Posterity such records.'<sup>727</sup>

Evelyn also appreciated the prospect of Holdenby, a Civil War casualty, surrounded by 'shady trees.' This was probably also valued by the earl, whose father was lost to the Civil War, since it was depicted in the Vosterman painting, on the hillside to the right, adding to the resonance of the setting.

---

<sup>727</sup> Ibid.



Figure 5.4.11 J Corris, *Althorp Liberties in the parish of Brington, Northamptonshire* 1778 ©The British Library Board Add. MSS 78129 D.

#### 5.4.5.5 Water features

The survey plan of 1778 depicts the 'canal', a large rectangular sheet of water to the west of the house. It is named as the canal in later plans by Henry Holland so that this is presumably the canal mentioned by Evelyn in 1675: 'a park with a canal, yet the water is not running, which is a defect,' noted above. The defect seems to have been remedied by 1688 when Evelyn's list of attributes includes: 'Canals & fish ponds stored with Game.'<sup>728</sup> The canal is not mentioned in the documents as far as is known and seems to be rather unrelated to the designed landscape, apart from the fact that it is aligned with the west side of the house. Its massive size is curious. If it was intended to complete an east/west axis, it would have been on grand scale, but it is difficult to explain and perhaps could be a relic of an earlier era.

#### 5.4.5.6 Fruit garden and kitchen garden

The two large enclosures to the east constitute the main cultivated area of the garden and perhaps it is this area that gives the gardens a relatively restrained and unostentatious character. David Jacques suggests that the fruit garden is intended to be ornamental.<sup>729</sup> This would suggest a typically English characteristic where the cultivation of fruit trees is appreciated for its aesthetic value, as shown in English garden treatises such as John Worlidge's *Systema*

---

<sup>728</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 20 August 1688, p.788.

<sup>729</sup> Jacques, *Court and Country*, p.74. Jacques also quotes Worlidge.

*Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening*, 1677 and discussed in section 4.3.10. It gives the garden a more traditional character and a more English feel. The garden was evidently mainly intended for utilitarian purposes: the cultivation of fruit and vegetables. In common with many other gardens at this time, every wall is used for espaliered fruit trees, even those in the moat, which would have been sheltered and well-watered though difficult to tend.

The vegetable garden is divided into three sections by further walls, with the central part divided into four grass plats giving a route to the orangery. This suggests a more continental or French approach since the vegetables are to some extent out of view. The addition of an orangery also suggests continental aspirations.

#### 5.4.5.7 Orangery

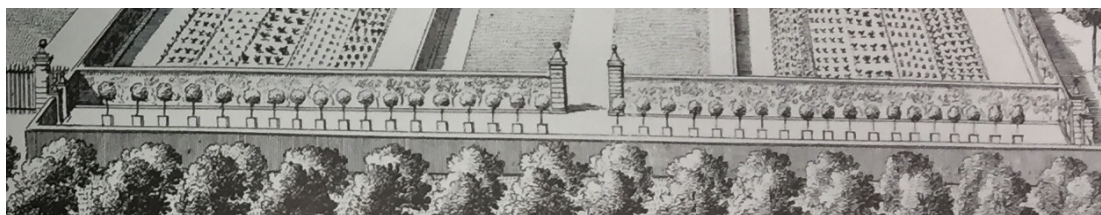


Figure 5.4.12 Orangery, Knyff and Kip, *Britannia Illustrata* plate 27, detail of Fig.5.4.3.

Evidence of an orangery is found in the Knyff and Kip engraving, where a long narrow additional enclosure has been added to the south side of the kitchen garden, approached through gate piers from the central grassed part of the kitchen garden and with gated access to the east and west (Fig.5.4.12). The engraving shows the south wall lined with trees in pots, perhaps Evelyn's

‘great plenty of oranges.’ There is no apparent building to shelter the plants in winter, unless there was something on the north side of the south wall, out of sight.

Documentary evidence shows that an orange tree was obtained in 1666, perhaps the start of a collection. On 15 May 1666 £13 was paid to ‘4 wagginers that has braugt the orange three’<sup>730</sup> and on 21 May ‘to Tary Gardnir biside 30 shelins about the oring three.’<sup>731</sup> This was in addition to [‘biside’] his wages ‘paid £4 for half a year up to midsummer’ suggesting that he was asked to do something extra to his normal work, relating to the orange tree. On 24 September 1666 ‘paid to John Wilson that brought the orange tree £4 14s 2d.’<sup>732</sup> Presumably this was not the same tree and perhaps the payments were for more than one tree, despite the documents apparently referring to single trees.

The documentary evidence therefore confirms an interest in citrus fruit, but it is purchased in limited quantities. There is no other evidence of plants at Althorp in the documents seen.

In the same list of wages for 1666, where ‘Tary gardiner’ is mentioned, another gardener, ‘Burton’ is much more highly paid, receiving £13 6s 8d for 4

---

<sup>730</sup> Add. MS 64189 fol. 140

<sup>731</sup> Ibid., fol. 142

<sup>732</sup> Add. MS 61489 fol. 143.

months.<sup>733</sup> Burton seems to be a more significant figure who subcontracts his own men: 'to Burton Gardnis for his laboring man' £18 19s 2d, 6 July, 1666.<sup>734</sup> 'Burton Gardnir' is paid for a fortnight of his laboring man on Sep 13 1666, £4 2s 10d and for a further week £2 18s 11d. and 'for three weeks of his laboring man £2 5s 4d' on 11 August,<sup>735</sup> and further payments 26 August and 3 September for his man. Although this is clearly evidence of fairly expensive work being done in the garden, it is not known what or where this work was.

The orangery is relatively modest when compared, for example to the orangery of a similar date at Euston, Suffolk, built by the earl of Arlington.<sup>736</sup> This included a conservatory building to house the orange trees in winter, adorned with marble busts of the emperors directly imported from Italy.<sup>737</sup> Nevertheless it is evident that Sunderland pursued his admiration for orange trees, first noticed as an envoy in Madrid and that this was quite successful, resulting in 'great plenty of oranges' in 1675, if Evelyn is believed.

---

<sup>733</sup> Ibid., fol. 144.

<sup>734</sup> Ibid., fol. 142.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid., fol. 146.

<sup>736</sup> See Appendix One.

<sup>737</sup> Hundleby, *Euston Hall*.



#### 5.4.5.8 Bowling green

Evidence of a bowling green is found in an undated invoice, listing the costs for keeping the bowling green, a rather rare document<sup>738</sup> (Fig.5.4.13). The British Library dates the manuscript volume as 1661-1679, but the invoice is undated and the writing and spelling seem possibly earlier. It is known that there was a 'well kept' bowling green at Althorp during the Civil War since accounts relate that Charles I played there whilst staying at Holdenby with parliamentary commissioners in May 1647.<sup>739</sup> It is possible that the bowling green keeper himself might have written the invoice since keeping a bowling green adequately cut was a skilled job and therefore it is possible he was literate.<sup>740</sup>

---

<sup>738</sup> BL Add. MS 75335 Misc accounts and receipts 1661-1679, No 15 undated.

<sup>739</sup> Thomas Dibdin, *Aedes Althorpiana or an account of the mansion, books and pictures at Althorp*, (London: Shakespeare Press, 1822) p.xxxi, quoting the memoirs of Sir Thomas Herbert (reprinted London, 1813).

<sup>740</sup> Toby Parker, based on research at New College, Oxford, has suggested the submission of a bill with a single fee not a daily rate suggests a literate gardener was employed/contracted for the maintenance of the green. The purchase of the items, with scythes, plural, indicates they were for multiple users. The bill is interesting as it is for equipment and services, suggesting a response to a maintenance contract. The fee for the 'keeper' suggests a bill from a person who had responsibilities rather than a task. (Personal communication).

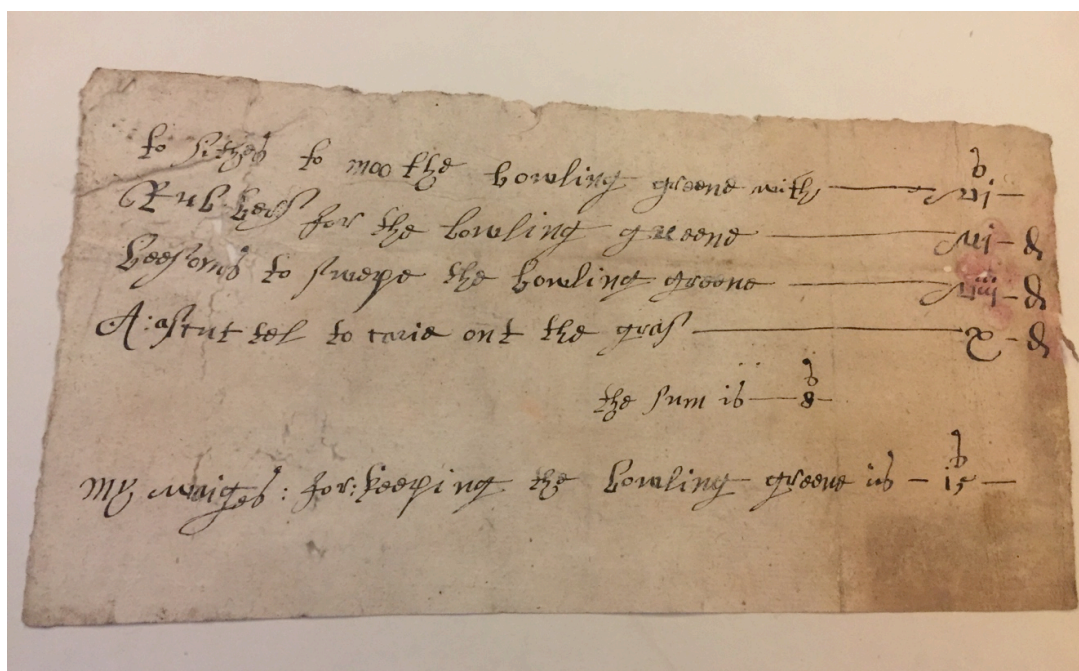


Figure 5.4.13 Undated invoice for keeping the bowling green (photo: author 2019).

Transcript of bowling green invoice:

	s	
'to sithes to moo the bowling greene with	vi	
[?] Rubbers* for the bowling greene	vi	d
beesoms to swepe the bowling greene	viii	d
[?] A: ascut tel* to [?]carie out the gras	x	d
	s	
the sum is	8	
	s	
My waiges: for: keeping the bowling greene is	15	

\*a rubber = rubbing stone for sharpening the scythe, a scutel = a basket/ trencher to carry vegetables.

It is not known where the bowling green was located. The garden shown in the Knyff and Kip engraving was generously supplied with areas of grass that would have been suitable, such as the grass plats in the forecourt or those nearer the house within the moat, or those in the centre of the kitchen garden. Clearly, the documentary evidence shows that this English sport was accommodated somewhere in the gardens.

#### 5.4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion Althorp is a curious mix of continental and English influences. Accepting the Knyff and Kip engraving as a reasonably accurate representation of the gardens in the 1660s and 1670s, it demonstrates the following English characteristics and features: the garden is almost entirely walled, with two square, walled gardens that are productive and utilitarian. The brick walls are furnished with fruit trees, adding to the garden's productivity and pierced by gate piers of varying levels of elaboration depending on their location. There are large areas of plain grass plats: in the forecourt, the middle of the kitchen garden and surrounding the house within the moat, which are surrounded and divided by what are probably gravel walks. The garden therefore caters for the English enjoyment of walking and we know from the documents that it also included a bowling green.

On the other hand, there is no evidence of a flower garden or of the cultivation of flowers anywhere in the garden and the garden is clearly carefully and

rationally planned with no apparent accommodation of earlier features, apart from the moat. It seems to have been planned as a whole layout despite having been built on a site that had been in use since 1508.

As a continental garden however, it is incomplete. The magnificence of the house with the surrounding moat seems French or Dutch in inspiration. This is emphasized by the double rows of trees, which surround a rectangular area of parkland north of the house, as well as the walled enclosure. However, the lack of ornamental *parterres* and woodland and the lack of fountains and statuary, make Althorp inadequate as a continental garden, which is perhaps why Magalotti was less than enthusiastic, lamenting the lack of 'shady walks' and 'canopied verdure.' Magalotti visited in 1669, soon after the house was complete, when the gardens were not as complete as in the Knyff and Kip engraving. By 1675 Evelyn was impressed, describing the gardens as 'admirable and magnificent,' 'exquisitely kept,' 'furnished with the choicest fruit in England.' Perhaps significantly he comments on the fruit, since this, including the orange trees, seems to have been the most important part of the garden, making it productive and providing the only ornament.

It is likely that further extension of the garden was planned, particularly into the area to the north, delineated by a double row of trees and possibly also to the west, taking the canal into the design. The fact that the Tudor gatehouse was probably intended to be removed, but remained though omitted from Knyff and Kip, suggests that there were further plans. If the gardens had been

completed as conjectured, something of the extent and magnificence of Chatsworth can be imagined, much more appropriate to Sunderland's continental experience and probable aspiration.

### Section 5.5 Summary

This chapter has presented the results of detailed research into four gardens. The development of each garden during the period is traced using available contemporary visual and documentary sources, extant remains and map analysis. How far the owners' design choices suggest the influence of continental gardens experienced during exile will be discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter 6: Analysis of the case studies

This chapter brings together the evidence from each case study in order to assess how far an English influence prevailed and which features predominated. It will propose reasons for an apparent conservatism and evaluate how far the case studies are a useful means of commenting more widely on gardens of the period.

The four case studies have shown that it is possible to identify in each case features of garden design which were recognised as English in chapter 4, section 3. In every case the patron or garden maker might have been expected to predominantly follow continental practice having travelled on the continent during the 1640s and 50s. However, all the studies demonstrate that English traditions continued.

One feature of all the gardens is that they consist of straight-sided walled enclosures, almost entirely walled in brick, with access points marked by gates with brick gate piers. At Ham some of the walls are likely to have been reused from an earlier period, as is the case with the small enclosure known as the 'Cherry Garden'. This could also be true of the other gardens, which were all developed on earlier sites, but in the absence of evidence to indicate earlier walls, it is clear that walled enclosures continued to be a fashionable feature of English gardens at this time. This is confirmed in the English garden



literature, as discussed in section 4.3.8, where walls are advocated for their practical advantages rather than as a design feature. The importance of building garden walls is made clear in the detailed measurements and costings in the building records at Ryston, Althorp and Ham. The walled enclosures give the gardens an inward-looking character, a sense of security, shelter, and protection from uncontrolled nature outside the walls and suggest a lack of interest in outward views of the landscape. One exception to this is Ryston where there is still an acceptance of walled enclosure, but some interest in seeing the prospect beyond the walls, which is explained in Sir Roger Pratt's notes (section 5.3.5.4). The prospect outside the gardens may also be important at Cheveley where the house appears to have been orientated to face the ancient castle of Cheveley, with an approach avenue passing the castle (section 5.2.4).

It is also very apparent from the visual evidence of the four gardens that the walls were extensively used for the cultivation of fruit. The lists of fruit trees at Ham (section 5.1.4.7) and Ryston (section 5.3.5.6) show the range of varieties that were grown. The plant lists at Ham include many more tender fruits and some exotics, while at Althorp the orangery also indicates an interest in exotics (section 5.4.5.7). Fruit trees were prominently cultivated on all the walls including the forecourts, which suggests that they were appreciated for their aesthetic qualities as well as their practical use, as is suggested in the English garden treatises.<sup>1</sup> Thus the walls were clearly an important part of the

---

<sup>1</sup> by Worlidge for example, quoted in section 4.3.5, p.156.

productive and aesthetic garden, which also demonstrated the owner's horticultural skill, wealth and fashionable knowledge.

The English liking for grass plats and gravel walks is confirmed in the visual evidence of all four gardens. This corroborates the garden treatises<sup>2</sup> and the well known reported conversation of Hugh May and Samuel Pepys.<sup>3</sup> The English ability to maintain turf due to horticultural skill aided by a suitable climate was alluded to by such writers as Temple,<sup>4</sup> Worlidge and Mollet<sup>5</sup> so that it is not surprising that the four gardens included large areas of plain grass plats. It is quite likely that some of these areas were used as bowling greens but the only definite evidence of a bowling green is in the documentation of Althorp. This may have been retained from an earlier garden since it is known that Charles I used a bowling green at Althorp in 1647.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of flowers in the English garden at this time is clearly demonstrated at Cheveley and to some extent at Ryston in the oil paintings depicting each site. The Cheveley painting by Siberechts (Fig.5.2.2) shows an enclosure devoted to the cultivation of flowers, while the Ryston painting (Fig.

---

<sup>2</sup> Such as Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae*, 1677 pp.28-30, quoted on page 181, Chapter 4, section 4.3.11

<sup>3</sup> Pepys *Diary*, 22 July 1666, quoted on page 181 Chapter 4, section 4.3.11.

<sup>4</sup> Temple, 'Upon the gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening, in the year 1685,' p. 114, quoted on page 183, Chapter 4, section 4.3.11.

<sup>5</sup> Mollet, *The Garden of Pleasure*, 1670, p.9, quoted on page 183, Chapter 4, section 4.3.11

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Dibdin, *Aedes Althorpiana*, p.xxxi, quoting the memoirs of Sir Thomas Herbert (reprinted London, 1813) referred to on page 359 Chapter 5, section 5.4.5.8.

5.3.2) indicates flowers in borders as *plat bandes* around grass *parterres* and around the specimen conifers. Flowers at Ryston are confirmed in the plant lists (Fig.5.3.20), which suggest that the varieties used were all traditional and well known, noted as too common to be discussed in Rea's garden treatise on flowers. Plant lists at Ham indicate that more unusual, recently introduced varieties were cultivated (section 5.1.4.4), while at Cheveley and Althorp there is no documentary evidence of the planting. At Cheveley the painting shows a profusion of flowers probably at springtime since tulips, a more recent introduction, can clearly be seen. The arrangement of the flowerbeds is geometric as shown in English garden treatises such as Leonard Meager's *The English gardener*, 1670 (Fig.5.2.11) and also apparent in the Dutch designs for flower beds in Van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669 (section 4.2.5 p.121). The flowers within the beds are disposed in a random manner without careful repetition of colour, form and size, therefore not in a way which could be described as Dutch or French.

In the layout of each site there is some indication that an axial plan and a regular planned layout was intended. All the gardens have an axial arrangement in the forecourt, with access through gates piercing the wall, aligned on a straight gravel walk leading to the front door, with grass plats symmetrically arranged on either side of the walk. This arrangement, as David Jacques points out, remained fashionable in England until the end of the century.<sup>746</sup> At Ham and Althorp an approach avenue emphasizes the axial

---

<sup>746</sup> Jacques, 'Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,' p.371.

plan, while at Cheveley there is also evidence of an approach avenue, though its date is uncertain. At Ryston the axial line is continued through the house to the garden aligned at the back, with a central grass path leading to gates and an avenue, so that at Ryston the axial principle is more fully executed, despite the absence of an approach avenue. This might be expected since Ryston was designed by Sir Roger Pratt, an architect well versed in Renaissance planning ideas contained in the works of Scamozzi, Serlio and Alberti, which he could consult in his library, and who had travelled in France, Italy and the Netherlands observing Renaissance ideas in practice. The axial arrangement originated in the writings of the Renaissance and became a principle of continental gardens both in France from the mid sixteenth century and in the Netherlands from the early seventeenth century. In England it had also begun to be suggested as an ideal in garden treatises by the beginning of the seventeenth century and can be seen in some elite gardens from c.1560 (section 4.3.2). At Ham an axial arrangement is apparent in the Smythson plan of c.1610 (Fig.5.1.2). Therefore, although the axial plan cannot be claimed as English, it already had long history of gradual adoption in England.

The 'haphazard' plan, identified as a feature of English gardens in chapter four, section 4.3.4, resulted from the development of gardens over time, where owners had to adapt and accommodate existing features, so were not able to fully pursue ideal principles, whether or not they intended to. This was supported by English garden writings, which suggested that design was not

---

important, advocating a *laissez faire* approach in which each owner might follow his whim (section 4.3.5). In the case studies this is illustrated at Cheveley, where despite the arrangement of the forecourt, the garden as a whole seems to follow no overall plan, with features such as the terrace added in a novel way, not running across the garden front, but dividing two parts of the garden (section 5.2.5.2). At Ham earlier features were accommodated such as the 'Cherry Garden' and the "Melancholy Walk", which detracted from the overall symmetry (Fig.5.1.7). At Althorp the Knyff and Kip engraving (Fig.5.4.3) shows a rational layout with limited axiality, but an additional feature - the orangery - is added thereby spoiling the line of the walls, suggesting an English freedom while accommodating a continental feature. It is possible that the axial plan would have been further developed at Althorp, if an extension to the north had been developed, and this is suggested by the rows of trees that were planted. Of the four case studies, Ryston, is the least 'haphazard' if we accept the evidence of the painting (Fig.5.3.2). Pratt's notes show that he strived to achieve a clear plan (section 5.3.5.1 and p.295). Yet the notes suggest that there were further parts of the garden not illustrated in the painting, perhaps because they would have shown a less ordered harmony. Pratt's notebooks give a good idea of the problems involved in building a garden on an old site, as features of the old garden were dismantled such as the moat, or reworked such as the 'Paed Yard'. The Paed Yard was transformed into an area of ornamental woodland, which may have been continental in inspiration, but it doesn't appear in the

painting, perhaps because it was not quite in the right place, being part of the earlier garden.

The four case study gardens do not show a great deal of evidence of French or Dutch garden features, as identified in Chapter four. There is an absence of features common in both French and Dutch gardens such as statues, fountains, canals, grottoes, elaborate *parterres de broderie*, aviaries and orangeries. The aviary and orangery at Ham are exceptions to this, as is the rudimentary orangery at Althorp. Features such as *berceaux*, trellis, topiary, specimen plants displayed in pots, which adorned Dutch gardens, are mostly absent from the case study gardens. Exceptions are the pots along the terrace shown in the painting at Cheveley (Fig.5.2.2) and evidenced in a later inventory, and those shown in the Samwell drawing of Ham (Fig.5.1.8). On the other hand, the inward-looking nature of Dutch gardens, being compartmented and enclosed finds some echoes in the English gardens studied, perhaps due to the common heritage of the origin of the formal garden and some similarity in the countries, being smaller and more densely populated than France. However walled enclosures are an English characteristic, while the Dutch also used canals, hedges and rows of trees as boundaries. The overwhelming scale of French gardens imposing on the landscape, their impressive water features, intricate *parterres* patterned in box and coloured gravel, the predominance of aesthetics over utility and separation of utilitarian areas, are all features of French gardens not found in the case studies.



There are some indications of French and Dutch influence, particularly at Ham and at Ryston. At Ham there is little doubt that the Lauderdale family needed to be at the forefront of fashionable ideas since they were at the centre of court life and easily visited being so close to London, so that the garden had a formal, ceremonial role. Hence the garden clearly impressed Evelyn. Evelyn was in no doubt that the house and garden resembled an Italian villa and lists fountains among the continental features that he admired, though it is not clear where these were. Perhaps the most French feature is the Wilderness, which may have been modelled on French precedents, possibly via English examples such as Evelyn's at Sayes Court (section 5.1.4.5). This was adorned with statues, as was the Cherry garden, another French feature. Additional continental embellishments were the aviary and the orangery. The orangery must have been a significant development, with its associated new garden enabling the display of exotic plants. At Ryston there are some indications of a Dutch influence in the unusual trellis work seat (Fig.5.3.11), which resembles Dutch garden ornaments illustrated in Van der Groen, *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1669; also the specimen conifers may have a Dutch origin since they resemble the use of conifers at Cleves, started in 1647 (section 5.3.5.5). The interest in viewing the wider landscape could be said to be a French characteristic that results from the axial plan, also demonstrated at Cleves where trees on a distant hill were a focal point, as at Ryston where Pratt discussed removing a hedge to enable the view of trees to be seen (section 5.3.5.4).

Therefore there are relatively few characteristics and features of French and Dutch garden design exhibited in the case studies, despite their owners' continental experience. The reasons for this are difficult to discern and may be individual to each case. It is likely that financial constraints restricted owners' ambitions. This is suggested at Ryston and at Ham where detailed accounts exist which both suggest that money was preciously accounted for. It is known that the duke of Lauderdale was deeply in debt when he died and that the earl of Sunderland was always in debt, though the cause in both cases was in part their ambitious building projects.

There may have been political and social reasons for not wishing to be too ambitious or ostentatious. The four case studies are all landscapes built by servants of the monarchy, a recently restored institution, which was not secure. While landowners were reinstating their position, they would need to balance the desire to demonstrate their power, through extensive avenues for example, against the need for restraint in a hostile environment. Designed landscapes on a French scale would seem to be unthinkable at this date. Comments such as Henry Cornbury's in 1663, expressing concern that his new house might be 'too much envied' and Thomas Povey's in 1667 worrying about 'enviousness ... in all the kingdom', both quoted in section 5.2.5, show that landowners were aware of these issues at this time. At Cheveley the added problem of religion may have led the Roman Catholic owner to a

certain restraint in his house and garden as well as a need to associate Catholicism with an English tradition.

It is difficult to assess how far fashions followed politics but both anti-French and anti-Dutch sentiments were expressed during the 1660s and 1670s, so that it is possible that landowners would have avoided blatant examples of continental culture, though how far they would have been seen or recognized is debatable. In 1675 Charles Cotton in *The Planters Manual* declares that the English people 'are already sufficiently *Frenchised* and more than, in the opinion of the wiser sort of men, is consistent either with the constitution, or indeed, the honour of the *English* nation.'<sup>747</sup> Such matters were debated as the shifting fortunes of war, treaties and trade favoured France or the Netherlands,<sup>748</sup> so that it may have been politic to follow more identifiably English fashions. Worlidge in his English garden treatise *Systema Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening*, 1677 particularly stresses the importance of his own work being written with English conditions in mind rather than being a translation from French, suggesting a deeper conviction than the purely practical.

The case study gardens indicate a continuing Englishness. Although there are some features of French and Dutch garden design in each case, these do not

---

<sup>747</sup> C. Cotton, *The Planters Manual*, London: Henry Brome, 1675, unpaginated. Quoted in Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, foreword to John Evelyn's '*Elysium Britannicum*' and *European Gardening*, p.5.

<sup>748</sup> Steven C. A. Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s,' *The Historical Journal*, vol. 38, no. 2 (June 1995), pp. 333-361.

give an overall continental character. However, it is not possible to predict how far this is true of other gardens of the period. The disadvantage of case study methodology is that it is not possible to generalize unless a large number of cases is studied. The advantage is that it allows in-depth study. So in the case of Cheveley for example, using the extant evidence of the terrace and comparing this to the map evidence, it is possible to demonstrate that not only does the Siberechts painting give a rare depiction of an English flower garden, it also demonstrates its owner's vulnerability as a Catholic. The painting uses the English landscape to convince the onlooker of Henry Jermyn's rightful place as a Catholic landowner in England by re-orientating the house and garden in the picture to ensure that it showed the designed landscape in an English context with Ely cathedral and other recognisable churches. At the same time the development of a traditional English garden reinforced the sense of Englishness rooted in an English landscape. Thus the garden designer's motivation in adapting the landscape may have been political and religious, rather than aesthetic or cultural. This could only be discovered through the detail of a case study.

The case study analysis demonstrates that these four gardens are more English in design than continental, traditional English features continued to be incorporated into garden design, the influence of continental design examples was limited and an English character prevailed. This Englishness encompassed social, political, religious and cultural influences, which contributed to garden design and were part of being English.

## Chapter 7 Conclusion

### 7.1 Key findings

This thesis has focussed on the period 1660 to 1680, which has not previously received detailed attention from garden historians, as discussed in the introduction, section 1.2. Historians have suggested that during the late seventeenth century, French and Dutch fashions in garden design overtook English traditions.<sup>749</sup> However, analysis of four case studies has shown that an English character is apparent in gardens made during the period. The discussion of French, Dutch and English garden cultures of the seventeenth century in Chapter four has enabled a clearer identification of their principles and features. This has shown that while both continental and English characteristics were present in the gardens studied, English features prevailed.

In the case study gardens the features of continental design that were adopted are additional embellishments or novelties rather than fundamental design choices. This is suggested by the creation of orangeries at Ham (section 5.1.4.7) and Althorp (section 5.4.5.7) and the interest in recently introduced plants, particularly evident at Ham in the extant accounts, detailed in section 5.1.4.7 and in plant lists discussed in section 5.1.4.4. These are

---

<sup>749</sup> Tom Williamson, for example suggests that English features were temporarily 'obscured,' quoted in the introduction, p.15.

features which could be added to existing layouts in the way that is noted in the Drapentier drawings of Hertfordshire (Fig.4.3.5 for example) and which would give an immediate and striking impression of innovation, without the need to make fundamental changes. Another example is the terrace at Cheveley, adorned with urns (Fig 5.2.8), an innovation which could be added to dramatic effect, pragmatically making use of spoil from building works and giving a fashionable, possibly continental edge.

A more fundamental design choice is shown in the partial adoption of the axial plan apparent in all the gardens particularly in the arrangement of the approach and the symmetry of the forecourt, sometimes followed through to the garden. This is evident at Ham from the early seventeenth century, where the Smythson plan (Fig.5.1.2) indicates an axial arrangement dating from c.1610. The axial plan is most fully executed at Ryston as shown in the painting (Fig.5.3.2) and was probably intended at Althorp, as suggested by the Knyff and Kip engraving of 1707 (Fig.5.4.3). This design choice is perhaps more likely to derive from an intellectual knowledge of Renaissance ideas, such as is evidenced in the libraries of Sir Roger Pratt and the duke of Lauderdale. Thus its adoption may have been less widespread although its use in the forecourt would have been a relatively easily observed and adopted feature. The evidence suggests that this continental principle was gradually being adopted from at least the early seventeenth century but was not given added impetus after the Restoration.



Despite the landowners' experience of French and Dutch gardens while exiled abroad, there is little evidence in the case studies that these gardens were emulated in the period 1660 to 1680. This confirms earlier studies of the effect of exile on cultural change in science and literature, discussed in chapter two (section 2.2), which although they omit garden design, suggest that exile was not a catalyst for change, but that foreign travel was a factor in English cultural change from at least the late sixteenth century. Thus at Ham for example, the garden changes made in the 1670s built on continental characteristics which were the result of foreign travel and already present, such as the axial plan, the avenues, the viewing terrace and possibly the wilderness.

Further research is needed into the effect of exile on Restoration gardens. While Evelyn travelled abroad for his education<sup>750</sup> and kept a diary of his experiences, though augmented twenty years later, this is exceptional. Evelyn treated his experience as a grand tour, rather than a period of exile, expecting to 'explore everything and retain the best'.<sup>751</sup> Many of the exiles were short of money, often subsidising the royal cause, forced to move on in pursuit of the exiled court and having to stay away for long periods while their lands were sequestered.<sup>752</sup> Thus the experience of exile may not have engendered

---

<sup>750</sup> John Dixon Hunt, *John Evelyn: A Life of Domesticity*, London: Reaktion, 2017, p.38.

<sup>751</sup> Evelyn's motto 'Omnia explorate, meliora retinete' translated by Hunt *ibid.*, p.39.

<sup>752</sup> Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp. 45-78.

change in the same way as a shorter stay abroad undertaken for pleasure or education.

It is difficult to understand garden makers' intentions in this period since there is little stated evidence of this. The diaries of John Evelyn and the notebooks of Sir Roger Pratt give some idea of their opinions and intentions. Evelyn, for example, in naming his 'Morin' garden makes clear its inspiration (Fig.4.3.28 discussed in section 2.2 and 4.3.13). Pratt shows his admiration of foreign examples in his notes on architecture, but his garden notes are disappointing as pointers to his motivation, although his notes on prospect are helpful and probably result from his continental experience (section 5.3.5.4). His notes on the making of the gardens point mostly to concerns about profit and productivity.

The English gardens made in these years were conservative, restrained and unassuming, with an emphasis on productivity. Rather than being 'alien, un-English and disconnected' as Tim Mowl characterises gardens of the second half of the seventeenth century,<sup>753</sup> these gardens were English in character and followed the ideas expressed in English garden treatises published during the period (section 4.3.5). Thus there is an emphasis on walled enclosure with walls supporting productive fruit trees, some evidence of the importance of flowers and abundant visual evidence of the importance of grass plats and gravel walks. The case study evidence indicates that although landowners

---

<sup>753</sup> Mowl, *Gentlemen and players*, p.48, quoted in the introduction, p.14.

may have returned from exile 'with new ideas,'<sup>754</sup> the extent to which they put them into practice was limited in this period by financial, political, or religious constraints. This suggests that the current literature has overemphasised the continental influence at this time.

## 7.2 Recommendations and limitations

In order to establish a more complete understanding of the period, further research is needed. The example of Euston, which inspired this study, indicates that continental influence did prevail in some courtly gardens, following trends set by royal gardens. As noted in Appendix 1, the landscape at Euston was organized following continental principles, on a large scale as a whole composition,<sup>755</sup> with areas of ornamental woodland cut through with walks and rides in order to create a 'formal' garden using the term as Woodbridge suggests<sup>756</sup> to describe French gardens, intended to function as a space for entertaining and receiving the court. This was a display of wealth and power, which it is likely that other courtly gardens also aspired to. However, a conclusion based on the cases studied here, suggests that Euston was exceptional and outstanding. While Althorp and Ham are gardens made by courtiers of a similar standing to Lord Arlington at Euston, they appear less ambitious and less committed to an overall continental design.

---

<sup>754</sup> Williamson, *Polite landscapes*, p.24, quoted in the introduction, p.15.

<sup>755</sup> The licence to empark in 1671 covered 20000 acres.

<sup>756</sup> Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p.9, discussed in section 4.1.3

This study is therefore not a complete study of the period. Further case studies would enable a more general assessment of how widespread was the influence of the continent. Further study of royal gardens would establish how far these were trend setting in courtly gardens as well as those of lesser status.

The four studies here suggest a continuing tradition, a conservative restraint. Where there is an interest in innovation, this is tempered by financial constraints (at Ham, Althorp and Ryston), religious or political issues (at Cheveley) or a possible nostalgia for earlier innovations (at Ham). Thus this study demonstrates the value of individual studies of gardens, of 'serious digging among the garden beds',<sup>757</sup> as well as their limitation in providing a complete view.

### 7.3 Summary of findings

- The four case studies suggest a continuing English character in garden design during the period 1660-1680.
- Current literature has overemphasized the continental influence on garden design at this time.

---

<sup>757</sup> Edward Harwood, quoted in section 3.1 on methodology, in Edward Harwood, Tom Williamson, Michael Leslie and John Dixon Hunt, 'Whither Garden History?' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 27:2, (April-June 2007), pp. 91-112, p.96.

- Those features that were adopted were novelties or embellishments such as orangeries, garden ornaments, exotic plants and flowers, which could be added on to gardens without fundamental change but with maximum impact.
- This resulted in gardens without an overall design coherence.
- The axial plan was partially adopted, particularly in the forecourt and approach, this was a gradual process begun in the late sixteenth century.
- English features that continued to be fashionable included plain grass plats, grass or gravel walks, flower gardens, walled enclosures.
- The gardens were utilitarian, with an emphasis on productivity as well as areas for leisure activities such as walking and bowling.

#### 7.4 Summary of recommendations

- Further research is needed, using further case studies to ascertain the extent and nature of a continuing 'Englishness.'
- The example of Euston appears to contradict findings in the current study. More research into royal and courtly gardens is needed to determine how far Euston was exceptional.
- The impact of the royalist exile is not fully researched or understood. Evelyn's experience of exile may lead to an overemphasis on continental influence in gardens, due to the scarcity of other evidence.

- The limited scope of this project has meant that it has not been possible to develop a theory of cultural transfer that might more fully explain the nature and extent of continental influence at this time.



## REFERENCES

## ABBREVIATIONS

- BL     British Library
- BPA    Buckminster Park Archives
- CRO    Cambridgeshire Records Office
- HHA    Ham House Archives
- LPL    Lambeth Palace Library
- NRO    Norfolk Records Office
- SRO    Suffolk Records Office
- SHC    Surrey History Centre
- SWHC   Swindon and Wiltshire History Centre
- TNA    The National Archives
- TMA    Tollemache Archives

## UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- BL Add MS     Evelyn Papers
- Bodleian Library     Aubrey MSS 4f.199r
- Eburne, Andrew. *The Gardens of Ham House, Surrey*. Conservation Management Plan. The National Trust, 2009.
- Hundleby, Sarah. *Euston Hall and Park 1666-1685: a Restoration Garden*. MA dissertation, Birkbeck College, 2010.
- Jacques, David. *The Grand Manner: Changing styles of Garden Design 1660-1735*. PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute, 1998.
- Povey, Thomas. 'Versailles,' c.1682. LPL MS 745. Misc. Cod. Tenison 745.

Silcox-Crowe, Nigel. *The Life and Work of Sir Roger Pratt 1620-1685*. PhD dissertation, Reading University, 1986.

#### PUBLISHED SOURCES

Adams, William Howard. *The French Garden 1500-1800*. London: Scholar Press, 1979.

Adshead, David, "‘Altered with Skill and Dexterity:’ the Caroline house.’ In *Ham House: 400 years of Collecting and Patronage*, edited by Christopher Rowell, pp. 95-116. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Airs, Malcolm and Geoffrey Tyack. *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700*. Reading: Spire Books, 2007.

Aglionby, William. *The Present State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries*. London, 1669.

Amherst, Alicia (Cecil, Evelyn). *History of Gardening in England*, third edition. London: J. Murray, 1910.

Anon. ‘Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire I.’ *Country Life*. (11 June 1921), vol. 49: 714-721.

Anon. ‘Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire II.’ *Country Life*. (18 June 1921), vol. 49: 764-771.

Anon. ‘Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire III.’ *Country Life*. (25 June 1921), vol. 49: 792-797.

Anon. 'Country Homes and Gardens Old and New: Althorp, Northamptonshire IV.' *Country Life*. (2 July 1921), vol. 50: 14-20.

Anthony, John. *The East Midlands: Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire*. London: Batsford, 1979.

Aubrey, John. *Monumenta Britannica: or, A Miscellany of British Antiquities 1693*, edited by John Fowles; annotated by Rodney Legg. Sherborne, Dorset: Dorset Publishing Co., 1980-1982.

Bailey, Bruce, Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry. *The Buildings of England, Northamptonshire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Barnatt, John, and Tom Williamson. *Chatsworth: a Landscape History*. Bollington: Windgather, 2005.

Batey, Mavis, ed. *A Celebration of John Evelyn*. Godalming: Surrey Gardens Trust, 2007.

Bendall, Sarah. *Maps, Land and Society, a History with a Carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire Estate Maps 1600-1836*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Benoit, Jérémie, ed. *Fleurs du Roi*. Exhibition catalogue. Château de Versailles, 2013.

Bettley, James and Nikolaus Pevsner. *The Buildings of England, Suffolk: West*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015.

Bezemer Sellers, Vanessa. *Courtly Gardens in Holland 1600-1650*. Woodbridge: Garden Art Press, 2001.

Blake, Stephen. *The Compleat Gardener's Practice*. London: Thomas Pierrepont, 1664.

Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press: Pelican History of Art, revised edition, 1999.

Bold, John. "Samwell, William (bap. 1628, d. 1676), architect." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed 7 Feb. 2019.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37933>.

Bouchenot-Dechin, Patricia and Georges Farhat, eds. *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Boyceau de la Baraudiere, Jacques. *Traité du Jardinage selon les Raisons de la Nature et de l'Art*. Paris, 1638.

Bradley, Simon and Nikolaus Pevsner. *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Brown, Roderick, ed. *The Architectural Outsiders*. London: Waterstone, 1985.

Browne, Edward. *An Account of Several Travels Through a Great Part of Germany, part 1 from Norwich to Cologne*. London, 1677.

Brugmans, Henri L. 'Châteaux et Jardins de l'Île de France d'après un Journal de Voyage 1655.' *Gazette des Beaux Arts* XVIII (1937): 93-113.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. London, 1621.

Campbell-Culver, Maggie. *A Passion for Trees, the Legacy of John Evelyn*. London: Eden Project Books, 2006.

Cambridgeshire Gardens Trust. *The Gardens of Cambridgeshire, a Gazetteer of over 400 Gardens*. Easton: Cambridgeshire Gardens Trust, 2000.

Chaney, Edward. *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1985.

Chauncy, Henry. *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*. London, 1700.

Cherry, Bridget and Nikolaus Pevsner. *The Buildings of England, London 2: South*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983.

Coffin, David R. 'Venus in the Garden of Wilton House.' *Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 25-31, The University of Chicago Press.

Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Translated by Joscelyn Godwin. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999.

Colvin, Howard. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Colvin, Howard, J. Mordaunt Crook, Kerry Downes, and John Newman, *The History of the King's Works, 1660-1782*, vol. 5. London: HMSO, 1976.

Colvin, Howard and John Newman, eds. *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Conan, Michel, ed. *Perspectives in Garden History*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999.

Conan, Michel, ed. *Baroque Garden Cultures, Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002.

Conan, Michel, ed. *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002.

Cook, Moses. *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees: Also, How to Plant, Make and Keep Woods, Walks, Avenues, Lawns, Hedges, etc.* 1676.

Cornforth, John. 'Ham House Re-Interpreted' I and II. *Country Life*. (29 January 1981): 250-253. (5 February 1981): 322-325.

Coton, C. *The Planters Manual*. London: 1675.

Couch, Sarah, M. 'The Practice of Avenue Planting in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' *Garden History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Autumn 1992): 173-200.

Cripps, Doreen. *Elizabeth of the Sealed Knot*. Kineton: Roundwood Press, 1975.

Cruickshanks, Eveline, ed. *The Stuart Courts*. Stroud: Sutton, 2000.

Dallas, Patsy, Gerry Barnes and Tom Williamson. 'Orchards in the Landscape: a Norfolk Case Study.' *Landscape*, vol. 16, no. 1 (June 2015): 26-43.

Dallas, Patsy, R. Last and Tom Williamson. *Norfolk Gardens and Designed landscapes*. Oxford: Oxbow, 2013.



Dezallier D'Argenville, A.-J. *Theory and Practice of Gardening*. Translated by John James. London, printed by George James, 1712.

De Beer, Esmond, Samuel, ed. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

De Beer, Esmond, Samuel, ed. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Selected and introduced by Roy Strong. London: Everyman, 2006.

English Heritage. *The Register of Parks and Gardens, an Introduction*. 2001.

De Jong, Erik. "Nederlandish Hesperides" Garden Art in the Period of William and Mary 1650-1702.' In 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary,' edited by John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong, 15-40. *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 8, nos. 2 and 3 (April-September 1988)

De Jong, Erik. *Nature and Art, Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650-1740*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

De Jong, Erik. 'Of Plants and Gardeners, Prints and Books: Reception and Exchange in North European Garden Culture, 1648-1715.' In *Baroque Garden Cultures*, edited by Michel Conan, 37-84. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002.

De Vries, Willemien B. 'The Country Estate Immortalized.' In *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by John Dixon Hunt, 81-97. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990.

Den Hartog, Elizabeth and Carla Teune. 'Gaspar Fagel: his Garden and Plant Collection at Leeuwenhorst.' *Garden History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Winter 2002): 191-205.

Denscombe, Martyn. *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social and Research Projects*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. McGraw Hill: Open University Press, 2007.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage: 301-316. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2278194>

Dibdin, Thomas. *Aedes Althorpiana or an Account of the Mansion, Books and Pictures at Althorp*. London: Shakespeare Press, 1822.

Diedenhofen, Wilhelm. "Belvedere," or the Principle of Seeing and Looking in the Gardens of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen at Cleves.' In *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by John Dixon Hunt, 49-80. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990.

Dugdale, William. *Antiquities of Warwickshire*. London: printed by Thomas Warren, 1656.

Dunbar, John, G. 'The Building Activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82.' *Archaeological Journal*, vol. cxxxii (1975): 202-230.

Duthie, Ruth. 'The Planting Plans of some Seventeenth-Century Flower Gardens.' *Garden History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1990): 77-102.

Erskine, Lady Frances. *Memoirs relating to the Queen of Bohemia by one of her ladies*. 1770.

Evelyn, John. *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees*. London: Printed for John Martyn, 1679.

Evelyn, John. *Elysium Britannicum*, edited by John Ingram. Philadelphia: University of Penn Press, 2001.

Farhat, Georges. 'Great Vistas in the Work of Andre Le Notre.' In *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*, edited by Patricia Bouchenot-Dechin and Georges Farhat, 170-188. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Finch, M.E. *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families*. Northamptonshire Records Office: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Fleming, Suzannah. 'The "Convenience of Husbandry" in the Adaptation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury's Garden and Park in Dorset.' *Garden History*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Summer 2015): 3-32.

Fletcher, Alan. 'An Early Ha-Ha?' *Garden History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Autumn 1991): 146-154.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 'Five Misunderstandings about Case Study Research.' *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2) (2006): 219-45.

Friedman, Ann. 'What John Locke saw at Versailles.' *The Journal of Garden History*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (October-December 1989): 177-198.

Gibson J. A Short Account of Gardens 1691, transcribed from the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries, *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, Vol. XII, 1796: 181-192.

Gilbert, Samuel. *The Florist's Vade-Mecum*. London: printed for Thomas Simmons, 1683.

Girouard, Mark. *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983.

Gomme, Andor and Alison Maguire. *Design and Plan in the Country House: from Castle Donjons to Palladian Palaces*. New Haven and London: Yale, 2008.

Goodchild, Peter. 'John Rea's Gardens of Delight: Introduction and Construction of the Flower Garden.' *Garden History* vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1981): 99-109.

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the reign of Charles II, 1661-2*. London: Longman, 1861.

Grindle, Nick. 'Chorography and Natural Philosophy in late 17<sup>th</sup> Century England.' In *Picturing Places*, British Library article online. Accessed 11 Feb, 2019.

Gunther, R. T. *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928.

Hardacre, Paul. *The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution*. The Hague, 1956 and *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, xvi, San Marino, California. (1952): 353-70.

Harris, John. *The Artist and the Country House. A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870*. London: Sotheby Park Bernet, 1979.

Harwood, Edward, Tom Williamson, Michael Leslie and John Dixon Hunt. 'Whither Garden History?' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 27:2 (April-June 2007): 91-112.

Hazlehurst, Franklin Hamilton. *Jacques Boyceau and the French Formal Garden*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1966.

Henderson, Paula. *The Tudor House and Garden*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.

Henderson, Paula. 'Clinging to the Past: Medievalism in the English 'Renaissance' Garden.' *Renaissance Studies* vol. 25 no.1 (February 2011): 42-49.

Henrey, Blanche. *British Horticultural Literature before 1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Hood, C. 'An East Anglian Contemporary of Pepys: Phillip Skippon of Foulsham, 1641-1692.' *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXII, (1924): 147-189.

Hopper, F. 'The Dutch Classical Garden and Andre Mollet.' *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1982): 25-40.

Hore, J. P. *History of Newmarket*. London: A. H. Bailey and co., 1886.

Hore, J. P. *Sporting and Rural Records of the Cheveley Estate*. London, for private circulation, 1899.

Hornby, Hugh. Simon Inglis, ed. *Bowled over: the Bowling Greens of England*, Swindon: Historic England, 2015.

Houston, Alan and Steve Pincus, eds. *A Nation Transformed, England after the Restoration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Hunneyball, Paul M. *Architecture and Image Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004.

Hunt, John, Dixon. *Garden and Grove: the Italian Renaissance Garden and the English Imagination 1600-1750*. London and Melbourne: Dent, 1986.

Hunt, John, Dixon. 'Reckoning with Dutch gardens.' In 'The Anglo- Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary,' edited by John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong, 41-60. *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 8, nos. 2-3, 1988.

Hunt, John, Dixon, ed. *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990.

Hunt, John, Dixon, ed. *Garden History, Issues, Approaches and Methods*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992.

Hunt, John Dixon, ed. and introduction, Horace Walpole, *History of Modern taste in Gardening*. New York: Ursus, 1995.

Hunt, John Dixon. 'Approaches to Garden History.' In *Perspectives in Garden History*, edited by Michel Conan, 77-90. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999.

Hunt, John Dixon. *John Evelyn: A Life of Domesticity*. London: Reaktion, 2017.

Hunt, John Dixon and Erik De Yong. 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary.' Double Issue of *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 8, nos. 2-3, 1988.

Hussey, Christopher. 'Ham House.' *Country Life*, vol. 103 (30 January 1948): 226-228.

Hussey, Christopher. 'Historic Homes Revisited: Althorp, Northamptonshire.' *Country Life*. (19 May 1960), Vol 127: 1122-1125 and (26 May 1960): 1186-1189.

Hutton, Ronald. *The Restoration: a Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.



Hutton, Ronald. *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Hutton, Ronald. 'Maitland, John, Duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2006. Accessed 1 May 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17827>.

Hyde, Elizabeth. 'Flowers of Distinction: Taste, Class and Floriculture in Seventeenth-century France.' In *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*, edited by Michel Conan, 77-100. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002.

Jacobsen, Helen. 'Luxury Consumption, Cultural Politics, and the Career of the Earl of Arlington, 1660-1685.' *The Historical Journal*, vol. 52, no. 2 (June 2009): 295-317.

Jacobsen, Helen. *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660-1714*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Jacques, David. 'The Compartment System in Tudor England.' *Garden History*, vol. 27, no.1 (Summer 1999): 32-53.

Jacques, David. 'Garden Design in the mid-Seventeenth Century.' *Architectural History*, 44, Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman (2001): 365-376.

Jacques, David. 'Who Knows What a Dutch Garden is?' *Garden History*, vol. 30, no. 2, Dutch Influences (Winter 2002): 114-30.

Jacques, David. 'Garden Works in Greenwich Park 1662-1728.' *The Court Historian*, vol. 11 no. 2 (December 2006): 149-155.

Jacques, David. 'Court and Country.' Lecture. *Gardens of the Restoration*. Birkbeck Study Day, 28 February 2009.

Jacques, David. *Gardens of Court and Country, English Design 1630-1730*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017.

Jacques, David and Arend Van der Horst. *The Gardens of William and Mary*. London: Christopher Helm, 1988.

Jeffery, Sally. "'The Flower of All the Private Gentlemen's Palaces in England': Sir Stephen Fox's 'Extraordinarily Fine' Garden at Chiswick." *Garden History*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 1-19.

Jeffery, Sally. 'Gardens and Courtyards of the Seventeenth Century Villa and Smaller House.' In *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700*, edited by Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack, 111-126. Reading: Spire Books, 2007.

Jeffery, Sally. 'The Way of Italian Gardens.' In *A Celebration of John Evelyn*, edited by Mavis Batey, 22-51. Godalming: Surrey Gardens Trust, 2007.

Jeffery, Sally. 'The Formal Gardens at Moor Park in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.' *Garden History*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Winter 2014): 157-177.

Jellicoe, Geoffrey, Susan Jellicoe, Patrick Goode and Michael Lancaster, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Gardens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Karling, Sten. 'The Importance of André Mollet and his Family for the Development of the French Formal Garden.' In *The French Formal Garden*, edited by Elizabeth MacDougall and Franklin Hamilton Hazlehurst, 3-25. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974.

Keay, Anna. *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power*. London: Continuum, 2008.

Keeble, Neil. *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Kenyon, J.P. *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland 1641-1702*. London: Longmans, 1958.

Ketton-Cremer, R. W. *Felbrigg: the Story of a House*. London: Futura, 1982.

Knowles-Middleton, W.E., ed. *Lorenzo Magalotti and the Court of Charles II, His Relazione D'Inghilterra of 1668*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980.

Knyff, Leonard and Johannes Kipp. *Britannia Illustrata: Or Views of Several of the Queens Palaces, as Also of the Principal seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain, Curiously Engraven on 80 Copper Plates*. London, 1707.

Kuitert, Wybe. 'Japanese robes, "Sharawadgi", and the Landscape Discourse of Sir William Temple and Constantijn Huygens.' *Garden History*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Winter 2013): 157-176.

Lamy, Gabriela and Felice Olivesi. 'Parterres and Floral Embellishments in the Royal Residences of Louis XIV.' In *Andre Le Notre in Perspective*, edited by Patricia Bouchenot-Dechin and Georges Farhat, 229-245. New Haven and London: Yale, 2013.

Laird, Mark. *The Formal Garden: Traditions of Art and Nature*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.

Laird, Mark and John Harvey. "'A Cloth of Tissue of Divers Colours:': The English Flower Border, 1660-1735', *Garden History*, 21: 2 (Winter 1993): 158-205.

Laird, Mark. 'European Horticulture and Planting Design.' In *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening*, edited by Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 171-120. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.

Laird, Mark. 'Revisiting English Gardens 1630-1730, the French Connection in Britannia.' In *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*, edited by Patricia Bouchenot-Dechin and Gerages Farhat, 311-323. New Haven and London: Yale, 2013.

Laird, Mark. *A Natural History of English Gardening*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015.

Latham, Robert, and William Matthews, eds. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, a New and Complete Transcription*. London: Bell, 1970-1983.

Lawson, William. *A New Orchard and Garden*, 1618.

Leates, Louise. 'The Early Work of André Le Nôtre: the Tuileries, Vaux-Le-Vicomte, Fontainebleau.' Lecture. 5 May 2009, Birkbeck.

Leith-Ross, Prudence. 'A Seventeenth-Century Garden in Paris.' *Garden History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Winter 1993): 150-157.

Leith-Ross, Prudence. 'The Garden of John Evelyn at Deptford.' *Garden History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Winter 1997): 138-152.

Levy Peck, Linda. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Loftis, John, ed. *Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halket and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Lloyd, G. 'Denver Sluice and the Ely Ouse-Essex Transfer Scheme.' *Geography*, vol. 60, no. 1 (January 1975): 48-51.

London, George and Henry Wise, *The Retir'd Gardener*, 2nd edition. London, 1717.

Lough, John. *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers*. Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1985.

Louw, Hentie. 'Dutch Influence on British Architecture in the Late Stuart Period 1660-1712.' *Dutch Crossing*, vol. 33, no. 2 (October 2009): 83-120.

MacDougall, Elizabeth, and F. Hamilton Hazlehurst. *The French Formal Garden*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974.

Maclean, Gerald, ed. *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Magalotti, Lorenzo. *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England during the Reign of Charles II ... and 39 Views of the Metropolis, Cities, Towns and Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats as Delineated at that Period by Artists in the Suite of Cosmo*. London: J. Mawman, 1821.

Major, Philip, ed. *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath 1640-90*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Mandelbrote, Giles. 'The Library of the Duke of Lauderdale.' In *Ham House: 400 years of Collecting and Patronage*, edited by Christopher Rowell. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Marshall, Rosalind K. 'Murray, Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale and suo jure Countess of Dysart (bap. 1626, d. 1698).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed 1 May 2013.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19601>.

Meager, Leonard. *The English Gardener*. London, 1670.

Miller, John. "Jermyn, Henry, third Baron Jermyn and Jacobite Earl of Dover (bap. 1636, d. 1708), Courtier and Army Officer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed 21 January 2019.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14781>

Mollet, André. *The Garden of Pleasure*. England. Printed by T.N. for John Martyn ... and Henry Herringman ... 1670.

Morris, C., ed. *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*. London: Cresset Press, 1947.

Mowl, Timothy. 'John Drapentier's Views of the Gentry Gardens of Hertfordshire.' *Garden History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 152-170.

Mowl, Timothy. *Historic Gardens of Gloucestershire*. Stroud: Tempus, 2002.

Mowl, Timothy. *Gentlemen Gardeners, the Men who Created the English Landscape Garden*. Stroud: History Press, 2010.



Mowl, Timothy. *Historic Gardens of Herefordshire*. Bristol: Redcliffe, 2012.

Mowl, Timothy and Brian Earnshaw. *Architecture Without Kings*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Mowl, Timothy and Clare Hickman. *The Historic Gardens of England: Northamptonshire*. Stroud: Tempus, 2008.

Mowl, Timothy and Laura Mayer. *The Historic Gardens of England: Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*. Bristol: Redcliffe, 2013.

Neave, D. 'Lord Burlington's Park and Gardens at Londesborough, Yorkshire.' *Garden History*, Vol 8, No. 1 (Spring 1980): 69-90.

O'Halloran, Sally and Jan Woudstra. "Keeping the Garden at Knole': The Gardeners of Knole in Sevenoaks, Kent, 1622-1711.' *Garden History*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Summer 2012): 34-55.

O'Malley, Therese and Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim, eds. *John Evelyn's 'Elysium Britannicum' and European Gardening*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.

O'Reilly, Louise and Sally Jeffery. *The Gardens at Ham House*. The National Trust, 2012.

'Parishes: Preshute', *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 12: Ramsbury and Selkley Hundreds; the Borough of Marlborough* (1983): 160-184. Accessed: 30 April 2013. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=66525>.

Parkinson, John. *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris*. London: Printed by R.N. and are to be sold by Richard Thrale, 1656.

Pattacini, Laurence. 'André Mollet, Royal Gardener in St James's Park, London.' *Garden History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 3-18.

Pattison, Paul, David Field and Stewart Ainsworth, eds. *Patterns of the Past: Essays in Landscape Archaeology for Christopher Taylor*. Oxford: Oxbow, 1999.

Peters Bourdon, Edgar and Peter Bjorn Kerber. *Pompeo Battoni Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome*. New Haven and London: Yale, 2007.

Pevsner, Nikolaus and Bill Wilson, *The Buildings of England: Norfolk 2: Northwest and South*. Second edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999.

Steven C. A. Pincus. 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s.' *The Historical Journal*, vol. 38, no. 2 (June, 1995): 333-361.

Platt, Sir Hugh. *The Garden of Eden*. London: W. Leake, 1654.

Plot, Robert. *The Natural History of Staffordshire*. Oxford: The Theatre, 1686.

Pridgeon, John. 'Diary of Lord Willoughby's travels in France.' *Calendar of Ancaster Manuscripts*. Historic Monuments Commission: 418-24, transcribed online at [discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk).

Quest-Ritson, Charles. *The English Garden: a Social History*. London: Viking, 2001.

Raylor, Tim. 'Exiles, Expatriots and Travellers: Towards a Cultural and Intellectual History of the English Abroad 1640-1660.' In *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath 1640-90*, edited by Philip Major, 15-45. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Rea, John. *A Complete Florilege, Flora, Ceres and Pomona*. London: Printed for Nathaniel Brook, 1665.

Remington, Vanessa. *Painting Paradise, the Art of the Garden*. London: Royal Collection Trust, 2015.

Eleanour Sinclair Rohde. *The Story of the Garden*. London: Medici Society, 1932.

Rostaing, Aurélia. *Les Jardins de Le Nôtre en Île-de-France*. Paris: Monum, Editions du Patrimoine, 2001.

Rowell, Christopher, ed. *Ham House: 400 years of Collecting and Patronage*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Rowell, Christopher; Cathal, Moore; Nino, Strachey. *Ham House*. The National Trust Guide Book, 1999.

Scott, Eva. *The King in Exile, the Wanderings of Charles II from June 1646 to July 1654*. London: A. Constable, 1905.

Scott, Eva. *The Travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders 1654-1660*. London: A. Constable, 1907.

Scott, Jonathan. *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century English Political Instability in a European Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches*. London: Collins, 1987.

Silcox-Crowe, Nigel. 'Sir Roger Pratt 1620-1685, the Ingenious Gentleman Architect.' In Roderick Brown, ed. *The Architectural Outsiders*. London: Waterstone, 1985: 1-20.

Skelton, Kimberley. 'Reading as a Gentleman and as an Architect: Sir Roger Pratt's library.' *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, vol. 53 (2009): 15-50.

Smith, Geoffrey. *The Cavaliers in Exile*. London: Palgrave, 2003.

Smuts, Malcolm, R. 'Craven, William, Earl of Craven (bap. 1608, d. 1697).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition, May 2007. Accessed 1 May 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6636>.

Smuts, R. Malcolm. 'Murray, William, First Earl of Dysart (d. 1655).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition, Jan 2008. Accessed 1 May 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19653>.

Sowerby, Scott. 'Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England.' *Journal of British Studies*, vol 51, no. 1 (January 2012): 26-49.

Speck, W.A. 'Robert Spencer, Second Earl of Sunderland.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition, Jan 2008. Accessed 1 January 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26135>.

Spencer, Charles. *Althorp, The Story of an English House*. London: Viking, 1998.

Spiers, Walter, Lewis. *The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone*. The Walpole Society, Vol 7, ed. A. J. Finberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919.

Spurr, John. *England in the 1670s*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. CA: Sage Publications, 1995.

Stedman, Gesa. *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth Century France and England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

Stoye, John. *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.

Strong, Roy. *The Renaissance Garden in England*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979 and 1998.

Strong, Roy. *The Artist and the Garden*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Stroud, Dorothy. 'Amid Stately Woods and Groves, Althorp, Northamptonshire in its Setting.' *Country Life*. (30 July 1981), vol. 170: 375-378.

Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*. London: Penguin, 1953.

Taigel, Anthea and Tom Williamson. 'Some Early Geometric Gardens in Norfolk.' *Journal of Garden History*, Vol 11, no. 1 and 2 (Jan-June 1991): 3-111.

Taylor, Kristina. 'The Earliest Wildernesses: Their Meanings and Developments.' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2008): 237-251.

Temple, William. 'Upon the gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening, in the Year 1685.' In *Miscellanea, The Second Part, in Four Essays*. London: William Miller, 1692.

Thick, Malcolm. 'Garden Seeds in England Before the Late Eighteenth Century - II, the Trade in Seeds to 1760.' *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 38, no. 2 (1990): 105-116.

Thornton, Peter and Maurice Tomlin. 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House.' *National Trust Studies* (1980): 21-34.

Thurley, Simon. 'A Country House Fit for a King: Charles II, Winchester and Greenwich.' In *The Stuart Court*, edited by E. Cruickshanks, 214-239. (2000).

Tipping, H. Avray. 'Ham House, Surrey, a Seat of the Earl of Dysart.' *Country Life* (20 March 1920): 372-378; (27 March 1920): 404-414; (3 April 1920): 440-450.

Tipping, H. Avray. 'Furniture at Althorp, Northamptonshire I.' *Country Life* (11 June 1921), vol. 49: 721-723 and 'Furniture at Althorp, Northamptonshire II.' (18 June 1921), vol. 49: 771-773.

Tipping, H. Avray. *English Homes, Period VI vol. I, Late Georgian 1760-1820*. London: Country Life, 1926.

Valeriani, Simona. 'Learning about Architecture and Building in Seventeenth Century England. The case of Sir Roger Pratt.' In *Akten der 45. Tagung für Ausgrabungswissenschaft und Bauforschung*, Koldewey Gesellschaft, Dresden: Thelen Verlag. (30 April-4 May 2010): 127-35.

Valeriani, Simona. 'Lovers, Gentlemen and Farmers: Architecture, Estate Management and Knowledge in Sir Roger Pratt's Unpublished Writings.' In *Prospectus- the Varied Role of the Amateur in Early Modern Europe*, special issue of *Nuncius*, Vol. 31 (2016): 584-610.

Van der Groen, Jan. *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*. Amsterdam, 1669.

*Vertue Notebooks II*. Vol XX, The Walpole Society, Oxford University Press, 1932.

Walford, Edward. 'Mansions in Piccadilly.' In *Old and New London: Volume 4*. London, 1878: 273-290. *British History Online*. Accessed 1 September 2019. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol4/pp273-290>.



Wareham A. F. and A. P. M. Wright. "Cheveley: Manors and Estate." In *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 10, Cheveley, Flendish, Staine and Staploe Hundreds (North-Eastern Cambridgeshire)*, London: Victoria County History, 2002: 46-49. British History Online. Accessed 6 January 2019. <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol10>.

Waterhouse, E.K. 'Seventeenth-Century Pictures at Althorp.' *Country Life*. (19 March 1938), vol. 83, pp. 293-296.

Willes, Margaret. *The Making of the English Gardener: Plants, Books and Inspiration 1560-1660*. New Haven and London: Yale, 2013.

Williamson, Tom. 'Garden History and Systematic Survey.' In *Garden History, Issues, Approaches and Methods*, edited by John Dixon Hunt, 59-78. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992.

Williamson, Tom. *Polite Landscapes. Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England*. Stroud: Sutton, 1995.

Williamson, Tom, *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park, Garden Design in Norfolk, England c.1680-1840*, BAR British Series 268. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Williamson, Tom and Hertfordshire Gardens Trust. *The Parks and Gardens of West Hertfordshire*. Letchworth: Hertfordshire Gardens Trust, 2000.

Wilson, Richard and Alan, Mackley. *Creating Paradise, The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880*. London: Hambledon and London, 2000.

Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim. Foreword to *John Evelyn's 'Elysium Britannicum' and European Gardening*, edited by Therese O' Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.

Woodbridge, Kenneth. *Princely Gardens, the Origins and Development of the Formal French Style*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.

Worlidge, John. *Systema Horticulturae or the Art of Gardening*. London, 1677.

Wortley, Laura. 'Jan Siberechts in Henley-on-Thames.' *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 149, no. 1248, British Art (March 2007): 148-157.

Woudstra, Jan. 'The Re-instatement of the Greenhouse Quarter at Hampton Court Palace.' *Garden History*, vol 37, no 1 (Summer 2009): 80-110.

Woudstra, Jan and Colin Roth, eds. *The History of Groves*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.

Wren, Christopher. *Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens ...* London, 1750: 351-360.

Yorke, James. 'French Furniture Makers at Ham.' *Furniture History*, 26 (1990): 236-8

## APPENDIX ONE: Notes on Euston Hall

Although available evidence for Euston is scant, the following conjectural plan of the garden layout (Fig.1) is based on visual evidence from the Edmund Prideaux (1693-1745) sketches of c.1720<sup>758</sup>, a comparison of map evidence using the Hodskinson map of 1783 (Fig.5), an enclosure map of 1836 (Fig.6), later OS maps, as well as extant remains of the woodland and canal. John Evelyn's descriptions of 1671 and 1677<sup>759</sup> and Philip Skippon's observations of 1669<sup>760</sup> also contributed useful evidence.

From these sources, if the conjectural plan is accepted, it can be seen that the Euston gardens were continental in inspiration.

### Continental features:

- The orangery garden, greenhouse, parterres, fountain and statues (Fig.2).
- The canal (Fig.2).
- Woodland areas with rides or walks, also a raised diagonal terrace walk giving views across parkland.
- Ornamental water (shape and size unknown, shown partially in Prideaux, Fig.3).
- Raised terrace along south front (shown in Prideaux, Fig.2 and 3).
- Size and scale emphasized by axial plan.

### Novelties/innovations:

- 'Screw' bridge across river.
- Avenues/ tree-lined walks.
- Orangery and greenhouse (Fig.2).

### Absence of 'English' characteristics:

- No walls or walled enclosures.
- No kitchen garden incorporated in the overall plan.
- No apparent scope for fruit cultivation (though some evidence of fruit against raised woodland terrace walk).
- No flower garden (though some evidence of flower cultivation in Arlington's London home).

---

<sup>758</sup> Prideaux drawings from John Harris (ed.), 'The Prideaux Collection of Topographical Drawings', *Architectural History*, 7, (1963), pp.17-108.

<sup>759</sup> E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 10-16 October 1671, vol. III, p.591 and 10 September 1677, vol. IV, p.118. (2000).

<sup>760</sup> C. Hood, 'An East Anglian Contemporary of Pepys: Phillip Skippon of Foulsham, 1641-1692' in *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXII, (1924), pp.147-189.

Possible English character:

- Areas for walks – illustrated in Prideaux and described in Evelyn.
- Areas of grass.
- Plain grass parterres.
- Gate piers across entrance court, 'transparent', set in open ironwork fence.

Aim to impress as Roger North suggests, describing Lord Arlington as a 'profuse courtier ... who must needs make the place (Euston) fit to entertain his master the king, to whom court was made by treats and administering pleasure.'<sup>761</sup>

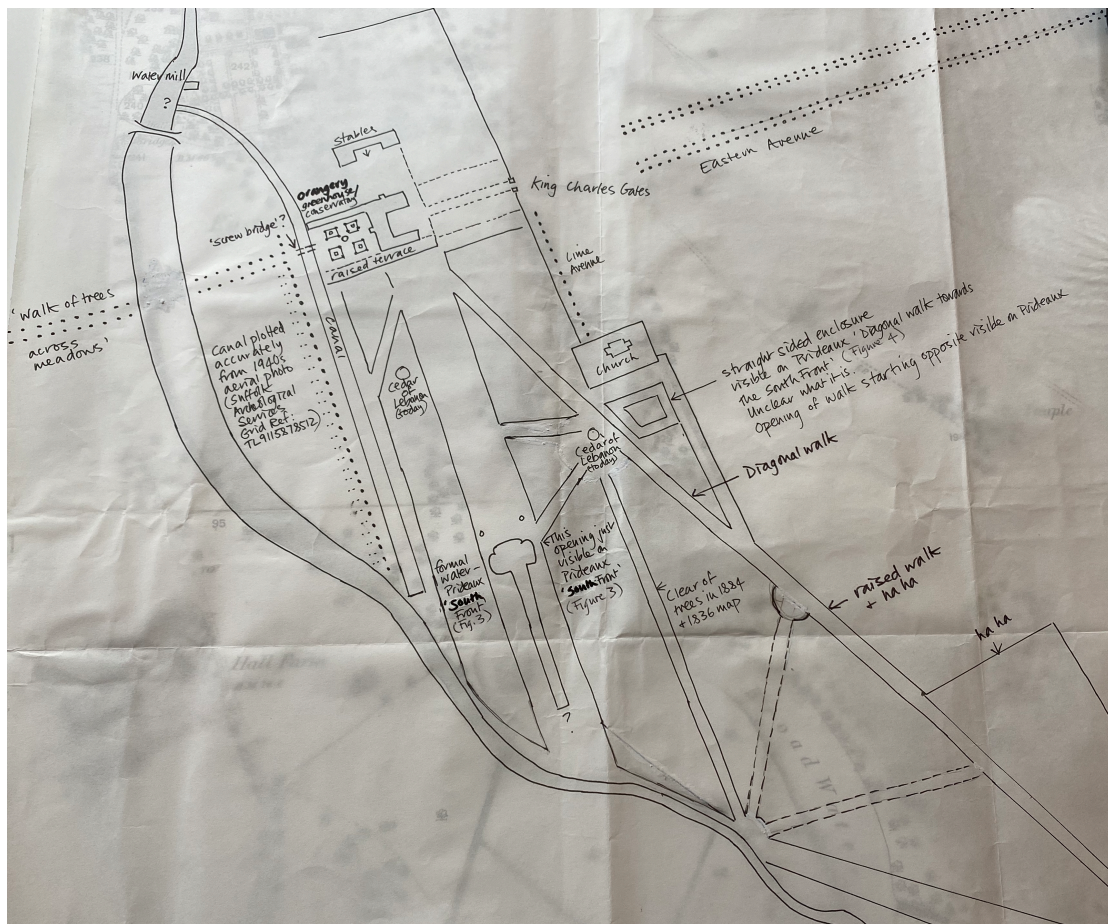


Figure 1 Conjectural plan of Euston Park, c. 1676, superimposed on 25" OS map, 1884.

<sup>761</sup> Roger North in Howard Colvin, and John Newman, (eds.), *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p.142-3.



Figure 2: 'Back Front of Euston & Orangeries towards ye West' showing orangery garden with greenhouse left, grass parterres, fountains and statues, canal in foreground, partial view of raised terrace to right. Prideaux.

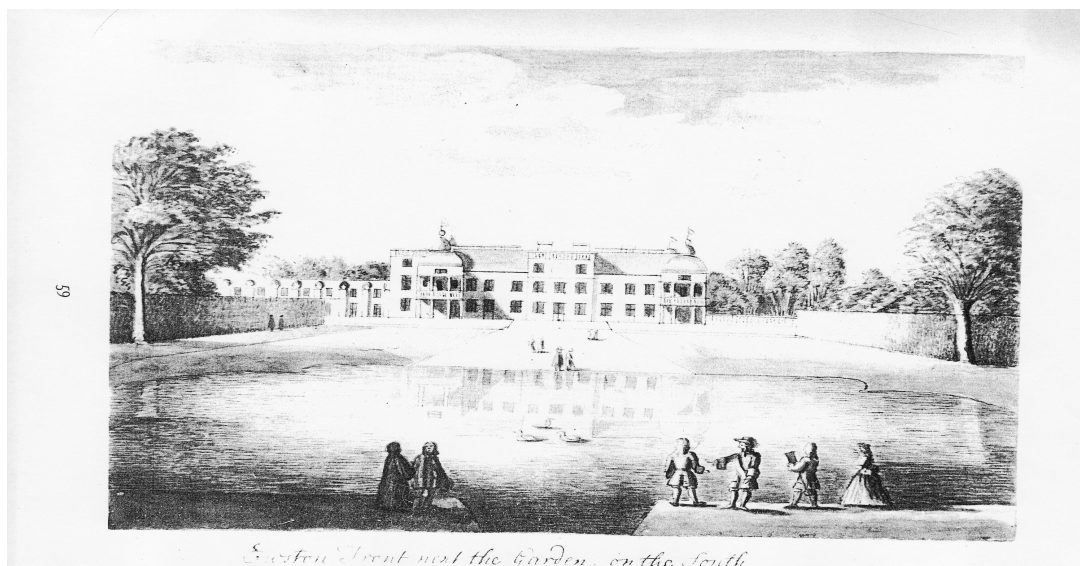


Figure 3 'Euston Front next the Garden on the South' showing symmetrically shaped ornamental water and raised terrace along the south front, with greenhouse to left of Hall. Prideaux



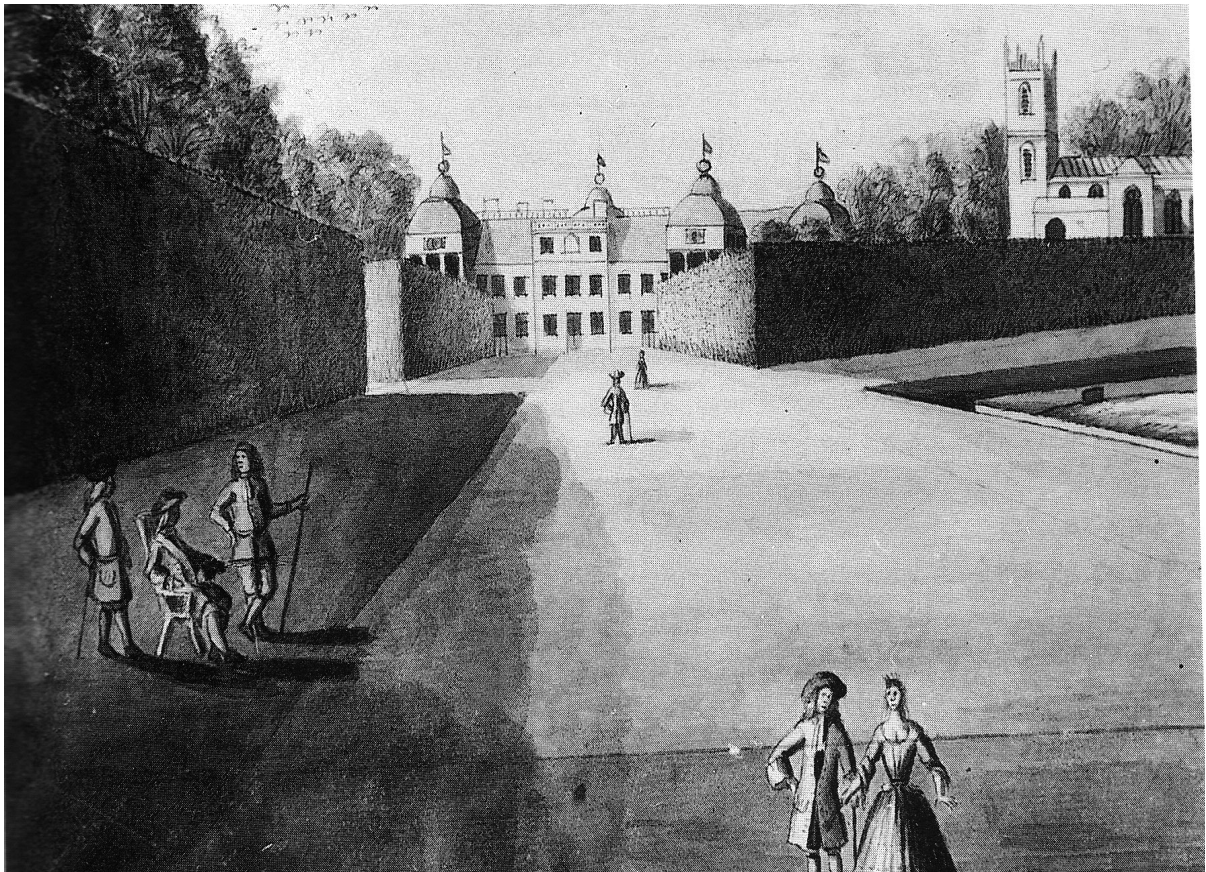


Figure 4: South Front seen from the diagonal walk. Prideaux



Figure 5: Euston, Hodskinson's map of Suffolk, 1773, showing raised diagonal walk and ornamental woodland.



Figure 6: 1836 Map showing diagonal walk, woodland and avenues.



**Appendix 2: List of gardens built or remodelled 1660-1680 extracted from David Jacques' dissertation overlays  
(plus 6 additional gardens)**

Place	Date	Person	K&K?	Map	Image	Source	Details/ Comments	
Albury, Surrey	1667	Henry Howard		1701 estate map by Abraham Walker	Wenceslaus Hollar engravings 1645	Evelyn Aubrey	23 acres	1
Althorp, Northants	1666-8	Robert Spencer, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Earl of Sunderland	1697 (p 37 DJ) shows 1666-8 garden		Johannes Vorstermans c.1675 (hung in town house, viewed by Evelyn & D of Norfolk 22 Jan 1678)	Magalotti admired for 'symmetrical elegance' p.250 Evelyn	grilles	2
Amesbury, Wilts	1660	William Seymour, Duke of Somerset					House by John Webb fin by 1660s	3
Ashdown House, Berks	1665	William Earl of Craven	c.1716? (UKPG)				NT House 1660s William Wynde/Balth Gerbier	4
Aspeden hall, Herts	1675	Ralph Freeman					Small orangery	5
Audley End, Essex	1670	Royal (sold to CII 1668)			Winstanley c,1676	Landscape management report 1993		6
Badminton, Glos.	1668	Henry Marquess of Worcester, D of Beaufort 1682	in Atkins c. 1690	Anon plan in DJ p101 shows planting of 1660s	Painting Thomas Smith c 1710, shows 1660s devpts Danckerts c 1669 shows 1660s emparkment	Atkyns 1712 Fiennes Much researched	Mostly too late?	7
Bayhall Pembury, Kent	1660	Richard Amherst		?Engraving in Kent Archeol Soc article online	Siberechts c. 1675/80 Oil c. 1740 (Tunbridge Museum)			8
Belvoir Castle	1675	John Manners Earl of Rutland			Thomas Badeslade 1731 shows poss earlier terracing and bowling green on hill			9
Blacketts 'New House', later 'Anderson Place', N'castle	1675 bought house	Sir William Bart Blackett			Engraving c. 1710 Newcastle libraries online		Newcastle coal mine owner Flower garden (DJ no ref)	10

Bramshill House, Hants	1660	Robert Henley		Design / valuation of 1666 at Hamps RO Justis survey 1699 1756/7 survey		Debois Landscape Report 1992 Family records Hamps RO Conservation statement 2013	Jacobean house Some formal garden remains Listed garden walls Gr1 poss too early? Not in DJ?	11
Brympton d'Evercy, Somerset	1675	Sir John Baronet Sydenham	Knyff in Beeverel 1707			Management plan 1997	Low wall supporting grand terrace (DJ p141)	12
Buckingham (Arlington) House, Middlesex	1674	Henry Bennet Earl of Arlington					Terrace walk	13
Burley on the Hill Rutland	1670	George Villiers D of Buckingham		Plan c 1690 (DJ p57) Plan 1680 (Ross 1984 Tradescants)	Tillemans 1729 (JHp233)	Evelyn	Avenue (also at New Hall) Terrace	14
Burlington House Piccadilly	1667	Richard Boyle Earl of Burlington	C 1700 (DJ p102)					15
Burton Constable Yorks	1675	Rob Constable Viscount Dunbar		1621 estate map	Painting of c 1680 (JH) p83)			16
Cassiobury, Herts	1672	Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1661	1707 c 1700 (DJ)	Map 1766 Plan late 18c Plan of parterre in Cook 'Forest trees etc' (DJ p 95)		Evelyn Much researched Conservation statement 2011 Management Plan 2014	Hugh May Moses Cook	17
Cheveley Park, Cambs	1675	Henry Jermyn		1775 estate plan shows earlier garden	Siberechts c. 1681		Flower garden  Gate piers	18
Chirk Castle, Denbighs	1675	Sir Thomas Myddleton Bart			Badeslade c 1735 Thomas Francis c. 1670s Orpheus (castle in back) Tillemans c.1715	Accounts 1660- 80s published Landscape survey 1996 Garden survey 1981	NT (17c records)	19
Cliveden, Bucks	1674	George Villiers Duke of Buckingham			1750s John Donowell drawing shows terrace	Evelyn 1679 Landscape Management plans 2005 and 1984	Begun 1666, in existence by 1679 Wm Winde arcaded terrace and steps 1670s listed gr1	20

Cobham hall Kent	1661	Charles Stuart, Duke of Lomax		Survey maps 1641, 1718 (by George Russell p.174 DJ), 1741,1758		Park survey 1984	House built 1662-1672 (Duke d)	21
Cornbury, Oxf	1664	Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon		Estate map 1787		Evelyn Plot 1677 (Nat Hist Oxf) Landscape cons report 1994	Hugh May house Looker gardener	22
Deepdene (The), Surrey	1655/71	Charles Howard		Aubrey plan 1673 (Bod Aubrey MS 4ff49-50)p44DJ		Evelyn 1655 Aubrey 1673 (Natural History Surrey pp162-5,211) CMP 1996 S Couch	Terraces for fruit	23
Denham Place, Bucks	1655	Sir William Bowyer			Peter Hartover attrib c 1674 JH p 80 John Drapentier attrib Oilc.1705(Yale)(shows garden from 1688 p123 JH)		Water pavilion	24
Dunham Massey, Cheshire	1658	Sir George Booth Bart	1714/1696		Adrian Van Diest c 1697 JH p 146 4 views 1751 JH p172	Survey 1994	NT Early picture of interest?	25
Durdans, the Surrey	1678	George Berkley Baron Berkley			Knyff 1679 DJ p97	Pepys		26
Eaton Hall, Cheshire	1676 1675-82 (house EH)	Sir Thomas Grosvenor	1699(DJp65)	Estate plan 1738		Garden History 12, no 1 (1984), pp 39-57	Formal approach avenue survives House by Samwell Early 'bason' (DJ) summerhouse	27

Essex House, Westminster	1650	Frances Devereux		Ogilby & Morgan London map 1676 Detail(DJp73)			John Rose, gardener	28
Euston, Suffolk	1670	Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington			Prideaux c.1716	Evelyn Thomas Povey Conservation Managemt Plan 2011	Done (Birkbeck dissertation)	29

Fulham Palace, Middlesex	1678	Henry Compton Bishop of London			Rocque plan 1746 shows 1670s garden?	Garden History IV, no 3 (1976), pp 14-20; IX, no 1 (1981), pp 57-8 CMP 1999, 2006, '08. JE 1681	Geo London, gardener exotics	30
Greenwich Palace	1662	Royal		Le Notre Plan 1662, Institute de France Ms 1605,61 Pepys Plan 1675-80	Francis Place engravings 1666-80 Johanes Vorstermans c. 1672			31
Grimsthorpe, Lincs	1664	Montagu Bertie Earl of Lindsey	1715			CMP 2012		32
Groombridge Place, Kent	1670	Philip Packer		Plan 1902, Inigo Triggs		Evelyn 1652, 1674	Walled garden, terraces surviving?	33
Gunnersbury, Middlesex	1663	John Maynard		Rocque 1746		Restoration plan 1996		34

Hall Barn, Bucks	1651	Edmund Waller		Estate survey 1763 (p236 DJ)		Evelyn associate Restoration plan 1993	17c house (Dutch)pre1675	35
Ham House, Surrey	1672	Elizabeth Tollemache Ctess Dysart				Restoration plan 2009 Lots sources	Done	36
Hamilton Palace, Lanarks	1665	Wm Douglas d of Hamilton		Map 1667 (parterres, walls, steps, orchard)	Isaac Miller drawings Slezer engr. 1693 Alexander Edwards drawings1708			37
Hamstead Marshall, Berks	1663	William Craven	1714	Rocque 1761 Estate survey 1775 & 1785		Landscape Report 1996 D Lambert Aubrey (plans for a mount)	Gatepiers and walls remain See Ashdowne Hse	38

Hampton Court, Middlesex	1661	Royal		Talman plan 1694-8 (p 123 DJ)	Danckerts c 1667 Rocque 1736	Survey 1982 CMP 1995	Lots written (poss not on this period)	39
Horseheath Hall, Cambs	1663	Wm Allington, B Allington				RCHM Earthwork survey Evelyn	Pratt Raised terrace Fruit trees L Gurle	40
Ingestre Hall, Staffs	1672	Sir Walter Chetwynde			Prospect by Michael Burghers in Plott, 1686	Natural History of Staffs, Dr Rob Plott, 1685/6 Fiennes	Elizabethan house Church 1673	41
Kew	1670	Sir Henry Capel				Evelyn Moses Cook	Noted for fruit trees	42
Kilkenny	1664	Butler, Duke of Ormonde						43

Knole, Kent	1675	Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset	?		Badeslade and John Harris c. 1715			44
Lanhydrock, Cornwall	1648	J Robartes, Baron Robartes		Gascoyne, Lanhydrock Atlas 1696	Birds eye view late 17c NMR Prideaux c. 1726	CMP 1995 LUC	NT Not in DJ or JH	45
Lavington, Wiltshire	1675	James Bertie Earl of	Abingdon			CMP 2009		46
Ledston Hall, Yorks	1653-71	Sir John Lewys		County map 1771 Estate plan 1802			JH p192-3	47
LLanfihangel Court, Monmouths	1670	J Arnold			Painting of 1680s		Terracing, steps & pavilion remain	48
Londesborough Hall, Yorks	1676	Richard Boyle Earl of Burlington	c. 1700	T Pattison Estate map 1739		Estate records (bowling green 1678) in Neave 1977 Defoe	Robert Hooke designed 1660-80 Gate piers & walls Gr1 Platform & arcaded walls Looker gardener	49
Longleat House, Wilts	1677	Thomas Thynn Viscount Weymouth (after 1683)	1702-7	Vit Brit 3 1725	Siberechts, paintings, 1675-8 JH p69	Historic Landscape MP 1998	Most refs post 1683	50

Margam Park, Glam	1675 (why?)	Sir Edward Mansell, bart			2 oils attrib Thomas Smith (JH p. 127)	Greenhouse catalogue 1727 Masterplan 2010	Not in DJ Large 'fish ponds' in pic Famous for citrus trees (1727) Walled deer park (date?) 17c banqueting house façade	51
Mount Edgcombe, Cornwall	1670	Sir Richard Edgcombe (1640-88)		Estate plans 1729, 1819	W du Busc, Mount Edgcombe and Plymouth, c 1680 G van Edema, Mount Edgcombe from Stonehouse, 1686 (all in JH no use) Prideaux c. 1727 (DJ p38) Badeslade 1735 & Vitruvius Britannicus 1739	? Evelyn (cousin)	Lots written but most re later period.	52

Ragley Hall, Wawicks	1679	Edward Conway, Earl Conway (d. 1683 house unfin)	1707 (p. 121 DJ) eg of K&K unreliability?				Hooke architect 1678, house begun 1677 by Roger or William Hurlbut	53
Raynham Hall, Norfolk	1660	Sir Horatio Townshend, Baron T 1661 (bap 1630-1687)		Estate maps 1621, 1785	Prideaux 1725-7	Townshend family papers extensive Correspondence 1650-87 private coll.	Mostly pre 1637 and post 1688 but worth a look?	54

Ryston Hall, Norfolk	1671	Sir Roger Pratt			Oil in house c.1680	Memoranda books during construction	1669-72 walled	55
Sayes Court, Kent	1653/64/83	John Evelyn		Plan by Evelyn 1653		Evelyn	Terrace walk Oval bed Parterres Italian/French?	56
St James Park, Msex	1660	Royal	1720 plan and perspective view	Newcourt & Faithorn, St James Park and Garden, surveyed 1643-7, published 1658 ( in LUC 1981) Ogilby & Morgan, St James Park & Garden, 1681-2		Royal Parks Historical Survey, St James's Park, (Land Use Consultants 1981) [Contains maps, illustrations, and other references.]	Lots written important for royal/ foreign influence, French gardeners etc	57
St James Square, Msex	1663	Henry Jermyn, Earl of St Albans					Cheveley connection	58

Stowe, Kilkhampton, Devon x Cornwall	1679	John Grenville Earl of Bath		Gascoyne est map 1694	Prideaux, 1716 (DJ p.93) British Library, Add. MS 36360, f.167 (ref from Wikip.) Drawing by Buckler + drawing of site of house + oil painting also Prideaux(?) photo in South Molton Museum	Studied by Chris Taylor (DJ p.14)  Deeds etc in Royal Institute of Cornwall, Truro	House built 1679, walled gardens Demolished 1739 Stables survive + wood carving etc dispersed Interesting? Cf Cheveley	59
--------------------------------------	------	-----------------------------	--	-----------------------	---	--	--	----

Sudbury Hall, Derbys	1675			Map 1659 priv coll	Oil c. 1700 John Griffer (JH p.130)	Building accounts	NT House 1659-70 extant	60
----------------------	------	--	--	--------------------	-------------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------	----

Swallowfield House, Berks	1675	Henry Hyde, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Earl of Clarendon 1674				Evelyn described in 1685: kitchen garden, canals, orangeries .	House rebuilt 1689-91 Not in DJ nor JH	61
Swillington House, Yorks	1670	Sir William Lowther(c1612-88)son SirWL(1639-1705) Bought 1655	1708		Engraving undated c. 1700, Leeds library archive (Kip?)		Demol 1950 Not in DJ nor JH Not in UKPG  Business in Rotterdam, returned 1653	62

Syon House, Msex	1665	Charles Seymour Duke of Somerset		Maps 1607, 1635 & 1739 Rocque 1746	Jan Griffier I c. 1710 (JH p. 129) Canaletto 1749 ( JH p.313)	Historical Survey & Landscape Management Strategy for Syon Park, (Land Use Consultants 1991) Land Use Consultants <i>Syon Park Heritage Landscape Management Plan</i> (2011) <i>Syon Park Heritage Mangmt Plan 2</i> (2011)	Formal gdns shown 1607  Not in DJ (except listed as one of D of N'land's houses)	63
Thorpe Hall, Cambs	1656	Oliver St John		Est plan 1760, 1798 (plan p.64 DJ)		Sale Catalogue 1789	Built 1653-66 Walled rectang survives	64
Tottenham Park, Wilts	1670	John Seymour, Duke of Somerset inherited 1671 d 1675		Estate plan 1730-40	Rysbrack c.1737	Aubrey described 1672: walks, avenues, Duke's 'best seat' planning new pile.	House destroyed 1675, now 19c Garden 18/19c	65

Tredegar House, Monmouthshire	1664	Sir William Morgan d. 1680		Plan of c 1670, 19c tracing in Nat Lib of Wales, Tredegar Ms1077 (DJ p.360, n 54)			NT Parts 17c layout survive; walls, oak avenue. House built 1664-72 Architect unknown	67
Twickenham Park, Msex	1670	John Berkley, Baron berkeley		Glover's map 1653 shows earlier garden			'St Margaret's Est' not listed Garden 1608 for Countess Bedford	68
Wanstead,	1675	Josiah Child	1728 c 1713	Rocque 1735		Debois Landscape	Bought 1673-4,	69



Essex						Survey 1990 S Jeffery paper 1997	work started on gardens before hs	
Wilton House, Wiltshire	1652	Philip Herbert, 5 <sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke (d.1669)			Magalotti 1669 Campbell 1725 Rocque	Evelyn 1654 Aubrey Fiennes 1685 Debois survey 1992 Lots written	New house 1653 Webb gardens by 1669 inc grotto, maze, fountains. No changes until 8 <sup>th</sup> E 1683?	70
Wimbledon Manor/ park	1678	Thomas Osbourne, Earl of Danby bought 1674			Winstanley 1678 (p102JH) Rocque 1762 Dj p83 reconstruction of 1649 gdn (source Amherst?)	Evelyn  CMP 1997		71

Wimborne St Giles, Dorset	1650	Anthony Ashley Cooper Lord Chancellor + Earl of Shaftesbury 1672, d. 1682		Estate plans 1659, 1672	Thomas Vivares 1760	Susannah Fleming  2006 report + Garden History:43,1(2015) Garden notebook + Records in TNA		72
Windsor, Berks  W Great Park  W Little Park	1674Maastricht garden, avenues, walks (Long Walk 1680s) 1675 new lodge, canal	Royal		Many plans none of right date	Francis Place drawing 1680s Rocque 1738	Evelyn/ D Lambert & T Longstaffe-Gowan, Report: Windsor Home & Great Parks (1996)/ J Roberts royal landscape 1997		73
Woburn Abbey, Beds	1650	William Russell, Earl of Bedford		Map 1661(DJp60), 1738(DJ p337)		Conservation Statement 2005 +more recent?	John field gardener	74
Wollaton hall, Notts	1660	Sir Francis Willoughby	1707		Siberechts 1697	Restoration Plan 2002		75
Wotton House, Surrey	1653	George Evelyn		1739 estate survey	J Evelyn, sketch 1640, 1652,1653 Aubrey, drawing late 17c	Historic Landscape Survey, (Colson Stone1997)	Lots written	76
Wrest Park	1656 1676	Anabel Grey Anthony Grey, Earl of Kent m. 1662	1705-6		Rocque 1735, 1737	CMP 2010	1671-1702 house and landscape	77

### Additional gardens, not included in David Jacques' dissertation as worked on in the period

			K&K	Map/plan	Image	Sources	Detail/ comments	No.
Aynho, Northants	1660-73 (addition to earlier house destroyed after Naseby, 1645)	Edward Marshall (1660-73 Master Mason to King) for John Cartwright (d1676)		Plan 1696 (copied 1895) Pre Brown plan 1758	1721 view Tillemans  2 drawings by James Fish  In Northants RO Drawing of 1683 (?in Pevsner)	AA Dissert 1996 on garden 1696(2009) Conservation Strategy by Illman Young (figs online)	Yew walk and mount said to be 1660s? Columns and gates details of 1660s ?source	78
Coleshill, Berks/Oxfds	1653-1660?	George Pratt (Roger Pratt archit)			JP Neale sketch 1818	Berks RO plan Triggs artic+ photos Bldg accts 1660s	Destroyed 1952 fire  Gate piers	79
Easton Piercy, Wiltshire	1669	John Aubrey			Aubrey sketch plans in Hunt 'Garden and Grove' p155 (Bod Aubrey Ms17) 'Italianate'?		Nothing extant	80
Kingston Lacy, Dorset	House fin 1667 Pratt	Sir Ralph Banks (d1677)		Plans 1742, 1774-5 (shows original garden layout)		Family records DRO Conservatn statement 2014 (S Rutherford)	NT Formal gardens enclosed by walls (Restored?) Avenues Not in DJ	81
Marden, Surrey (Woldingham)	1677	Sir Robert Clayton (History of parliament online : great wealth, extravagant house Old Jewry, Ldn))		Estate survey 1761, 1781	1761 sketch 'Flower House' by William Chapman (not the house?)	Evelyn (acquired from E's cousin 1672) Gibson	Not in DJ, JH, UKPG  Surrey History Centre deeds, etc	82
Rydal Hall, Cumbria	1669	Sir Daniel Fleming		1770 estate map by Thomas Goss		Building accounts 1669/1670s  Described 1692 Rev Thomas Machell	Not in DJ, JH 'Grot' of 1669 built to view waterfall	83

**APPENDIX THREE:****Table comparing French, Dutch and English garden design c. 1640-1660**

<b>French Garden Design Principles/characteristics</b>	<b>Dutch Garden Design Principles/Characteristics</b>	<b>English Garden Design Principles/Characteristics</b>
Followed design principles	Principled	'Laissez faire'/ pragmatic
Geometry, symmetry, straight lines	Geometry, symmetry, straight lines	Geometry, symmetry, straight lines
Nature controlled	Control (topiary?)	Nature less controlled (?)
Axial layout over large area, Emphasizing scale/ whole composition More open	Axial but not over large area Compartments hedged or treed or 'canalled'  Smaller scale (than France)	Walled, square enclosures More 'ad hoc' Axiality developing (?) More enclosed NB Gate piers
<i>Parterres de broderie</i>	Cutwork parterre: flower beds cut into turf, <i>parterres de broderie</i>	Plain grass parterres/ knots
Flowers less important, often separated	Flowers important especially exotic, specimen	Flower garden important, included in pleasure garden
Predominance of aesthetics over utility Kitchen garden and fruit trees elsewhere		More utilitarian Fruit trees included, particularly around walls
Importance of water – canals emphasise axiality	Canals important Outer boundaries: canals/moats, rows of trees	
Fountains, grottos, statues, cascades	Fountains, grottos, statues	
Aviaries, orangeries	orangeries	
		Importance of grass, walks, bowling greens
		Importance of walks – grass or gravel

<p><b>Context:</b>  Absolute monarchy  Powerful aristocracy  Demonstrating power/wealth</p> <p>Land available (sparse population)</p>	<p><b>Context:</b>  Protestant republic  Wealthy gentry and merchant class</p> <p>Less land available: densely populated</p> <p>Landscape level, need for drainage  Windswept: need shelter: high hedges/moats/canals</p> <p>Mercantile trading nation: supply of exotic plants</p> <p>Agricultural tradition: skilled at cultivation</p>	<p><b>Context:</b>  Threatened absolute monarchy  Re-establishing power  Uncertainty  Demonstrating power but tempered: not upsetting local gentry/ not too ostentatious</p> <p>Economic constraints: monarchy short of money/ war</p>
---	---	--