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The Italian Garden in England 1787-1863

Volume 1

Caroline Jane Bradney

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, History of Art Department. August 2008

Word count: 79,275
Abstract

This thesis explores the development of the Italian garden in England between 1787 and 1863 using the twin phenomena of style and reception. The aim is to identify firstly, if there was an Italian garden style or styles and secondly, what personal associations triggered an understanding of individual Italian gardens. Finally, by comparing the Italian style with the Italian associations it will be possible to answer the questions ‘was there an Italian garden in England at this time?’ and if there was, ‘what did it look like?’

Other studies of the garden at this date often refer to the Italian or Italianate garden, but rarely define it, and those that do, base their definition upon scant information. This is the first detailed analysis of garden style in contrast with the many vigorous investigations of architectural style during the same period. By uniting the end of the eighteenth-century with the first half of the nineteenth-century this research also focuses attention upon a time that is often overlooked by being absorbed into the ‘long eighteenth-century’ or an extended Victorian period.

This research primarily uses gardens and horticultural texts with a lesser consideration of architecture and architectural sources. The methodology combines the study of primary and secondary sources with site visits. The findings are presented chronologically in six main sections. Firstly, there is a review of the architectural and horticultural literature of the period and the accounts of English tourists who visited gardens in Italy. This is followed by four sections that explore different stylistic themes associated with Italian gardens in England; formality, which is sub-divided into two different periods, the picturesque and Pompeii. Sandwiched amongst these, in its correct chronological position, is the sixth section which comprises the first study of the gardens created by Sir Charles Barry.
Acknowledgements

Many owners of the gardens I have researched have granted unfettered and sometimes repeated access, to their homes as well as their gardens. They and their gardeners made my visits more productive by sharing insights into gardens they know intimately. Likewise, the owners of archives have, almost without exception, been most helpful and trusting; especially when loaning me family papers and photographs. It has also been refreshing to see consultants giving free and open access to information that other consultants working in other fields might have kept to themselves. In this respect I would particularly like to thank Johnny Phibbs of Debois Landscape Survey Group and Dominic Cole of Land Use Consultants.

The Forestry Commission, Natural England and the National Trust have been amongst the most frequent recipients of my requests for information which they have largely dealt with efficiently and promptly. Staff at the Lindley Library, and particularly Christopher provided a constantly reliable and speedy photocopying service that gave easy access to their large collection of nineteenth-century horticultural magazines. Charles Hind at the Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings and Archive Collection was helpful in guiding me through the complexities of the Barry Drawings and in offering advice on other research leads. Of the many county record offices I have used I would particularly like to thank the teams at Gloucester, Ipswich, Leeds and Maidstone: they provide an invaluable service in an economic environment that often threatens to reduce their resources.

Fellow students at the University of Bristol (many of whom have by now completed their research) have given support, encouragement and assistance. Kate Felus guided me around Goodrich Court in Herefordshire, Dr. Dianne Barre provided encouragement and information on several landscapes overseas, and Dr. Clare Hickman was always ready to listen, especially when things were not going smoothly. Former fellow students of the Garden History M.A. course have
continued to offer advice and encouragement and I must especially thank Kate Hughes for her
instantaneous Italian and Latin translations and similarly, Dr. Annegreth Dieze for her German
translations. Michael Liversidge, the co-Director of the Garden History M.A., provided valuable
and expert advice on a range of art history matters, and Michael Richardson and Hannah Lowery
of the University’s Special Collections were always able to help even when hindered by building
refurbishment.

The County Gardens Trusts of Surrey and the Isle of Wight provided helpful information and
amongst their members Rita Goodwin gave most welcome hospitality and she and Cherrill Sands
were valiant companions in a battle with the undergrowth at the Deepdene. Dr. Sophieke
Piebenga provided welcome lunches, unfettered access to her books and research and great
company when walking Westonbirt’s Italian Garden. Sandy Haynes has been a continual source
of sound advice, useful contacts, books, yet more enjoyable hospitality and unceasing
classification on garden history. I am particularly grateful to her for taking the time to read and
comment upon much of this thesis. Many others, too numerous to list; have also provided useful
leads and advice.

However, most important was the continuous support of my husband, Martin, and my supervisor
Professor Timothy Mowl. I could not have contemplated embarking upon this research without
Martin’s commitment to the project. For the last four years it has dictated our holiday destinations
and monopolised most of our weekends. He has also driven several thousand miles in pursuit of
gardens and their archives and listened to me chattering for hours as ideas formed, were discarded
and gradually coalesced. Finally I would not have completed this research without Tim’s constant
stream of questions and, most taxing for him, his patient and exhaustive reading and re-reading of
everything I have written and attempted to write!
Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author:

SIGNED: [Signature]          DATE: 30 August 2008
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Illustrations
1. INTRODUCTION

Sir Charles Barry first met his future client, William John Bankes, camped beside the great temple of Rameses II at Abu Simbel in Egypt. Barry was taking a paid break from his architectural tour of Italy to sketch the archaeological sites of the Middle East. Bankes was similarly occupied travelling in the company of the British Consul-General, Henry Salt, and the former strongman and Egyptologist, Giovanni Belzoni. Their first meeting led Bankes and Barry to briefly consider collaborating on a publication about Egypt. This research will show that they met next in Rome when Bankes showed Barry around the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi. Both men had previously independently explored Spain where Bankes acquired paintings and Barry studied the architecture of Milan Cathedral from which he later took the inspiration for the spire of the Palace of Westminster. Back in England they set about modifying Bankes’ home, Kingston Lacy in Dorset, where they drew upon all of these experiences.

It has been widely recognised that Bankes took many of his ideas for modifications to the house from the work of Inigo Jones, Andrea Palladio and Italian architecture in the mistaken belief that Jones was the original architect of his house. Yet inside his Italian palazzo Bankes dedicated one of Barry’s new rooms to his unique collection of Spanish paintings. Outside the new terrace was shaded beneath a Middle Eastern awning strung between bronze rings set especially for the purpose into the stonework.

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and poles planted in bronze bases set into the new balustrade. The gravel walk extending out from the terrace was modelled on that at the nearby Cistercian Forde Abbey which Bankes understood had also been re-modelled by Jones. At Kingston Lacy the walk terminated with the obelisk Bankes had recovered from another Egyptian site he investigated at Philae. Immediately to the east of the Obelisk Walk was to have been a new garden designed by Barry and inspired by Peter Paul Rubens' *Palazzi Moderna di Genova*, and scattered around were the Cedars of Lebanon grown from seed Bankes collected on Mount Lebanon whilst staying with Lady Hester Stanhope. She recalled him saying: 'By and bye, when we are both respectable old people, we will sit at Kingston Hall, under the shade of our cedars...fanning ourselves in spite of the difference in climate.'

Neither of them was able to indulge these daydreams and instead they both ended their days in disgrace and in exile where they presumably dreamt of England.

Italian gardens such as that which Barry designed for Kingston Lacy were being created throughout England during the first half of the nineteenth century. They were often conceived as part of complex scenes where the house and garden came together to document the eclectic experiences and interests of their creators. At Kingston Lacy, Italy, Spain and Egypt all contributed to the diversity of the composition. Neither these Italian gardens nor their relationship to their wider eclectic settings have been studied in depth before.

At the same time horticultural writers and the compilers of architectural pattern books were also taking inspiration from Italy. In 1822 John Claudius Loudon opened the

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4 Lady Hester Stanhope to Dr Meryon, 23 June 1816, Welcome Institute, London quoted in Sebba, *Collector*, p. 81.
gazetteer of international modern gardens in his first *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* with an account of Italy because 'the blessings of peace and of commerce, the remains of ancient grandeur still existing, and the liberty which some cities had acquired through the generosity and splendour of some Popes and Princes, united with other causes in the revival of arts in Italy rather than in any other country.' In 1839 Charles M'Intosh set out to explain 'in clear and intelligible language...the PRINCIPLES OF TASTE, which shall guide the amateur gardener in laying out and planting' the flower garden. He achieved this in four short chapters devoted to four national gardening styles of which Italy was, again, the first. In 1827 the architect Thomas Frederick Hunt published the first pattern book devoted to what would now be described as the Tuscan style. He named it the 'modern or Italian' style. It was characterised by a new and 'picturesque mode of roofing' using curved overlapping tiles, but it also depended upon the garden, and to make this point Hunt opened with a familiar quotation from Sir Francis Bacon: 'A GARDEN is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of Man; without which, Buildings and Palaces are but gross handy-works.' In 1857 Edward Adveno Brooke's colourful images of one of the most famous gardens of the day, Trentham Hall in Staffordshire, were intended to thrill and excite his reader's imagination for 'The Italian Gardens are spread before us; and as we gaze, how easy it is for fancy to bring over us those skies so "darkly, deeply, beautifully blue;"' the fragrant and gold-dotted groves of the

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8 Ibid., p. xviii.

9 Ibid., n.p.
orange and citron; and graceful clusters of the luscious vine; the dark grouping of the purple pomegranate; the green forests of the olive; and the poetry and song of Italy—beautiful Italy! During the first half of the nineteenth century original Italian gardens had infected the English imagination and the notion of an Italian garden style was becoming familiar.

In 1987 J. Mordaunt Crook, an architectural historian with a special interest in the Victorian period, published The Dilemma of Style: Architectural ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern in which he defined architectural style as 'a way of building codified in imagistic form.' The same approach can be extended to the garden. In 1961 Nikolaus Pevsner had warned that 'If the historian of architecture does not take style dead-seriously, he stops being a historian.' He too might also have included the garden historian. Yet in 2002, in answering the question 'Who knows what a Dutch Garden is?' David Jacques concluded: 'It is time that historians of English garden style eschewed' such labels. Jacques considered national identity to be an historicist framework that diverted 'analysis to concentrate merely upon the superficial attributes...thereby muddying the lens for a more detailed and insightful understanding.' The opening brief summary of examples from the work of Barry, Loudon, M'Intosh and others has demonstrated that the Italian garden did inspire them and rather than 'muddying the lens' it was itself a source of insight. This

research undertakes the first methodical investigation of the 'attributes' of their Italian gardens and considers them in the light of their 'detailed and insightful understanding'. Uniting style and reception in a single study may bring new understanding.

Jacques' criticism was an attempt to move on from a sterile approach in which modern garden historians have often labelled re-creations of the Italian garden in England the 'Italianate' garden. This was not a description with which nineteenth-century garden commentators or observers would have been familiar. Neither is the Italian garden a concept that garden historians have sought to define or analyse. In 1896 Alicia Amherst noted merely the 'stiff ... design' of gardens such as Harewood House, North Yorkshire. Fifty years later in 1958 little progress had been made and Sylvia Crowe remained in broad agreement with Amherst and concluded that the 'fundamental return to formality' in nineteenth-century gardens was encapsulated in 'the Italian revival headed by Barry'.

Christopher Thacker thought it helpful to distinguish between Victorian bedding schemes and the 'neo-Italianate style..., [which] comes from Italy, with a side-glance at Versailles', and in 1988 Michael Waters was interpreting 'the Italian(ate) garden' of the mid-nineteenth century as nothing more precise than 'the most widely adopted of the architecturally-dominant styles'. Two years later Joan Morgan and Alison Richards referred simply to the

15 Italianate had its origins in the sixteenth century and quickly acquired a derogatory note by association with the 'Italianate Englishman' who returned to England scandalised by English life and English customs. It has not been found in any contemporary sources consulted during this research. 16 Alicia Amherst, A History of Gardening in England, 2nd edn (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), p. 304.
‘dominant style...[of the] Italianate formality of Trentham Park and Shrubland’20 Park during the 1840s and 1850s, and in 2001 Charles Quest-Ritson declared that ‘Italian - or Italianate - was the only style for the super-rich for most of the nineteenth century’.21 The Italianate garden was a classification seemingly borrowed from architectural historians and, in so far as it was defined, it was equated with the work of Barry.22 This debate on stylistic labels must be informed by a comprehensive study of Barry’s gardens, which will be undertaken in this study.

In 1979 Christopher Thacker hinted at the wider complexities of the ‘unsettled, eclectic and searching’ nature of nineteenth-century garden styles, but attempted no explanation.23 In 1966 in his study of the English garden between 1740 and 1950 Edward Hyams categorised the Victorian era as a period of ‘High Gardening’; a phase ‘it was necessary to pass...through...in which the important achievements were technical rather than aesthetic.’24 Others shared this view. Timothy Mowl observed that ‘while Pevsner manifestly valued the Victorians for their engineering he believed that in every other direction, in art and architecture, the age had been profoundly mistaken.’25 Such views have led to the Victorian garden being characterised by the speed of technological development, the growth of the horticultural magazine and the emergence of the professional gardener, but not the ‘aesthetic anarchy’ of the

22 Barry was responsible for the gardens at Harewood House, Trentham Hall and Shrubland Park highlighted by Amherst and Morgan and Richards.
period. Brent Elliott's 1986 comprehensive study of Victorian gardens began the exploration of style with short discussions of the Gothic-style, Jacobean-style and Elizabethan-style gardens and what he concluded was 'the triumph of the Italian garden'. He sketched this out in three stages: an early form based around terraces, gravel, statuary and evergreens, a second form epitomised in the work of Barry and a final phase where the Italian garden became an 'umbrella label for [all] the revivalist styles'. The research presented here broadens and deepens this analysis. It considers the evidence for the Italian garden in the Picturesque, in the early formal garden that was often remote from the house, in Pompeian excavations and the architectural interpretation of Barry, and finally in a growing interest in the Italian Renaissance and Elizabethan arts. Whilst Elliott's discussion of Victorian garden styles was innovative, he lacked the scope to analyse the codified images of the styles that he identified. This study attempts to do this within the context of the Italian garden.

This analysis also explores what inspired the owners and designers of individual Italian Gardens. In so doing it charts the features that developed into widely recognised codified images of Italian style. In this way lost insights can be re-discovered which inform and shift our understanding of the Italian garden during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Individual Italian Gardens and Italian garden features have been identified using a range of contemporary and modern descriptions taken from magazines, guidebooks, sale particulars, plans and English Heritage Register entries. The search for clues to

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27 Ibid., pp. 66-70.
28 Ibid., pp. 74-78.
29 Ibid., p. 77.
the inspiration and intent of garden owners and designers has ranged across their personal papers, their wider collecting interests, their libraries and the interiors of their houses. This has generated a gazetteer of Italian Gardens that inevitably stretches beyond the period under consideration. 30 It was the original intention to include smaller urban gardens in this study, and to this end newspaper archives, maps and property-related documents were reviewed for the fashionable town of Cheltenham. 31 This did not reveal any clear evidence of the Italian style: a point that will be returned to in the conclusion to this research. This will be shown to be one element among many that answers the question ‘What contributed to the Italian garden in England between 1787 and 1864?’

30 See Appendix A, pp. 303-404.
31 Cheltenham was also a practical logistic choice being accessible and close at hand.
2. THE FORM AND DEFINITION OF THE ITALIAN GARDEN IN ENGLAND: AN HISTORIOGRAPHY

This chapter analyses English tourists’ personal perceptions of the Italian gardens that they visited during the first half of the nineteenth century. These are contrasted with portrayals of the Italian garden style taken from contemporary writings on the Picturesque, architectural pattern books and horticultural and garden texts. The objective is to understand the experiences and the knowledge that informed the creation of Italian gardens in England during this period.

2.1 Nineteenth-Century English Travellers in Italy

English access to Italy became more difficult when Napoleon invaded Piedmont in April 1796. It eased again with the signature of the Treaty of Amiens on 17 March 1802, and remained open even after war was declared between England and France on 14 May 1803. Access finally became impossible after the Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October 1805, and thereafter English tourists had to wait for Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo on 18 June 1815 before resuming their Italian excursions.

R. S. Pine-Coffin catalogued the accounts of British and American travellers to Italy before 1860. She concluded that the British travelled to Italy initially to learn but, ‘as England took the lead in Europe, the pupil became the master; disdain took the place of curiosity, and courtesy too often gave way to indifference and even arrogance.’

Pine-Coffin was observing, at a personal level, what the modern historian, Eric Hobsbawn, has charted at a national level:

by 1815 [Britain had] gained the most complete victory of any power in the entire history of the world, having emerged from the twenty years of war with France as the only industrialized

economy, the only naval power — the British navy in 1840 had almost as many ships as all other navies put together — and was virtually the only colonial power in the world.33

This sense of national superiority was heightened by pride in the English landscape style, and together the two united to produce an exaggerated display of national arrogance around discussions of foreign gardening styles. This encouraged some English tourists to repeat the criticisms of their eighteenth-century predecessors.34

They were dismayed by decay. In 1804, Sir Charles Monck suggested of Triest:

It would be a comfortable place if Englishmen inhabited it. Then the naked villas which are now scattered so thickly over the adjacent hills, would be luxuriantly shaded with beautiful groves of cypress, laurel, olive and cedar, with planes and tulip trees and the great magnolia instead of standing as now in the midst of little slovenly wine gardens.35

The classical scholar, Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, was more circumspect in his views detecting something worthy of appreciation in the villa gardens he visited around Rome. In 1811 the air of neglect softened the scene and left him free to admire their formality without simultaneously implying criticism of English irregularity:

Howsoever ...they may differ in extent and magnificence, their principle features are nearly the same; the same with regard to artificial ornaments as well as graces. Some ancient remains are to be found in all, and several in most, and they are all adorned with the same evergreens, and present upon a greater or less scale the same Italian and ancient scenery. They are in general, it is true, much neglected, but for that reason the more rural.36

34 The extremes of eighteenth-century English opinion concerning Italian gardens were represented by John Boyle, 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery and Peter Beckford. In 1754-55 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery noted how he would ‘Often walk amidst the novelty of this old taste’. This was as warm a reception as they were given. The more common expression of distaste was voiced by Beckford in the 1780s who declared, ‘Art has most cruelly disfigured Nature, by endeavouring to embellish her...The Italians are wretched gardeners’. Quoting John Boyle, 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery, Letters from Italy, in the years 1754 and 1755, by the Right Honourable John Earl of Corke and Orrery (London: n.pub., 1773) and Peter Beckford, Letters and Observations, written in a short tour through France and Italy (Salisbury: n. pub., 1786) in Pine-Coffin, Travel in Italy, p. 40. During his 1787-89 tour Arthur Young observed that Italian gardens were, ‘never well kept ....and ......[incur] expense enormous both to form and to keep.’ This became a traditional concern amongst English visitors to Italy. Arthur Young, Travels in France and Italy (London: Dent, 1934), p. 237.
His opinion was important since, together with Joseph Forsyth’s travel diary, he provided the most popular guide consulted by English tourists to Italy in the early nineteenth century.  

By 1816-17 the architect and writer, James Hakewill, warmed to the formality of Isola Bella on the shores of Lake Maggiore. He found a series of terraces clothed with verdure, that rise in a pyramidal form, one above the other, from the water’s edge. Upon landing and mounting the ascent, each stage is found to present some new beauty in its mode of decoration: the walks are laid in straight lines, which pass on one side between rows of orange and citron; on another, through dark and shady ranges of evergreens, or parterres of flowers or long arcades of green-houses: These are interspersed again with statues, and fountains, and vases, and grottoes of shells, and spars, and marbles, whose white and glittering forms make an happy combination with foliage around. It exhibits, indeed, a fanciful arrangement of the variety of art and nature, that seems to realize all the charms which the fertile spirits of Tasso or Aristo have pourtrayed in the imaginary paradise of Armida or Alcina.

However, Hakewill still thought that this ‘perfect specimen of the Italian style of ornamental gardening’ was inappropriate for England which demanded a ‘more simple and chaste style of...gardening’. In 1845 John Ruskin wrote to his father of a delicious half hour in the Doria gardens [Genoa... ] – intense light & blue of sun & sea- the whole port and city seen over marble terraces & through black cypresses & groves of ilex – but all so neglected. The family never stay there – always at Rome or Paris - & the poor gardener seemed quite happy at having anybody to look at his cut hedges, for even strangers go not there now. My valet de place wanted to keep me away, but I was determined to see the gardens at least.

Eustace’s influence persisted and charming neglect remained attractive, although Ruskin also began to appreciate the complimentary relationship between such gardens and their wider surroundings.

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37 Forsyth’s 2nd edition of 1816 is reproduced in Keith Crook, Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters During an Excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803 by Joseph Forsyth, Esq (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2001).
38 James Hakewill, A Picturesque Tour of Italy from Drawings made in 1816-1817 (London: Murray, 1820), n.p.
39 Ibid., n.p.
Some English tourists preferred to record Italian gardens in paint. Robert Henry Cheney of Badger Hall, Shropshire produced a number of views of the villa gardens around Frascati, Genoa, Tivoli, Florence and Rome (Figs. 2.1 to 2.7) in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Henrietta Winston-Clive similarly recorded many Italian gardens (Fig. 2.8) during her tour in 1848. The number of such paintings demonstrates the appeal that the subject held for English painters. However, they lack the neglect and formality recorded in the written accounts. The degree of neglect seems to have been exaggerated whilst a painterly perspective with an irregular foreground framing a distant view made the scene appear less formal. The difference between the written and the painted record demonstrates how the tourists' impression was shaped by what they expected or wanted to find.

2.2 Writers on the Picturesque

Richard Payne Knight, Sir Uvedale Price, Thomas Hope and Gilbert Laing Meason each wrote about the relationship between the Picturesque and the Italian garden, and each accorded it a different emphasis. Payne Knight's 1794 poem, *The Landscape*, repeatedly praised old and decorated terraces, but never the Italian terrace. His support of formality was a means of attacking Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's work and not the expression of a deep enthusiasm for the decorated terrace. He detested what he characterised as Brown's unswerving use of turf around the house, and his alleged destruction of old terraces. Whilst Payne Knight was aware of the Italian ancestry of the old English terrace garden, his primary objective of attacking Brown was better served by maximising their patriotic appeal and presenting them as English. The 'Advertisement' that formed the preface to the second edition of *The

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41 On display at Scotney Castle, Kent.
*Landscape*, published in 1795, was written by Edward Winnington and contained the sole reference to the Italian terrace. It was Payne Knight’s repose to Humphry Repton and it declared him,

> ready to avow and glory in whatever error or misconception there may be in preferring, immediately round a house, the terraces, steps, and balustrades, (which were borrowed, not from Dutch gardens, but from the Italian villas represented in the pictures of Claude and Gaspar) to the smooth lawns and prim shrubberies, which have succeeded them.  

Acknowledging the Italian origins of the terrace in this way allowed another criticism of Repton. By contrast his more rationally argued *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* which was first published in 1805 openly acknowledged the relationship between Italian and historic English terrace gardens and the ‘splendour, richness, and neatness’ they could bring to a house surrounded by falling ground. However Payne Knight also realised change was on the way and ‘another revolution in taste, which is probably at no great distance, will make them [terraces] new again’.

In 1798 Price’s response to Repton’s open letter of criticism hinted at his developing thoughts on Italian gardens, and he would ‘here just slightly mention, what I may perhaps enlarge upon some future time...old Italian gardens where architecture and gardening were mixed together, [and] effects were produced, to which nothing of the same kind could be found in embellished nature.’ He returned to the topic in 1810 adding three Essays on the subjects of artificial water, decoration, and architecture as

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44 Ibid., p. 220.
supplements to his 1794 *Essay on the Picturesque*. His *Essay on Decorations near the House* introduced the Italian terrace as a vehicle for the increasingly popular pleasure garden and flower garden. Price was obviously fond of the Italian gardens he had visited with their ‘rich and magnificent effects of balustrades, fountains, marble basons, and statues, blocks of ancient ruins, the remains of sculpture, the whole mixed with pines and cypresses. I remember also their effect, both as an accompaniement to the architecture, and as a foreground to the distance.’ This was reinforced by the sincere regret he expressed for the destruction of the old gardens on his own estate of Foxley, Herefordshire which, with hindsight, he valued, even though they were ‘inferior’ to Italian gardens. He developed an aesthetic that was intended to rejuvenate Picturesque thinking through the medium of the Italian terrace. He suggested the ‘abruptness’ of the terrace outline would produce ‘bold and striking effects of light and shade.’ The parapet would possess a ‘certain massiveness’ that was wanting in the alternative of a gravelled path. Building on William Gilpin’s picturesque characteristic of ‘aggressive activity’ he suggested that a fountain was ‘water in violent motion’ that gave expression to the ‘richness and brilliancy’ of art. He attempted to distinguish between formality, which he rejected, and symmetry, which he embraced, but the argument was lost when he praised formality’s ‘airs of ease and playfulness’. He even constructed a pedigree for the Italian garden declaring that they might have been created by Michelangelo, Raphael or Guilio

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46 Price referred directly to both the pleasure garden and the flower garden in the *Essay on Decorations near the House*. Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001), pp. 148, 156.
48 Ibid., p.120.
49 Ibid., p. 132.
50 Ibid., p. 134.
52 Price, *Picturesque*, p. 159.
53 Ibid., p. 133.
Romano although this sat uncomfortably with his acknowledgement that Italian paintings generally contained no such evidence.

Price’s memories and emotions led him to a warm appreciation of old Italian gardens that was very different from Payne Knight’s distant and detached praise of old English terraces. This contrast between a personal and a detached perspective emerges in later case studies as some garden creators drew on direct experiences of Italy and others drew on remote and general accounts of Italian style. Payne Knight’s emphasis on the English terrace also re-emerges as the Anglo-Italian style which was popular after 1850.

Thomas Hope shared Price’s warmth and enthusiasm for the Italian gardens he had also visited. His 1808 essay, *The Art of Gardening*, praised their

> striking oppositions of the rarest marbles to the richest verdure — those mixtures of statues and vases, and balustrades, with cypresses, and pinasters and bays, those distant hills seen through the converging lines of lengthened colonades, those ranges of aloes and cactuses growing out of vases of granite and or porphyry, scarce more symmetrical by art than these plants are by nature.

Hope was drawn to the richness and vibrancy of the ‘hanging gardens of Genoa’ and of the villas around Rome. He re-interpreted their symmetry as an extension of the symmetry that he saw at a microscopic level in nature, and this new insight gave him the freedom to develop his memories into an acceptable model of the English garden

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54 Ibid., pp. 129-30.
55 Ibid., p. 108. Price’s willingness to acknowledged the absence of a pictorial record for the Italian terrace garden reinforces the duplicity of Knight’s position in *The Landscape* when, in his only reference to the Italian origins of such features he referred to the style ‘borrowed, not from Dutch gardens, but from the Italian villas represented in the pictures of Claude and Gaspar’. As a collector of Claude drawings he was well aware of the true situation. Knight, *The Landscape*, 1795, p. viii.
in a way that Price had always recoiled from. Hope’s English interpretation of the Italian garden would comprise

ramifications of arcades, porticoes, terraces, parterres, trelliages, avenues, and other such still splendid embellishments of art, calculated by their architectural and measured forms, at once to offer a striking and varied contrast with, and a dignified and comfortable transition to, the more undulating and rural features of the more extended, and more distant, and more exposed boundaries.\(^\text{58}\)

However his essay did not circulate as widely as Payne Knight and Price’s works and his ideas remained largely dormant until he put them into effect at the Deepdene, Surrey.\(^\text{59}\) This became an influential garden that impacted upon garden designers and architects being much admired by John Claudius Loudon and Charles Robert Cockerell.\(^\text{60}\)

In 1828 Meason set out to discover more about Italian gardens from a systematic review of Italian landscape paintings from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, or as he put it from Giotto to Solimena. His methodology aligned him with Price and Payne Knight more than it did with Hope. However, his failure to identify pictorial evidence for Italian gardens forced him to supplement his case with written accounts, thus:

M. de Castellan supposes, that the natural beauty of scenery in Italy being so common everywhere in that country, - the very elements of an English garden,- in order to form a contrast, the Italian adopted around his villa the formal style of pleasure ground; alleys of trees, trimmed evergreens, fountains, and cascades; and by architectural decoration of stairs, of built terraces, and balustrades, the garden became united to the villa, and the whole was in contrast to the natural picturesque scenery of the country.\(^\text{61}\)

\(^{58}\) Ibid., pp.138-39.
\(^{59}\) Hope’s essay re-appeared as the Preface to Mrs. Hofland, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansion and Gardens of White-Knights, A seat of his grace the duke of Marlborough.* (London: privately printed, 1819).
\(^{60}\) Deepdene is analysed further in section 3, pp. 71-80 and section 7, pp. 254-55.
His work was initially distributed very narrowly although it reached a wider audience through Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*. Meason addressed a concern that had also preoccupied Payne Knight, Price and Hope; that is, how to manage the transition between Art and Nature, or architecture and landscape. He agreed with Payne Knight that the Italian 'mix'd style' of architecture, developed by 'piece meal' additions, created the most Picturesque compositions with a subtle blend of house and landscape that he thought was missing in England. He wrote:

> Our parks may be beautiful, our mansions faultless in design, but nothing is more rare than to see the two properly connected... Let the architect, by study and observation, qualify himself to include in his art the decorations around the immediate site of the intended building, and the extended taste among the English gentry will second him.

His concerns appear to have led to the first use of the term 'landscape architecture'.

Meason developed a sophisticated chronology of style that had been missing from the earlier Picturesque writers. He described the earliest Grecian villa gardens decorated with scented flowers, topiary and fruit, which he assumed were the predecessors of the Roman villa gardens. He explained the Roman villa was set out so that 'in the rear the best rooms opened upon a terrace, running the whole width of the house, and overlooking a garden, or xystus, about thirty yards square; this was surrounded by a covered walk or portico continued under the terrace...[and] in the middle of the garden is a reservoir of water surrounded by columns.' Italian gardens of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which he knew as the Middle Ages, not the Renaissance, were characterised by 'The regularity of the gardens, [which] is ...

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65 He devotes an entire chapter to the 'Landscape Architecture of Italian Painters', Ibid., pp. 71-90.
66 Ibid., p. 4.
67 Ibid., pp. 25-6.
accompanying decoration and support to the architecture. The architecture, sculpture, and gardens of these villas are often designed by the same hand, and concur in the general effect to produce perfect harmony.⁶⁸

Meason then attempted to use his history of the Italian garden to direct the English Picturesque garden suggesting:

The gallery is again about to resume its importance and perhaps we may hereafter imitate the Romans in having covered walks contiguous to the house, in order to enjoy fresh air in the many rainy and snowy days, at a country residence in an English winter. The irregular style admits of said additions and loosens nothing of the picturesque effect. The exterior decorations of terraces, parterres, stairs of communication, and different gardens, filled with groups of the many flowering shrubs and plants introduced lately into Britain, are admirably in harmony with this style of architecture. While we thus decorate closely round the house, it becomes less necessary to sacrifice so much to the park.⁶⁹

The Roman element of the model is self-evident whilst the emphasis on decoration suggests the influence of the Renaissance. The inclusion of modern English horticulture made Meason's model more accessible to the gardener and may explain Loudon's support for his work. Meason had suggested the integration of the Italian style with English gardening, and his mixing of the classical, the Renaissance and the picturesque found expression in the work of Sir Charles Barry, although his encouragement of the gallery had to wait until the 1860s and the new Royal Horticultural Society's Garden in South Kensington, London.⁷⁰

Price, Hope and Meason all mingled Picturesque theory and the Italian garden. This was absorbed by the public consciousness finding expression in Anna Jameson's 1826 account of travels in Italy. She was a close friend of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and she used her own experiences of travel around Europe as a governess to inform an imaginary travel diary in which she declared

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 60-1. The term Renaissance was not recorded until the 1840s.
⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 73-4.
⁷⁰ See section 7, pp. 276-81.
Had I never visited Italy I think I should never have understood the word *picturesque*... A snug English villa with its shaven lawn, its neat shrubbery, and its park, is a delightful thing – an Italian villa is probably far less *comfortable*, but with its vineyards, its gardens, its fountains, and statues, is far more picturesque. 71

Yet, in the final Picturesque publication considered here, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder’s 1842 re-publication of Price’s *Essays on the Picturesque*; the emphasis shifted away from Italy and back to Payne Knight’s model of the old English terrace garden. 72 Lauder achieved this through the addition of footnotes and illustrations. Price believed old English gardens, including that at Foxley, were inferior to their Italian ancestors, but Lauder re-positioned them as the ideal explaining:

Straight lined terraces, bowling-greens, balustrades, vases, sun-dials, architectural seats, fountains, and statues, mingled with a profusion of shrubs, plants and creepers, are all appropriate and useful decorations in such a place... Happy is the man who has had the luck to have had a travelled ancestor, who may have imported the taste of such a garden from Italy, and who may have had the energy to construct one around the family dwelling, provided the more immediate predecessors of the living owner have had the good sense to leave it entire. Such a legacy is a perfect treasure to an old place, filled as it is with many associations – with those groups of gentle knights and ladies fair, who, in different ages, have lounged upon its seats, listening to the soothing murmur of its fountains, or talked of love or other important trifles... 73

Lauder’s final distortion of Price was in the seal of approval that he gave to the revivalist garden for ‘A newly constructed garden...can have no [historical]... associations. But still it must possess a sort of reflective association of this description, from recalling the recollections of those which existed in the olden time, together with all the ideas connected with them.’ 74 Price, who abstained from recreating the Foxley terraces because they would be a sham, had his *Essays* twisted in support of the revivalist garden.

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72 There were several other ways in which Lauder subtly re-positioned Price’s work. For example, Price believed Italian gardens were created by architects, but specifically architects who were primarily painters. He described them as architetto-pittore. Price, *Picturesque*, . Meason felt the same, and Payne Knight also noted the special skills that artists brought to landscape improvement, but Lauder ignored the emphasis on artistic awareness referring only to the skills of the architect. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque: With an Essay on the Origin of Taste and Much Original Matter* (Edinburgh: Caldwell, Lloyd, 1842), p. 307.
74 Ibid., p. 307.
Thus the terrace garden moved through three different Picturesque reincarnations between 1795 and 1842. It began simultaneously as an English and an Italian model. In 1810 the Italian original took precedence only to be eclipsed in 1842 by a resurgent English interpretation. During these changes the terrace garden became ever more decorated. In 1810 Price added the parterre, the trellis, fountains and statuary and in 1842 Lauder added the bowling green and sun dial. 75

2.3 Nineteenth-Century Architectural Pattern Books

Meanwhile architects grappled with different issues. With travel on the Continent constrained by hostilities with France, most architects remained ignorant of the diversity of Italian architecture mistakenly grouping together the Classical, Palladian, Renaissance, Baroque, Tuscan and Romanesque under the general banner of Italian. The new interest in irregular, asymmetrical architecture should have favoured the Tuscan style set off by a picturesque grouping of terraces, but many architects struggled to break away from the earlier association between the terrace and symmetry. They also needed to find mechanisms for conveying status in the settings around newly fashionable Tuscan architecture, and they needed to respond to questions concerning association and congruity. As a consequence, in the period up to the end of the 1830s, when architectural pattern books went into decline, architects were equally as responsible for the confusion that was heaped up around the Italian garden style as they were for clarifying it. 76 The one issue that united them was their desire to transfer the Italian garden style from the realm of the artist and the architetto-pittore to the professional architect.

75 Price, Picturesque, pp. 143, 145, 152.
76 For a discussion of the issues that led to the decline of the pattern book and the rise of mass publications such as the Builder after the 1830s see Michael McMordie, 'Picturesque Pattern Books and Pre-Victorian Designers', Architectural History, 18 (1975), pp. 43-59, 109-12, pp. 43-6.
In 1805 the architect Robert Lugar published one of the first experimental designs in the Italian style in his *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas in the Grecian, Gothic and Fancy Styles.* In the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Peter Leach has identified Lugar as 'a practitioner of the Picturesque after the manner of John Nash and Humphry Repton' whilst Charles Watkins and Ben Cowell have argued this is to underestimate the influence of Price. They regard Lugar as the first 'to apply Price's ideas to the design of dwellings', but no one has evaluated Lugar's treatment of the garden. For Lugar the garden became the means of signalling the status of a dwelling and so he developed a Picturesque hierarchy of gardens. The 'dressed appearance' of a gentleman's cottage was distinguished from the 'peasant's cot' by 'Flowerpots, or tubs with orange trees, aloes, or the like'. A cottage should never have too extensive a lawn to avoid 'the air of a park in miniature, a thing equally ridiculous with a flower garden in the entrance front of a mansion.' And finally, the terrace was reserved for a villa where it provided the appropriate 'air of grandeur and elegance' to the garden front. Lugar's hierarchy anticipated Price's suggestion, published five years later, for,

A cottage, with its garden pales, and perhaps some shrub, or evergreen, a bay or a lilac, appearing through, and fruit-trees hanging over them; with its arbour of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, supported by rude wood-work, or a rustic porch covered with vine or ivy... what such rustic embellishments are to the cottage, terraces, urns, vases, statues and fountains are to the palace or palace-like mansion.

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77 Robert Lugar, *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings, And Villas, in the Grecian, Gothic, and Fancy Styles: with Plans; Suitable to Persons of Genteel Life and Moderate Fortune. Preceded by Some Observations of Scenery and Character Proper for Picturesque Buildings* (London: n. pub., 1805), figs. XXVII and XXVIII show an Italian villa. This was reprinted in 1815 and 1823.
81 Ibid., p. 12.
82 Ibid., p. 16.
However, as an architect, Lugar rejected all notions of Picturesque or Italian neglect arguing that climbing ivy, weather-stained stone and dislodged thatch were unsuited ‘for the habitation of man’. Yet the first two, at least, were among the features of old Italian gardens that Price and English tourists found so appealing.

Lugar suggested three designs for villas. Only one was identified as Italian. It was typically Tuscan with a square tower, broad-eaved roof, round-arched windows and a covered verandah (Fig. 2.9) which appears to have been the extent of the terrace. Beyond it were isolated trees and a lawn. It was radically asymmetrical for its day, if tentatively so to modern eyes. The second villa, with a dome and round-arched floor-length windows, was another example of Italian architecture, although never described as such, possibly because it was symmetrical. It had the early signs of a garden hinting at a small terrace with statues. The third villa was also symmetrical and ‘taken ...from one of Mr. Daniell’s views in India’ which was ‘by no means unsuitable for an English villa.’ In illustrating the entrance front Lugar avoided the need to consider what garden might be appropriate for this style of villa. Lugar’s pattern book reflected Price’s published architectural ideas, but anticipated his 1810 development of the Italian terrace garden as a Picturesque construct. This in turn suggests that by 1810 one of Price’s objectives was to rejuvenate Picturesque thinking by absorbing recent parallel developments in garden taste. In this manner the Italian garden became as much a vehicle for the transmission of other fashions as it was a style in its own right.

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85 Ibid., p. 25.
Putting his designs into action, Lugar built the Tuscan style villa, Dunstall Priory, Kent (Fig. 2.10) in 1806. It relied for its asymmetry on the round tower which it shared with John Nash’s Cronkhill, Shropshire with which it is sometimes compared. Despite the alterations Dunstall Priory suggests the same primitive garden setting that also existed at Cronkhill. Floor-length windows give access onto a narrow covered verandah. At Cronkhill an arched loggia replaced the verandah, and beyond was lawn, shrubberies and views out over the surrounding countryside. Thus Lugar’s work in the field demonstrated his difficulty. The status of this distinctly Picturesque Claudian-looking villa was not expressed through terraces, and as his engravings showed the terrace remained the accompaniment of symmetrical architecture.

In the same year that Lugar published *Architectural Sketches for Cottages*, Joseph Michael Gandy released *The Rural Architect*. David Watkin has suggested that J. M. Gandy may have discussed his designs with Hope. Like Lugar he also adopted the Tuscan style describing it as Italian, but he experimented with it for the cottage rather than the villa. His was a large ‘Double Cottage…after the Italian manner, and distributed so as to have a picturesque effect, rather than any uniformity’, distinguished by curved Italian roof tiles. It shared the same setting that accompanied all of J. M. Gandy’s styles and designs: a backdrop of roughly sketched trees and undergrowth. J. M. Gandy had adopted Picturesque architectural thinking, but unlike Lugar, he ignored the contribution that might be made by the garden. He may have been influenced in this by the belief that the terrace and terrace garden were inappropriate to a study of rural architecture although the distinction between the rural

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86 Dunstall Priory was originally named Gold Hill. It is situated just outside Shoreham.
88 Watkin, Hope, p. 140.
89 Gandy, *Rural Architect*, p. 23, fig. 33.
and urban garden was not something that the Picturesque writers had suggested or addressed.

In 1807 William Pocock attempted a pattern book of affordable architecture, *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings, Villas*, although he recognised the scale of the task he had set himself and warned his reader, 'perhaps in steering too wide from the Whirlpools of Charybdis, I may run upon the rocks of Scylla, and in guiding myself by the narrow rules dictated by economy, prove deficient in novelty, variety, and effect.' He had no such reservations about congruity, which was to become the single most vexing issue in the quest to specify the Italian garden style in England, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Pocock advised his reader:

> an unadorned regular house is suited for a plain open country, a magnificent Mansion for a country abounded with vegetation, and richly clothed with majestic woods, a modest and retired Cottage is well disposed in a luxuriant valley, while in bold and romantic situations the greatest licence may be given to the imagination whether, in designing a Dwelling in the rural manner or a Cabâne Ornée, or in the picturesque style of a magnificent Abbey[...]
The style of Architecture adopted for the House, and the decorations employed therein, should bear an affinity to the character of the situation.

His opinion was clear. Nature dictated architectural style, and his plain ‘Italian’ villa was destined for ‘plain open country’. It was in effect a reincarnation of the Palladian with the Brownian that would have astounded Payne Knight. By including ‘A design for a Villa, something in the Italian manner’ in his collection of affordable designs he also helped to establish a growing association between Italian architecture and economy. John George Jackson did the same with his Tuscan variant of the Italian

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91 Ibid., pp. 18-9.

92 Ibid., p. 34, plates XXVIII, XXIX.
style in *Designs for Villas on a Moderate Scale of Expense* in 1828. However, the Picturesque model of the Italian garden as described by Price, Hope and Meason was clearly an expensive creation. The divergence between economic Tuscan architecture and costly Renaissance gardens was just one of the contradictions that were developing around the Italian style during this period.

Peter Frederick Robinson’s *Designs for Ornamental Villas* appeared in monthly instalments between 1826 and 1828 and again in 1836. It was the first pattern book to widely promote the Italian style, and it was mildly successful in hinting at the variety of architectural styles that had so far been submerged within the single term ‘Italian’. However, it added confusion to the relationship between the Italian garden and Italian architecture. Robinson preferred asymmetric compositions and hence a distinctly Palladian villa which he described as a ‘modern Italian’ villa because of the addition of some Tuscan characteristics was dismissed. It was a ‘servile copy of its neighbour & it is difficult to create new features, and produce variety in a worn out subject.’

He attempted to overcome his natural aversion to symmetry by suggesting that on a large scale it might be salvaged by ‘ornamental terraces, decorated with stone balustrades and vases’ which he illustrated. The engravings showed a vast unswervingly symmetrical Palladian villa set amongst huge double terraces, ranges of statues and flights of steps that dwarfed the figures attempting to climb them. They were very much akin to the Picturesque terrace garden model that Price had advocated to accompany irregular compositions, but they were still being associated with

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93 John George Jackson, *Designs for Villas on a Moderate Scale of Expense: Adapted to the Vicinity of the Metropolis, or Large Towns* (London: n. pub., 1828) n.p. Jackson singled out the Grecian and Italian styles as the ‘most suited to edifices of this class.’ He was a pupil of Peter Frederick Robinson. 
95 Ibid., design IV., plate 22. 

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symmetrical Palladian architecture. In contrast Pocock had dictated that the correct setting for such architecture, which he also described as Italian, was a Brownian park. Clearly the possibilities were becoming endless and the confusion, boundless.

Robinson was a devotee of the irregularity that now defines the Tuscan style with its campaniles, Italian roof tiles, low pitched broad-eaved roofs and round-arched loggias. He illustrated an asymmetrical Tuscan design with a rudimentary garden comprising a simple balustraded terrace with a single square garden pavilion (Fig. 2.11) looking out across the lake towards the distant mountains. This was the garden building that later came to most consistently define Sir Charles Barry's gardens, but it was here shown in a rudimentary formal setting where the solitary fountain was left marooned amongst rugged, unmade ground and scattered pine trees, rather than decorating the terrace. Robinson's 1827 pattern book hinted at the variety of Italian architectural styles and suggested a greater variety of settings. Terraces and garden decoration had begun to make the transition to accompany more irregular architectural compositions although they were used more confidently to surround symmetrical Palladian designs.

At some point between 1825 and 1828 Thomas Frederick Hunt radically changed his stance on style in response to the demands of his clients. Gone was his support of the 'Old English Domestic' style and his condemnation of the 'Italian villa' and the 'Grecian temple' to be replaced by his 'exemplar of Italian architecture,' Architettura Campestre. The designs were predominantly Tuscan, but Hunt embraced asymmetry cautiously and half of his designs, including the two grandest villas, remained

96 Ibid., design XVI, plate 94.
97 Ibid., design XVI., plates 31 and 33.
98 Hunt, Architettura Campestre, dedication, n.p.
strongly symmetrical. He did not declare an overt preference for either, but introduced
his newly adopted Tuscan style as 'Modern or Italian' when Robinson had reserved
the description of 'modern' and 'Italian' for one of his symmetrical villas. Hunt
also suggested the garden was vital to successful architecture and 'the purest of
human pleasures [...] the greatest refreshment to the spirits of Man; without which,
Buildings and Palaces are but gross handy-works.' In 1828 he singled out Lord
Farnborough's 'Italian villa' and garden, Bromley Hill House, for praise having
criticised it, by implication, three years earlier. He thought 'the grounds in the
immediate vicinity [are] laid out as a garden, embellished with choice plants, terraces,
and exquisite works of art - consonant in every respect - whilst the lodges are
cottages in the picturesque style of our architecture, blending admirably with the
parkland scenery.' Hunt did much to boost the popularity of Italian architecture and
its association with the garden, but he went no further in developing a design template
for the appropriate garden. The turning point came in the 1830s.

In 1830 Thomas Allom's lithograph (Fig 2.12) of an ornamental garden around an
irregular Italian villa designed by Robert Wetten confidently expressed Price's dream
of the Picturesque Italian terrace garden. Frank Salmon has established that Wetten
composed the preface to his pattern book in Rome in June 1830, and it led to him
being elected Accademico Professore to the Academia delle Bel Arti, Florence. He
was a pupil of Robinson whose Designs for Ornamental Villas had previously gone

99 Ibid., preface, n.p. and this was further emphasised in the title of the pattern book itself.
100 Robinson, Villas, 1827, design VIII, p.1.
101 Sir Francis Bacon, On Gardens quoted in Hunt, Architettura Campestre, p. ix.
102 Ibid., pp. xviii-xix.
103 Robert Wetten, Designs for Villas in the Italian Style of Architecture (London: James Carpenter
1830), n.p., Design No V.
104 Frank Salmon, 'British Architects, Italian Fine Arts Academies and the Foundation of the R.I.B.A.,
the furthest in revealing the variety of Italian styles and suggesting some differentiation in their settings. For the first time Wetten’s pattern book showed a garden that approached Price and Hope’s memories of real Italian gardens associated with asymmetrical villas. The first divided staircase seen in a pattern book garden linked the villa with the terrace below where a lengthy balustrade was set about with statues, and a fountain played in a formal setting softened by herbaceous planting rather than shrubby undergrowth. This was a new vision that incorporated the rich decoration praised in Hope and Price’s later Picturesque writings. Here was an irregular Italian villa set off by an architectural decorated terrace and a flower garden.

Between 1833 and 1848 Charles Parker published a series of designs that made up his *Villa Rustica*: a collection of domestic buildings in the Tuscan style. All were inspired by properties he had seen around Rome and Florence. He showed garden walls and entrance ways, lodges and seats, but again the settings were little more than pine trees and scrub in keeping with their rural origins. The closest Parker came to a formal garden was his plan (Fig. 2.13) of two simple parterres in a garden in the grounds of the Villa Borghese, Rome. A parterre of four octagonal turf plats sat on one side of the villa with a simple water parterre on the other. The perspective view (Fig. 2.14) revealed a plain stone boundary wall topped with rustic timbers entwined with wisteria and a pair of stone dolphins set against the bastion wall that spewed out water to trickle away as a muddy stream.\(^\text{105}\) It captured the interface between the garden and the countryside, but it was the only design in which Parker suggested a role for a garden. His collection was dedicated to Meason, who had been concerned that the boundary between garden and countryside was managed successfully. Parker thought

the parterre garden was ‘architectural’: the only use of such a description in a pattern book from this period. As late as 1848 Parker was still favouring Nature where Price had advocated Art in 1810.

Robert Smirke published his *Specimens of Continental Architecture* in 1806.\(^{106}\) This was a rare and early English study of extant Italian architecture that included the Palace of Caserta, Naples and the Villa Doria, Genoa, but gave no indication of their gardens. Likewise, in 1823 Smirke’s pupil, Lewis Vulliamy, published drawings from his travels in Italy, but without any consideration of the settings.\(^{107}\) Most of the early studies of extant Italian architecture were published in France by the likes of Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine\(^ {108}\), François Léonard Séheult\(^ {109}\), Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy\(^ {110}\) and Jules Bouchet.\(^ {111}\) These titles were known in England and used by professionals and a group of knowledgeable amateurs. Parker knew several of these titles\(^ {112}\) and Barry included Percier and Fontaine’s *Maisons de plaisance* and Bouchet’s *Villa Pia* on a reading list he provided for the Duchess of Buccleuch in 1841.\(^ {113}\)

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107 Lewis Vulliamy, *Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture drawn from the originals of bronze, marble and terra cotta in Greece, Asia Minor and Italy in the years 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821* (n.p.: Lewis Vulliamy, 1823).
110 Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Historie de la Vie et des ouvrages de plus célèbres architectes: du Xle siècle jusqu'à la fin du XIIIle, accompagnée de la vue du plus remarquable edifice de chacun d'eux / parm. 2 vols* (Paris, 1830).
113 Barry to Duchess of Buccleuch, 1 December 1840, Drumlanrig Castle, Muniments Room, Bundle 1162.
were also known to Thomas Hope\textsuperscript{114} and will be shown to have influenced Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha\textsuperscript{115}, but they were rare and expensive books compared to architectural pattern books and therefore of little value in dispelling the confusion created by the earlier amorphous treatment of Italian styles amongst English architects. It was not until 1839 that William Henry Leeds gave one of the clearest explanations of the range of Italian architecture informing his reader that it,

\textit{comprises so many diversities that it is hardly possible to affix to it any thing like a precise character, except by limiting it to a particular epoch or school, or to one special class of buildings; and even then the exceptions may be more numerous than the example referred to as a standard. With many vices and defects, it possesses many excellences and recommendations, and a variety of resources, which render it capable of being turned to far greater account than hitherto has been done...}\textsuperscript{116}

A year later, the widely read Gentlemen’s Magazine continued in a similar vein:

\textit{a style, of very different class, called modern Italian, Romanesque, or Tuscan, ... may be either simple in its outline and details, or admit of considerable and even extreme enrichment; and it is well suited for many important purposes, in no ordinary degree. Several judicious and commodious structures of the kind have been erected, varying greatly in form, as occasion may have required, but all evidently bespeaking a common origin. It may either be square and compact in figure; or consistently with the utmost convenience, and without any violation of rule, it may be planned with the greatest possible irregularity.}\textsuperscript{117}

Thus it had taken thirty-five years for English architects to effectively distinguish between the many different Italian architectural styles and feel at ease with irregularity by which time pattern books had gone out of vogue and architectural illustrations by architects such as Charles James Richardson and architectural illustrators such as Joseph Nash had moved on to consider the Elizabethan and Jacobean terrace.\textsuperscript{118} In considering the Italian style, pattern books had concentrated upon a simple rather tentative interpretation of the terrace garden producing only one

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See section 5, p. 152.
\item See section 7, p. 274.
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visual image that was truly comparable with Price’s 1810 model, in the work of Robert Wetten.

2.4 Nineteenth-Century Horticultural Texts

From the 1830s, the popularity of horticultural magazines more than compensated for the diminishing influence of the architectural pattern books. Such magazines offered a voice to professional gardeners and found a new audience amongst suburban and sometimes female gardeners. Many horticultural texts from this period provided a platform for the surprisingly long-lived and vociferous pro-English landscape lobby. They also offered advice on the increasingly popular flower garden and considered the difficult issue of the congruity of style. Should a house and garden share the same style? All of these concerns impacted upon the understanding of the Italian garden style and are analysed here, in turn, in a broadly chronological review of horticultural literature beginning with the work of the most prolific writer of the day, Loudon.

In 1804 Loudon was content to borrow Thomas Whately’s categorisation of landscapes in which ‘imitative’ and ‘original’ distinguished between designs dominated first by Art and then by Nature, and ‘emblematic’ denoted allegorical designs; and specifically representations of history and poetry. Two years later he was distancing himself from the eighteenth-century idea of the allegorical garden. Even at Stowe, Buckinghamshire, he found such ideas ‘nauseous and tiresome’ because

Emblematic character may succeed in poetry or painting, but can never succeed in rural scenery, and seldom in architecture. When at Stowe, and told that we are in the Elysian fields or the Grecian valley, the information produces no emotion, but some recollection of Italy or Virgil, which would be pursued with much better effect in the closet over the Eneid, or a work

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on geography; for still as we pass through these Elysian fields, the attention is caught by new
objects, in attending to which properly we either forget the allusions, or, absorbed in reverie,
shut our eyes to the real beauties which surround us. 120

This rejection of foreign cultural images was published in October 1806, just twelve
months after Nelson's death at the Battle of Trafalgar. His new aesthetic, dominated
by Price and justified by philosophy rather than rhetoric, became entwined with
international events and by 1806 Loudon was suggesting landscape improvement was
the duty of every British citizen:

THE GLORY OF NATIONAL CHARACTER is a motive which will have considerable
influence with every patriotic mind... One great branch of what I have been endeavouring to
recommend...is almost peculiar to, this country: I mean THE PICTURESQUE
IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL SCENERY. Here then is a source of national fame which
every patriot should be eager to advance; and which it is capable, will rank Great Britain with
Greece and Rome in an infinitely noble and original manner, than ever can be done by the
mere imitation of arts in which the nations of the countries excelled. Here is an ART OF OUR
OWN INVENTION,... Let us cultivate this art with vigour, let us render our country not only
conspicuous for giving birth to it, but for bringing it to perfection...As a British subject,...let
me entreat all...to evince their patriotism by reforming the style of the pleasing and useful art
of forming country residences... 121

Some architectural pattern books expressed similar, if milder views, grounded in the
rejection of association rather than the promotion of patriotism. 122 Thus Edmund
Bartell's 1804 pattern book for ornamental cottages refused to countenance the
imitation of the Italian landscape in England advising that

The column, the rich balustrade, and the ruined temple, however beautiful in the pictures of
Claude, can find no place but in the elevated scenes to which they belong; so much is due to
consistency, and to a proper association of ideas, that if the objects themselves, from which

120 John Loudon, A Treatise on Forming, Improving, and Managing Country Residences; and on the
Choice of Situations to every Class of Purchasers. In all which the Object in View is to unite in a Better
Manner than has hitherto been done, a Taste found in Nature with Economy and Utility. In
Constructing or Improving Mansions, and other rural Buildings, as to combine Architectural Fitness
with Picturesque Effect; and in Forming Gardens, Orchards, Farms, Parks, Pleasure Grounds,
Shrubberies, all Kinds of Useful or Decorative Plantations, and Every Object of Convention or
Beauty Peculiar to Country Seats; According to the Extent, Character, or Style of Situations, and the
Rank, Fortune, and Expenditure of Proprietors; From the Cottage to the Palace. With An Appendix,
Containing an Enquiry into the Utility and Merits of Mr. Repton's Mode of Shewing Effects by Slides
and Sketches, and Strictures on his Opinions and Practice in Landscape Gardening. Illustrated by
Descriptions of Scenery and Buildings, by References to Country Seats, and Passages of Country in
121 Ibid., 2, pp. 692-93.
122 In distinguishing Loudon's 'youthful' and 'mature' opinions, Tom Turner thought the youthful
Loudon to be a follower of Archibald Alison and his ideas of association believing that 'aesthetic
opinion should be justified by philosophical argument'. He did not suggest a special role for patriotism
in Loudon's opinions as has been developed here. T. H. D. Turner, 'Loudon's Stylistic Development',
Claude deduced his most beautiful subjects, were placed as the ornaments of a scene in Holland or Flanders, they would be as much out of place, as a Grecian portico attached to a clay-walled cottage.  

In 1820 Hakewill repeated the same argument in rejecting Isola Bella as a model for the English garden and in 1825 Hunt's *Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture* branded the 'Greek temple' and 'Italian villa' inappropriate to the English countryside which was only suited to 'Old English Domestic' architecture. However, some horticultural texts went on to actively promote English nationalism through the English landscape. The passion and persistence of these horticultural writers had no parallel amongst the architectural publications.

Loudon's patriotic fervour was coupled with a rational desire to establish a practical and sophisticated hierarchy of gardens that went far beyond what Lugar had suggested in 1805 or Price was to propose in 1810. His *Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences...from the cottage to the palace* explained that the 'lowest style of villa' required a terrace garden with

Steps...from the door of the garden front into a gravel walk, broad and of fine surface, and separated from the lawn by a parapet of hewn stone six inches or a foot high; upon which, at regular distances, are placed stone flower-pots, or vases containing plants or ornamental shrubs. The direction of this low ornamented parapet should bear a relation to the projections or recesses in the ichnography of the mansion; the extremities should be concealed by shrubs, or any easy contrivance, such as a seat, a few steps, or by numerous other ways.  

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125 Thomas Frederick Hunt, *Half a Dozen Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture in a Series of Designs for Gate Lodges, Gamekeepers' Cottages and other Rural Residences* (London: Longman, Hurst, Orme, Brown and Green, 1825), n.p. Unfortunately Hunt illustrated this point by reference to the lodges at Bromley Hill House, Kent. One was Italianate and very much in keeping with the architecture of the villa itself and its surrounding garden and picturesque landscape whilst the other was a cottage ornee. See section 3, pp. 64-71. If one lodge was to be regarded as stylistically inappropriate to the setting of the estate it was surely the cottage ornee, rather than the Italianate lodge as Hunt implied. Bromley Hill was held up as an example of an Italian garden in James Mangles, *The Floral Calendar Monthly and Daily, with miscellaneous details relative to plants and flowers, gardens and greenhouses, horticulture and botany, aviaries & &c* (London: n. pub., 1839), p. 106. It was again praised for its Italian, Tuscan and Romanesque architecture in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Saxon, 'The Architecture of the Nineteenth Century', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 13, April 1840, pp. 409-11.

He identified a further three bands in a hierarchy of increasing grandeur and importance that were marked out by the addition of a balustrade and paving, then fountains and finally, statuary. It was essential that neither statues nor fountains were ‘scattered up and down every where’ as such features at a distance from the house were deemed to be in the French taste. Furthermore they would impede ‘the picturesque improvement of rural scenery’ which was, importantly for Loudon, the British ‘source of national fame’. By 1812 his jingoistic tone had subsided and the more familiar voice of the pragmatic, modern garden designer and social reformer was emerging. Loudon began to respond to the requirements of individual sites, and especially the small urban garden. He was freeing himself from a patriotic straitjacket and the domination of style.

Loudon selected the urban garden, and particularly those in London, as the object most in need of improvement because ‘the modern style, has been applied in town villas without science, and the grounds of the retiring citizen filled up with clumps and strips of trees, after the undigested ideas of his builder or upholsterer; or planted with borders of rare shrubbery, by his nurseryman’. This was accompanied by a shift in emphasis away from Price’s aesthetic analysis of the garden towards Repton’s more practical ranking of the ‘sources of pleasure in landscape gardening’.

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127 Ibid., 1, p. 181.
128 Ibid., 2, p. 692.
130 Variety and congruity were the most important of all the sources of pleasure in landscape gardening for Repton. Humphry Repton, Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening collected from Designs and Observations now in the Possession of the different Noblemen and gentlemen for whose use they were originally made: the whole tending to establish fixed principles in the art of laying out ground, 1795 in
Loudon two of these, variety and utility, might free him from the tyranny of style allowing him to seek inspiration in any period or culture. Even symmetry became a source of variety valued for its contribution to the small urban garden. Loudon's movement to 'revive' the 'ancient geometrical garden' was launched from a truly rational platform.\(^{131}\)

Armed with this new perspective he made tours of the Continent between 1813 and 1819 absorbing new ideas and sources of inspiration without fear or favour. In contrast Tom Turner concluded that Loudon's Continental tours were the source of his changed perspective rather than the fuel that fed them.\(^{132}\) Loudon's tours culminated in the first edition of his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, published in 1822, with its informative and comprehensive introduction to international garden history.\(^{133}\)

Whilst he continually updated this volume during his lifetime his account of the Italian garden remained remarkably constant. Roman gardening closed the narrative on ancient gardening styles and set the scene for the Italian garden to introduce the compendium of modern styles. The prominence he gave to the Italian garden reflected its position as the birthplace of the 'revival of the art' of gardening.\(^{134}\) This view was also seen in the loosening grip of classical Rome and the emerging interest in Renaissance art discernable in the case studies in this research from the 1840s. Where a handful of the later pattern books and architectural studies had provided occasional isolated insights and references to named gardens, Loudon reviewed and described individual gardens across Italy, from Sicily to Venice. Where Price had written

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132 Turner, 'Loudon', p. 179.
133 Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, (1822).
encouraging words about Art and formality in the garden Loudon’s accounts showed how it had been achieved. His Encyclopaedia of Gardening acted as a sourcebook for many national and revivalist styles, but it gave a primacy to the Italian garden and particularly the modern Italian garden.

Loudon was also amongst the first to consider the role of horticulture in determining a garden’s national character. In 1834 he thought ‘the taste for flowers and plants of ornament is rather on the decline in Italy’, but in 1838 he encouraged the readers of The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion in this direction.135 This subject would be more pressing when addressing a readership that was unlikely to have travelled in Italy. He suggested an Italian planting list for a pair of semi-detached houses in the Italian style.136 The garden was to be:

picturesque [in] effect, so as to harmonise with the broken outline, and numerous parts which compose the elevation of the house. The disposition of both trees and shrubs is consequently irregular, and by no means gardenesque. The kinds we shall suppose to be partly evergreen, and partly deciduous; and the prevailing species to be such as are common in the gardens or general scenery of Italy.137

In 1850 his wife, Jane, published posthumously a major revision to The Suburban Gardener under the title, The Villa Gardener, and she further developed this new

135 John Claudius Loudon, The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion: Comprising the Choice of a Suburban or Villa Residence, or of a Situation on Which to Form One; the Arrangement and Furnishing of the House; and the Laying out, Planting, and General Management of the Garden and Grounds; the Whole Adapted for Grounds from One Perch to Fifty Acres and Upwards in Extent and Intended for the Instruction of Those who Know Little of Gardening and Rural Affairs, and More Particularly for the Use of Ladies. (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1838), p. 359.
136 The planting list included the vine, pomegranate, phillyrea, ilex, pine, Arundo Donax, agave, orange tree, cistus, myrtle, olive, Ruscus hypophyllum, shrubby asparagus, Pinus Laricio, pinaster, stone pine, carnation, pink, wallflower, stock, evergreen saxifrage, indigenous Italian bulbs including some of the tulips, narcissi, crocuses and scilla, Neapolitan violets and China roses. Ibid., pp. 359-60.
137 Ibid., p. 358. In 1850 Jane Loudon’s revision to the Italian planting list added Lombardy poplar, Turkey oak, Neapolitan acer, Judas tree, laburnum, almond, holly, box, sweet bay, common and Portugal laurel, arbutus, rhododendron, phillyrea, daphne, yucca, Cupressus sempervirens, Juniperus phoenicea, Quercus ilex and various pines. Mrs. Loudon, The Villa Gardener: comprising the choice of a Suburban Villa Residence; the laying out, planting, and culture of the garden and grounds; and the management of the villa farm, including the dairy and poultry-yard. Adapted in extent for grounds from one perch to fifty acres and upwards and intended for the instruction of those who know little of gardening and rural affairs, and more particularly for the use of young ladies, (London: Wm. S Orr 1850), p. 126.
theme. She expanded the information on Italian planting schemes, whilst leaving her husband’s observations on style unaltered:

As characteristics of Italian scenery, the vine ought to be planted, and allowed to climb up the trees, not for the sake of its fruit, but for effect;... The pomegranate, the phillyrea, and the ilex are highly characteristic of Italian gardens; the pine and the Arundo Donax, of Italian scenery; and the orange tree, and the agave, or its substitute, the yucca, both in tubs and vases, of Italian villas. The most characteristic shrubs of the flowering kind belonging to Italy are, the citrus and the cytisus. We do not mention here the myrtle, the olive, or any other trees or shrubs that will not thrive in the open air in Britain, because they could not be introduced with effect in British imitations of Italian scenery. The Ruscus hypophyllum, and the shrubby species of asparagus, are also found more frequently in Italy than in any other part of Europe, unless we except Greece. It fortunately happens for the imitator of an Italian villa in the suburbs of a great city, that the Pinus Laricio, the most common pine in the open scenery of Italy; the pinaster, the next common; and the stone pine, which is most generally found near Italian houses, and in their gardens, will all grow remarkably well in the smoke of London.

She continued listing carnations, pinks, wallflowers, stocks, tulips, narcissi, crocuses, scilla, Neapolitan violets, colchicum, Cyclamen europaeum, and evergreen saxifrages as plants that were all highly prized in Italian gardens or characteristic of specific Italian habitats. She discussed at length the planting that she thought suitable for an Italian terrace and glass house. Jane Loudon’s comprehensive plant list would allow an English gardener who had never seen Italy to imagine the Italian countryside and rural and urban Italian villa gardens. This emphasis upon Italian planting also gave the most lowly villa garden in Loudon’s hierarchy a mechanism through which it might imitate the Italian style, for gravel and parapets devoid of balustrades, fountains or statuary would not have been convincing on their own.

The Loudons’ rational support for the formal garden as a source of variety, freed up from the tyranny of style faced a hostile and sustained attack from two quarters. Firstly, it was branded unpatriotic and revivalist for promoting foreign and historic

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138 Loudon, Villa Gardener, p. 126.
139 Ibid., p. 127.
140 Ibid., pp. 127-28. Jane Loudon’s planting list for an Italian garden was the most comprehensive encountered during this research although others shared some of her ideas. Thus the mignonette was described as the ‘Italian darling.’ Jonas Dennis, The Landscape Gardener; Comprising the History and Principles of Tasteful Horticulture (London: Ridgeway, 1835), p. 72.
141 Loudon, Villa Gardener, pp. 128-29.
designs in opposition to the modern English landscape style. Secondly, it had grown out of a desire to improve small urban gardens and, as such, it challenged the role of the large country estate and their owners in directing English taste. The sensitivities that surrounded the pro-English landscape school are revealed in an analysis of an 1828 article from the *Gardener’s Magazine* by an anonymous ‘Amateur’. It addressed ‘the wealthy and noble possessors of our large country houses’. The author supported a limited degree of formality in the garden which he recognised demanded that England ‘give up the brilliant honour we have obtained of having created a model of gardening for the world, and condescend to borrow from our neighbours on the Continent some of that architectural taste in gardening in which many of them have so far excelled’. He suggested this was unavoidable because of practical shortcomings found only in the English style. Then he turned to consider congruity understanding that opponents of the formal garden would turn to this issue if charges of unpatriotic and revivalist thinking had failed. The ‘Amateur’ explained that,

> Each style of building would give us permission, as it were, to ornament, to finish highly our gardens, to decorate them with masonry, to place statues and vases and balustrades and steps about them, and to enrich them with that most charming of all garden ornaments, the terrace.

In navigating a way through the congruity question the ‘Amateur’ was content to see most historical models adopted, but not the ‘bad taste’ of a garden in the style of William and Mary. It would be substituted by a garden in the ‘better style of Palladian gardening’, but precisely what this was and how it was to be achieved was not

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143 Ibid., p. 89.
144 Turf around the house, which was anathema to Picturesque supporters, was said to fail the English style because it did not entice people to exercise out of doors in our unreliable climate. It had nothing to do with aesthetics. The author also coyly suggested there was a repetitive tendency in the English landscape style, but not in the hands of those who implemented it.
addressed.\textsuperscript{146} In practice the only foreign model considered by the author was the Italian garden with its ‘terrace, steps, balustrades, vases, fountain, and rectangular gravel walks’.\textsuperscript{147} The dominance of the Italian style was not addressed although a discussion of British visitors to locations concentrated in and around Rome suggested that familiarity and access made it attractive.\textsuperscript{148}

Loudon’s rational analysis and the cautious approach of the Amateur contrast with the jingoistic excesses simultaneously being expressed by supporters of the English style. In 1835 the churchman and writer on architecture and gardening, Jonas Dennis, hinted at his nationalistic perspective by placing a view of Buckingham Palace opposite the title page of the otherwise innocuously titled \textit{Landscape Gardener}. He could not tolerate foreign influence in either a revivalist guise or an original Jacobean or Elizabethan landscape rejecting ‘the tasteless method of arranging gardens in Italy, and the plantations of parks, too long prevalent in this country, and in several instances retained.’\textsuperscript{149} He followed a well established pattern in reserving his greatest displeasure for the Dutch style, but uniquely he identified the Italian garden as its prototype implying a shared evil.\textsuperscript{150} According to Dennis such gardens offended against Englishmen, God and nature:

\begin{quote}
The leading object of the Dutch taste in formation of a pleasure garden is, by deforming and disfiguring, by covering and distorting, to triumph over and do violence to nature. Every object in the natural creation, since the deluge, develops curvilinear direction, and an exclusive exception, the propagation of light, it being transmitted in straight lines. The Dutch gardener seems to cherish an horror of curvilinear forms, like nature’s pretended abhorrence of a vacuum.\textsuperscript{151}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., p. 212.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p. 213.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p. 212.
\textsuperscript{149} Dennis, \textit{Landscape Gardener}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{151} Dennis, \textit{Landscape Gardener}, pp. 6-7.
Worse, they combined sloth with missed economic opportunity in
mowers without a blade of grass, and haymakers without a wisp of hay, shepherds without
sheep, and shepherdesses without a pet lamb; ...river-gods with their dribbling vases, and as
the acme of elegant taste, Neptune with his crown and trident, reclining in listless indolence
without a single wave, requiring his stern control. 109

Similar pro-English, anti-foreign sentiments continued to be expressed throughout the
1840s and 1850s. 152 In 1847 the Gardeners' Chronicle published a series of articles in
the same vein. The advice on statuary was that

England is not Italy. And no very pleasurable sensations are excited when we gaze upon an
Apollo who not only seems never to have washed himself, but is really becoming more dirty
in his habits every day – or a Venus turning absolutely green with envy and jealousy. In this
country, in short, sculpture is scarcely well available as an element of landscape beauty. 153

Foreign and historic models were dismissed firstly, by resurrecting Pocock's advice of
1807, that the architecture of the house was dictated by the nature of the surrounding
countryside. Secondly, by taking the historical model to extremes:

If one thing must be in keeping with the building, so must everything. The lord of the mansion
must array himself with the guise of SIR WALTER RALEIGH or my Lord of Essex; the lady
must look as attractive as she can in the starched ruff, the Elizabethan cap, and the high-heeled
shoes. The gardener must don the doublet and hose of the Elizabethan age, and thus
effectually perform the duties of a scarecrow; and not one but an Elizabethan implement or
tool must he use – none but the Elizabethan horticulture in principles and practice must be
his. 154

In 1852 Joshua Major, whose work at Queen's Park, Manchester had been ridiculed in
this series of articles advanced the same attack on congruity and revivalism, but in an
argument that was distinguished by its unusually rational tone. 155 He dismissed the
need for congruity of style between a house and its garden as a superficial concern
driven by 'mere fancy and fashion rather than any fixed principles.' 156

109 Ibid., p. 8.
152 Some have suggested they disappeared a decade earlier. A. A. Tait, The Landscape Garden in
153 Anon., 'In our remarks on the introduction of ruins', Gardeners' Chronicle, 12, 13 March 1847, p.
172.
154 Anon., 'We all remember the ludicrous caricature representing the characteristic costumes of various
nations', Gardeners' Chronicle, 16, 17 April 1847, pp. 251-252, p. 252.
155 Anon., 'Messrs. Major & Son - the landscape gardeners who laid out the Queen's Park, Manchester',
Gardeners' Chronicle, 13, 24 April 1847, p. 267 Anon., "We do not know to whom the town of
156 Joshua Major, The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (London: Longman, Brown, Green
was condemned as the enemy of progress. The flaw in his argument was in eschewing 'the custom of the past, with their assumed true taste' in favour of the 'free, cheerful, and flowing style of modern gardening, which has supplanted, in great degree the gloomy, harsh and formal style of a few centuries ago.'\(^\text{157}\) He offered no explanation as to why modern English landscapes embodied fixed principles whilst historic and foreign styles were built on fancy.

Whilst this appeared to be one of the most rational and forward thinking considerations of style to appear in horticultural circles, it forced Major to perpetuate some surprisingly conservative views repeating, for example, that a flower garden should never be visible from the house.\(^\text{158}\) His solution to the correct setting for a house was what he variously described as an architectural, geometric or formal area comprising nothing more than a walk in the vicinity of the house edged by formal flower beds which had 'no right whatever to be claimed by any style of edifice'.\(^\text{159}\) However, even Major fell under the tyranny of congruity when he advised that fountains should 'Of course... [be] finished in the style of the house, whether Gothic or Grecian.'\(^\text{160}\)

Entrenched and extreme views continued to circulate and in 1854, David Gorrie, a Scottish gardener, declared that national gardening styles could never be exported:

> The terraced gardens of Italy cannot change places with the formal gardens of Holland; and if the strictly geometrical style, with its clipped hedges, and its vegetable sculpture, has found a place for a time even in countries naturally picturesque, the reign of that style in such countries has been but temporary, and taste, in its progress towards perfection, has discovered that contrasts may be too violent, that novelty cannot be of long duration, and that harmony, while it admits of both novelty and contrast, keeps them within due limits.\(^\text{161}\)

\(^{157}\) Ibid., p. 19. Emphasis added.
\(^{158}\) Ibid., p. 27.
\(^{159}\) Ibid., p. 21.
\(^{160}\) Ibid., p. 96. This was a reference to the broad distinction drawn at the time between the Grecian style, dominated by the horizontal line and the Gothic style, dominated by the vertical line.
Between the intransigence of Gorrie, Dennis and Major and the rationalism of the Loudons there was plenty of scope for confused and illogical ideas to incubate. Charles Smith's advice was typical. He supported congruity in selecting 'Fountains, dials, vases and other architectural ornaments, [which] may be introduced with excellent effect [on terraces for]...the character and arrangement of these objects should be in keeping with the style of the buildings around.' 162 Yet he found the Italian garden repellent resurrecting the attack on statuary published five years earlier in the Gardeners' Chronicle. Smith declared 'It must be owned..., in this country, it has seldom a very satisfactory effect, partly from the severity of our climate, and partly from the want of those associations with antiquities and architecture which make Italy as it were the native home of statues.' 163 However he supported the parterre as an emblem of both ancient and modern styles. 164 In attempting to occupy the middle ground without antagonising the nationalistic English landscape lobby Smith simultaneously rejected statuary and the Italian garden, but accepted the parterre.

Turning to consider the flower garden, in 1804, Loudon identified two different categories of 'Modern British flower-garden':

1. Those laid out into beds fringed on the edge with box, pink, or gentian, &c. as at Blenheim [footnote adds: Oxfordshire], Raith [footnote adds: Fifeshire], and most places; or, 2. Those laid out into patches and clumps and lawn, as at Nuneham [footnote adds: Oxfordshire], Eglinton [footnote adds: Ayshire, Callean Castle, &c.] 165

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163 Ibid., p. 53. In 1810 Price had expressed caution regarding the whiteness of marble statuary amid the greenness of an English garden although he declared himself content with stone. Price, Picturesque, p. 158.
164 Smith, Parks and Pleasure Grounds, p. 47.
165 Loudon, Observations, p. 269.
He distinguished them by their symmetry. By 1812 he had re-defined the modern style as ‘a collection of irregular groups of masses, placed about the house as a medium, uniting it with the open lawn.’ 166 This relocation of the flower garden to the house was one of the reasons for the great success of the Italian garden style. The terrace and the flower garden made an attractive and practical combination. However, the flower garden was also becoming synonymous with the parterre, which had a well established reputation as a characteristic of the French style. In 1827 John Dalrymple repeated one of the key concerns of the Picturesque theorists that ‘English gardens’ do not provide for an easy transition between internal and external spaces acknowledging that, ‘the FRENCH method of parterres, though too stiff, is perhaps preferable’. 167 An association between the parterre de broderie and France had been made by Loudon in 1812 when he distinguished it from ‘Borders of dug work on turf in the ancient English style of gardening, as delineated by Le Meagre, in his Designs for Parterres and Patch-work.’ 168 By 1837 the parterre had become so popular that C. F. Ferris felt it appropriate to give advice on, ‘the frequent use of the Parterre in the present day, and a love for flowers, amounting almost to a passion’. 169 His small volume, The Parterre or Whole Art of Forming Flower Gardens, was written with a growing female audience in mind:

To the Ladies I would say, that it falls as much within their province, as that of the amateur gentleman or professional gardener; and I know not a more agreeable sight, than an accomplished woman, like another Flora with her attendants, marshalling out her men, and seated amongst her gardeners superintending the execution of the different figures of a Parterre. 170

He illustrated parterres of varying complexity and whilst he did not discuss national gardening styles directly he continued the theme that parterres of ‘cut work’ which

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166 Loudon, Hints on Gardens, p. 27.
168 Loudon, Hints on Gardens, p. 3.
170 Ibid., pp. iv-v.
were ‘the most plain, and least beholden to the assistance of other ornament’ were those most often found in English gardens.\textsuperscript{171} He generally associated the parterre with France discussing his designs within the context of Fontainbleau, Marli, Seaux, the court of Louis XIV and works of Racine and Molière.\textsuperscript{172} In advising on a box hedge for the perimeter of a simple turf plat he explained that it should be

Higher than usual, and of proportionate breadth: but yet neither so lofty nor so wide as to preclude the possibility of an elegant girl, (for this will be a very fair guide) with all the incumbrances of the \textit{jupe}, or one of Madam Victorine Pierrard’s best \textit{redingotes}, effecting her passage over it with no more difficulty, and the same grace with which, a sylphide would cross a footstool.\textsuperscript{173}

This was a well established codified image of the French garden, but case studies will show that it was also absorbed into the increasingly popular Italian garden. This apparent inconsistency might be explained by Smirke, Repton and Loudon’s belief that French architectural and gardening styles were derived from Italy, but it does not support Brent Elliott’s point that there were two distinctly separate and sequential phases of revivalist gardening in the nineteenth century, the Italian and then the French. Elliott has argued that the French followed the Italian style emerging ‘in the late 1840s, [it] peaked in popularity c.1860, and by 1870 was already on the way out and increasingly reviled.’\textsuperscript{174} He also suggested that the term ‘French’ was applied retrospectively as a ‘derogatory label’ when clearly a well established image of the French parterre and garden had existed in England from the beginning of the century.

The French garden had been thoroughly reviewed in Loudon’s \textit{Encyclopaedia of Gardening} and was one of the four national garden styles discussed by Charles M’Intosh in 1839 in his short manual, \textit{The Flower Garden}. Its text was still in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{171} Ibid., p. 27.
\item \textsuperscript{172} Ibid., pp 24, 25, 33, 36.
\item \textsuperscript{173} Ibid., pp. 22-3.
\end{itemize}
circulation in 1852 when it was reproduced by George Glenny in his guide of the same title. M’Intosh’s *The Flower Garden* was conventional in its format giving advice on horticultural matters after an appreciation of current styles. What was different was the presentation of current styles within a national framework: English, French, Dutch and Italian. For the novice gardener, it gave the impression that these were the only styles suited to the flower garden. The terrace, which could be supplemented by fountains and parapets decorated with urns, was singled out as the essential characteristic of the Italian garden. M’Intosh ignored issues of congruity, scale and status. He re-invented the defining characteristic of Loudon’s 1812 villa garden as the template for every Italian flower garden. In truth the terrace could never function successfully in this way without the support of other more specialised images. Confusingly M’Intosh’s illustration of the Italian garden was dominated by Repton’s Hindu-inspired Pheasantry designed for the Brighton Pavilion. It was also shown laid out on a flat site without a terrace or any hint of symmetry or regularity. It extended out into the grounds along a serpentine path offering no indication of the spatial relationship between a house and its garden (Fig. 2.15). This was an architectural and eclectic garden, but it did not match his own or any previous model of the Italian garden. Like Smith in 1852, M’Intosh in 1838 was presenting a personal and dubious interpretation of the Italian garden style which explains how for some, it came to represent everything and nothing.

However, at almost the same time a contrary and informed body of evidence was being presented by H. Noel Humphreys in a series of articles devoted to ‘decorative gardening’ in the *Gardener’s Magazine of Botany*. Humphreys used real gardens in

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Italy to illustrate his ideas. In discussing artificial water he declared 'Modern Italy is the classic land of fountains' and he reviewed the gardens of the Villa d'Este and Villa Aldobrandini, the Palazzo Farnese and the Belvedere Gardens.\(^{177}\) He cited the Villa Strada, Rome when discussing geometric pools and topiary\(^{178}\) and the Belvedere Gardens and the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome to illustrate architectural terraces.\(^{179}\)

In 1853 M'Intosh published the two volumes of his comprehensive *Book of the Garden* which accepted Loudon's interpretation of garden history that national garden styles emerged as a reaction against the natural character of the prevailing landscape. From then on styles fluctuated between natural and formal. M'Intosh's ideas had matured since 1839 and he now demonstrated an extensive knowledge of gardens and gardening texts.\(^{180}\) His account was uncompromising in its opposition to the English landscape style and unwavering in its support of formality around the house. Occasionally it verged on the irrational, presumably spurred on by the extreme views that characterised the publications of the supporters of the English landscape style.

M'Intosh explained:

\[\text{A departure from the rich and artistic Italian style; which had arrived at great perfection towards the end of the seventeenth century, was forced on this country, strange enough to say, soon afterwards, by a set of political, poetical, and self-interested agitators, who, although vain enough to become partisans in the general demolition; had not sufficient talent of themselves to construct a substitute, but borrowed the ideas of their false conceptions from the Chinese. A love of gardening, as an art of design and taste, must have been at a low ebb about this period; and it is not improbable that the difference in the expense of constructing an}\]


\(^{180}\) A small sample of the authors he quoted includes Jane Loudon, Price, William Sawrey Gilpin, Quatremère de Quincy, Lord Kames and Archibald Alison.
Italian garden; and that of one in what has been called the modern or English style, might have had its share in this crusade, because it suited the poverty and declining taste of the time. 181

M'Intosh identified three broad styles for the flower garden: geometrical, gardenesque and picturesque and three sub-divisions of the picturesque ‘the rough, the trivial, and the polished or refined. In the latter, which is also called the modern or English style, slight inflictions of the gardenesque, and still slighter of the architectural and geometrical, may with propriety be blended. 182 This was a different presentation of the terms ‘modern’ and ‘English’ from those put forward by supporters of the English landscape style. M’Intosh was developing a new classification to undermine the charge of unpatriotic gardening that had previously been levelled against supporters of formality and revivalism. M’Intosh also suggested:

few modern houses are built without the minor architectural details of terraces, vases, balustrades &c., being introduced as immediate accompaniments. The dressed parterre connects then with the polished or refined picturesque, and that carries the eye to the trivial, beyond which is the rough picturesque uniting with the natural scenery in the distance. 183

So by 1853 it seemed that every new English house was equipped with the same terrace, balustrade and vases that had appeared so revolutionary when Price first wrote about them in 1810 and Wetten first illustrated them in 1830. However, M’Intosh also endorsed the principle of congruity which he thought was satisfied by a simple terrace next to the mansion, in the same architectural style, but divided from the wider garden by a parapet or wall. 184 It had become impossible to distinguish M’Intosh’s ‘modern’ ‘English’ terrace from a congruous terrace in any architectural style. By 1853 distinctions in style were becoming ever more complicated as the modern English terrace became more eclectic.

182 M’Intosh, Garden, 1, p. 693.
183 Ibid., 1, p. 694.
184 Ibid., 1, p. 611.
M'Intosh saw the geometrical as the ‘most ancient’ of the three different types of flower garden. The Italian style was one of its sub-sets. He frequently resorted to vague allusions to the Italian style finding it easier to define the two other dominant styles, the French and the Dutch.  

He identified the French style with Le Nôtre and the reign of Louis XIV when the defining characteristic was the *parterre de broderie*, ‘The great arm of the French artist was to display forms, and lines, and intricate embroidered figures, requiring great skill in transferring them from the plan to the ground. The French parterre, with its scrolls of box, and its smaller beds covered with various coloured sand... ’

For M’Intosh the Dutch garden remained the most reviled of styles; introduced into England during the reign of William and Mary and characterised by ‘absurdities little inferior’ to the ‘Tonsile’ style with its ‘grotesque manner of trimming trees and shrubs in imitation of birds, beasts, and cabinet-work’. He left the Italian style undefined and free to claim every formal decorated characteristic except the extremes of topiary.

Yet the primacy of the Italian style possibly adopted from Loudon led M’Intosh to rank it ‘the most imposing’ of all the geometrical gardens when carried out to ‘its fullest and grandest extent’. However, like Tuscan architecture, it also found a thrifty expression in the ‘small Italian flower-garden’ at Tottenham Park, Wiltshire, with its ‘economical parapet...made with common brick and large drain-tiles’.  

These examples illustrate how the Italian style was muddled by other extraneous developments. *The Book of the Garden* was well researched and informative, but it

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185 He followed Smirke and Repton in the belief that the French style had grown out of the Italian style adding that it had attained a far higher level of expression in England than France because of that country’s ‘greater wealth’. Since he also referred to the work of Sir William Temple and Stephen Switzer in laying out parterres he clearly had in mind the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.  
186 Ibid., 1, p. 611.  
187 Ibid., 1, pp. 607-08.  
188 Ibid., 1, p. 611.  
189 Ibid., 1, p. 604.  
190 Ibid., 1, p. 647.
contributed to the simultaneous contradictory tendencies to refine and mystify the Italian garden style to the point of extinction. The real survivors were the individual Italian Gardens created by owners and designers who used their own experiences and memories of Italy and its gardens, and not M’Intosh’s ever vaguer, more cluttered notion of the Italian style.

In 1858 another professional gardener and pupil of Joseph Paxton, Edward Kemp, took up the theme begun by Loudon in 1812 when he published *How to Lay out a Small Garden.* He set out to challenge the ‘incongruity and dullness observable in the majority of small gardens’ and he cited Loudon, Price and Repton as his influences. The work re-appeared in 1858 and 1864 under the title, *How to Lay out a Garden.* The major changes were the addition of illustrations and examples taken from Kemp’s own commissions. These were never ‘small gardens’ and as such they did not provided representative case studies to support the arguments advanced in the text. Kemp listed the same three styles of gardening as M’Intosh: geometric, gardenesque and picturesque. To these he added a very partial adaptation of Loudon’s enjoinder to consider the characteristics of the site, reiterating the familiar mantra that a geometric garden was dependent for its success upon a sloping site. Furthermore the geometric garden was the only one that raised the question of congruity. Kemp placed the gardenesque and the picturesque beyond the congruity debate. They functioned independently of architectural style and the natural characteristics of the site. He advanced the same vague and extended interpretation of the Italian garden style seen in M’Intosh such that

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190 Kemp had trained under Joseph Paxton at Chatsworth, Derbyshire and worked alongside him laying out Birkenhead Park, Merseyside.
Grecian, Roman or Italian forms of architecture are those in connexion with which it can be
most freely adopted.... Hence, the practice of the geometrical style has often received the title
of "Italian" gardening; it having been most extensively adopted in Italy, and in relation to the
architectural forms peculiar to that country.\textsuperscript{192}

To which he added minute and imaginary horticultural details of style. He combined
congruity with colour theory advising his reader that:

When the beds of a flower-garden are separated by grass, they may be furnished with masses
of flowers of one colour, either with or without an edging of a separate tint, and this
arrangement will, in general, be more striking, and more consonant with Grecian and Italian
architecture. Beds of mixed flowers will better suit the irregular shapes of purely English
gardening, and English Gothic buildings. The more formal styles appear to demand, for
consistency, a similarly formal arrangement, and a more brilliant but less variegated display of
colour.\textsuperscript{193}

Alternately the shape of flower beds might be varied because

a semicircular lobe attached to each end of the principal oblong beds, is more suited for the
Italian manner, and would yield some additional novelty, because the small ends of the beds
would just accommodate one or three plants of a striking kind, to contrast with the other
occupants of the bed. Any of the more remarkable variegated Geraniums would be admirably
fitted for such a situation.\textsuperscript{194}

During the 1860s these excesses brought confusion to every national gardening style,
but especially the Italian. In 1861 John Robson, Head Gardener at Linton Park, Kent,
discussed his own garden in the \textit{Journal of Horticulture} and explained:

A geometric garden, consisting of simple lines and figures fitting into each other and
occupying a given space is called a Dutch garden; but if, in addition to these formal figures,
sculpture, vases and long-continued lines of walks, embellished more or less with symmetrical
planting, and a large breadth of grass, be introduced, the term Italian garden is used, with,
perhaps, less claim to that country for its origin than the other has. But it is not necessary here
to find fault with these arrangements, and it is also hopeless to determine in all cases to which
name certain geometric gardens belong, the greater number of gardens present so much of the
mixed or transition style in their composition.\textsuperscript{195}

Italian architecture and the Italian garden embraced different styles across different
periods and different classes of society. Thus there was never a single Italian style, but
the architectural pattern books and Loudon’s \textit{Encyclopaedia of Gardening} only began
to hint at this in the 1820s. Italian style was threatened by the exaggerated English

\textsuperscript{192} Edward Kemp, \textit{How to Lay Out a Garden Intended as a Guide in Choosing, Forming or Improving
\textsuperscript{194} Kemp, \textit{Garden}, (1858), pp.111-12.
\textsuperscript{195} John Robson, 'Dutch Flower Garden at Linton Park', \textit{Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener},
nationalism that persisted in horticultural circles and by a failure to agree on what constituted an Italian garden. English tourists had a tendency to see what they had been told they would see. The guidebooks saw neglect and formality and they detected the same. Those who sketched gardens in Italy saw something different because they applied a different set of rules with a broad sweeping view framed by an asymmetrical foreground. The Italian garden also acted as host for another independent fashion; the migration of the flower garden to the house. All of these factors combine to explain the surprising longevity and variability of the Italian garden until it was divided and subdivided to the point where it became unsustainable and eclecticism became the goal. Crook detected the same process in architectural history where ‘pluralism [was] multiplied by mass-communications’ and ‘pluralist societies...develop[ed] a plurality of culture and thus eventually, eclecticism of style.’ 196

196 Crook, Dilemma of Style, p. 270.
3. THE PICTURESQUE AND THE ITALIAN GARDEN: A DIFFICULT ASSOCIATION

The Italian landscape had been widely appreciated since the mid-eighteenth century when English connoisseurs began to collect the paintings of Claude Gellée; more commonly known as Claude Lorrain, Nicholas Poussin, Salvator Rosa and Gaspard Dughet. Their paintings were the cues that prompted perception of the Italian campagna in the English landscape, and as such they were an early example of the developing symbiotic relationship between external spaces and interior decoration.

This section analyses the Picturesque Italian garden that was prompted by the writings of Sir Uvedale Price, Thomas Hope and Gilbert Laing Meason. They each began with the Italian Renaissance garden and its ‘architectural decoration of stairs, of built terraces, and balustrades’ with ‘alleys of trees, trimmed evergreens, fountains, and cascades’. The whole being animated by the striking oppositions of the rarest marbles to the richest verdure - those mixtures of statues and vases, and balustrades, with cypresses, and pinasters and bays, those distant hills seen through the converging lines of lengthened colonades, those ranges of aloes and cactuses growing out of vases of granite and or porphyry, scarce more symmetrical by art than these plants are by nature.

In 1826 Anna Jameson, who had toured Europe as a governess, demonstrated that this association was penetrating the English subconscious when she suggested in the Diary of an Ennuye that

Had I never visited Italy I think I should never have understood the word picturesque... A snug English villa with its shaven lawn, its neat shrubbery, and its park, is a delightful thing - an Italian villa is probably far less comfortable, but with its vineyards, its gardens, its fountains, and statues, is far more picturesque.

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197 Dughet was Poussin's son-in-law and hence was also known as Gaspard Poussin. For an introduction to landscape painting as a basis for the Picturesque see Nigel Temple, John Nash & The Village Picturesque: with special reference to the Reptons and Nash at the Blaise Castle Estate, Bristol (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979), pp. 14-17, Gina Crandell, Nature Pictorialized: "The View" in Landscape History (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 94-107.

198 Meason, Architecture, p. 81.

199 Hope, 'Gardening', p. 141.

Price, Hope and Jameson all drew their inspiration and understanding from gardens they knew around Rome, Florence and Genoa, but mimicry was not sufficient to create the Picturesque Italian garden at home. As David Watkin has pointed out the English Picturesque demands a sense of illusion.  

To this end internal and external boundaries were being blurred through the introduction of new architectural devices such as the conservatory, French windows, balconies, loggias and terraces. The equivalent gardening devices were window boxes and trellis work which was used on the exterior of the house and inside the conservatory. As a consequence the garden around the house grew in importance lessening the focus on the landscape that had dominated all earlier discussions of the Picturesque. In 1798 Price expressed disdain for the flower garden which was ‘the most dressed and polished of all garden scenes, and what may be supposed least to interest a painter - a mere flower-garden, surrounded with shrubs and exotic trees.’  

In 1805 Payne Knight persisted in the view that ‘few persons ever look for compositions when within doors. It is in walks and rides through parks, gardens or pleasure grounds that they are allowed to become subjects of conversation.’  

Developments in architecture, horticulture and the newly popular device of painting a view framed through an open door or window (Fig. 3.1) all confirmed that in this respect Payne Knight and Price were slipping behind current fashion.

The Picturesque Italian garden as it was interpreted at Bromley Hill House, Kent and the Deepdene, Surrey will be shown to have been inextricably wedded to the house;

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both stylistically and compositionally. These houses and their terraced gardens formed single entities which exaggerated the focus on the garden and hastened the decline in importance of the landscape. As such the Picturesque Italian garden crystallised the tension that existed between the garden and the landscape whilst simultaneously perpetuating the sense of illusion that was originally captured in the Picturesque Italian landscape. Landscapes that looked like paintings were replaced by conservatories that looked like gardens and terraces that might have been conservatories.

In this analysis the period under consideration opens in the 1790s with a visitor’s account of the gardens created by Payne Knight and Price at Downton Castle and Foxley in Herefordshire and the development of Price’s seaside villa garden at Castle House, Aberystwyth. It concludes in 1848 with the construction by Henry Edmund Goodridge of his final Italian villa on Bathwick Hill, Bath.

3.1 The Gardens of Richard Payne Knight

Payne Knight inherited his Herefordshire estate at Downton on the Rock from his grandfather in 1772, and set about constructing an entirely new asymmetric, castellated and towered mansion which he designed whilst travelling through Italy and France.204 The exterior of Downton Castle has been variously interpreted as ‘imitation mediaeval’205 and even ‘an emblem of civilization’ for Andrew Ballantyne

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204 It has been described as 'the first country house of any importance erected in Europe since the Renaissance which was designed from the outset on an irregular plan.' Nicholas Penny, 'Architecture and Landscape at Downton', in The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824, ed. by Michael Clarke and Nicholas Penny, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), pp. 32-49, p. 42.

has suggested Payne Knight saw it as a Grecian townscape.\textsuperscript{206} It has been frequently misinterpreted as a Gothic mansion. Several authors have traced the architectural inspiration that Payne Knight took from Claude’s drawings; almost three hundred of which were in his own collection.\textsuperscript{207}

The most admired landscape creation at Downton was the walk that Payne Knight laid out along the gorge of the River Teme which was close to, but invisible from the Castle. The immediate setting for the Castle was little more than grazed turf (Fig. 3.2) although in 1799 Sir Richard Colt Hoare made the most of a distant clump of trees to hide its nakedness (Fig. 3.3) and in a similar vein the Rev. James Plumptre perceived it to be

\begin{quote}

in the style of the neat Picturesque, the grass is kept mowed, the trees are planted in groups, and large stones are left with trees and trailing plants and large flowers growing about them which break the ground in a pleasing manner.\textsuperscript{208}
\end{quote}

Plumptre was a Cambridge don who had studied the Picturesque, and so felt compelled to categorise the scene laid out before him by the rules of his subject. He saw grounds in ‘the neat picturesque style, or as Mr Gilpin would perhaps express it, in a style of picturesque beauty’.\textsuperscript{209} In 1792 Rev. William Gilpin distinguished between the smooth qualities of the Beautiful and a degree of roughness that was necessary to characterise his ‘mixed’ concept of picturesque beauty.\textsuperscript{210} A year earlier, in 1791, Gilpin had suggested that the ‘garden, or pleasure-ground...[which]

\begin{footnotes}


\textsuperscript{207} Similarities between Claude’s paintings and the Downton setting had been suggested by Nikolaus Pevsner in 1949, Nicholas Penny in 1982 and Andrew Ballantyne in 1989. They are summarised in Ibid., pp. 121 and 127.

\textsuperscript{208} James Plumptre, A Pedestrian Journey, 4 September 1799, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, ADD.5816(e)f.163.


\textsuperscript{210} William Gilpin, \textit{Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting} (London: n.pub., 1792), p. 11.
\end{footnotes}
approaches nearer to the house, than the park...takes of course a higher polish'. Yet what Plumptre observed surrounding Downton Castle had received very little polish and could not have been more different from Payne Knight’s declaration in The Landscape in support of ‘terraces, steps, and balustrades,...borrowed...from the Italian villas represented in the pictures of Claude...’ The long low terraces and shrubberies that eventually came to surround Downton Castle were not added until 1809 when Payne Knight handed the estate over to his brother (Fig. 3.4).

Payne Knight did not accept Gilpin’s or Price’s categorisation of objects as innately Picturesque, Sublime or Beautiful. Instead he maintained an etymological approach to the picturesque which was rooted in pittorese; a word ‘borrowed from the Italian’ and meaning ‘after the manner of painters’. If Plumptre’s description of the Downton Castle grounds as ‘neat Picturesque’ had been triggered by memories of a particular painting or artist Payne Knight might have agreed. Instead the Downton landscape with its broken ground around the Castle and its hidden walk along the River Teme was designed around ‘the character of nature [which] is more pleasing than any that can be given by art.’ Payne Knight’s aesthetic principles were explained best in An Inquiry into the Principles of Taste which he published in 1805 and not in his propagandist poem, The Landscape. At Downton he relied upon nature to create a beautiful setting in which he defined natural beauty as the

harmonious, but yet brilliant and contrasted combinations of light, shade and colour; blended, but not confused; and broken, but not cut, into masses:...it is not peculiar in straight or curve,

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212 Knight, The Landscape, p. viii.
215 Ibid., p. 159.
taper or spiral, long or short, little or great objects, that we are to seek for these; but in such as display to the eye intricacy of parts and variety of tint and surface.  

When Payne Knight vacated the Castle and moved to his second home on the Downton estate, Stonebrook Cottage, he applied the same philosophy. Here he was led to a ‘little dell, with a little stream, little rocks, and everything little about it’. Scholars like Plumptre who saw the world through Gilpin’s and Price’s interpretation of the Picturesque misunderstood Downton. In practice Payne Knight was a champion of Nature and not Art in the garden. However, his collection of Claude drawings which, on his death in 1824 were a founding bequest to the British Museum, were central in perpetuating the ideal of the Italian landscape if not the Italian garden well into the nineteenth century.

3.2 The Gardens of Sir Uvedale Price

In 1768 Price inherited the neo-classical Foxley House (Fig. 3.5) from its architect, his grandfather. It stood in a richly wooded valley that his father had improved with an eye to agricultural efficiency and the embellishment of nature. In contrast the gardens surrounding the house reflected the taste of his grandfather. They included a summerhouse by James Gibb, terraces, enclosures, statuary purchased in London and a lime walk, all of which Price famously swept away around 1780. In 1799, the day before visiting Downton, Plumptre called at Foxley where he found a flower garden and Conservatory surrounded by trees at the rear of the house and, ‘Before the house...a grass plot, with borders of flowers in irregular and picturesque situations.’ This demonstrates that Price’s garden followed the contemporary

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216 Ibid., p. 68.
217 Stonebrook Cottage has since been renamed Stonebrook Lodge.
219 Ousby, Plumptre’s Britain, p. 172.
fashion for a scattered assembly of amoeba-like flower beds and made only tentative attempts to manage the transition between architecture and landscape. Foxley’s garden was typical of the flower gardens Price disdained.

His second garden was developed around the Aberystwyth seaside villa, Castle House, where he employed the architect, John Nash, from 1791 to 1794. In contradiction of Payne Knight, he demanded that the rooms were orientated towards the spectacular views, and the building was set so close to the cliff that the rocks provided its compositional foreground. The villa was demolished in 1895, but it seems likely that the rocky foreground would have been enjoyed in the view from the first floor balcony, but not the ground floor windows where the terrace would have obscured the view. The main features were the terrace with its semi-circular bastion that mirrored the line of the curved and canopied first floor balcony, two walled garden enclosures with an octagonal tower, and a walk that linked Castle House to the adjacent castle ruins (Figs. 3.6 and 3.7). Charles Watkins and Ben Cowell have described the walled enclosures as formal, but John Preston Neale’s contemporary engraving suggests a rhythmic composition of walls that followed the undulating profile of the land sculpted for shelter rather than aesthetics. Indeed Price acknowledged the horticultural extremes of the site where grass was the only plant that would ‘stand against the winds on that coast’.

Price’s Aberystwyth garden was shaped by the exigencies of the weather and the rules of pictorial composition and Foxley’s garden was dictated by the established fashion.

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21 Ibid., pp. 26-7.
22 Uvedale Price to Lord Aberdeen, 20 June 1810 quoted in Ibid., p. 199.
for scattered flower beds. It was not until 1810, the year he published his new Essay in praise of Italian terraces, that he came close to implementing his own advice when he wrote to Lord Aberdeen ‘I did mean, + still mean, to put some sort of balustrade around it [Castle House], both for ornament + security’. He never did and his vision of Italian gardens remained confined to his memories although the balcony, terrace and triangular footprint of his Aberystwyth villa did much to unite the house with its immediate setting.

3.3 The Settings for John Nash’s Italian Villas

As Price’s ‘pupil’ at Castle House and the architect of five picturesque Italian villas John Nash might be expected to take the next step in developing the Picturesque Italian garden. His series of five Italian villas opened with Cronkhill, the Agent’s house and eye-catcher, he designed for the 2nd Lord Berwick’s Attingham Park estate in Shropshire around 1802. It continued with Sandridge Park, Devon for Lady Ashburton which was under construction in 1804, Lissan Rectory, Co. Tyrone built from 1807, Southborough Place, Surrey built from 1808 and it concluded with Wood Hall, East Yorkshire built between 1814 and 1815. The last two incorporated the weakest Italian detailing which was confined to their broad over-hanging eaves and, at Southborough Place, a square tower (Fig. 3.8) and at Wood Hall, a round tower (Fig. 3.9).

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223 Uvedale Price to Lord Aberdeen, 20 June 1810 quoted in Ibid., p. 199.
224 The exact date of this villa is uncertain, but the earliest reference comes from the exhibition of a drawing at the Royal Academy in 1802. Mansbridge identifies an earlier sketch for an Italianate building in George Stanley Repton’s Sketchbooks as the suggestion for a cottage that was never implemented. Michael Mansbridge, John Nash A Complete Catalogue (London: Phaidon, 2004), pp. 101-02 and 316.
225 Michael Mansbridge has dated Sandridge Park to 1805 on the basis of drawings exhibited at the Royal Academy, but the present owners have discovered a letter from the first owner, Lady Ashburton, to her son which indicates the villa was under construction in 1804. Furthermore this letter names Nash as the architect. It has not proved possible to trace the drawings referred to by Mansbridge. Michael Mansbridge, John Nash (London: Phaidon Press, 2004), pp. 118-19.
226 Now re-named Southborough House.
At Cronkhill the architectural inspiration is said to have been Claude’s *Pastoral Landscape with the Ponte Molle* \(^{227}\) (Fig. 3.10). The Italian theme was reflected in the Roman-style amphora placed in a niche beside the entrance to remind one of the nearby Roman ruins of Wroxeter. The round and square towers were accompanied by an intricate array of chimneys and shallow pitched roofs with deeply over-hanging eaves, whilst the loggia was finished with a balustraded terrace to the first floor (Fig. 3.11). The evidence for the setting that Nash intended is limited to George Stanley Repton’s watercolour which swivelled the most obvious landmark of The Wrekin, through 180 degrees to provide a more picturesque if invented backdrop.\(^{228}\) Otherwise G. S. Repton illustrated unremarkable blocks of shrubs intended to screen the service wing (Fig. 3.12) and create exaggerated areas of light and shade by contrast with the brilliantly white stuccoed walls of the villa. There was no attempt to introduce Art or decoration to the setting which accords with its status as an eye-catcher and the inspiration of a Claude painting. The same is true of the plan of Lissan Rectory produced in Nash’s office (Fig. 3.13), and there is nothing to suggest anything different in the treatment of Southborough Place or Wood Hall.

At Cronkhill the important views out were from the octagonal dining room, contained within the circular tower, and the adjacent drawing room which connects with the loggia. The views all look to the east across the River Severn and whilst attractive, they relied solely on the naturally occurring advantages of the site. However, at Sandridge Park, the second of Nash’s Italian villas, he returned to the principles

\(^{227}\) Claude’s *Pastoral Landscape with the Ponte Molle* is now in the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.

\(^{228}\) G. S. Repton worked for many years as an architect in Nash’s office rising to become his chief assistant. This watercolour was prepared in 1802, during his time with Nash.
employed at Castle House, with different views from different rooms, and he actively managed the landscape to enhance the painterly qualities. He also integrated a Conservatory into the house and fixed trellis to the stucco to heighten the association between the internal and external space.

Sandridge Park was built for Lady Ashburton on a site acquired by her husband some thirty years previously. She engaged Nash to build both the villa (Fig. 3.14) and its imposing stable block (Fig. 3.15) in the Italian style. The site selected was the second highest point on the estate with views to the south-east across the snaking profile of the River Dart. The enfilade of principal rooms ran from the Conservatory at the south-eastern end through an octagonal hall secreted within the square tower, to the drawing room with its canted-bow window and views to the south-west\(^{229}\) (Fig. 3.16). A D-end dining room terminated the south-westerly wing. The view from this room was deliberately created by blasting through the adjacent rocky outcrop to provide side screens that framed an unexpected view of the River Dart and the Sharpham estate beyond (Fig. 3.17). This was the embodiment of Henry Tilney's advice to Catherine Moreland on the use of 'fore-grounds, distances, and second distances – side-screens and perspectives – lights and shades'.\(^{230}\) The parallel with Castle House where the cliff rocks created a foreground and Price demanded that each room was orientated towards a different view is clear, but at Sandridge Park Nash needed to intervene to manage the landscape and create the desired effect.

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\(^{229}\) The Conservatory was demolished some time between 1935 and the 1960s, but is being re-created by the current owners who are also re-unifying the two portions of the house that were separated by demolition work in the 1970s.

Sandridge Park, Cronkhill and Lissan Rectory all shared twin round and square towers and loggias, but Sandridge was the only one to benefit from an integrated Conservatory. An early nineteenth-century engraving shows it with French doors and applied external wooden columns that echo the decoration of the canted-bay window (Fig. 3.18). The roofline and profile are identical to an unidentified Conservatory drawn by G.S. Repton (Fig. 3.19) and his brother, John Adey Repton\(^{231}\) (Fig. 3.20). At Sandridge Park trellis work decorated the south-west entrance and was shown in a 1935 sale photograph (Fig. 3.21) forming the first floor balcony. The same square trellis is found in another commission from Nash’s office for the Gardener’s Cottage on the Nanteos Estate, Dyfed.\(^{232}\) The first edition Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 3.22) showed a tear-drop shaped turning circle with serpentine paths stretching out amongst shrubberies and trees, which the engraving of the Conservatory was supplemented with curving flower beds. The view out across the ha-ha, which runs between the turning circle and the River Dart was framed between a Cedar of Lebanon and a Holm Oak, both of which have been lost in the last twenty years. Perhaps most importantly, as evergreens, they framed the views back towards Sandridge’s white stucco.

Despite a brief partnership with Humphry Repton, whose role in re-establishing formality in the flower garden is discussed later, the setting for Nash’s rural Italian

\(^{231}\) My thanks to the current owner of Sandridge Park for bringing this to my attention. Nigel Temple discusses the illustrations by G.S. and J.A. Repton for an identical Conservatory; the first of which is annotated Albury and the second of which is dated 1810. Temple concludes there is no evidence that the Conservatory was constructed at Albury Park, Surrey, but considers that it may have been erected at Battlesden Park, Bedfordshire. He makes no connection between the G.S. and J.A. Repton illustrations and the Sandridge Park Conservatory. Nigel Temple, George Repton’s Pavilion Notebook A catalogue raisonné (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp. 49-50 and 182-85. When photographed for the 1935 sale particulars the Sandridge Park Conservatory differed slightly from the two Repton illustrations and the nineteenth-century engraving of Sandridge Park in that a shallow external loggia supported on typical slender cast iron columns ran in front of the French doors. Michelmore Loveys and Son, Sale Particulars, The Sandridge Estate, 1935, Devon Record Office Newton Abbot, 867B/S22.

\(^{232}\) See the Gardener’s Cottage, Nanteos, designed in Nash’s office and reproduced in Richard Suggett, John Nash: Architect in Wales (Aberystwyth: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, 1995), p. 84.
villas relied almost exclusively upon nature. However, he did contribute to the establishment of the Picturesque Italian garden by diverting the focus away from the landscape and towards the villa as the heart of the pictorial illusion. Furthermore at Sandridge Park the illusion was strengthened by the active management of the landscape to frame the painterly view from the dining room and a Conservatory that brought the garden inside the house. The next step towards achieving Price's dream of a Renaissance decorated Picturesque Italian garden came at a long forgotten villa in Bromley, Kent.

3.4 Bromley Hill House, Kent: A Complete Italian Villa

In the early nineteenth century Bromley Hill House was a picturesque Italian country villa well placed for access to town. Today it is an over-extended hotel that towers over the ill-fitting remains of its terrace garden. It is hemmed in by rooftops and traffic noise. A guidebook of 1811 described it as a 'modern villa, of a compact form, well broken into masses by varied angles'. By 1816 it was 'not a little in Italian style and character' with its overhanging eaves and irregular broken façade (Fig. 3.23) painted by John Buckler in 1815. In 1822 Thomas Frederick Hunt featured the villa in a pattern book which he intended as the 'exemplar of Italian [Tuscan] architecture' and in 1840, following the addition of two fashionable belvederes,

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237 Photograph Album Bromley Hill, 1848-1898, Bromley Library, 1134/1.
the Gentleman’s Magazine described it as a good example of the ‘Italian, Tuscan and Romanesque styles’. 238

It was the creation of the amateur architect, Charles Long, later Lord Farnborough, and his wife, Amelia, an amateur artist who was then able to capture the dome of St Paul’s in the view from the terrace (Fig. 3.24). Charles was a middle-ranking, career politician with a passion for Art, who was widely acknowledged as the Prince Regent’s unofficial art advisor and ‘deal maker’. In 1820 Joseph Farington noted his reputation as the ‘King’s spectacles’ in all artistic matters. 239 Amelia is remembered as an accomplished water colourist; a pupil of Thomas Girton and an honorary exhibitor at the Royal Academy from 1807 to 1822. 240 She often painted the gardens of Bromley Hill and one such view was owned by Payne Knight and included in his bequest to the British Museum. 241 This painting which is dated 1805 may have been given to Payne Knight by Amelia when she toured the River Wye with her husband and Rev. Henry Edridge in September 1809 staying ‘two days with Mr Knight at Downton Castle...[where] Mrs Long was delighted with Mr Knight’s Dell.’ 242

Just as Payne Knight had his walk along the Teme gorge, the Farnboroughs developed picturesque walks along the River Ravensbourne as they expanded the Bromley Hill

242 Cave, Farington Diary, 10, pp. 3533-34.
estate from forty to one hundred and thirty acres\textsuperscript{243} (Fig. 3.25). In 1809 Farington recorded that during a stroll before dinner along one of the Bromley Hill walks ‘Mr Long [who was] looking at the landscape from the Hill sd. The true Arial such as we saw had been got by Wilson- and by Claude. I added Cuyp, to which He agreed.’\textsuperscript{244} English and Dutch landscapes could have been the inspiration for the Bromley Hill walks but, once inside the Longs’ dinner guests were directed to Italy as the true model by the Gaspar Poussin that hung in the villa. It was a rare example of Gaspar Poussin’s portrayal of a real rather than an imagined landscape, painted just outside Tivoli.\textsuperscript{245} The same message was widely circulated in reverse in the \textit{Gardener's Magazine} which suggested that Bromley Hill would ‘not disgrace the pencil of Gaspar Poussin’.\textsuperscript{246}

Bromley Hill was also acknowledged nationally for the skill with which the Longs integrated the villa with the garden. They created a thirty-foot long Conservatory\textsuperscript{247} filled with ‘full-bearing orange and lemon plants that would be admired at Margam’.\textsuperscript{248} The ceiling and the walls of the glass Conservatory were swathed inside with foliage (Figs. 3.26 and 3.27) that framed the view through into the ‘Conservatory

\textsuperscript{243} Cumberland, \textit{Bromley Hill}, 1816, p. 15 records, ‘All that was here to work upon was a fine rising knoll, extending to about forty acres of wood’, but in 1824 Long wrote excitedly to Cumberland that he was ‘at work upon a new wood having purchased the whole to Bromley’ where he was creating drives rather than walks. British Library, MSS 36510, f. 23.

\textsuperscript{244} Cave, \textit{Farington Diary}, 9, p. 3496. Wilson was Richard Wilson and Cuyp, was Aelbert Cuyp. Both were well regarded for their landscape paintings.

\textsuperscript{245} The painting, now known as \textit{Tivoli}, was bequeathed by Long to the National Gallery. Ibid., 9, p. 3498.

\textsuperscript{246} 'Amateur', 'Present Style', p. 214.

\textsuperscript{247} Cave, \textit{Farington Diary}, 15, p. 5140.

\textsuperscript{248} Cumberland, \textit{Bromley-Hill}, 1816, p. 20. The conservatory at Margam Park, South Wales was the longest Conservatory in the British Isles. It had been feted in the late eighteenth century for the profusion and quality of its citruses although by 1793 it was in decline and on 8 July, Sir Richard Colt Hoare recorded in his diary, ‘In the morning I returned to Margam which I found much altered since the time I last saw it: the mansion house nearly pulled down, a magnificent greenhouse of the Doric order erected for the reception of fine orange trees, which had considerably decreased in beauty and luxuriance.’ M W Thompson, \textit{The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England 1793-1810} (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1983), p. 55.
Room’. This was connected to the terrace by French doors (Fig 3.28). The progression between the glass Conservatory, the more enclosed Conservatory Room and the terrace maximised the visual trickery and spatial illusions. In Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton, published in 1808, Repton declared that

there are few places in which the character of a garden is preserved near the house; and, therefore, a detached place called the flower garden, has been set apart, occasionally, at such an inconvenient distance, that it is seldom visited. Among those few in which the garden scenery has been admitted to form part of the landscape from the windows, I can only mention, Wilderness, Earl Camden; Bromley Hill, the Right Hon. Charles Long (now Colonel Long); St. Leonard’s Hill, General Harcourt; Longleat, Marquis of Bath; and Ashridge, Earl Bridgewater. Out of some hundred places, these are all I can recollect where the views from the windows consist rather of garden than of park scenery.  

This was publicity and praise that ranked Bromley Hill alongside some of the leading gardens of the day.

The first terrace was created sometime before 1811. It did not run parallel with the villa, but instead marched outwards into the garden as a catwalk might do in a fashion show today. By 1816 a second terrace ran out at right angles to the villa. The profile and the gradient of the site added to the distinctly angular composition of the villa’s Tuscan architecture. In this way Bromley Hill became one of the first Picturesque terrace gardens both in terms of its profile and the part it played in creating a visual illusion.

Between 1811 and 1816 the decoration of the Bromley Hill pleasure garden gradually increased and added to its Italian character. In August 1812 Cumberland suggested the terrace would benefit from some sculpture which prompted a rebuff from Long  

249 Humphry Repton, Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton, 1808 in Loudon, Works of Humphry Repton, p. 364, fnt. It seems possible that Repton was politically motivated to include Bromley Hill House in this list. He was seeking to show himself in a favourable light and improve his chances of capturing a Royal commission at Brighton Pavilion. It therefore seemed pertinent to praise Bromley Hill House which was known to the Prince Regent and had been laid out by someone whose artistic judgement the Prince Regent valued. In 1907 the Bromley Record confirmed that George IV, William IV and Queen Adelaide had all visited Bromley Hill House. Anon., 'The Bromley Hydro', Bromley Record, 18 April 1907, pp. 78-9, p. 78.
who, short of funds, declared a preference for ‘vases as a Garden decoration to statues’.\textsuperscript{250} By October a financial recovery was seemingly underway and Long was writing to Cumberland instructing him to search out some new garden features. He wanted ‘two or three large stone or Marble vases and a Sun-Dial such as one sees belonging to old Mansions the more wrought the better.’\textsuperscript{251} In 1815 Buckler illustrated a large vase on the Knoll which Cumberland described the following year as a

beaker-formed magnificent vase of free-stone, with its pedestal near twelve feet high, not purely antique, but a good garden ornament, resembling those of the \textit{cinque-cento} times so often employed in grotesque paintings.\textsuperscript{252}

The vase, which is closer to six feet than twelve feet, survives today (Fig. 3.29) although its twin at the front of the hotel was lost in the 1990s.

By 1811 a line of ‘bower arches’ for scented climbers framed views down to the river in the valley below\textsuperscript{253} (Fig. 3.30) The two terraces enclosed a small fountain, porcelain vases and flower baskets or ‘corbeils’ [sic] filled with yet more scented plants.\textsuperscript{254} In 1816 the first terrace was said to be

fifty paces long, dressed and embellished with exotics and other proper accompaniements; particularly its \textit{ancient social bench}, reviving a pleasing feature in garden scenes now almost forgotten, and scarce known but in the pictures of the luxuriant \textit{Watteau}: the old companion

\textsuperscript{250} Long to Cumberland, 4 August 1812, British Library MSS 36503, f. 50.
\textsuperscript{251} Long to Cumberland, October 1812, British Library, MSS 36502, f. 295.
\textsuperscript{252} Cumberland, \textit{Bromley-Hill}, 1816, p. 28. This vase was not mentioned in Cumberland’s 1811 guide to Bromley Hill, but it had featured to the left of Buckler’s watercolour of 1815. (See Fig. 3.23).
\textsuperscript{253} George Cumberland, \textit{Bromley-Hill The Seat of the Right Hon. Charles Long MP}, (London, 1811), p. 34. Interestingly the first edition of Cumberland’s guide to Bromley Hill included a chapter devoted to the ‘Home Pleasure-Ground’ from which this quotation is taken. It gave a more detailed description of this area than the 1816 edition by when, the references to the pleasure-ground were dispersed throughout other chapters and The Knoll had been singled out for its own chapter. This change was at Charles Long’s suggestion for he wrote to Cumberland in 1812, the year after the publication of the first description of Bromley Hill, stating ‘One of the most striking features of Bromley hill is the \textit{Knoll} near the house...we think it ought to have had Separate Notice’. Long to Cumberland, British Library, MSS 36503, f. 50.
\textsuperscript{254} Cumberland, \textit{Bromley Hill}, 1816, p. 23. A \textit{corbeille} was a planting basket used to frame a flower bed. It might range from a simple wire work or cane support to a complex tiered structure made from stone or trellis. It originated in France, but was very popular in formal and informal English flower gardens during the first half of the nineteenth century. By the 1820s John Adey Repton was exporting the idea to Germany as the Hardenburg Basket.
of those gay spots where, in the evening, little family concerts used to be given; where summer refreshments were dispensed, and choice wines produced to be shared in cool recesses; where wit and female softness, and the last glowing rays of the sun illuminated the happy hours, in those good times when honourable gallantry flourished... This enclosed terrace with its low wall for flower pots &c.

The visual illusion between the interior and the exterior that Repton had praised in 1808 had now also become an important practical illusion where activities usually conducted inside were transferred outdoors. Cumberland’s allusion to the French Rococo artist, Jean-Antoine Watteau, introduced one eclectic twist to the Bromley Hill gardens. However, the ‘ancient social bench’ was inspired by the excavations of Pompeii and was one of several Italian associations that the guidebook sought to develop in a garden that abounded in fruit and blossoms, such as, even in Italy, in the gardens of Boboli at Florence, I have not seen more vigorous; where, as well as at Naples, they are obliged to house them in winter... a thing not generally imagined, and which serves to show our climate in a most favourable point of view.

Sometime after the publication of the 1816 guidebook the Longs added a lively little garden building known as The Casino. In 1839 it was painted (Fig. 3.31) by the novelist, Lady Caroline Scott. Around 1900 it was photographed (Fig. 3.32) by the new owners of Bromley Hill House, the Cawstons, and in August 1952 it was recalled by the Bromley & West Kent Mercury which described how

A modern house [was] erected on the remains of the terrace casino, built by Lord and Lady Farnborough to overlook the old Italian garden. The music room is decorated with floral panels by Lady Farnborough. Past its windows runs the original terrace with its niches from which the statues have long since vanished.

Today there is no trace of it except for the line of its roof which is echoed in the rooftop of the hotel (Fig. 3.33). Even Lady Caroline’s painting has been mislaid somewhere in the Bromley Museum collection.

255 Ibid., pp. 21-2.
256 This is discussed in greater detail in section 5, pp. 169-71.
257 Cumberland, Bromley Hill, 1816, p. 27.
Amelia's paintings suggest a small, stilted flower garden not unlike Plumptre's account of Price's flower garden at Foxley. It was the addition of the terraces, the steps and the vases (Figs. 3.34 and 3.35) sometime between c. 1810 and 1816 that transformed Bromley Hill into an Italian garden similar to those that the Longs and their friends might have visited during their foreign tours (Fig. 3.36). Bromley Hill's influence in this respect was considerable through Cumberland's guidebooks, Repton's praise and James Mangles' listing of it as one of the 'principal gardens in the kingdom' in his Floral Calendar of 1839. The Longs' friends and visitors included Payne Knight, Sir George Beaumont, Benjamin West and Sir Richard Westmacott, and their garden was known to the architect, Charles Robert Cockerell, who was to develop an important early formal Italian Garden which will be considered later. Amelia's sister, Sophia, was the first wife of 2nd Baron Brownlow of Belton House, Lincolnshire, who later became 1st Earl Brownlow. Their garden at Belton House is also considered later in this study. Amelia's uncles were successively the 7th and 8th Earls of Bridgewater from Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire. Her husband, Charles, was a frequent correspondent of Lady Anne Middleton of Shrubland Park, Suffolk. She had been a Cust before her marriage, was closely related to Baron Brownlow and she played an important part in shaping the gardens of Shrubland Park which became one of the most influential Italian gardens of the middle of the century and is also considered later. Bromley Hill was therefore at

259 Cumberland had previously published An Attempt to Describe Hafod in 1796. He introduced Bromley Hill as the metropolitan equivalent of Hafod and 'an equally good example of the same system'. Cumberland, Bromley Hill, 1811, p. 11.
260 Mangles, Calendar, p. 106.
262 See section 4, pp. 113-15.
263 See section 6, pp. 224-32.
the heart of a significant group of properties that were driving forward garden design and the Italian garden in particular. It was a uniquely Italian garden, set against the backdrop of an Italian villa and enclosed by an Italian landscape. It was a truly congruous composition and it was described by Hunt in 1827 as ‘an Italian villa, ...[where] the grounds in the immediate vicinity [are] laid out as a garden, embellished with choice plants, terraces, and exquisite works of art – consonant in every respect.’

Yet even Bromley Hill was never exclusively Italian evoking images of Watteau and Cuyp, and introduced by Cumberland with a discussion of the English taste in ‘arranging [the] pleasure gardens’. Eclecticism already formed an accepted accompaniment to the Italian style. However, in 1828 the Gardener’s Magazine described it as being in the French style which suggested more of a lack of understanding on the part of the reporter than eclecticism, although it also demonstrated that the French gardening style was a familiar concept at this period.

3.5 Thomas Hope and the Deepdene, Surrey: an Italian villa in an Eclectic Landscape

Thomas Hope was from the third generation of the wealthy Hope banking family. Born in Amsterdam, he fled to England in 1794, as the French invaded the Netherlands and the Picturesque debate reached its highlight in England. He had already invested eight years travelling through Europe and the Middle East studying architecture. Hope went on to publish a wide range of books: his highly acclaimed novel, Anastasius or Memoirs of a Modern Greek, appeared in 1819 joining texts on

264 Hunt, Architettura Campestre, pp. xviii-xix.
265 Cumberland, Bromley Hill, 1811, p. 3.
furniture (1807), ancient costume (1809) and modern costume (1812). A philosophical tract, *Origin and prospects of man*, (1831) and a posthumous study of architecture (1835) followed. 267 His 1808 article, *On the Art of Gardening*, and the garden and landscape he created at the Deepdene between c. 1818 and his death in 1831 form the basis of this study. 268

Hope was an exceptionally well informed and controlling client who engaged young, up and coming architects and may, on occasions, have deliberately suppressed their contribution in order to exaggerate the importance of his own. 269 However, for the moment there is nothing to suggest that he was anything but the driving force behind the architecture of the Deepdene with its asymmetric mix of Pompeian and Tuscan features, and the two earliest Italian belvederes to be constructed in the nineteenth century. As for his ideas on gardening; he shared Price’s fondness for Italian formality and his aspiration that this would provide the ideal setting for picturesque architecture. Hope’s sole surviving sketchbook, which dates from around 1812, confirms that he visited some of the ‘great Renaissance and Picturesque gardens of Italy: at the Villas Aldobrandini and Borghese in Rome, and the Cascine and Orti


268 The garden at the Deepdene underwent a second phase of development under Thomas Hope’s son, Henry, who transformed the villa into a ‘sumptuous High Renaissance palazzo’. Watkin, *Hope*, p. 182. This second phase of development is analysed at section 7, pp. 255-56. For an outline of the development of the house during Hope’s time see Watkin, *Hope*, pp. 163-65.

269 Watkin suggests this was the case with Hope’s relationship with Charles Heathcote Tatham, the architect he engaged to modify his London home in Duchess Street. David Watkin and Philip Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope Regency Designer*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 27. He also engaged William Atkinson to work at Duchess Street and the Deepdene, but Atkinson seems to have occupied nothing more than the role of executant architect at both properties.
Oricellari in Florence. He sketched a peacock perched on a pierced wall in the gardens of the Villa Poniatowski, Rome (Fig. 3.37): the pierced decoration later appeared in the parapets and garden walls at the Deepdene (Fig. 3.38) and a peacock dominated a watercolour of the Deepdene’s terrace prepared for John Britton’s manuscript on the property (Fig. 3.39). Was Hope deliberating drawing a comparison between the Deepdene and the terrace of the Villa Poniatowski? It is distinctly possible given that another of the Deepdene’s terraces, a semi-circular sweep below the drawing room, (Fig. 3.40) recalls a space he sketched at the Villa Doria Pamfili, Rome (Fig. 3.41) and an 1809 engraving by Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine in the garden of the Villa Borghese, Rome. Loudon instantly appreciated the Italian character of the Deepdene when he visited during a rain storm in August 1829 finding ‘all the finest parts of what may be called the landscape architecture and sculpture of Italy’ in the house and its offices, such as to ‘delight... men as Sir Uvedale Price and George Laing Meason.’

Hope and Price shared an admiration for Italian terrace gardens and, seemingly, a love of garden symmetry. Taking a microscopic interpretation of nature, Hope was able to embrace symmetry without laying himself open to the accusation that he was attacking Nature, and this freed him from the constraints that prevented Price from

271 See section 5, pp. 165-68 for an analysis of the Pompeian imagery of this pierced wall.
272 John Britton produced two volumes concerning the Deepdene. One containing the finished illustrations is in the Lambeth Record Office, London and the other, with the working sketches pasted into a text volume is in the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London. The watercolours are by William Henry Bartlett and Penry Williams. John Britton, *A series of Drawings Illustrative of the Scenery & the Architecture of the Deepdene Surry [sic]: The Seat of Thomas Hope Esq made in the Years 1825-6, 1826*, Lambeth Record Office, London, 185/188 S3247.5R, John Britton, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Deepdene, the Seat of Thomas Hope Esqre &c &c, 1825-26*, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, London, DC Britton.
275 See section 2, p. 14 for a discussion of Price’s support of symmetry, but rejection of formality.
uniting Art and Nature in his own gardens.\textsuperscript{276} The importance of this for Hope was demonstrated in the sub-title given to Britton’s volume of images of the Deepdene, \textit{The Union of the Picturesque Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties.}\textsuperscript{277} The watercolours prepared by William Henry Bartlett and Penry Williams provide a remarkable comparison with Amelia Long’s record of Bromley Hill and the best evidence of the Deepdene’s nineteenth-century gardens which were almost entirely swept away when the house was demolished in 1964.

Hope purchased the Deepdene in 1807. In 1813 he and his brother, Henry Philip, dissolved the English branch of the family business, Henry Hope & Co, transferring its assets to Alexander Baring. In return they each received three promissory notes for £25,000 that matured on 1st September 1816, 1817 and 1818.\textsuperscript{278} Hope was travelling between 1815 and 1817 and seems to have begun developing the Deepdene in earnest on his return in 1818 when his finances were at their most buoyant. The garden buildings could therefore be as early as 1818 however, John Timbs’ account of May 1823 is as helpful for what is omitted as it is for what is described. His account is taken to be accurate since it was dedicated to Hope and the second edition included ‘many important interpolations and corrections’.\textsuperscript{279} Timbs’ account suggests that in 1823 Hope had yet to begin work on any of the garden buildings that Britton illustrated in his 1826 manuscript except for the initial construction of the covered seat that looked out across Chart Park. Timbs found


\textsuperscript{277} Britton, Lambeth, London, 185/188 S3247.SR.

\textsuperscript{278} Marten G. Buist, \textit{At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Co 1770-1815 Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work} (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), p. 68.

\textsuperscript{279} J. Timbs, \textit{A Picturesque Promenade round Dorking} (London: n.pub., 1822), n.p.
Close behind the site of the house, the ground rises abruptly to a terrace, planted with a line of beeches. Here is also a neat stone pediment, supported by two pillars. On the former of which is inscribed—

FRATRI OPTVMO

Beneath the pediment is a stone seat, from which the picturesque valley of Reigate, backed by well-wooded hills, presents a scene of no ordinary character.

This simple-elegant architectural ornament is placed against a boundary wall, on the other side of which is the Deepdene, the classical estate of Thomas Hope280.

The pediment and pillars (Fig. 3.42) survive today. By 1826 a temple-like structure accessed by a flight of seven or eight steps (Fig. 3.43) just deep enough to shelter the simple seat described by Timbs, had been erected. It had a deeply over-hanging Italian roof above two severe, rudimentary columns. An acrotorion decorated with a mask was almost lost from view behind a tree that appeared to be imitating another column. A deliberately placed mound of rocks stood nearby. The building commemorated Henry Philip Hope’s gift of the adjacent parkland to Thomas in 1813 or 1814.281 In 1826 Neale’s account of the Deepdene repeated the inscription ‘FRATRI- OPTIMO – H.P.H.’, but declared it to be Arabic.282 In 1849 Keane recorded that the walls of this ‘little Doric temple’ were ‘embellished with Egyptian hieroglyphics’ describing it as ‘a recess with a flight of steps...ornamented with four pillars and some Hindoo sculpture’.283 Keane’s Beauties of Surrey set out to record the ‘horticulture, floriculture, arboriculture’ of major seats in the county, but it seems he struggled with the architecture of this building. Like the Deepdene itself, this covered seat appears to have been a stylistic puzzle to many visitors. It was reminiscent of the primitivist designs of Marc-Antoine Laguier whose ideas were

280 Ibid., p. 260. ‘Fratri optimo’ translates as ‘to my wonderful brother’.
282 J. P. Neale, An Account of The Deep-dene in Surrey: The Seat of Thomas Hope Esq to whom these views and illustrations are respectfully inscribed (London: n. pub., 1826), p. 3.
283 William Keane, The Beauties of Surrey being a particular description of about one hundred and twenty seats of the nobility and gentry in the county of Surrey comprising all that is interesting in the departments of horticulture, floriculture, arboriculture and Park and pleasure ground scenery from visits made in the spring of 1849 (London: n.pub., 1849), pp. 152-53.
followed in England by Sir John Soane. This suggests a link to John Michael Gandy who was a pupil of Soane and had dedicated his 1805 pattern book, *Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms and Other Rural Buildings* to Hope. The carved mask from the acretoria also featured prominently in a watercolour by J. M. Gandy entitled *View of a Tomb of a Greek Warrior, thought to be “The Tomb of Agamemnon”* (Fig. 3.44) in Hope’s collection. From this seat Hope would have looked out across Chart Park towards the Mausoleum that already contained the body of his son. Was the author of *Anastasius or Memories of a Modern Greek* weaving images of Greece and death into the growing eclecticism of the Deepdene’s landscape?

Hope’s new approach to the Deepdene ran through a castellated Gothic gateway (Fig. 3.45) decorated with a Norman arcade and the heraldic shields of the Hope and Beresford families. There was also a classically pedimented Ice House, and a Tower topped by a cupola which was accessed across a fragile-looking iron bridge. In the kitchen garden a strange low castellated tower may have doubled as the Gardener’s House. The carved stone work beneath the stringcourse of this squat Tower is suggestive of Islamic architecture which Hope had studied in Constantinople in 1796-97.

Watkin was silent on the stunted castellated Tower in the kitchen garden and he has illustrated the Tower accessed by a flimsy metal bridge (Fig. 3.46) without

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284 His wife, Louisa, was a Beresford.
comment. In 1828 G. F. Prosser had shown this structure (Fig. 3.47) with an arched curving wall fanning out on both sides. Neale said little of it other than noting the existence of the cupola and Keane simply recorded it as 'an ornamental Tower'. Like the covered seat, the cupola-topped Tower appears to be inspired by another of Hope's paintings. He owned three, or possibly four, paintings by Thomas Daniell who had toured India with his nephew, William, between 1785 and 1793. On their return to England they specialised in paintings of Indian scenes and particularly Indian architecture. Hope's 'Composite Picture'; a capriccio, was specially commissioned from Thomas Daniell in 1799. Patrick Conner has suggested that the featured buildings were 'selected by Daniell as representatives of the different traditions of Indian architecture'. They included the Taj Mahal as an example of Mohamedan architecture and the multi-storeyed temple gateway, or gopuram, of the temple at Trishengodu, near Madras, representing Hindu architecture. Another Daniell's painting in Hope's collection from around 1800 was of the Zinat Ul Masjid Mosque (Fig. 3.48) which stood close to the Red Fort, near Delhi. The tapering outline of the Deepdene's cupola-topped Tower with its projecting external gallery appears to have been taken from the minarets of just such a mosque. Unfortunately with the demolition of the Deepdene leaving only the Gothic gateway and traces of the Ice House it is not possible to test on site if this minaret-like Tower played a part in a real life capriccio, as well as a remarkably eclectic landscape.

287 Watkin, Hope, plate 69.
288 We know it was blue from the annotated preparatory sketch that Bartlett made in Britton, RIBA, London, DC Britton, .
289 Neale, Deepdene, p. 10.
290 Keane, Surrey, p. 155.
Hope was also aware of the significance of the existing valley garden he had acquired. A tunnel through the side of the valley had been created in imitation of John Evelyn’s Crypta at Albury, Surrey which, in turn, had been inspired by the Grotto of Posilipo near Naples; then thought to be associated with Virgil’s Tomb. Evelyn’s travel diaries drew attention to the Italian origins of the Deepdene’s tunnel when they were published for the first time in 1818, just as Hope was beginning work there. This enhanced the eclecticism of the wider landscape that he was developing.

Somewhere in the grounds around the Deepdene, the exact location is unclear, Timbs noted that ‘The gardens are tastefully embellished with some elegant casts, and in the midst of them are small basins of water’ whilst Keane described ‘in a niche [there] is a basalt figure of the Egyptian deity Serapis, and in the immediate neighbourhood are some curious Indian antiquities.’ In his London townhouse in Duchess Street Hope had established an Egyptian room, several rooms dedicated to the display of Greek vases, an Indian room, a Flemish Picture Gallery, and the Lararium which he described as a ‘closet or boudoir fitted up for the reception of a few Egyptian, Hindoo, and Chinese idols and curiosities.’ It was very much the domestic equivalent of Keane’s ‘niche [with]...a basalt figure of the Egyptian deity Serapis, and in the

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292 John Evelyn, Memoirs, Illustrative of the life and writing of John Evelyn, Esq F R S, author of "Sylva," &c &c comprising his diary, from the year 1641 to 1703-06 and a selection of his familiar letters to which is subjoined, the Private Correspondence between King Charles I and his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, whilst his Majesty was in Scotland in 1641, and at other times during the Civil War; also between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne, ambassador to the court of France, in the time of King Charles I, and the usurpation, 1st edn 2 vols (London: n. pub., 1818), 1, pp. 142-43.
294 Keane, Surrey, p. 155.
immediate neighbourhood...some curious Indian antiquities.' It is suggested that
the carefully composed series of eclectic exterior vignettes in the rural setting of the
Deepdene were a deliberate and complimentary companion to the interiors of his
London townhouse.

By 1823 Hope had extended the villa by the addition of a Sculpture Gallery and
Conservatory which, together with the Amphitheatre of Arts and the Orangery,
formed a distinctive enfilade of rooms praised by Watkin when

the spirit of garden...invaded the house, or vice-versa. Both have combined to create
something wholly new: a picturesque vision of the civilised man of taste, dedicated to culture
in both art and nature so that the old barriers between the two are broken down, a man whose
mind, supposedly liberated from formal conventions and tradition, can draw inspiration from
and merge into a new unity the cultural expressions of past societies.

The illusion echoed the Longs' combination of a Conservatory, Conservatory Room
and terrace. The profile complimented and increased the irregularity of the
architecture in the same way that the terraces did at Bromley Hill House. At both
properties the terraces were decorated with a disparate mix of containers and the
flower beds featured a range of fashionable edging materials. Both used changing
levels inside and outside, with steps positioned off centre (Fig. 3.49) and a close
association between sculpture and planting. Both gardens experimented with
geometry within an irregular footprint that enhanced the broken, picturesque outline
of their respective Italian villas. They were doing what Hope had advised in 1808.
They were shooting

out as it were ...into certain more or less extended ramifications of arcades, porticoes,
terraces, parterres, trellisages, avenues, and other such still splendid embellishments of art,
calculated by their architectural and measured forms, at once to offer a striking and varied
contrast with, and a dignified and comfortable transition to, the more undulating and rural
features of the more extended, and more distant, and more exposed boundaries.

296 Keane, Surrey, p. 155.
297 Watkin, Hope, p. 72.
Yet both phases of the Bromley Hill terrace garden had been completed at least twelve months before Hope began work on the Deepdene’s terrace garden; no sooner than 1817 and most probably in 1818.299

Whilst Hope had written in praise of ‘extended ramifications of arcades, porticoes, terraces, parterres, trelliages [and] avenues’, in practice he was less adventurous seemingly pursuing architectural features such as the terraces, but not the more ornate horticultural features such as trellis and parterres.300 Timbs was the only commentator to suggest there were parterres at the Deepdene during its villa phase, but it appears these were in the original flower garden at the entrance to the valley or ‘dene’ that Hope modified. In 1825 Britton’s map (Fig. 3.50) showed a circular pool and an oval bed surrounding a pool in this location301, but a year later Neale noted nothing more remarkable than the ‘flower gardens in the valley’.302 In 1849 Keane observed a walk through ‘a pretty rosary, then through a wire gate to the flower garden on grass’303, and a watercolour in the Britton manuscript gives a corresponding view of a circular flower bed on the valley floor separated from the viewer by a plain metal fence (Fig. 3.51).

Whilst the architecture of the Deepdene in its villa stage encapsulated Pompeian and Tuscan architecture, its terraced gardens were a picturesque interpretation of Renaissance Italy and its wider landscape celebrated Islamic, Hindu, Gothic,

299 Watkin established that Hope purchased the Deepdene estate in 1807. Watkin, Hope, pp. 161-63. He was ‘toying with the existing house’ in August and September 1815 ordering a pair of Greek Ionic capitals and four eighteen inch stone paterae from the Coade Stone factory. David Watkin, 'The Deepdene: 'Grotesque and Confused'?’ in Fragments Architecture and the Unfinished, ed. by Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), pp. 139-46, p. 141.

300 Hope, 'Gardening', pp. 138-39.

301 Britton, RIBA, London, DC Britton, .

302 Neale, Deepdene, p. 3.

303 Keane, Surrey, p. 152.
Egyptian, Tuscan and classical Greek cultures. Its variety, together with the pictorial inspiration derived from Daniell and J. M. Gandy and the spatial illusion of the Conservatory and terrace complex all contributed to make it a far more complex creation than Bromley Hill. Its eclecticism also brought it close to another contemporary landscape taking shape in Bath that is also more often thought of as the setting for an Italian belvedere.

3.6 William Beckford and the Lansdown Tower, Bath: Gazing Down on Hope from Heaven

Under different circumstances William Beckford and Thomas Hope might have been related through marriage. James Lees-Milne explained merely that Beckford’s favourite daughter, Susan, refused to accept ‘the ugly little man’s [Hope’s] proposal of marriage’. 304 Watkin has hinted that ‘There are reasons for supposing that Beckford was anxious for his daughter’ to accept Hope’s proposal whilst Timothy Mowl has detected Beckford’s hand in Susan’s rejection of the marriage. 305 If not destined to be father and son-in-law they were certainly united in their efforts to shape and direct public taste. They both published successful novels with Beckford’s Vathek standing against Hope’s Anastasius. They were both distinguished connoisseurs who were fascinated by architecture and united in the care and inventiveness they lavished upon their gardens. Beckford’s final landscape was created in the 1820s to decorate a Ride that linked his Bath town house with the Tower that he erected on Lansdown Hill. It had much in common with the Deepdene.

In 1823 Beckford commissioned the young architect, Henry Edmund Goodridge, to modify two terraced houses he had purchased in Lansdown Crescent.\textsuperscript{306} Then, between 1824 and 1827, he designed and erected the extravagant eye-catcher and private museum, Lansdown Tower\textsuperscript{307} (Fig. 3.52). It has been described variously as ‘neoclassical...Tuscan, Roman, Byzantine and Italo-Greek\textsuperscript{308} and ‘the work of a young man who had seen Wren city steeples and drawings of the Lysicratic Monument...but had yet to set eyes on Italy.'\textsuperscript{309} Goodridge and Beckford even considered a design which Mowl has identified was derived from one of the Deepdene’s belvederes.\textsuperscript{310} The buildings that are scattered along Beckford’s Ride are attributed to Goodridge and are resonant of the garden buildings at the Deepdene, although the difficulty of dating the structures dogs both sites.

On leaving Lansdown Crescent the first encounter was with the ‘Embattled’ Gothic gateway emblazoned above the door with the Beckford coat of arms\textsuperscript{311} (Fig. 3.53). Then came a farmhouse\textsuperscript{312} adapted into an ‘Italian Cottage’\textsuperscript{313} (Fig. 3.54), then the Quarry, and finally a Grotto that ran for ‘sixty or seventy feet’ as the Ride passed beneath the road before emerging above ground almost at the foot of Tower.\textsuperscript{314} The parallels between the Lansdown Ride and the Deepdene are striking. Both landscapes

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{306} Mowl, Beckford, p. 289.
  \item \textsuperscript{308} Lees-Milne, Beckford, p. 91.
  \item \textsuperscript{310} Mowl sums up the similarities between the two designs: ‘a plain shaft of smooth ashlar rising up to a wide Tuscan eaved cornice and above that a belvedere stage with three round-arched windows on each face.’ Mowl, Beckford, p. 289.
  \item \textsuperscript{311} The Moorish domed pavilion topped by a crescent in the gardens of 20 Lansdown Crescent was added around the 1880s and is not part of Beckford’s scheme. Information from Amy Frost, Archivist, Bath Preservation Trust who is researching a PhD thesis on Henry Edmund Goodridge, University of Bath. The pavilion is not shown on the 1st edition OS map, scale 1:10500, but is present on the 2nd edition map published in 1888, scale 1:2500.
  \item \textsuperscript{312} Mowl, Beckford, p. 291.
  \item \textsuperscript{313} Edmund Francis English, Views of Lansdown Tower Bath (Bath: Edmund English Junr., 1844), n.p.
  \item \textsuperscript{314} Henry Vann Lansdown, Recollections of the Late William Beckford of Fonthill and Lansdown, Bath (n.p.: http://beckford.c18.net/recollectlansdwn.html, 1893), p.8.
\end{itemize}
were entered through castellated gateways decorated with coats of arms and both had grottos: the Deepdene’s in imitation of Virgil’s Tomb and Beckford’s as a means of avoiding the public highway. At the Deepdene, Hope inherited caves that had been excavated during the seventeenth century, whilst those at Lansdown Hill put Beckford ‘in mind of the Campagna of Rome, and..., the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla.’

Beckford’s farmhouse was given a vernacular Italian façade. At the Deepdene Hope erected four towers; two to adorn his Italian villa, and a Hindu minaret and an Islamic Tower in the pleasure grounds, whilst Beckford topped Lansdown Hill with a single massive Tower finished with a gilded copy of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. Then, in 1834, Goodridge designed a tomb room within the Tower which was rejected in favour of a Mausoleum to sit alongside the Tower. This was never built and Beckford was eventually interred in a sarcophagus in the grounds of the Tower. Hope was laid to rest, alongside his son, in the Mausoleum he had erected in Chart Park.

It is clear that Hope and Beckford were simultaneously engaged in creating predominantly eclectic landscapes that have previously been thought of as picturesque accompaniments to their dominant Italian architecture. It also appears that Beckford used the Lansdown Hill landscape to express his personal disdain for Hope. Mowl has pointed out that he composed two inscriptions for his tomb, one of which was a ‘deliberate denial of the doom of Vathek’. Taking the closing lines from his novel Beckford described how the central characters, the Caliph and Nouronihar, died when

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315 Ibid., p. 7.
316 Mowl, Beckford, p. 302.
317 Beckford was initially buried at Lyncombe Vale Cemetery, Bath in 1844. His body was moved to Lansdown Hill in 1848 when his daughter successfully re-acquired the site and gave it to the parish as a cemetery.
318 Mowl, Beckford, p. 304.
their ‘hearts...took fire’ and they lost ‘the most precious of the gifts of Heaven — HOPE.’\textsuperscript{319} The main characters of the novel are usually understood to be modelled on people close to Beckford with the Caliph standing for himself and Nouronihar, for his supposed lover, Louisa Beckford.\textsuperscript{320} The Caliph and Nouronihar’s epitaph from \textit{Vathek} was re-worked in Beckford’s own epitaph, ‘ENJOYING, HUMBLY THE MOST PRECIOUS GIFT OF HEAVEN – HOPE’.\textsuperscript{321} The Lansdown Tower took him closer to heaven from where he might have gazed down towards the ‘little ivory reliquior, four or five hundred years old....in the shape of a small chapel...in a recess the Virgin and Child, surrounded by various effigies...’ that was lodged in his town house at the bottom of the hill.\textsuperscript{322} According to Beckford this image of heaven was a gift from Thomas Hope. He imagined himself, quite literally, ‘enjoying, humbly the most precious gift of heaven – Hope’.

Characteristically there is no straightforward way of interpreting Beckford’s landscape around the Lansdown Tower, but it is clear the Tower inspired its architect, Goodridge, to go on to develop a group of Italian villas on Bathwick Hill which did much to strengthen the association between the picturesque and Italian architecture, but little for the development of the Picturesque Italian terrace garden.

\textbf{3.7 Edward Davis and Henry Edmund Goodridge in Bath}

Between 1815 and 1848 a cluster of Italianate villas were developed on the upper slopes of Bathwick Hill, in what was then a rural situation just outside the city of Bath. The first of these properties, Smallcombe Villa, now known as Oakwood, began

\textsuperscript{319} William Beckford, \textit{Vathek} (Stroud: Nonsuch, 1816; repr. 2005).
\textsuperscript{320} Ibid., Introduction to the modern edition, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{321} Mowl, Beckford, p. 304.
\textsuperscript{322} Lansdown, Beckford, p. 6.
as a small, square house noted more for its picturesque garden and trout pools than its architecture.\textsuperscript{323} It was transformed into an Italian villa in 1833 when it was extended for a new owner by the architect, Edward Davis.\textsuperscript{324} Italian belvederes, overhanging eaves and round-arched windows had already made their first appearance a little further up Bathwick Hill in 1828, when Goodridge began constructing his own home, Montebello, now known as Bathwick Hill House (Fig. 3.55). Next came Davis’ adaptation and then, around 1846, in a development spree intended to generate capital, Goodridge built a pair of asymmetric semi-detached villas, Grove Villa which is now La Casetta (Fig. 3.56) and Villa Bianca; now the Casa Bianca (Fig. 3.57). Two years later; he built his next family home, Fiesole, which is now a Youth Hostel (Fig. 3.58).

No evidence of the Montebello garden survives to predate the first edition Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 3.59) although there are grounds for suggesting this captures Goodridge’s original layout. Firstly, as his architect son, Alfred, recalled Goodridge’s ‘great passion’ was for ‘the picturesque in landscape gardening and the varied beauties of horticulture.’\textsuperscript{325} He would therefore be expected to indulge himself in the garden of his own home and from the evidence of the 1885 map (Fig. 3.60) Montebello was more adventurous than most of the neighbouring gardens. Secondly, the line of the approach dictates the outline of the narrow pleasure garden that was squeezed in around the villa. The approach would have been set out by Goodridge as it takes the only possible line through this confined, steep site that could successfully

\textsuperscript{323} It was also known as Smallcombe Grove for a short period between its re-incarnation from Smallcombe Villa to Oakwood.


\textsuperscript{325} Alfred S. Goodridge, ‘Brief Memoir of the Late Henry Edmund Goodridge, of Bath, Fellow’, \textit{Royal Institute of British Architects Sessional Papers} (1864-65), pp. 3-5, p. 5.
connect the gate lodge, which he also designed, with the villa. There was no alternative for Goodridge other than to form the garden in the areas shown on the 1885 map.

At Montebello Nature dominated in the way that it had done around Nash’s Italian villas. Goodridge negotiated the steep gradient with simple twisting paths, sometimes carved into the hillside and broken up by clusters of angled, irregular steps. Everything was shrouded in dense planting. A single unidentified garden building was set into a small terraced clearing beside a cleverly elliptical fish pool which is now approached through a modern classically pedimented archway. R. E. Peach thought the site small and ‘cramped’ and it does retain a claustrophobic atmosphere in spite of the modern elevated terrace that has been created at the highest point in the garden, where the kitchen garden once stood. According to his son Goodridge visited Italy in 1829 ‘to gather stores by travel for future practice’ and Montebello’s campanile appears as the crowning glory of Goodridge’s new home and the first product of that store. Its role was to puncture the dense vegetation not to decorate a Renaissance terrace.

As at Sandridge Park, Bromley Hill House and the Deepdene, Goodridge experimented with a conservatory. Montebello’s Conservatory, demolished in the second half of the twentieth century, shot out from the villa as aggressively as Hope’s essay On the Art of Gardening had encouraged and as deliberately as the terraces had done at Bromley Hill House. Montebello’s terrace, which was accessed through the

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loggia, appears to have been encircled and isolated by its balustrade so that it was physically distinct from the garden. The same was the case with Sir Charles Barry’s first loggia at Attree’s Villa, Brighton. Montebello’s garden moved through a series of shady, serpentine, dense green spaces that were much in tune with Loudon’s suggested planting for a pair of Italian style semi-detached properties:

picturesque [in] effect, so as to harmonise with the broken outline, and numerous parts which compose the elevation of the house. The disposition of both trees and shrubs is consequently irregular, and by no means gardenesque. The kinds we shall suppose to be partly evergreen, and partly deciduous; and the prevailing species to be such as are common in the gardens or general scenery of Italy.

Next door at Grove Villa and Casa Bianca, Goodridge was acting as a developer, and the smaller plots removed all opportunities for Art in the garden. They were confined to serpentine paths and dense shrubberies. Like Montebello, the twisting paths at Grove Villa wound their way across the site, but at Casa Bianca the steeper gradient and even smaller plot forced the paths inevitably outwards to the boundaries. Miniature balconies, loggias and terraces continued to blur the distinction between internal and external spaces. When Goodridge came to develop Fiesole, his second family home on Bathwick Hill, the garden was much simpler than that at Montebello. Gone were the segregated terrace and the elliptical pool leaving only serpentine paths shrouded in vegetation. Economic necessity was restraining Goodridge’s gardening leaving Fiesole with more in common with Cronkhill than the Deepdene.

Meanwhile the small, square structure of the original Smallcombe Villa which was created by the landscape painter, Benjamin Barker, sat to the south-east of Montebello

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330 Loudon, Suburban Gardener, p. 358.
331 Henry Edmund Goodridge, Abstract of Title, Grove Villa n.d., Private Collection, Bath, uncat.
on the opposite side of the road. The more extensive plot that originally stretched to around ten acres, the shallower gradient and the more open planting always distinguished it from Goodridge’s villas. Today it maintains its expansive views out across Smallcombe Wood towards the encroaching city of Bath. A series of pools and cascades descend down the hill and Ian Laurie has told us that Barker, who lived there until 1833, ‘spent many hours working in the garden and was a skilful angler’. 333 Britton knew Barker’s little villa and he took pleasure in the landscape there which he subconsciously saw as an extension of Barker’s landscape paintings; the whole being a very delightful villa, on the west side of Claverton Down, where his hanging gardens, trout stream, woods, and paintings were calculated to command the admiration, and almost the envy, of his visitors.334

Britton saw this as a picturesque Italian landscape long before Davis added the belvedere, round arched windows and overhanging roof (Fig. 3.61), for Barker was widely known as the ‘English Poussin’. 335 Today the site has been unsympathetically cut in two and a second house developed on the lower slopes. This and the encroaching urban development give it a very different atmosphere from Britton’s day. Then it was a rural Italian landscape. Now it is a large suburban garden.

The centrepiece of Barker’s garden, the chain of pools, was lined with expensive ashlar to exaggerate the contrast of sunlight and shadows cast on the water from the nearby yew trees. Davis carved a south-facing terrace into the steeply sloping bank beneath the drawing room which was graced with a ‘formal Italianate fountain, set within a baroque-shape parterre’ (Fig. 3.62). A second more rustic water feature was created by setting a fountain amongst rocks. It was seemingly fed from a natural

335 Peach, *Houses*, p. 16.
spring\textsuperscript{336} (Fig. 3.63). The balustrade of the new upper terrace (Fig. 3.64) was repeated in the bridge that spanned one of Barker’s pools. The bridge and terrace are thought to be contemporary with the fountains and parterre. Furthermore, since the bridge and balustrade incorporate the same profile that Davis suggested in a design for the Rectory at Marston Bigot, Somerset and used at Barcombe Hall, Paignton it indicates that he was responsible for the modifications to Oakwood’s garden.\textsuperscript{337} Under Davis a picturesque Italian landscape acquired an Italian Garden which, because of the openness of the planting and the gentler gradient, could be appreciated against the backdrop of the new belvedere looming overhead. A similar view was not possible from within the enclosed grounds of Goodridge’s villas.

It is often suggested that the Bathwick Hill villas embodied Price’s joy in the townscape of Tivoli and were a response to his disappointment at the skyline of Bath. He suggested

There are situations in towns where the summits of mere houses in towns, may be very material in the general view; as when a town happens to be placed on the side of a hill, where the ascent is steep, and the ground irregular: for, as in such cases the houses rise above each other with sudden changes in their level and direction, their tops are more distinctly seen, and from a greater variety of different points. In situations of that kind, were an architect with a painter’s eye, to have the planning of the whole, he would have an opportunity of producing the richest effects, by combining his art with that of painting; by varying the characters of the buildings, and particularly their summits, according to the place which they were to occupy.\textsuperscript{338}

Goodridge’s villas captured this painterly composition of Italian architecture and informal planting whilst Davis’ terraces and parterre on the opposite side of the road

\textsuperscript{337} Watercolour of the Rectory, Marston Bigot in a private collection The second lower terrace at Oakwood has a much more rustic balustrade and does not appear on the 1885 OS map indicating that it must be a later addition. Davis also laid out Victoria Park, Bath, and may have had some contact with Sir Charles Barry whose career as a garden designer is considered in section 6, pp. 177-246. Barry and Davis may have met through independent commissions that they both undertook in the village of Wrington, Somerset. Barry designed the reredos that bears his name and is dated 1831-32. Davis designed the nearby Italianate villa of Le Moignes, now known as Alburys, during the late 1830s.
was more illustrative of Price's enthusiasm for the Italian terrace. The dual character of the Picturesque Italian garden; dense shrubby planting on the one hand and jutting terraces on the other, demonstrated the dual personality that made the Picturesque Italian garden such a difficult association.
4. THE EARLY FORMAL GARDEN: A FRENCH COMPANION

In 1804 Loudon identified two categories of 'Modern British flower-garden': 'those laid out into beds fringed on the edge with box, pink, or gentian, &c...and ...those laid out into patches and clumps and lawn'. The first were parterres and the second were freer designs such as William Mason laid out in the famous flower garden at Nuneham Courtney in Oxfordshire. In 1812 Loudon re-defined the modern style as 'a collection of irregular groups of masses, placed about the house as a medium, uniting it with the open lawn.' Setting aside his re-formulation of the modern style, the crucial change was in the location of the flower garden which was becoming tied to the house. During the period of transition, in the early nineteenth century, some Italian flower gardens flourished in the shadow of Italian architecture whilst other isolated examples developed the characteristic codified images that came to define the style.

The isolated formal Italian garden of this period had a surprisingly early genesis. In 1787, seven years before the publication of The Landscape and twenty-three years before Price's romantic recollections of Italian terraces, a young Englishman was inspired by an Italian visitor to his father's garden to create his own Italian Garden. However, his plans lay dormant for more than thirty years before blossoming into the earliest formal Italian Garden identified in these case studies: Mount Edgcumbe, Cornwall. The gardens analysed in this section demonstrate the work of the foremost professional garden designers and architects of the period from 1800 to 1830. Whilst professionals took the lead, the work of a few talented amateur owners is

339 Loudon, Observations, p. 269.
340 Loudon, Hints on Gardens, p. 27.
341 The contribution of the other great name in British gardening at this date, Loudon, has been considered as a writer on, rather than a creator of gardens. See section 2, pp. 31-6.
considered at Mount Edgcumbe and Wilton House, Wiltshire. The influences at work in these gardens reflected the increased accessibility of Italy to English visitors between 1802 and 1805 and the removal of all restrictions in 1815. More perplexing were the ideas that were borrowed from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French gardens. Indeed, it emerges early experiments with the French garden both challenged and complimented the growing interest in the Italian garden for, as Loudon suggested in 1804, in concluding a short review of national gardening styles:

> These scenes are not only pleasing of themselves, but, when introduced in a pleasure ground, by their contrast with other scenes, and with one another, they add greatly to the variety of that species of ornamental scenery.342

Finally, this analysis leads to the identification of a common model that dominated the fashionable formal flower gardens of the period 1800 to 1830. It was typically intimate and simple, comprising a central circular water feature surrounded by a regular pattern of planting beds. The whole was overlooked from a satellite garden building and later, as the flower garden gravitated towards the house, from the house itself. This analysis also traces how this single model was transformed into an Italian garden or a French garden using personal reception and broad codified images of national style.

4.1 Humphry Repton: A Francophile with a Distrust of the Italian Garden

Repton's approach to the French and Italian style in the flower garden will be analysed using his published texts, some of the more accessible Red Books and an unpublished database of Repton's observations on flowers and flowering shrubs.

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342 Loudon, Observations, p. 270.
compiled by Johnny Phibbs. However, this is not an exhaustive review of Repton’s several hundred commissions or his career as a landscape gardener.

Mark Laird has considered Repton’s frequent use of French gardening motifs including the corbeille or planting basket, parterre, cabinet of verdure, berceaux walk, ‘substantial’ French trellis, and elliptical, circular and semi-circular flower beds. He has identified a range of largely eighteenth-century French gardening texts that Repton may have consulted, and has concluded that Repton’s ‘skilful fusion of pre-Revolutionary French motifs with English traditions...created works of rare inspiration...[that reveal him]...as a luminary...one step ahead of his generation.' He has also argued that Repton’s design for Lady Wake’s Flower Garden at Courteenhall, Northamptonshire (Fig. 4.1) was a glance backwards to Brown’s 1772 flower garden at Brocklesby, Lincolnshire (Fig. 4.2), for the elliptical parterres of the two schemes are strikingly similar and Repton had received an earlier commission for Brocklesby. Repton’s Courteenhall parterre was to be centred on an elliptical pool which was partnered by a smaller circular corbeille placed alongside. These two

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345 A berceaux is a vaulted arbour created from trellis or trained trees.
346 Mark Laird, ‘Corbeille, Parterre and Trelliage: the case of Humphry Repton’s penchant for the French style of planting’, Journal of Garden History, 16, 3 (1996), pp. 153-69. The other national gardening theme to rival France in Repton’s work was the hugely fashionable American Garden which was a collection of American or acid-loving plants.
347 Ibid., p. 167.
349 The elliptical pool and parterre are reminiscent of the elliptical Rose Garden designed by Repton for the Earl of Bridgewater at Ashridge Park. The ellipse was intended to appear circular when translated onto the ground although Sir Jeffry Wyatville lost this subtle deception when he completed Repton’s work and laid out a circular Rose Garden around 1820.
elements provided the formality in the design. The Flower Garden would have been enjoyed from the new Greenhouse Repton illustrated in the cartouche to his plan (Fig. 4.3), and from two covered seats placed on the long and short axes of the parterre, and marked on the plan as reposoirs.\footnote{There is a pencil note in the Red Book on an otherwise blank page to the effect 'This drawing must be defer'd till the offices are built or at least the plan decided'. The page is headed 'No III'. It is followed by three blank pages and then, a faint pencil sketch of trees and shrubs with an indecipherable note. It is suggested that these entries indicate Repton re-visited the Courteenhall Red Book after its compilation in 1793 to develop his ideas for Lady Wake's Flower Garden. Phibbs has gone further and suggested that the plan for Lady Wake's Flower Garden was itself, a later addition to the Red Book. Telephone conversation, Johnny Phibbs and author, December 2007. Certainly, the Greenhouse as located on the plan would not have provided a symmetrical view across the parterre or the corbeille which suggests that Repton's plan required refinement if it was to comply with his own philosophy on the visibility of formal gardens which is discussed shortly.} There was also to be an urn and a statue of Flora positioned more randomly amidst sinuous planting beds. The seats, urn and statue were all used by Repton to enrich the scene rather than enhance its formality.\footnote{In 1801 Repton used the term enrichment to indicate an acceptable number of 'seats, & temples, & statues, & vases & other ornaments' when discussing the Nuncham Courtney Flower Garden. Humphry Repton, \textit{Report on Valleyfield, Seat of Sir Robert Preston}, c1801 quoted in Tait, \textit{Scotland}, p. 249. He repeated this interpretation when revising his discussion of Cobham in \textit{Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening} published in 1816. Here again he used enrichment to indicate garden ornaments. Reprinted in Loudon, \textit{Works of Humphry Repton}, p. 419.} For Repton formality came from symmetry which was expressed only through the parterre in the Courteenhall Flower Garden. This, together with its isolation from the house, distinguished Courteenhall from the picturesque Italian gardens that were to be created by the Longs at Bromley Hill House and by Thomas Hope at the Deepdene. Despite Hope's championing of natural symmetry in his 1808 essay the terraces he laid out around the Deepdene were distinctly irregular in profile.

It is suggested that Repton's repeated use of French terminology in describing the Courteenhall Flower Garden is evidence of the lingering eighteenth-century tradition of polite taste in which he had been brought up. As John Brewer has pointed out:

\begin{quote}
British culture drew extensively on the intellectual riches of France, French treatises on the beaux arts, painting and literature [which] shaped British criticism and aesthetics, and French writers enjoyed extraordinary success, both in their own language and in translation...for most
\end{quote}
of the century people of rank and education could read and speak French, the common tongue of European gentlefolk, and were expected to acquire a knowledge of French literature.\textsuperscript{352}

However, Repton’s use of the term \textit{reposoir} on the Courteenhall plan is different. It was not a term that Laird included in his analysis of French gardening texts suggesting it had no such origins. Repton had used the term at Brandsbury, Middlesex in 1789 to describe a Gothic arch which he illustrated framing a distant view of London spires.\textsuperscript{353} Taken together with the reference to a covered seat at Courteenhall this suggests he was employing the term in the context of ‘repoussoir’; an artistic device introduced as a side screen to add perspective to a composition just as Nash had done with the rocky side screens at Sandridge Park.\textsuperscript{354} The view through an arch or from within a covered seat would produce a similar effect. The use of the French language also suggests polite taste, which is echoed in Repton’s designation of this as ‘Lady Wake’s Flower Garden’ and in the eighteenth century’s strong connection between French culture and the feminine or effeminate.\textsuperscript{355}

In the Courteenhall Red Book Repton explained the rules that governed his use of formality in Lady Wake’s Flower Garden. It must be divorced from the house as ‘beds and parterres are too formal an object to occupy the principal view from the windows’, and crucially, the garden must be small enough for the symmetry of the


\textsuperscript{354} Michael Symes defined \textit{reposoir} as an ornamental arch of some depth, based on the structure of that name at Wentworth Woodhouse, South Yorkshire and Repton’s use of the term at Brandsbury. Michael Symes, \textit{A Glossary of Garden History} (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2000), p. 98. Lewis Kennedy, whose career is considered at section 4, pp. 120-32 also used the term to refer to a covered seat.

\textsuperscript{355} Brewer, \textit{Imagination}, pp. 82-3.
design to be absorbed in a single glance.\textsuperscript{356} Thus his proposals for Courteenhall were in marked contrast to the simpler flower gardens he proposed elsewhere which were justified by their close relationship to; and even their dependency on, the house.\textsuperscript{357} Courteenhall stood as an isolated example of strident Reptonian formality for some eight years\textsuperscript{358} until 1801 and the Valleyfield, Fife flower garden that he created for Sir Robert Preston.\textsuperscript{359}

Preston was nicknamed ‘Floating Bob,’ having made his fortune in the East Indies. He presumably used this experience to source garden plants for Valleyfield, where the young David Douglas was engaged as a gardener, before moving to the Glasgow Botanic Garden and a career as one of the most successful plant hunters of the nineteenth century. Certainly the breadth of Preston’s plant collection was an important factor in shaping Repton’s design for the Valleyfield flower garden where


\textsuperscript{357} For example at Prestwood, Staffordshire the flowers were to form a ‘border round the house’. David Whitehead, ‘The Prestwood ‘Red Book’: A Transcription and Commentary’, Journal of the Picturesque Society 19 (1997), pp. 1-20, p. 8. At Mogenhanger, Bedfordshire there was to be an ‘inclosure round the house [to]…furnish room for flowers’. Humphry Repton, Report on Mogenhanger in Bedfordshire, A Seat of Godfrey Thornton Esqr, August 1792 quoted in Johnnie Phibbs, Humphry Repton: Shrubberies and Flowers, January 2008, n.p. At Hasel’s, Bedfordshire the flower garden that Repton proposed was to be associated with an existing terrace to act ‘as a frame to a picture’. H. Repton, Transcript entitled Hasells Hall in Bedfordshire A Seat of Francis Pym Esqr., December 1791, Bedfordshire and Luton Archive and Record Office, Bedford, uncatalogued, n.p. Finally, at Newton Park, Somerset, flowers and low growing shrubs near the house would perfume the air, disguise gravel, and add to the richness of the scene without obscuring the view. Humphry Repton, Report on Newton Park in Somersetshire, A Seat of William Gore Langton Esqr, May 1796 quoted in Phibbs, Repton, n.p.

\textsuperscript{358} Although see p. 94, ftnt. 350 for a discussion of the dating of Repton’s proposals for Lady Wake’s Flower Garden.

\textsuperscript{359} Repton’s discussion of the Valleyfield flower garden is entitled ‘December 14, 1801, ADDITION Concerning the Flower Garden at Valleyfield’ suggesting that it was a response to a specific request of the owner, Sir Robert Preston. Humphry Repton, Report on Valleyfield, Seat of Sir Robert Preston, c1801 reproduced in Tait, Scotland, pp. 248-49. It should be noted that in this study the convention is adopted wherever possible of dating Repton’s involvement with a site according to the date of his visit. This may differ from the date of the Red Book.
he envisaged a series of habitats suited to the demands of different plants.³⁶⁰

Valleyfield, like Courteenhall, was a flower garden that demanded isolation for,

with all these circumstances of beauty, the flower garden should not be visible from the roads or general walks about the place. It may therefore be of a character quite different from the rest of the scenery & its decorations should be as much those of Art and of Nature.³⁶¹

It was a walled garden and the sloping site, which fell down to the Bluther Burn, was divided into three terraces. Repton canalised the Burn (Fig. 4.4) to form the fourth boundary which he suggested was terminated by an aviary and a summerhouse. Recent archaeological excavations have traced the garden’s central walkway and steps confirming a level of formality at least equivalent to that proposed in Lady Wake’s Flower Garden.³⁶²

Whilst Courteenhall and Valleyfield were both secret, formal flowers gardens only Courteenhall incorporated motifs derived from the French garden. Such images were suited to Courteenhall’s feminine environment, but unacceptable in Valleyfield’s decidedly masculine space.³⁶³ Valleyfield was a highly specialised flower garden

³⁶⁰ Repton described ‘rare plants of every description... Beds of bog earth should be formed for the American tribe. The aquatick plants... should grow on the surface, or near the side so water, and the numerous class of rock plants, should have banks of rugged stones... ’ Humphry Repton Report on Valleyfield, Seat of Sir Robert Preston, c. 1801 reproduced in Ibid., p. 248. This use of different plant collections marks Valleyfield out as an early and unusual example of Repton’s serial or ‘episode’ gardens. He used the term ‘episode’ in the Red Book for Valleyfield and again when describing the ‘Episodes to the great Lawn’ that he proposed for Montreal, Kent in 1812. Each ‘epsiode’ would have its own character and at Montreal he envisaged an Arboretum, American Garden, Thornery, Evergreen Garden, Aquatic Garden, Wild Flower Garden ‘&c&c&c’. Humphry Repton, Microfilm of Report concerning Montreal in Kent a seat of the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, January 1812, British Library, Manuscripts Collection, London, RP142. The unusual Valleyfield habitat ‘episode’ gardens had been preceded by the more usual interpretation he set out for Montreal, and Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire which he described in Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening published in 1803 reprinted in Loudon, Works of Humphry Repton, pp. 213-14.


³⁶³ This analysis relies upon a gender distinction being drawn between individual gardens as opposed to the generic classification of nineteenth-century gardens as a feminine space suggested by Romita Ray. Ray saw the garden as ‘a secure place to which they [nineteenth-century women] could escape from the confines of the home to roam the outdoors without having...to step...into the more public environments...Not to appreciate the garden was a sign of rejecting the codes of appropriate female
geared around the owner's valuable plant collection, and as such, it also deviated from the predominant model of the time of a central water feature surrounded by symmetrical planting beds overlooked by an elevated building.

In 1804 when the 6th Duke of Bedford commissioned Repton to prepare a Red Book for Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire it proved to be the largest and most magnificent of them all. Repton included a complex series of episode gardens with a Chinese Garden, an American Garden, a winter garden, a rosary, a 'place of sports, botanic garden and orchard' and a garden that surrounded the new menagerie. He introduced his proposals with a discussion of garden history as he understood it explaining that

"Fashion has had its full influence on Gardening as on Architecture importing models from modern countries. The gardens in England have at one time imitated those of Italy, and at another those of Holland. The Italian style of gardens consisted in balustraded terraces of masonry, magnificent flights of steps, arcades, and architectural grottos, lofty clipped hedges in the niches and recesses enriched by sculpture. This was too costly for general use, and where it was adopted as at Nonsuch and some other palaces, it was soon discovered to be inappropriate to the climate of England and no traces now remain of it except in some pictures of Italian artists."

In Repton's opinion the Italian style was supplanted by the Dutch style when William and Mary took the throne. Repton was steadfast in following this interpretation of garden history even though it diminished the status of his much loved French gardening motifs. In his 1806 *An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* Repton acknowledged that:

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365 Ibid., n.p.
366 In 1806 Repton repeated the sentiment of the Woburn Abbey Red Book explaining 'Fashion has had its full influence on Gardening as on architecture, importing models from foreign countries. The gardens in England have at one time imitated those of Italy, and at another those of Holland.' Repton, *An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening*, 1806 reprinted in Loudon, *Works of Humphry Repton*, p. 326.

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Some mention of the French Style of Gardening may here be expected; but as this was only a corruption of the Italian style, and was never generally adopted in England, it is purposely omitted; although in practice I have occasionally availed myself of its more massive Trellis, Bocages, and Cabinets de Verdure, to enliven the scenery of a flower garden.\textsuperscript{367}

Laird noted the resultant unavoidable contradiction concluding ‘for whatever reason, he [Repton] played down the French influences that lay behind [his]…visions.’\textsuperscript{368}

Repton’s 1806 reference to the French garden was hidden away in a footnote which suggests he was aware of the contradictory position he had adopted as he almost apologised for employing the French style. He was seemingly trapped between a mistaken theory of garden history and eighteenth-century ideals that valued all French contributions to the Arts, and he remained surprisingly loyal to a theory which left him to navigate uncomfortably between these two irreconcilable beliefs.

In 1816 in \textit{Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening} Repton drew upon Charles Percier and Pierre-Françoise-Léonard Fontaine’s 1809 study of the gardens in and around Rome when explaining the differences between French, English and Italian gardens. Predictably the authors praised French gardens above Italian gardens concluding the French used Art as an adornment to Nature when the Italians used it as a substitute for Nature. Repton endorsed this suggestion, but added that the English garden was just as successful as the French.\textsuperscript{369} His devotion to the French style was only matched by his unwavering opposition to the Italian style which he thought ‘too costly for general use; and …inapplicable to the climate of England’.\textsuperscript{370} He rarely considered the Italian garden and when, in \textit{Fragments}, he advocated that a balustrade might stand as a fence to keep animals from the house, he

\textsuperscript{367} Ibid., p. 327.
\textsuperscript{368} Laird, ‘Corbeille, Parterre and Treilliage’, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{370} Repton, \textit{An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening} reprinted in Ibid., p. 327.

did not consider the Italian style and the accompanying illustration (Fig. 4.5) was simply captioned ‘Fence near the House’. Yet in 1840 when Loudon re-published Repton’s works, the engraving (Fig. 4.6) was virtually identical, but uncomfortably and uncharacteristically captioned ‘separating the Italian garden from the park’. This said more about the growing public enthusiasm for the Italian garden than it did about Repton.

Only two references to the Italian garden have been traced in this partial review of Repton’s Red Books and in both instances it was considered alongside the French garden. At Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland in 1795 he lamented that the existing brick terraces were neither finished in stone, nor of the scale of ‘the costly hanging gardens of France and Italy’. If they had been, the most pressing difficulty posed by the site would have evaporated, which explains his uncharacteristic acceptance of the Italian style. At Abbots Leigh, Somerset in 1814 Repton suggested the terrace balustrade might be of stone to give a ‘hint of the Italian style’ (Fig. 4.7), or alternatively, if made of metal, it would introduce a ‘hint at the French style’ (Fig. 4.8). Uncharacteristically, and seemingly uniquely, in this commission he deserted the French style choosing to develop his only known Italian themed garden because

The steep slope towards the South which has been almost destroyed by the too fatal levelling principle of modern gardening, might be made a most interesting object by that far more

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371 H. Repton and assisted by his son J Adey Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening including some remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture, collected from various manuscripts, in the possession of the different noblemen and gentlemen, for whose use they were originally written; the whole tending to establish fixed principles in the respective arts* (London: n.pub., 1816), n.p., opposite, p. 6.
374 Now known as Leigh Court.
375 Humphry Repton, Report Concerning Abbots-Leigh, near Bristol The Property of Philip John Miles Esqr 1814, Special Collections, University of Bristol, Bristol, uncatalogued, n.p.
The magnificent style of Italian Gardening in which Terraces & Vases & flights of Steps & Fountains were blended with flowers & shrubs.\textsuperscript{376}

The planning progressed no further, but it remains an exceptional suggestion in Repton’s body of work.

The client was the banker, Philip John Miles, whom Stephen Daniels has identified as the first of Bristol’s millionaires.\textsuperscript{377} With his newly made fortune and his even more recently acquired estate he had the potential to antagonise Repton. Was Miles on Repton’s ‘list of the nameless ‘Nouveau Riches’ with whom I have had transactions’?\textsuperscript{378} Was it Miles he had in mind when he recalled in his \textit{Memoirs} the ‘difficulty [with which]... I suppressed my feelings when I saw upstart wealth triumphing over all that I had been accustomed to look up to with respect.’\textsuperscript{379} Certainly Repton was upset by an unexpected and late request for a Red Book which led Daniels to label the Abbots Leigh commission ‘ill-tempered.’\textsuperscript{380} Repton’s promotion of an uncharacteristic Italian Garden, which he would have dismissed elsewhere as too costly, appears to be a product of his dissatisfaction with the client, his fortune and the commission.

Repton’s infatuation with the French garden style, and his almost universal distaste for the Italian garden, challenges Laird’s view that he was a ‘luminary...one step ahead of his generation.’\textsuperscript{381} John Dixon Hunt has pointed out that the re-publication of Repton’s collected texts by Loudon in 1840 had the effect of making his work ‘appear

\begin{footnotes}
\item[376] Ibid., n.p. \\
\item[377] Daniels, \textit{Repton}, p. 239. \\
\item[378] Ann Gore and George Carter, \textit{Humphry Repton’s Memoirs}, (Wilby, Norwich: Michael Russell, 2005), p.120. \\
\item[379] Ibid., p. 119. \\
\item[380] Daniels, \textit{Repton}, p. 239. \\
\item[381] Laird, ‘Corbeille, Parterre and Treilliage’, p. 167.
\end{footnotes}
the start of something new, not the climax of something old'. 382 This was also Laird's perspective, but Repton's love of the French garden is more properly seen as the eighteenth-century inheritance of polite society rather than a nineteenth-century indicator of a burgeoning interest in the formal garden. In this respect Repton was more the successor to Brown than he was a luminary.

Repton's preference for the French style over the Italian style also challenges Brent Elliott's conclusion that he was responsible for the fashion for Italian gardens that developed after his death in 1818. 383 Elliott has argued this grew out of Repton's mistaken interpretation of garden history, but this gives undue influence to such views which did not circulate unchallenged. Loudon's first *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, with its comprehensive review of national and historic garden styles, appeared in 1822 and presented garden history as a cyclical swing between formality and informality. This was different from the strict sequence of waves of foreign influence that Repton saw arriving in England from the Continent. 384 Given the clarity, popularity and longevity of Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* it seems unlikely that Repton's view was as influential as Elliott has suggested, and so we should look elsewhere for other sources that fuelled the growing popularity of the formal Italian garden in England.

384 It has been suggested that Sir Uvedale Price shared Repton's interpretation of an Italian wave followed by a Dutch wave of taste that shaped English gardens, before the rise of Brown and William Kent. Walter John Hipple Jr., *The Beautiful, the Sublime, & the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: The Southern Illinois University Press, 1957), p. 215. However it has also previously been shown that Richard Payne Knight rejected the notion of a Dutch wave of influence whilst agreeing that early English gardens had been influenced by Italy. See section 2, pp. 12-3.
4.2 Mount Edgcumbe: A Feminine French Garden and a Masculine Italian Garden

The Cornish estate of Mount Edgcumbe on the banks of the River Tamar has long been admired for views across the rocky foreshore of Plymouth Sound and a balmy climate. In 1781 James Harris compared it to the home of the Renaissance poet, Jacopo Sannazaro; a villa on the coast just outside Naples, and in 1792 Repton declared it derived 'its greatest beauties from the Harbour of Plymouth, and the busy scene of shipping and dockyards, which are ...the work of Art'. These were the images that clustered around the development of Mount Edgcumbe's Italian Garden, which began in 1787 with a Conservatory (Fig. 4.9) a quarter of a mile north of the house. The Conservatory stood well below the house with its back set against the lower reaches of the River Tamar as it snakes its way inland from Plymouth Sound (Fig. 4.10). The Conservatory and the Italian Garden that grew up around it were visually isolated from the river and the sea and physically segregated from the house.

The Conservatory was designed by Thomas Pitt, 1st Lord Camelford and friend of 3rd Lord Edgcumbe, who later became 1st Earl Edgcumbe. Around 1761 in Naples Robert Adam had described Camelford as 'a man of great taste and knowledge'. He was a friend and early patron of the young John Soane who remembered him as a man

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387 The Conservatory designed for General Conway at Park Place, Oxfordshire is also attribution to Camelford by Howard Colvin. Further support for this view is provided in a letter to Lord Camelford dated 7 July 1787 which is considered in detail in this section. The letter includes a list of the visitors who were anticipated to come to inspect Camelford's new Conservatory at Mount Edgcumbe. They included 'Gen. Conway', the owner of Park Place. Dropmore Papers, British Library, MSS 69307/60-61.
of 'profound architectural knowledge'. He was also a late recruit to Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill 'Committee of Taste'. The garden that grew up around the Mount Edgcumbe Conservatory during the next three decades was largely shaped by Richard, 2nd Earl Edgcumbe, who inherited the estate in 1795. Initially both the Conservatory and the garden around it were known as the Orangerie although by 1812 it was also referred to as the 'Italian garden'. By 1803 it had been joined by the French and the English 'Flower Gardens' possibly making this cluster of gardens the first experiment in contrasting national styles.

Work was underway on Camelford's Conservatory in 1784 and it was complete by July 1787. It was planned to place a bust of the Renaissance poet, Ludovico Ariosto, somewhere close by, together with an inscription from his poem, *Orlando Furioso*.

The lines selected drew attention to the beauty of the Cornish coastline:

Near to the shore, from whence with soft ascent
Rises the wooded hill, there is a place,
Where many an orange, cedar, myrtle, bay,
And each sweet-scented shrub perfumes the air,
The rose, the lilly crocus, serpolet,

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391 Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 1803, 4, p. 139 quoted in Patricia Hughes, *Conservation Plan for Mount Edgcumbe Country Park*, (unpublished report, Cornwall County Council, 2005), p. 95. It is noteworthy that Mount Edgcumbe, in common with many other gardens at this time, made no attempt to imitate the fourth widely recognised Continental gardening styles, the Dutch style. This does not appear to have been tried until around 1828 when the Dutch Garden at Bagshot Park, Hampshire was described in the *Gardener's Magazine* as comprising a central basin and fountain, gravel walks and twenty-four small and scattered flower beds. It thus still followed the basic model of most fashionable flower gardens of the period. John Claudius Loudon, 'Art VI Provincial Gardens, Bagshot Park', *Gardener's Magazine*, 4 (1828), pp. 433-37, p. 435.

Mount Edgcumbe's coast and climate had long inspired comparisons with Italy and, just as Camelford's Conservatory was being completed, it to was likened to Italy, and more specifically the Pope's summerhouse on Mount Cavallo in the gardens of the Quirinal Palace, Rome. It is possible that Camelford had intended this for he frequently visited Italy, and had been in Rome twice before beginning work on the Mount Edgcumbe Conservatory. On 19 January 1792 he had visited the Pope's residence 'in the Capitol'. The Mount Edgcumbe visitor who noted the similarity was Prince Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico, a friend of the sculptor, Antonio Canova. His remarks were taken seriously by Richard Edgcumbe who wrote to Camelford, on his father's behalf, to inform him of the observations made by this 'senator of Rome'. He anxiously outlined his own ideas for further Italian embellishment of the garden:

Mr Richard (that is to day I myself the secretary) wants to add to its beauty by the addition of a colonnade extending from each side as far as the wall of the orangerie to form porticos per piglia il fresco; while a fine fountain in the middle cools the air by falling en rappe into large marble basons. We have proved by experiment that the scheme is practicable as we have sufficient command of water, but the difficulty is to get basons large enough. The colonnade we are afraid to begin without having your taste to assist us.

His vision was to lay dormant until he inherited the estate. The colonnade was never erected but, by 1803 a marble fountain with four caryatides of 'Italian

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393 The English translation is taken from Warner, Mount Edgcumbe (1812), p. 33.
394 It is not clear precisely what features inspired the comparison between Mount Edgcumbe and the Quirinal Palace. Triggs tells us that in 1748 the gardens of the Quirinal Palace remained largely as illustrated by Giovanni Batista Falda around 1670 when they were dominated by parterres. Indeed, the parterres were the only feature noted by Loudon in his 1835 Encyclopaedia. H. Inigo Triggs, The Art of Garden Design in Italy (Atglen, USA: Schiffer Publishing, 1906; repr. 2007), p. 93, Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, (1834), pp. 38-9.
395 Anne Pitt recorded the visit to the Capitol where statues were being repaired. Her diary in a private collection referred to in John Ingamells, Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800 (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 775.
396 Edgcumbe, Camelford, n.p.
397 Ibid., n.p.
workmanship \(^{399}\) (Fig. 4.11) stood in front of the Conservatory. By 1812 the fountain formed the junction of four straight, gravel paths that were lined with orange trees in the summer months.\(^ {400}\) By 1819 the tiered and balustraded terrace and steps known as the Belvedere (Fig. 4.12) had been erected to provide a viewing platform to appreciate the symmetrical design of the garden.\(^ {401}\) The 2nd Earl still maintained the connection between Camelford’s Conservatory and the bust of Ariosto by placing it in a niche at the foot of the new Belvedere steps (Fig. 4.13) in the direct line of sight of the Conservatory. The Belvedere was also decorated with statues of the Venus di Medici, Bacchus and the Belvedere Apollo. By 1812 the entire garden had been screened with evergreens such as arbutus and laurenstinus\(^ {402}\) and by 1820 classical statues had been added to each of the four flower beds.\(^ {403}\)

By 1820 this garden clearly encapsulated many of the images of the Italian style listed by Repton in 1806 as ‘balustraded terraces of masonry, magnificent flights of steps, arcades, and architectural grottoes, lofty clipped hedges, with niches and recesses enriched by sculpture.’\(^ {404}\) It was suggestive of one of the Italian Renaissance gardens idolised by Price and Hope, but its symmetry and isolation from the house marked it out as the product of a very different aesthetic. Mavis Batey and Phibbs have independently speculated as to whether Repton may have had a hand in the development of Mount Edgcumbe’s series of nationally inspired gardens. Batey has

\(^{399}\) Ibid., p. 1600.  
\(^{400}\) Warner, Mount Edgcumbe (1812), p. 33.  
\(^{401}\) S. Elliott map surveyed 1819 in Richard Warner, A Walk Round Mount Edgcumbe, 7th with alterations and additions edn (Plymouth-Dock: [n. pub.], 1821).  
\(^{402}\) Warner, Mount Edgcumbe (1812), p. 33.  
\(^{404}\) Humphry Repton, An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening..., 1806 reprinted in Loudon, Works of Humphry Repton, p. 5.
noted a coincidence in timing. Repton's first reference to chains of specialised or 'episode' gardens came in 1803 in the published account of his proposals for Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire. This was around the same time as the first reference to the French, Italian and English gardens at Mount Edgcumbe. Phibbs has suggested stylistic grounds linking Repton to the site. This will be considered further later, but in the meantime it is clear that the Italian Garden incorporated many Italian associations as well as the more obvious Italian visual images. When Ariosto's bust was re-located it was the Italian text rather than the English translation that was placed beneath it and quoted in the guidebook. When the guidebook was revised in 1821 Sir Robert Hughes' poem, *Stanzas on the Italian Garden*, was included. It pondered whether the surroundings might be familiar if life should ever be breathed into Ariosto's bust:

How charm'd the quicken'd man would be,
How would this citron grove,
Remind him of his Italy
And prompt to tales of love!

The lines from *Orlando Furioso* which praised the beauty of Mount Edgcumbe's coastline also proved a fortuitous choice for the developing character of an Italian Garden. Ariosto had spent much of his life in the service of Ippolito d'Este, the creator of the great Renaissance gardens at the Villa d'Este, Tivoli. *Orlando Furioso* flattered his patron as the 'generosa erculea prole' or noble descendant of Hercules, who was also the central figure in the iconography of the d'Este garden. So Ariosto's bust and poem were hinting at a parallel between the Villa d'Este and Mount Edgcumbe's Italian Garden.

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406 Telephone conversation between Phibbs and author, December 2007. Phibbs regards the planting of the beech trees around the church as typical of Repton's hand.
407 A plaque showing the English text has been more crudely attached to the Belvedere nearby.
What started as a traditional eighteenth-century conservatory had, by 1812, begun to develop into the first formal Italian Garden of the new century. As a much visited and popular garden it inspired imitation and helped to cement public understanding of this style of Italian garden.\footnote[409]{Although no direct copy of the Mount Edgcumbe Italian Garden has been traced Pat Hughes has discovered an unsigned letter sent to Phillip Gell in 1810 instructing him to 'make a flower garden such as is at Mt Edgecumbe...'. There followed a detailed description and plan of the French Garden. Derbyshire Record Office D258/50/40 quoted in Hughes, Mount Edgcumbe, (unpublished report, ) 1, p. 96.} This was aided by the guidebook and publicity such as the article that appeared in the \textit{Illustrated London News} in 1844 (Fig. 4.14) where the fountain and Conservatory where shown providing the backdrop for a charity bazaar.\footnote[410]{Anon., 'Grand Fete at Mount Edgcumbe', \textit{Illustrated London News}, 5, 1844, p. 137.} However, not every visitor was convinced. In 1842 the \textit{Gardener's Magazine} reported ‘The only garden worth notice is what is called the Italian garden, though there is nothing Italian in it but the orange trees and a few white painted leaden statues’.\footnote[411]{Anon., 'Sept. 13- Mount Edgcumbe', \textit{Gardener's Magazine}, 18 (1842), pp. 547-48, p. 547.} As the century progressed and formality and symmetry became the norm their ability to convey a foreign style decreased. In this visitor’s eyes the images that captured the essence of the Italian style were the citrus trees and statuary, although the divided steps of the Belvedere were seen by many in the same light.

Like the Italian Garden the development of the nearby French Garden was far from straightforward.\footnote[412]{The New Zealand and American Gardens are not reviewed here as they were created as recently as 1989.} It was formed around 1803 as a ‘Flower Garden’ to accompany an existing octagonal conservatory that was extended by the addition of two wings. Like the Italian Garden it was enclosed by a high hedge, but it was planted with a specimen Magnolia which was then more often associated with American gardens.\footnote[413]{Magnolias were also a feature of the Mount Edgcumbe English Garden. Warner, \textit{Mount Edgcumbe (1812)}, p. 29.}
The central feature was the parterre set out around an octagonal basin with a ‘jet d’eau ...issuing from rockwork intermixed with shells’414 (Fig. 4.15). It was reminiscent of the shells and rockwork suggested in several of Loudon’s 1812 designs for French parterres.415 It was as if the garden’s character was being established through links to that most French sounding of styles, the Rococo, with its origins in rocaille and coquille, or rocks and shells.

The association of the parterre with France and all things feminine in contemporary horticultural thinking and in Repton’s work has already been explored.416 The development of Mount Edgcumbe’s French Garden as a flower garden, as distinct from the evergreen character of the Italian Garden, could also be said to mark it out as a garden suited to a lady, for this was the period when botany and flower painting were popular feminine pastimes and women were beginning to make their mark as writers in the field.417 Mount Edgcumbe’s French Garden was clearly thought of as a feminine space for the urn that was added to the garden in 1806 in memory of Sophia, 2nd Countess of Edgcumbe, recorded it was ‘HER, WHOSE TASTE EMBELLISHED, WHOSE PRESENCE ADDED CHARMS TO THESE RETREATS.418

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415 Loudon, Hints on Gardens, pp. 4-5.
416 Section 2, pp. 43-4 and section 4, pp. 93-4.
417 The most important of the feminine authors was Jane Loudon, but other names from the period include Mary Lawrence, Maria Jackson, and Catherine Gore. See Martin Hoyles, The Story of Gardening, 1st edn (London: Journeyman Press, 1991), pp. 198-205.
Alongside the parterre and the pool were ‘burceaux and arches of trellis, twined over by all sorts of creeping plants’. The trellis, which was photographed in situ in 1904, was reminiscent of Repton’s preference for the ‘massive’ proportions of French trellis, and there are several other parallels with Repton’s work that reinforce Phibbs’ identification of Repton’s style in the wider landscape. The enclosing hedge and the relatively small size of the garden, which was only half the size of the Italian Garden, were essential elements in any Reptonian formal garden. Furthermore, the 1812 guidebook explained the visual trickery secreted away inside the French Garden Conservatory: ‘A picture at the back of the room being removed, discovers a beautiful little statue of MELEAGER, behind which a glass is so placed as to reflect all the garden, and create from a little distance, a pleasing illusion.’ The height of the mirror provided the view that Repton thought essential to appreciate the Courteenhall parterre (Fig. 4.16). It allowed ‘the eye to survey all its parts at once’. Daniels has pointed out that ‘Illusion was central to Repton’s style. He delighted in mirrors, tricks, and exotic light effects of light and shade.’ There is much in this French Garden that suggests Repton may have influenced Sophia, but was it a practical proposition that he could have been involved?

In his Memoirs Repton recalled visiting Mount Edgcumbe twelve months before the outbreak of war. He had in mind the resumption of hostilities with France in May

\[419\] Ibid., p. 29.
\[420\] Humphry Repton, Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening: to which are added some observations on its theory and practice, including a defence of the art, 1806 reprinted in Loudon, Works of Humphry Repton, p. 327, fn. Photograph from Devonia July 1904 reproduced in Hughes, Mount Edgcumbe, (unpublished report, ) 1, p. 97.
\[421\] Warner, Mount Edgcumbe (1812), p. 29.
\[422\] Repton, Red Book, Courteenhall, n.p.
\[423\] Daniels, Brandsbury and Glemham Hall, p. ix.
\[424\] Humphry Repton, Memoirs, c 1814, British Library, MSS 62112, fol 217. Repton had made an earlier visit to Mount Edgcumbe when it was in the ownership of the 1st Earl sometime before August
1803 at the end of the Peace of Amiens which places his visit to the second half of 1802 or the first half of 1803. Furthermore as the dedication in *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* was dated 31 December 1802 a visit to Mount Edgcumbe during the first half of 1803 might explain why there was no mention of the scheme in print. Sophia would have known of Repton for he was a near neighbour to her childhood home, Blickling Hall, Norfolk. Thus, it is possible that Repton’s hand may have guided Sophia in creating the French Garden. However, his deep aversion to the Italian style, coupled with the 2nd Earl’s original inspiration for the Italian Garden in 1787, suggests he exercised little or no influence there. Thus, the Mount Edgcumbe Italian and French Gardens are not merely the earliest identified comparisons of foreign gardening styles established in the nineteenth century; they are also early and rare examples of complementary gardens created by husband and wife.

### 4.3 Sir Jeffry Wyatville: Three Gardens Re-interpreted

Jeffry Wyatt began his architectural career working for his uncles; first Samuel and later James Wyatt. He established his own commercially successful practice in 1798 numbering amongst his clients, ‘four sovereigns, seven dukes, three marquesses, seventeen earls, three barons, five baronets, four knights, a foreign duke and a count, and well over thirty other distinguished gentlemen.’

425 He was knighted in 1828 on the successful completion of the alterations to Windsor Castle, Berkshire, when he also took the name Wyatville.

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1783 when he was compiling the Red Book for Mulgrave Castle. He made comparisons between the two coastal sites. Repton, Red Book, Mulgrave, uncatalogued.

425 Derek Linstrum, Sir Jeffry Wyatville, [May 2007].
His commissions included a notable number of gardens and his garden buildings, a sizeable number of conservatories.\textsuperscript{426} Wyatville's biographer, Derek Lindstrum, has observed that a conservatory adorned 'almost every new or improved house'.\textsuperscript{427} He undertook, and Edward Diestelkamp has ranked him as 'one of Britain's most respected designers of conservatories.'\textsuperscript{428} His garden schemes included 'Lady Bath's Design for Flower Garden' at Longleat House, Wiltshire in 1805,\textsuperscript{429} and a large garden with a Rosary, Fruit Walk, 'Ancient Bowling Green' and 'A Mount' for the future 2nd Duke and Duchess of Sutherland at Lilleshall Hall, Shropshire in 1826.\textsuperscript{430} At Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire he completed the scheme begun by Repton and, between 1816 and 1822, he transformed the intended Monk's Garden into a French Garden which became home to Repton's re-designed Holie Well which he re-located from the Broad Sanctuary.\textsuperscript{431} In 1838 at Woburn Abbey he drew up twelve variants on a simple design of formal paths, grass slopes and steps enlivened by an occasional urn and some recycled fencing; all intended for the area below the south and west fronts.\textsuperscript{432} Wyatville's gardens were generally distinguished by their simple formality and a Revivalist theme that is most clearly seen in his proposals for Lilleshall, where the Mount and the Bowling Green would complement his Elizabethan-style house.

\textsuperscript{426} His more varied garden buildings included the Swiss Cottage (1810) and Ruined Castle (1834) at Endesleigh, Devon, a group of three rustic buildings comprising a pergola, a dairy and a 'hut for a labourer' at Holly Grove, Highgate (1826) and the ruined Temple of Augusta in Windsor Great Park (1826-29).
\textsuperscript{429} Plan in Muniments Room, Longleat Hall quoted in Linstrum, \textit{Wyatville}, p. 244.
\textsuperscript{432} Jeffry Wyatt, Woburn Abbey Designs April -December 1838, Duke of Bedford and Trustees of the Bedford Settled Estates Woburn Abbey, uncatalogued.
This analysis focuses upon Wyatville’s gardens at Belton House, Lincolnshire which was developed between 1810 and c. 1824, Chillingham Castle, Northumberland created around 1824 and a portion of the work he undertook at Chatsworth, Derbyshire between 1829 and 1830. At Belton House, Wyatville intended to partner one of his typical conservatories (Fig. 4.17) with a classical Dairy. The two buildings were intended to sit on opposite sides of a simple rectangular garden that was laid out adjacent to the church and out of sight of the house (Fig. 4.18). The Dairy was never constructed, possibly because it would have breached the wall that separated the garden from the working offices. In the second half of the twentieth century Wyatville’s Lion Exedra (Fig. 4.19), which was named after the lion’s head sculpted by Sir Richard Westmacott, was moved from the adjacent garden known as The Dell to the site originally intended for the Dairy. Wyatville designed trellis arches to surround a central dished pool which he lined with ‘small pebbles laid in Roman Cement’. More trellis, stretching out eastwards from the Conservatory, was considered, but it is not clear if it was ever erected. The central pool was set within four quadrants of grass that were planted in an informal manner (Fig. 4.20) at least until 1821. In 1820 Wyatville began experimenting with designs for an elevated and balustraded terrace to the west of the Conservatory that could be accessed from either

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433 Gervase Jackson-Stops speculated that the lion’s mask for the Exedra was by Westmacott and this is confirmed by an account from 1827 in the Belton Papers, Brownlow Collection, Lincolnshire Record Office, Lincoln, BNLW2/2/3/3/3.
435 Wyatville’s accounts for the period 1816-21 include reference to the ‘Conservatory terrace’. Brownlow Collection, BNLW2/1/1/7/7. Wyatville’s account for the same period records payment for trellis work. Brownlow Collection, BNLW2/1/1/7/7. Distelkamp has stated that the trellis arcades are shown on a Wyatville drawing dated 1819, but were not implemented until 1835. Distelkamp, ‘Palaces’, p. 51. The trellis may have been similar to that used by his cousin, Lewis Wyatt, around the Conservatory he designed for Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton at Tatton Park, Cheshire. This was constructed in 1818 and painted by John Buckler in 1820. Buckler showed exterior trellis work arches concealing the access to the boilers and stoves. Buckler’s image is reproduced in Gervase Jackson-Stops, An English Arcadia 1600-1990 (New York: The American Institute of Architects, 1991), p. 120, plate 90.
end by a flight of steps interrupted by landings. A central archway beneath the terrace would have descended underground and may have been connected with the large culvert just to the south of its intended location. It was never constructed, but in 1824 Wyatville designed a parterre of fleur de lis shaped beds to sit between the Conservatory and his intended elevated terrace. It appears to have been at around this time that the garden was given its sunken profile which would also have signalled the removal of the initial scattered and informal planting. It is possible that the change in the planting style away from scattered informality to turf plats and parterres reflected the lost influence of 1st Earl Brownlow’s first wife, Sophia, the sister of Amelia Long of Bromley Hill. Sophia died in 1814 or 1815 at the height of the early phase of the garden’s development. It is possible that her death slowed the development of the garden and allowed a move away from the Longs’ love of picturesque informality towards the newly fashionable parterre.

By the 1820s this garden had much in common with its earlier Italian counterpart at Mount Edgcumbe. A Conservatory looking down upon regular quadrants of turf carved out by straight paths centred on a central circular pool, although the trellis gave it more of the feeling of its Cornish French counterpart. All three had distinct boundaries although at Belton the garden was not entirely screened off from the wider pleasure grounds. All three gardens shared a central pool. The most striking difference was the early use of the parterre in the Mount Edgcumbe French Garden. Belton combined the key features of Mount Edgcumbe’s French and Italian Gardens although it lacked the Italian associations that enhanced the Mount Edgcumbe Italian Garden. The Belton House garden was apparently conceived simply as an isolated.

436 Section shewing the situation of the archway & Terrace opposite the Greenhouse, Jeffry Wyatt, Drawings, National Trust, Belton House, Sept 1820, BEL/D/290. 437 ‘Conservatory & Beds Area’, Ibid., 1824, BEL/D/226.
but fashionable flower garden. Its transformation into an Italian Garden did not take place until 1898 when *Country Life* reported not one, but two Italian Gardens at Belton House. In truth one of these was the Dutch Garden (Fig. 4.21), originally laid out in 1880, and always known as the Dutch Garden or Dutch Parterre other than in this article. The other was Wyatville’s Conservatory garden below the church. It seems *Country Life’s* confusion arose from a hasty and seemingly random decision to re-name Wyatville’s garden the Italian Garden.

In 1822 the 5th Earl of Tankerville inherited Chillingham Castle; a property in need of improvement. He relished the challenge writing to the 2nd Earl Grey of his ‘success in making [it] comfortable and I hope even handsome’ whilst noting that ‘out of doors I [still] have the slovenliness of 40 years to contend with and Northern Country People to employ as workmen.’ Wyatville was his architect and around 1824, at much the same time as the alterations to the south wing of the Castle were underway, a small formal parterre of eight rectangular beds appeared adjacent to the south-west front (Figs. 4.22 and 4.23). Linstrum has concluded it was likely that Wyatville’s work extended to ‘the landscape, the new avenue, lodges and park walls, the drive, and grass banks in place of the formal forecourt’.

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438 Anon., *Belton House, Grantham*, *Country Life*, 24 September 1898, pp. 368-71. Two years earlier, in 1896, 3rd Earl Brownlow compiled a short manuscript history of Belton House in which he recorded his own restoration work inspired by the mistaken belief that the house was originally by Wren. This had led him to chose an engraving from *Vitruvius Britannicus* as inspiration for his building work and his improvements in the garden. Adrian Tinniswood, *Belton House* (London: National Trust, 1999), p. 89. His manuscript history documented the creation of a parterre in front of the house which, in 1880, ‘consisted of shawl beds, ... a large vase in the middle (which was removed to Ashridge) was done away with and the present garden which is copied from the original garden made.’ Brownlow Collection, BNLW2/1/4/5. His new parterre was almost immediately named the Dutch Garden, possibly in celebration of the 3rd Earl’s acquisition in 1873 of Melchior d’Hondecoeter’s seventeenth-century Dutch garden scenes, which still hang in the house. Yet the 3rd Earl made no mention in his manuscript of any Italian Garden.

439 11 September sometime between 1822 and 1831, Papers of 2nd Earl Grey, Special Collections, Durham University Library, uncatalogued.

440 Linstrum, *Wyatville*, p. 235. The dating of this garden to the 1820s, when Wyatville was working on the Castle, is further supported by an article published in 1872 which dated the garden to the time of
pre-empted Wyatville’s garden below the Chatsworth west front five years later. Wyatville appears to have brought his discernible Revivalist approach to the scheme for a 1711 plan shows an elaborate parterre in the same location.\textsuperscript{441} Again there is nothing to suggest that Wyatville regarded this as an Italian garden although perceptions of the garden changed frequently during the nineteenth century. In 1872 it was the ‘Gothic Garden’\textsuperscript{442}, in 1888 it was ‘an old-fashioned’ garden that mixed Dutch, Italian, French and Old English styles\textsuperscript{443} and in 1913 it was re-interpreted again for the pages of \textit{Country Life} as ‘the Italian garden that covers the site of the jousting ground.’\textsuperscript{444} As with Belton, nothing had changed to induce the Italian christening except the perspective of the observer.

Chatsworth proved to be a lengthy commission for Wyatville stretching from 1817 or 1818 to 1841.\textsuperscript{445} John Barnatt and Tom Williamson have divided Wyatville’s work in the pleasure grounds into three main areas: the creation of the Broad Walk in 1820, the modifications to Thomas Archer’s Cascade House in 1822 and the creation of the west terrace parterre between 1829 and 1830.\textsuperscript{446} The west terrace was dominated by Wyatville’s new Belvedere which he intended should remain true ‘to the Character of


\textsuperscript{442} J.T., ‘Chillingham Castle’, p. 462.


\textsuperscript{444} Anon., ‘Chillingham Castle, Northumberland’, \textit{Country Life}, 8 March 1913, pp. 346-55, p. 348. The current owner, Sir Humphry Wakefield, states that the garden has always been known as the Italian Garden although this evidence suggests otherwise. Telephone conversation with author, May 2007.

\textsuperscript{445} Wyatville’s biographer, Linstrum, places his first involvement at Chatsworth to January 1818 when he wrote a letter explaining he was on his way to Chatsworth to ‘receive the Duke of Devonshire’s Ideas respecting a general plan of improvement...’ Linstrum, \textit{Wyatville}, p. 141. Barnatt and Williamson, on the other hand, date Wyatville’s commission to 1817. John Barnatt and Tom Williamson, \textit{Chatsworth: A Landscape History} (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2005), p. 128.

\textsuperscript{446} Barnatt and Williamson, \textit{Chatsworth}, pp. 127-32.
the present building...’ by suggesting the Elizabethan towers of a great house such as
nearby Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire447 (Fig. 4.24). On the other hand the 6th Duke had
taken his inspiration from the Belvedere of the Bodleian, Oxford.448

Wyatville’s design for Chatsworth’s west terrace simply sandwiched his Belton
House Conservatory Garden between two halves of the Chillingham Castle parterre.
At its heart was the circular Tulip Pool surrounded by four planting beds, although
Wyatville had suggested a fountain formed from four concentric circular basins
topped by a statue of Venus and Cupid, but he hastily noted on a drawing, ‘This is not
to be put in hand until the Duke gives Orders.’449 The Duke rejected it in favour of the
simple circular pool. A path edged with topiary stretched out from the pool along the
north-south axis (Fig. 4.25) bisecting the two outer groups of four enormous stone
planting baskets. The baskets survive unaltered in this private part of the garden,
although the central portion was modified by the 11th Duchess of Devonshire who
laid out a topiary interpretation of a plan view of Chiswick House using the Tulip
Pool to stand for Lord Burlington’s dome. Wyatville’s parterre beds are enormous
corbeilles (Fig. 4.26) which the 6th Duke referred to as his ‘most ingenious
architectural parterre’.450 There is no evidence that Wyatville or the Duke believed
that they were creating an Italian influenced garden at Chatsworth, but within thirty
years this terrace parterre was known as the Italian Garden, and the name persisted
until the First World War.451

447 Wyatville quoted in Linstrum, Wyatville, p. 142.
448 Ibid., p. 124.
449 Sir Jeffry Wyatville, Elevation of a Fountain for the Garden in the West Front Chatsworth, October
1830, Devonshire Settled Estates, Chatsworth, uncatalogued.
451 In April 1857 the Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman’s Companion referred to Wyatville’s
Chatsworth’, The Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman’s Companion, 7 April 1857, pp. 5-6. It
was also described as the Italian Garden in W.P.W., ‘Chatsworth’, Journal of Horticulture and Cottage
There were two different influences at work which led to this Wyatville garden acquiring its prominent Italian reputation. Firstly, by the middle of the century Chatsworth and the Crystal Palace were synonymous in the public imagination with Joseph Paxton’s reputation. In 1854 the architect, Matthew Digby Wyatt, published a volume to celebrate the relocation of the Crystal Palace to Sydenham Park, London which made direct comparisons between the designs of Paxton’s gardens there and many gardens in Italy. These gardens inevitably became associated with Chatsworth through Paxton whose celebrity was guaranteed to eclipse all Wyatville’s contribution to the gardens. In 1844 the Illustrated London News showed Paxton’s Conservatory surrounded by a simple and unremarkable network of straight paths and regular flower beds under the caption ‘The Exterior, from the Italian Terrace’ (Fig. 4.27). The popular logic saw Paxton’s work at the Crystal Palace as Italian and assumed Chatsworth was the same. Secondly, Wyatville’s Belvedere at Chatsworth began the nineteenth-century series of fashionable towers that were so strongly associated with Italy. It was followed most closely by Thomas Hope’s Italian belvedere at the Deepdene and most famously by Sir Charles Barry’s

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452 This remained the case for many years and explained why, in 1874, the horticultural press was still describing Chatsworth as ‘the home of Paxton, the place where the Victoria regia first opened its beauties in England, where the house is now so celebrated as the model of that glass palace to which all the world was attracted in 1851, and which now crowns the heights of Sydenham’...’ D. Dale, ‘Chatsworth: The Seat of the Duke of Devonshire, No 1’, Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener, 5 February 1874, pp. 125-26, p. 125.

453 He also pointed to a similarity between Chatsworth’s water staircase and the ‘cascatelle’ of the Palace of Caserta, near Naples. Matthew Digby Wyatt, Views of the Crystal Palace and Park Sydenham: From Drawings by Eminent Artists and Photographs by P. H. Delamotte (London: Day, 1854), p. 35. For a more detailed discussion of the Italian character of the gardens around the Crystal Palace in Sydenham Park see section 7, pp. 282-86.

454 The engraving was accompanied by a description of the varied attractions within the Conservatory that supplemented the plants including ‘myriads of gold and silver fish...numberless little foreign warblers, in every diversity of colour and tone, from all climates [and] Italian cats, from the mountains near Rome...’ Anon., ‘The Grand Conservatory at Chatsworth’, Illustrated London News, 5, 31 August 1844, pp.135-36, p. 136.
belvederes at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire and Prince Albert’s twin towers at Osborne House, Isle of Wight. In 1854 in his celebration of the Crystal Palace M. D. Wyatt noted,

The most complete and satisfactory revivals in this country of the Italian mode of laying out grounds [which] have been effected at Trentham, for the Duke of Sutherland, and at Chatsworth, for the Duke of Devonshire.\textsuperscript{455}

He was reflecting the general understanding that a belvedere and a formal terrace garden were Italian in style. Hence the 80,000 visitors, who flocked to Chatsworth every summer during the 1850s following the opening of the railway station at Rowsley, saw a Belvedere looking down on a fashionable terrace that they assumed was by Paxton and so must be an Italian Garden.\textsuperscript{456} Furthermore, by the 1850s the Italian Renaissance and the Elizabethan period in England were being merged by some architectural and garden commentators to generate a single style sometimes referred to as Anglo-Italian. Under its influence even those Chatsworth visitors who acknowledged the Duke’s inspiration for the Belvedere was derived from the Bodleian would have felt it appropriate that it should look down upon an Italian terrace. By 1853 Charles M’Intosh was presenting the wider complex of Chatsworth’s pleasure grounds as a series of ‘rich Italian and geometric gardens’.\textsuperscript{457}

The re-interpretation of the Chatsworth parterre as Italian during the 1850s was encouraged by site specific associations with Paxton as well as more general codified images of style. In contrast at Belton House and Chillingham Castle the very anonymity of his designs appears to have made them suitable candidates for their

\textsuperscript{455} Wyatt, \textit{Crystal Palace}, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{456} The extraordinary number of visitors each summer is quoted by Barnatt and Williamson, \textit{Chatsworth}, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{457} M’Intosh, \textit{Garden}, 1, p. 605.
much later re-interpretation as Italian Gardens; the first in 1898 and the second seemingly in the last thirty years.

4.4 Lewis Kennedy: A Horticulturalist and Traveller in Italy

Lewis Kennedy was immersed in gardening, horticulture and estate management throughout his life. He was from the third generation of the Kennedy family to be associated with the influential Vineyard Nursery in Hammersmith, London, and he was related by marriage to Henry Charles Andrews who produced The Botanist's Repository and William Bridgewater Page, a nurseryman who designed gardens and published a catalogue of the Southampton Botanic Garden. One of his sons, George Penrose Kennedy, went on to train as an architect in the offices of Sir Charles Barry, and designed the lower terrace and summerhouse at Bowood House, Wiltshire. Jan Woudstra has traced Kennedy's early international career showing that in 1804, aged around fifteen, he was studying horticulture in Riga, Russia and that, no later than 1812, he was working for the Empress Josephine in her gardens at Malmaison and Navarre, France. At some point before 1818 he had also travelled in Italy visiting the gardens of the Villa Doria Pamphili and Villa Borghese in Rome and the Boboli Gardens in Florence. On his return Kennedy established a successful, if short, career as a garden designer which led M'Intosh to describe him as the foremost landscape gardener of his day in his widely read 1838 Book of the Garden. Kennedy's commissions will be analysed to reveal how his experience of foreign gardens influenced the formal flower gardens that he championed in Britain.

458 The summerhouse was demolished by a tree that was felled in a gale in the 1990s.
461 M'Intosh, Garden, 1, p. 620.
Fifteen garden designs across Britain are known to be by Kennedy with another five attributed to him. Of these twenty designs, half appear to date from, or before, 1815.\textsuperscript{462} The prospectus for a previously unknown book that Kennedy intended to publish in 1815 advertised ‘fifty-seven engravings, from designs and plans projected by, and mostly put into execution under the direction of the author’.\textsuperscript{463} Kennedy produced bound volumes similar to Repton’s Red Books to illustrate many of his commissions so a total of fifty-seven engravings suggest that the majority of the important commissions from this phase of his career have been identified. Around 1821 Kennedy’s career changed direction when he was appointed Agent to the Willoughby de Eresby estates.\textsuperscript{464} This would explain the dramatic decline in his garden commissions and why the book was abandoned. The prospectus had announced his intention of

Publishing, by subscription, to make one vol. imperial quarto, a work entitled, Notitiar on the Principles & Practice of Ornamental, Useful, and Landscape Gardening: to be illustrated by fifty-seven engravings, from designs and plans projected by, and mostly put into execution under the direction of the author. The work will be composed in three parts or books’ each book treating a specific subject, will contain thirteen large engravings, six vignettes, and at least sixty pages of letter-press. The first delivery will be in July, and the last in December 1815: price to subscribers, 25s plain.

As first impressions from the plates are of moment, relative to their value, the books will most assuredly be delivered to the subscribers as the names stand on the lists; and no money to be paid, but upon the receipt and approval of the work.

Lists are prepared for subscriber’s names, at Mr Harding’s, Bookseller, St James’s Street; the Nursery Hammersmith; and at the Author’s Lewis Kennedy, General Projector for, and Designer of, Ornamental Garden and Landscape Scenery, 9, Terrace, Kensington.\textsuperscript{465}

\textsuperscript{462} Trent Park, Middlesex cannot be dated exactly, but has been assumed to date from after 1815 in this calculation. Kennedy’s commissions are not spread entirely randomly across the country. Three were on estates owned by the 19th Lord Willoughby de Eresby who became his full time employer around 1816. These were spread across Wales, Scotland and England. Another group were concentrated in Kent, East Sussex and Middlesex in the area that Kennedy retired to.

\textsuperscript{463} Ancaster Papers, Lincolnshire Record Office, Lincoln, 2ANC7/1/16. A letter from Kennedy is scribbled on the reverse of the printed prospectus for his forthcoming book. No trace of the manuscript has been found.


\textsuperscript{465} Lewis Kennedy, Prospectus for Notitiar on the Principles & Practice of Ornamental, Useful, and Landscape Gardening, 1815, Ancaster Papers Lincolnshire Record Office, 2ANC7/1/16.
The intended title, *Notitiae*, echoed the format in which he documented his commissions. Pages of text accompanied watercolours that illustrated the scene as Kennedy envisaged it after improvement. His binder, George Cope of Chelsea, added green leather boards decorated with gold tooling and lined with brightly coloured silk. The parallels with Repton’s Red Books are obvious and they are therefore referred to as ‘Green Books’ although they lack Repton’s ‘before’ and ‘after’ flaps. Kennedy’s volumes opened with a decorative title page reflecting the achievements of his patron or some aspect of the estate, followed by an introduction that was often signed and dated. They concluded with his detailed observations on the estate in its current form and an outline of the proposed improvements. He might discuss changes to the approach, views from within the house and within the grounds, the history and architecture of the estate, the flower garden, the management of plantations and even his disagreement with the Picturesque writers. The first and simplest of these volumes was prepared for Sir Thomas and Lady Hare of Stow Hall, Norfolk in 1812. It lacks the vignettes and poetry quotations of later volumes, whilst the Chiswick volume of 1814 is the only one to include plans. Kennedy was a competent artist who often animated his scenes with ladies in Empire line dresses strolling through the pleasure grounds, and straight-backed cattle and sheep grazing in the parkland. Like Repton, he sometimes strayed beyond his brief, and at Stow Hall he ‘offered no apology for

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466 Kennedy followed Repton at several sites some of which had been the subject of Red Books. The sites that they both visited or advised on include Wilderness, Kent (Repton illustrated this for *Peacock’s Polite Repository*), Wanstead (for which Repton produced a Red Book), Buckhurst Park previously known as Stonelands (again, with a Red Book) and Knole, Kent (illustrated in *Peacock’s Polite Repository*). Sally Jeffery concluded that Kennedy’s ideas for Wanstead mimicked those contained in Repton’s Red Book. Sally Jeffery, Repton at Wanstead: A Continuation, in Katherine Myers *The Gardens of Wanstead Conference, The Temple, Wanstead Park 25 September 1999*, pp. 46-50, p. 50. However the similarities she noted concerned his rustic seats and rustic bridge, which are characteristic of his work elsewhere and not a result of imitating Repton’s proposals for Wanstead.

467 A loose plan accompanies the unbound watercolours for Buckhurst Park, East Sussex, for which there is no text.
the project next proposed' of enlarging the existing 'unsightly' pond. Unlike Repton he did not attempt to establish a set of rules and principles to guide his work; in his concluding remarks on Chiswick he declared,

To settle the limits of Taste by pointing out rules for the disposition of a Garden (meaning a Domain) attached to a MANSION, and regulate whatever has been, and perhaps ever will be undefined, is a labyrinth from which, I fear, I should not get so easily disentangled, as some modern professors have done... 469

Kennedy did not set out to establish himself as the successor to Brown. Instead, he was a horticulturalist who turned his hand to landscape design and improvement. 470

The Kennedy family had been engaged at Stow Hall since at least 1802 when a naïve, but charming plan for a flower garden (Fig. 4.28) was prepared showing amoeba-shaped beds clustered in front of a greenhouse. 471 The signature is indistinct and may be 'L.Ke.' indicating it was by a precocious Lewis Kennedy, aged twelve or thirteen, or it may be 'J.Ke', suggesting that it was by his father, John. 472 Soon after the plan was drawn Lewis was in Russia, but eight years later he was back at Stow Hall preparing the first Green Book which, 'By offering this trifling tribute of my pencil for your approval I am endeavouring the poorly to acquit myself in part of a debt I wish never cancelled'. 473 Had the young Lewis Kennedy prepared the earlier plan for the Greenhouse Garden and so impressed Hare that he supported the boy's international horticultural apprenticeship and travels? Certainly Kennedy recognised he owed Hare a significant debt of gratitude, and the Hare family, for their part,

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468 Lewis Kennedy, Sketches of Stow Hall presented to Th. Hare Esq. and the Honbl. A. E Hare, 1812, Private Collection, uncatalogued.
471 ?John or ?Lewis Kennedy, Sketch of a Few Alterations Proposed to be made at Stow Hall the Seat of T. Hare Esq., 1802, Hare Papers, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, 5525231.
472 Woudstra, 'Kennedy', p. 221.
473 Kennedy, Stow Hall, uncatalogued.
thought highly enough of at least one member of the Kennedy family to name a grove of trees close to the Hall ‘Kennedy’s Plantation’ (Fig. 4.29).

The Green Book for Stow Hall hints at the earlier 1802 garden designed by John or Lewis Kennedy around the ‘noble Greenhouse’ which can be seen peeping above the trees (Fig. 4.30), a short distance from the mansion, in a Kennedy watercolour. He also illustrated a Conservatory attached to the house (Fig. 4.31), and, three months after the Green Book, produced a plan for a formal flower garden seemingly to partner this building. It followed the basic model of a fashionable flower garden of the period with straight gravel paths that cut through an elliptical parterre set around a central elliptical ‘pond for gold fish’\textsuperscript{474} (Fig. 4.32). The whole was screened by dense planting. The scheme was unusual in the form of the two flower beds nearest the glass house. They were of a rare and complex scrolling outline making this a more sophisticated parterre than anything previously encountered designed by Wyatville or Repton.

Kennedy designed another six formal flower gardens all containing parterres for Abercairney House, Perthshire in 1813\textsuperscript{475}, Chiswick House in 1814, Drummond Castle, Perthshire around 1816\textsuperscript{476}, Wanstead House, London in 1818\textsuperscript{477}, Gwydir-

\textsuperscript{474} Lewis Kennedy, Plan for a FLOWER GARDEN in front of the GREEN-HOUSE at Stow Hall, April 1812, Hare Collection, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, 5526231.

\textsuperscript{475} A letter from Kennedy to James Moray, the owner, refers to plans and sketches despatched by mail coach. Presumably this was the material for another Green Book which has been lost. The letter described some of the features of the garden including flower beds ‘margined with Box’ interpreted here as a parterre. Lewis Kennedy, Letter to James Moray, Abercairney 14 December 1813, The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh NAS02023 GD24-5-128-00001.

\textsuperscript{476} The date is estimated from the certificate presented to Kennedy to mark his retirement as Agent from the Willoughby de Eresby estates in 1868 following 52 years of service. Certificate reproduced in Fiona Jamieson, Drummond Castle Gardens (n.p.: The Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle Trust, 1993), p. 13.

\textsuperscript{477} The date is taken from Kennedy’s watercolours in the Green Book. Lewis Kennedy, Notitiae on the American Garden proposed to W. Long Wellesley Esq. Wanstead, Essex 1818, Wormley Library,
Castle, Conwy during the 1820s and Woolmers Park, Hertfordshire sometime before 1834.\textsuperscript{478} At Chiswick the parterre was at the heart of Kennedy’s Italian Garden and at Wanstead it was supplemented with rockwork to produce an Italian Rock Garden.

Both the Chiswick and Wanstead parterres were isolated from the house and associated with garden buildings. Both were to have been enclosed and visually distinct from the rest of the garden although at Chiswick, the planned rectangular parterre (Fig. 4.33) was modified to a semi-circle (Fig. 4.34) which changed the form of the screening. The Chiswick parterre was initially intended as a combination of simple turf quadrants and more complex scrolling \textit{parterre de broderie}. At Wanstead Kennedy explained the more angular beds of the parterre (Fig. 4.35) were inspired by the small compartments and character of the parterres in ‘most of the Villas in Rome’ such as the Villa Doria Pamphili and the Villa Borghese. It might have been thought that the Drummond Castle library, where Kennedy was Agent, had provided the inspiration for these parterres for it contained titles such as Paul Androuet du Cerceau’s \textit{Desseins du Jardins, Alcoves, Plafonds, etc. par J. Le Pautre; et Panneaux, Ornemens de feuillage, etc.} (1687), Jean-François Felibien’s \textit{Des Principes de l’Architecture de la Sculpture, de la Painture} (1667) and John James’ \textit{Theory and Practice of Gardening} (1712).\textsuperscript{479} However, the key, as Kennedy explained, was direct observation of villa gardens in Italy. Kennedy is the first garden designer at this time to record his conscious use of individual Italian gardens as the inspiration behind his designs in England.

\textsuperscript{478} T. Rutger, ‘A Sketch of a Flower-Garden, with Remarks’, \textit{Gardener’s Magazine}, 10 (1834), pp. 204-06.

\textsuperscript{479} George P Johnston, \textit{Catalogue of the Rare and Most Interesting Books and Manuscripts in the Library at Drummond Castle} (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1910), pp. 24, 29, 45.
Kennedy’s parterres were more sophisticated than those of other designers of the day in both their outline and their planting. In 1813 he proposed that the Abercairney flower beds should be ‘margined with Box’\textsuperscript{480} which was a very early example of the use of evergreen edging in the nineteenth century. In 1834 in a detailed discussion of the planting of the flower garden Loudon noted only briefly that ‘Parterres on a small scale may be enclosed by an evergreen hedge...’\textsuperscript{481} and in 1837, C. F. Ferris’s little volume on the parterre only suggested edging around a plain turf plat.\textsuperscript{482} In 1852 Richard Brown defined a parterre as ‘a form of figure in a flower-garden, inclosed within a border of box or other verdure’\textsuperscript{483}, but a year later M’Intosh discussed the option of using inanimate edging materials such as slate, although he thought dwarf box ‘the best of all living edgings.’\textsuperscript{484} Kennedy’s skill in using the parterre came from his Continental travels and his horticultural upbringing. He had seen parterres in Italy, and whilst they were not a feature of Navarre and Malmaison where Josephine preferred the English garden style Kennedy would have been employed there alongside gardeners experienced in creating and maintaining parterres. As a nurseryman he could match his planting schemes to the design of his parterres however his horticultural expertise was of little help when it came to the difficult

\textsuperscript{481} Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, (1834), p. 992.
\textsuperscript{482} Ferris, The Parterre, pp. 22-6.
\textsuperscript{483} Richard Brown, Domestic Architecture: Containing a History of Science, and the Principles of Designing Public Edifices, Private dwelling-Houses, Country Mansions, and Suburban Villas, with Practical Dissertations on every branch of Building, from the choice of the site, to the completion of the appendages. Also, some observations on Rural Residences, their characteristic situation and scenery; with instructions on the art of laying out and ornamenting grounds; exemplified in sixty-three plates, containing diagrams, and exemplars of the various styles of domestic architecture, with a description, and wood-cuts of the appropriate furniture, garden, and landscape scenery of each (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1852), p. 342.
\textsuperscript{484} ‘Its advantages are - harmonising with the plants which it surrounds - its capability of being arranged in lines, however tortuous - and its bearing the operation of clipping, if done judiciously, with impunity. Its disadvantages are- the exhausting of the soil in the beds - the labour and expense of clipping- and the difficulty of relaying it, in intricate patterns, when it becomes blanky and exhausted with age.’ M’Intosh, Garden, 1, p. 590.
question of style. The eclecticism of some picturesque landscapes has already been analysed and Kennedy confirmed how this was spreading to the formal garden as early as 1814 when he suggested the parterre was an appropriate accompaniment to any architectural style, ‘even those formed by a mixture of the Saxon and Gothic architecture...’485 What had begun as a codified image of the French garden was quickly absorbed into the Italian flower garden and contemplated as appropriate for an imaginary Gothic style garden.

Besides the parterre, the most characteristic features of Kennedy’s gardens were his trellis and rustic garden buildings, his use of rock work and, in the wider pleasure garden, a fondness for Alpine bridges. Whilst he thought himself competent to propose small architectural projects his strong reliance on trellis and rustic work suggests buildings designed by a gardener rather than an architect.486 Trellis work featured in six of his commissions being used to create tunnel arbours, decorative entrance ways, covered seats and most complex of all, at Wanstead and at Livermere Park, Suffolk an ornate, demountable winter shelter for tender plants that he named the Linarium.487 In the Wanstead commission he recalled his earliest use of trellis at Stow Hall, in ‘the most beautiful COVERED WALK in the Kingdom’.488 This was erected on the lawns to the east of the house before 1812 for it can be glimpsed in one

486 At Trent Park he proposed ‘neat and appropriate decoratives’ to the house apparently referring to the addition of stucco and a portico and later he suggested a new cottage. Lewis Kennedy, Notitae on the improvements proposed for Trent Park and House, Middlesex for John Cumming, c1815-20, Sterling Morton Library, Morton Arboretum Lisle, Illinois, USA, uncatalogued, n.p. At Livermere Park he also proposed a new lodge and a new external staircase on the south front of the house to improve access to this part of the pleasure grounds. Lewis Kennedy, Notitae on Livermere Park House and Gardens, Suffolk. N Lee Acton Esq, 1815-16, de Saumerez Papers, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, HA93:1450.
487 The covered seat at Livermere Park was designed to stand within a trellis work pavilion with a swept roof that Kennedy named the ‘Pavilion d’été’. The design is typical of his work, but he gave no explanation for the name. It is not clear if it was a corruption of the Villa d’Este. Kennedy, Livermere, HA93:1450, .
488 Kennedy, Wanstead, uncatalogued.
of his watercolours in the Stow Hall Green Book (Figs. 4.36 and 4.37). His 1813 proposals for Oddington, Gloucestershire\textsuperscript{489} included a trellis-work entrance (Fig. 4.38) to one of the two informal flower gardens.\textsuperscript{490} He later recycled the design as a section of the Chiswick tunnel arbour (Fig. 4.39). At Abercairney there is no archival evidence to indicate trellis work, but three trellis arches of nineteenth-century construction still stand side by side in the garden. These are made of wire rather than Kennedy's usual timber. Today's owner recalls another two similarly constructed trellis tunnel arbours for climbing plants that have decayed.\textsuperscript{491} It is suggested that these structures formed part of Kennedy's original design for Abercairney.

At Chiswick Samuel Ware's Conservatory provided views down onto Kennedy’s Italian Garden. Kennedy proposed a balustraded terrace whose retaining wall was to be faced with trellis to give 'a proper, classical and determin'd finish ...to the Italian Garden'.\textsuperscript{492} This was never erected and was substituted by a simple grass retaining bank. The entire garden was to have been dominated by a trellis covered walkway such that

\begin{quote}
The perspective along the interior of the ARCADE, when taken from the East, and looking towards the Orangerie [Samuel Ware’s Conservatory], from its extent and character, will give a view new to this country, and only to be met in the splendid Villas of Italy. Two, of nearly a similar design &c. were executed under my direction at Navarre and Malmaison for the Empress Josephine. This airy building so common as an appendage to the Italian Palaces...\textsuperscript{493}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{489} Intriguingly when the Oddington estate was put up for sale in 1848 the sale particulars described an ‘Italian Summerhouse' somewhere near the lake. There was no similarly located or named building in Kennedy's proposals although he did illustrate a circular stone temple set on an island in the lake and a rustic boathouse on the banks of the lake. There is currently nothing to tie Kennedy to the design of Oddington's Italian Summerhouse although it is also unclear who else may have created it. Sale Particulars & Plans, Oddington Estate, 25 July 1848, Record Office, Gloucestershire, Gloucester, D1395 VII/12.

\textsuperscript{490} Lewis Kennedy, Notices with Drawings of the Proposed Alterations at Oddington Gloucestershire, 1813, Department of Drawings and Prints, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institute New York, uncatalogued.

\textsuperscript{491} See section 4, p. 129 for a description by Edward Kemp of a metalwork covered walk that formed the entrance to Kennedy's Chiswick Italian Garden in 1851.

\textsuperscript{492} Kennedy, 'Notitiae for Chiswick Gardens for William Spencer Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire', uncatalogued.

\textsuperscript{493} Ibid., uncatalogued.
Again Kennedy was taking his influences directly from an Italian garden that he
knew. The intended Chiswick trellis walk was based on one in the gardens of the Villa
Negroni ‘altered to accommodate it to a British climate’. The original was indicated
on Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine’s 1809 plan of the Villa.
Kennedy’s proposal was greatly modified in the final construction of the garden.
Originally intended as the fourth boundary to screen the flower garden from the
surrounding pleasure gardens, it became the approach to the garden. The earliest
account comes from 1851 when Edward Kemp noted

> Where the low flat bridge crosses the sunk fence, there are three arches of ivy, which is
> trained over light iron supports, and trimmed yearly to keep it in shape. They have a very good
> appearance in a position of this kind. Between them and the arcade is an octagonal stone basin
> with a vase and fountain in the centre. It has a variety of jets so as to be capable of being
> played in several forms; and in summer this gives another enrichment to the general garden
> scene. The arcade is an oblong erection, consisting of a series of arches, with pilasters on the
> interspaces, and a balustrade running round the whole above the cornice. It has no roof; it
> simply forms a communication between one part of the garden and another.

Seemingly not modified for the English climate as Kennedy had intended this is a
fascinating and unusual mix of Italian images. Italy was by now regarded as the
‘classic land of the fountain’ and a changing fountain display such as that used here
suggested the intricacies of Italian giochi d’acqua. The ivy covered arches also
suggest an Italian ‘amphitheatre of verdure’ as recommended by Humphreys in his
series of articles on Italian gardens (Fig. 4.40) or the burceaux of the French
garden. At Wanstead Kennedy returned to the trellis arcade using it as the entrance
to the Italian Rock Garden in imitation of the final layout at Chiswick. Again he took
real gardens as his inspiration and the

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494 Ibid., uncatalogued.
496 Edward Kemp, *The Parks, Gardens etc of London and its Suburbs Described and Illustrated for the
497 Humphreys, ‘Fountains’, p. 277.
498 Humphreys, ‘Clipped Trees’, pp. 60-1.
airy constructions [that] particularly characterize the French and Italian Gardens, as at Boboli, Florence where the principle attractions of that delightful spot, arise from the Style, Beauty and Agrément of these buildings...

At Wanstead there was also a trellis alcove, which might be substituted for a rustic version, since both were ‘congenial to the character of the garden’.

Two of Kennedy’s rustic buildings took their influence directly from France. At Abercairney, where the formal garden stretched up the hill and abutted the walled kitchen garden, he suggested a ‘Rustic Fruit Room’ reminiscent of his Chiswick ‘Fruiterie’. The Chiswick building was a re-modelling of the existing Deerhouse and inspired by a building Kennedy created at Malmaison for eating fruit in the morning; but especially fruit in the early season, gather’d fresh from the Trees where they are produced and for which this building from its contiguity to the forcing houses, is admirably calculated; forming a station much more agreeable to enjoy these delicacies in that region of heat which is necessary to their maturation in the first months of the year.

At Wanstead his characteristic rock work was combined with a pair of simple curved structures described only as ‘recessed buildings’ and decorated with niches for sculpture. Kennedy thought them the ‘leading characteristic of such Gardens’. At Wanstead these buildings combined with the circle of rock to enclose Kennedy’s Italian Rock Garden. They were draped with greenery demonstrating a trend that associated evergreens with the Italian formal style that can be traced from Mount Edgcumbe’s enclosing hedge to the box parterre at Abercairney and Chiswick’s ivy

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500 Ibid., n.p. Wanstead also included a semi-circular seat enclosed beneath a trellis roof that Kennedy illustrated painted mid-green. He named it a reposoir just as Repton had done at Courteenhall. Wooden garden structures had a history of being finished with green paint in this country and in Italy as with the Nuneham Courtney trellis and the more rustic arbour walks at either side of the main cypress avenue in Florence’s Boboli Gardens. These were known as the Cerchiate Piccolo and the Cerchiate Grande and Kennedy may well have seen them finished in this manner during his visit. The green paint that was applied to both trellis and rustic garden structures may explain why Kennedy suggested that either style of feature could be introduced into the Wanstead Italian Rock Garden without affecting the character of the place. Indeed it hints that trellis and rustic structures were seen as part of a single stylistic continuum in the early nineteenth century.

covered arches. A similar theme is suggested by some picturesque interpretations of the Italian garden, and particularly John Nash’s shrubberies and Henry Edmund Goodridge’s planting around Montebello that was pierced only by the belvedere.

Kennedy took parterre design to a level of sophistication not previously seen drawing his inspiration directly from gardens in Italy that he knew. He had also seen the similarities between the French and Italian styles and did not share Repton’s view that trellis-work crystallised the French garden or Ferris’ view that the parterre did the same. When M’Intosh published a coloured plan of the Chiswick parterre and its Conservatory in 1853 entitled the ‘Italian Flower Garden, Chiswick Villa’\(^504\) (Fig. 4. 41) his reader remained oblivious to the changing display of the fountain, the arcade, the intended balustraded terrace and the inspiration of the Villa Negroni that lay behind this design. Searching for an explanation of the Italian character of the design M’Intosh’s readers might fall back on Chiswick’s reputation as ‘the perfect model of a ROMAN VILLA’\(^505\) which Kennedy acknowledged had prompted him to create what he regarded as ‘contiguous GARDENS...[that], in part, partake of the same symmetrical regularity, neatness in finish with appropriate decorations usual to that Country.’\(^506\) What is clear is the Italian images incorporated in the Chiswick garden were so well known and popular that they were still being maintained and improved in 1855 when the terrace, main walk and outer perimeter were planted with standard

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\(^{504}\) M’Intosh, *Garden*, 1, plate 26, n.p.

\(^{505}\) Kennedy, ‘Notitiae for Chiswick Gardens for William Spencer Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire’, uncatalogued. This was widely recognised as when Charles Greville noted in his diary in 1830 ‘...To the Borghese Villa. At present I think Chiswick better than any villa here, but they tell me when I get home and see Chiswick and remember these I shall think differently.’ Henry Reeve, *The Greville Memoirs. A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV, King William IV and Queen Victoria 1818-1860* (London: Longmans Green, 1897), 1, p. 379.

forms of *Acacia Robinia inermis* that were ‘very common in Italy’. They still survive in the garden today (Fig. 4.42).

### 4.5 Wilton House, Wiltshire: An Economical Italian Garden

James Wyatt worked as architect to 11th Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House between 1801 and c 1811 when he was dismissed and replaced by his nephew, Wyatville. Part of the commission was to create the library on the west front which now overlooks the Italian Garden. The site had been earmarked for a formal garden as early as 1805 when Wyatt wrote to the Earl:

> If that part which forms a Stage in front of the Library is to be devoted to a Flower Garden, a piece of good sculpture might be selected for the centre and a central walk start from the Library window.

There is no evidence that Wyatville was involved in the design of this garden which, in its basic form, is just as Wyatt conceived it with a central gravel walk and a bronze figure of *Venus Anadyomene* wringing her hair to charge the marble and stone basins beneath her feet (Fig. 4.43). This statue is an early copy of a sixteenth-century figure by Giambologna that first formed the Fountain di Fiorenza at the Villa Castello, Florence, but was moved to the Piano della Figurina at the Villa Petraia, near Florence in 1788. At Wilton she is accompanied by the *Venus de Medici* (Fig. 4.44) standing on the steps of the Loggia; a simple open-fronted building (now enclosed) constructed

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507 T. Appleby, 'The Duke of Devonshire's Villa at Chiswick', *Country Gentleman's Companion*, 30 October 1855, pp. 69-70, p. 70. *Acacia Robinia inermis* has been renamed *Robinia 'Unbraculifera'* (syn. 'Inermis'). It is still used commercially to produce the 'Roundhead' or 'Mophead' *Acacia* although it is usually grafted onto a stronger rootstock.


510 The *Venus Anadyomene* is the figure of Venus Emerging from the Sea.

to look down onto the parterre that surrounded the *Venus Anadyomene*.\footnote{The Venus de Medici was shown in the 1857 chromolithograph by Edward Adveno Brooke (see Fig. 4.46) although she has now moved from the centre of the steps to the side, with her vacated position being taken by the Venus and Cupid. It is not clear when the group of Venus and Cupid was introduced to the garden.} In the eighteenth century it was known that two different statues of Venus, one with Cupid pleading for the return of his silver quiver and the other, the *Venus Spinaria*, in the act of removing a thorn from her foot, had dominated the great formal garden laid out at Wilton by Isaac de Caus in the 1630s.\footnote{David R. Coffin, 'Venus in the Garden of Wilton House', *Source-Notes in the History of Art* (2001), pp. 25-31, p. 29.} Wyatt’s formal garden therefore had at its heart two figures of Venus that encapsulated two different messages. Firstly, they represented two of the greatest Medici villa gardens, and secondly they illustrated the Italian associations of the earlier de Caus garden.\footnote{Coffin has stressed John Aubrey’s description of the two pavilions of the garden front of the house as being ‘all al Italiano’ which was first published in 1847, Ibid., p. 29. Luke Morgan has identified how Isaac de Caus’ brother, Salomon, designed gardens that were shaped by the Italian Renaissance and particularly the Medici villa gardens. Luke Morgan, *Nature as Model: Salomon De Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 200.} *Venus Anadyomene* was selected for her position outside the library by Westmacott sometime before 1814. He was retained by the 11th Earl during the Wyatt and Wyatville alterations to advise on the re-siting of the sculptor collection, and was later to be involved with Wyatville in the creation of the Belton Hall Conservatory garden.\footnote{Mr. Westmacott has been consulted about the arrangement and display of the first class...’ sculpture at Wilton. Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales* 18 vols (London: n. pub., 1814), 15, part 2, p. 337.} Westmacott had studied in Florence and Rome receiving the Pope’s Medal from the *Accademia di San Luca* in 1795.\footnote{Marie Busco, *Sir Richard Westmacott, Sculptor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 9.} He may therefore, have seen Giambologna’s original *Venus Anadyomene* in the gardens of the Villa Petraia. However, Westmacott’s role in the Wilton garden appears to have been exaggerated in the twentieth century when Derek Clifford explained that,}

by the eighteen-thirties the old architectural style was sufficiently rehabilitated for the gardens at Wilton to be remade in what was allegedly the Italian fashion, using what little was left of

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512 The Venus de Medici was shown in the 1857 chromolithograph by Edward Adveno Brooke (see Fig. 4.46) although she has now moved from the centre of the steps to the side, with her vacated position being taken by the Venus and Cupid. It is not clear when the group of Venus and Cupid was introduced to the garden.
514 Coffin has stressed John Aubrey’s description of the two pavilions of the garden front of the house as being ‘all al Italiano’ which was first published in 1847, Ibid., p. 29. Luke Morgan has identified how Isaac de Caus’ brother, Salomon, designed gardens that were shaped by the Italian Renaissance and particularly the Medici villa gardens. Luke Morgan, *Nature as Model: Salomon De Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 200.
515 ‘Mr. Westmacott has been consulted about the arrangement and display of the first class...’ sculpture at Wilton. Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales* 18 vols (London: n. pub., 1814), 15, part 2, p. 337.
the old statuary and architectural features. The author of this new Italian garden at Wilton was none other than that ‘ingenious Mr Westmacott’, now Sir Richard, whose statue of the Duke of Bedford ornamented Repton’s garden in Russell Square.\textsuperscript{517}

Clifford presumably based this on an 1845 report in the gardening press that claimed Westmacott was responsible for the ‘geometrical flower garden’ at Wilton.\textsuperscript{518} Two articles published towards the end of the century contradicted this claim and in the process appear to come closer to the truth. They describe Westmacott working alongside Lady Catherine Pembroke, the daughter of Count Simon Woronzow the Russian Ambassador to England.\textsuperscript{519} She became the 11th Earl’s second wife in 1808, in the midst of the alterations to Wilton House, and she played an active role in the development of the estate for the rest of her life.

Lady Catherine’s personal papers confirm her close involvement in the garden including the design of the open loggia (Fig. 4.45) which looks down onto the parterre.\textsuperscript{520} She supervised the design of the parterre beds and the selection of many of the garden’s vases seeking advice on materials and designs direct from the manufacturers.\textsuperscript{521} Her papers are haphazard and largely undated, but they reveal that the garden took shape slowly, with Lady Catherine considering a different aspect almost annually between 1822 and 1828.\textsuperscript{522} It was then subjected to bouts of more

\textsuperscript{520} Drawings for various designs are mostly undated, but one is dated 25 November 1825. Lady Catherine Pembroke, Pembroke M.S.S., c 1823-48, Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, 2057/H3/34.
\textsuperscript{521} Ibid., Folder 2057/H3/33.
minor tinkering, by herself and her son, Sidney Herbert, through to the middle of the century. 523

In 1833 when Loudon visited for the first time he was charmed by a garden that met all the requirements of the fashionable formal flower garden despite some recent neglect:

The view from the library to the architectural flower-garden is the best of its kind; in the centre walk there is a fountain, and it terminates at the distance of several hundred yards... The flower-garden alluded to has an excellent general effect; the descent to it is by a broad flight of steps from the library and it has on one side an open pillared building, elevated so as to command a view of the whole garden, and of the park scenery beyond... The walks in the garden are bordered with yew tree boards rounded on the edges, instead of stone: these have been found to last ten years without repair. The beds are overgrown with shrubs or otherwise in an unsuitable state, the family not having resided here for several years. To have the proper effect, such a garden ought to be planted with low growing flowers, each compartment a mass of one sort, and every sort removed as soon as it goes out of flower, and supplied by another. The garden would then be looked down upon like a carpet from the library, and from the terrace walk that borders it on two sides. 524

Two years later Lady Catherine was writing to Lady Greville anxiously anticipating the arrival of cuttings despatched from Dropmore, Buckinghamshire to remedy the decline observed by Loudon and 'The wants of my poor flower garden which after 8 years absence I find in a most lamentable state and requiring complete renovation.' 525

In 1857 Edward Adveno Brooke accompanied his fine chromolithograph of the garden (Fig. 4.46) with a note that 'The Parterre has lately been improved under the direction of the Right Hon Sidney Herbert, the Earl's brother, who makes Wilton his frequent residence...' 526 Precisely what these improvements had entailed is not clear, although Loudon's reassurance that the wooden edging to the flower beds had lasted

523 Whilst this chapter focuses on the early formal garden up to 1830 the continued evolution of this garden beyond this date is included for completeness although its fundamental character did not alter.
ten years confirms that the fashionable parterre had been in place since the early 1820s.

Catherine’s major work in the garden was during the 1820s when her magpie-like instinct to borrow ideas from other gardens was curtailed by an apparent shortage of money. The only subject that rivalled her quest for new ideas was her concern to obtain a lower price or a cheaper solution. She wrote to Austen and Seeley, suppliers of garden ornaments, in search of a particular vase they had previously supplied to the Longs at Bromley Hill House.\(^{527}\) She sought out vases designed by Barry for Attree’s Villa, Brighton.\(^{528}\) She wrote seeking an estimate for a semi-circular seat identical to one she knew to be in the grounds at Dropmore\(^{529}\) and she obtained a sketch of a circular parterre from Drummond Castle.\(^{530}\) Catherine was plundering many British gardens for ideas, but they were all gardens or features that illustrated the Italian style.\(^{531}\) She considered using a mass-produced ‘Pompeian Vase’\(^{532}\), some ‘pretty troughs in terra cotta & sarcophagus shaped things in Italy for plants with some ornament of flower heads and draping which could easily be made ...by Austin’\(^{533}\), and she gave some thought to a ‘Drawing of a Tazza for Flowers to be done with the 4 little Boys in white marble in my Cupboard. Got at Rome in 1847.’\(^{534}\) These may be the same marble figures that were placed at the foot of the basin (Fig. 4.47) in the central pool. She did not exclusively focus on Italian images, but the consistency with

\(^{528}\) Ibid., 2057/H2/4. See section 6, pp. 200-205.
\(^{529}\) Ibid., 2057/H2/4.
\(^{530}\) Ibid., 2057/H3/ 34. See section 6, pp. 198-99.
\(^{531}\) Bromley Hill House has already been considered as the most complete example of a picturesque Italian villa and garden. See section 3, pp. 63-9. Attree’s Villa and Drummond Castle are discussed in relation to the work of Sir Charles Barry. See section 6, pp. 200-05, pp. 198-99. Semi circular seats are considered in the chapter on Pompeii. See section 5, pp. 169-72.
\(^{532}\) Pembroke, Wilts. R.O, Pembroke M.S.S. , Folder 2057/H3/33.
\(^{533}\) Ibid., 2057/H2/4.
\(^{534}\) Ibid., 2057/H3/33.
which she targeted other Italian gardens and Italian features suggests that she was continuing to develop Westmacott’s initial inspiration, embodied in the *Venus Anadyomene*, that this was an Italian Garden. However, it was not named the Italian Garden until 1895.535

As to what others thought of her garden; in 1828 Prince Pückler-Muskau declared ‘The Countess’s garden, upon which the library opens...is laid out in the old French style...extremely pretty and elegant’.536 Presumably he took his lead from the long established idea of a French parterre and not from the statue. In 1833 Loudon had noted its ‘Oriental air’ which he attributed to the adjacent towering Cedars of Lebanon on the lawn and ‘the fountain, and...the cases and other objects in the flower-garden.’537 In 1851 William Adam’s guide book to the Peaks had described the 6th Duke of Devonshire’s sculpture garden at Chatsworth (now the Rose Garden) as Oriental. It contained a set of glazed pierced earthenware seats similar to some at the Deepdene (see Fig. 3.39). More such seats were illustrated by Brooke at Wilton in 1857 and these can still be found in the Cloisters (Fig. 4.48). Many porcelain manufacturers were producing seats of this type and in 1839 James Mangles’ *Floral Calendar* advertised them as ‘the most recherché’ of the useful portable seats.538 It seems that at the Deepdene they were part of a planned eclecticism, but at Wilton Catherine was more likely to be in the pursuit of fashion. When a reporter for the *Gardeners’ Chronicle* visited Catherine’s garden in 1845 he saw only a ‘geometrical

535 The garden was named as the Italian Garden or classified as being in the Italian style in two articles from around this date. Roche, ‘Wilton’, p. 467, Anon., ‘Wilton House, Salisbury’, *Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 1, 4 June 1910, p. 362.
538 Mangles, *Calendar*, p. 89.
flower-garden', and indeed the central circular fountain surrounded by a symmetrical parterre and overlooked from the Loggia and the house was another example of the basic model for any fashionable flower garden at this period. Wilton's Italian style was distinguished particularly by the quality and number of its statues; a long established indicator of Italian style that was often thought inappropriate in the English climate. Neither the Italian style nor the Italian associations embodied in this garden made all other interpretations untenable. Wilton thus demonstrates how the Italian style and other more personal associations with Italy do not guarantee that every observer will detect and interpret them in the same way.

4.6 The Grange, Hampshire: An Italian Model for the Future

In 1968 David Watkin described the formal gardens that were laid out around The Grange, Hampshire during the 1820s as probably the first formal Italianate gardens of the nineteenth century. In 1974 he declared them to be the forerunner of the 'Italian revival of Nesfield and Barry'. In 1983 A. A. Tait dismissed the contemporary Conservatory extension that was added to this Greek Revival mansion because it provided 'less the effect of a group of temples, more that of Tweedledum and Tweedledee', although he was more impressed by the gardens 'ingeniously brought...up to date by expanding Wilkins' great podium to include an Italian terrace garden, distantly inspired by the Villa d'Este'. The Conservatory and the gardens were the creation of the architect, Charles Robert Cockerell, who also worked on the...
interior of The Grange. His role as a garden designer is not widely recognised, but was confirmed in his 1824 diary when, ‘setting out the landscape gardens and parks of Mr Jones and Mr Harper... first turned my attention to this subject as a fact of my profession.’ 544 By May 1824 he recorded that he was ‘much pleased with the effect of the garden’ at The Grange. 545

He created a magnificent first floor dining room, originally intended as a library, with views out across one of his four planned formal gardens. His Conservatory terminated a new enfilade of rooms that struck out from the south of the mansion. It was dominated by an Ionic portico that provided views to the south and the west across three more formal gardens also by Cockerell. Finally, he decorated the terrace to the east of the house, below Wilkins’ great Doric portico, with a semi-circular seat (Fig. 4.49) which is now the only real indicator of the original scheme. The house is reduced to a shell with the Conservatory being used as an auditorium in the summer months 546 (Fig. 4.50). To the south are remnants of the steps and terrace earthworks of two parterres, one of which was shown on an 1826 plan of Cockerell’s work (Fig. 4.51). Both parterres are attributed to Cockerell as both were in place by 1835 and contained by the same distinctive pierced perimeter wall that will later be shown to have been an important element in this Italian design. 547

544 Cockerell, RIBA COC/9/6, August 1824, pp. 44-5.
545 CR Cockerell, Diaries and Notebooks 1806 and 1821-33, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London, COC/9-10, 22 May 1824, COC/9/5.
547 Anon., Gardener's Magazine, 3 (1835), pp. 57-9, p. 57 and see section 5, pp. 165-66.
The metalwork and glasswork for the Conservatory were manufactured by Messrs. Jones and Clark of Birmingham who publicised the building's completion in the 1827 *Gardener's Magazine*, naming Cockerell as the architect 'who furnished the original design'. It is suggested that Cockerell used a design that originated with Wyatville and had been manufactured previously by Jones and Clark for Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire. Cockerell added an Ionic portico inspired by James "Athenian" Stuart's illustration of the Ionic Temple on the banks of the Athenian River Illisus for he described the site at The Grange with its 'inclination to the water & tufted trees finer & more luxuriant than ever grew on the banks of Illissus.

The suggestion that Cockerell adapted Wyatville's design for this Conservatory might explain his ultimate dissatisfaction with the completed roofline for he mused that an ogee-shaped alternative 'would glaze equally well and look much better'. This might appear an unlikely accompaniment to a Greek Revival mansion itself inspired by Stuart and Nicholas Revett's illustrations of the Temple of Theseus and the Thrasylic Monument, but it is understandable when The Grange's Conservatory is thought of as the progeny of the Conservatory at Sezincote, Gloucestershire, (Fig. 4.52) which is understood to have been designed by Cockerell's father sometime before 1820.

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549 In 1975 John Redmill had pondered who was responsible for the early iron and glass conservatory at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire noting its similarity to the one at The Grange and concluding 'Jones and Clark and Cockerell must have had a great deal to do with it'. Redmill, 'The Grange, Hampshire II', p. 245. By 1993 Edward Diestelkamp had defined that the internal design of the two Conservatories was identical, and that both had been manufactured by Clark and Jones. He argued that Wyatville was the architect of the Wollaton Hall Conservatory since the Jones and Clark records identified him as the designer of a cast iron screen used in that building, and ordered from the company the year after the Conservatory, in December 1823. Diestelkamp, 'Palaces', p. 50. Since Cockerell and Wyatville met in Lancaster in 1823 it is suggested that Cockerell adopted the glass and metalwork of the Wollaton Hall Conservatory on Wyatville's recommendation for use at The Grange. Linstrum, *Wyatville*, p. 50.

550 Charles Robert Cockerell, Cockerell MSS, 1824, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London, COC/10/1.

551 Cockerell, Diaries, 10 September 1824, COC/9/5.

Cockerell had spent seven years studying and travelling in Italy, Greece and Turkey and this had moulded a man who thought of himself as 'half a Mediterranean'. This was discernable in his initial reaction to The Grange. He jotted in his diary in 1824:

> clear beautiful day. blue sunshine serene with a few cotton clouds, freshness in the air, verdure, flowers, tranquillity most exhilarating, a day in which one blessed oneself...strolled abo: in the garden, a steady sunshine upon the building as clear a sky the lights & shades & reflections as in Greece. the rooks & jackdaws in the lime tree avenue sailing and cawing in the air brought home recollections of the acropolis. the buzzing of the blue flies & the flowers something of the aromatic scent of thyme. ...the variety of ground abot. affords points of view which remind me of the Villa d'Este & the ornamental character of that villa should be had in view in decorating this. Mr B. [Alexander Baring] wants persuading of its charms, if it were his own child he would feel them more – these works will render it more so & will attach him to it. there is nothing like it this side of Arcadia, yet full of defects & ill contrivance – in our view from front found it all of a bunch. wants length...

Cockerell rejected the shrubberies that architects such as Nash might have employed. Instead he chose parterres. He wanted a flat garden that would not detract from the scale of the mansion. Cockerell had also been deeply impressed by an excursion he made to the Deepdene in August 1824 where he discussed that villa with its creator, Hope, and studied his sketchbooks. He noted in his diary how Hope's 'new hots & conservatory & statue ....[were] projecting diagonally in order to preserve the view from the windows...'. One of the greatest difficulties he faced at The Grange was how to overcome the way in which Wilkins' peristyle enclosed and isolated the interior of the house from the exterior, rupturing a space that it was now fashionable to unite (Fig. 4.53). In 1820 Edward Fox, later the 4th Lord Holland, had commented on visiting The Grange that it was 'a very handsome house, formerly with a facade designed by Inigo Jones, but altered by Mr Drummond to a copy of the Parthenon. The effect is good, and the house better than could be expected; but the columns are

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553 Cockerell quoted in Watkin, Cockerell, p. xxi.
554 Cockerell, RIBA, COC/10/1.
not stone, and it will be impossible to make any additions.\textsuperscript{557} Cockerell’s parterres would make the most of the views down from his new elevated Conservatory and dining room lessening the impact of this important defect and going some way to achieving the impossible.

Cockerell’s visit to the Deepdene came just after Hope had completed the Conservatory and the Sculpture Gallery there in 1823. This would be expected to direct the after-dinner conversation mentioned by Cockerell to Hope’s views on gardens, his admiration for Italian gardens and his essay, \textit{The Art of Gardening}. Hope must have pointed out how his new enfilade embodied his belief that a mansion should ‘shoot out as it were ... into certain more or less extended ramifications of arcades, porticoes, terraces, parterres, trelliages, avenues, and other such still splendid embellishments of art...’\textsuperscript{558} This resonated with Cockerell and his father’s design for the Conservatory at Sezincote, and was repeated in the Conservatory he was about to add to The Grange.

Reading Hope’s essay Cockerell might also have discovered his plea for symmetry in the garden and his view that decorative detail complimented massive structures:

\begin{quote}
Nature herself, in her smaller and more elaborate, and if I may so call them, choicer bits of every different reign, superadds those features of regular symmetry of colours and shapes, which not only form a more striking contrast with the more desultory modifications of her huger masses, but intrinsically, in a smaller space, produce a greater effect than the former can display. Examine the radii of the snow spangle, the capsules of the seed, the wings, the antennae, the rings, the stigmata of the insect and the butterfly, nay, even in man and beasts, the features of the face, and the configuration of the eye, and we shall find in all these more minute, more finished, and more centrical productions of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animals kingdoms, reigns the nicest symmetry or outline and correspondence of parts...\textsuperscript{559}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{558} Hope, ‘Gardening’, pp. 138-39.
\textsuperscript{559} Ibid., pp.142-43.
Similarly, Hope’s enjoyment of Art in the garden surrounding the house:

A gentleman’s country residence... can only have room, in its immediate vicinity, for the more concentrated beauties of art. In this narrow circle, if we wish for variety, for contrast, and for brokenness of levels, we can only seek it in arcades and in terraces, in steps, balustrades, regular slopes, parapets, and such like: we cannot find space for the rock and the precipice... Here, if we desire to collect the elegant forms, vivid colours, and varied fragrance of the choicest shrubs and plants, whether exotics, or only mere natives - oranges, magnolias, and rhododendrons, or mere roses and lilies and hyacinths - we still must confine them in the boxes, the pots, or the beds of some sort of parterre; we cannot give them the appearance of spontaneously growing from amongst weeds and briars.

Cockerell’s response was to establish at The Grange the two largest and most complex parterres de broderie created during this period. Nineteenth century photographs (Figs. 4.54 and 4.55), some of which pre-date 1869, show the parterres liberally decorated with vases and garden ornaments. The larger, lower garden had a central circular parterre of white gravel defined by narrow curving trails of a darker mineral, planted with short columnar evergreens, all contained within a narrow turf band. This was itself enclosed within a rectangular parterre of cut turf edged with low clipped evergreens. The rectangular surrounding parterre included fan-shaped motifs that each comprised five separate beds. A central circular bronze basin supported by three female figures, set within a circular pool, completed the lower parterre. The whole was edged on the south and east sides by gravel paths and clipped lollipop trees, possibly of Portuguese laurel. The upper parterre was of simpler design with more lollipop trees, vases and another central circular water basin supported by three putti set within a plain circular bed of white gravel. The planting here was also simpler with turf rectangular beds and evergreens clipped into cubes. The dominant impression of these parterres was of symmetry and decoration.

560 Ibid., pp.139-40.
561 Shirley Evans has suggested that the earliest nineteenth-century parterre de broderies were laid out by William Sawrey Giplin at Audley End in 1831 before William Andrews Nesfield took up the art in earnest. Shirley Rose Evans, ‘William Andrews Nesfield (1793-1881): Artist and Landscape Designer’, (unpublished PhD, Falmouth University, 2007), p. Clearly Cockerell’s work at The Grange anticipates this.
562 Some photographs can be accurately dated to before 1869 because they show the frieze on the mansion before it was punctured with windows by the architect, John Cox.
A short reading list that Cockerell noted in his diary provides clues to the sources he may have consulted in developing these designs. He noted down 'James translated Blondel's Gardening it is called James' Gardening' and 'The villa garden Directory by Nicol. 1810 for Park & Hunter – saw this book at B of London'. The first was a well known French text translated by the architect, John James, and first published in this country in 1712. In Cockerell's day it was mistakenly understood that the original French text was by the architect, Alexander Jean Baptiste Le Blond, who had studied under le Nôtre. Le Blond was responsible for the plates making this a text that would obviously appeal to another architect. James explained the different types of parterre; the *parterre de broderie*, parterres of compartments and parterres of cut-work as well as parterres of grass laid out in the English manner. Cockerell responded to this variety by creating two *parterres de broderie* below the Conservatory, a parterre of inconclusive style to the west of the Conservatory and another, more akin to a simple knot garden, below the library. The five pronged fan shapes in his *parterres de broderie* on the lower level followed designs suggested by James (Figs. 4.56 and 4.57). The second source suggested by Cockerell's reading list was Nicol's *The Villa Garden Directory, or Monthly Index of Work, to be done in town and villa gardens, shrubberies and parterres: with hints on the treatment of shrubs and flowers, usually kept in the green-room, the lobby, and the drawing-room*.

563 Cockerell, RIBA COC/9/6. The second rather cryptic entry in the reading list is a reference to *The villa garden directory, or monthly index of work, to be done in town and villa gardens, shrubberies and parterres: with hints on the treatment of shrubs and flowers* first published in 1809 with a 'much improved' edition in 1810. It was printed by Constable, Hunter, Park & Hunter. 564 In fact it was by the architect, Antoine Joseph Dezaillier d'Argenville. For a full explanation of the confusion surrounding the authorship see Blanche Henry, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800 Comprising a History and Bibliography of Botanical and Horticultural Books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland from the Earliest times until 1800* special edn 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2, pp. 491-93. 565 John James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening: Wherein is Fully Handled all that relates to Fine Gardens, Commonly called Pleasure-Gardens, as Parterres, Groves, Bowling-Greens, &c.* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1712; repr. 1969), p. 32.
Whilst its focus was the urban villa some of the general advice informed Cockerell’s parterres at The Grange such that ‘The garden of a villa should not be boxed in by high walls or hedges’ and ‘parterres can only be admissible, where every shrub and flower in it may be distinctly seen.’

The Grange’s parterre of minerals and turf, partly inspired by James’ *Theory and Practice of Gardening*, established the model that William Andrews Nesfield was to follow almost two decades later. Nesfield is known to have visited The Grange before Cockerell added the curved seat to the east front as he recorded this view in a well executed watercolour (Fig. 4.58). The quality of this painting suggests it was done around the time that Nesfield was accepted as a member of the Old Watercolour Society. He became an associate in February 1823 and a full member in June of the same year. His long term association with his future brother-in-law, the architect Anthony Salvin, also began in 1823 when they took lodgings together in London, and it is possible that Salvin encouraged Nesfield to pay an early visit to such an architecturally significant house as The Grange. Thus, Nesfield’s gardening career, which was to be defined by parterres influenced by Le Blond’s engravings, may have been inspired by knowledge of, or even sight of, the construction of Cockerell’s parterres at The Grange to the same model.

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Finally, Cockerell's gravel path that led to a simple semi-circular seat (see Fig 4.49) below the Doric portico is considered further when discussing Pompeian influences on the Italian garden.\(^{570}\) It is sufficient to note here that the simplicity of this part of the garden was a deliberate contrast to the elaborate parterres, and reflected the seat's origins, as a copy of the Tomb of Mammia at Pompeii. Cockerell designed this terrace as a sombre response to Wilkins' massive portico. In January 1823 he observed:

> walked over the grounds with him [the owner, Alexander Baring later 1st Lord Ashburnham] & his son Mr. Bingham Baring. viewed it from ground opposite to river. nothing can be finer more classical or like the finest Poussino, it realises the most fanciful representations of the painters pencil or the poets description. Its elevation or terraces gives it that which is essential to the effect of Grecian arge & which no modern imitations possess – it has also dimensions seldom obtained & has thereby that imposing aspect which awes & seems to have a proportionate scale without surrounding objects of nature...\(^{571}\)

Cockerell's isolated tomb seat created the air of contemplation he felt to be in keeping with the Doric portico. It was also to influence one of Cockerell's closest friends, Sir Charles Barry, whose contribution as the most influential designer of Italian gardens in England at the middle of the nineteenth century will be evaluated later.\(^{572}\)

Whilst there is no evidence that Cockerell or his contemporaries named this garden the Italian Garden, the number and diversity of the Italian images and associations shining through this design are significant. Some of his objectives, such as his desire for a flat garden that would not obscure the mansion or diminish its scale, were rational and grounded in aesthetics. Other responses such as his comparison of the site with the Villa d'Este were entirely emotional. This garden looked to the picturesque Italian gardens of the Deepdene and Bromley Hill House in its clever use of levels and the irregular profile of the composition of the Conservatory and the parterres

\(^{570}\) See section 5, pp. 169-70.

\(^{571}\) Charles Robert Cockerell's Diary, quoted in Watkin, Cockerell, pp. 69-70.

scattered around the mansion, but it also embraced whole-heartedly the decoration and the symmetry of the *parterre de broderie*. This had begun, in Repton’s hands, as an indicator of the French style and moved on to represent the Italian style in Kennedy’s hands. The Grange also confirmed the migration of the flower garden back to the house by combining a parterre with the most monolithic of Greek Revivalist houses. Whilst it was not a widely visited garden in its day it was familiar to Barry who became a leading garden designer in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Cockerell’s garden was thus a confident expression of early nineteenth-century aesthetics that integrated the picturesque with the formal.

This analysis began by questioning Elliott’s view that Repton spawned the fashion for the Italian gardens that grew up after his death. It has been demonstrated that Repton was consistently devoted to the French style and that his misguided theory of garden history, which saw the French style as a derivative of the Italian style, did not operate unchallenged and was not the only force behind the growing popularity of the Italian style. Some of the most important Italian Gardens of the period relied upon their owners and designers intimate knowledge of Italy and its gardens. Camelford knew the Vatican gardens, Kennedy was familiar with gardens around Florence and Rome and Cockerell had clearly seen the Villa d’Este. Mount Edgcumbe’s Conservatory had its associations with the Pope’s Garden on the Quirinal Hill, Rome. Chatsworth had its Elizabethan inspired Belvedere that was quickly re-assimilated as Italian under the influence of Trentham Hall and Osborne House. A host of codified images of Italian style were being developed from divided stairs to evergreen planting to statuary, but there were also less obvious more personal Italian associations such as the relationship of the Wilton House Italian Garden to the Florentine Villa Petraia.
Why the Italian garden should take precedence over the French garden is not easy to define. It appears to spring from the unity of many different interests. It may have been in part the French style’s association with a dwindling eighteenth-century aesthetic however, in its favour it was strongly linked to the nineteenth-century burgeoning idea of the garden as a feminine space. Loudon certainly placed the Italian garden at the head of an implied hierarchy of styles making it the opening entry in his review of national gardening styles. Repton’s misplaced theory of garden history would have made some contribution; especially as it was mirrored by a similar theory in the field of architectural history. It was also the embodiment of Price and Hope’s picturesque model of the Italian terrace garden and a continuing fascination with archaeology and the sites of Herculaneum and Pompeii which kept Italy in the public imagination and will be analysed next to identify the contribution that they made in shaping the Italian garden in England.

5. POMPEII IN THE ITALIAN GARDEN

The long and arduous struggle for political freedom in Italy, known as The Risorgimento, is usually said to have begun in 1815 with the Congress of Vienna.\(^{574}\) It did not end until 1861 with the declaration of Vittorio Emmanuelle II as head of the newly unified Kingdom of Italy. The popularity of the cause in England was symbolised by the rapturous reception given to Giuseppe Garibaldi when he visited in 1864. This chapter considers how the slow emergence of Italy as a unified country altered the English perception of classical Rome and how this was reflected in the garden. Contemporary sources on ancient Roman gardens are also analysed together with the Italian imagery derived from the continuing excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The impact of two particularly strong Pompeian motifs; a curved tomb seat or \textit{schola} and a distinctive pierced fish-scale wall are also traced.

5.1 From Ancient Rome to a Unified Italy: Changing Receptions

The gardens of Mount Edgcumbe illustrate the changing perception towards classicism in the early nineteenth century. In 1812 Rev. Richard Warner's guidebook noted that the 'antique cinerary urns and sarcophagi' decorating a small quarry imitated 'the appearance of a Roman cemetery...The whole effect is whimsical, and the deepness of the shade makes this place a most refreshing retreat in hot weather.'\(^{575}\) By 1820 C. S. Gilbert found the effect of the same scene 'highly romantic...impart[ing] many pleasant sensations to the classic mind.'\(^{576}\) Both men were affected more by the romantic appeal of the garden than its classical imagery.

\(^{574}\) The Congress of Vienna was convened in April 1814 to redraw the map of Europe after Napoleon's abdication. Generally, the boundaries of the many small states that existed in Italy before Napoleon's invasion were reinstated. The Congress of Vienna closed in June 1815.


and this was reflected in the garden’s name: the Fern Dell. By 1842 the Gardener’s Magazine noted the garden to be ‘in imitation of an ancient Roman burying-ground, which contains a great many altars and urns, is so covered with evergreens, that it is not even mentioned in the guide-book’.\(^{577}\) The adjacent formal garden which has previously been discussed with its Conservatory, potted citrus trees, terracing and marble fountain was known as the Italian Garden as much in deference to these features as to the classically inspired statues.\(^{578}\) In the eighteenth-century the classical imagery of the statues and the funerary urns would have dominated the inspiration behind, and responses to, these gardens. In the nineteenth century classicism was subordinated to architectural and horticultural images. In the Dell the romance of the scene dominated, and in the Italian Garden, the geographic and cultural associations of the emerging unified nation of Italy were to the fore.

David Dewing has noted a similar response in James Leigh Hunt’s interpretation of the garden belonging to the artist, Benjamin West.\(^{579}\) In his autobiography of 1850, Hunt described this garden at 14 Newman Street, Marylebone as having ‘an Italian look’ about it.\(^{580}\) Between 1802 and 1808 West had painted his typical suburban middle-class garden dressed with pot plants, gravel walks and herbaceous beds (Fig. 5.1). What singled it out as Italian in Hunt’s eyes was the modest yet distinctive selection of classical statuary lining the walk that connected West’s gallery with his studio at the end of the garden. In contrast Dewing has interpreted West’s garden as an expression of his classical training as an artist noting a similar use of statuary in the


\(^{578}\) The seven statues were the Venus de Medici, Bacchus, Apollo Belvedere, Antinous, Flora, Ceres and the Discobulus.


contemporary garden of the artist, Paul Sandby (Fig. 5.2). It is suggested that West’s garden, shaped by his eighteenth-century classical education, was re-interpreted by the younger Hunt as a nineteenth-century Italian garden. Mount Edgcumbe and West’s London garden illustrate how classical associations were subordinated to rational images which in turn encouraged the absorption of everyday motifs and artefacts from Pompeii and Herculaneum into the nineteenth-century Italian garden.

5.2 The Popularity of Pompeii and the Gardens of Ancient Rome
Throughout the eighteenth century Pompeii and Herculaneum had been jealously guarded by their Bourbon administrators to the extent that sketching the sites and taking notes were both forbidden. The usual practice of taking casts of ancient statues was not adopted until 1860 when the Naples museum that housed them came under State ownership. The sense of mystery surrounding the excavations was further exaggerated by the difficulty that English travellers faced in gaining access to Italy during the hostilities with France that ran almost uninterrupted from 1796 to 1815. All of this combined to ensure that the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum remained popular tourist attractions that also fired the imagination of the English at home.

Domestic interest was encouraged by many different publications including the excavation reports for individual properties such as that for the House of Adonis (VI.vii.18), Via di Mercurio, Pompeii which was published in 1838\textsuperscript{581} and two small informative volumes on Pompeii published by the Society for the Diffusion of

Knowledge in 1831. The most influential text was Sir William Gell and John Peter Gandy's *Pompeiana* which first appeared in 1817-19. Boys were introduced to the everyday life of ancient Rome in school texts such as *Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus with notes and excursuses of the manners and customs of the Romans* which included a detailed description of the hero's imaginary villa and a lengthy discussion of the Ancient Roman art of gardening that was drawn from primary sources. It included observations on topiary that are 'evident from the frescoes at Pompeii, representing gardens.' Many libraries contained lavish French volumes reflecting their privileged access to the ancient sites under Napoleon and the consequent influence of the Pompeian style on French gardens. Charles Percier and Pierre-Françoise-Léonard Fontaine illustrated a classical tank beneath a pergola in the grounds of the Villa Albani, Rome. This particular publication was so accurate that Arthur Bolton continued to rely upon many of their plans in the expanded 1919 edition of his own *Gardens of Italy*. Percier's work was also well known in England. Thomas Hope was a friend and Prince Albert will be shown to have consulted the text regarding the development of the grounds at Osborne House, Isle of Wight. Humphry Repton knew of Percier and Fontaine's work agreeing with them.

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583 *Gallus* was first published in 1838 and was re-published frequently throughout the nineteenth century.
588 See section 7, p. 274.
in print in 1816\footnote{Humphry Repton, \textit{Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening}, 1816 reprinted in Loudon, \textit{Works of Humphry Repton}, p. 482.} and Sir Charles Barry was still consulting their illustrations in 1840.\footnote{Barry provided the Duchess of Buccleuth with a reading list on `garden architecture' that included this title. Charles Barry, \textit{Letter to Duchess of Buccleuth 1 December 1840}, Muniments Room, Drumlanrig Castle, Bundle 1162.}

There were a large number of hugely popular artistic and literary recreations of ancient Roman culture including John Martin's dramatic 1822 scene, \textit{Destruction of Pompeii}, the architect James Pennethorne's \textit{Drawn Restoration of the Forum Romanum}, published in 1825 and Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton's, 1834 novel, \textit{The Last Days of Pompeii}. This became the most widely read historical novel after Sir Walter Scott's, \textit{Waverley}.\footnote{For further information on contemporary novels set in Pompeii and histories of ancient Rome see Catherine Edwards, 'The Roads to Rome', in \textit{Imagining Rome: British Artists and Rome in the Nineteenth Century}, ed. by Michael Liversidge and Catherine Edwards, (Bristol: Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996), pp. 8-19, pp. 14-15.} Its popularity was such that sheet music was published to accompany the words of a song performed by one of the central characters, the Flower Seller.\footnote{John J. Blockley, \textit{Songs of Pompeii} (London: Chappell, c 1835).} Bulwer-Lytton wrote his novel while staying in Naples in the winter of 1832-33 and dedicated it to Gell who had been his guide to the ruined city.\footnote{Edward Bulwer-Lytton dedication to Sir William Gell, \textit{The Last Days of Pompeii}, 21 September, 1834 (London: 1834) quoted in Stephen Harrison, 'Bulwer-Lytton's \textit{The Last Days of Pompeii}: Recreating the City', Ruins and Reconstruction: Pompeii in the Popular Imagination Conference, University of Bristol 17-19 July 2007.} It caught the essence of Pompeii and the public's desire to 'people once more those deserted streets, to repair those graceful ruins, to reanimate the bones which were yet spared to his survey; to traverse the gulf of eighteen centuries, and to wake to a second existence - the City of the Dead!'\footnote{Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, \textit{The Last Days of Pompeii} (London: Routledge, 1873), preface to the 1834 edition, p. v.} During the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s those who could not visit the sites in Italy might tour the London panoramas that depicted
ancient Rome, and in 1851 the Great Exhibition included a Pompeian Hall (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4) that was later moved to Sydenham Park.\(^{595}\)

The triumph of Waterloo encouraged some to draw parallels between the cultures of modern England and ancient Rome. Thus, in 1834 the sight of the inferno engulfing the Houses of Parliament inspired Joseph Mallord William Turner to paint *Rome Burning* and Thomas Arnold’s epic, *History of Rome*, published between 1838 and 1842 declared:

> We have lived in a period rich in historical lessons beyond all former example; we have witnessed one of the great seasons of movement in the life of mankind, in which the arts of peace and war, political parties and principles, philosophy and religion, in all their manifold forms and influences, have been developed with extraordinary force and freedom. Our own past experience has thus thrown a brighter light upon the remoter past...It is not claiming too much to say, that the growth of the Roman Commonwealth, the true character of its parties, the causes and tendencies of its revolutions, and the spirit of its peoples and its laws, ought to be understood by none as well as by those who have grown up under the laws, who have been engaged in the parties, who are themselves citizens of our kingly commonwealth of England.\(^{596}\)

Pompeii and classical Rome were both depicted in Charles Dickens’ widely circulated *Pictures from Italy*, published in 1846, where two of the four woodcuts were devoted to the Coliseum and ‘Pompeii: the Street of the Tombs’\(^{597}\) (Fig. 5.5). John Bowen has charted the Pompeian influence that permeated Dickens’ novels following his visit to Italy in 1844 and 1845. In *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son*, published in instalments during 1847 and 1848, Cornelia, the daughter of Dr. Blimber who ran the Academy, was ‘dry and sandy with working in the graves of dead languages. None of your live languages for Miss Blimber. They must be dead - stone dead - and then Miss Blimber dug them up, like a Ghoul.’ Whilst if Cornelia, ‘could have known Cicero, and been his friend and talked with him in his retirement at Tusculum (beau–ti–ful

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Tusculum)...she could have died contented'. In *Little Dorrit* published between 1855 and 1857 Dickens had Meagles return from his Italian tour bearing souvenirs in the form of ‘morsels of tessellated pavement from Herculaneum and Pompeii, like petrified minced veal’. Images of ancient Rome, particularly the archaeological finds at Pompeii, gripped the nineteenth-century English imagination.

In 1811 Eustace's popular tour guide described Julius Caesar's garden, reproduced Horace's description of a pleasure garden on the Esquiline Hill, and noted that the pseudonym for the Pincian Hill in Rome was the *Collis Hortulorum* or, Hill of Gardens: a particularly evocative image for nineteenth-century visitors who flocked to promenade in the fashionable Pincio Gardens, above the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. In 1830 the tourist Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, saw Pompeii through the closing images of Thomas Babington Macaulay's poem of the same name. Both saw ruins set aglow by flowers, greenery and fragrance. Greville recorded excitedly in his diary:

> Yesterday to Pompeii, far better worth seeing than anything else in Italy. Who can look at other ruins after this?...walked half way round the wall and to the Amphitheatre...the profusion and brilliancy of the wild flowers make it quite a garden –

> Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice art
> In beds and curious knots, bit nature boon
> Pours forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain.

In 1842, Antoine Claude Pasquin Valery, Librarian of the Royal Libraries of Versailles and Trianon, published an English translation of his travel diary noting that 'The villa of Diomedes, in the suburbs, [is] the finest in Pompeii...[and] the xystum,

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600 Eustace, *Tour through Italy*, 4, pp.189-90.
601 In 1819 Thomas Babington Macaulay received the Chancellor's Gold Medal from the University of Cambridge for his poem, Pompeii. Quoted in *Ruins and Reconstructions: Pompeii in the Popular Imagination Conference*, University of Bristol, 17-19 July 2007.
or gallery [was] set out with flowers and shrubs. This villa’s garden had been the setting for the closing lines of Bulwer-Lytton’s novel.

Some English tourists inevitably mixed with the growing band of English residents in Italy. In 1830 Gell, a prominent antiquarian and keen gardener who lived in Naples, entertained Greville who tantalisingly recalled his home, Boschetto Gellio, as ‘his eggshell of a house and pretty garden, which he planted himself ten years ago... He was very agreeable with stories of Pompeii, old walls, and ruined cities...’ Given the popularity of the imagined scenes of Pompeian life in *The Last Days of Pompeii*, which Bulwer-Lytton dedicated to Gell, it would be natural that his enthusiasm for gardening would inspire discussions of the Pompeian garden.

It is to be expected that gardens and gardeners were caught up in this national fascination with Pompeii and that a wide range of sources, and not just mainstream horticultural texts, were consulted by those seeking images of Pompeii to incorporate into their Italian gardens. Loudon’s *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* included a lengthy description of ancient Roman gardens, although he did not draw his readers’ attention to the garden history archive contained in Pompeian frescoes until the 1834 edition. Bulwer-Lytton’s image of the Pompeian villa garden explained the ‘wall was frequently tinted to deceive the eye as to its extent, imitating trees, birds, temples &c., in perspective – a meretricious delusion which the graceful pedantry of Pliny himself

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604 Gell was one of Queen Caroline’s two Chamberlains: the other being Craven Keppel. Gell went to live in Italy when Caroline left England in 1814. He was also a close friend of Sir Walter Scott who was the first to christen Pompeii the City of the Dead.
adopted, with a complacent pride in its ingenuity.\footnote{Bulwer-Lytton, \textit{Pompeii}, p. 30.} Loudon described the gardens of Lucullus in the Bay of Naples made up of ‘vast edifices projecting into the sea: of immense artificial elevations: of plains formed where mountains formerly stood, and of vast pieces of water.’\footnote{Loudon, \textit{Encyclopaedia of Gardening}, (1822), p. 8.} The 1834 edition described the Villa of Sallust in the Quirinal Hills of Rome which was so vast that when it was later sub-divided it formed the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi and the Villa Barbarini. The Sallust gardens had been decorated with, ‘flower parterres, streams, sculpture, seats, views across the city, porticoes and walks’.\footnote{Loudon, \textit{Encyclopaedia of Gardening}, (1834), p. 15.} Such features were transported to the heart of English gardening when Digby Wyatt cited the Villa Ludovisi as an inspiration for Paxton’s setting of the Crystal Palace.\footnote{Wyatt, \textit{Crystal Palace}, p. 35.} However, ancient Roman gardens were not universally admired, and in 1834 Loudon condemned the Villa Adriana, near Tivoli as ‘more of a place than a garden...These ruins, which we examined in 1819, are standing evidences of excellent masonry, but afford no proof of refined taste in either architecture or gardening.’\footnote{Loudon, \textit{Encyclopaedia of Gardening}, (1834), pp. 21-2.} This echoed Walter Savage Landor’s reservations that, ‘We Englishmen talk of \textit{planting} a garden [when] the modern Italians and ancient Roman’s talk of \textit{building} one’.\footnote{Walter Savage Landor from \textit{Imaginary Conversations} quoted in Geoffrey Taylor, \textit{The Victorian Flower Garden} (London: Skeffington, 1952), p. 29. This notion of the architectural Italian garden had a long tradition for in 1909, Sir Osbert Sitwell commented on his father’s dislike of flowers: ‘No man knew or cared less, for he had early imbibed the Mediterranean conception, imposed by brightness of climate, that a garden is a place of rest and peace, and in no way intended for a display of blossoms (for that you had a “flower garden” away from the house and hidden)...’ \textit{preface} to Sir George Sitwell, \textit{On the Making of Gardens} (London: Dropmore, 1949), p. vii.} Yet such excesses might be calmed by images of the gardens of Tarquinius Superbus which were filled with the blossom of roses, lilies and poppies.\footnote{John Claudius Loudon, \textit{An Encyclopaedia of Gardening Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, floriculture, arboriculture and landscape-gardening}, 2nd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), p. 15. Although two years earlier Loudon only mentioned roses and poppies in Tarquinius Superbus’ garden. Loudon, \textit{Encyclopaedia of Gardening}, (1822), p. 8.} Flowers and perfume were among the most vivid images of the ancient
Roman garden. Loudon recalled the scented trees of Virgil’s and Propertius’ gardens, and whilst flowers were ‘rare in Roman gardens under the kings’ under Augustus,

the luxury of flowers...was carried to the extreme of folly. Heliogabalus caused his beds, his apartments, and the porticoes of his palace to be strewed with flowers. Among these, roses were the sort chiefly employed, the taste for that flower being supposed to be introduced from Egypt, where, as Athenaeus informs us, Cleopatra paid a talent for the roses expended at one supper...Columella enumerates the rose, the lily, the hyacinth, and the gilly-flower, as flowers which may embellish the kitchen-garden; and he mentions in particular a place set apart for the production of late roses...

The recurrent theme of perfumed gardens may have served to distinguishing them, in the imagination at least, from the unavoidable stench that made such a strong impression on English travellers in modern day Italy. Bulwer-Lytton recalled in the preface to his novel how, ‘the country girls stationed at frequent intervals with baskets of fruit, and flowers [were] more alluring to the ancient Italians than to their descendants (with whom, indeed, “latet anguis in herba” a disease seems lurking in every violet and rose).’ A disdainful footnote explained:

The modern Italians, especially those of the more southern parts of Italy, have a peculiar horror of perfumes; they consider them remarkably unwholesome; and the Roman or Neapolitan lady requests her visitors not to use them. What is very strange, the nostril so susceptible of a perfume is wonderfully obtruse to its reverse. You may literally call Rome “Sentina Gentium” – the sink of nations.

Bulwer-Lytton returned time and again to the theme of ‘odiferous’ flowers; myrtle, violet and jasmine in a manner that was reminiscent of Pliny the Younger’s perfumed roses at Tusculum and the violet perfumed terrace below his seaside villa, Laurentium.

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614 Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, (1824), p. 15.
615 Ibid., p. 13.
616 Ibid., p. 13. The rose of Heliogabalus was later one of the most famous of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema’s images of Ancient Rome, 1888.
617 Bulwer-Lytton, Pompeii, p. 16.
618 Ibid., p. 423.
620 Ibid., 1, Book II, Letter XVII to Gallus, p. 111.
In 1746 William Melroth published the first complete English translation of Pliny's *Letters* making them accessible to a wider audience. They had long been recognised as the single most important scholarly source of information for anyone interested in recreating the villas of ancient Rome, and they had given rise to a host of historic reconstructions of Tusculum and Laurentium. The first English reconstruction by Robert Castell in 1728 supplemented information from Pliny's *Letters* with Vitruvius' architectural writings and the 'villa' writings of Columella and Varo.\(^{621}\) Earlier recreations had been attempted in Italy by Vincenzo Scamozzi\(^{622}\) and in France by Jean-François Félibien des Avaux.\(^{623}\) Félibien's and Castell's works were familiar to the English nineteenth-century gardener. Both were cited by Loudon in his 1824 history of Roman gardening which also reproduced Castell's engravings of Tusculum and Laurentinum.\(^{624}\) Scamozzi's work had been re-published in 1819 as *Le Palais de Scaurus, ou Description d'une Maison Romaine* by François Mazois, the foremost archaeologist working in Naples at the time.\(^{625}\) The gardening public might have consulted all of these and Daniel Malthus' criticism of Castell's work in the preface to his 1783 translation of Rene Louis Gérardin's, *De la Composition des Paysages*\(^{626}\) which was a text frequently recommended by Loudon and Repton.\(^{627}\) There was also Stephen Switzer's 1733 study of classical villas which presented the basic model of any fashionable formal flower garden of the period 1800 to 1830 in an ancient Roman guise:

\(^{627}\) Repton included Gérardin among the three writers or 'breviary' that had the greatest influence on his career as a landscape gardener.
The Areola of the Ancients seems to be a little square Garden, the same as we generally call the Private, or Privy Garden; which, as Pliny writes, was shaded all over with four Plane Trees, amongst which was a Marble Fountain, which spouted out Water in Abundance, playing up round the Plane Trees, and washing and cherishing both of them and the Grass-Plats under them...  

Melroth's translation was clearly influential, being consulted by the classically astute architect, Charles Robert Cockerell, who recorded one of his explanatory notes in his diary. Melroth inspired other translations being followed in 1751 by John Boyle, 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery, whose text gained authority from the family connection with Lord Burlington; Castell's patron. The growing number of translations contributed to the range of interpretations of Pliny's villa gardens. Their footnotes also incorporated snatches of contemporary horticultural advice as in Melroth's 1796 explanation that:

This walk is called in the original *Ambulatio* as what I have ventured to translate a *Terrace*, is by Pliny termed *Xystus*. The Ambulatio seems to be what we properly call a walk; the *Gestatio* was a place appropriated to the taking of exercise in their vehicles, and the *Xystus* in its original signification, according to the definition given by *Vitruvius*, was a large portico, wherein the athletic exercises were performed; tho' it is plainly used in this place for an open walk, ornamented much in the fashion of our old parterres; but its being raised above the walks which lay in the front, seems to justify its being called a *Terrace*.

Boyle and Melroth sometimes contradicted each other as when the path down the Tusculum hillside from the south facing terrace was described by Boyle as a 'gravel walk', but more correctly by Melroth as an 'easy slope'. Similarly Boyle saw a circus encircled by lawn where Melroth saw a meadow. Modern scholars have

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629 He noted down that Melroth had observed Pliny quoted Cato's definition of an orator as "a good man, skilled in the art of speaking." Cockerell, RIBA, COC 9/5, pp. 27-8.


sometimes contradicted Melroth and Boyle, and so where they saw a ‘terrace embellished with various figures’ on the south front of Tusculum modern translators have seen a parterre: a terrace ‘divided into a great number of geometrical figures’ or a terrace ‘laid out in different patterns’. Such sources were clearly impacting on garden design, for in 1829, a reader who sought advice from the *Gardener’s Magazine* explained that he was no classical scholar, but an admirer of the Grecian style of architecture who wished to lay out the grounds of his new home in ‘a manner which might be considered by my friends as classical.’ Loudon advised him to consult Castell’s *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated*, Pliny’s *Letters*, but ‘above all’ Gilbert Laing Meason’s *On the Landscape Architecture of the Great Painters of Italy*.

Such sources presented Loudon’s reader with an increasing diverse range of views on the ancient Roman villa garden. Castell’s approach was dominated by the formal gardens of the seventeenth century, whilst Melroth’s translation of Pliny presented a Brownian interpretation of the English landscape style. In an enlightening footnote he re-interpreted the Roman interest in topiary through the eighteenth-century’s prevailing distaste for the same declaring:

> It is very remarkable that this false taste in gardening, so justly rejected by modern improvements in that agreeable art, was introduced among the Romans at a time, when one should little expect to meet with any inelegancies in the polite refinements of life. Marius, the friend of Julius Caesar, and a peculiar favourite of Augustus,...said to have first taught his countrymen this monstrous method of distorting nature, by cutting trees into regular forms.*

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638 Ibid., p. 227.
In contrast Meason’s picturesque interpretation left the reader in no doubt that the most important feature of the Roman villa garden was the series of terraces that clustered around the irregular architecture.\textsuperscript{640} Meason quoted the observations of an unidentified French traveller:

On the highest terrace the praetorium was erected, which was the principle pavilion or body of the house, divided into summer and winter apartments, containing bed-rooms, eating-hall, baths, and covered walks. The rustic buildings of the farm were distributed upon the sides to the lower terraces, or at the end of the gardens. Such a villa leaned upon the slope of a hill, had only one front, and one exposure. But such as were elevated on the top of rising ground, possessed varied views. The esplanades or terraces were, on such sites, carried round, forming parallelograms one above another. The main body of the building was flanked by two towers, or often overlooked by a square one, in which was an apartment for the guests to sup in, and to enjoy the prospect.\textsuperscript{641}

Anyone taking the Gardener’s Magazine advice to consult Melroth’s translation of Pliny would have been introduced to Scamozzi’s re-creations of Pliny’s villa gardens and Melroth’s insight that the proposals of Félibien, Scamozzi and Castell ‘differ extremely among themselves as to the disposition of the several parts of this building [Laurentinum], and perhaps have rather pursued the idea of modern architecture, than that which is traced out in their original’.\textsuperscript{642} The same flaw extended to their gardens. Félibien’s 1699 plans of Tusculum and Laurentinum resonated to the designs of d’Argenville’s Theorie et Practice du Jardinage although he shunned the parterre de broderie which came the closest to the topiary complexities described by Pliny. He excluded the parterre de broderie to minimise what current fashion regarded as the least attractive aspect of Pliny’s garden: the representational topiary dismissed in the English translation of Theorie et Practice du Jardinage as ‘the Heads of Greyhound, Griffins, and other Beasts, with their Paws and Talons; which had a very ill Effect, and made Parterres look very heavy and clouterly’.\textsuperscript{643} By 1728 taste had moved on

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{640} Meason, Architecture, p. 29.
\item\textsuperscript{641} Ibid., pp. 26-7.
\item\textsuperscript{642} Melroth, Pliny, 1, Book II, Letter XVII, p. 105, ftnt.
\item\textsuperscript{643} James, Theory and Practice, p. 32.
\end{itemize}
and Castell was able to show extravagant topiary animals, the insignia and even the names of the gardener and garden owner (Fig. 5.6) in his plates.

In 1822 Loudon published Horace Walpole’s criticism of the classical garden, quoting him at length:

"the style of Pliny’s villa [which] gave the toe to the European taste of gardening up to the end of the seventeenth century, is sufficiently obvious. It is almost superfluous to remark, observes the author of the Historical View, the striking resemblance which Pliny’s Gardens bear to the French and Dutch taste. The terraces adjoining the house; the lawn declining thence; the little flower-garden, with the fountain in the centre; the walks bordered with box, and the trees sheared into whimsical forms together with the fountains, alcoves and summer-houses, form a resemblance too striking to bear dispute.

"In an age" observes Lord Walpole, “when architecture displayed all its grandeur, all its purity and all its taste; when arose Vespasian’s amphitheatre, the temple of Peace, Trajan’s forum, Domitian’s bath, and Adrian’s villa, the ruins and vestiges of which still excite our astonishment and curiosity; a Roman consul, a polished emperor’s friend, and a man of elegant literature and taste, delighted in what the mob now scarcely admire in a college-garden. All the ingredients of Pliny’s garden correspond exactly with those laid out by London and Wise on Dutch principles; so that nothing is wanting but a parterre to make a garden in the reign of Trajan serve for the description of one in the reign of king William III."  

Two years later matters became even more confused when Loudon suggested the German and modern Italian styles as yet further equivalents of the ancient Roman villa garden. Almost every period of history had produced its own interpretations of the ancient Roman garden and many contradicted the usual early nineteenth-century horticultural perception of the parterre as an image of the French garden. This flexibility in interpretation stood in sharp contrast to the very strong individualistic Pompeian motifs that were being sponsored by a scholar of archaeology who was also designing gardens.

644 Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, (1822), p. 10.
645 Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, (1824), pp. 21-22.
5.3 The Pompeian Influence of Charles Robert Cockerell's Garden at The Grange, Hampshire

The emotional and aesthetic responses that associated Cockerell's work at The Grange with Italy have already been analysed. Its additional layer of Pompeian imagery is considered here. Cockerell was a respected architect who had toured and studied many of the classical sites of Antiquity. His Grand Tour, which ran from 1810 to 1817, included a spell in Pompeii and Naples assisting Gell and J. P. Gandy in the preparation of their best selling *Pompeiana*, the discovery and acquisition of two major Greek sculptures based on the frieze of the Parthenon, the first recognition of polychrome decoration on the ruins of Aegina, the identification of a unique Ionic order at Bassae and the documentation of *entasis* in the columns of the Parthenon.

Cockerell was a practical scholar of the ancient sites and their architecture.

The Conservatory that he created at the Grange has already been considered, however mention should also be made of the Conservatory at Oakley Park, Shropshire (Fig. 5.7) which is attributed to him. On visiting Oakley Park in 1824, the same year that he was working at The Grange, Cockerell observed that its Conservatory was "very classical looks like a Pompeian painting...which after all should be sought as the

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646 See section 4, pp. 140-41.
648 *Entasis* denotes the swelling of a classical column that prevents optical distortion and ensures it appears straight when viewed from the ground. Such a column is always broader at the base than at the capital with the swelling usually beginning as a curve one third of the way above the ground.
649 John Harris questioned if the Oakley Park Conservatory designed for Lord Clive should be attributed to Cockerell when he noted Cockerell's dissatisfaction with unspecified details of the design which he thought 'objectionable and not in the pretty classical taste'. Cockerell, *Ichnographica Domestica*, 1825, quoted in Harris, 'Cockerell', p. 24. Would Cockerell criticise his own work? He expressed similar reservations about his work at The Grange where it has been suggested he was making observations that might have improved a design that originated with Wyatville. Charles Robert Cockerell, Cockerell M.S.S., May 1824, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London, COC/9/5. See section 4, p. 140.
Very different from his musings over a possible ogee-shaped roofline for the Conservatory at The Grange, this expression of interest in classicism and Pompeian frescoes prompts a re-consideration of Cockerell’s meeting with Hope at the Deepdene in August 1824. After dinner Hope, Cockerell and James Millingen, whom Watkin describes as ‘a classical scholar…Etruscan archaeologist [and]…a friend of Thomas Hope’ studied Hope’s sketchbooks. These included a study of a low pierced wall in the gardens of the Villa Poniatowski, Rome (see Fig. 3.37). The same motif had been incorporated into the roof parapets and garden walls of the Deepdene which Cockerell had sketched (Figs. 5.8 and 5.9) admiring the beauty and economy of the design. The pattern was also prominently illustrated by Hope’s friend Percier in the 1809 study of the gardens of Rome receiving particular prominence as the centre piece in the opening engraving of the Villa d’Este which has already been shown to have inspired Cockerell’s work at The Grange. Cockerell reproduced this motif in the low wall (see Fig. 4.50) that surrounded his large *parterres de broderie* at The Grange.

Cockerell would have recognised that the pierced wall Hope sketched in the grounds of the Villa Poniatowski was probably introduced there by the neo-classical architect, Giuseppe Valadier, who worked in its gardens from around 1780. Frank Salmon has traced Valadier’s close involvement with the preservation of Ancient Rome, and how, through the control of licences for the erection of scaffolding, he came into direct

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651 Watkin, 'Deepdene', in Bergdoll and Oechslin, *Fragments*, p. 144.
652 Watkin and Lever, 'Hope', plate 38a.
653 Percier and Fontaine, *Rome*, plate no number. See section 4, p. 141.
contact with many of the visiting English architects in Rome from 1815. Cockerell was one of the first to enter Rome after the Napoleonic Wars. The pierced design was a common feature found everywhere amongst the ruins (Fig. 5.10) in Pompeian garden frescoes (Fig. 5.11) and in the most classically inspired of all the Italian Renaissance gardens, the Villa d’Este, where it surrounded The Fontane di Pomona at the entrance to the Viale delle Cento Fontane (Fig. 5.12). So at The Grange this simple perimeter wall encapsulated Cockerell’s emotional association of the site with the Villa d’Este and his scholarly knowledge of Pompeii. The design was widely circulated in Gell and J. P. Gandy’s Pompeiana (Fig. 5.13), George Ledwell Taylor and Edward Cresy’s, *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome* published in 1821 (Fig. 5.14), Rossinii’s engraving of *The Pantheon, Rome* (Fig. 5.15) and M’Intosh’s *The Book of the Garden*. It also appeared in a wide range of classically inspired designs including Hope’s furniture (Figs. 5.16 and 5.17) and other popular illustrations (Fig. 5.18).

The appearance of the pierced motif at The Grange should also be considered in the light of its earlier use in the Brahman Bridge (Fig. 5.19) and the iron balconies at Sezincote (Fig. 5.20), with Cockerell being the thread linking the two sites. He had worked in his father’s architectural practice from 1805 where he was regarded as the ‘driving force behind the building of Sezincote’ despite his father being formally

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656 M’Intosh, *Garden*, 1, pp. 646-47.
designated as the architect. The Hindu-inspired Sezincote was owned by Cockerell’s uncle, Sir Charles Cockerell, and it is believed that Thomas Daniell had influenced the gardens. He and Cockerell toured Wales and the West Country together in 1806. Cockerell’s use of the pierced motif at Sezincote cannot be explained beyond noting that it was highly fashionable. It had long been used in French neo-classical design in a range of commonplace objects even featuring as the border for a late eighteenth-century garden visiting card to the gardens of Bagatelle, Paris. When Cockerell used the motif next at The Grange he had the advantage of seven years study on the Continent behind him, including his time with Gell and J. P. Gandy in Pompeii. The Grange’s pierced wall resonated with the classical theme of the Greek Revival mansion and his own sense of the genius loci of the place. So it was in Cockerell’s hands in 1824 that the pierced garden wall first took on the associations of Pompeii and Italy that persisted in English gardens throughout the 1830s and 1840s. It was used by Barry to surround his first formal Italian garden at Attree’s Villa, Brighton around 1830 (Fig. 5.22). It appeared in the garden of Ockham Park, Surrey probably sometime during the 1830s and was certainly in situ in 1848 (Fig. 5.23). Here the Tuscan modification of the house by an unknown architect was in keeping with a Pompeian inspired wall and an Italian inspired loggia (Figs. 5.24 and 5.25). In 1848 at Osborne House the same design encircled the upper terrace in front of the main wing (Fig. 5.26), and sometime during Lady Catherine’s involvement in Wilton House it was added to a wall immediately in front of the north façade (Figs. 5.27 and 5.28). It was sketched by the architect,

659 My thanks to Dr Martin Calder, University of Bristol for bringing this example to my attention.
660 The date is unknown, but a sketch of very similar design is included in the papers of Lady Catherine’s papers which relate largely to the creation of the Italian Garden at Wilton House between the 1820s and 1840s. Pembroke, Wilts. R.O, Pembroke M.S.S. , 2057/H3/33.
Alexander Roos, at Palestrina and elsewhere in Italy (Figs. 5.29 and 5.30) between 1828 and 1832.\textsuperscript{661} He went on to use it in the boundary wall of the Italianate Ipswich Lodge he designed for Shrubland Park, Suffolk in 1841\textsuperscript{662} (Fig. 5.31). In this way the design developed from Cockerell’s personal association with Italy into a codified image of the Italian garden style. In 1853 when M’Intosh described it surrounding the Italian Garden at Tottenham Park, Wiltshire he stressed the economy of the design, developing a theme that had previously been seen in some architectural pattern books.\textsuperscript{663} Whilst this survey of Italian gardens cannot be exhaustive, it is suggested that it was M’Intosh’s comments that began to dilute the pierced wall as an image of Pompeii appropriate to the Italian garden. It became an economical choice suited to any flower garden which accounts for its absence from Italian gardens created after 1853 and Sir John Gardner Wilkinson’s observation in 1858 that

\begin{quote}
A dressed garden of less pretensions may be projected in a level spot, and merely bounded by a slight trench and by a low wall with pierced work of bricks in patterns, or with half-circles formed of half main-drain tiles...\textsuperscript{664}
\end{quote}

Codified images of Pompeii in the Italian garden were being diluted and lost just at the time that the Italian garden style was reaching a peak in popularity in other respects.\textsuperscript{665}

\textsuperscript{661} Drawings by Alexander Roos, Roos M.S.S., 1835 c.1828-32, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings and Archives Collection, London, VOS/100/56, annotated 'Palestrina' and VOS/100/97. Site measurements have confirmed that whilst VOS/100/97 may have been the inspiration for the design of the wall around the Ipswich Lodge it is not a drawing of this wall.


\textsuperscript{663} Jackson, \textit{Designs for Villas}. See section 2, pp. 24-5.

\textsuperscript{664} Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, \textit{On Colour and on the Necessity for a General Diffusion of Taste among all Classes. With Remarks on Laying Out Dressed or Geometrical Gardens. Examples of Good and Bad Taste Illustrated by Woodcuts and Coloured Plates in Contrast}. (London: John Murray, 1858), p. 366. However, in sketching a design for the Pembrokeshire garden, possibly at Brynfield House, Reynoldston, near Swansea, he considered creating in the 1860s, Wilkinson drew a series of pillars topped by single arches commenting 'The arches are simply made, of brick with the arch itself of a large drainage tile. If to be done I will send the proper measurements...'. The scale demanded for such an idea was clearly much larger than the usual pierced wall created from drainage tiles stacked one on top of each other. Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, Plan of a Proposed Pembrokeshire Garden possibly for Brynfield House, Reynoldston 1860s, Sir John Gardner Wilkinson Papers Special Collections, Modern and Oriental Papers, New Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Wilkinson dep. b. 13.

\textsuperscript{665} See section 7, p. 276.
At The Grange Cockerell also designed the plain, wide gravel and turf terrace below William Wilkins' vast Doric portico. It terminated in a semi-circular stone seat or schola (see Fig. 4.49) which was his second Pompeian motif. It was a copy of the Tomb of Mammia from the Street of Tombs (Fig. 5.32) which occupied an important position on the route by which tourist entered the city of Pompeii during the first half of the nineteenth century. It encased the body of the dead Priestess and provided a meeting point where friends and relatives would congregate to remember her on appropriate anniversaries. Cockerell may have derived the inspiration for using such a seat in a garden from Charles and Amelia Long at Bromley Hill House. He knew this garden and in 1816 the guidebook described an 'ancient social bench' on the terrace which must surely have been a schola. The Tomb of Mammia was among several scholae illustrated in Mazois' 1812 Les Ruines de Pompei (Figs. 5.33 and 5.34). It also featured in Gell and J. P. Gandy's Pompeiana (Fig. 5.35) and in The Street of the Tombs engraving from Dickens' Pictures from Italy (see Fig. 5.5). Mazois provided accurate and detailed information showing several similar seats in their original settings, with cross-sections that included the original inscriptions and the typical gryphon's paw feet. Cockerell had visited Mazois in Paris in October 1824 during the construction of the garden at the Grange when he 'shewed me many private Houses, villas &c. projets [sic] after Italian model, open & ill calculated to our climate.'

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666 Cockerell, RIBA COC/9/6,.
667 Cumberland, Bromley Hill, 1816, p. 21.
669 Gell and Gandy, Pompeiana, pp. 74-5.
The location of The Grange’s schola at the head of a plain terrace of turf and gravel, isolated from the elaborate parterres provided a quiet, contemplative retreat appropriate to its original function, suggesting that its Pompeian symbolism was adopted intentionally by Cockerell. Its gryphon paw feet are almost identical to those on the Tomb of Mammia recorded by Mazois although the inscription of the original was not reproduced. This seat still marks the end of the east terrace at The Grange, enclosed perfectly by the ample re-positioned gate-piers that Cockerell had noted in his diary in 1824. Barry made an undated sketch of Cockerell’s seat between 1835 and 1841 when he was modifying Bankes’ home, Kingston Lacy, Dorset. Barry and Cockerell were close friends and Barry had used Joseph Forsyth’s, Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters During an Excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803 as his guidebook when travelling through Italy. He visited Pompeii in January 1820 where Forsyth would have informed him that

The Town Gate is little and low, like every thing here. Without the town stands the tomb of the Priestess Mammia, or rather its cubic base, near which are two semi-circular seats, some yards in diameter. The inscription on one of these denotes a place of sepulture; but for whatever they were raised, they stood here for public resort, and may be considered as hemicyclions, where the ancients held their conversazioni. The hemicyclion appears to have been a seat very different from the augur’s chair, or that of the Posedippus now so called. Cicero’s admitted several persons into its curve, like the sigma at banquets, or these seats of Pompeii.

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672 In 1820 at the Palace of Caserta, near Naples Barry noted in his diary almost the exact response that Forsyth had recalled. Observing the garden from inside the Palace Barry was struck by the ‘Curious appearance of [a] fountain at [the] bottom of [the] Garden as seen through the central passage [and] compared by Forsyth to a telescope.’ Charles Barry, Travel Diaries, 1817-20, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection London, SKB401/3.
673 Crook, Remarks, p. 168.
So Barry also understood the Pompeian imagery of these curved seats.  

674 From The Grange they spread out to decorate Barry’s gardens at Harewood House, West Yorkshire, Shrubland Park and Trentham Hall, Staffordshire and other Italian gardens at Osborne House and Westfield on the Isle of Wight, and Westonbirt, Gloucestershire.  

675 At Westfield, the owner, Sir Augustus Clifford, noted that the \textit{schola} on his terrace was inspired by those on the ‘Strada di Sepulchri at Pompeii’

676, and Bulwer-Lytton’s novel had brought such features to life as he explained:  

Round the table of citrean wood, highly polished and delicately wrought with silver arabesques, were placed the three couches, which were yet more common at Pompeii than the semicircular seat that had grown lately into fashion at Rome.

677 Barry’s interest in Pompeii was also demonstrated during his visit to the city in 1820 when he sketched the \textit{nymphaeum}, a water feature that functioned as a shrine, in the garden of the House of the Great Fountain annotating his sketch ‘At Pompei’ and, somewhat mysteriously, ‘For Lady Holland, 22 Sept 1833’. In 1820 when Barry visited, the garden frescoes of this particular house were in good condition for Wilhelmina Jashemski has told us that Gell drew them ‘shortly before the plaster fell’. Gell’s illustration was published in \textit{Pompeiana}. Barry recorded the fountain with its water staircase, a low wall with pierced panels and part of the adjacent frescoes together with notes on the palette used; ‘real sky’, ‘red’ and ‘yellow’. It seems his reference to Lady Holland and the date, 24 Sept 1833, were added some years after the sketch was made. It is known that Barry worked on the interior of Holland House for in December 1836, 3rd Lady Holland recorded her gratitude for the central heating he had installed in a letter to her son, Henry Edward Fox. The connection between Barry’s sketch of a \textit{nymphaeum} and Holland House remains a mystery apart from its passing resemblance to the pair of gate piers in the grounds that Horace Walpole thought were by Inigo Jones. One of the piers was sketched in June 1837 by Edward Cheney who had met Henry Edward Fox in Genoa in 1827. The two remained life long friends and Cheney was a frequent house guest at Holland House. Why Barry should pass the \textit{nymphaeum} sketch to Lady Holland is unclear, but it does demonstrate his knowledge and interest in the ruined city. Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB401, Jashemski, \textit{Gardens}, 2, p. 343, Charles Barry, Sketch of Nymphaeum, House of the Great Fountain, Pompeii 1833, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, London, Barry Wolfe Album Classical Architecture, Sicily and Greece, 2, 230, Lady Holland to her son, Henry Edward Fox, later 4th Lord Holland, 27 December 1836 quoted in Earl of Ilchester, Elizabeth, Lady Holland to her Son 1821-1845, (London: John Murray, 1946), p. 163, Horace Walpole, \textit{Anecdotes of Painting} quoted in Princess Marie Liechtenstein, \textit{Holland House} 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1874), 1, p. 171, Huon Mallalieu, ‘Following the Grand Tour: The Cheneys of Badger Hall’, \textit{Christie’s Auction: Watercolours of the Grand Tour from a Private Collection}, 12 October 2005, pp. 2-7, p. 6.

678 Barry proposed the \textit{schola} just as it was used at The Grange in an early drawing for Trentham. The design was eventually simplified. Further examples of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century \textit{scholae} have been identified by Robin Whalley among Harold Peto’s commissions for Iford Manor, Wiltshire, Bridge House, Weybridge, Surrey, Easton Lodge, Great Dunmow, Essex, Hinton Admiral, Hampshire, Buscot, Oxfordshire, Hartham Park, Wiltshire, Crichel, Dorset and Heale House, Wiltshire with a further example used by Thomas Mawson in the gardens of Hartpury, Gloucestershire. Robin Whalley, ‘Harold Peto: Pompeii and Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema’, \textit{Garden History}, 33, 2 (2005), pp. 258-73, pp. 265. Other nineteenth century examples that require further research to date them more precisely existed at Cenactic Hall, Liverpool, Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire, Dropmore, Buckinghamshire, Embley Park, Hampshire, Ven Hall, Somerset, and Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire.


677 Bulwer-Lytton, \textit{Pompeii}, p. 32.
Yet by 1858 the image was again becoming confused and loosing its original inspiration. Edward Kemp advised his readers that a semi-circular stone seat was an appropriate termination to any type of walk although he also noted that formal flower-beds with a ‘semicircular lobe attached to each end of the principal oblong beds,’ were ‘more suited for the Italian manner’. The *schola* was following Cockerell’s pierced wall and losing its Pompeian character.

To return briefly to the formal gardens at The Grange, Cockerell would also have been familiar with the ancient Roman taste for topiary through his studies of antiquity, Pompeian garden frescoes and his reading of Melroth’s translation of Pliny’s *Letters*, complete with its horticultural footnotes. In 1824 he scribbled in his diary that ‘Cenius ? Maticus A friend of Caesar, & after of Octavius Augustus wrote a treatise on gardening, invented the mode of cutting & clipping trees – also introduced many fruits by grafting.’ Cockerell knew from this and James’ *Theory and Practice of Gardening* that the parterres and clipped Portuguese laurels he used at The Grange were emblematic of ancient Rome; in contrast to the earlier nineteenth-century view that saw them as symbols of the French gardening style. Thus the planting and the architectural features used by Cockerell in the garden below the Conservatory combined to produce images of the Villa d’Este and of Pompeii making it the richest and most complete Italian Garden of its day.

Finally, it has been suggested that Barry contributed to the design of this garden, as evidenced by an undated plan, now in Montreal (Fig. 5.36). In fact this plan shows

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678 Kemp, *Garden*, (1858), p 111.
679 Cockerell, RIBA COC/9/6.
one of several alternative designs worked up by Barry for the parterres at Trentham Hall. Whilst Barry was aware of and influenced by the gardens at The Grange he was not involved in their creation, which was entirely the achievement of his close friend Cockerell.

5.4 Other Garden Images from Pompeii and Ancient Rome

Other examples of ancient Roman influence in the Italian garden included the series of classical busts on plinths proposed by Roos to line a walkway in the gardens of the Deepdene around 1835-36. Later he developed a similar proposal for Shrubland Park which was never implemented although Barry and the owner, Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton, did busy themselves scattering other images of Roman emperors throughout the garden. A bust, thought to be Caligula, looks down over a square stone seat near the house and four roundels of Marcus Aurelius, Domitian, Nero and Vespasian decorate Barry’s loggias and the Pavilion that he relocated to the head of the Great Descent. A fifth roundel in the Loggia in the Lower Garden is thought to be of Middleton dressed in a Roman toga. In 1858 Nesfield was also inspired by the theme of Roman emperors lining the Emperors’ Walk at Grimston Park, North Yorkshire with busts of the Caesars before terminating the walk with a bust of Napoleon.

Barry’s garden for Thomas Attree contained two copies of the popular statue of a Molossian hound taken from a Roman copy of a Greek original, now in the British correspondence with Jane Geddes, University of Aberdeen. The wider question of Barry’s use of the parterre is considered in section 6, pp. 189-90, 205-06.

681 Charles Barry, Letter to Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton, 10 February 1853, de Saumerez Collection, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, SA1/1/6/31, 18 February 1853.
682 In 2007 the roundel from the Pavilion was stored in the Estate Office.
Museum, and commonly known as the Dog of Alcibiades. The same figure was also placed in the Italian influenced gardens at Osborne House and Shrubland Park although it was a very popular garden ornament in its own right and was used in many gardens seemingly devoid of other classical associations. By 1844 it featured in Austen and Seeley's catalogue of garden ornaments. Their earlier 1838 catalogue had also included shell tazzas supported on monopodal feet (Fig. 5.37) clearly inspired by contemporary engravings taken from Mazois or Gell and J. P. Gandy. Similarly three-legged tazzas were used in the Italian Garden at Wilton House (Fig. 5.38) and in the Balcony Garden at Shrubland Park (Fig. 5.39).

However, not all of the classical resonances included in these nineteenth-century Italian gardens are contemporary with their creation. At Wilton House the Roman statues that now decorate the wall dividing the Italian Garden from the lawn did not form part of Sir Richard Westmacott and Lady Catherine's scheme. They were a later addition re-sited from elsewhere in the park. It is also unclear if the three-legged base metal tripod (Fig. 5.40) in the same garden was part of the original scheme. In 1963 Country Life photographed a pair of these containers (Fig. 5.41) on the steps of the open loggia in the Wilton Italian Garden. Only one survives today, but it was clearly inspired by tripods excavated at Pompeii and illustrated by Charles-Nicolas Cochin in his Observations upon the Antiquities of the town of Herculaneum (Fig. 5.42) and adapted by Hope in his Household Furniture (Fig. 5.43). At Wilton the

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686 Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculanium discovered at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, 4th edn (London: n.pub., 1756).
containers may have been another echo of Bulwer-Lytton's novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii,* where

In its forum the half-finished columns as left by the workman's hand — in its gardens the sacrificial tripod — in its halls the chest of treasure — in its bath the strigil — in its theatres the counter of admission — in its saloons the furniture and the lamp — in its triclinia the fragments of the last feast — in its cubicula the perfumes and the rouge of faded beauty — and everywhere the bones and skeletons of those who once moved the springs of that minute yet gorgeous machine of luxury and of life! 687

The garden was an apt setting in which to remember this novel for the garden was the resting place of 'the unfortunate Diomed' whose skeleton was discovered having 'sought to escape by the garden, and been destroyed either by the vapors or some fragment of stone'. 688

There were other more ephemeral associations with ancient Rome. At Shrubland Park the vistas radiating out from the Panel Garden were 'said to reflect the route of the six Roman roads which converge near this site.' 689 At the Deepdene the Theatre of Arts in Hope's new enfilade of rooms recalled the frontispiece of Gell and J. P. Gandy's *Pompeiana* with its miscellany of Pompeian artefacts (Figs. 5.44 and 5.45). By 1830 the *Gardener's Magazine* was remarking on the 'singular circumstance of the aptitude of all the colonnades and porticoes in Pliny's plans to be changed for green-houses and conservatories'. 690

Finally in the 1850s the gardens of Biddulph Grange, Staffordshire laid out by their owner, James Bateman, and the artist and geologist, Edward W. Cooke, included ancient Rome amongst their catalogue of world cultures and histories. 691 They

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688 Ibid., pp. 420-21.
689 Williamson, 'Tour of Shrubland Park', p. 34.
691 This catalogue of cultures and histories reflected Bateman's religious beliefs. As an Evangelical Anglican he believed that Christ's second coming was imminent. His garden was entered through the
symbolised ancient Rome by placing four paving stones from the Appian Way around an ash tree in the Arboretum. An antique Roman head was set into the wall near the entrance to the house and the east terrace was accessed through a stone archway surmounted by a Roman eagle where there was another Roman tripod; now lost, that may have been similar to the surviving example in the Italian Garden at Wilton House. 692

This analysis has shown how symbols of ancient Rome and particularly Pompeii were used to enhance the imagery of the Italian Garden in England during the first half of the nineteenth-century. It was fitting that such images should originate in a garden designed by Cockerell, who has been acknowledged as an ‘archaeological Sherlock Holmes’. 693 Pompeii captivated the English imagination so successfully that in 1841 Catherine Gore still summed up suburban life in her novel, Cecil: or the Adventures of a Coxcomb, as ‘Thriving merchants – popular actors – popular dentists – popular lawyers – popular all sorts of things, are sure to have their Tusculum, their rūs in urbe, their Eden, their ‘appiness ‘ouse’. 694 In true villa style ancient Rome also invaded the Italian garden in England, but the chosen artefacts have remained unrecognised since the 1850s, possibly because they reflected the objects of daily life rather than the eighteenth century’s focus on the historic deeds of the great and the good.

Geological Gallery where fossils and specimens of geological strata were displayed and ordered according to the six days of Creation, leaving the garden to act as a testament to Man’s achievements on earth. 692 Peter Hayden, Biddulph Grange: A Victorian Garden Rediscovered (London: George Phillip, 1989), p. 73. 693 Watkin, Cockerell, p. 23. 694 Catherine Gore, Cecil: or the Adventures of a Coxcomb, 1841, p. 129 quoted in Waters, Garden in Victorian Literature, p. 211.
Sir Charles Barry was the fourth surviving son of Walter and Francis Barry. Orphaned by the age of ten, he grew up in the care of his step-mother, Sarah. At fifteen he was articled to Middleton and Bailey, a Lambeth firm of architects and surveyors, and from their offices he exhibited several designs at the Royal Academy. Aged twenty-one, he received the small inheritance due to him under his father's will which he invested in a Continental tour, leaving England on 28 June 1817. He returned in August 1820 having established important contacts with three future clients, 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne, William John Bankes and John Godfrey, and compiled an impressive portfolio of architectural drawings. Both were to prove valuable in establishing his architectural career which was dominated by his success in the 1836 competition to design the new Palace of Westminster. This single commission has tended to dwarf and obscure his other achievements which included designs for another fifty-two civic projects, twenty-four churches and fifty-nine domestic buildings. Barry was the architect who was most closely associated with the Italianate style in the mid-nineteenth century and his garden designs will be analysed for the first time here to understand his contribution to the development of the Italian garden style.

695 The proposals for John Godfrey's Brooke House, Kent were developed around 1835 and since they did not include proposals for a garden they are not considered further here. Barry, Barry, 1870.
696 Details based on David G. Blissett, 'Sir Charles Barry (1795-1860): A Reassessment of his Travels and Early Career', (unpublished PhD., Oxford Polytechnic, 1983), Appendix B, pp. 1-3. The Kensington Gardens commission and Duxbury Hall, Cheshire have been excluded as it is felt these should be credited to Barry's son, Edward Middleton Barry. See Appendix C, pp. 409-416 for Barry's domestic commissions with gardens that fall outside the scope of this section and Appendix D, pp. 417-19 for his domestic commissions which did not include gardens.
Our understanding of Barry's career is shaped largely by the surviving seventeen volumes of diaries that document his Continental and Middle Eastern travels and the biography written by his son, Rev. Alfred Barry using notes provided by Barry's life-long friend, the architectural historian, John Lewis Wolfe. The most comprehensive archives survive to accompany his gardens at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire and Shrubland Park, Suffolk. These sources are analysed to identify Barry's garden style and how it evolved.

6.1 Barry's Foreign Travels

On leaving England in the summer of 1817 Barry indulged himself in what amounted to a three month Parisian holiday before journeying on to Italy to study architecture in earnest. In London he had been inspired by the classical architecture of Greece and Italy and this left his French diaries free to record the pleasures of Parisian food, parks and pleasure gardens, and the company of two young ladies, the Misses Gibons. On visiting a Panorama of Rome in Paris he was moved to recall the central purpose of his journey being 'much struck with the representation of the architecture which I shall shortly see in reality'. He made little comment on the architecture of Paris which was a seemingly diverting entertainment en route to his intellectual goals of Italy and Greece.

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697 Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB399/1-5, SKB400/1-6, SKB401/1-6, 17 vols.
698 Barry, Barry, 1867.
699 John Lewis Wolfe, Notes for Arthur Barry, RIBA Drawings Collection, London, WOJ/2/1(i-civ) & WOJ/3/1(i-l).
700 Charles Barry, Trentham Drawings, 1834-47, Stoke-on-Trent City Museum, uncatalogued, Charles Barry, Sutherland Papers, c1830s-40s, Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D593. Part of the Sutherland Collection was recently transferred from the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh to Stoke-on-Trent City Museum where it is currently held as an uncatalogued collection.
701 The uncatalogued collection was consulted for this research at the Estate Office, Shrubland Park in 2006. All documents are understood to have been removed to Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich in 2007 where they are being catalogued as an addition to the de Saumarez Collection. All references to papers in the Estate Office, Shrubland Park should, in the first instance, be assumed to have been transferred to Suffolk R.O., Ipswich.
702 Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB399/1.
In 1969 Marcus Binney concluded that Barry paid scant attention to Continental gardens other than Versailles since he delayed leaving Paris for three days to ensure he could witness the regular Sunday fountain display there.\(^{703}\) He included an uncharacteristically detailed account of this experience in his diary:

Sunday 24th [August 1817] Rose about 9 o’clock and breakfasted at at [sic] one of the cafes near the palais. About 10 went to Palais and saw such part of it as was open to the Public. The rooms are spacious richly gilt and beautifully decorated with paintings of some of the best ancient French painters. The Palace has but just undergone a thorough repair for receptions of the Royal family and many of the rooms are prepared for the Goblin Tapestry which is not at present finished. The chapel is by far the most elegant room of the whole and exceeds that in Palace of the Tulleries in point of elegance and taste in the Architectural Decorations. The Theatre is extremely large but not in very good condition. It is now exactly in the same state it was at the last Ball given by Louis XVI...After seeing all we could in the Palace walked through the gardens to the Grand and Petit Trianon or in other words the splendid little Palace of Dissipation of Louis XVI. The little Trianon is a chef d’oeuvre of Architecture and is fitted up in the most chaste manner particularly the chamber of the late Josephine. It is impossible to describe the Beauty and Grandeur of the Garden which far exceeded my Expectations. They are interspersed with the most elegant and Classical Jets D’eaux and Fountains and display to admiration the perfection of the Art of Landscape Gardening as the Grand Waters were not to play till 4 o’clock walked about the Gardens till 2 and then had our dinner at a small Café in the Town. At the appointed hour 4 o’clock repaired to the Gardens, and about 5 saw some of the Principle Fountains in full action :- Unfortunately about ½ past 5 a most violent shower of rain prevented our seeing the whole as we had taken our places in the Diligence to return at 6 to Paris we were obliged to leave the Gardens without seeing the Fountain of Neptune by far the most ? of the whole...\(^{704}\)

David Blissett has disagreed with Binney’s emphasis on Versailles pointing out that Barry also visited the Tuileries and the Luxembourg Gardens, observed the ‘contrivances’ or fountains in the Bois de Boulogne and commented positively on the great cascade at St Cloud.\(^{705}\) Careful study of Barry’s Paris itinerary reveals that he was also greatly impressed by the Père Lachaise Cemetery, disappointed in the Psyche Gardens which he compared unfavourably to Vauxhall, content with the pleasure gardens at the Hotel d’Amour and a tea garden in Montmartre, and sufficiently impressed to pay a return visit to the Jardins du Roi.\(^{706}\) Versailles had


\(^{704}\) Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB 399/1.


\(^{706}\) Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB 399/1.
fascinated Barry, but water in the garden drew his attention and admiration everywhere.

The Borromean Islands were amongst the first sites Barry visited on reaching Italy. He toured the gardens of Isola Bella and Isola Madre on Lake Maggiore in October 1817. The recollection in his diary concentrated upon the early morning crossing of the flat calm waters of the lake. On reaching Isola Bella he was impressed by the 'extensive Palace and handsome pleasure grounds' which he recalled in the manner of an unenthusiastic inventory referring only to the 'old school' terraces, grottoes and valuable citrus trees 'in full bearing'. At this time English views of Isola Bella were divided. Loudon presented both opinions in his Encyclopaedia of Gardening. James Wilson was impressed by the ingenuity of its construction as well as the dominance of Art in the garden:

"Nothing," says Wilson, "can be so noble as the conversion of a barren rock, without an inch of earth on its surface, into a paradise of fertility and luxury. This rock, in 1640, produced nothing but mosses and lichens; when Vitaliano Borromeo conceived the idea of turning it into a garden of fruits and flowers. For this purpose, he brought earth from the banks of the lake, and built ten terraces on arches, one above the other, to the top of the island, on which the palace is placed. This labour has produced a most singular pyramid of exotics and other plants, which make a fine show, and constitute the chief ornament of this miracle of artificial beauty..."

The critics of Isola Bella felt it was in sublimely bad taste both inside and out; but the profuse and extended scale on which art has exerted itself in the grounds, joined to a luxuriant vegetation, produces no small effect of grandeur. The views from the terraces are most beautiful, both up and down the lake and up the bay." (Letters of an Architect, vol. i. p. 201.) Mr Hazlitt was "utterly disappointed in the Borromean Isles." "Isola Bella," he says, "resembles a pyramid of sweetmeats ornamented with green festoons and flowers." He had supposed this a German conceit, but found it a literal description. Brockendem says, the Isola Bella "is only worthy of a rich man's misplaced extravagances, and the taste of a confectioner." (Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps, &c., 1828.)

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707 28 October 1817, Ibid., SKB 399/2.
709 Ibid., pp. 33-4.
English visitors to this garden were divided on whether to admire its artistry or belittle it. Barry had found enjoyment in the animation of Versailles's water features, but he explored Isola Bella, which remains one of the most architectural Italian gardens ever created, without any such joy. At this point in 1817 he was still wedded to the English landscape style. On visiting Villa Bonaparte Charles, Rome he took pleasure 'in parts thickly planted' and in the 'several pieces of water and little temples...laid out quite in the English style'. Isola Bella was a Baroque architectural garden which did not yet capture his imagination. His early preconceptions inspired him towards classical architecture and the English landscape style.

During his first spell in Rome he was pre-occupied with paintings, sculpture and architecture, but silent as to the city's gardens. For the next eighteen months, between April 1818 and September 1819, he travelled through Greece and the Middle East sketching and recording archaeological sites for David Baillie, whom he met in Rome. In early 1820, during his second stay in Rome on the homeward leg of his journey, he met the architectural historian, John Lewis Wolfe, who was to remain a lifelong friend, and in February he made an excursion to the Villa Ludovisi in the company of 'Mr Bankes'. Here he was impressed by 'a beautiful view of the gardens and an extensive view of Rome' glimpsed from the top of the villa, and the gardens 'laid out with formality in straight walks with high cut box hedges with numerous seats templets sarcophagi busts statues Termes.' On a return visit he was struck by the garden's history and the 'Two great plane trees....marked in a plan of the Estate made between 2 and 300 years ago.' His reaction to this garden was

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711 22 February 1820, Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB401/3.
712 Ibid., SKB401/3.
713 n.d., Ibid., SKB401/3.
different from that to Isola Bella. The garden was still recalled as a list of largely architectural features, but this time Barry was engaged by its beauty and history. He was also grateful to have secured entry to a notoriously inaccessible villa suggesting that his companion had exercised some influence to bring this about.714 This must have been William John Bankes whom Barry had met the previous year at Abu Simbel, Egypt when he ‘looked over Mr. Bankes’ drawings’ of archaeological sites.715 Bankes was certainly in Florence for part of February 1820 and in Rome the following month.716 Bankes was also brimming with opinions on architecture and gardens. He was studying the architectural history of his own home, Kingston Lacy in Dorset, and he adored trees suggesting that he may have directed Barry’s attention to the features he later noted in his diary.717 The tour of the Villa Ludovisi spurred Barry to record future visits to other gardens. In 1820 at Caserta, near Naples he echoed Joseph Forsyth’s reaction on seeing the garden from within the Palace where,

a long cascade of water pouring down an immense [text obliterated] into several falls and received into a basin. hence it appears to branch into 2 directions at the back of a dwarf wall with niches and figures – we could not go into the garden to see it the King being there amusing himself with shooting rabbits... The gardens and grounds about it [the Palace] are extensive and appear to be laid out with some taste in [sic] the situation is low and adjoining a miserable village called Casserta.718

714 Valery also noted, ‘I obtained the favour of visiting the impenetrable Ludovisi villa, consisting of three fine casinos thrown picturesquely into the midst of a large garden laid out by Lenôtre [sic].’ Valery, Travels in Italy, p. 567.
715 Mitchell, Kingston Lacy Dorset, p. 52. Further circumstantial evidence for a February meeting between Bankes and Barry is provided by David Baillie’s letter to Bankes a month earlier, on 24 January 1820, when he wrote from Naples suggesting, ‘If any of Mr Barry's drawings, plans or architectural detail could be of any service to you I should have the greatest pleasure in placing them at your absolute disposal...’ He declared Barry to be, ‘the most diligent person as ever I knew, and it is rare to find persons who draw so well and in so many different manners.’ Letter in Bankes Collection, Dorset History Centre, quoted in Sebba, Collector, p. 121. Baillie was a former college friend of Bankes and this letter provided a timely impetus to encourage him to re-ignite his acquaintance with Barry, a few weeks later at the Villa Ludovisi.
717 Bankes planted a vast number of trees at Kingston Lacy including Cedars of Lebanon he grew from seed that he gathered on Mount Sinai. In 1821 he wrote to his father with a reminder that his mother must re-pot them if they had not already been planted out. In 1835 he planted an avenue of beech trees in memory of his mother. Sebba, Collector, pp. 81 and 171.
718 Between 20 January and 22 February 1820, Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB401/3. Barry inadvertently recorded the date as 20 January 1819 when it was 1820.
In April, at Pompeii he observed how ‘The houses of the great men consist of one or 2 courts with a shallow basin in the middle for a fountain surrounded by columns’ and at the Pitti Palace in Florence he was again impressed by water recalling the Central entrance...on opposite side of court yard to a Fountain within an elliptical building the ceiling domed and supported by a ?coupled columns... on this side seems only as an embankment to the Garden above it – above this fountain room ...is the ordinary jet d'eau fountain with 2 main tazza[s]...

Previous studies of Barry’s travel diaries have reached differing conclusions about Wolfe’s influence on his architectural sensibilities. Binney subscribed to Wolfe’s own opinion that in Rome he found Barry,

oppres'sd by the reflection that, for the last three years his time had been comparatively wasted - that hitherto he had looked at architecture as a subject for drawing and that, consequently, all really useful studies were yet to come...

Binney noted a contemporaneous shift in Barry’s diaries away from incidental day to day observations to notes made ‘under the headings of buildings alone: [where] nothing except architecture is recorded.’ In contrast Blissett has argued that Barry had been absorbed in continuous architectural analysis since his departure from England, but this is to ignore the structure and intensity that came to characterise his later diary observations. Neither Blissett nor Binney have considered Barry’s developing appreciation of gardens which appears to have been born out of his meetings with Wolfe and Bankes who shared with him their own passion for gardens. Bankes’ encouragement to consider gardens and Barry’s emerging love of decoration were leading him to the realisation that gardens could enhance his architecture.

719 17 or 18 January 1820, Ibid., SKB401/3.
720 Sometime between 13 and 19 April 1820, Ibid., SKB401/4.
722 Ibid., p. 550.
Blissett has concluded Barry returned to England ‘full of ambition...to produce something original...[and the] Italianate offered him the chance to meld something of the grandeur of Egyptian architecture (by which he had been deeply impressed) with...classical simplicity’. 723 Unsurprisingly his foreign travels brought about a similar shift in his view of gardens. At Versailles his fascination with water drew him to the fountains, but his praise for ‘the perfection of the Art of Landscape Gardening’ suggested he found more to admire in the groves and bosquets than the architectural set pieces that punctuated them. The terraces and grottoes of Isola Bella were to be appreciated although they were in the ‘old school’, but by the time he returned to England in 1820 he had come to understand ‘the architectural laying out and ornamentation of gardens’. 724 The Italian garden style was attractive because it was contiguous with his preference for Italianate architecture and it united internal and external space in a way that his clients were now demanding. It also offered the opportunity to indulge his newly discovered love of ornament and grandeur, but most importantly it provided a frame to enhance his decorated exteriors.

6.2 Barry and William Andrews Nesfield: Conflict not Partnership

Twentieth-century architectural and garden historians often assumed a partnership between Barry and William Andrews Nesfield based on the appearance of a recognised architect and a known landscape designer on the same site at approximately the same time. This led Henry Russell Hitchcock to identify Nesfield as Barry’s ‘usual associate in country house work’ 725 while Charles Quest-Ritson

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724 Barry, Barry, 1867, p. 113.
declared that Nesfield was 'the leading exponent of the neo-Italian formal style' who 'worked with Barry'.\textsuperscript{726} A uniquely pro-Barry interpretation of the relationship was advanced by M. H. Port who demoted Nesfield to the role of Barry's assistant.\textsuperscript{727} More correctly Michael Tooley has identified that Nesfield worked alongside a number of architects including Edward Blore, William Burn, John Loughborough Pearson and his brother-in-law, Anthony Salvin, although his inclusion of Barry in this group is questionable.\textsuperscript{728} In 1979 Brent Elliott was cautiously writing of Nesfield's 'possible... assistance' to Barry at Trentham\textsuperscript{729} and by 1986, his silence on any such relationship in his major study of the Victorian garden implied his rejection of a partnership.\textsuperscript{730}

The question mark over Barry's role as a garden designer has a long history. It was even under-estimated during his lifetime. One of the most lavish nineteenth-century publications in the field; Edward Adveno Brooke's, \textit{The Gardens of England}, which appeared in 1857, set out to promote the role of Nesfield and simultaneously suppress that of Barry.\textsuperscript{731} Little is known about Brooke other than the occasional appearance of one of his paintings in a British auction room.\textsuperscript{732} He exhibited at the Royal Academy and the British Institution between 1853 and 1864\textsuperscript{733} during which time he


\textsuperscript{730} Elliott, \textit{Victorian Gardens}.

\textsuperscript{731} Brooke, \textit{Gardens}. 1857 is the date taken from the letterpress although the publication was also advertised Anon., 'Prospectus', \textit{Gardeners' Chronicle}, 23 February 1856, p. 119.

\textsuperscript{732} A watercolour dated 1848 titled 'Cannock Chase near Hatherton' appears to be by him although it is catalogued as being by J. rather than E. Adveno Brooke. William Salt Library, Stafford.

spent ‘several summers’ in ‘patient and careful labour’ producing the original paintings used in preparation for the colourful lithographs that dominate The Gardens of England. Nineteen country house gardens were featured including four properties where Barry had completed significant improvements. At Bowood, Wiltshire he designed the Derry Hill lodge and modified the house. At Harewood House, West Yorkshire, Shrubland Park and Trentham Hall he laid out large terrace gardens below his re-modelled houses. Brooke produced all of the illustrations for The Gardens of England, but the text for each entry was composed by a different author leading to variations in emphasis and content. Sometimes the history of the family and the estate was the focus whilst other entries read as if the Head Gardener was conducting the reader on a tour of the garden. Some descriptions acknowledged the role of the architect, with John Vanbrugh and Augustus Welby Pugin being mentioned alongside less prominent names such as George Penrose Kennedy. The description of Bowood documented a roll call of seven different individuals who each contributed to the development of the grounds. Enville Hall, Staffordshire and Nuneham Courtney, Oxfordshire recorded the contributions of the poets, William Shenstone and William Mason, and five other sites catalogued the design contributions of their owners, family and close friends. However Barry, the most famous architect of his day, was all but ignored, acknowledged only once for his work at Shrubland Park; the seat of Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton whose brother-in-law, Sir Edward Cust, guided Barry to success in the competition for the new Palace of Westminster. In contrast Nesfield’s name shone out from the text and ever since it has been united with the images of Brooke’s striking lithographs. Nesfield was named as the creator of seven of the featured flower gardens at Alton Towers, Staffordshire, Eaton Hall, Cheshire.

735 His design for a flower garden at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire and alterations to Elvaston Hall, Derbyshire would not be featured by Brooke as neither scheme was implemented.
Castle Howard, North Yorkshire, Harewood House, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Teddesley-Hay, Staffordshire and Worsley Hall, Greater Manchester. It is more than coincidental that his was also the final name on the rarely reproduced list of nineteen subscribers or 'patrons' who supported the publication. Nesfield was the only commoner, the only landscape designer and one of only three subscribers not to own featured gardens; the other two being Lord Oranmore and another Nesfield supporter, Lady Emily Foley, for whom he had just completed a magnificent *parterre de broderie* at Stoke Edith, Herefordshire.

*The Gardens of England* deliberately suppressed Barry’s role as a garden designer by bringing together two people who had both come to bear him a grudge. One was an aggrieved patron; Harriet, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland. The other, Nesfield, was accused by Wolfe of making 'nasty observation' that Barry was 'wearing other one's

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736 A list of patrons is pasted into the copy held in the British Library and records 'The Gardens of England Under the Patronage of Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland His Grace the Duke of Bedford The Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne The Most Noble the Marchioness of Westminster The Right Hon. the Earl of Stamford and Warrington The Right Hon. the Earl Cowper The Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere The Right Hon. the Countess of Harrington The Right Hon. the Countess Frances Waldegrave The Right Hon. the Countess of Stamford and Warrington The Right Hon. the Viscountess Palmerston The Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne The Right Hon. Lord Hatherton The Right Hon. Lady Downes The Right Hon. Lord Oranmore Sir W. F. F. Middleton Bart. Vice-Admiral Sir Augustus Clifford, Bart. The Right Hon. Lady Emily Foley &c &c &c.'

Brooke, *Gardens*, n.p. Several copies of the lithographs and text consulted during this research were unbound or incomplete suggesting the entries were purchased individually which would also account for the rarity of the subscribers list. Other copies inspected are held at the Lindley Library, Royal Horticultural Society, London, Enville Hall, Staffordshire and Shrubland Park prior to the sale of the contents in 2007.
laurels'. The Sutherlands had previously maintained a close working relationship with Barry over twenty-two years during which time he modified all five of their properties at Lilleshall Hall, Shropshire, Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland, Trentham Hall, Cliveden, Buckinghamshire and Stafford (now Lancaster) House, London. Then, in 1855 a rift developed when Barry submitted an invoice that Harriet had not anticipated. This was not out of character for Wolfe told his son, Alfred, that Barry 'was always pertinacious in claiming the altermost farthing of what he consider'd due to him – equally so in resisting what he thought an unjust demand'. The estrangement between Barry and Harriet was permanent, but the timing was unfortunate. It was during the 'several summers' it took Brooke to prepare his paintings for The Gardens of England. Harriet was the central figure behind this publication. The volume was dedicated to her, her name topped the list of subscribers and its pages featured gardens owned by several members of her family and close friends. Barry's name appears to have been deliberately suppressed in three of the independently compiled descriptions to spare Harriet embarrassment following their disagreement.

737 John Lewis Wolfe, Letters to Alfred Barry 1860-61, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawing Collection, London, WOJ/12/1xxxv.
738 Blissett, 'Veneeerer-in-Chief', in Airs, Victorian House, p. 158.
739 Wolfe, RIBA, WOJ/1/1, 2/1/iii. On another occasion Barry had what Wolfe described as a 'tiff' with another client, Godfrey, when Barry submitted an invoice for work that Godfrey thought should have been completed without charge for a 'friend'. Wolfe also recalled an early incident during their travels on the Continent when Barry refused to pay a domestic bill which he felt was unjustified. He simply walked away.
740 Harriet was closely related to the owners of Castle Howard, Harewood House and Westfield House, Isle of Wight and she was close to the owners of Bowood, Enville Hall and Panshanger, Hertfordshire.
741 Brooke's preface explained that 'The letter-press which accompanies each view has been compiled from sources which appeared the most desirable. It presents details - historical and descriptive - which, it is hoped, will give increased interest and value to the drawings. Much information has been obtained from those who are the custodians of the gardens themselves - men who are developing, by their skill and research, a glorious art which is rapidly changing the face of the land.' This suggests Head Gardeners and owners had contributed to the text giving ample opportunity to censor Barry's name and spare Harriet's feelings. Brooke, Gardens, n.p.
The clearest example of distortion involved Harewood House; the home of 3rd Earl of Harewood, whose brother, William Sebright Lascelles, was married to Harriet's sister, Caroline. It was written of Harewood House that,

"The Parterre," the subject of our plate, is from a design by Mr Nesfield, and presents a beautiful example of decorative scenery, enclosed by characteristic shrubbery and the grand leafy masses of ancient woods. This noble garden occupied the south side of the house, is approached by a handsome flight of steps, and a terrace divided by a line of ornamental baskets filled with the choicest and most effective plants.⁷⁴²

Shirley Evans has traced a plan by Nesfield for a parterre at Harewood House that dates from 1843.⁷⁴³ Nothing further is currently known about this plan which is in the Nesfield Family Archive, Australia. Barry was also working at Harewood House in 1843.⁷⁴⁴ The terrace was surveyed during the summer of 1844⁷⁴⁵, and dated drawings show Barry was designing the terrace gardens in May 1845.⁷⁴⁶ The surviving drawings document Barry's role in designing the terrace, seats, pools, paths, the containing shapes of the *parterres de broderie*, and some of the shrubbery planting.⁷⁴⁷ One of his larger plans was used to sketch out working ideas for the three *parterres de broderie* (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2), and several tracings survive to show other similar experiments.⁷⁴⁸ So it is clear that first Nesfield and then Barry tried their hands at designing the Harewood House parterres. Barry's working sketches are in the spirit of the design that was selected (Fig. 6.3), but Brooke's lithograph (Fig. 6.4) is not. It

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⁷⁴² Ibid., n.p.
⁷⁴⁴ A drawing showing detail of dolphin cornice is dated 14 September 1843 Charles Barry, Harewood House Drawings, 1840s, Lascelles Collection, West Yorkshire Record Office, Leeds, WYL250/4/Folder 8/15.
⁷⁴⁷ Barry's plans for the terrace garden are held in three different collections. Muniments Room, Harewood House, Lascelles Collection, West Yorkshire R.O. and Charles Barry, Harewood House Plan of Flower Garden shewing the Main Compartments, Gravel Walks &c, n.d., Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London, SB89/187. The latter is a tracing of a Barry plan made by one of his pupils, John Murray.
⁷⁴⁸ Harewood House Plan of Flower Garden shewing the main compartments gravel walks &c, Barry, Harewood House, Lascelles Collection, West Yorkshire RO, WYL250/4/Folder 8/g.
shows the pools accurately, but not the parterres that surround them. In contrast Brooke’s lithograph of nearby Worsley Hall (Fig. 6.5) did capture the final design (Fig. 6.6) if in a somewhat simplified manner. It seems that whilst Brooke invested ‘several summers’ touring the country to accurately capture the gardens he featured, at Harewood House, he may have substituted Nesfield’s suggested plan for Barry’s implemented design. Confirmation of this may come from the Nesfield plan in the family archive.

Barry’s terrace as laid out has three ornately shaped pools each set within their own parterre de broderie (Figs. 6.7 and 6.8). The whole is framed between a pair of scholae and a balustrade surrounds the terrace to separate it from the park (see Fig. 6.8). The large urns and vases were added to the parterres in 1937 when they were purchased from Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire although the statues of squabbling children (Fig. 6.9), modelled by Peter von Bauerscheit the Younger in the 1720s, were part of the original scheme. Two smaller formal gardens were also created to the east and west of the house. The combination of parterres, pools, terrace, balustrade and scholae will be shown to be typical of Barry’s gardens although the pool shapes selected are more unusual. His gardens at Attree’s Villa, Trentham Hall and Shrubland Park are characterised by simple circular pools which he sometimes supplemented with ornate fountains. However, it is not unknown for Barry to experiment with other pool shapes and around 1834 he proposed an unusual cross-shaped pool set within an eight-pointed star-shaped parterre at Woburn Abbey.749

749 See section 6, pp. 205-06.
Sophieke Piebenga has suggested that Barry may have taken the design for the central pool at Harewood House - a rectangle with apsidal projections on all four faces - from nearby Worsley Hall which he visited in 1845. By coincidence the Worsley Hall pools form part of one of the gardens laid out there by Nesfield for the 1st Earl of Ellesmere which Evans dates to November 1845. At Harewood House the central pool is now dominated by the modern statue of Orpheus with a Leopard. It is framed between two pools shaped as eight-pointed stars, and similar in outline to the parterre beds Barry suggested earlier for Woburn Abbey. Barry's papers show that he considered several pool shapes for the Harewood House terrace; his usual circular pool, an octagonal shape that he had used previously at Trentham Hall, and the finally selected rectangular apsidal-shaped and star-shaped pools.

Nesfield was unconcerned that Brooke's illustration showed the same shaped pool being used at Worsley Hall and Harewood House, for it seems he did not hold Barry responsible for the theft of this design. Evans has demonstrated that Nesfield used a scrapbook of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century garden illustrations as inspiration for his work. She has identified six of his original sources which include works by Jacques de la Barauderie Boyceau and Le Blond's plates from The Theory and Practice of Gardening. This has led Evans to agree with Christopher Ridgway that Nesfield's design for the Worsley Hall parterre and pool is an almost exact replica of

a design originally prepared by Le Blond. 754 Unusually Nesfield took both the rectangular pool with apsidal projections and the surrounding parterre from a single source when he would usually have adopted his sources more sparingly deriving a single feature from each. 755

Barry was seemingly consulting some of the same sources. He had not returned from the Continent with a supply of garden drawings to match his architectural portfolio, but his commissions did give him access to some of the finest libraries in the country. Barry's closest architect friends included the 'notable bibliophile', William Tite, who had built up a famous library that must also have been at his disposal. 756 Furthermore, at Drummond Castle, Perthshire, where Barry worked in tandem with the Agent, Lewis Kennedy; the library included a copy of John James' Theory & Practice of Gardening, and by the time Barry visited Harewood House he was familiar with Cockerell's work at The Grange which included motifs taken from this publication. 757

When asked by the Duchess of Buccleuch to suggest a reading list on 'garden architecture' Barry was able to recommend both historical and contemporary texts. 758

In reflecting the eighteenth-century focus of English libraries on French texts he suggested 'Les Jardins de Louis Quatorze 1670' and Boyceau's, Traité de Jardinage (1638) as well as the Theory and Practice of Gardening (1712) and Wendel Dietterlein's, Architectura (1593). 759

757 Johnston, Library at Drummond Castle quoted in Tait, Scotland, p. 45.
758 December 1840, Barry, Letter, Drumlanrig Castle, Bundle 1162.
759 Other texts he nominated were by the most prolific writer of the day, Loudon. He suggested both of his Encyclopaedias of gardening and architecture. There was also John Buornarotti Pepworth's Hints on Ornamental Gardening, Jules Bouchet's monograph on the Villa Pia, Percier and Fontaine's, De
Barry and Nesfield may have recognised that they were both consulting similar sources, and it was not the similarity of the designs for the pools that were used at Harewood House and Worsley Hall that enraged Nesfield and led him to accuse Barry of ‘wearing other one’s laurels’. It was rather the usurping of the work to design the Harewood House parterres that Nesfield believed was his. Barry had a history of upsetting competitors in this way. At Stafford House Benjamin Wyatt felt that ‘almost from the commencement of the works, [Barry had] been secretly meddling in a way that was very unfair and improper toward me.’ 760 Barry went on to finish Wyatt’s work decorating the interior of his modified hall. At Bowhill, Selkirkshire, when William Sawrey Gilpin was working for the Duke of Buccleuch Barry offered ‘any assistance in the changes which are in progress at Bowhill’ and went on to replace W. S. Gilpin when the work to create the lake was finished. 761 We have only Nesfield’s tart observations to go on, but it appears he was justified in feeling aggrieved by the actions of a famous architect and an ambitious garden designer.

The second text to contribute to the under-estimation of Barry’s career as a garden designer was curiously his son’s biography. Background information provided by Wolfe on Trentham Hall appears to have been prompted by a direct question of detail posed to him by Arthur Barry. Wolfe responded: ‘I am not sure whether any – or what suggestions came from the Duke’s Head Gardener – or from Nesfield – the landscape

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Nesfield had been the originator of this exchange; suspicious that his contribution at Trentham Hall would be omitted. Ralph Sneyd, the owner of nearby Keele Hall, Staffordshire, noted how he 'Passed the whole day in staking out an approach from the Whitmore side [a reference to the Trentham estate] with Messrs. Nesfield, Barry and Lock [the Sutherland's Agent]... Seemingly this minor aspect of the Trentham Hall project generated the short footnote in Barry's biography that he had been 'much assisted by suggestions from Mr. Nesfield, the well known landscape-gardener'. If he was responsible for prompting this footnote Nesfield successfully influenced both of the nineteenth-century sources that spawned the many recent misguided assumptions placing these two men in a fictitious partnership in which Barry was always the architect. In truth Nesfield saw Barry as an untrustworthy competitor, but never a partner.

6.3 Barry's Leading Garden Commissions

Barry was responsible for fifty-nine domestic designs which included thirty gardens, of which nineteen were implemented in part or in full. Whilst the numbers are modest they included some of the best known and most fashionable gardens of the day.

Garden design was a continuous thread that ran through his entire domestic

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762 Wolfe, RIBA, WOJ/1, 2/1xxxv. At Bylaugh Hall, Norfolk, Barry's son, Charles, worked with Robert Richardson Banks to re-interpret an original design by William Wilkins. The scheme was complex being financed by the capital accumulated under a trust fund set up under the terms of Sir John Lombe's will to fund a new house for his beneficiary, Edward Lombe. It became the subject of proceedings in the Court of Chancery which documented payments to a 'Landscape architect' and a 'General Plan of the proposed railing and walls enclosing the entrance court, terrace gardens and kitchen garden... etc as delineated on Mr Nesfield's plan no V', Stoughton v. Lombe, Chancery Records PRO C/103/3 quoted in R. W. Liscombe, 'Designs by William Wilkins for Bylaugh Hall', Burlington Magazine, 116, July 1974, pp. 396-99, p. 397, Anon., General Plan of the proposed railing and walls enclosing the entrance court, terrace gardens and kitchen garden with the principal lines of the paths, roads etc as delineated on Mr Nesfield's plan no V, 1852, National Archive, Kew, MPA 1/66/2. This scheme thus had potential to create further ill feeling between Nesfield and the Barry family.

763 Ralph Sneyd, Diary, c 1844, Special Collections, Keele University, S3707.
764 Barry, Barry, 1867, p. 114.
architectural career from the 1820s to his final proposals for 5th Duke of Newcastle at Clumber Park in 1857. The surviving archives for four of Barry's earliest gardens at Attree's Villa, Brighton, Gwydir Castle, Gwynedd, Drummond Castle, Perthshire and Soughton Hall, Flintshire, do not reveal the precise sequencing of these schemes, but they did crystallise the majority of the components that characterised his future gardens. They also brought him under the influence of two important individuals; the experienced horticulturalist and garden designer, Lewis Kennedy, and the amateur architect and client, William John Bankes, whom Barry had previously met at Abu Simbel and it seems, in the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi.765

6.3.1 Soughton Hall, Flintshire

Bankes inherited Soughton Hall from his great uncle, Sir William Wynne, in 1815. He was a colourful individual whose biographer summed him up as:

a traveller, archaeologist, artist and connoisseur. He was a handsome charmer blessed with a sensitive eye, a full wallet and an acquisitive nature who indulged his amateur and disorganised hobby of procuring Egyptian and European art all his adult life. But one night in 1841... was caught with a guardsman in Green Park... and escaped into exile... 766

He used Soughton Hall for his early, not altogether pleasing, experiments in architecture and garden design (Fig. 6.10). He engaged Barry to assist him with work to the 'proposed walls, fences, hedges, stiles and gates' which proceeded very slowly because of disputes with neighbours.767 The work dragged on throughout the 1820s and was still incomplete in 1831. Barry could have been drawn into this project at any

765 Wolfe described Bankes as an amateur architect. Wolfe, RIBA, WOJ/1, 2/11xxx. Soane also published a design entitled 'Roman temple altered into a casina retaining the general character of the exterior of the ancient edifice. This design was made from the suggestions of Mr. Pitt of Boconnoc, afterwards Lord Camelford, and of Mr. Bankes, afterwards Member of Parliament for Corfe Castle in Dorset.' The plan appeared in J. Soane, Designs for Public and Private Buildings, London, 2nd ed., extra-illustrated. 1832, pl. XXXV reproduced in Michael McCarthy, 'Thomas Pitt, Piranesi and John Soane: English architects in Italy in the 1770s', Apollo, 134 (1991), 380-86 McCarthy, 'Pitt, Piranesi and Soane', Fig. 6, p. 383.

766 Sebba, Collector, pp. 1-2.

767 William John Bankes letters to his Agent, Martin, 12 and 18 Dec 1831, Bankes Family Archive quoted in Ibid., p. 123.
time for Bankes was one of the earliest sponsors of his architectural career. He wrote to his father as early as 1821 about

A young architect [Barry] to whom I had been of what little use I could abroad, and to whom I had been lately able to do a pretty essential service in introducing and recommending him to Archdeacon Cambridge, who is one of the most active commissioners for the erection of new churches...He is a very nice architectural draughtsman and therefore when I move into Dorsetshire I will have him down to Kingston Hall, in order to have exact elevations and plans made of those alterations there which I have only roughly sketched upon paper, as well as to set him to contriving the distribution above stairs; that, whether executed or not, there may remain in evidence what were my notions upon the subject as confronted with those of Wyatt.

When Barry became involved at Soughton is unclear, but he worked successfully there and at Kingston Lacy, Dorset where he developed, implemented, and, on seemingly rare occasions, modified his client's ideas on architecture, architectural history and garden design. Bankes was a demanding and difficult client obsessed in every detail.

Soughton Hall is now an hotel surrounded by rolling parkland. Although five miles from the North Wales coast, it is blasted by the winds that gust along the Wirral peninsula suggesting there was good reason for Bankes to concentrate on the development of walls and hedges. Barry's exact contribution to the Hall and its gardens is unclear, but today the most striking exterior features are the four rough stone 'Spanish turrets' with flattened onion-domed tops (Figs. 6.11 and 6.12) at the corners of the walls that almost encircle the house. These must have been among

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768 Although Colvin puts Barry's work at Soughton Hall at 'c1825/30'. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 104. The same dates are repeated by Blissett, Veneerer-in-Chief', in Airs, Victorian House, p. 55. Although in a different account, Blissett places Barry's first work at Soughton Hall to around 1822; presumably because of Bankes' letter to his father the year before describing how he was able to help the young architect. Blissett, 'Barry', (unpublished thesis), Appendix B.


770 Bankes records very few occasions when he bent his ideas to those of Barry and when he does he appears to regret the decision. In his many loose notes entitled Observations on Art and Architecture, he notes how he was 'foolish enough to be persuaded' against a particular notion by Barry. William John Bankes, Observations on Art & Architecture, n.d., Bankes Collection, Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, D/BKL/HJ3/5, Genoa envelope.

Bankes' 'proposed walls' and were seemingly influenced by his Spanish travels between 1812 and 1815. Barry could empathise with this having visited Verona and Madrid during his own Continental tour. Spain made a significant impression upon Bankes inspiring him to assemble the first serious collection of Spanish paintings in England which were later hung at Kingston Lacy.\(^772\)

At Soughton the ill-proportioned plain stone turrets sit incongruously on top of roughly hewn stone block work. Bankes' meddling nature would suggest he had some part in their design.\(^773\) Their crude finish and lack of decoration is uncharacteristic of anything else by Barry, although something akin to the profile of the roof recurs in the onion-domed version of the square garden pavilion he considered for Attree's Villa (Fig. 6.13) around 1829. Barry's perspective for Drummond Castle, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828, (Fig. 6.14) included another variation of this square garden pavilion, but both this and the Attree's Villa version were more sophisticated than those used at Soughton Hall suggesting they pre date 1827. The square garden pavilion was to become the most frequently used of his garden buildings featuring at Trentham Hall (Fig. 6.15) in a design from around 1835, and recurring in proposals for the Earl of Montrose's shooting box, Buchanan House, Stirlingshire in 1837, in his 1840 perspective of the gardens around Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire (Fig. 6.16), and in a scheme developed by a former pupil of his for Bowood in 1851 and 1852.\(^774\)

\(^772\) They were hung in the Spanish Room designed by Barry. Kathleen MacLarnon, 'William Bankes and his Collection of Spanish Paintings at Kingston Lacy', Burlington Magazine, 132, February 1990, pp.114-25.

\(^773\) The CADW Listing Description identifies Barry as the architect 'although Bankes was also responsible.' www.coflein.gov.uk/wales_screenres/CPG112.pdf [February 2007].

\(^774\) Charles Barry, Photocopies of Plans and Drawings, Buchanan House Alterations, 1837, Register of House Plans, National Archive for Scotland, Edinburgh, RHP 47066-68, Charles Barry, Buchanan House, 1837, Royal Institute of British Architects Archive and Drawings Collection, London, SC34/8(1-2).
6.3.2 Drummond Castle, Perthshire

In September 1827 Barry was visiting Drummond Castle, the Scottish home of 21st Baron Willoughby de Eresby, developing proposals to modify the Castle and decorate the terrace gardens immediately below. Using his watercolour perspective (see Fig. 6.14) that still hangs in the Castle, Blissett described this version as 'a castellated fortress of the 15th century reminiscent of a Tuscan stronghold, replete with watch towers, marked with the hand of time and fronted by an architectural garden, with fountain and pavilion.'

Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828, this design included steps, terraces and statuary connecting the Castle with a vast new parterre that was just visible in the foreground. The garden included his favourite element, water, with a fountain, and his usual square garden pavilion; this time topped by an heraldic beast with pennant to signify the status of the Castle. The design was never executed, but a plan by G. P. Kennedy (Fig. 6.17), a son of Lewis Kennedy and pupil of Barry, captured the 'additions and improvements since 1838'.

This was dominated by the parterre that is just visible edging into the foreground of Barry's watercolour. On the evidence of Barry's painting Blissett has credited him with the design of the parterre, but Fiona Jamieson has acknowledged that either Barry or Kennedy could have been responsible although she later declared Kennedy the most likely. Barry's watercolour depicts the final design of the parterre in a monotonous green wash suggesting that he had some knowledge of the pattern, but did not

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775 Blissett, 'Veneerer-in-Chief', in Ains, Victorian House, p. 56.
776 George Penrose Kennedy, Drummond Castle Additions and Improvements since 1838, c1838, Willoughby de Eresby Collection Drummond Castle, uncat.
777 Jamieson, Drummond Castle, p. 13. In an earlier article she was more cautious about the extent of Lewis Kennedy's involvement, but she based this on limited knowledge of his writings on agriculture and estate management and not his specially commissioned Green Books of garden designs that have since been uncovered. Fiona Jamieson, 'Drummond Castle Gardens Perthshire', Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society Journal (1990), pp. 36-46, p. 38. Five years before Barry's watercolour, in 1822, Loudon had noted the general improvements and extensions that Lewis Kennedy had in hand at Drummond Castle. Unfortunately he gave no further explanation of the work, but this may indicate that Kennedy had the design work for the parterre in hand before Barry arrived. Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, (1822), p. 1255.
understand the precise differentiation between paths and beds, or alternately that he did not wish to detract from his study of the proposed architecture of the Castle. In contrast, his later watercolour perspective of Drumlanrig Castle (see Fig. 6.16) gave equal importance to the Castle and the gardens suggesting that at Drummond Castle he was aware of, but not responsible for the parterre design. By this point Kennedy had already taken the lead in the re-introduction of box to the nineteenth-century British parterre and designed and laid out the parterre in the Italian Garden at Chiswick House. Furthermore the design of the Drummond Castle parterre is very different from later parterres that are known to be by Barry. It lies in the valley beneath the Castle at the foot of Barry's terrace, but it is not embraced by a balustrade or drawn into the terraces in anyway. Rather, it exists as an adjacent, but separate stage in the progression around the gardens. Later G. P. Kennedy chose this parterre as the inspiration for his own work at Bowood and it seems fitting that he would select a parterre created by his father.778 Barry's watercolour therefore shows that he was closely co-ordinating his work with Lewis Kennedy's development of the wider garden. The result was that he was in a position to learn about the principles and techniques of parterre design from the most skilled practitioner in the country at the time.

6.3.3 Gwydir Castle, Gwynedd

Between 1826 and 1838 Barry was working on another Willoughby de Eresby estate at Gwydir Castle, Gwynedd, which again brought him into contact with Lewis Kennedy. Barry's alterations to the west wing service block were contemporary with alterations to the garden walls and the creation of another new parterre (Fig. 6.18). This may have been inspired by a Tudor rose in acknowledgement of the Castle's

778 See section 6, pp. 241-42.
origins under the Willoughby de Eresby's forebears, the Wynne family, and the surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gardens. A lost plan by Barry showing the ground floor of the Castle and the parterre (Fig. 6.19) is now known only through an indistinct photocopy. Kennedy is unlikely to have isolated himself from the garden developments at Gwydir and there is evidence of his work there in the white quartz rocks (Fig. 6.20) that were introduced to the garden. This is not indigenous to the area, but was used to line a sunken walkway to the south-east of the Castle and to surround the perimeter of the seventeenth-century pool in the same way that Kennedy used white quartz to edge the pools in the Drummond Castle parterre (Fig. 6.21). The same white rock can also be found around the remnants of a naturalistic water feature (Fig. 6.22) that he created at Abercairney. Whilst the CADW Register Description states that the early nineteenth-century garden modifications at Gwydir were by Kennedy this is to ignore the evidence of the missing Barry plan. Instead the Gwydir scheme hints at the continuing co-ordination of work between Barry and Kennedy, a situation in which a young architect would continue to learn from an experienced horticulturalist and garden designer. There is also evidence to suggest that Barry's experience at Gwydir, with its surviving sixteenth-century garden, influenced his most important early commission at Attree's Villa.

6.3.4 Attree's Villa, Brighton

Barry designed this Italianate villa with its round-arched loggia and Italian tiled roof with broadly over hanging eaves (Fig. 6.23) for the influential Brighton solicitor,

779 One photocopy is held by the current owner of Gwydir Castle, Peter Welford. Blissett discussed two plans of Gwydir Castle whose whereabouts are currently unknown. One may have been the original of the photocopy plan referred to which he dates to c1828. The other was from 1838. Blissett, 'Veneerer-in-Chief', in Airs, Victorian House, p. 57. The plans may originally have formed part of the Ancaster papers held in the Lincolnshire Record Office which Blissett used to support the research for his thesis which was submitted in 1983. Blissett, 'Barry', (unpublished thesis). However, around 1986 the Ancaster papers relating to Welsh estates were withdrawn from the Lincolnshire R. O. by the Earl of Ancaster for re-distribution to Record Offices in Wales. Gwynedd Record Office has recently received some such papers and a draft catalogue has been prepared, but the papers suggest that certain items have been withdrawn and sold privately prior to receipt at the Gwynedd R. O.
Thomas Attree. It was conceived as the first of several villas occupying the head of a shallow valley that ran down towards the sea, on a fashionable new estate in Queen’s Park. Difficulties in negotiating access along the cliff frustrated further development. Barry’s sketch for one of the other eight Italianate villas he originally had in mind (Fig. 6.24) showed him developing ideas for more terraced gardens.  

Barry’s surviving plan for Thomas Attree’s home places the detailed design for the villa and its gardens to 1829 and local newspapers confirm that it had been completed by 1831. Between 1824 and 1828 Barry had worked on another six projects in Brighton and Hove some of which would have brought him into earlier contact with Attree and Lord Willoughby de Eresby so the ideas for Thomas Attree’s garden may have been incubating long before the 1829 plan. It is the first comprehensive garden design to be clearly and unequivocally identified as by Barry, and it is the only garden that took him beyond what was essential to frame the architecture of the house. The villa was demolished in 1971 leaving only the tower that housed an engine which is known locally as the Pepperpot (Fig. 6.25), a pair of gate piers, some fragments of garden walls and a square garden pavilion (see Figs. 6.23 and 6.26). This formal garden was very different from the typical urban villa shrubberies and winding walks that were being designed by Nash and Decimus Burton. Barry was reflecting the ideas that had influenced Loudon’s 1812 *Hints on the Formation of Gardens and Pleasure Grounds* which attempted to popularise the urban formal garden and break away from

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780 Blissett has analysed the fourteen known sketches of the Queen’s Park development and concluded eleven were by Barry and three are tracings, probably by G.P. Kennedy. The fourteen sketches are for some eight different villa designs. Ibid. (unpublished thesis), p. 81, fnt. 246.


782 For details of Barry’s other commissions in Brighton and Hove see Blissett, 'Barry', (unpublished thesis), Appendix B, pp. 1-3.
The prevailing taste, ...[that] must be imitated; the modern style, therefore, has been applied
in town villas without science, and the grounds of the retiring citizen filled up with clumps
and strips of trees, after the undigested ideas of his builder or upholsterer; or planted with
borders of rare shrubbery, by his nurseryman. 783

Barry was now blending inspiration drawn from his Italian travels with the newly
emerging taste for formality that was being encouraged by his associate, Loudon. 784
He had escaped from the English landscape style.

The garden Barry created for Thomas Attree was tiered. The stone-edged beds of the
upper parterre were grouped around a circular dolphin fountain that he designed. 785
The whole could be viewed, but not accessed from the south-facing loggia of the
boudoir (Fig. 6.27). So far the design reflected the basic model that had been
employed by Lewis Kennedy, Humphry Repton, Sir Jeffry Wyatville, Lady Catherine
Pembroke and many others, but Barry also incorporated a picturesque sensitivity for
clever changes in levels and a single asymmetrically placed pavilion to look eastwards.

783 Loudon, Hints on Gardens, p. vi.
784 Loudon published severaI of Barry’s designs. John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopaedia of Cottage,
Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and
Longman, 1833), pp. 482-86, Design V. This design was for ‘a parsonage for a particular situation in
Somersetshire’ and may have been for the village of Wrington where Barry designed the reredos in
the church. Whilst the rectory illustrated by Loudon is in the Jacobean style, an Italianate rectory was built
at Wrington to designs by Edward Davis. Loudon also featured Barry’s design for ‘The Beau Idéal
Villa’. John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and
Furniture 2 vols (Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing, 1846; repr.2000), 1, pp. 813-21. Both men were
also members of the Metropolitan Improvements Society which was formed in 1842.
785 ‘The fountain designed by Mr. Barry for the Queen’s park, Brighton, viz., a pair of Grecian Tazzas
resting on the tails of three entwined dolphins, and a plain ground basin 16ft. diameter; entire height, 8
ft. 90-0-0’. John Seeley, ‘Advertisement’, Builder, 26 July 1851, p. 474. Presumably they also
supplied the statues of the Dogs of Alcibiades which featured in a later catalogue for Austin and
Seeley. John Austin, Collection of Ornaments at Austin’s Artificial Stone Works, New Road, Regent’s
Park, London, (Nearly opposite Trinity Church) for Gardens, parks, and Pleasure Grounds; and for
every style of building: consisting of vases, Tazzas, and Fountains; ornamental fish ponds, flower pots,
mignonette boxes, &c. globe and other sun-dials. Figures from the Antique: Busts of eminent men,
lions, the alcibiades and other dogs, sea-horses, sphinxes, dolphins, eagles, storks and other animals,
Church fonts, tombs and monuments; the Royal and other arms, crests and coronets; ornamental
porticos; Gothic, Elizabethan, Old English, Grecian, and Italian chimneys; columns, capitals,
caryatidae, termini, mouldings, panels, windows, balusters, pedestals, brackets, trusses, flowers,
grotesque heads, finials, pinacles, gable ornaments, parapets, copings, and a large assortment of
other articles connected with every style of building. Grottoes, artificial rock-work, and cascades,
over the lower walled garden, possibly to the sea.\textsuperscript{786} In form and position it was remarkably similar to the square pavilion that Peter Frederick Robinson, whom Mavis Batey has identified as a follower of Sir Uvedale Price, had illustrated in one of his Tuscan designs from 1827 (see Fig. 2.11).\textsuperscript{787} The terraces were also encircled by the pierced Pompeian inspired wall (see Fig. 5.22) taken from The Grange. Copies of the Dog of Alcabiades guarded the flight of divided steps that connected the upper and lower gardens. A simple semi-circular pool was set against the wall at the base of the divided steps to introduce water into the lower garden. This formal garden clustering within the villa terrace fits perfectly with Arthur Barry’s description of his father’s love for ‘architectural gardens’, and Barry’s passion for Italy and water.\textsuperscript{788}

Outside the formal garden the basement of the pavilion doubled as a tool store which stood next to a feature that Barry indicated on his plan as the ‘Mound’. To the north the Pleasure Gardens were bounded by a Fruit Wall. This is the extent of Barry’s garden designs that venture out into the wider pleasure garden away from the house. Although many of his later gardens were much larger than that at Attree’s Villa, they all retained a visual and direct relationship with the house. At Attree’s Villa the Mound broke this bond which may account in part for the change of style. It suggests an Elizabethan garden and may have been inspired by the surviving snail Mound next to the chapel at Gwydir Castle which was clearly shown on the first edition OS map (Fig. 6.28). Today it is planted with a holly hedge to mark the path that spirals its way to the top. Other Elizabethan garden features that Barry would have seen at Gwydir

\textsuperscript{786} A plan drawn by Arthur Bolton suggests there were a pair of square pavilions, with the second one located to the north-east of the villa. However, no other source suggests this was the case and he is believed to have been mistaken. Bolton, \textit{The Gardens of Italy with Historical and Descriptive Notes by E. March Phillips}, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{787} Mavis Batey, ‘Cross Currents in Landscape’, The Picturesque Conference, Ashridge Management College 1-6 August 2008.

\textsuperscript{788} Barry, \textit{Barry, 1867}, p. 76.
included the Terrace Walk, carved stone archways, the octagonal pool and the summerhouse next to the Mound which has subsequently been greatly enlarged. His involvement with the seemingly Tudor rose revivalist parterre at Gwydir may have prompted him to adopt a similar revivalist note in introducing a mound at Attree’s Villa. It certainly introduced a hint of the ‘Anglo Italian’ style that Barry later developed in his proposals for Highclere Castle, Hampshire. At a more practical level it may also have provided views down to the sea or even been a useful disguise for spoil excavated for the house.

Barry experimented with working designs for the Pepperpot, the square pavilion and the parterre on his 1829 plan (Fig. 6.29) of the villa. The parterre designs are very different from those employed at Gwydir and Drummond Castles. They lack confidence suggesting this was a new departure for him which adds weight to the argument presented here that Lewis Kennedy was the driving force behind the parterres designed for Lord Willoughby de Eresby. However these sketches do confirm that Barry was designing parterres over a decade before Nesfield launched his career as a landscape gardener in 1840. Barry was developing the parterre as an integral element of the decoration in his largely architectural gardens.

In these four early schemes Attree, Bankes and Kennedy provided Barry with the opportunity to experiment with most of the features that came to characterise his garden designs in the next three decades although, it fell to other clients to take him

789 Ibid., p. 110. Barry undertook two country house schemes in the Elizabethan style at Highclere Castle and Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire. The later involved the creation of a small parterre which Robin Whalley and Anne Jennings have suggested was inspired by plasterwork in the house. Robin Whalley and Anne Jennings, Knot Gardens and Parterres (London: Barn Elms, 1998), p. 79.
away from the intimate scale and picturesque qualities of the flower gardens that typified his career before 1830.

6.3.5 Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire

Whilst they were never implemented, Barry’s designs for a flower garden at Woburn Abbey give context to later commissions making them worthy of further analysis. Arthur Barry dated his father’s work here to 1834 and in 1835 Barry received £160 for plans to alter the Marble Gallery and erect a monument to the 6th Duke of Bedford.\(^{790}\) An elevation and plan for the Marble Gallery is mounted above two unsigned undated parterre plans in an album of drawings by Barry and Wolfe.\(^{791}\) They are considered to be designs for the Woburn Abbey garden. A further plan and perspective came to light in a sketchbook compiled by Barry’s pupil, G. P. Kennedy, which was subsequently broken up.\(^{792}\) The view is a characteristic rapid and accomplished sketch by Barry very similar in style to his sketch of the garden he created at Trentham Hall (Fig. 6.30). All three plans for Woburn Abbey are for *parterres de broderie* as distinct from the stiffer more geometric patterns that Barry sketched for Thomas Attree. As such they demonstrate his growing confidence with this medium.

One of the plans includes a popular parterre design of interlocking circles forming a chain pattern.\(^{793}\) The same motif was used by Barry in the frieze around the exterior of the Reform Club, London and in the floor mosaic to the entrance corridor at Trentham


\(^{792}\) Two of the items from this are now Charles Barry, Sketch and plan of Woburn Abbey ‘Flower Garden’ and ‘Plan of Flower Garden’, n.d., Royal Institute of British Architects Drawing Collection, London, SC34/11/1-2.

\(^{793}\) Ibid., SC34/11/2.
Hall. Barry also used it to decorate the schola in the Panel Garden at Shrubland Park. It was suggested in a proposal for the Harewood House parterre and introduced as a late alteration to the parterre in the Upper Flower Garden at Trentham Hall (Fig. 6.31) where,

A short time ago the plan of the outer borders underwent a change; it now presents a flowing chain pattern, distinctly formed by carefully kept box-edgings. In the centre of each link is a cypher filled with flowers, and from every fourth there also arises a tapering cypress. As a novelty in the arrangement, the narrow pathways and interstices running along the outer chain were laid down with differently-coloured gravel, and the effect shows itself advantageously, especially from the Terrace.

This has led some to suggest the Trentham change was made by the Head Gardener, but the introduction of a motif familiar to Barry and already employed in the entrance corridor of the house suggests it was done at his instigation demonstrating his continuing involvement in the detailed design of the garden.

The Woburn Abbey parterre proposals also included the five-panelled fan with curlicues seen by Barry at The Grange, which he also repeated in the Upper Flower Garden at Trentham Hall. The eight-pointed star-shaped pool that may have been inspired by his proposal for the Woburn Abbey parterre and later appeared on the Harewood House terrace (see Fig. 6.3) has already been considered. Thus the designs for this relatively small, rejected garden do much to establish Barry's treatment of the parterre in his later commissions.

6.3.6 Kingston Lacy, Dorset

By the time Bankes inherited Kingston Lacy in December 1834 his and his architect's thoughts on gardens had matured considerably. Only two significant garden features remained to be added to Barry's garden portfolio; the open loggia which he used as a

separate garden building for the first time at Trentham Hall and the curved seat or
*schola* which made its debut on the terrace at Kingston Lacy.\(^{796}\)

Bankes incessantly recorded the minutest detail of a torrent of ideas on architecture
and gardens in a series of Memorandum Books and an essay describing his ideal,
mythical house which was largely based on Kingston Lacy.\(^{797}\) He had two main
sources of architectural inspiration. Firstly, his mistaken belief that Inigo Jones had
designed Kingston Lacy fostered a misplaced reliance upon his other buildings. Many
of these, including Coleshill, Oxfordshire and The Grange, were the subject of the
same erroneous attribution, but the inclusion of The Grange explains how Bankes and
Barry came to discover Cockerell’s *schola* there.\(^{798}\) The quest to understand Jones’
designs directed Bankes towards his second source: Italian architecture, and
particularly the work of Andrea Palladio. Thus Bankes and Barry used a revivalist
framework that merged the Italian Renaissance and the English seventeenth century.

Barry’s earliest surviving plans for Kingston Lacy are dated August 1835 although his
ideas were being acted upon as early as May when the contractor engaged to construct
the south terrace wrote to Bankes that it was proceeding ‘according to Mr Barry’s

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\(^{796}\) See section 6, pp. 209.

\(^{797}\) William John Bankes, Explanatory Notice to accompany the Model, as well as the Plans, Elevations
and Sections which represent the same design in greater detail., 1845, Bankes Collection, Dorset
History Centre Dorchester, D/B K L/H J3/1. There are three copies of this essay in the Bankes
Collection. Two are in Bankes’ own hand and the later one is dated 1845. The third copy, in a different
hand, is dated 1851. There are slight differences between Bankes’ two copies. The 1851 fair copy
appears to follow Bankes’ dated copy. All references are taken from the fair copy dated 1851 initialled
PB. Bankes explains that his Essay and an associated Model (about which nothing more is known)
were intended to inform an Architectural Prize. The essays relate to a mythical property largely
inspired by Kingston Lacy which was the site ‘present to my mind when this conception was first in
progress’.

\(^{798}\) Indeed Bankes paid for Barry to visit Coleshill, and presumably, The Grange, as he worked up the
wish. Barry remained with the scheme until 1841 when he abruptly severed all contact to escape the scandal of Bankes' exile. The garden evolved, therefore, in two phases: the period that is analysed here between 1835 and 1841 when Barry and Bankes worked on it together, and the period after 1841 when Bankes obtained statuary and vases on the Continent and used his sister, Lady Anne Falmouth, and his Agent to arrange his new acquisitions around the garden (Fig. 6.32) according to his instructions.

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799 C. B. Frith, Letter to William John Bankes, 13 May 1835, Bankes Collection, Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, I1J/402. Blissett has also suggested that Barry worked for Bankes on an earlier project at Kingston Lacy that predated his work for him at Soughton Hall. He does not specify the extent of this scheme noting that Bankes 'had already sketched out what he wanted'. Blissett, 'Venerer-in-Chief', in Airs, Victorian House. Nothing further is known of this scheme.

800 Cleminson, 'Kingston Lacy', p. 125. Arthur Barry deliberately expunged Bankes from his father's biography, (although he overlooked the Appendix of Barry's work) ignoring Wolfe's note that Barry 'was engaged to go to Kingston hall in company with Bankes on the very day on which the latter had to fly from justice; and considering the nature of the charge it was most fortunate for the Sir [Wolfe's name for Barry] they were not caught together.' Wolfe, RIBA, WOJ/1/, 1lxxx.

801 Sebba, Collector, p.2. During the post 1841 phase Bankes acquired items such as the Venetian well heads which continued to reflect the spirit of Palladio's Venice and hence also of Inigo Jones. Some of the well heads were originals and some, expensive copies. They were shown spilling out from the terrace across the lawn in an engraving published in 1868 in John Hutchins, The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset completed from the best and most ancient historians, inquisitions post mortem, and other valuable records and MSS. in the public offices and libraries, and in private hands 4 vols (Westminster: John Bowyer Nichols, 1868), 3, Plate 10. The wellheads from the Palazzo la Bernardo and the Palazzo Breganza in Venice cost Bankes 500 Austrian lire plus 100 lire for their replacement and 1,200 Austrian lire respectively. Six others were specially made in the Montresor workshop and were copies of a well head belonging to the Bevilacqua family that had been moved from Venice to their property in Verona. Another was designed by Bankes himself and carved by Angelo Giordani. Bankes wanted the well heads integrated into the garden beyond the terrace and he reflected this in their placement and his instructions to his Agent. He referred to them as his 'tubs' writing, 'you are aware, [they] are to be like wells filed with earth but must be protected as far as possible from the actual contact with the damp and moisture internally so that a space may intervene between the mounts and the marble. If long sawings of slate could be had these would answer the purpose best...if not oak trimmings hardened by fire and driven in as piles so as to touch one another may serve very well and then the soil which should be selected of rather a dry and porous quality but yet such as bay trees will thrive in, can be poured in afterwards.' Bankes Collection, Dorset H.C, Box 8C/81 Memorandum Book, folder entitled '4 docs instructions n. d. &1 memo'. Some of the items commissioned by Bankes after Barry had left his employment, such as the well heads and the rosso Veronese lions copied from those at the foot of the Capitol in Rome, demonstrate continuing Italian sources of inspiration. Others, such as the cupid handled bronze vases copied from Versailles and the marble vases supported by four bronze tortoises appear more idiosyncratic choices. Details of the items collected by Bankes can be found in the Bankes Collection, Dorset H.C. which includes drawings of tortoise vases, FA 11/8/39, FA11/8/56, FA11/8/60, FA 11/8/61; Drawings of well heads, FA 11/8/33, FA 11/8/34, FA 11/8/44, FA 11/8/45, FA11/8/57, FA 11/8/58; Sketch of rosso Veronese lions FA 11/8/59, Sketch of Cupid Handled vases FA 11/8/7. A summary of these items is given in Mitchell, Kingston Lacy Dorset, p. 44.
The narrow south terrace created by Barry was terminated at both ends by his first designs for the *schola* (Fig. 6.33). The seat was later used at Harewood House, Trentham Hall and Shrubland Park, and it was adopted by his pupil, George Somers Clark, in his design for the gardens at Cowley Manor, Gloucestershire. Inevitably Bankes contributed ideas for the design of the Kingston Lacy terrace taking his inspiration from contemporary houses such as Longleat, Wiltshire and another Jones design:

the Queen's House at Greenwich, which fronts not to the south but to the river, the proportions differ in it not very widely from mine, but that at Greenwich is somewhat broader, & its balustrade open & slender which ... particularly is very usually the case with the works of the great architect. There is a terrace to the SW front at Longleat also, apparently contemporary with the House, where proportions coincide very closely with that of mine. The raising of the terrace diminishes the actual height of the garden front, & its apparent height still more... 802

Like most of the entries in his Memorandum Books this was undated, but it appears to have been recorded around 1837, and the Kingston Lacy terraces were under construction in 1835 and 1836. 803 The shallow south-facing terrace contributed to Bankes' broader vision where

The external level and ground-line is not the same upon any of the four fronts; that all should be thus varied is by no means requisite, (it happens to be so at Kingston Lacy, of which I had the site present to my mind when this conception was first in progress,) but it is a pleasing surprise to the new-comer, and a point of convenience to the inhabitant, that there should be a material abatement in the descent by other outlets (to the grounds and gardens) as compared with the ascending flight of entrance; and it has always appeared to me to be a real beauty in the Italian villas; and even in some of their city palaces (several in Genoa for instance, the Colonna at Rome, and the Pitti at Florence, not to speak of a hundred others) that by a judicious adaptation and grafting, as it were, upon the accidents of the ground, an upstairs-room, as regards the first and principal ingress, is frequently found to be on the ground floor as regards the gardens; and, where no internal inequalities would lend themselves to such modifications, terraces are thrown up, or long walks upon the bastions and wall-tops carried forward from the 'Piano nobile', so as to extend the suite into the open air, and to incorporate the pleasure ground into the house. In conformity with this feeling... I have carried a Terrace along the whole extent of that front, to which there is a descent of no more than two steps (or about 1 foot) from the principal floor-line, which, added to a drip of 3 inches gained in the breadth of the Terrace itself, constitutes the height of a parapet or guard carried round it (in the form externally of a broad ?torus) which thus obstructs nothing of the view, but is flush with the flooring of the rooms. 804

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803 Bankes, Memo Book, Bankes Collection, Dorset H.C., D/BKL/HJ1/442.
804 Bankes, Explanatory Notice, Bankes Collection, Dorset H. C., D/BKL/HJ3/1, pp. 4-5.
Bankes took design features from the Italian palazzo and applied them with picturesque feeling subverting interior and exterior spaces and playing with deceptive changes in level. The south terrace at Kingston Lacy had Italian origins, but he also imagined using it in a distinctly Eastern fashion. Bronze rings were set into the stonework above the ground floor windows and bronze imitation urns were specially designed to disguise recesses cut into the balustrade to support long poles. An awning was draped between the rings and the posts swathing the Italian terrace in a Bedouin-like tent reminiscent of Barry and Bankes' first meeting at Abu Simbel. Such images give form to Blissett’s perception that Barry had been deeply impressed by the grandeur of Egyptian architecture.

A plan (Fig. 6.34) which incorporates the majority of Barry’s modifications to the exterior of the house also shows the new south terrace and the Obelisk Walk that extended out from it. They are supplemented by a new garden to the east of the house which replaced the forecourt that became redundant following Bankes and Barry’s reconfiguration of the house. Today the area is occupied by the Dutch Garden and the avenue of cedar trees that Bankes planted extends outwards from here into the park. Barry’s design was for a simple parterre with gravel walks centred on an oval pool. A balustraded set of divided stairs with landings would form the southern boundary (Fig. 6.35) giving views out over a lower garden with a pair of circular pools set around a central rectangular pool with apsidal projections on its two narrowest faces. The pool arrangement was reminiscent of the later Harewood House.

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805 There are several references by Bankes to this awning. He discusses storage space for the poles in Memorandum Book, Dorset RO, 8C/81. A note on a drawing of the bronze urns and the balustrade also refers to the awning. Bankes Papers, Dorset RO, FA11/8/53.
806 See section 6, p. 184.
807 Minor differences were noted between the elevations included on this plan and the final modification made by Barry to the south and east façades of the house. Whilst the plan is undated this suggests it is from the earlier period of Barry’s involvement c. 1835. Jackson-Stops, Arcadia, p. 134.
terrace. For the first time, three arched grottoes were to be set into the outer face of the boundary wall which was terminated at each end by a semi-circular bastion similar in profile to the *scholae* that had already been formed to terminate the south terrace. To the north the parterre garden had a simpler balustraded boundary decorated with vases. Gervase Jackson-Stops has suggested that Bankes’ architectural taste at Kingston Lacy was influenced by Peter Paul Rubens’ *Palazzi Moderna di Genova* and the same can be seen in this terraced parterre garden. Rubens illustrated four *giardinos* all of which were very similar in spirit to this parterre. Simple quartered parterres were usually centred on a simple *fontana*. Rubens’ plan for the Palazzo del Sigr. Niccolo Spinola also included a narrow terrace with semi-circular bastions at each end, precisely as was created here.

When Jackson-Stops catalogued Barry’s garden plan for the exhibition, *An English Arcadia*, he was taken by the two ‘somewhat mysterious’ small pavilions that terminated the southern boundary. In one of his many Memorandum Books Bankes had visualised an imaginary garden bisected by a parterre with a ‘great marble landing’ running east-west that led to a conservatory that in turn was terminated by two small buildings; a chapel and a bath house with hot and cold baths. Presumably these were the equivalent of the ‘mysterious pavilions’ illustrated by Barry. According to Bankes the ‘great marble landing’ would be supported above an open cloister bordering the flower garden where, in the winter months ‘glass might be

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808 Ibid., p. 134.
811 Sebba tells us that Bankes also planned a ‘cloister garden’ in the forecourt of Soughton Hall. Sebba, *Collector*, p. 123.
laid over the whole slanting to & resting upon the ledges of the side cloisters & so covering a garden of exotic trees growing in the ground. At first sight it might appear that Bankes' imagination was driving this design rather than historical research. Yet he arrived at the same solution when discussing Kingston Lacy in another Memorandum Book where his inspiration was drawn directly from Italian architecture tempered by horticultural necessity. He was a knowledgeable plantsman and he explained:

"Upon the Eastern front where the ground line is sunk considerably lower than on the Southern, (it being, among other reasons, desirable to have a sheltering bank or slope on that side of the Parterre which is left open towards the South, both to define and separate it from grounds of a more expanded character, & to protect the flower-beds from violent gusts of wind) I have there broken the descent of the broken double branched flight of steps by two raised Platforms placed at the return, on which tubs of Orange and lemon trees may be ranged, whose tops will appear in sight & perfume the Lady's dressing room on the one hand, and the whole Southern suite upon the other through the Eastern window which terminates it: the plants may, if that be wished, even be sunk into the platforms, since they can easily be glazed over during the winter months."

Barry's plan for the east garden had also included a parterre separated from the rest of the garden by a balustrade rather than a bank, and a divided stair with terraced landings for citrus trees. The survival of Bankes' account gives the impression that he dominated the design stage of this garden however, the terrace, parterre, central pool and divided stairs all captured the essence of the garden that Barry had already created at Attree's Villa. It therefore seems that Barry was very much the equal in this collaboration to design an Italian Garden where he and Bankes also indulged the picturesque aesthetic with parallel terrace walks intended to spring out from the east front, and the deceptive mixing of internal and external spaces.

812 Bankes Collection, Memorandum Book 8C/81, p. 27. See also D/BKL/ Box 8C/81h for an undated letter from Bankes that opens 'My dear Sir', possibly to Barry, and covers similar issues. This letter may have been Bankes' instructions to Barry to translate his written account of the garden into Barry's plan.
813 Bankes, Explanatory Notice, Bankes Collection, Dorset H. C., D/BKL/HJ3/1, p. 5.
There was also an eclectic thread at Kingston Lacy that was reminiscent of the properties created by Thomas Hope and William Beckford, whom Bankes had admired in his youth.\textsuperscript{814} At Kingston Lacy Bankes and Barry introduced the illusions of Inigo Jones and seventeenth-century England, Italian Renaissance palazzos, Middle Eastern archaeology and Spain. The awning would unfurl to shade the south terrace (Fig. 6.36) with its vista along the gravel walk to the Obelisk (Fig. 6.37) that Bankes brought back from Philae, Egypt in 1822. The broad walk mirrored the dimensions of another walk in the grounds of nearby Forde Abbey, Dorset where Bankes understood that Jones had worked. Bankes sketched his proposal for the Kingston Lacy walk explaining,

\begin{quote}
The great gravel walk at Ford Abbey measures 24 feet wide with 8 feet of grass as a margin on each side (40 in ?all) the length nearer a quarter of a mile (information of Ld Bridport) I propose making mine 24 feet wide with the cedar closing it as a centre at one end at the other the principle beech tree.\textsuperscript{815}
\end{quote}

Inside the house he was hanging his unique selection of Spanish paintings by Diego Velasquez, Luis de Morales, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo and others selected from the many cases of paintings he purchased and despatched from Spain.\textsuperscript{816} Barry’s Italian Garden was just one more element in a deliberately eclectic series of illusions that recreated their adventures abroad. As such it was an example of the long line of eclecticism that connected the Picturesque with the Romantics.

\textbf{6.3.7 Trentham Hall, Staffordshire}

The 2nd Duke of Sutherland inherited his title and the family properties of Dunrobin Castle, Stafford House and Trentham Hall in 1833.\textsuperscript{817} Lilleshall Hall, the family’s ‘Shropshire farmhouse’, had been made over to the Duke in May 1822, on his

\textsuperscript{815} Bankes Collection, Dorset History Centre, D/BKL Box 8C/81 Memorandum Book, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{816} MacLarnon, ‘Paintings’, especially p. 118.
\textsuperscript{817} He purchased Cliveden in 1849.
marriage to Harriet Howard. Harriet was twenty years his junior and they were married at her uncle's villa just outside London, Chiswick House. They travelled Europe together sharing a particular fondness for Paris where the Duke's father had been Ambassador to Louis XVI, and as a child he had played with the Dauphin in the gardens of the Tuilleries. Harriet's childhood had been divided between Castle Howard and Chiswick House and she had been a frequent visitor to Chatsworth. She developed a childhood interest in gardening recalling with regret the unexpected destruction of the garden she shared with her sister at Castle Howard when a 'stupendous urn' was erected without warning on the very spot. Harriet was to take the lead in the refurbishment of the many Sutherland homes only deferring markedly to her husband's wishes with regard to Dunrobin Castle.

Barry worked at Trentham Hall from 1833 until around 1847. He extended and modified the house encasing it in an Italianate stuccoed shell. His new eleven-acre garden of three shallow terraces connected the house with Brown's existing lake (Fig. 6.38) and was planned between 1837 and 1839. He also modified the church, designed a range of ancillary buildings including stables, sculpture gallery, poultry house, slaughter house and dog kennels as well as more philanthropic buildings such

819 Ibid., p. 17.
821 Leconfield, Howard Sisters, p. 9.
822 Barry visited Trentham Hall in October 1833. He met the 2nd Duke and Duchess at a dinner party at Holland House in the same year. Blissett, 'Veneerer-in-Chief', in Airs, Victorian House, p. 58. Some of the earliest evidence for his involvement at Trentham Hall are his drawings of the West and South elevations dated March 1834, Stoke on Trent City Museum and Art Gallery, Trentham Collection Drawer D, Drawing 1 and Drawer F, Drawing 3. The last dated Barry drawings are for the Entrance Gates and Churchyard, Drawer D, Drawings 514, 515 & 516 from November 1847.
823 Barry, Trentham Drawings, Stoke-on-Trent City Museum, uncatalogued,
as the local Savings Bank and Police Station. The funds to pay for this came from the developing canal and railway networks fortuitously supplemented, for two generations, by the income from the Duke of Bridgewater's estate when the 1st Duke of Sutherland's sister and her husband, the Duke of Bridgewater, died childless.

The gardens that Barry created at Attree's Villa and Kingston Lacy were valuable and artistic expressions of his developing Italian style, but the garden at Trentham Hall was different. The flat site and the decision to link the house with Brown's lake produced a vast somewhat monotonous garden that was more of an extension than a frame for the house. Barry always referred to the largest terrace next to the lake as the Lower Garden or Lower Flower Garden, but it was quickly named the Italian Garden. This title was soon being used to describe the entire complex of terraces. The garden also quickly became a touchstone for professional and amateur gardeners. It received Loudon's early praise and the admiration continued for the next thirty years in horticultural magazines, guide books, novels and popular illustrations which all equated Trentham with Italy. So, whilst Harriet, Brooke and Nesfield deliberately worked to suppress Barry's name, Brooke's illustrations in particular helped to popularise the Italian style that Barry was working so well to establish. The unknown author of the description of Trentham that accompanied Brooke's chromolithograph suggested

The Italian Gardens are spread before us; and as we gaze, how easy it is for fancy to bring over us those skies so "darkly, deeply, beautifully blue;" the fragrant and gold-dotted groves of the orange and citron; and graceful clusters of the luscious vine; the dark grouping of the purple pomegranate; the green forests of the olive; and the poetry and song of Italy - beautiful Italy.  

Examples of Barry's drawings showing the wider range and period of his involvement at Trentham Hall are in Ibid. and include Dog Kennel, Drawer D, Drawing 503, May 1840; Slaughter House, Drawer D, Drawing 422, October 1842; Entrance Gates & Churchyard Drawer D, Drawing 514, November 1847; Police Station, Drawer E, Drawing 423, March 1843; Savings Bank, Drawer D, Drawing 489, July 1845.

Barry was creating the Italian scenery that others brought to life with their imagination.

In 1851, prior to the rift with the Sutherlands, a Trentham porter, Samuel Sidney, praised Barry’s work noting,

The Hall used to be one of the hideous brick erections of the time of pigtails and laced waistcoats, - the footman style of dress and architecture. But the genius of Barry (that great architect whom the people on the two penny steamboats seem to appreciate more than some grumbling members of the House of Commons) [a reference to the parliamentary investigations into the cost of the new Palace of Westminster] has transformed, without destroying it, into a charming Italian Villa, with garden, in which the Italian style has been happily adapted to our climate; for instance, rounded-headed laurels, grown for the purpose, taking the place of orange-trees.826

Trentham was further publicised as the model Italian Garden when Benjamin Disraeli thinly disguised it as Brentham in his novel Lothair, which was recalled enthusiastically by Lord Gower in his Reminiscences:

It would be difficult to find a fairer scene than Brentham offered, especially in the lustrous effulgence of a glorious summer. It was an Italian palace of freestone; vast, ornate, and in scrupulous condition; its spacious and graceful chambers rising filled with treasures of art, and rising itself from statued and stately terraces. At their foot spread a garden domain of considerable extent, bright with flowers, dim with coverts of rare shrubs, and musical with fountains. Its limit reached a park with timber such as the midland counties alone can produce...827

In 1853 when discussing the need for sculpture in the geometrical garden Charles M'Intosh singled out Trentham where ‘these sculpture ornaments are not wanting: some of them are figures of pure white Italian marble, bearing the impress of no mean chisel; and the good taste which so abundantly predominates at this fine establishment has distributed them with the very best effect.’828 He also regarded Trentham as a flower garden ‘in the Italian terraced-style’ where the raised walks were ‘in correct

827 Benjamin Disraeli, Lowther quoted in Gower, Reminiscences, 1, p. 29.
828 M'Intosh, Garden, 1, p. 613.
keeping with the Italian style'. In reality the site’s greatest deficiency was its flatness, however this was not going to prevent M’Intosh fitting it into his catalogue of garden styles. By 1853 Trentham was well known as an Italian garden and M’Intosh needed to identify in it the key features of the Italian style and especially terraces. The following year Trentham and Chatsworth were singled out as the English models for the so called Italian Gardens that were laid out around the Crystal Palace when it moved to Sydenham Park.

However, Trentham was not simply a nationally recognised icon of the Italian style: it also embodied specific personal associations with Italy. The planned trellis walk (Figs. 6.39 and 6.40) that was to form the eastern boundary was possibly inspired by the trellis arcade proposed in 1812 for Chiswick House by Barry’s horticultural mentor, Lewis Kennedy. Based on an original at the Villa Negroni, the initial design (see Fig. 4.39) and the eventual structure that was built at Chiswick would have been familiar to Harriet who was very close to her uncle, 6th Duke of Devonshire, who commissioned this garden from Kennedy. She was also in the habit of discussing the development of the gardens at Trentham with the Duke writing in October 1834 to acknowledge Paxton’s advice during a recent visit. However Barry’s trellis walk was never erected. It was replaced by a more utilitarian metal frame designed by the Head Gardener, George Fleming, and erected in 1843. The change may have been part of the later attempts by the Sutherland’s Agent, James Loch, to reduce costs. He

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829 Ibid., 1, pp. 613-14.
830 Wyatt, Crystal Palace, p. 35. See section 7, pp. 282-86.
831 See the earlier discussion of Lewis Kennedy’s Italian Garden at Chiswick House, section 4, pp. 125, 128-30.
frequently warned that even their huge capital resources were dwindling in the face of their exuberant development plans.\textsuperscript{834}

The copy of Benvenuto Cellini’s statue of Perseus holding aloft the head of the Medusa (Fig. 6.41) that looks back towards the house from the lake was especially cast for Trentham and was a reminder of the original owned by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.\textsuperscript{835} Harriet preferred the Italian associations of this statue in preference to the River Gods (Fig. 6.42) that Barry initially proposed for plinths facing out towards the lake. These were reminders of many Italian gardens including the figures of Toce and Ticino, the two principle Rivers that feed Lake Maggiore, which Barry and Harriet had both seen during their separate visits to Isola Bella’s great Amphitheatre (Fig. 6.43).

The shift in Barry’s taste for gardens that had occurred during his later travels in Italy and the Middle East encouraged him to propose a miniature imitation of Isola Bella at Trentham, when he had previously thought the original ‘handsome’, but ‘old school’.\textsuperscript{836} His changed tastes were also in the ascendancy amongst the general public and in July 1836 the Cheltenham Looker-On reported that even the small Cotswold town of Burford had displayed a panorama of the gardens of ‘Isola Bella, on the Lago Maggiore’. The reporter was so taken with the scene that he suggested it should not suffer the fate of being painted over, but rather be used as ‘a most attractive feature in


\textsuperscript{835} Gower, \textit{Reminiscences}, 1, p. 36. Gower felt that the Trentham copy looked better than the original ‘cramped, coffin ed, and confined as it is by the buildings that so completely dwarf the statue in the Loggia dei Lanzi.’

\textsuperscript{836} 28 October 1817, Barry, Travel Diaries, RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB 399/2.
any nobleman’s park to have a number of elegant temples erected, in which might be seen panoramas of the principal cities of the new and old worlds’. Barry was infected with a similar enthusiasm and an 1834 plan (Fig. 6.44) for Trentham suggested that one of Brown’s islands was re-modelled as ‘Isola Bella containing a Villa & Gardens for the Children’. Blissett has explained that Harriet did not enjoy Isola Bella, and at Trentham her sitting room was decorated to reflect her love of Venice. It put Lord Gower in mind of ‘floating on the Adriatic in a gondola. The Doge’s palace, the Piazetta of St Mark, the Bridge of Sighs, the great white-domed Church of the Salute, in all their splendour, lie before one, with an Italian sky above.’ This would account for several sketches of Venetian scenes (Figs 6.45 and 6.46) in Barry’s papers. Coupled with Lock’s concern to contain costs, it also explains the eventual substitution of a gondola (Fig. 6.47) for Isola Bella on the Trentham Lake.

At Trentham Barry included a pair of his favourite square Italian pavilions (Fig. 6.48) rather than the more asymmetric arrangement of a single pavilion as at Attree’s Villa. They were more elaborate than the single pavilion in Attree’s garden which had been seen by Harriet when ‘a fete there...first made her think of employing the Sir. [Barry] at Trentham’. Their location on the divide between the two largest terraces helped to exaggerate the negligible change in levels, but they no longer

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838 Key to Presentation Plan, 1834, Barry, Trentham Drawings, Stoke-on-Trent City Museum, uncatalogued.
840 Gower, Reminiscences, 1, p. 35.
841 Illustrated in Brooke, Gardens, n.p. and described as ‘manned by a crew selected for the purpose and dressed in a suitable manner.’ Molyneux, Trentham, p. 37, fnst.
842 Only one pavilion remains today. The other was removed to Dunrobin Castle around 1910.
843 This was the opinion of Barry’s widow, Sarah; although Wolfe disagreed stating that Barry secured the work at Trentham Hall through an introduction at Holland House. Wolfe, RIBA, WOJ/1/, 21/lxxxv.
functioned as viewing platforms, and instead sheltered statues. The new feature at Trentham was the pair of triple-arched loggias (Fig. 6.49) that Barry also used to emphasise the boundary between the Upper and Lower Flower Garden. As usual Barry experimented with many different versions of these buildings in different locations; this time at the extremities of the walk that he layed out along the new embankment to the lake. He later re-used a more restrained version of this Loggia (Fig. 6.50) at the foot of the Great Descent at Shrubland Park.

Two plans (see Figs. 6.40 and 44) showed Barry giving passing consideration to the wider setting of Trentham's expansive terrace garden with trees and shrubs in an undefined area marked 'Private Pleasure Ground' to the west and in the 'proposed American garden' to the south-east. Barry used the long established horticultural fashion for American gardens again when labelling an otherwise undifferentiated area of trees adjacent to the terrace garden he planned at Buchanan House. Likewise his presentation plan for Clumber Park (Fig. 6.51) gave only cursory acknowledgement to his son's declared intention that he aimed to introduce increasingly irregular planting to manage the transition between his gardens and the wider landscape. His work demonstrates that his architecture was his priority. He became involved in the design of the wider landscape only when it impacted on views of his architecture. Thus he worked alongside Nesfield laying out the approach at Trentham Hall; he made changes to the approaches at Duncombe Park, North Yorkshire and planned similar changes at Clumber Park. Barry's unwavering focus on his architecture was such that it sometimes produced a cavalier disregard for nature. Wolfe argued strongly against his demand that mature trees were felled to improve the visibility of Canford Manor,

844 One remains at Trentham. The other was moved to Lilleshall Hall in 1910.
845 Barry, Buchanan House, RIBA, SC34/8(1-2), no 1.
846 Barry, Barry, 1867, p. 113.
and the Sutherlands would later refuse to comply with his demand that mature magnolias were felled at Cliveden to enhance the view of the terrace.847

The scale of Trentham’s Italian Garden destroyed any remnants of Repton’s principle that symmetry should be confined to situations where it could be absorbed in a single glance. Its garden buildings ceased to function as viewing platforms and became decorations necessary to break up the scale of the garden. The site itself prevented changing levels to add asymmetry, interest and variety although Barry did his best with an unusual central sweep of wide, shallow curving steps (Fig. 6.52). The decision to join the house to the distant lake meant that this was not a garden that could enhance the irregularity of the picturesque outline of the house, or a garden that was dedicated to framing the architecture of the house. Instead architecture became the central theme of the garden itself with Brooke even praising the planting for 'the harmony of colour; the true definition of contrast; the graceful blending of the trailing with the erect species; the grouping; and the elasticity of the whole are the real artistic powers of floral architecture.'848 Trentham symbolised both the final abandonment of the picturesque aesthetic and the death of the detached, isolated flower garden. With its Italianate backdrop of belvederes and stucco, the well publicised Trentham came to symbolise the symmetrical Italian garden style of the next thirty years. Although for those most intimately connected with it its style and codified images were strengthened by specific Italian associations. However the confusion that came to characterise the Italian garden style in the 1860s was also beginning to make itself felt at Trentham in 1857 where

847 Wolfe recalled that at Canford Manor he and Barry argued 'as usual about the destruction of many magnificent trees - that I valued more than the house - He would have cut down the grove of Diana rather than alter his design for her temple.' Wolfe, RIBA, WOJ/1, 2/1bxxxv.
Single rows of the Portugal laurel growing out of large square boxes, one on each side, extend its entire length, and are trained in a manner to represent orange trees. The effect of these prove how necessary characteristic plants are in grounds intended to be of a national order.\textsuperscript{449}

By 1857 Brooke could regard any orange tree, including one in a Versailles box (Fig. 6.53) rather than a terracotta pot, as emblematic of Italy.

6.3.8 Harewood House, West Yorkshire

Barry began work at Harewood House in 1843; two years after the 3rd Earl of Harewood inherited the estate. His primary aim was to raise the height of the wings to the house to accommodate the Earl's young family, but he also added the roof balustrade, raised the chimneys and developed a terrace garden on three sides of the house. Louisa, 3rd Countess of Harewood, frequently consulted Harriet, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland when she felt the need for practical advice and in 1843 Harriet would most probably have endorsed the selection of Barry over Nesfield to design the Harewood House parterres.\textsuperscript{850}

The largest of the three gardens at Harewood House extended out from the south front beginning with a narrow diamond patterned terrace.\textsuperscript{851} The same pattern had been used at Kingston Lacy\textsuperscript{852} (Fig. 6.54) and Trentham Hall\textsuperscript{853} (see Fig. 6.53) and Clumber Park\textsuperscript{854} (see Fig. 6.51). Like Kingston Lacy and Trentham Hall, the Harewood House balustraded parapet was interrupted by semi-circular bastions, but here mosaic panels set into the floor replaced the \textit{scholae} as the Roman inspired

\textsuperscript{449} Ibid., n.p. The reference to orange trees rather than lemon trees had been made previously by the Trentham porter, Sidney Smith, suggesting that he may also have been the author of the anonymous text that accompanied Edward Adveno Brooke's lithographs. See section 6, p. 216 especially hint. 826.

\textsuperscript{850} Leconfield, \textit{Howard Sisters}, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{851} Barry, Plan Harewood House, RIBA, SB89/187.

\textsuperscript{852} Charles Barry, No 177, Kingston Lacy, Plan and Elevation of South Terrace, n.d., Bankes Collection, Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, FA11/863.

\textsuperscript{853} Charles Barry, No 307, Trentham Hall, Plan of Paving of South Terrace, 1 September 1834, Stoke-on-Trent City Museum, Stoke-on-Trent, uncatalogued.

\textsuperscript{854} Charles Barry, Clumber with Proposed Alterations, October 1857, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawing Collection, London, SA66/3.
decoration. Barry had previously suggested patterned flooring within the semi-circles carved out for the *scholae* in the Upper Flower Garden at Trentham (Fig. 6.55) although it was only at Harewood that he described them as mosaics. Here they echoed the mosaic he suggested to decorate the narrow upper terrace and the junction of the steps that connected it with the main terrace. The mosaics were never implemented, but he returned to the idea in his final plan for the garden at Clumber Park where he showed patterned flooring in the semi-circular extremities of the narrow upper terrace.\(^{855}\) Divided steps linked the Harewood House terraces as they had done at Attree’s Villa and as they were proposed to do at Kingston Lacy.

Harewood House’s large terrace, with its three parterres centred on pools, has already been analysed and confirmed as being by Barry. He experimented with the outline for the terrace and in one design suggested square bastions (Fig. 6.56) at the south-east and south-west corners nearest to the lake.\(^{856}\) These were finally replaced by a series of semi-circular bastions running the entire length of the balustrade, although they reappeared in his plan for Clumber Park.

Barry included his familiar semi-circular seats, but for the first time he placed them centrally in the garden rather than integrating them into the balustrade. Installed in 1850, they were framed by formal clipped shrubs including cherry laurel that was ‘pruned and cut close in, till they are as smooth and even as a bank of turf’ in 1857.\(^{857}\) In 1863 they were ‘flanked by handsome standard Portugal Laurels and other

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\(^{855}\) Ibid., SA66/3.
\(^{856}\) Charles Barry, Untitled Drawing of Harewood House terrace undated, RIBA Drawings Collection, London, SA47/84V.
shrubs’. This style of planting could be seen on Barry’s original plan of the terrace (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3) and Brooke’s 1857 lithograph (see Fig. 6.4).

Barry’s design for the two smaller gardens to the east and west of the house (see Fig. 6.1) were centred on a circular and an octagonal pool, respectively, contained within a parterre carved out between straight walks. They were similar to the parterre Barry drew for the Sutherland children’s garden on his planned Isola Bella (Fig. 6.57), which in turn was seemingly inspired by the panelling he designed for the interior of the children’s villa (Fig. 6.58). At Harewood House the east garden was later known as the Venus Garden, after the small statue that stood at the centre of the circular pool although it is not clear if she was a feature of Barry’s design. What is known is that both these gardens had soon attracted the title the ‘small Italian gardens.’ Whilst not as influential as Trentham, Harewood House was another garden typical of Barry’s later more symmetrical interpretation of the Italian style.

6.3.9 Shrubland Park, Suffolk

Sir William Fowle Middleton married Anne Cust in 1825. He inherited the family estates, including Shrubland Park, in 1829 and the following year engaged John Peter Gandy to extend the Hall. J. P. Gandy added the three-bay wings, the Ionic pilasters to the central five bays of the existing house, a tower and an upper garden terrace in the area that is now know as the Balcony Garden. On this terrace

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859 Charles Barry, Plan of Flower Garden showing the Main Compartments Gravel Walks & co, n.d., West Yorkshire Record Office, Leeds, Lascelles Family Papers, WYL250/4/Folger 8g and another similar drawing in RIBA Drawings Collection.
860 Barry, Trentham Drawings, Stoke-on-Trent City Museum, uncatalogued, .
862 In 1828 John Peter Gandy assumed the name of Deering on receipt of an inheritance from his friend, Henry Deering. Where his Shrubland Park drawings are signed he has used the name John Deering, however for the sake of consistency he will be referred to as J. P. Gandy, the name he used when working with Gell on Pompeiana. His initials are used to distinguish him from his brother, Joseph Michael Gandy, whose pattern books were discussed in section 2, pp. 23-4.
...before the corner windows Orange Trees & flowering evergreens' (Fig. 6.59) were to be displayed and several illustrations of the house at this time show trees in Versailles boxes and containers of plants scattered haphazardly around the house²⁶³ (Fig. 6.60). This arrangement may have satisfied Sir William who was a keen plantsman and had been greatly impressed by the citrus trees he saw at Isola Bella when he visited in 1816.²⁶⁴ However, it did not fit with Barry's view of the purpose of the garden next to the house whose 'arrangement was dictated by the desire of perfect finish and harmony, against which the original scheme, bringing an ordinary flower-garden up to the very walls of the house, appeared to him to militate.'²⁶⁵ Barry replaced the haphazard scattering of pots with a formal parterre, Pompeian inspired tazzas, vases and a balustrade with integral angular stone seats. The architectural intent of this part of the garden, which functioned as a frame to the house, was made clear even in its name: the Balcony Garden.

Barry began re-modelling the house in the late 1840s in what was by then his well established Italian style adding the roof balustrade and a belvedere to J. P. Gandy's tower.²⁶⁶ The Italian style was extended to some of the ancillary buildings on the estate where Barry suggested that by 'altering the pitch of the Roofs and covering them with Italian tiles' an existing cottage would achieve 'an Italian character'.²⁶⁷ He also added the north-west lodge with its central Italianate tower, roof tiles and

²⁶³ A letter to Sir William from Paris dated 28 October 1841 refers to invoices for orange trees to the value of £148 and the carriage of pomegranate trees to Paris costing £104. ?John Wilkinson, Letter to Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton, 1841, de Saumerez Collection, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, SA1/1/7/1.
²⁶⁴ ?William Middleton, Travel Diaries, de Saumerez Collection, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, SA1/3/11.
²⁶⁵ Barry, Barry, 1867, p. 119.
²⁶⁶ The earliest date for Barry's presence at Shrubland is taken from an uncatalogued Drawing 'No. 4, Shrubland Park' dated 3 June 1848, Estate Office, Shrubland Park.
²⁶⁷ 6 September 1849, Charles Barry, Letters to Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton 1849-54, de Saumerez Collection, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, SA1/1/6/1.
overhanging eaves (Fig. 6.61), whilst Alexander Roos designed Barham Lodge (Fig. 6.62) with its loggia, tower and Pompeian pierced walls and the equally Italianate Coddenham Lodge (Fig. 6.63). Barry’s design work in the garden peaked between 1850 and 1855 with construction work to create the Balcony Garden being underway between 1850 and 1853. In 1852 Barry was busy designing the great staircase, the Great Descent, (Fig. 6.64) which connected the Balcony Garden at the top of the natural escarpment with the Panel Garden below.

The Shrubland Park garden was not only a reflection of Barry’s recognisable if modular formal Italian style. Brooke explained that: ‘The designs for the gardens and parterres, and the main features of the mansion have been laid down by Sir William and Lady Middleton – a residence for a considerable time in Italy having imbued them with the designs of the Italian school’.

There were specific Italian associations, the strongest of which was the Great Descent suggested by Sir William and inspired by the central staircase in the garden of the Villa d’Este, Tivoli (see Fig. 2.7). Each of the four landings on the Great Descent was decorated with a pair of vases of a different design. The first two were strikingly simple vases with handles modelled as doves (Fig. 6.65). They are illustrated in the family’s nineteenth-century archives, where they were recorded alongside various plinths, seats and urns labelled as being from three adjacent sites in Rome: the Vatican, the Villa Borghese and the

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870 Letter of 31 December 1851, Barry, Letters to Middleton, de Saumerez Collection, Suffolk R. O., Ipswich, S.A.1/1/6/, 17. Sir William is believed to be the author of the travel journal that described the Villa d’Este in 1816 as ‘In its glory & magnificence must have been equalled in beauty by few even belonging to the ancients... with fountains, statues bas reliefs & marbles with their lazy cedars and cypresses.’ Middleton, Travel Diaries, Suffolk R.O., Ipswich, S.A.1/3/, n.p.
Villa Albani⁸⁷¹ (Fig. 6.66). In some cases measurements were jotted down next to the designs. Associated with these are tracings in the same hand, recording the parterre and statuary of an unknown garden in ‘Napoli’, (Fig. 6.67) and experiments with parterre designs alongside a most Italian-looking topiary arcade (Fig. 6.68). It is not clear who made these tracings, but the commissioning of a pair of vases with dove handles to decorate the Great Descent demonstrates the Villa d’Este was not the only Italian garden that was being woven into Shrubland Park’s Italian imagery.

The entry to the Great Descent from the Balcony Garden is marked by the most beautiful building in the garden, The Pavilion (Fig. 6.69). It was modelled around an existing pedimented gateway (Fig. 6.70) that Barry re-sited in 1852 and it bears a strong resemblance to the entrances to the forecourt of Pope Pius IV’s Casino in the Belvedere Gardens of The Vatican (Fig. 6.71) which is sometimes known as the Villa Pia. Pirro Ligorio was the architect of both the Villa Pia and the Villa d’Este making the Pavilion an appropriate entrance to the Great Descent. Barry knew of the Villa Pia because he included Jules Bouchet’s 1837 monograph, La Villa Pia des Jardins du Vatican, and Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine’s 1809 Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome... on the reading list he prepared for the Duchess of Buccleuth.⁸⁷² He may even have visited the Villa Pia in 1820 for he spent a considerable amount of time in the adjacent St Peter’s Square.⁸⁷³ However, one other architect working at Shrubland Park at around the same time could also have been responsible for the inspiration taken from the Villa Pia. Roos was at Shrubland Park in 1841 when he was supervising work on his new Hot Wall, and he was still

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⁸⁷¹ Estate Office, Shrubland Park, uncatalogued.
⁸⁷² 1 December 1840, Barry, Letter, Drumlanrig Castle, Bundle 1162.
⁸⁷³ Charles Barry, Diaries, 1848-57, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London, SKB 403/1-6, SKB401.
there in 1845 when he sketched the Coddenham Lodge which Richard Garnier has recently attributed to him.\(^{874}\) He was a citizen of the Vatican state who had spent several years studying Italian architecture before arriving in England around 1833.\(^{875}\) Colvin has speculated that he lived in a part of Rome known as the ‘Orti di Sallustio’, or Garden of Sallust between the Aurelian Walls and the Quirinal Hill; the home of the Villa Pia.\(^{876}\) The decorative bas relief panels used in the Pavilion are not typical of Barry’s decoration, but they are similar to that incorporated by Roos in the Hot Wall. Whether Barry, Roos, or even the Middletons offered the Villa Pia as the inspiration for the Pavilion is unclear, but it is just one of several aspects of the gardens at Shrubland Park that suggest some contact or exchange of ideas between the two architects. Whilst Roos’ career will be explored in full later, his possible connections with Barry are analysed further here.

In May 1844 in a letter to his mentor, Onesiphereous Tyndall Bruce, Roos made reference to Sir Edward Cust, who was well known to Barry as one of his earliest clients, a Commissioner for the new Palace of Westminster and now, at Shrubland Park as the brother of Lady Anne Middleton.\(^{877}\) Cust emerges, therefore, as a possible conduit for Roos’ introduction to Shrubland Park and to Barry. During his time at Shrubland Park Roos produced a fine watercolour plan and perspective for the new ‘Garden Steps and a Belvedere’ (Fig. 6.72). Uniquely it is marked ‘Westminster 20


\(^{875}\) Roos’ naturalisation papers as an English citizen were issued on 23 January 1863. They record him as a citizen of the Papal States. Alexander Roos Naturalisation Papers 23 January 1863, National Archive Kew, HO1/108/3989.


Sept 1849' in the same hand that annotated Barry's drawings in just the same format. Somehow Roos' plan found its way into Barry's office just a few months before Barry turned his attention from the Hall to the garden. Roos' design was intended to link the upper and lower areas of the garden in much the same way that the Great Descent ultimately did, but at a much less ambitious location; at a point further north where the escarpment gave way to a gentler slope. There Roos' steps would have looked down on the Fountain Garden and Hot Wall he had already created. The Belvedere that topped Roos' steps was inspired by an unidentified building (Fig. 6.73) taken from his Italian sketches and the lower landings included a pool and an arched grotto making them similar in combination to the feature that Barry eventually used to terminate his Great Descent.

Another Shrubland Park plan attributed to Roos proposed a walk between parallel hedges clipped to form a series of alcoves that each housed a herm (Fig. 6.74). It was intended to form one half of the Fountain Garden, before it became redundant and was replaced by his design for the Belvedere and Steps. Unusually for a Barry garden, hedges clipped into alcoves for herms and seats were incorporated into the east terrace garden at Shrubland Park beneath Roos' Conservatory (Fig. 6.75). These were also experimented with in designs for the landings on the Great Descent (Fig. 6.76). These features were eventually established in the French Garden which was one of the many small gardens strung out along the Green Terrace that extended southwards.

878 Some Roos drawings in the de Saumerz Collection are annotated Ipswich in his difficult handwriting, but the addition of Westminster has not been observed on any other drawings by Roos for any other schemes.
879 Alexander Roos, Roos M.S.S., Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, London, VOS/100/129.
880 Barry drawings, Estate Office, Shrubland Park, uncatalogued.
from the Panel Garden.\footnote{Tom Williamson describes the French Garden as ‘surrounded by a thick laurel hedge ornamented with marble busts in recessed niches’ citing Gardeners' Chronicle, September 1867, p. 1123 quoted in Williamson, Suffolk, p. 125.} Clipped evergreen alcoves filled with statuary had previously been proposed by Barry at Trentham alongside the trellis arcade (Fig. 6.77) so the Shrubland Park case is not unique, but the use of them by both Roos and Barry again suggests some exchange or co-ordination of their ideas at Shrubland Park. This is supported again in the small garden to the east of the house where another double staircase had a pool set back against the dividing wall (Figs. 6.78 and 6.79). It was designed to integrate Roos' conservatory with the garden. It was similar to Barry's earlier feature at Attree's Villa, although the pool shape was more complex and filled from the spouting mouth of a winged fish. The profile of the pool mirrored exactly that used by Roos in a feature at Hadzor Hall, Worcestershire in the mid 1830s.\footnote{See section 7, p. 250.}

It is not possible to establish precisely what, or indeed whether, any relationship existed between Barry and Roos, but they were clearly working in similar styles at a similar time for the Middletons. At Shrubland Park it is suggested that Roos was also responsible for the unusual swagged seat (Fig. 6.80) that sits adjacent to the Rose Garden and appears to have been inspired by his sketches of Pompeian frescoes (Figs. 6.81 and 6.82). He may also have recommended the Pompeian inspired monopodal tazzas (Fig. 6.83) that were used in the Balcony Garden given the existence of an unsigned watercolour for such a design in the Shrubland Park archive\footnote{Estate Office, Shrubland Park, uncatalogued.} and the similar illustration recorded by Roos amongst his Italian sketches\footnote{Alexander Roos, Roos M.S.S., 1835 c.1828-32, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings and Archives Collection, V&A, London, VOS/100/96.} (Fig. 6.84). Here
Barry's role had certainly been confined to integrating the newly purchased tazzas into his design for the parterre in the Balcony Garden. He did not design them.

The Panel Garden that Barry created at the foot of the Great Descent was dominated by the Loggia (see Fig. 6.50) which was re-worked from the Trentham Hall building developed in the mid 1830s. The adjacent parapet incorporated his familiar schola (Fig. 6.85) and the divided stair at the foot of the Great Descent was this time given curving arms to embrace a grotto similar in concept to that planned for Kingston Lacy (see Fig. 6.64). The Panel Garden was decorated with two pairs of almost circular parterres. Unusually the outer pair, which still survives in a simplified form, were 'of a large double-headed serpent, laying lazily across the back of each bed, formed of variegated Box, twisted over, among, in, and through the Yew.' Brooke attributed the design of all four parterres to the Middletons, but it seems that Barry was the inspiration for the serpents. He illustrated the same motif as a gazon coupé carved out in 'turf and cut pattern for flowers' on the Lower Terrace at Trentham (Fig. 6.86). He may have taken the idea for the coiled serpent originally from a series of oval plaques already owned by the Sutherlands which he integrated into a proposal for Trentham's upper terrace (Fig. 6.87). These grey slate plaques are decorated with a technique similar to cloisonné, and are now to be found set into the paving around a formal pool at Lilleshall Hall (Fig.6.88). The decoration has deteriorated, but the mythical beasts that may have inspired the Trentham serpent are just distinguishable. It may also be the case that the Trentham coiled serpent was related to the gazon coupé of a dragon (Fig. 6.89) in the Chinese Garden at Biddulph Grange for this

886 Fish, 'Shrubland Park', Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette, 2 November 1867, p. 1123.
portion of the garden was largely the work of Edward W. Cooke who knew Barry and Trentham.

Shrubland Park was the only property where *The Gardens of England* grudgingly acknowledged Barry’s work to the ‘stone balustrading, in the same style as the mansion, pavilion, and loggia’.\(^{888}\) Arthur Barry felt that the Shrubland Park gardens were ‘inferior in extent’ to Trentham Hall, but ‘presented greater capabilities’.\(^{889}\) He regarded them as the ‘glory’ of his father’s work and ‘more perfect in result’ than Trentham Hall.\(^{890}\) Yet there is a suspicion that it was here, in the Great Descent and the Pavilion, that Barry’s established Italian garden style was subjected to more manipulation and influence than by any previous client and also possibly by Alexander Roos.

### 6.3.10 Cliveden, Buckinghamshire

On 15 November 1849, six months after the 2nd Duke of Sutherland purchased Cliveden, and before the family had the opportunity to move in, fire engulfed the building.\(^{891}\) Predictably, the Duke turned to Barry to design a new central portion to re-unite the surviving wings. It has often been compared to the Villa Albani in Rome.\(^{892}\) By now the Sutherland’s wealth was dwindling under the strain of their incessant building programme and this led to economies in the redevelopment of Cliveden. Barry’s initial astylar design with towers was rejected in favour of something more economical and he was left to do little to embellish its setting. The

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\(^{888}\) Ibid., n.p.

\(^{889}\) Barry, *Barry, 1867*, p. 118.

\(^{890}\) Ibid., pp. 118-19.


massive terrace (Fig. 6.90) created in 1666 by the first architect, William Winde, was retained. Below this, at garden level, Barry altered the central supporting arch to create a grotto; a feature considered at Kingston Lacy, but first used at Shrubland Park. The existing three arches that terminated the extremities of the terrace were already reminiscent of his usual three-arched loggias.

Several versions of the Cliveden scheme were produced in Barry's office including one by his son, Edward Middleton Barry, in which 'fresco paintings on a dark ground' of mythical beasts decorated the central divided staircase893 (Fig. 6.91). Jackson-Stops was critical of the excesses of this scheme which he attributed to E. M. Barry's youthful exuberance, but the mythical beasts were a re-working of one of his father's rejected ideas from Trentham Hall where he had proposed similar decoration to the parapet overlooking the lake (Fig. 6.92). Such decoration was to be found in many Italian gardens including the walls of the Dragon Fountain at the Villa Mondragone, Rome (Fig. 6.93) which had been illustrated by Percier and Fontaine.894 The winged fish that spouted water (see Fig. 6.78) into the pool in the small eastern garden at Shrubland Park was also in the same manner. The power of Barry's mythical beasts is reminiscent of a seventeenth-century balustrade from the Villa Borghese, Rome (Fig. 6.94) that, coincidentally, was purchased by Lord Astor in 1896 and erected in the garden at Cliveden.895

In the end Winde's terrace was left to stare out across a vast parterre designed by the Head Gardener, John Fleming, in an unsuccessful attempt to fill the expanse of barren

893 Jackson-Stops, 'Cliveden II', p. 68.
894 Percier and Fontaine, Rome, n.p., plate 64.
turf left by the destruction of the early eighteenth-century garden. 896 Mark Laird thought Fleming’s design,

unlike anything in the traditions of the French and Italian Baroque. The overall form, though not the type of planting, owed more to indigenous traditions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – features of gardens illustrated by Kip and Knyff such as the parterre or wilderness at Southwick Park in Hampshire. 897

The series of parallel triangular beds originally ended in a large central circular bed, now removed, that was an adaptation of the eighteenth-century garden earthworks known as The Ring. According to Graham Stuart Thomas, Barry suggested his own version of a parterre that was very different from Fleming’s design, but it has not proved possible to trace this design. 898 Instead Blissett states that Barry was responsible for beds that were incorporated into Winde’s terrace 899 however, it seems that Barry did little more than order stone surrounds or corbeilles from Austin and Seeley; a company that he first used at Attree’s Villa. 900 Cliveden was to demonstrate that not every Barry garden was as architectural and decorated as he might have wished.

6.3.11 Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire

Clumber Park was Barry’s final private house commission undertaken for his long time supporter, 5th Duke of Newcastle. He was asked for a scheme that could be implemented over a lengthy campaign of improvements although nothing appears to have been acted upon until twenty years after his death, in 1880. This was the year

900 John Fleming, Spring and Winter Flower Gardening containing the system of floral decoration as practised at Cliveden, the seat of her grace Harriet Duchess of Sutherland (London: Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener Office, 1864), p. 19.
after fire destroyed part of the house prompting the trustee's of the 7th Duke of Newcastle to engage Charles Barry junior to implement part of his father's design.\textsuperscript{901}

At Clumber Park, Barry inherited what his son described in 1867 as an L-shaped 'Italian garden'.\textsuperscript{902} This was designed by W. S. Gilpin and it wrapped itself around the south and east fronts connecting the house with the lake. Despite its relatively small scale it nevertheless impressed the Sutherlands when they visited during the early planning of their own garden at Trentham, and the Clumber Park steps running down to the water's edge may have been the source for Barry's similar (see Fig. 6.42), but rejected idea at Trentham.\textsuperscript{903} W. S. Gilpin's terrace garden of three fountains encircled by an ornate balustrade (Fig. 6.95) suggests there was little for Barry to do other than ensure the new garden mirrored the decoration and symmetry of his modifications to the house, but Barry could not resist extending and re-designing the garden to incorporate his characteristic range of features (see Fig. 6.51). W. S. Gilpin's two separate flights of steps down to the water's edge where brought together into a central divided double flight. Barry introduced his trademark semi-circular seats and diamond patterned flooring to the narrow upper south terrace making it identical to the Kingston Lacy plan. Square corner bastions were to be added to the main terrace overlooking the lake as he had suggested at Harewood House and the easterly parterre garden was balanced by a similar garden to the west, just as he had done at Harewood House. Whilst the scheme was conceived on a grander scale than W. S. Gilpin's it did nothing to advance Barry's Italian garden style; the modules of which had emerged almost fully formed from his early work for Thomas Attree around

\textsuperscript{902} Barry, \textit{Barry, 1867}, p. 271.
\textsuperscript{903} Charles Barry, Plan and perspective of Lakeside Walk, Trentham Hall, Potteries Museum, Stoke-on-Trent, uncatalogued.
1829. In 2000 Blissett suggested that Barry 'occasionally' recycled 'details and elements' from one scheme to another largely as a result of pressure of work on the Palace of Westminster.\(^{904}\) This analysis has shown a remarkable and continued consistency in the garden features that he employed throughout his career.

6.4 Barry’s Italian Garden Style

Barry was fortunate to be at the centre of every strand of influence that shaped the Italian garden in England at this period. He had an early professional association with the only horticulturalist and garden designer to have travelled in Italy and the leading force behind the re-introduction of complex parterres in England; Lewis Kennedy. He had an understanding of archaeology and Pompeii and numbered amongst his closest professional friends, one of the most knowledgeable archaeological scholars of his day; Charles Robert Cockerell. An early client and sponsor, John William Bankes, introduced him to picturesque notions of illusion and eclecticism in the garden, and his own travels and taste inspired his love of the Italian Renaissance. Thus Barry brought together the four strands that shaped the Italian garden in England at the middle of the nineteenth century.

Arthur Barry explained his father’s philosophy was

> that the definite artificial lines of a building should not be contrasted, but harmonized, with the free and careless grace of natural beauty. This could only be effected by a scheme of architectural gardens, graduated as it were, from regular formality in the immediate neighbourhood of the building itself, through shrubberies and plantations, less and less artificial, till they seemed to melt away in the unstudied simplicity of the park or wood without. In this the architect and landscape gardener must work side by side.\(^{905}\)

In line with this Blissett has concluded that Barry softly graduated the formality of the terraces through a series of shrubberies and on out into the woodland at Trentham.


\(^{905}\) Barry, *Barry*, 1867, p. 113.
However, this analysis suggests a very different working approach. Barry and Nesfield were both in attendance when the line of the approach was decided at Trentham Hall, but if Sneyd is to be believed it was he who decided the route. There was no suggestion of collaboration between Nesfield and Barry. At Shrubland Park Barry and Roos may have co-operated in some loose association, but both men were architects with their sights fixed upon architectural gardens, and Roos never advised Barry as a landscape gardener might. Lewis Kennedy had the ability to do this, but instead he seems to have educated Barry in the art of the *parterre de broderie* which he then used to decorate his buildings. Barry does not appear to have collaborated with any landscape gardeners and there is no suggestion that he was associated with the head gardeners at any of the sites investigated. The evidence of his gardens is that he steadfastly ignored everything beyond the balustrade unless it affected the view back towards his house. The exceptions are confined to plans: his presentation plans for Trentham and Clumber Park, and the plan of the wider gardens at Attree’s Villa. Most telling of all is his only recorded personal observation on the gardens he created when he described Trentham as his ‘architectural flower garden’.  

Mark Girouard characterised Barry, the architect, as ‘a master at producing intricacy, by means of a small-scale applied order, elaborate quoins, rich cornices, and an even spread of ornament... he found the Italian Renaissance a new and rich source of inspiration’.  

The same was true of his gardens. He provided elaborate parterres, intricate loggias, crisply detailed terraces and *scholae* that were all inspired by the Italian Renaissance. He took up the parterre because of the strong decorative

contribution it made to his terraces, but he demonstrated no interest in its planting and seemingly no interest in its colour scheme. The more accurate insight into Barry’s attitude to the garden therefore came in Arthur Barry’s recognition of the great pleasure his father derived from ‘the architectural laying out and decoration of gardens’ and that his objective was ‘perfect finish and harmony’ which was not to be found in ‘bringing an ordinary flower-garden up to the very walls of the house’. Yet he was never concerned to integrate his gardens with the house despite Bankes’ image of ‘long walks upon bastions and wall-tops carried forward from the ‘Piano-nobille’, so as to extend the suite into the open air, and to incorporate the pleasure ground into the house’. Barry never designed a conservatory, which has been a significant factor in concluding that he was not responsible for the terrace gardens at Kiddington Hall, Oxfordshire which have up until now usually been attributed to him. Barry’s gardens were decorative frames for his architecture that initially incorporated a picturesque aesthetic that was abandoned at Trentham Hall.

Their architectural focus explains why Barry’s gardens have been dismissed by many twentieth-century garden historians. In 1970 Anne Scott-James observed that whilst, ‘The best known architects of the neo-Italian garden were William Nesfield, Joseph Paxton and Sir Charles Barry…it is almost impossible for the modern eye to enjoy their terraces and parterres, so totally lacking in poetry.’ In 1928 Marie Luise Gothein categorised Barry’s gardens as ‘Italian’ in an attempt to distinguish them from the work of his contemporary, Joseph Paxton, but she did not explain either’s

910 Ibid., p. 119.
911 Bankes, Explanatory Notice, Bankes Collection, Dorset H. C., D/BKL/H3/1, and see section 6, p. 209, ftnt. 804.
912 See Appendix E, pp. 421-25.
Four years later, in 1932, Eleanour Sinclair Rhode credited both men with the ‘reintroduction of the Italian garden’. Again there was no explanation of the style; and two years later Richardson Wright, the editor of *House and Gardens*, distinguished between them again by suggesting unexplained Italian traits in Barry’s style and unidentified French characteristics in Paxton’s gardens. In his 1957 review of the Romantic Movement in England, C. P. Brand concluded from a brief exploration of Barry’s gardens that he had

> Studied the Italian gardens, and in 1829, at the Villa Attree, Brighton, he broke with the tradition of the English landscape-garden and introduced a formal garden with terraces, fountains and loggias in the Italian style. Similarly at Trentham Hall, Harewood House and elsewhere he introduced terraces, balustrades, vases, statues, flights of steps etc. — in distinct contradiction of the old style where the lawns swept right up to the walls of the house. The Italian style of architectural garden now returned to favour...

In 1969 Miles Hadfield noted Barry’s scholarly approach, his love of Italy and his ‘invariably’ Italian style of garden design, but still there was no analysis or investigation of his work. Garden historians have struggled with Barry’s gardens because they were overtly architectural and had meaning only as a frame to his houses. Architectural historians have appreciated this, but done little to analyse them because they are gardens. Harry Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, rightly declared Barry’s gardens to be ‘architectural gardens’ that he

surrounded his houses [with] whenever he could, [they] were consistent with them in magnificence, and also in the ingenious, but rather questionable means by which that magnificence was achieved. Statues and vases punctuated profusely the general pattern, and elaborate balustrades edged the great terraces and flights of steps into which all sloping ground was converted. Seen from the window of the house it surrounds, a garden by Barry is impressive, but as a place for walking in it has very little to recommend it.

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This is the first methodical analysis of Barry's gardens. Binney has concluded that 'Barry's palazzos were never direct imitations of Italian ones, and where comparisons can be made they are merely suggestive that at some stage, consciously or subconsciously, the Italian model occurred to him'. His gardens reveal a surprising number of identifiable Italian models taken from Isola Bella, Villa d'Este, Villa Pia, Pompeii and Genoa which were often encouraged by knowledgeable and discriminating clients. Elliott's observation that Barry 'tried his hand...occasionally' at an authentic Italian garden is to judge his works too harshly. He was also out of step when he declared that Barry's work at 'Trentham proved the turning point in the fortunes of the Italian garden...[being] the first of a series of gardens based on the precedents he had studied [in Italy]'. In fact it marked the beginning of the second, less imaginative phase, of his Italian gardens. His designs for Attree's Villa and Kingston Lacy were his most innovative and picturesque gardens however, his greatest contribution to the Italian garden style was in the development of a recognisable if formulaic set of codified images of architectural garden features.

6.5 Followers of Barry: George Penrose Kennedy and George Somers Clarke

Two architects who trained in Barry's office went on to create gardens very much in his Italian style. G. P. Kennedy's work at Bowood has often been mistakenly

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920 Binney, 'Barry II', p. 552.
922 Elliott, Victorian Gardens, p. 75.
923 Many architects and pupils passed through Barry's busy architectural office and it is possible there are more gardens designed by former pupils that have yet to be identified. His pupils included Octavius Barrett, brother of Elisabeth Barrett Browning, and James Murray who worked for Barry from 1837 to 1849. It has also been suggested that George John Vuillamy, the son of the architect Benjamin Vuillamy, was a pupil. Henry William Brakespear was another whose papers are due to be deposited in the RIBA Drawings Collection at the end of August 2008. John Thomas is best known as a sculptor, but he also completed a handful of architectural commissions and worked as a sculptor for Barry at Birmingham Grammar School, the Palace of Westminster and, according to Arthur Barry, at Harewood House. Thomas was a protégé of Prince Albert. Most notable among his architectural commissions was Somerlyton Hall, Suffolk for Sir Moreton Peto; begun in 1844 and finished in 1851. It is difficult to be

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attributed to Barry and the same would have been true of Clarke's design for Cowley Manor if it had been implemented in its entirety.\textsuperscript{924}

Barry had worked intermittently for the 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne at Bowood before G. P. Kennedy began work on the garden. Between 1833 or 1834 and his death in 1860, Barry constructed the Italianate Derry Hill gateway, built, repaired and rebuilt for a second time the cupola on the house, improved the disjointed internal layout of the house and worked on the family memorial on Cherwill Hill. However, as John Cornforth has shown Barry contributed nothing to the garden.\textsuperscript{925} Sir Robert Smirke laid out the Upper Terrace in 1817 and 1818 with G. P. Kennedy adding the Lower Terrace in 1851 and 1852 (Fig. 6.96). Kennedy suggested two designs for the parterre and proposed that a formal balustrade should encircle the terraces and the forecourt. He also designed a heavier variation of Barry's square pavilion (Fig. 6.97) to sit either side of the entrance to the forecourt, but only the gates for this scheme were constructed.\textsuperscript{926} They now hang at the entrance to the former Laundry, adjacent to the Estate Office. On the Lower Terrace G. P. Kennedy's suggested parterres (Figs. 6.98 and 6.99) followed the quarter circle beds and formal shrubbery planting designed by his father for Drummond Castle\textsuperscript{927} (see Fig. 6.17). The Lansdowne's entwined initial L replaced the heraldic motifs of the Willoughby de Eresby family, but the coronets were retained. An 1853 plan (Fig. 6.100) records the Bowood parterre as it was laid
out with the Lower Terrace decorated with a close adaptation of one of the simplest motifs from G. P. Kennedy's plan.\textsuperscript{928} It was repeated eight times across the length of the terrace.

At the west end of the Lower Terrace Kennedy added a statue of a River God above the curving arms of a divided flight of steps (Fig. 6.101). Beneath the River God, a lion's mask spouted water into a stone pool. The lion's mask and steps remain, but the River God has been replaced by David Wynne's 1978 sculpture of a reclining nude (Fig. 6.102). G. P. Kennedy also added a pavilion (Fig. 6.103) at the west end of the Lower Terrace identical to the pair he suggested should frame the entrance to the forecourt. This was demolished by a falling tree in the 1990s. All of Kennedy's features were characteristic of a Barry garden. The reclining River God was rejected at Trentham Hall (see Fig. 6.42) and the pool set against a wall filled from a spouting mask (see Fig. 6.78) and the curved dividing stairs (see Fig. 6.64) had both been used at Shrubland Park and elsewhere.

As soon as it was constructed the \textit{Florist} thought Kennedy's terrace, with its stone edging, box and vases was in the Italian style.\textsuperscript{929} A year later, in 1853, the \textit{Journal of the Horticultural Society} noted its geometric or French character\textsuperscript{930}, and the following year \textit{The Florist} was in full agreement reproducing a plan of the parterre from the 'flower garden, in the French style'.\textsuperscript{931} This re-appraisal of the garden as an example of the French style may have been inspired by the family. During the construction of

\textsuperscript{928} Anon., Plan of Parterres for Terrace, Bowood House 1853, Bowood Estate, Bowood House, uncat. These designs were still in being when Inigo Triggs drew his plan of the Bowood formal garden around 1902. H. Inigo Triggs, \textit{Formal Gardens in England and Scotland: Their Planning and Arrangement Architectural and Ornamental Features} (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988), p. 93.

\textsuperscript{929} Anon., 'Bowood', \textit{Florist}, October 1852, pp. 213-14, p. 214.


\textsuperscript{931} Anon., 'Plan of Parterre, Bowood', \textit{Florist}, May 1854, pp. 155-56, p. 155.
the Lower Terrace and the pavilion. G. P. Kennedy wrote from his father’s home at Pittkellomy in Crieff, Perthshire acknowledging payment for the Bowood plans and explaining that he had been prevented from responding sooner as he had been staying with the Comtesse de Flauharts. This was Margaret whose husband had been Napoleon’s aide de camp, and whose daughter, Emily, married Henry, Lord Shelburne, the eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, in 1843. Lord Shelburne took an active interest in the development of the gardens at Bowood and in 1849 he was in correspondence with Nesfield over yet more proposals to alter the terraces. Nesfield’s designs were never implemented as the Marquis of Lansdowne clearly disapproved of them which left Nesfield to use his newly secured commission at Buckingham Palace as a convenient excuse to extricate himself from a difficult situation. Interestingly Lord Shelburne, and not the Marquis of Lansdowne, had subscribed to The Gardens of England further marking him out as a Nesfield supporter. Nesfield, Lord Shelburne and G. P. Kennedy all brought their own French associations to Bowood’s gardens at this time. Nesfield, through his reliance on seventeenth-century French parterre designs. Lord Shelburne, through his French wife and G. P. Kennedy through his father’s influence and connections to the Empress Josephine and possibly also to Napoleon at the Tuileries. Thus several layers of personal association may have been combining to re-interpret Barry’s well established Italian style as a French garden.

932 George Kennedy, Letter to Lord Shelburne, 18 August 1852, Bowood Estate Bowood House, uncatalogued. This link is strengthened by an entry in the Architects Engineers and Building Trades Directory, Architects Engineers and Building Trades Directory (London: Wyman, 1868), p.122 which lists G. P. Kennedy as working on the formal gardens at Tulliallan Castle, Fife, for Margaret, Comtesse de Flauharts. These terraced formal gardens have been described as Italian.

933 Uncatalogued letter from Nesfield to Lord Shelburn, October 1849, Bowood Estate, Bowood House.

George Somers Clarke came to work for Barry through his brother who succeeded Thomas Attree as senior partner in the Brighton firm of solicitors. Cowley Manor was Clarke’s first major country house commission, and he re-modelled the house and the garden in the Italian style he had learnt in Barry’s office and seen during his own Italian travels. His client was a London stockbroker, James Hutchinson, and the work was undertaken in the late 1850s. There were two distinct elements to the garden. Formal terraces extended down from the south of the house towards an existing lake. Within these a simple three compartment parterre edged with stone curbs was centred on a fountain (Fig. 6.104). By 1874 a plan of the house named the second terrace and parterre the Italian Garden. It is not clear if it was similarly titled when Clarke created it, but the resemblance to Barry’s recognised Italian style makes this likely. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the terraces were extended westwards when a later owner, James Horlick, engaged R. A. Briggs to double the size of the central portion of the house.

In a significant departure from the current fashion the second and most striking feature of Clarke’s design, the cascade and water stair (Fig. 6.105), were hidden away out of sight if not out of hearing of the house. The water cascade connected the terraced dam of the lake above, with a chain of lakes formed along the River Churn (Fig. 6.106). This surprising water garden was fed from the gushing masks of seven satyrs symbolising the seven springs that form the source of the River Thames and are said to rise on the Cowley estate. The satyrs feed a staircase that ran in the direction of the three lower lakes, but was interrupted half way along its length by a plain circular pool. The water disappears underground (Fig. 6.107) in an unsatisfactory manner for

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936 Plan of Cowley Manor, 1874, Gloucestershire Record Office, D2299/3507.
the final part of its short journey towards the lake. Its sudden subterranean
disappearance is explained by a watercolour (Fig. 6.108) that can now be attributed to
Clarke.937 It mirrors every detail of the cascade and water staircase, but shows a third
stage that may not have been completed. An oval terrace enclosed by semi-circular
seats and columns topped by busts stood below the water staircase and was connected
to the lake by a final flight of steps. Formal walks extended out from the terrace
between new herbaceous planting and the water’s edge. A gondola, reminiscent of
Brooke’s scene on the Trentham Lake (see Fig. 6.47), which was published at around
the same time Clarke painted this perspective, completed the spectacle.

Clarke also planned a two-arched loggia above the Satyr’s Cascade to decorate the
terrace walk along the dam of the upper lake. This echoes Barry’s more satisfactory
three-arched loggias at Trentham Hall and Shrubland Park, whilst the steps down to
the lake imitate another suggestion made at Trentham and the semi-circular seats
recall his many scholae. However there is much that is fresh in Clarke’s design.
Clarke’s pupil, Edward Power, wrote in the Builder acknowledging ‘the singularly
beautiful Italian garden, with terraces, waterfalls, pavilions, and termini, &c.,
belonging to the same’ that he created here.938 Barry’s familiar Italian garden style is
clearly shown in the design, but in a perverse manner the main feature to be
constructed, the cascade, was more reminiscent of the French garden and particularly
the grotto that forms the centrepiece to the garden at Vaux le Vicomte939 (Fig. 6.109).

937 This had been incorrectly catalogued as Towley Manor and attributed to Charles Barry. Paul Mellon
Collection, Yale Center for British Art, Connecticut, B1975.2.361. I am grateful to Charles Hind,
RIBA Drawing Collection, London for bringing this watercolour to my attention.
939 It also anticipated Hippolyte-Alexandre-Gabriel-Walter Destailler’s designs for the terrace at
Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire developed in the 1880s. This particular scheme by Destailler was
not implemented by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild. Anthony Blunt, ‘Destailler at Waddesdon’,
Apollo, 105, June 1977, pp. 409-15, p. 412. I am grateful to Sophieke Piebenga for bringing this to my
attention.
At both Bowood and Cowley Manor, Barry’s distinctive Italian style was carried on by his pupils, but re-interpreted as the French garden which Elliott suggested was defined by the *parterre de broderie*. Yet Barry had used the *parterre de broderie* in his Italian gardens at Trentham Hall and Harewood House and suggested another design influenced by James’ translation, *Theory and Practice of Gardening*, for Woburn Abbey. Cowley Manor took its French inspiration from Vaux le Vicomte, whilst Bowood appears to have relied upon personal associations. Neither used the *parterre de broderie*, but they did return to the French garden that had been a strong companion to the Italian style during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

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940 Elliott, 'Revivalism', p. 18.
7. FORMAL ITALIAN GARDENS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY: A COMPROMISED STYLE

This chapter focuses upon Italian gardens designed between 1840 and 1863 with the exception of those gardens designed by Alexander Roos whose career in England began in the 1830s and is analysed in its entirety for the sake of completeness. His more famous contemporaries - William Andrews Nesfield and Joseph Paxton - are also considered. Nesfield's garden career spanned the period 1838 to 1869, but his contribution to the Italian garden style was confined to the 1850s and the early years of the 1860s. The gardens at Mentmore Towers, Buckinghamshire, which are associated with Paxton, make an informative contrast with the 1840s Italian Garden developed by Robert Stayner Holford and his architect, Lewis Vulliamy, at Westonbirt, Gloucestershire. Both took Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire as the inspiration for their new mansions, and both created Italian gardens to accompany them. They were very different in character and Westonbirt illustrated how the Italian style was being re-interpreted as an appropriate template to accompany Jacobean- and Elizabethan-style architecture. Prince Albert's arrival in England in 1840, his love of Italy and the Renaissance, and his leading role in the development of the gardens of Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and for the Royal Horticultural Society in South Kensington, London should have boosted this popular style more than it did. When the Crystal Palace was moved to Sydenham Park, London and the R.H.S. established its new garden in South Kensington both drew on the Italian garden, but both reflected controversy onto the style. By the middle of the century the popularity of the Italian garden had grown so strong that it was in danger of being seen or imagined in every garden.
7.1 The Garden Commissions of Alexander Roos

Alexander Roos was an architect, decorator and garden designer. He is first identified working in this country at Hadzor Hall, Worcestershire.\(^{941}\) It has been suggested he was the son of Karl Roos, a German cabinet maker, working in Rome.\(^{942}\) He took British citizenship in 1863.\(^{943}\) From a stylistic analysis of Roos' architectural commissions Richard Garnier has established that he was a pupil of the German architect and garden designer, Karl Friedrich Schinkel.\(^{944}\) In July 1888, just one year before his death, Roos was elected an 'academic of merit' to the Academia di San Luca, Rome as Schinkel and Sir Charles Barry had been before him.\(^{945}\) Roos' work at Shrubland Park has already been analysed because of its relationship to Barry's commission and the suggestion that they may have worked in some association.\(^{946}\) This exploration of Roos' career also raises the possibility that he may have been associated with Robert Wetten whose name has been previously linked with the earliest adoption of the Renaissance Italian garden in an English pattern book.\(^{947}\)

Wetten and Roos were in Italy at the same time, Wetten in 1829 and 1830, and Roos from around 1828 to 1833. Their names both suggest Germanic extraction, and both practiced architecture in Westminster in later life. In 1835 Wetten submitted an entry in the competition to design the new Palace of Westminster which would have brought him to the attention of Sir Edward Cust, Chairman of the Commissioners and the brother-in-law of Sir William Middleton of Shrubland Park.

\(^{941}\) One of Roos' designs for painted ceilings at Hadzor Hall is dated 1835. Victoria and Albert Museum, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, Roos MSS, VOS/100/117.
\(^{944}\) Garnier, 'Roos', p. 11.
\(^{945}\) Archives of the Academia di San Luca, Rome, vol 142, c. 38 described in e mail to author from Angela Cipriani, Archivist, Academia di San Luca, 14 December 2005.
\(^{946}\) See section 6, pp. 227-30.
\(^{947}\) Wetten's pattern book comes closest to Roos' style. Wetten, Designs for Villas. See Section 2, pp. 27-8 for a discussion of this work.
Today the mutilated remnants of Roos' first garden stands in stark contrast to the freshly painted stucco exterior of Hadzor Hall (Fig. 7.1) which glints among the trees as travellers head south on the M5 towards Droitwich. The Hall was purchased in 1823 by John Howard Galton whose father, Samuel, was a member of the Lunar Society and founder of the Birmingham Bank; later known as the Midland Bank. Galton lived at Hadzor Hall until his death in 1862 when it passed to his widow, Isabella, whose father, Joseph Strutt, had previously engaged John Claudius Loudon to lay out the Derby Arboretum. *Littlebury's Directory and Gazetteer of Worcester...* for 1879 informs us that Galton took advice from 'Gilpin, Thomas, Nesfield, and other landscape gardeners of eminence' in establishing the 'beautiful gardens and pleasure-grounds' laid out around this 'Italian style' mansion.\(^948\) There is some truth in this claim for the Nesfield family archive links Nesfield to Hadzor in Galton's day although there is no archival evidence of William Sawrey Gilpin's, or presumably William Broderick Thomas' involvement.\(^949\) This analysis will explain why Roos was an important figure in the development of the garden at Hadzor and a member of Littlebury's band of anonymous 'landscape gardeners of eminence'.

Galton was a frequent traveller abroad who spent a considerable time in Italy. He was there with his wife and sons from around 1831 to 1833 when the new south-facing

\(^{948}\) J. Littlebury, *Littlebury's Directory and Gazetteer of Worcester & District containing a topographical and statistical account of the city of Worcester, the towns of Kidderminster, Malvern, Evesham, Pershore, Droitwich, Bromsgrove, Bewdley, Stourport, Bromyard, and Upton-upon-Severn; also, all the parishes and villages comprised within a radius of twelve miles of the city*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh and London: Ballantyne and Hanson, 1879), p. 591.

\(^{949}\) Evans, 'Nesfield', (unpublished thesis), Appendix 1, p. 49. One of Nesfield's many county maps was marked Hadzor Hall and J. Howard Dalton, which must in fact be John Howard Galton. Whilst there is no date, Nesfield's only other Worcestershire commission was in the 1850s at Witley Court, in the parish of Oddingley. Galton had owned the manor of Oddingley since around 1837 making it likely that he knew Nesfield was working in the area and invited him to Hadzor Hall. Parishes: Oddingley A History of the County of Worcester, n.pub. http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=41353&strqueryoddingley, [January 2008].
terrace was being constructed just outside his library at Hadzor Hall. His Agent, Kenneth Lowe, kept him informed of progress by letter and Galton directed some of the work from Italy drawing a plan, now lost, for the new terrace garden.\footnote{In a letter dated 10 February 1833 Lowe refers to Galton’s plan for the terrace being enclosed with an earlier letter. Matthew Habershon, Letter to Galton, 16 December 1832, Galton Papers, Birmingham City Archive, 3107/C/D/10/55/37.} The archives are incomplete, but there is sufficient documentary and stylistic evidence to suggest that Hadzor’s terrace garden was created from ideas developed largely by Roos. In December 1832 the architect, Matthew Habershon, supplied Lowe with a long awaited sketch for a terrace\footnote{Kenneth Lowe, Letters to Galton, 1832-33, Galton Papers, Birmingham City Archive, F3102/C/D/10/41/7, 16 December 1833.} (Fig. 7.2), which featured a divided staircase, but was much heavier in outline than the terrace pictured by Country Life in 1901\footnote{Anon., ‘Hadsor, Droitwich, the seat of Lady Hindlip’, Country Life, 17 August 1901, pp. 208-13, p. 209.} (Fig. 7.3). Instead the 1901 photograph showed the balustrade, urns, divided steps and pool filled from a spouting lion’s mask that Roos had faintly sketched onto his own watercolour of the south front\footnote{Roos, RIBA, Roos, VOS/100, /125.} (Fig. 7.4). The unusual profile of the pool is identical to that used in the late 1840s or early 1850s in the small east garden below the Conservatory at Shrubland Park (see Figs. 6.78 and 6.79) which is filled from a spouting dolphin’s mask drawn by Barry. In both gardens the pools are set against the wall of the divided staircase and the corners of the balustraded terraces are filled with stone seats; although at Hadzor the seats were used singly (Fig.7.5) whilst those at Shrubland Park were used in pairs to following the right angle of the terrace (Fig. 7.6). Shrubland Park was the only Barry garden to feature these seats as well as his more familiar curved scholae, which strengthens the suggested exchange of ideas that took place there between the two men.\footnote{See section 6, pp. 227-30.}
At Hadzor there is strong evidence to suggest that the design of the beds on the terrace was also by Roos. Lowe illustrated them in a letter to Galton. Three circular beds were divided into segments. The central circle was further divided along its vertical axis by a pathway that extended out from the library steps (Fig. 7.7). Neither Lowe nor Habershon appear as likely candidates for the production of this design, and the same pattern was used by Roos in a plan for Dale Park, Sussex around 1844 (Fig. 7.8) although there each circle was divided into eight rather than six segments. If it is accepted that Roos was the source of the Hadzor design rather than simply the mechanism for its transmission to Dale Park, the effect is to push his arrival in this country back before 7 April 1833; the date of Lowe’s letter. It had previously been assumed that he arrived in England in 1835; the date of a design for a Hadzor ceiling. This also has the effect of making it much more likely that Roos was brought to England at Galton’s instigation rather than at the invitation of Thomas Hope as Garnier concluded.

It was intended that Roos would return to Italy in 1844 to accompany Galton on a trip to Syria. Galton had returned to the Continent the previous year, but Roos was forced to withdraw because of pressure of work. It seems likely that Roos had been recruited for this trip as Galton’s itinerant artist which raises the possibility that when Roos previously travelled through Italy sketching Pompeii, Palestrina and Rome in the early 1830s he may have accompanied Galton in a similar capacity. Certainly

957 Alexander Roos, Roos M.S.S., c.1828-32, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, London, VOS/100/117.
960 Such as Roos, RIBA, Roos, VOS/100, 24, 25, 56, 56, 97.
his earlier Italian sketches appear to have inspired several of the garden features at Hadzor. The pedimented gateway that originally stood at the north-west corner of the Hall (Fig. 7.9) is believed to be one such feature, inspired by a Pompeian gateway (Fig. 7.10). The gateway has been demolished, but its near identical twin, which was shown in Country Life topped by a pair of plain campanula-shaped vases with fluted bulbous bases, survives minus the vases (Fig. 7.11) to the south-west of the Hall. Again there is evidence of inspiration drawn from his Italian travels (Fig. 7.12). Roos also sketched these campanula-shaped vases possibly in Italy (see Fig. 5.30) and used them in several later garden designs for Bedgebury Park, Kent (Fig. 7.13) and the Deepdene (Fig. 7.14). Roos is also here attributed with the tall elegant summerhouse (Fig. 7.15) at Hadzor that is constructed from the same narrow metal columns as the, now demolished, Conservatory (Fig. 7.16). As recently as 2005 much of the metal work from the Conservatory (Fig. 7.17) was preserved in the adjacent church of St. John the Baptist. Roos’ summerhouse has a niche set into the rear wall and an Italian tiled roof. By 1927 it was known as The Shrine because of the plaque to commemorate the death of two of Galton’s great-grandsons in World War I. The original design is reminiscent of another of Roos’ sketches from southern Italy (Fig. 7.18).

The correspondence exchanged between Galton in Italy and Lowe in England reveals seed was being despatched from Italy for propagation at Hadzor. Lowe noted the delayed arrival of the acacia seed961, and informed his employer that regrettably, oleander would not blossom unprotected in England.962 This may have been a spur to the erection of the Hadzor Conservatory next to the south-facing terrace which

962 Ibid., F3102/C/D/55/27, 30 July 1832.
Garnier attributes to Roos. Exotic planting was clearly a feature of the Hadzor gardens in the 1830s around the time that Loudon was drawing up his suggested Italian planting list that was published in 1838. Loudon’s list did not include acacia or oleander, but the latter was added by his wife, Jane, when she published her major revision to this text in 1850. Her recommendations for an ‘Italian terrace’ were ‘orange trees, oleanders, pomegranates, olives, myrtles, and jasmines, in large pots or boxes, to place on the terrace and in the green-house about the middle of May.’

Hadzor’s Italian garden architecture and Italian planting was being surrounded by Galton’s personal memories of Italy. The new terrace was accessed from the library which he was filling with books bought in Italy such as the thirty-two volume catalogue of the Museo Borbonico, Naples. He was overseeing the construction of this garden from Rome, to designs mostly provided by his Italian architect and filling the garden with plants propagated from seeds he had collected in Italy. He may even have visited the original Italian scenes that Roos used to inspire the gateways, summerhouse and urns used in this Worcestershire garden. All of this ensured that Hadzor’s garden was an Italian Garden in both style and reception if not in name.

When Roos designed one of his next terrace gardens for William, 1st Viscount Beresford, at Bedgebury Park it was openly acknowledged as being in the Italian style. This garden was laid out on the gentle slope that ran from the house towards

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963 Garnier, 'Roos', p. 14. This in turn strengthens the attribution made here of The Shrine to Roos.
964 Loudon, Suburban Gardener, pp. 359-60.
965 Loudon, Villa Gardener, p. 126.
the lake, sometime between 1836 and 1840. The steps (Fig. 7.19) were the same divided steps that Roos had used at Hadzor (Fig. 7.20). At Bedgebury they linked the upper and lower terraces: at Hadzor they connected the raised terrace with the wider pleasure grounds. Bedgebury’s lower terrace was on a larger scale than anything Roos had created at Hadzor and he produced three different designs for the garden enclosed by balustrades. All were centred on a circular basin and fountain. One repeated this feature five times in a domino pattern (Fig. 7.21). It was supplemented by more of his characteristic campanula-shaped vases perched on top of tall columns. A variation on this showed plain columns set off by exuberant planting (see Fig. 7.13). These are reminiscent of a solitary column that survives in the centre of a small circular garden close by Roos’ Conservatory at Hadzor Hall (Fig. 7.22) enclosed by a hedge. The third option for the largest of the Bedgebury Park terraces replaced the vases with statues set on plinths that were scattered amongst a variety of parterre designs (Fig. 7.23), one of which appears to be a parterre de broderie laid out in coloured minerals.

This was a technique that Roos was familiar with for he wrote to his mentor, Ollphant Tyndall Bruce, in 1844 advising on ‘the best colors which I have used in this arrangement of gardening’ and suggesting

brickdust, Mineral Coal, Copper Ore, various Kind of Shells, Chalk, Coloured Marbles, broken in small particles, quartz, Iron Ore, Glass, & particularly the remains of a Glass casting which is thrown away at the manufacture, Sands ?pursolana & in fact any sort of mineral or colored marble or granit [sic] which you can procure in your neighbourhood. Spar I think would look very well. So does also broken white China or white Marble but the best I have used are the Derbyshire Marbles & mineral Ores. & occasionally colored pebbles.

968 Around 1854 the garden was re-modelled for Alexander Beresford Hope. The sloping ground was built up and a new parterre laid out on the lower terrace around a single circular basin and fountain: possibly re-used from Roos’ garden. Roos’ typical vases continued to decorate the upper and lower terraces although the balustrading was now constructed from panels of seven rather than six balusters. The formal garden was also extended out beyond Roos’ second terrace by a central flight of steps and more parterres that connected it to the lake.


970 Roos to Tyndall Bruce, 12 May 1844, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, Tyndall Bruce MSS, GD152/53/4/Bundle 27/9.
From John Phippen’s description of the Bedgebury terrace garden published in 1840 it appears that the simplest of Roos’ designs, that without the statuary or *parterre de broderie*, was chosen.\footnote{Phippen, *Tunbridge Wells*, pp. 221-22.} This was the flower garden Phippen described as being in the ‘Italian style’ and it was set out below the new ‘Palladian’ front, also by Roos.\footnote{Ibid., p. 221.}

Concurrent with his work at Bedgebury Park, Roos was retained by another branch of the Hope family to work at the Deepdene, Surrey.\footnote{Deepdene was inherited by Thomas Hope’s son, Henry, in 1831. In 1833 Thomas’ widow, Louisa, married her cousin, William, 1st Viscount Beresford, and they purchased Beresford Park. This property passed to Alexander James Beresford Hope, the youngest of four sons by Louisa’s first marriage to Thomas Hope. He was given the name Beresford as a first name on his birth. There was speculation within the family that William Beresford and not Thomas Hope was Alexander’s father. Gordon W. Batchelor, *The Beresfords of Bedgebury Park; and Life in Kilndown and Goudhurst 1836-1900* (Goudhurst: William J. C. Musgrave, 1996), pp. 5-6.} David Watkin’s research into the Deepdene has traced its development, first by Thomas Hope supported by William Atkinson, and then, by his son, Henry Thomas Hope. Garnier’s work has carved out a role for Roos in this development by re-attributing drawings from all three men to Roos.\footnote{Watkin questions Garnier’s re-attribution of all the drawings tipped into John Britton’s manuscript on the Deepdene held in the Lambeth Record Office, London although he accepts the re-attribution of the second palazzo phase of the Deepdene to Roos. David Watkin, *Reform of Taste in the Country: The Deepdene*, pp. 219-37 in Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor, *Hope*, fn. 53, pp. 237 and xxiv.} In the process he has promoted Roos from the surveyor of a completed scheme to its architect, making him, rather than Henry Thomas Hope, the author of the palazzo-style changes to the Deepdene undertaken in the 1830s\footnote{Compare Watkin, *Hope*, pp. 183-84 and Garnier, ‘Roos’, pp. 15-6.} (Fig. 7.24).

Roos also proposed an appropriate palazzo-style feature for the Deepdene’s garden (see Fig. 7.14). He envisaged the removal of the trees around the south-east front and the excavation of the banks that pressed in around Thomas Hope’s villa. This would have given Roos’ new palazzo-style entrance front the space it needed to impress.

Roos proposed facing the newly excavated banks with dressed stone punctuated by
elongated niches for statues. The niches would alternate with his characteristic vases set on plinths above each of which was a plaque or *bas relief* in the spirit of the decoration he used on the Hot Wall at Shrubland Park. The whole structure, apparently an elevated and ornate terraced promenade, was to be topped with a balustrade dressed with yet more of his characteristic vases. The altered approach was intended to sweep round this promenade. Neither this nor Roos' plans to modify the semi-circular terrace to the north-west front were pursued.\(^976\) However, there is a suggestion that an alternative scheme, seemingly from the same period and consistent with Roos' talents, may have been implemented. In 1849 William Keane described `opposite to this [south-east] front are four terraces rising above each other, in the Italian style, faced with flints and pebbles, and formed into parterres.'\(^{977}\) Nothing more is known of these terraces. They were not the terraces that Thomas Hope had laid out around his Conservatory, and being ‘faced with flints and pebbles’ hints at a typically Italian form of decoration (Fig. 7.25) which might be expected from a designer who knew Italy well. Such decoration would be exceptional in an English garden and has only been found in one other English garden from this period, Oteley Park, Shropshire (Fig. 7.26) where family tradition holds that the pebbles decorating the lakeside terraces were laid by Italian workman brought over especially for the task during the early 1830s.

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\(^{976}\) Roos proposed more minor, modification to the existing north-west semi-circular bastion-like terrace created by Thomas Hope outside the drawing room (see Fig. 3.40). He suggested an elongated terrace, balustrade and flight of steps similar to those at Hadzor and Bedgebury Park. This proposal was linked to his modification of the north-west front of the Deepdene and the addition of the same three storey three-faceted bay that Roos had previously used to extend Bedgebury Park. Watkin, *Hope*, plate 73.

\(^{977}\) Keane, *Surrey*, p. 155.
In 1843 Roos met the prolific architect, William Burn, who, by the following year was recommending him everywhere for the ‘improvements of his Gardens’.\textsuperscript{978} In Howard Colvin’s opinion, Burn made ‘the Jacobean manor-house his speciality’.\textsuperscript{979} Roos also developed strong associations with the Jacobean- and Elizabethan-styles which would have enhanced his reputation as an architect and garden designer familiar with the Italian style given the developing perception that these two English periods were the equivalent of the Italian Renaissance.\textsuperscript{980} Roos had used this style in 1841 in the strapwork decoration he applied to the Hot Wall and Fountain Garden at Shrubland Park. By 1843 he was acquainted with George Vivian of Claverton Manor, Somerset which was then a well-regarded example of Jacobean architecture recorded by Charles James Richardson, in his 1837 architectural review of this period.\textsuperscript{981}

Around 1844, at Dale Park, Roos proposed strapwork decoration to the first floor balcony. His complementary garden included a terrace with the usual Italian double steps. The terrace parterre was dominated by the three circular segmented beds and central path first used at Hadzor, although this time the two outer beds were centred

\textsuperscript{978} Roos, Bruce, GD152/53/4/Bundle 27/7(a), 24 January 1844.
\textsuperscript{979} Colvin, Dictionary, p. 183.
\textsuperscript{980} Other examples of Roos working in the Jacobean- and Elizabethan-styles are found at Southam Delabere, Gloucestershire in 1844 which was then regarded as a good example of an original Tudor house. Roos was ‘preparing some improvements in that fine place.’ 27 December 1844. Roos to Tyndall Bruce, MSS, GD 152/53/4/Bundle 27/11. He also created a garden, about which nothing further is known, at Drayton House, Northamptonshire which was regarded in the nineteenth century, as a fine example of Elizabethan architecture. Roos wrote to Tyndall Bruce describing how he had just returned from Drayton House where he had been ‘laying out new gardens & new building’, 12 May 1844, Tyndall Bruce MSS, GD 152/53/4/Bundle 27/9. Garnier presumed this was the terrace and balustrade in the east garden, Garnier, ‘Roos’, p. 59. Colvin does not identify which part of the garden Roos worked on. Colvin, ‘Roos’, in Gow and Rowan, \textit{Scottish Country Houses}, p. 281. Drayton House requires further investigation as Caroline Harriet Stopford’s diary records only that Roos visited in May 1844 to make plans for new bookshelves and windows. Letter from Archivist, Drayton House to Sandy Haynes, September, 2006. Roos also laid out a garden in preparation for the new Jacobean-style house that Burn was about to build at Revesby Abbey, Lincolnshire. Roos to Tyndall Bruce, 24 January 1844, Tyndall Bruce MSS, GD 152/53/4/Bundle 27/7-8.
\textsuperscript{981} Richardson, \textit{Observations on Architecture}, n.p. Around 1821 Sir Jeffry Wyatville designed the second Claverton Manor, just outside Bath. This is now the American Museum. It sits further up the hill above the old Claverton Manor which was demolished except for a pair of gate piers that straddle the road into the village of Claverton.
on ornate *parterres de broderie* styled as Tudor roses. Garnier has pointed to the similarity between this parterre and Schinkel’s design for the grounds of the Albrecht Palace, Berlin, (Fig. 7.27) which was under construction between 1830 and 1832. However, the Dale Park Tudor rose parterre could equally be inspired by Roos’ wider interest in Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture and his associations with experts in the field in England such as Burn and Vivian.

Furthermore, the Tudor rose has already been suggested as the inspiration for the circular parterre designed by Lewis Kennedy and illustrated by Barry in front of Gwydir Castle.

In 1853 Charles M’Intosh opened his influential *Book of the Garden* with an engraving of Nuthill House, Fife and its new gardens (Fig. 7.28). These formal gardens contained an ornate fountain at the centre of three groups of plats and parterres positioned below three fronts of the Jacobean-style mansion. Two parterres were laid out as *fleur de lis*. The other was based on a single segmented circle similar to Hadzor and Dale Park. M’Intosh lavished praise on these gardens and their owner, Roos’ mentor, Tyndall Bruce. They were ‘the most perfect specimen of a flower garden in Scotland ...truly a work of art, the conception of a master mind; and, so far as it was finished when we saw it, a very perfect model of the modern Italian style.’ He acknowledged Roos, ‘an Italian architect and landscape-gardener of rising eminence’ as the designer. Thus Roos was publicly recognised as an Italian born
practitioner of the ‘modern Italian style’ in one of the most widely read horticultural
texts of the mid-nineteenth century. M’Intosh’s description of the gardens as ‘modern’
indicated little more than they were not considered to be classical. Hadzor, Bedgebury
Park, Dale Park and Nuthill House were similar in their terraces, parterres and vases.
Yet Hadzor and Bedgebury were Palladian-style homes and Dale Park and Nuthill
House were in the Jacobean- and Elizabethan-style. These two groups of homes
demonstrate how flexible Italian gardening images were becoming under the
nineteenth-century perception that mixed the English Elizabethan age with the Italian
Renaissance. Richard Brown had attempted to explain the consequences of this in an
architectural pattern book issued the previous year:

the Italian is to the Roman what the Tudor is to the Gothic. We shall first refer to the
balustrade terrace, which is of Italian origin, a pleasing esplanade. The roof of the villa is
Tuscan, which projects considerably beyond the face of the walls, and protects them from the
heavy rains...As to the architectural structure being designated Anglo-Italian, we shall first
remark, that it cannot be otherwise. Now it is not Roman, because all the details are Greek;
neither is it Athenian, for some of the windows have arched heads; and, further, the villa is
covered with a Tuscan roof. What is this edifice then, if neither of the above characters, but an
Italian composition, formed and adopted to the locality, to the climate, and customs of
England, receiving all the internal arrangements from its proprietor, the leading external
masses from modern Italy, and its component parts from ancient Greece?988

By the middle of the century the Italian style in architecture and the garden was being
compromised in some quarters by such arguments.

7.2 Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire: The Inspiration behind Two Italian gardens
Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (Fig. 7.29) was constructed between 1580 and 1588
for Sir Francis Willoughby to designs by Robert Smythson. It is regarded as one of
the greatest Elizabethan houses and is ranked alongside Hardwicke Hall, Derbyshire.
In the first half of the nineteenth-century there was initially no consensus on what
constituted Elizabethan architecture. Richardson summed up the confusion thus:

988 Brown, Domestic Architecture, p. 291.
There is scarcely any enquiry upon which architects differ so widely as the question of “What is the Elizabethan style?” One authority will explain his ideas on the subject by pointing out the buildings raised during the reign of Henry VIII., which another would designate as the latest Pointed or Tudor style: a third tells us that the Banqueting-House, in Whitehall, is the genuine Elizabethan style: a fourth goes to Italy for the true type; and a fifth considers it altogether indigenous to England.989

Richardson elected to see the Elizabethan period as the mirror of the Italian Renaissance without the ‘classical authorities at hand to guide us’.990 This approach has some merit for Roy Strong’s modern study of the garden from the first half of the sixteenth through to the mid-seventeenth centuries was titled The Renaissance Garden in England and divided the period in two unequal halves around the reign of James I: the first half when ‘gardening fashions...arrived in the main from Italy by means of France’ and the second when they ‘began directly to reflect experiences of Renaissance Italy.’991

In 1810 Sir Uvedale Price praised the composition and massing of Wollaton Hall in his Essay on Architecture and Buildings for the way its ‘low situation [is] so elevated by the form of the house, that it seems to command the whole country round it.’992 This made it immediately attractive to Robert Stayner Holford whose new mansion at Westonbirt was to occupy a similarly flat site. Construction began at Westonbirt during the 1840s and continued into the 1870s with details of the mansion still being finalised after the death of the architect, Lewis Vulliamy, in 1871. In contrast, the other great nineteenth-century house inspired by Wollaton Hall, Mentmore, developed with considerable speed. Plans were being drawn up by Joseph Paxton and his son-in-law, the architect, George Henry Stokes, in 1850 and Mentmore Towers was completed within four years. The variation in pace of the two projects was

990 Ibid., p. 6.
symptomatic of the different approaches taken to researching and defining their Italian gardens. They could hardly have been more different despite being united by the influence of Wollaton Hall.

Holford and Vulliamy began their work at Westonbirt with the construction of the Italian Garden. Unusually for this period it was situated out of view of the mansion at the end of the east-west terrace walk (Fig. 7.30), on the site of a former kitchen garden. Whilst the exact position of the new mansion was not fixed until 1864, well after the Italian Garden was completed, the decision to create such an isolated garden was deliberate. Two identical Pavilions (Fig. 7.31) terminate the raised walk along the northern boundary of the garden. Below this two intersecting paths divide the rectangular plot into unequal quadrants: two of which are laid out with a simple arrangement of stone-edged beds. The west and east boundary walks end in elaborately carved stone gateways (Fig. 7.32) whilst the southernmost walk follows the line of a boundary yew hedge pierced, at its centre, by the Dolphin Pool (Fig. 7.33). Stone tazzas dominate the planting beds (Fig. 7.34). The Camellia House (Fig. 7.35) was not added at the centre of the northern boundary wall until 1871. Work on the garden was underway in 1843 when the Pavilions where being constructed, and

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993 Vulliamy also designed Holford’s London town house, Dorchester House, for which he received his first payment in 1849. The house was occupied in 1856. (Robert Stayner Holford, Notebook, c1860-91, Private collection, n.p.) Holford’s letters to Vulliamy chart their consideration of Italian and domestic models for the architecture of Dorchester House, including the Farnesina Palace, Rome and Sir Charles Barry’s Reform Club. Holford to Vulliamy, 2 October 1852, RIBA Drawings Collections, Vulliamy MSS, VUL/1/6/21(i). Holford to Vulliamy, 26 September 1852, Vulliamy MSS, VUL/1/6/19(ii). However, little information has been uncovered about the development of the Dorchester House terrace and balustrades other than Holford’s usual, meticulous scrutiny of Vulliamy’s plans and his desire to embrace new technology. At Dorchester House Holford agreed to ‘experiment’ with asphalt sprinkled with gravel as the surface for the North and West terraces. Holford to Vulliamy, 7 September 1852, Vulliamy MSS, VUL/2/2/16. According to Simon Bonvoison, Nicholas Pearson Associates Ltd, who undertook the Historic Landscape Survey at Westonbirt in October 2003, Vulliamy and Holford’s work at Westonbirt was also characterised by the adoption of newly emerging building technology such as the metal frames used in the Italian Garden Pavilions. Information received in conversation between author and Sophieke Piebenga, December 2007.

the carved gateways were added three years later, in 1846. In 1844 Holford described his developing, largely enclosed garden as his ‘Italian Garden’. Letters exchanged between Vulliamy and Holford chart the influence of Wollaton Hall on the mansion, which is seen most markedly in the towers on the north front (Fig. 7.36). The architecture of the house incorporates features from the Italian Garden indicating that the garden, which pre-dates the house, was also deliberately conceived as an Elizabethan garden. Indeed, more specifically some of its features can be traced to Wollaton Hall. Furthermore, it might be suggested that the Elizabethan inspiration for Holford’s Italian Garden ran deeper than just these architectural similarities. Holford had recourse to a famous library that he built up

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996 Ibid., n.p.
999 Ibid., n.p.
1001 Features shared between Westonbirt’s mansion and its Italian Garden include the ogee roofline of the turrets on the house and the Pavilions in the garden, the pierced decoration to the south parapet of the house and the Dolphin Pool, the pierced circular panel to the north parapet of the house and buildings, and finally, the shell motifs that ring the exterior of the house and dominate the Italian Garden Gateways.
1002 The finials decorating the ceilings of the Italian Garden Pavilions echo those in the reception hall at Wollaton and the oval pierced panel of the idiosyncratically carved garden seat in the Westonbirt Italian Garden echoes the decoration of the Wollaton parapet.
1003 Elizabethan influences in the Westonbirt gardens extend beyond the boundary of the Italian Garden into the adjacent Sunken Garden with its circular pool topped by a copy of Giambologna’s study of Mercury and another idiosyncratic garden seat. This seat is more reminiscent of an Elizabethan chimney piece than the Hindu architecture suggested by Nicholas Kingsley. Nicholas Kingsley and Michael Hill, The Country Houses of Gloucestershire 3 vols (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), 3, p. 253. This seat, which is now known as the Bishop’s Seat, echoes the carving beneath the oriel window on the south front, which in turn was inspired by the oriel window at Bramshill, Hampshire. The seat’s roof suggests a viewing platform, but it provides no better prospect than that available from the seat itself. Instead, the balustraded roof appears to double as a stage: a useful feature for a family such as the Holford’s with an interest in historic costume and a family photograph album that documents a fascination with dressing up. Family photographs reveal Holford’s son, George, and guests dressed in Elizabethan costume whilst, Holford, himself, threw a fancy dress party on the theme of the Italian portraits in his painting collection. Information from Sophieke Piebenga, December 2007. Texts on the history of costume from around the world were liberally represented in the Westonbirt Library. Sotheby’s, The Holford Library. Part III, Catalogue of Choice, Rare & Valuable Books (London: n.pub., 1928). The Bishop’s Seat would have provided an ideal setting for an Elizabethan-themed tableau, yet its location just beyond the boundary of the Italian Garden, demonstrates that, for Holford
around an initial collection of books purchased from George John Vernon, 5th Lord Vernon, who was the greatest Dante scholar of the nineteenth century. He owned an important collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books by English authors including a copy of Sir Francis Bacon’s *Essays*, first published in 1597, which Holford is known to have annotated. He appears to have taken Bacon’s essay *Of Gardens* as inspiration for his Elizabethan Italian Garden. Westonbirt’s Dolphin Pool was specially carved under the supervision of G. B. Lovati to a design approved by Vulliamy. It retains shards of its original glass basin (Fig. 7.37) that once formed the upper pool. In 1905 *Country Life* described how ‘the perforated stonework of these basins has its openings filled with glass, so that we, on the lower level, see light transmitted through the water, and the whole reflected in mirror-like sheets below.’ Bacon had written enthusiastically about the use of glass in the garden advocating, ‘broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon’ hanging in the arches of a topiary hedge. He thought pools should be ‘withall embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre...’ At Westonbirt glass may also have featured in the decoratively curved skylights of the Elizabethan style was not only synonymous with the Italian Renaissance. Therefore Holford would not have agreed with Matthew Digby Wyatt’s 1854 description of the Crystal Palace which identified the Villa d’Este as ‘the model for the Elizabethan garden’. Quoted in Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, p. 77.

The title page for the sale catalogue of the Holford Library listed the finest books from the sale. They were dominated by MILTON, Lycidas, 1638; Poems, 1645; Paradise Lost, 1667; SPENSER, Shepherdess Calendar, 1581; Faire Queene 1590-96; Complaints, 1591; Colin Clout, 1595; Fowre Hymnes, 1596; Surrey’s Songs and Sonettes, 1559, one of two copies known; Bunyan, Water of Life 1688; Ravenscroft, Melismata, 1611. Sotheby’s, *Holford Library, III*, n.p.

In June 1853, Mr. Yorke wrote to Vulliamy outlining difficulties in fitting the curved panels of glass within the stonework of Lovati’s fountain. Vulliamy MSS, VUL/38/10/6 Michael Symes extrapolated from the 1905 *Country Life* article that the fountain was fitted with coloured glass and mirrors, but it is suggested the mirror was formed by the surface of the water in the lower basin. No other evidence for coloured glass has been identified. Symes, ‘Westonbirt’, p.161.


Ibid., p. 49.

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two Italian Pavilions to echo the ‘pretty summer-house panell’d and ceil’d with looking-glass’ seen by the eighteenth-century antiquarian, William Stukeley, during a visit to Wollaton. Holford would have been aware of this from his own copy of Stukeley’s *Iterarium curiosum* published in 1724. The unusual decision to move the garden away from the house into the former kitchen garden reflected Bacon’s advice that a ‘garden is best square’ and whilst ‘encompassed on all four sides’ it maintained the views out that he also recommended through the break in the hedge for the Dolphin Pool. One puzzling and unexplained feature of the west Pavilion is the arched metal extension of seemingly nineteenth-century construction that is now roofed in with corrugated plastic (Fig. 7.38). Nothing more is known about this structure. Might it have been an unsuccessful attempt at an aviary to introduce Bacon’s favoured birds into the garden? A marble bust of Bacon (Fig. 7.39) now sits on a side table outside the Headmistress’ office; for Westonbirt became a school in 1928. Michael Symes’ review of the garden referred to a plaster bust on a plinth in the west Pavilion that was broken during the Second World War. Might Bacon’s handsome bust once have been accompanied by birdsong whilst he looked down over the Italian Garden towards the glass pool?

Holford’s London library contained a copy of Francesco Colonna’s 1499 edition of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, with the usual 172 woodcuts illustrating the architecture and gardens of his Florentine dream world. Echoes of these illustrations also

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1010 Symes, ‘Westonbirt’, p. 163.
appear in Westonbirt's Italian Garden. The apsidal-shaped pierced panels of decorative stonework in the Pavilions (Fig. 7.40) might be the tablets at the entrance to the imaginary temple (Fig. 7.41) where the nymph reveals her true identity to the hero of the tale, her lover, Poliphilo.\textsuperscript{1012} In Colonna's tale the two apsidal tablets were inscribed with words from Virgil, 'let each follow his own pleasure', and a Greek adage, 'let each do according to his own nature.' The line of the Westonbirt Pavilion roofs also follows that of a ruined temple (Fig. 7.42) that Poliphilo explores whilst Polia keeps watch for Cupid.\textsuperscript{1013} Finally, the mysterious carved dragon (Fig. 7.43) that lies unfinished and discarded behind Westonbirt's east Pavilion may have been an image of the dragon (Fig. 7.44) that chased Poliphilo from the 'elegant portal'.\textsuperscript{1014}

_Hypnerotomachia Poliphili_ appeared a century before Bacon's _Essays_, but together they provided the two most important contemporary texts on the Italian Renaissance and English Elizabethan gardens available in England in the mid-nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{1015} Bacon and Colonna were fitting sources of inspiration for an Italian Garden to accompany a mansion inspired by Wollaton Hall. Thus Holford's Italian Garden was an extension of his broad 'enthusiasm for the Italian Renaissance' which he indulged in every aspect of the Westonbirt interiors where 'Mr Holford would have absolutely no truck with Gothic... whether [in the] country or town.'\textsuperscript{1016} The principle

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[1013]{Ibid., p. 247.}
\footnotetext[1014]{Ibid., p. 62.}
\footnotetext[1015]{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili was well recognised as an architectural source book at the time. Soane owned three copies: one of which he annotated. John Summerson, _Heavenly Mansions and other essays on architecture_ (London: The Cresset Press, 1949), p. 48. Cockerell also recommended it as a source of architectural inspiration during the 1842 lecture he delivered as Professor of Architecture to the Royal Academy. Deborah van der Plaat, "Would you know the new, you must search the old": William Lethaby's _Architecture, Mysticism and Myth_ (1891) and the _Hypnerotomachia Poliphili_ (1499), _Fabrications_, 12, 1 (2002), pp. 1-26, p. 3.}
\footnotetext[1016]{Lees-Milne, 'Westonbirt I'; p. 1229.}
\end{footnotes}
Westonbirt ceilings were copied from Medici villas.\textsuperscript{1017} The mansion housed Holford's collections of Della Robbia ware, Italian manuscripts and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English books and his garden complimented them all perfectly.\textsuperscript{1018}

Holford and Vulliamy could both supplement information drawn from literary sources with first hand knowledge of Italy. Vulliamy trained under Robert Smirke, who published his own drawings of the Palace of Caserta, Naples and Villa Doria, Genoa in 1806.\textsuperscript{1019} Vulliamy followed this example publishing his own drawings of Venice, Padua and Rome, including details from the gardens of the Villa Poniatowski in Rome.\textsuperscript{1020} These drawings were presumably made during the four-year travelling scholarship he received from the Royal Academy. The Villa Poniatowski was acquired by the King of Poland in 1800 and Thomas Hope had sketched the gardens around 1812.\textsuperscript{1021} Holford's brother-in-law, Sir Coutts Lindsay, who decorated some of the Westonbirt interiors, must also have been a visitor to these gardens during his time in Rome.\textsuperscript{1022} In 1867 he used parterre designs taken from \textit{Les Jardins du Roi de Pologne} when extending the terraces at the Lindsay family home, Balcarres, Fife.\textsuperscript{1023} Holford had been similarly inspired to search for his own accurate and original information to use in developing Westonbirt and to this end he began recording

\textsuperscript{1017} As demonstrated by recent research undertaken by Jenny Murray Band, Archivist, Westonbirt School. E mails exchanged with author, February 2008.
\textsuperscript{1019} Smirke, Continental Architecture.
\textsuperscript{1020} Lewis Vulliamy, \textit{Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture drawn from the originals of bronze, marble and terra cotta in Greece, Asia Minor and Italy in the years 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821} (n.p.: Lewis Vulliamy, n.d.).
\textsuperscript{1021} Watkin and Lever, 'Hope', p. 182. See section 3, pp. 73 and Fig. 3.37.
measurements of disparate architectural details from Italian style buildings in this country and in Italy.\textsuperscript{1024}

Holford's and Vulliamy's knowledge did not restrict them to the terrace, balustrade, vases and parterres that characterised Roos' interpretation of both the Italian and the Anglo-Italian garden. Instead Westonbirt was an intensely researched and highly individual interpretation of the Anglo-Italian garden that did not rely upon any of the stylistic features that Richardson associated with the style in 1837. For Richardson

\begin{quote}
The most important and interesting feature of the gardens were the terraces, initiated from the Italian, and (where the ground favoured the design) ranged successfully one above another, and connected by flights of stone steps and balustrades. These were adorned with vases and statues, and displayed both taste and grandeur in their form.\textsuperscript{1025}
\end{quote}

Richardson's vision was much more in line with the developments at Mentmore Towers (Fig. 7.45) where we are informed that Baron Amschel Mayer de Rothschild did not initially intend there to be a garden.\textsuperscript{1026}

Rothschild did not share in his family's usual passion for horticulture. His energies were devoted to race horses, hounds and pedigree cattle.\textsuperscript{1027} Although there may have been another reason for eschewing gardens for Rothschild's wife, Juliana, is said to have 'avoided flowers altogether as they aggravated her medical condition'.\textsuperscript{1028}

Paxton's drawings of the house show an uninspiring terrace as a girdle to the mansion.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1024] At home Holford noted details of the architecture at Wilton, Badminton, the Reform Club, Devonshire House and Albert Gate in London. Abroad he noted details from the Palazzo Corsini, Florence, Alberzo dei Poveri and the Durazzo Palace, Genoa and the Palazzo Giorgio, Via Baburino, Rome. Robert Stayner Holford, Notebook, c, Private Collection, n.p.
\item[1025] Richardson, Observations on Architecture, pp. 10-11.
\item[1028] Baron Rothschild's granddaughter, Marchioness of Crewe, quoted in Ibid., p. 11. She does not give any further details and whilst Juliana suffered from a severe kidney complaint, Bright's Disease, there is no obvious reason for suggesting this would lead her to shun flowers.
\end{footnotes}
with no early thought given to the wider setting.\textsuperscript{1029} Nesfield is known to have advised on the location of the house and its water supply, and whilst the \textit{Gardeners' Chronicle} of 1869 predicted ‘Nesfield’s Italian garden...will soon be finished’ there is no other convincing evidence to support this attribution.\textsuperscript{1030} 

H. W. Brewer showed Mentmore and its grounds brought to life in two watercolours. The forecourt is filled with the Rothschild staghounds whilst an extensive terraced garden is peopled with ladies wearing ‘the starched ruff, [and] the Elizabethan cap’ (Fig. 7.46) that the \textit{Gardeners’ Chronicle} had mocked would become obligatory in such revivalist gardens.\textsuperscript{1031} The lower terrace illustrated by Brewer was never laid out although the statue of the Discobolus was to be found in the garden.\textsuperscript{1032} By 1878 Mentmore was described as ‘lavishly adorned with beautiful statues and vases of the most elegant design and workmanship, in marble and bronze’ in the spirit of Brewer’s image.\textsuperscript{1033} According to the same source the ‘Italian Flower Garden’ was laid out with box edgings round the beds, and with ivy and grass edges by the walks. The sloping bank surrounding this garden is planted with the dark free-flowering hybrid perpetual Rose “General Jacqueminot,” kept neatly pegged down, and which is also backed up on two sides by fine yew hedges...\textsuperscript{1034} 

Brewer illustrated two fountains, but contemporary horticultural magazines were unanimous in only referring to one in the unimaginatively named Fountain Garden. The \textit{parterre de broderie} was to be found in the adjacent Italian Flower Garden. In 1892, the \textit{Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener} erroneously referred to two Italian Gardens by grouping the Fountain Garden together with the adjacent \textit{parterre...} 

\textsuperscript{1030} \textit{Gardeners' Chronicle} quoted in Evans, 'Nesfield', (unpublished thesis), Appendix 1, p. 3. 
\textsuperscript{1031} Anon., 'National Costumes', p. 252. 
\textsuperscript{1032} Letter from 7th Countess of Rosebery to the author, January 2008. 
\textsuperscript{1033} Anon., 'Mentmore, Buckinghamshire: The seat of the Earl and Countess of Rosebery', \textit{Journal of Forestry and Estates Management}, 2 (1878), pp. 608-17, p. 616. 
\textsuperscript{1034} Ibid., p. 615.
Eight years later the same publication suggested to its readers that, ‘Though termed the Italian garden, doubtless from its shape and the inclusion of statuary, it has in the Box edgings to the beds and scrolls something of the Dutch character.’ In 1853 Charles M’Intosh observed that he was ‘glad to find’ Paxton agreed with him that the ‘French parterre, or geometrical flower-garden’ is the best because of the greatest flower variety provided throughout the season. These inconsistent interpretations show how, despite the backdrop of an Elizabethan-style house based largely on Wollaton Hall, Mentmore’s Italian Garden reflected the amorphous thinking on the style that was prevalent by the 1850s and 1860s rather than the detailed research of its equivalent at Westonbirt.

7.3 Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha: A Private and a Public Italian Garden

Michael Turner has pointed out that Prince Albert’s German background ensured that he grew up immersed in that country’s passion for the Rundbogenstil. This appreciation of Italian art and architecture was sharpened by six months travel in Italy between 1837 and 1839. In 1840 his arrival in England coincided with the peak in this country’s ‘vogue for Italianate design’ and the growing adulation of Barry’s Italian garden at Trentham Hall and Sir Jeffry Wyatville’s Belvedere at

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1035 Wright, ‘Mentmore’, p. 479.
1037 M’Intosh, Garden, 1, p. 611.
1038 Michael Turner, ‘From Coburg to Osborne via Naples: Prince Albert and Architectural Inspiration at Osborne’, in Kunstlerische Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in der viktorianischen Epoch, ed. by Michela Braest and Christoph Kampmann, (Munchen: K. G. Saur, 1996), pp. 21-38, p. 22. One branch of German architectural thought from the 1830s and 40s was fascinated by the round arch at the expense of the straight column. This movement was named the Rundbogenstil. It took elements from many different styles including Italian, Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque architecture.
During the 1840s and 1850s Prince Albert’s love of Italian and especially Renaissance art, was guided and supported by his advisor, Professor Ludwig Grüner. Prince Albert encouraged the re-introduction of fresco painting to this country, not only at the Palace of Westminster, but at Osborne House and in the garden pavilion at Buckingham Palace. The Prince and Grüner’s taste for Renaissance art also shaped the painting collection being assembled by the newly established National Gallery. All of this, coupled with Prince Albert’s enthusiasm for gardening, might be expected to have ensured him a central role in the popularisation of the Italian garden in England. In fact Prince Albert’s major contributions at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and in the new Royal Horticultural Society’s Garden in South Kensington produced rather unexpected results.

Prince Albert took the lead in the development of the gardens at Osborne House. He threw himself into gardening to find exercise and escape depression. He was closely involved in the laying out of the Osborne terraces (Fig. 7.47) whilst his builder, Thomas Cubitt, designed some of the tazzas and vases and Grüner

1040 Turner, 'Coburg to Osborne', in Braest and Kampmann, Kunslerische, pp. 22-23.
1043 The Horticultural Society received its new Royal Charter in 1861, the year after planning began on the new South Kensington Garden. However, in the interests of consistency the garden will be referred to throughout this account as the R.H.S. Garden.
1044 ‘On the Queen’s birthday in 1852, in spite of depression, the Prince planted new gardens...’ Arnold Florance, Queen Victoria at Osborne (Newport, Isle of Wight: n. pub., 1977), p. 23. In a letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg in February 1846 he explained ‘to the Isle of Wight for a week, where the fine air will be of service to Victoria and the children; and I, partly forester, partly builder, partly farmer, and partly gardener, expect to be a good deal on my legs and in the open air.’ Quoted in Martin, Prince Consort, pp. 322-23.
designed the Venus Fountain\textsuperscript{1046} (Fig. 7.48) and the Andromeda Fountain\textsuperscript{1047} (Figs. 7.49 and 7.50). Work on the new house began in 1845 and was finished in 1851 although construction of the extensive complex of terraces continued until 1853.\textsuperscript{1048}

As a royal residence, Osborne should have been ideally placed to lead popular taste, but Queen Victoria and Prince Albert jealously guarded the privacy it afforded them and it functioned more as a home than a palace. Queen Victoria had purchased Osborne from her own funds in a desire to secure 'a place of one's own'\textsuperscript{1049} and their new home was conspicuous by its absence from the pages of the horticultural magazines before 1897.\textsuperscript{1050} Its reception in the \textit{Builder} was mildly appreciative although the cement render used was deemed a 'matter of regret'\textsuperscript{1051}, and whilst it attracted more coverage in the \textit{Illustrated London News} little attention was paid to the garden.\textsuperscript{1052} The public could glean only scant details about the 'series of balustraded terraces with flights of steps from one to another, [that] concur to increase greatly the

\textsuperscript{1046} Venus Fountain attributed to Grüner in Anon., 'Fountains at Osborne, Isle of Wight', \textit{Illustrated London News}, 23, 27 August 1853, p. 174.


\textsuperscript{1051} Anon., 'Editorial', \textit{Builder}, 6, 25 November 1848, p. 565. A second article in 1853 focused on the terrace fountains, but again the tone was less than positive with the gardens being introduced as 'for some time wanting' in completeness and finish. Anon., 'Fountains at Osborne', \textit{Builder}, 11, 3 December 1853, pp. 730-31, p. 730.

\textsuperscript{1052} In 1844 the \textit{Illustrated London News} published a small image of the original Osborne House that was demolished by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. In 1845 an engraving of the new Pavilion described as being in the 'palazzo style' appeared. Anon., 'Osborne', \textit{Illustrated London News}, 1845, p. 81. In 1849 an image of the completed house seen from the sea included details of the terrace balustrade and the alcove seat. Anon., 'Osborne, Isle of Wight', \textit{Illustrated London News}, 29 September 1849, pp. 216, 364.
effect of the building’ and the published engravings of Grüner’s fountains. Osborne popularised the ideal of the Italian garden, but left gardens such as Trentham Hall and Chatsworth to inform the public’s understanding of the style.

The garden at Osborne was brought to life for the royal couple by personal mementoes, family memories and Prince Albert’s unceasing enthusiasm for new materials and new technology. The terraces that stretched out from the house north-west towards the sea were soon cluttered with a disparate, but touching array of statuary taken from both modern and antique designs. John Francis’ statue of Eos (Fig. 7.51), Prince Albert’s favourite greyhound, stood immediately next to the house on the uppermost terrace. Other statues were gifts exchanged between the Royal couple. In 1852 Victoria gave Prince Albert the figure of Juno. His gifts to her included the statues of Venus of Capua, Ceres, Meleager and Erdmann Kalide’s Boy with a Swan (Fig. 7.52). The pierced balustrade (Fig. 7.53) that encircled the lower terraces was equally as much a reminder of a garden from Prince Albert’s childhood, his family’s summer residence at Rosenau, near Coburg (Fig. 7.54) as it was a symbol of Pompeii. For him the scent of Osborne’s lime and orange blossom triggered memories of Gotha rather than Italy. Osborne’s gardens were an intimate and familial space and it was in this light that they were most publicly seen as the backdrop to Franz Xavier Winterhalter’s 1846 portrait of Queen Victoria with the young Prince Albert Edward (Fig. 7.55).

1053 It is possible that Edward Adveno Brooke included the Isle of Wight on his itinerary when compiling material for his Gardens of England with an eye to penetrating the privacy that surrounded Osborne House. A royal palace would have greatly boosted sales, and Brooke’s work was dedicated to Harriet, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland who was Mistress of the Robes from Victoria’s accession in 1837 to 1861. As such Harriet was well placed to attempt to negotiate access for Brooke. However, Osborne remained out of reach and Brooke had to be content with painting Lord Clifford’s garden at Westcliffe, Isle of Wight.
Prince Albert's interest in new materials also shaped the gardens. The balustrade was, like the architectural detailing to the house, 'formed in cement, coloured to imitate stone' and is now the cause of serious deterioration in the terraces¹⁰⁵⁷ (Fig. 7.56). Much of the statuary was sourced from Messrs. Geiss of Berlin who had been encouraged by Schinkel to imitate bronze by electroplating zinc on a commercial scale. The Prince would have known of their early work in this field as well as the prize awarded to Moritz Geiss in 1838 by the Association for the Enlightenment of Trade and Industry.¹⁰⁵⁸ At Osborne the bronze finish of the statues did not withstand the weather and all the statues have lost their lustre, with the exception of the four figures representing the Seasons manufactured by Messrs. Miroy of Paris that have been recently re-plated (Fig. 7.57). Other unusual materials were used in the garden seat designed by Grüner and carved from cannel or parrot coal; now removed to avoid further deterioration.¹⁰⁵⁹ A brightly coloured ‘lava finish’, newly patented by Messrs Orsi and Armani, that lined the bowls of the fountains and the terraces and was ‘polished to show the shingle, and give the appearance of a Gravel Garden Walk’.¹⁰⁶⁰ The brightly coloured ochre of the terraces and the vivid blue, red and green of the fountain bowls deteriorated quickly, setting the pattern for the almost total obliteration of any sense that Prince Albert’s terraces were a testing ground for new technology.

For Prince Albert in particular Osborne’s gardens were a distinctly personal and private space, but they also embodied the Italian garden style. His memories of Italy

¹⁰⁵⁷ Thomas Cubitt quoted in Hobhouse, Cubitt, p. 381.
¹⁰⁵⁹ MacNamara, Osborne, (unpublished report, ), p. 15.
¹⁰⁶⁰ Photocopy of estimate from Messrs Orsi and Armani held in English Heritage Archive, Osborne. Original in the Royal Archives, Windsor.
were not always suppressed in favour of images of Germany for on his first visit to the Isle of Wight, Prince Albert had been struck by the resemblance of the coastline to Naples.\footnote{M. Tyler-White, \textit{Victoria and Albert at Home}, p.7 cited in Michael Turner, 'From Coburg to Osborne Via Naples: Prince Albert and Architectural Inspiration at Osborne', in \textit{Kunstlerische Beziehungen Zwischen England Und Deutschland in Der Viktorianischen Epoch}, ed. by Michela Braest and Christoph Kampmann, (Munchen: K. G. Saur, 1992), pp. 21-38, p. 27.} Turner has also noted that the triple arched alcove on the lower terrace at Osborne (see Fig. 7.49) is reminiscent of the terraces beneath the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati\footnote{Ibid. in Braest and Kampmann, Kunstlerische, p. 30.} (Fig. 7.58). Indeed its three arches set into the retaining wall of a divided staircase are evocative of many Italian Renaissance gardens and Barry's architectural Italian garden style. At Osborne a distinctive curved sunken staircase, the Geometrical Stairs (Fig. 7.59), connects the upper-most terrace with the south terrace below and can be compared to the curving open air staircase of Diana's Atrium (Fig. 7.60) that connects the Palazzo with the gardens on the island of Isola Bella which Prince Albert probably saw when he toured the Italian Lakes in 1837. One shady niche on the lower terrace is decorated with shells (Fig. 7.61), and the other with a pool (see Fig. 7.47) to add to the Italian style. However, the pergola (Fig. 7.62), is the single most interesting feature striding out from the house towards the sea and effectively dividing the lower terrace in two. Trellis arcades have appeared in the work of Lewis Kennedy and Barry, but this is more sculptural and very different. It is characteristic of Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine's illustrations of the Villa Albani in Rome and of Schinkel's work at Charlottenhof near Potsdam for Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, who later become Friedrich Wilhelm IV.\footnote{Percier and Fontaine, \textit{Rome}, plates 2, 4 and 5 show various pergolas in the grounds of the Villa Albani.} Christopher Martin Vogtherr has pointed out that Percier and Fontaine's 1809 study
of the gardens around Rome was known to both Schinkel and the Crown Prince.\textsuperscript{1064} Schinkel designed several pergolas for Charlottenhof. The most important (Fig. 7.63) was created around 1826 to 1828 and formed the southern most boundary of the main terrace which Vogtherr has stated also resembles the layout of the Villa Albani. A second pergola (Fig. 7.64) at Charlottenhof decorated the approach to the Römische Bäder where it was used in association with a pierced balustrade that Vogtherr informs us was also borrowed from the Villa Albani and was known as the 'Albani fence.'\textsuperscript{1065} Schinkel included another pergola in an unexecuted design for a hippodrome garden at Charlottenhof (Fig. 7.65) and as the approach to The Casino at Schloss Glieneke (Fig. 7.66). Importantly Schinkel had been employed by Prince Albert's father, Ernest I, to re-model the Ehrenberg Palace at Coburg and Prince Albert's combination of the pierced balustrade and pergola at Osborne (Fig. 7.67) is particularly reminiscent of his style. Prince Albert was deliberately incorporating Italian images into Osborne's gardens, just as he was including them in the house, but he was taking them in part, from his own German tradition.\textsuperscript{1066}

Turner has identified Barry's towers for the Derry Hill Lodge at Bowood, Wiltshire (Fig 7. 68) and Mount Felix, Surrey (Fig. 7.69) as the obvious sources for Osbourne's twin belvederes.\textsuperscript{1067} He has suggested that Mount Felix, the home of the 5th Earl of Tankerville, may have been familiar to the royal couple through Prince Albert's Private Secretary, the Earl's son.\textsuperscript{1068} However, he has mistaken the Honourable

\textsuperscript{1065} Ibid. in Zukowsky, Schinkel, pp. 73, 83 and ftnt 27. This was also illustrated in Percier and Fontaine, Rome, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{1066} Turner has traced the Italian influences in the architecture of Osborne House. Turner, 'Coburg to Osborne', in Braest and Kampmann, Kunstlerische, pp. 31-4.
\textsuperscript{1067} Mount Felix was previously known as Walton House.
\textsuperscript{1068} Turner, 'Coburg to Osborne', in Braest and Kampmann, Kunstlerische, p. 31.
Lieutenant-General Charles Grey, a son of 2nd Earl Grey and the Queen’s Equerry before he became the Prince’s Secretary, for Charles Augustus Bennett, the son of 5th Earl of Tankerville.1069 Turner did however; also point out the proximity of Mount Felix to Claremont House, Surrey which was well known to the royal couple being the home of Victoria’s uncle, King Leopold. It is perhaps more likely that Mount Felix was made known to them through the Queen’s longstanding Mistress of the Wardrobe, Harriet, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland, who was then one of Barry’s greatest patron supporters1070 and a friend of the 5th Earl of Tankerville whom she described in 1828 as ‘a great flirt of mine and I think a very safe one.’1071 At Mount Felix, Barry had also created his smallest garden; a terrace tucked into the L shape of the west wing beneath the belvedere. Whilst very different in scale from Osborne the simplicity of the Mount Felix parterre (Fig. 7.70) was very much in the style of Osborne’s geometric parterres (see Fig 7.47) the design of which Prince Albert discussed in his family correspondence.1072

Osborne is a complex Italian style garden. Brent Elliott suggested it was ‘the high point of fashion’ of the Italianate house and its terraced garden. Yet it owes equally as much to the picturesque as it does to Barry’s later tradition of symmetry.1073 It was dominated by two large terraces (see Fig. 7.47) with a dramatic change in levels

1069 The confusion arose following two separate creations of the title, the Earl of Tankerville. The first was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for the Grey family, and the second from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries for the Bennett family. For information on Charles Grey see K. D. Reynolds, Grey, Charles (1804-70), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography http://www.oxforddnb.com.view/article/11527, [June 2008]
1070 Blissett states that Harriet had visited Mount Felix (which he refers to as Walton House.) Blissett, ‘Veneerer-in-Chief’, in Airs, Victorian House, p. 60.
1071 Harriet to her sister, Caroline Lascelles, 26 January 1828 quoted in Leconfield, Howard Sisters, p. 106.
1073 Elliott, Victorian Gardens, p. 77.
which effectively separated it into two distinct gardens. This was an element of the picturesque quality that had evaded Barry at Trentham. The movement from light to dark and back to light in the journey down the Geometrical Stairs and the darting line of the central pergola have no parallels in Barry’s later work. With the exception of the two covered seats it lacked the decorated buildings that characterised Barry’s interpretation of the Italian garden. It owed much to the previous generation and the work of Percier and Fontaine and Schinkel. However Prince Albert’s garden was known to a wider audience only as a ‘series of balustraded terraces with flights of steps from one to another, [that] concur to increase greatly the effect of the building’ which was dominated by its twin belvederes.\textsuperscript{1074} In the 1850s Osborne’s belvederes exercised more influence over the public imagination than the detail of its terraces leaving the gardens at Trentham and Chatsworth to lead public taste and suppress any suggestions of the Picturesque or the terraces of the Deepdene under Thomas Hope. The impact of the new R.H.S Garden in South Kensington would be very different as it was scrutinised incessantly in the horticultural magazines.

As the Society’s patron the Prince worked to fulfil their desire for a more central London site to supplement the garden at Chiswick. The second garden was established on part of a previously undeveloped site in South Kensington that also became home to the new complex of London Museums. Understandably Prince Albert’s taste for Italian and Renaissance Art was shared by those he chose to work alongside him and chief amongst these was the administrator, Sir Henry Cole, who

became Director of the South Kensington Museum, now known as the Victoria and Albert Museum.\textsuperscript{1075}

The Prince was more than simply the patron of the R.H.S. Garden. It was the emanation of [his] own genius. Captain Fowke, Mr. Smirke, and Mr. Nesfield furnished plans, but it was he who suggested the ideas which they put on paper, it was he who examined their plans, altered and corrected them until they gradually assumed their present form.\textsuperscript{1076}

The site of the Garden (Fig. 7.71) is now occupied by the Royal College of Music, Imperial College and the Science Museum. The two public entrances were located in what are today known as Exhibition Road and Queen’s Gate. From its inception it was agreed ‘the Commissioners will surround the whole ground with beautiful Italian Arcades open to the Garden’.\textsuperscript{1077} In 1878 Edward Walford described the northern curved Arcade centred on the Conservatory (Fig. 7.72) as ‘a modification of the arcades of the Villa Albani in Rome. The central arcade is almost wholly of Milanese brickwork, interspersed with terra-cotta, majolica, &c., while the design of the south arcade has been adopted from the beautiful cloisters of St. John Lateran at Rome.’\textsuperscript{1078}

The Arcades (Figs. 7.73 and 7.74) were the work of the architect, Sydney Smirke, with support from the architect and engineer, Francis Folke, and they deliberately illustrated different episodes from Italy’s architectural history. For the first time in a garden they accurately represented the range of Italian styles that William Leeds had sought to clarify in his essay over twenty years before.\textsuperscript{1079} As at Osborne the Prince

\textsuperscript{1075} Cole’s support for Italian architectural influences has been traced in Martin Barnes and Christopher Whitehead, ‘The ‘Suggestiveness’ of Roman Architecture: Henry Cole and Pietro Dovizielli’s Photographic Survey of 1859’, Architectural History, 41 (1998), pp. 192-207.

\textsuperscript{1076} Taken from Prince Albert’s obituary printed in the Proceedings of the Royal Horticultural Society, London, 1862, 2, pp. 1-2 and quoted in Ibid., p. 205, fnt. 14.


\textsuperscript{1079} Leeds, Italian Style, p. 19.
was taking inspiration from individual Italian gardens including the Villa Albani. Cole is known to have visited and photographed this villa and to have drawn on his collection of architectural photographs to illustrate at least one discussion of the design of the R.H.S. Garden by the Society's committee. This appears to be the first occasion when photography was used to assist the interpretation of Italian style in an English garden.

The Arcades gave life to a prediction made over thirty years previously by Gilbert Laing Meason that 'The gallery is again about to resume its importance and perhaps we may hereafter imitate the Romans in having covered walks contiguous to the house, in order to enjoy fresh air in the many rainy and snowy days, at a country residence in an English winter.' However, in enclosing all four boundaries they frustrated the English preference for a prospect. The Arcades had some admirers and helped 'to trigger the immense enthusiasm for terracotta building that swept the 1860s and 1870s', but just two years after the garden opened, they were described as nothing more than 'ugly useless tumbledown frames' and they attracted some of the strongest of the derogatory criticism levelled at the garden.

Prince Albert's zeal for education underpinned his aspirations for the South Kensington development and specifically the R.H.S. Garden. South Kensington was to form a new cultural centre for the nation and the R.H.S. Garden would assist in this.
by providing a permanent exhibition space for sculpture as well as a lesson in architectural history. When the Prince opened the garden in 1861, he declared it 'a valuable attempt ... to reunite the science and art of gardening to the sister arts of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting'.\textsuperscript{1085} However, visitors found fault with both the volume and quality of sculpture displayed in the garden. In the first year the \textit{Cottage Gardener} expressed 'our hope that those most offensive figures of Venus and the Satyr will be removed from the colonnade, and banished from the garden. It is a group indelicate; is out of proportion to the mole-hill of rockwork on which it is placed; and would be misplaced in any part of the garden'.\textsuperscript{1086}

Nesfield's parterres (Fig. 7.75) occupied the greatest portion of the garden spreading out across the three levels that descended from the Albani Arcade and Conservatory on the north of the site to the Lateran Arcade on the southern boundary. A series of canals, cascades and basins was added to Nesfield's original design by the Society’s Garden Committee.\textsuperscript{1087} Nesfield described it as a 'geometrical garden', but it was quickly presented to the public as, 'Mr. Nesfield's... fine Italian garden',\textsuperscript{1088} or 'anything rather than a modern invention... [and] well known to the French garden artists of the time of Louis Quatorze'.\textsuperscript{1089} In 1861 the \textit{Athenæum} detected

\textit{in these magnificent arcades we have something new in our country and our century – something exquisitely Italian... in these successions of terraces, in these artificial canals, in these highly ornamental water-works we have something of the taste of Louis Quatorze. It was of such a garden as this that Bacon must have dreamt.}\textsuperscript{1090}

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{1085} Prince Albert's opening speech quoted in Fletcher, \textit{Royal Horticultural Society}, p. 191.
  \item\textsuperscript{1087} Elliott, \textit{R.H.S.}, pp. 67-8.
  \item\textsuperscript{1088} Anon., 'Royal Horticultural Society's New Garden, South Kensington', \textit{Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette} (1863), pp. 127-28, p. 127. More is said about Nesfield and the Italian Garden in a later section of this chapter, pp. 286-92.
  \item\textsuperscript{1089} Anon., 'No Title', \textit{Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette} (1862), p. 379.
  \item\textsuperscript{1090} Frederick George Stephens, \textit{Athenæum}, 1861, pp. 362-63 quoted in Elliott, \textit{R.H.S.}, p. 69.
\end{itemize}
The Italian buildings and gardens that lay at the heart of this garden were now being lost among the growing revivalist themes of the French garden and the English garden. Donald Beaton, a respected former Head Gardener and regular contributor to the *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, generally saw the Garden as ‘the very best...of the old school of Italian design for a town garden’. Yet a detail of the design mixing flowers and minerals in the same parterre caused him concern for ‘Neither the Romans nor their successors in Italy did attempt’ this. Such detailed observations on codified images would be the death of any style especially when it was being crowded out by images of France and the English Elizabethan garden. It was paradoxical that an overtly didactic garden should contribute so much to the subversion of the Italian style.

This was aggravated by the controversy that the R.H.S. Garden attracted. As Elliott has pointed out it was a high risk development. As the Society’s Garden it demanded the highest horticultural standards, but as an urban garden it was testing the widely held view that plants could not survive the City’s pollution. James Mangles had gone so far as to encourage garden owners in London to set up a contract to have the flowers in their gardens replaced every week for

The difficulties which beset the amateur florist in London are great and almost irredeemable; day and night he has to contend incessantly with a poisonous atmosphere - no skill or art - no assiduity or care - will protect his plants from the destructive infection of the pernicious "blacks"; their withering influence will baffle all his precautions - none of his herbaceous plants, (no matter what may have been their cost), will ever flower in health a second year, and his annuals will seldom, if ever, assume a healthy appearance or a perfect floration; even a languid and "mezzo tint" display can only be obtained by dint of great care and unremitting attention...
The R.H.S. Garden was quickly compared to the desolation of 'a dirty London Square', and it became a focus for every major horticultural debate from bedding and colour theory to the future of urban horticulture, and the role of art in the garden. It became a hothouse for every controversy of its age including the destruction of the Italian garden.

In the space of ten years Prince Albert had created a wonderfully picturesque if little known Italian garden at Osborne and hastened the destruction of the style at South Kensington. However, these two gardens were separated in time by another public flagship Italian garden that was laid out at the second home of the Crystal Palace in Sydenham Park, London. Prince Albert had opposed this believing it to be 'commercially motivated by "love of gain"' and an unjust challenge to his South Kensington ideal of a national cradle for education and learning, yet it achieved much more than the R.H.S. Garden in effectively explaining the Italian garden style to the public.

7.4 Crystal Palace, Sydenham Park, London

Many commentators disagreed with Prince Albert and thought Sydenham Park was bound to fail because the desire of its creators to educate the public exceeded the thirst of its visitors for entertainment. William Jones' parody of Songs, Duetts [sic], Choruses and Incidental Ballads [...] of Cucumber Castle; or, the Sydenham

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Summer-House [...] was typical of the derision it attracted. However, many visitors could still appreciate the combination of this new public playground on an unrivalled scale with the Crystal Palace; a popular and proven building, at its heart. It also had the advantage that its designer, Paxton, was something of a national hero.

The artist, James Duffield Harding, submitted a large perspective view of Paxton’s gardens (Fig. 7.76) to the 1854 Royal Academy Exhibition. Isambard Kingdom Brunel’s water towers and two 250 feet high wedding cake fountains dominated the scene. Twenty-six statues symbolising important commercial and manufacturing nations, and the major industrial cities of England and France adorned the Upper Terrace. Below on the large second terrace where fountains combined with curved paths to produce a much admired ‘mixed Italian and English garden’. Paxton’s design was singled out for the success with which the Italian style had been modified and adapted ‘to suit English climate and English taste’ and for the way in which ‘the violent juxtaposition’ of two such different styles was softened. Matthew Digby Wyatt, who had transferred his energies from the South Kensington development to Sydenham Park, took up the theme of the successful combination of ‘the best features of Italian and English gardening’.

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1097 William Jones, Programme of the Songs, Duetts [sic], Choruses, and Incidental Ballads, in the New Grand and Popular Burlesque of Cucumber Palace: or, the Sydenham Summer-House: Which were intended to have been sung before the Queen, on the Opening of the Crystal Palace, 100,000! edn (London: n. pub., 1854).
1098 See section 4, p. 118, fnt 452 for evidence of Paxton’s reputation continuing to dominate at Chatsworth after his death. His obituary in The Times praised him as ‘the greatest gardener of his time, the founder of a new style of architecture, and a man of genius’ quoted in Kate Colquhoun, A Thing in Disguise The Visionary Life of Joseph Paxton (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), p. 252.
1100 Ibid., 1, p. 149.
1101 Wyatt, Crystal Palace, pp. 34-5.
The guidebook for Sydenham Park offered its readers ‘a few words...to describe the leading characteristics of both’ styles. In an informative account of garden history inspired more by education than entertainment it defined the Italian garden style through the model of the sixteenth-century gardens of Rome and the Medici family which demanded a profuse use of architectural ornaments – the grounds being subdivided into terraces, and adorned with temples, statuary, urns, and vases, beds cut with mathematical precision, formal alleys of trees, straight walks, hedges cut into fantastic devices, jets of water, elaborate rock-work, and fish-ponds dug into squares or other geometrical forms.

Many such features were incorporated into Sydenham Park. The English style was explained not by a roll call of its characteristics, but of its practitioners; Charles Bridgeman, Alexander Pope, William Kent, Thomas Wright, Lancelot Brown, William Beckford, William Shenstone, Richard Payne Knight, Sir Uvedale Price and Humphry Repton. Finally the mixed area of garden surrounding the second terrace was labelled the ‘Anglo-Italian gardens’; a term that Arthur Barry used in 1867 to categorise his father’s design for the Jacobean inspired modifications to Highclere House, Hampshire. At Sydenham Park Anglo-Italian indicated the juxtaposition of two opposing traditions: English eighteenth-century serpentine paths and formal sixteenth-century gardens created by the Medici family. At Highclere House the Anglo-Italian garden looked very different consisting of a terrace, balustrade and sixteenth- or seventeenth-century English parterre.

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1102 Phillips, Crystal Palace, 1, p. 146.
1103 Ibid., 1, p. 146.
1104 Ibid., 1, pp. 148-49.
1105 Ibid., 1, p. 110.
1106 There is little evidence of Barry’s intention for the garden at Highclere Castle. At Gawthorpe Hall he designed two parterres; one of which Robin Whalley and Anne Jennings suggested was inspired by the plaster ceilings in the house. Whalley and Jennings, Knots. See section 6, p. 204, fn1 789 and Appendix C, pp. 414-15.
Sydenham Park's second and largest terrace quickly became known as the 'Italian Garden'\textsuperscript{1107}, or the 'Italian flower-garden'.\textsuperscript{1108} In name and relationship to the rest of the garden it suggested Barry's largest terrace at Trentham Hall. Among the many water features the pair of water staircases recall the similar feature in Paxton's care at Chatsworth, although Digby Wyatt expressly compared them to the 'cascatelle' of the Palace of Caserta near Naples and St. Cloud.\textsuperscript{1109} Digby Wyatt described the Upper Terrace with its balustrade and statuary as the 'Italian Garden', and singled out the Villa d'Este as the model for any garden made up of a progression of terraces. He stressed the revivalist aspect that was now so common by identifying the Villa d'Este as 'the original type for many of the Elizabethan gardens in this country' which again calls to mind Barry's interpretation of the Anglo-Italian style at Highclere.\textsuperscript{1110} Digby Wyatt suggested unspecific likenesses between Sydenham Park and the Villa Ludovisi which had been so important in shaping Barry's early involvement with the Italian garden. The fountains reminded him of the Villa Pamfili Doria in Rome. He thought the views and lush planting typical of the Villa la Bergeria at Palermo, and the mixed style of Sydenham Park reminiscent of the Boboli Gardens in Florence. An Italian model could now be claimed for every aspect of the garden including the English landscape and yet other influential voices interpreted the scene differently. An article in the \textit{Cottage Gardener} in August 1854 explained:

> Whatever may be the merits of the various Italian gardens, which form such conspicuous appendages to the various seat houses to which they are attached, there are few at which the eye is not more or less offended at the distortion to which some of its parts are subjected; trees cut into forms so much at variance with their natural shape, and flower-beds assuming so many acute points, and occasionally an incongruity in the selection of plants by which they are filled, gives to many such gardens a singular, rather than an agreeable, appearance. Now, to obviate this, some have run into an opposite extreme, by attempting to form what they call a garden on the "natural system," in a situation exactly adapted for the "Italian, or Geometric,"

\textsuperscript{1108} Phillips, \textit{Crystal Palace}, 1, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{1109} Wyatt, \textit{Crystal Palace}, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{1110} Ibid., p. 35.
without thinking that the first-named could be so re-formed as to suit the respective wants of each place. At the Crystal Palace this is well accomplished; for without breaking up that regularity which constitutes the class of gardening to which it belongs, the large scale of undisturbed turf, with trees that will doubtless be allowed to grow as they like, the whole forms a correct design pleasing to look upon, and devoid of those whimsicalities which, in other places, are so offending.  

The most comprehensive Italian lineage had been suggested for Sydenham Park, but it plunged the Italian garden into chaos. Its terraces and formal gardens might be Renaissance Italian or Elizabethan English and, in a return to the visual games played by the eighteenth-century collectors of Claude and Poussin, the wider landscape might be English or Italian. The Italian garden had been compromised.

7.5 William Andrews Nesfield and the Italian garden

A comprehensive review of Nesfield’s career as a landscape designer will not be presented here, but rather an analysis of his objectives and influences, and the reception of his work. In this respect it builds upon the research undertaken by Christopher Ridgway and Shirley Evans. Ridgway has explained that Nesfield used a personal scrapbook of parterre designs assembled from ‘the likes of d’Argenville, Mollet, Boyceau and Marot’ as well as ‘Kip, and, in one case, an eighteenth-century Dutch manual’. Evans has focused upon the large number of Nesfield’s patterns that were drawn from seventeenth-century French publications by Jacques de la Barauderie Boyceau, Jean le Pautre, Andre le Nôtre, Jean-Baptiste Alexandre Le Blond, Sieur Bouticourt and Jean Bérain. From this she concludes ‘The most important device in his [Nesfield’s] formal gardens situated in the environs of the parent house was to be the seventeenth century French _parterre-de-

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1112 Ridgway, 'Nesfield',
1114 Ridgway, 'Nesfield', pp. 76, 78.
However, there are a further twenty-four pages of thirty un-attributed designs in Nesfield's scrapbook. These are believed to represent around forty percent of the total and must include those that Ridgway has suggested showed some Dutch influence. The question therefore remains whether Nesfield chose his sources because their origins matched some aspect of his commissions, or whether he selected them at random.

At Crewe Hall, Cheshire sometime between 1842 and 1853, Nesfield planned a Jacobean inspired garden re-introducing low walls in the forecourt as a practical alternative to the 'ancient palisade & lofty walls' he thought had been lost. One of his typical parterre de broderie was laid out below the north front (Fig. 7.77) of a house that remained largely as it had been built for Sir Ranulph Crewe between 1615 and 1638. His approach at Crewe Hall could therefore claim some consistent chronology based around the seventeenth century. In 1859 at Henham Hall, Suffolk he was inspired to create another enclosed garden from the 'refined period of Chas. 2nd, when a 'decided separation was invariably designed between Art & Nature ... by means of enclosed spaces properly proportioned'. A Palladian house had been constructed during the closing decade of the eighteenth century to designs by James Wyatt following the destruction of the original house in a fire in 1773. Nesfield also proposed a pavilion (Fig. 7.78) influenced by, but not copied from, one at the Borghese Palace, Rome. It is immediately reminiscent of Barry's favourite square pavilion. At Henham Hall there does not appear to be a unifying chronology that draws together the different components.


\[1117\] Nesfield quoted in Williamson, Suffolk, p. 132.

\[1118\] Evans, 'Nesfield', (unpublished thesis), Appendix 1, p. 40.
Ridgway has identified two instances where Nesfield related his garden plans to national styles. A letter of 1839 referred to an idea for a ‘French garden’ at Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire for the 4th Duke of Newcastle and, in 1863, he wrote of the ‘Italian Garden’ intended for the 5th Earl of Pomfret at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire. Nothing more is known about either design. Nor is there anything in the architecture of either property to inspire the foreign styles that Nesfield selected. In 1839 Clumber Park had a somewhat Palladian appearance with an Ionic portico to the garden front that might have supported an early nineteenth-century interpretation of the Italian style, but there was nothing to suggest French influence. Easton Neston was designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor at the very end of the seventeenth century and was not the Elizabethan or Jacobean inspiration necessary to support an Anglo-Italian garden. Without access to the Nesfield family archive this analysis must remain partial, but it does suggest there was little concern for continuity of period or culture within his designs. Congruity was not his goal, but in this he may well have been reflecting the explosion of styles that was taking place around him.

Nesfield designs considered by others to be Italian included Grimston Park, North Yorkshire, Moor Park, Hertfordshire, the Broad Walk in Regent’s Park, London and the R.H.S. Garden, South Kensington, which has already been considered. Grimston Park was re-modelled by Decimus Burton in 1840 in a convincing Italian, almost Tuscan style (Fig. 7.79) with a two-tier loggia that ran the width of the garden front and a three-storey belvedere topped by round-arched windows. The volume and

1119 Ridgway, 'Nesfield', p. 78.
1121 See section 7, pp. 277-82.
quality of the statuary in this garden was unusual and consistently attracted comment right up to the 1930s. In the 1840s Nesfield added two parterres which Evans has placed either side of a long walk. He also created an informal garden and, at some distance from the house, the Emperors Walk edged with the marble busts of twelve Roman emperors mounted on pedestals and terminated by a Temple that sheltered a large bust of Napoleon (Fig. 7.80). The 1858 *Cottage Gardener* also attributed the flower garden directly beneath the 'Italian' south front to Nesfield admiring the 'truly Italian scene' created by 'noble vases and figures in marble profusion' although Evans does not include this in her assessment of Nesfield's work at Grimston Park. By 1893 Nesfield's parterres were the 'formalities peculiar to the Italian style of the flower garden', but in 1898 the architectural backdrop of the house and the volume and value of the garden statuary were the features that characterised the Italian style. Nesfield's Emperors Walk had a strong resemblance to the well publicised Italian Walk created by Louisa Lawrence in her villa garden at Drayton Green, Middlesex in the late 1820s or early 1830s. In 1833 John Claudius Loudon was full of admiration for this 'perfect bijou of floricultural beauty'. When he returned in 1838 he devoted seventeen pages of the *Gardener's Magazine* to this eclectic garden and illustrated the nine statues mounted on pedestals set out along one side of the Italian Walk (Fig. 7.81) which terminated at the greenhouse. The same

1122 Evans, 'Nesfield', (unpublished thesis), Appendix 1, p. 50.
1126 Mrs. Lawrence's garden and its Italian Walk received widespread publicity through Loudon, *Suburban Gardener* which was reproduced in John Claudius Loudon, 'Descriptive Notice of the Villa of Mrs. Lawrence, at Drayton Green', *Gardener's Magazine*, 14 (1838), pp. 305-22.
1128 Loudon, 'Drayton Green', pp. 313-15. By 1851 the Greenhouse had disappeared; to be replaced by another fountain and a statue of Apollo. Kemp's detailed description also confirms some of the other
description was reproduced in Loudon's *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*. This well-established Italian model of statuary and straight walks was never described as Italian in the horticultural press. By 1898 it was regarded as a revivalist feature illustrating 'three epochs of history'; Adam, the first emperors and Napoleon.\(^\text{1129}\) The Italian style that others perceived in Nesfield's work at Grimston Park sprang from the deeply ingrained association between Italy and statuary and a formal garden surrounding a Tuscan style house, but by the end of the century there was little else to define it.

The Broad Walk in Regent's Park was created by Nesfield between 1860 and 1863 and immediately dubbed the 'Italian garden' by the *Gardeners' Chronicle*.\(^\text{1130}\) A year later the same magazine praised it as a 'clever and beautiful CLASSICAL GARDEN'.\(^\text{1131}\) It comprised a long, parallel series of geometric stone-edged planting beds of relatively simple design, with the exception of the two cable frieze beds (Fig. 7.82) designed by Nesfield's son, Ernest Markham Nesfield. These were very similar to Barry's parterre decoration on the Upper Terrace at Trentham and other architectural details such as that on the schola at Shrubland Park.\(^\text{1132}\) The beds were ranged along a long straight promenade that was liberally peppered with tazzas, vases

statuary used in the Italian Walk which he thought was 'classical and and elegant, and consistent with the style of the house.' He described 'a straight walk, on a descending slope, with pairs of small figures on pedestals at either side of it, and good specimens of Irish yews between these. It terminates in a moderately large circular basin of water, in the centre of which, on a sufficient pedestal, is a figure of Apollo. The walk is kept confined towards the end by large evergreens, which narrow the vista, and restrict the view pretty much to the principal terminating object in the middle of the basin. The figures on the pedestals at the sides are arranged in pairs; and on one pedestal Mars and Venus being placed, on another Cupid and Psyche, and a third Castor and Pollux, &c.' Edward Kemp, *The Parks, Gardens etc of London, and its suburbs described and illustrated for the guidance of strangers* (London: n.pub., 1851), p. 141.

\(^{1129}\) Anon., 'Grimston Park', p.128.
\(^{1132}\) See section 6, pp. 205-06.
and fountains (Fig. 7.83), but there was no statuary, no terrace, no balustrade and no
garden buildings. Some of the most quintessential images of the Italian style were
missing, and the scheme was dominated by its planting taking the Italian style in yet
another direction. In 1852 the *Art Journal* had also hinted at this move when the 6th
Duke of Devonshire's sculpture garden, which is now the Rose Garden, was labelled
as Italian, but admired for its 'richly-coloured parterres, and its clustered foliage
wreathed around the pillars which support the statues and busts scattered among them,
and hanging from one to the other with a luxurious verdure which seems to belong to
the south...' Beaton's observation that an Italian parterre never mixed minerals
with flowers has already been discussed in relation to Nesfield's work at South
Kensington in 1861. In a similar vein the 1858 and 1864 editions of Edward
Kemp's *How to Lay out a Garden* also tied the Italian style to horticultural features.
In 1858 he advised that if

> a semicircular lobe is attached to each end of the principal oblong beds, [it] is more suited for
> the Italian manner, and would yield some additional novelty, because the small ends of the
> beds would just accommodate one or three plants of a striking kind, to contrast with the other
> occupants of the bed. Any of the more remarkable variegated Geraniums would be admirably
> fitted for such a situation.\(^{1135}\)

In the next edition he suggested:

> When the beds of a flower-garden are separated by grass, they may be furnished with masses
> of flowers of one colour, either with or without an edging of a separate tint, and this
> arrangement will, in general, be more striking, and more consonant with Grecian and Italian
> architecture. Beds of mixed flowers will better suit the irregular shapes of purely English
> gardening, and English Gothic buildings. The more formal styles appear to demand, for
> consistency, a similarly formal arrangement, and a more brilliant but less variegated display of
> colour.\(^{1136}\)

Royal approval of the Italian style at Osborne in the early 1850s had fanned a fashion
that sought to take over every aspect of the garden. The resultant horticultural
nonsense discredited the largely architectural image that Italian gardens had inspired

\(^{1134}\) See section 7, p. 281.
\(^{1135}\) Kemp, *Garden*, (1858), pp. 111-12.
in English gardens since 1787. The picturesque Italian garden had achieved a late flowering at Osborne when Prince Albert went back to ideas developed by his father's generation. The Italian garden was also re-interpreted as the Anglo-Italian garden in a return to Bacon's ideal garden at Westonbirt and in the mixing of the English landscape with Italian formality at Sydenham Park. However, Roos had not distinguished between the Italian garden and the Anglo-Italian garden. There were highly personal and informed interpretations of the Italian garden at Hadzor Hall and Westonbirt in the 1840s, but the style began to disintegrate in the 1850s and early 1860s. Unsurprisingly this decay was accompanied by a decline in the creation of the more innovative and personal interpretations of the Italian garden. It had been compromised both as a style and as a source of inspiration.
8. CONCLUSION

The case studies in this research have demonstrated many different levels of sophistication in the imitation of Italy in English gardens between 1787 and 1863. Predictably those who knew Italy brought this expertise to bear in their gardens, although they did not confine themselves to Italian horticultural sources, and were happy to take ideas from that country’s architecture, paintings and literature as well as its recent archaeological discoveries. Sites in and around Rome exercised the strongest influence because of their popularity among English tourists although the cities of Venice and Genoa are also seen as emerging forces. The use of such specific Italian sources explains why today’s visitors to gardens such as Shrubland Park, Suffolk continue to share in Sir William Fowle Fowle Middleton’s and Sir Charles Barry’s sense that this was an Italian garden for we are still captivated by the gardens of the Villa d’Este and the Villa Pia that inspired it. However, this does not mean that gardens based on less explicit or less precise models of Italy were perceived as any less Italian when they were established. In designing a landscape we are now unlikely to follow Humphry Repton’s advice that round-headed trees were suited to the broken lines of Gothic architecture whilst conical trees obscured at the base were the best complement for Grecian architecture and other styles dominated by strong verticals. Nor would we be convinced by Gilbert Laing Meason’s claim that all exotic plants introduced to England in the early nineteenth century were Italian. Both Repton and Meason were engaged in establishing broader aesthetic frameworks that have themselves been rendered redundant by twentieth-century functionalism and the decline of rigid systems of taste. Edward Kemp’s claim during the 1850s that round-

1137 Humphry Repton, Sketches and Hints, 1795 quoted in Loudon, Works of Humphry Repton, pp. 57-8. This advice was still being repeated by gardeners in 1858. Kemp, Garden, (1858), p. 217.
headed flower beds were distinctly Italian in character would also be dismissed today as the nonsensical advice of a professional gardener who felt compelled to depart from his own area of expertise and offer his readers guidance on garden style. Yet, in the style-obsessed atmosphere of nineteenth-century horticulture, some would have followed his advice believing in the Italian character of the gardens they were creating; today, however, their symbolism is lost without the unlikely accompanying knowledge that Kemp’s manual *How to Lay out a Garden* was to be found on the owner’s bookshelf. Thus the difficulty of defining the intent behind a garden classified by national style is as important as re-discovering the intricacies of its design.

This proves problematic for garden historians as few people document what moved them to create a garden. The Oriental stoneware seats introduced by Thomas Hope to the terraces at the Deepdene, Surrey have been interpreted in this research as evidence of his desire to create an outdoor gallery of exotic styles because they complement the series of Egyptian, Greek, Indian, Hindu and Chinese rooms he created in his London townhouse. However, Lady Catherine Pembroke’s use of almost identical seats in the Italian Garden at Wilton House, Wiltshire has been viewed in a different light: not as a deliberate attempt at exoticism or eclecticism, but as a characteristic example of her magpie-like pursuit of horticultural fashion. The explicit Italian intention that was documented in respect of Hope’s terraces at the Deepdene and William John Bankes’ garden at Kingston Lacy, Dorset indicates they were created by exceptional men. Their gardens were part of a wider strategy intended to shape and direct public taste. However, the very fact that they both chose the Italian style confirms that Italian
symbolism was highly influential at this time and suggests it remains to be re-discovered in many more gardens.

Symbolism is not something that is usually associated with studies of the nineteenth-century garden. It is more familiar in discussions of the great Elizabethan gardens and eighteenth-century landscapes of England, and the Renaissance gardens of Italy where the iconography would typically illustrate concerns for power, dynasty, love, political allegiance and classical mythology. The nineteenth century was dominated by different themes even though Italian politics and the Risorgimento excited considerable public interest in England: a nation that considered itself the birthplace of democracy. Instead the nineteenth century concerned itself with the achievements of men rather than tales of gods and heroes. Scenes of everyday life in and around the streets of Pompeii were more engrossing than the Elysian Fields that had been imitated in the eighteenth-century landscapes of Stowe in Buckinghamshire and Stourhead in Wiltshire. Hope selected a microscopic view of nature as the guiding aesthetic principle for his justification of the Italian garden style, and large landscaped parks were generally rejected in favour of more intimate garden spaces. This was a century that concerned itself with the minuscule, the human, the scientific and the everyday and in keeping with this the nineteenth-century Italian garden preferred to illustrate the mortal dreams of Poliphili over Ovid’s Metamorphoses and Gaspard Poussin’s depiction of the real countryside around Tivoli over Claude Lorrain’s history painting The Coast View of Delos with Aeneas.1138

1138 Claude’s painting has been identified as a major influence behind Sir Henry Hoare’s landscape at Stourhead. See the pioneering work by Kenneth Woodbridge, Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718 to 1838 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 33-8.
The case study of Robert Stayner Holford’s enclosed formal garden at Westonbirt in Gloucestershire illustrates particularly well how a human perspective, the symbolism of everyday objects and the owner’s intent unite to underpin the imagery of an Italian garden. Unusually, from its inception, Holford documented his desire to create an Italian garden and its symbolism was revealed through his other interests and experiences. He built a mansion in the Elizabethan style, decorated it in the Renaissance taste and filled it with Italian art. The realisation that art history in the 1840s had only just begun to separate the Renaissance from the Dark Ages and view it as an extension of English Elizabethan and Jacobean taste is the key that reveals the unity of Holford’s design. Westonbirt’s Italian Garden was integral to the Italian imagery of the mansion and its contents. It was carefully modelled on the mortal concerns of Sir Francis Bacon’s essay *On Gardens* and Francesco Collona’s *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Other particularly powerful examples of similar Italian imagery that have been re-discovered in the course of this research include the *schola* and the fish scale pierced wall inspired by excavations at Pompeii. These were consistently used to good effect in Barry’s distinctive Italian garden style and in more individualistic creations such as Vice-Admiral Sir Augustus Clifford’s Italian terraces on the Isle of Wight.

The methodology employed in this research of studying the reception of individual gardens alongside a more general understanding of style has revealed the growth of the codified images that came to characterise the Italian garden in England at its height. The case study of Mount Edgcumbe in Cornwall was particularly informative in this respect showing how personal reception, in the shape of Lord Camelford’s memories of the Quirinal Palace, Rome, was enhanced and used to support the
emerging view that the Italian garden was crystallised in the use of marble, statuary, evergreens, fountains, balustraded terracing and divided stairs.

The same methodology has also allowed the horticultural as well as the architectural imagery of the Italian garden in England to emerge. Prior to this work those garden historians who accepted the validity of exploring national styles pointed exclusively to the contribution made by architects and architecture in shaping the Italian garden. Thus Brent Elliott characterised the Italian garden in the nineteenth century through the work of Sir Charles Barry, and many garden historians have subsequently taken to classifying such gardens as Italianate with the result that they are inescapably and too closely tied to the nomenclature of architectural historians.\textsuperscript{1139} In this vein Claudia Lazzaro has charted the importance of Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine's engravings of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia concluding that these two French architects 'While properly underscoring the emphatic classicism of the architecture... exclude[d] other aspects of the original garden' with the result that their 'interpretation of the pleasure houses of Italy did much to forge the notion inherited by the twentieth century that Italian Renaissance gardens were primarily architectural with little interest in flowers or in nature...'\textsuperscript{1140} This was supported by the nineteenth-century model for architectural training which was geared around attendance at Royal Academy lectures and Continental travel, primarily in Italy and Greece, to record examples of classical architecture. Yet there were also exceptional members of the horticultural profession such as Lewis Kennedy and John Claudius Loudon who toured the Continent to study foreign garden design and foreign horticultural techniques. Whilst this research has confirmed Lazzaro's belief that Percier and

\textsuperscript{1139} Elliott, 'Revivalism', p. 18.
Fontaine's texts were a valued architectural source consulted by garden designers such as Thomas Hope and Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. It has also revealed that horticulture played a vitally important role in the symbolism of Italian gardens in this country. It has been shown that Barry's Italian gardens were always intended as flower gardens. William Melroth integrated a great deal of horticultural advice into his translation of Pliny's *Letters*. Edward Adveno Brooke detected an 'architectural' quality in the planting at Trentham; presumably in the Portuguese laurels that were deliberately clipped to mimic citrus trees. John Howard Galton grew acacia in his garden and oleander in his Conservatory from seed he collected in Italy. Jane Loudon published a lengthy list of Italian garden plants suited to the English climate, and in 1860 Jakob Burckhardt's analysis of Renaissance art revealed what Sir Uvedale Price and Meason had previously failed to find: pictorial evidence of the Italian garden that confirmed it to be a flower garden. The importance of plants as an element in the symbolism of the greatest Italian gardens in this country has so far been overlooked. Plants were likely to have been the defining indicator in the more modest Italian gardens created by the readers of Edward Kemp's gardening manual and the Loudons' advice to suburban gardeners. However, the ephemeral nature of such schemes and the increased difficulty of defining intent for less well documented middle-class households would explain why the parterres of Cheltenham (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2) have so far failed to reveal the national gardening styles that some of them undoubtedly contained.

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1141 Burckhardt charted the Renaissance 'interest in the plant for its own sake, on account of the pleasure it gives the eye' and how 'we learn from the history of art at how late a period this passion for botanical collections was laid aside, and gave place to ... the picturesque style of landscape gardening.' This was published in English in 1878. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy: An essay*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Folio Society, 1878; repr. 2004), p. 225.
The Italian garden has been revealed as a constant thread that linked the Picturesque love of illusion, the Romantic attraction to the exotic and the Victorian passion for the Renaissance. It has also been shown that the Italian and French garden styles benefited from an early symbiotic relationship in which the very existence of the other confirmed and differentiated their own individual characters. However, they arose from very different timeframes. The French garden looked backwards to the previous century’s passion for all aspects of the arts in France whilst the Italian garden looked forward. It anticipated the architectural irregularity and asymmetry of Downton Castle, Herefordshire, the rural open air gallery of exoticism at the Deepdene and a Renaissance literary garden at Westonbirt. This analysis is very different from Elliott’s categorisation of styles in which the Italian garden was confined to the four decades from the 1820s to the 1850s and defined by the work of Sir Charles Barry. He saw the French garden was seen as dominant from the late 1840s to 1870 and characterised by the *parterre de broderie* and the Dutch garden as bringing the craze for national styles to an end at the beginning of the twentieth century.1142 This research challenges Elliott’s strictly sequential ordering of national styles and his chronological and stylistic compartmentalisation of them. Barry’s style was an important example of the Italian garden, but it was not a completely homogeneous undifferentiated style, nor was it the exclusive representation of Italy. It has been shown that Barry’s gardens are divided into strictly symmetrical compositions such as Trentham Hall and a second group of more picturesque designs that included Kingston Lacy and Attree’s Villa, Brighton and had strong elements of asymmetry and important changes in levels that brought with them changes in perspective. The many variants on Barry’s style emphasised the Renaissance, the Tuscan, the

1142 Elliott, 'Revivalism', pp. 18-19.
Pompeian and the picturesque to differing effect and ever increasing degrees of formality, complexity and decoration. The parterre has also been revealed as a flexible image of national style in which the parterre de broderie suggested both the French and the Italian garden. This might appear inconsistent today, but the nineteenth-century belief that style arrived in England as a series of distinct waves originating in Italy and sweeping northwards through France was not hindered by such doubts. This view had been widely publicised by Repton and Robert Smirke, and it provided a convenient framework to graft French influence onto Italian style. This was particularly useful when designing parterres for there was a complete absence of Italian gardening texts in English libraries, but a constant supply of their French alternatives.\textsuperscript{1143}

This research is the first in depth systematic analysis into the representation of a national garden. It has demonstrated that many English gardeners consistently consulted a surprising range of Italian sources to create informed interpretations of Italian culture, and that this practice continued long into the nineteenth century. Alongside these careful imitations of Italy were other confused and less studied understandings of style typified by writers such as Kemp and Charles M'Intosh. These gardens may have been the breeding ground for Elliott's contention that the Italian garden degenerated into nothing more than a shorthand for revivalism, but the longevity of the studied and considered Italian gardens demonstrates that this was not universally the case.\textsuperscript{1144}

\textsuperscript{1143} This research has not identified a single Italian gardening book in an English library.
\textsuperscript{1144} Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, p. 77.
The strength and number of the Italian cultural images revealed in these gardens has the cumulative effect of rebutting David Jacques' assertion that all consideration of national style is futile. Indeed it has demonstrated the opposite since the unconsidered rejection of every claim to national style only serves to obscure even further the original frequently well researched and intended symbolism of features that Jacques has mistakenly dismissed as 'superficial'. Where Jacques' position has more merit is in alerting us to the process by which gardens are re-interpreted and re-classified over time which was clearly seen in the case studies of Sir Jeffry Wyatville's gardens at Belton House, Lincolnshire, Chatsworth, Derbyshire and Chillingham Castle, Northumberland. The process is perpetuated today by garden historians who re-define – invariably without explanation – Italian gardens as Italianate gardens with the effect that they obscure any symbolism derived from non-architectural sources.

Prince Pückler-Muskau saw the Italian Garden at Wilton as 'laid out in the old French style'1145, and an anonymous contributor to the Gardeners' Magazine categorised the grounds around Bromley Hill House in the same way.1146 Such disagreements illustrate that style and reception are functions of the viewer's knowledge and insight. They do not confirm that all attempts to illustrate a national style were misguided and ill-informed. National style should not be dismissed or trivialised out of hand. We are right to question the accuracy and intent with which national style was portrayed in a garden and to puzzle over the juxtaposition of features seemingly drawn from different cultures, but none of these concerns can undermine the pervasive and persistent use of genuine Italian symbols and style in the nineteenth-century English garden. The claim that a garden represents a national style should be tested against

1146 'Amateur', 'Present Style', p. 214.
contemporary understanding of that nation's culture, and contemporary understanding of history and art aesthetics for it has been convincingly shown that the Italian garden did live in the English imagination in the nineteenth century.
APPENDIX A
Gazetteer of Italian Gardens in England

This gazetteer records all of the Italian gardens identified during this research. In some cases the research was abandoned when it became clear the garden fell outside the period under review.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>ALDWORTH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
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<td>Grid reference</td>
<td>:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Alfred, Lord Tennyson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden
Terrace and vases. No other information available.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes
See Helen Allingham and Arthur Paterson, *The Homes of Tennyson*, 1905
Tennyson's own poems such as *Claribel and Amphiom* give information on his views on planting. He disliked modern exotics.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>ARLEY HALL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Cheshire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grid reference</td>
<td>SJ 675 809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Date Established | Not known           |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | c 1995              |
| Owner (s)        | Rowland and Mary Egerton-Warburton |
| Designer(s)      | See Additional Notes below |

Italian Garden
English Heritage listing (c 1995) describes it as Italian.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
William Andrews Nesfield parterre (see below) does not survive.

Additional Notes
Rowland Egerton-Warburton and his wife, Mary, were 'students of gardens in France....and would have been sympathetic to Nesfield's ...interest in the design of French parterres.' Ian C. Laurie, 'Nesfield in Cheshire', Garden History, 15, 2, pp. 145-56, pp.145-6.

W. A. Nesfield made a plan for a parterre in November 1846 (in Arley Archive). His parterre de broderie was laid out in the east garden. Evans, Nesfield, (unpublished thesis, 2007), Appendix 1, p. 4.
Appendix A

Site: ASHRIDGE PARK (now Ashridge Management College)
County: Hertfordshire
Grid reference: SP 99 12
Listing:

Date Established: before 1857
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1857
Owner(s): Lady Marian Alford
Designer(s): Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt

Italian Garden
A parterre of unusual four-lobed outline set around a central pool adjacent to the mansion and the Orangery. Distinctively the parterre is formed from double rows of tightly clipped box. It is seen for the first time on a plan of the gardens dated 1857; a copy of which is held at Ashridge Management College. The garden is believed to have been created as part of Lady Mary Alford’s expansion of the pleasure grounds in the 1850s.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Matthew Digby Wyatt is known to have travelled in Italy (http://www.cca.qc.ca). His account of the gardens around the Crystal Palace at Sydenham Park, London was liberally sprinkled with references to Italian gardens which may indicate those he had visited. *Views of the Crystal Palace and Sydenham Park*, (London: Day, 1854).

Lady Marian Alford was the daughter of 2nd Marquis of Northampton (see Castle Ashby.)

Humphry Repton’s ‘Monks Garden’ was renamed the French Garden following its adaptation and completion by Sir Jeffry Wyatville c 1820.
Appendix A

Site: ATTREE’S VILLA, BRIGHTON
County: West Sussex
Grid reference:
Listing: Not applicable

Date Established: 1829-31
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1829-31
Owner (s): Thomas Attree
Designer(s): Sir Charles Barry

Italian Garden
Two terraces at different heights surrounded by pierced ‘Pompeian’ influenced balustrade and linked by a divided staircase with a pool set into the wall. Pair of statues of the Dog of Alcibiades guarded the steps. Parterres of stone-edged beds were set around a circular pool with a dolphin fountain and a square garden pavilion housed a tool shed beneath. The loggia which was integrated into the villa looked out across the upper terrace.

Other Italian Evidence
Peter Frederick Robinson, Designs for Ornamental Villas (London: n. pub., 1827) Design XVI, plate 34 in the Tuscan style seems to have provided inspiration for the square garden pavilion.

Survival
Square garden pavilion, the Pepperpot (engine house) and gate piers are all that survive. Villa and gardens demolished in 1971.

Additional Notes
After his death Barry’s second wife stated that Harriet, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland, was inspired to employ Barry to create Trentham Hall, Staffordshire following a visit to Attree’s Villa. This was disputed by John Lewis Wolfe.

The garden was the first to be laid out in Barry’s typical Italian style.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>BARCOMBE HALL, PAIGNTON</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Devon</td>
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<td>Grid reference</td>
<td>SS 75 31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>after 1842 and before c 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>c 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>? Sidney Hartnoll-Beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden


Other Italian Evidence

'very elegant mansion of the Italian style' F. W. Stockdale, MSS History of Devon, first half nineteenth century, Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter.

Survival

Lodge, gate piers and 'trout stream' survive. Hall demolished c 1980 and site re-developed for housing.

Additional Notes

Hall and terraced balustrade designed by Edmund Davis of Bath c 1838. Not clear if this balustrade was incorporated into the Italian garden that was in existence by 1907.

The Hall appears to have been occupied by tenants from the 1840s (when there was no sign of the Italian or Italian-Renaissance gardens other than the balustrade) to c 1880 when it was occupied by Sidney Hartnoll-Beard who established the Fruitarians; a religious vegetarian order. He appears to have remained at Barcombe Hall until his divorce around 1907. Thus Hartnoll-Beard appears the most likely owner when the Italian Gardens were developed.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>BEDGEBURY PARK (now Bedegbury School)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>between 1836-40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>William, 1st Viscount Beresford &amp; Louisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Alexander Roos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden

'On the eastern front by a terrace, approached at each end by steps, and surmounted by a balustrade. Before this is the flower garden, which is laid out in the Italian style, and surrounded by balustrading. The fountains, walks, flower beds, &c. correspond with the style of the garden.' James Phippen (ed.), *Colbran's New Guide for Tunbridge Wells...*, (Tunbridge Wells: John Colbran, 1840).

Alexander Roos produced three designs for this balustraded terrace garden with urns, fountains, and in one case, a mineral parterre de broderie. Some are dated 1841. They are now in Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Other Italian Evidence

Eastern front of the house was modified by Roos and described as 'Palladian'. James Phippen (ed.), *Colbran's New Guide for Tunbridge Wells...*, (Tunbridge Wells: John Colbran, 1840).

Survival

Terrace garden, fountain, parterre, balustrade, steps, stone carved seat survive as altered c 1854 when the terrace garden was extended and a second flight of steps and large granite vase were added linking Roos' terrace garden to the lake. Lady's Well and Beresford Lodge also attributed to Roos by Richard Garnier, 'Alexander Roos (c1810-1881)', *Georgian Group Journal*, 2006, pp.11-68, p. 58.

Additional Notes

Louisa Beresford was the widow of Thomas Hope of Deepdene, Surrey (see the Deepdene in both its villa and palazzo stages)

Alexander Roos was an Italian architect admitted as an 'academic of merit' to the Academy of Saint Luca in 1888. Garnier makes the case that he was a pupil of George Frederick Schinkel. 'Alexander Roos (c1810-1881)', *Georgian Group Journal*, 2006, pp.11-68.
Appendix A

Site: BELTON HOUSE (National Trust)
County: Lincolnshire
Grid reference: SK 93 39
Listing: Not known
Date Established: 1810- c 1824
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1898
Owner(s): 1st Earl Brownlow
Designer(s): Sir Jeffry Wyatville

Italian Garden
Conservatory with a statue of Flora in the niche in rear wall. Raised terrace walks enclose a circular ‘dished’ pool with fountain. Trellis circled the pool which was surrounded by informal planting by 1821 (Drawing in house initialled H. ?K and dated on the mount.) Parterres were added to east and west of Conservatory c 1824. In 1898 trellis surrounded the parterres and it was described as the Italian Garden for the first time. Country Life, 24 September 1898, pp.368-70, p. 370. The trellis may have been part of Wyatville’s original scheme. The Lion Exedra was relocated to the Italian Garden from The Dell in twentieth century.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
All features survive except the trellis. The Conservatory roof was modified and statues added to the parapet in 1851. Not known when vases were added to the flower beds.

Additional Notes
1st Earl’s first wife was Sophia (nee Hume), the sister of Amelia Long (see Bromley Hill House.) Her uncles were the 7th and 8th Earls of Bridgewater of Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire. Sophia was also related to Lady Anne Middleton (nee Cust) (see Shrubland Park, Suffolk.) Sophia’s death in 1814/5 may have delayed the work to Wyatville’s garden.

3rd Earl restored the house and garden using Vitruvius Britannicus illustration as inspiration mistakenly believing Christopher Wren was the architect of the house. This work included the creation of a garden in front of the house ‘of shawl pattern beds’ in 1880. Brownlow Papers, Lincolnshire Record Office. This is now known as the Dutch Garden. In 1898 it was (mistakenly?) named as another Italian Garden by Country Life. This is thought to confirm the very recent introduction of the titles for the Italian and Dutch Gardens. The Dutch Garden is overlooked from the room containing Melchier d’Hondecoeter’s seventeenth-century Dutch garden paintings that were brought to the house in 1873. This may have been the trigger for the naming of the garden, the Dutch Garden, which in turn may have led to the naming of Wyatville’s garden, as a companion Italian Garden.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>: BENTLEY PRIORY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
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<td>: 2007</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>: Sir John Selk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>: Owner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden

Other Italian Evidence
Sir John Selk acquired the house in 1852 and added a portico to S elevation, conservatory, clock tower and laid out Italian terraced garden. Information from Supplementary Planning Document, Future Use & development of Bentley Priory. This also refers to a further report prepared by Jennifer Potter on behalf of Architectural Association.

Survival
Not known.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>: BIDDULPH GRANGE (National Trust – gardens only)</th>
</tr>
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<td>Listing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>: 1862</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>: James &amp; Maria Bateman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>: James Bateman and Edward W. Cooke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden

Four turf quadrants at the foot of the steps that lead down from the surviving wing of the earlier house (west end.) The quadrants were planted with *Araucaria araucana* which Bateman gave individual names to named. The names are not known. A balustrade edged the garden which looked out over the lake. Peter Haydn, *Biddulph Grange*, (London: George Philip, 1989). This ‘Italian parterre’ was described by Edward Kemp, *Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 24 May 1862, pp. 478-80, p. 479.

Other Italian Evidence

Roman paving taken from Appian Way and an Etruscan tomb were also featured in the wider garden.

Survival

Roman paving and Etruscan tomb are missing from the garden. The Geological Gallery, which formed the entrance to the garden, was shortened (loosing the seventh ‘day’) in the twentieth century. Many of the geological specimens and fossils are missing. Some are now part of the Keele University geological teaching collection. The Gallery is currently undergoing some restoration.

Additional Notes

James Bateman was a distinguished horticulturalist and sponsored several overseas plant collectors. He was a Vice-President of the Horticultural Society. Author of several books on orchids including *Orchidacea of Mexico and Guatemala*, 1837-43 and owner of a major orchid collection kept at nearby Knypersley Hall. Biddulph Grange was one of the most important gardens of the nineteenth century influencing Edward Kemp and H E Milner’s designs for the grounds of the Earl’s Court Exhibition Hall. Biddulph Grange included a Chinese Garden, Egyptian Garden, Scottish Glen, Geometric Garden, Dahlia Walk, Wellingtonia Avenue, Cheshire Cottage, Pinetum, Lime Walk etc. It has been suggested that George Wightwick’s, *The Palace of Architecture*, 1840 may have influenced the overall design.

E. W. Cooke assisted in the creation of the garden; particularly the Chinese Garden. He was a noted marine painter, geologist and married to a member of the Loddidge family. His brother-in-law was Dr Nathaniel Bagshot Ward, inventor of the Wardian case. He is connected with a handful of other more minor garden designs and was an expert in creating naturalistic rock work. He was a friend of Charles Barry and knew Trentham Hall. It has been postulated he may have suggested the coiled serpent which Barry experimented with in designs for Trentham Hall and laid out as a parterre at the foot of the Great Descent at Shrubland Park.

Maria Bateman, nee Egerton Warburton. Her brother developed the gardens of Arley Hall, Cheshire. *Lilium batemaniae* and *Clematis* ‘Mrs Bateman’ were named after Maria Bateman.
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
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<td>Owner (s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>: Not known</td>
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**Italian Garden**

English Heritage description listing of c 1990 describes this as an Italian garden.

**Other Italian Evidence**

'air of Italian distance' in views from the house, Dallaway's History of W Sussex, 1832.

**Survival**

Not known

**Additional Notes**

313
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>BOWOOD HOUSE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1852</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>3rd Marquis of Lansdowne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>George Penrose Kennedy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden
Lower terrace with parterres was inspired by Lewis Kennedy's design for Drummond Castle, Perthshire. The square garden pavilion was inspired by Sir Charles Barry (see Attree's Villa). A River God set on a plinth looked down onto the curving arms of a divided flight of stairs that lead down to a semi-circular pool fed from a lion's mask and basin. It was described as the new 'true Italian' gardens with stone, box edging and vases in The Florist, 1852, pp. 213-14, p. 214. A 'pleasing contrast' between the Italian garden and the English park was noted by Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener, 1867, p. 346.

The entire terrace complex was referred to as the Italian Garden in 'Bowood, Wiltshire', Country Life, 28 January 1905, pp. 126-36, p. 128.

Other Italian Evidence
House described as being in the mixed Grecian style with an Italian wing. Journal of Royal Horticultural Society, 1853, p. 42. Grecian and Italian style of the house was noted in Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener, 28 December, 1871, pp. 509-11, p. 510.

Survival
Square garden pavilion was demolished by a falling tree in 1990s. Statue of River God replaced in 1978 by David Wynne's study of a reclining nude.

Additional Notes
A plan of the parterre appeared as the 'French parterre' in Florist, 1854, pp. 155-56, p. 155.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>BRETTON HALL</th>
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<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<td>SE 28 12</td>
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<td>Listing</td>
<td></td>
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Date Established       : early 19th century  
Earliest Known Italian Association : 1988  
Owner (s)              : Not known  
Designer(s)            : Not known

Italian Garden
Terrace is described as Italianate by Andrea Rechberg, *Italian Gardens in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to the garden at Trentham, Staffordshire*, dissertation, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, 1988. English Heritage listing describes a south terrace with vermiculate retaining walls, a balustrade with balusters vases and sunken panels with relief carving of Italianate figures.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival  
Not known.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: BROCKENHURST PARK
County: Hampshire
Grid reference: SU 30 01
Listing: Grade II

Date Established: Before 1897
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1903
Owner (s): Not Known
Designer(s): Not Known

Italian Garden
'The garden is a bust of a Caesar in marble on a tall term shaped pedestal...a garden of Italy translated into our Southern Counties.' Gertrude Jekyll, Some English Gardens, 1903, p. 3.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known.

Additional Notes
George Samuel Elgood painted the terrace which Jekyll was referring to in 1897.

Square Dutch Garden set around a circular pool and enclosed by hedges featured in Charles Holme, Gardens of England: Southern and Western Counties, 1907, plate XXVIII.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>BROMLEY HILL HOUSE, BROMLEY (now Bromley Court Hotel)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1811</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Charles &amp; Amelia Long, Lord &amp; Lady Farnborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Owners</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Italian Garden
Conservatory and Conservatory Room gave access to the terrace. First terrace ran at right angles to the house. The terrace gave distant views towards St Paul's Cathedral and later, the Crystal Palace in Sydenham Park. Around 1811 an 'ancient social bench' thought to be a schola, was added to the terrace. A series of metal arches framed views down to River Ravensbourne. The lawned area adjacent to the terrace was known as The Knoll. A large cinquecento style vase had been added to The Knoll by 1816. Pines and oaks surrounded the terrace. There was a seat beneath the divided oak. The Casino or Italian tea house had been added by the late 1830s.

Other Italian Evidence
Of one of the walks at Bromley Hill: 'Mr Long [was] looking at the landscape from the Hill sd. The true Arial such as we saw had been got by Wilson- and by Claude. I added Cuyp, to which He agreed.' Kathryn Cave (ed.). The Diary of Joseph Farington, 9, p. 3496.


Survival
Terrace and steps survive in a poor state with minor remnants of their original geological decoration. A modern arcade of iron arches for climbing plants. Cinquecento vase is in dilapidated condition. The pedestal in a flower bed in the car park may mark the location of the second cinquecento vase. Various other small vases remain on the terrace. The divided oak survives.

Additional Notes
Charles Long was artistic advisor to George IV and Chair of the Committee of Taste. He acted as the intermediary between William Pitt and Repton when Repton was engaged to work at nearby Holmwood and between George IV and Jeffry Wyatt when Wyatt was working on the gardens at Windsor Castle. He also directed the erection of the Bridgewater Column under the terms of the 8th Earl of Bridgewater's will at Ashridge Park when the architect was also Jeffry Wyatt.

Amelia Long was a gifted water colourist and favourite pupil of Thomas Girton. One of her drawings of Bromley Hill was in Richard Payne Knight's bequest to the British Museum. Her sister Sophia (nee...
Appendix A

BROMLEY HILL HOUSE, BROMLEY (now Bromley Court Hotel: continued)

Hume) was the first wife of 1st Earl Brownlow (see Belton House). Her uncles were the 7th and 8th Earls of Bridgewater of Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire. Amelia was also related to Lady Anne Middleton (nee Cust) (see Shrubland Park, Suffolk.)

Bromley Hill was visited by the likes of Canova, Benjamin West, Joseph Farringdon, Richard Payne Knight and George Beaumont. It was praised as one of only a handful of places where the garden can be seen from the windows rather than park. Humphry Repton, Designs for the Pavillion, 1808.

George Cumberland wrote the guide book for Bromley Hill. 2 editions. 1811 and 1816.

It was said the 'French gardening style used well at Bromley Hill', An Amateur, Remarks on the present Style of Ornamental Gardening in this Country, and Suggestions for Improvements, Gardeners' Magazine, 1828, p. 411.

It was listed as one of the principle gardens in the kingdom. James Mangles, The Floral Kalendar, 1840.

Lady Catherine Pembroke attempted to trace the design for garden vases used at Bromley Hill through Austin and Seeley for her Italian Garden at Wilton House, 1842. Lady Catherine Pembroke Correspondence, Wiltshire Record Office.

William Sawrey Gilpin offered advice on the terrace although there is no evidence it was acted upon. Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening, 1832.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
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<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<td>Listing</td>
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</table>

| Date Established | 1855 onwards |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | 1991 |
| Owner (s)        | Sir Charles Tempest |
| Designer(s)      | William Andrews Nesfield |

Italian Garden

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
The parterre is an unusual survival.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>CALKE ABBEY</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Owner(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
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</table>

**Italian Garden**

Photograph entitled 'exterior view of west front from the Italian garden', c 1870-1900. National Monuments Record Office, Swindon, AL0361/040/02, no. 3352.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>CARADOC COURT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<td>Date Established</td>
<td>after 1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Elisha Caddick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
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</table>

Italian Garden

'Italian Garden' created to the west of the house with gravel paths, shaped beds edged with box and planted with roses. Evergreens around the lawn added to the 'Italianate atmosphere.' David Whitehead, *A Survey of Historic Park and Gardens in Herefordshire*, 2001, p. 96.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: CASTLE ASHBY
County: Northamptonshire
Grid reference:
Listing: Not known

Date Established: c 1865
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1874
Owner (s): 3rd Marquis, 11th Earl of Northampton
Designer(s): Matthew Digby Wyatt

Italian Garden

Other Italian Evidence
Orangery designed by Matthew Digby Wyatt was described as 'vaguely Italianate'. J. Anthony, The Gardens of England, 4, p. 43.

Survival
Certainly the main features survive, although the site has not been visited.

Additional Notes
3rd Marquis met Matthew Digby Wyatt in Italy. Wyatt's account of the gardens around the Crystal Palace at Sydenham Park, London was liberally sprinkled with references to Italian gardens which may indicate those he had visited. Views of the Crystal Palace and Sydenham Park, 1854.

3rd Marquis' daughter, Lady Marian Alford, also engaged Matthew Digby Wyatt to create an Italian Garden at Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>CASTLE HOWARD</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>7th Earl of Carlisle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>William Andrews Nesfield</td>
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Italian Garden


Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Intact.

Additional Notes
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<td>Site</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>6th Duke of Devonshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Sir Jeffry Wyatville</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Italian Garden

West terrace with eight stone corbeilles designed by Wyatville are placed in two groups of four around the circular Tulip Pool. This is divided on its north-south access by a straight path edged with topiary. 6th Duke described the corbeilles as Wyatville’s ‘most ingenious architectural parterres’. *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, 1844, p. 181. April 1857 this area was described as the Italian Garden. J.H.C., ‘A Sketch of the Duke of Devonshire’s Gardens at Chatsworth’, *Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman’s Companion*, pp. 5-6. 1857 Matthew Digby Wyatt describes Chatsworth gardens as generally in the Italian style. *Views of the Crystal Palace and Park Sydenham*, 1857, p. 35. The name, the Italian Garden persisted into the twentieth century eg Sir Jeffry Wyatville’s parterre is described as the Italian Garden by Chris Holmes (ed.), *The Gardens of England in the Midland and Easter Counties*, 1908. Marie Luise Gothein, *A History of Garden Art*, 1928, p. 333 refers to an Italian Garden created by Joseph Paxton.

A simple array of paths around Paxton’s Conservatory was shown in the *Illustrated London News* with the caption ‘The Exterior, From the Italian Terrace’. *Illustrated London News*, 1844, pp. 135-36, p. 136.

1853 description of ‘rich Italian and geometrical gardens’ at Chatsworth, but not clear which were regarded as Italian. Charles M’Intosh, *The Book of the Garden*, 1, p. 605.

#### Other Italian Evidence

Wyatville’s belvedere looked down on his terrace garden. Wyatville thought the Belvedere was in keeping with Chatsworth’s architecture being inspired by the likes of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire. In contrast the 6th Duke of Devonshire had in mind the tower of the Bodleian Library, Oxford as the inspiration for it.

#### Survival

11th Duchess of Devonshire re-designed area around the Tulip Pool to imitate a plan of Lord Burlington’s design for Chiswick House, Middlesex. Path, topiary and corbeilles remain in situ in this private area of the gardens.

#### Additional Notes

William Adam described the west terrace as an ‘elegant terrace, with its Indian flower-beds’. *The Gem of the Peak*, 1851, p. 97.

The parterre with statuary laid out in front of the Orangery in 1812 (now the Rose Garden) was known as the French Garden when an engraving of it was published in 1883. *Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 1883, p. 76. Reference to French Garden created by Paxton, in Marie Luise Gothein, *A History of Garden Art*, 1928, p. 333. This was replanted as the Rose Garden in 1939. In fact its original design was greatly influenced by the 6th Duke.

In 1854 the Governor of the Tuileries, Charles de Saint-Amant, published a description of Chatsworth, *Le Second Versailles*.
Appendix A

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>4th Earl of Stanhope</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Owner</td>
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</table>

Italian Garden
South and west parterres. One was centred on a Coade stone urn which was brought to the site in 1820. Both parterres were referred to as the 'Italian garden'. Alastair Forsyth, Yesterday's Gardens, 1983, plate 20. English Heritage listing of c 1990 refers to an Italian parterre in the grounds.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
West parterre was altered in 1856. It survives. The south parterre was grassed over around 1980.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: CHEYNEY COURT
County: Herefordshire
Grid reference: SO 668 477
Listing: None

Date Established: between 1863 and 1883
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1883
Owner(s): Moillet
Designer(s): Not Known

Italian Garden
The new east wing looked over an 'Italian garden, with rock work, shrubberies, fountains and a large basin and flower parterres.' Sale catalogue for 1883, HCL, PC423, f.26., Hereford City Library quoted in David Whitehead, A Survey of Historic Parks and Gardens in Herefordshire, 2001, p. 103.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>CHILLINGHAM CASTLE</th>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>5th Earl of Tankerville</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Sir Jeffry Wyatville</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Italian Garden
Parterre of eight beds on the south-west front described as 'one of the old fashioned sort of gardens, a mixture of Dutch, Italian, French, and Old English', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 1888, p. 314. In 1913 it was 'the Italian garden that covers the site of the jousting ground.' Anon., 'Chillingham Castle, Northumberland', *Country Life*, 8 March 1913, pp. 346-55, p. 348.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Intact. Not clear when the vases were added.

Additional Notes
1872 this parterre was described as a 'Gothic Garden'. J.T., *The Garden*, 1872, p. 462.

5th Earl of Tankerville also engaged Sir Charles Barry to re-model Walton House (later known as Mount Felix), Surrey in his typical Italianate style. It included a small parterre also by Barry. (See Walton House.)
Appendix A

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**Italian Garden**

A green arcade of clipped ivy and a more architectural, but open walkway formed the entrance to the semi-circular Italian garden which was overlooked by a Conservatory designed by Samuel Ware. The walkway was interrupted by an octagonal pool with a changing series of water jets. A terrace and balustrade was intended to run in front of the Conservatory, but this was never erected. A grass bank following the profile of the Conservatory took its place. The garden was laid out as a parterre mixing turf plats and parterre de broderie with box edging and some gravel. The parterres were to be centred on two circular pools decorated with naturalistic rock work and fountains. The water features were never installed.

Kennedy's 1814 *Notitiae for Chiswick Gardens* described the retaining wall for the terrace decorated with trellis to give 'a proper, classical and determin'd finish ... to the Italian Garden'. The trellis walk that he initially designed as a border to the garden would have

> The perspective along the interior of the ARCADE, when taken from the East, and looking towards the Orangerie [Samuel Ware's Conservatory], from its extent and character, will give a view new to this country, and only to be met in the splendid Villas of Italy. Two, of nearly a similar design &c. were executed under my direction at Navarre and Malmaison for the Empress Josephine. This airy building so common as an appendage to the Italian Palaces...

It was based on a structure at the Villa Negroni, Rome 'altered to accommodate it to a British climate'. Lewis Kennedy, *Notitiae for Chiswick Gardens*, 1814, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. The original was illustrated in Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine's 1809 plan of the Villa Negroni gardens. Charles Percier and P. L. Fontaine, *Choux des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et de ses environs*, 1809, n.p., plate 33.

Plan of Chiswick Italian garden' published in Charles McIntosh, *The Book of the Garden*, 1853, I, plate 26. Also notes 'purity of Italian style' - having referred to cedars- in laying out the gardens as early as 1770

The most detailed description of the Italian Garden was recorded by Edward Kemp in 1851:

> ...Leaving the house, and passing through the gateway to the east, a sudden turn to the left takes us within the sunk fence which was once the boundary of the place; and along the bank inside that fence many beautiful specimen plants will be observed. There is a large Rhus... Bronze figures of Achilles and Hercules stand at either end of the plot between the large yew hedge and the sunk fence.

> Where the low flat bridge crosses the sunk fence, there are three arches of ivy, which is trained over light iron supports, and trimmed yearly to keep it in shape. They have a very good appearance in a position of this kind. Between them and the arcade is an octagonal stone basin with a vase and fountain in the centre. It has a variety of jets, so as to be capable of being played in several forms; and in summer this gives another enrichment to the general garden scene.
The arcade is an oblong erection, consisting of a series of arches, with pilasters on the interspaces, and a balustrade running round the whole above the cornice. It has no roof; and simply forms a communication between one part of the garden and another. An extraordinary yew hedge joins up to it on either side, and is 20ft. in height and 7 ft. in width, being strong enough to allow a man to walk on the summit. It is kept regularly clipped.

Just beyond the arcade lies the flower garden, behind which, on a raised terrace bank, is a handsome old range of glass houses, relieved by porches, and by a semicircular portion in the centre, where the roof rises into a dome, part of which is glazed with stained glass and crowned with a gilt ornament. Considering the period at which it was built, and that it was originally all used, except the central compartment, for forcing houses, this range is a fine specimen of that class of building; though the massiveness of its parts, and its narrowness, place it behind more modern erections.

At either end of this range, still partitioned off, is a small house which retires a little from the front line, and extends back to nearly twice...

Through the centre of the flower garden, this view is flanked by a row of standard Robinia inermis on each side, and these, being kept pruned into a roundish head, are, when in leaf, a most elegant and appropriate feature in the scene. Nothing could exceed the gracefulness of their appearance...

Along the front of the conservatory, a small border, partially covered with masses of tufa, supplies a place for growing the prettier and more curious kinds of alpine and herbaceous plants....

Standing on the terrace bank, opposite the centre door of the conservatory, an excellent view of the flower garden is gained. ....The general shape of the flower garden is a semicircle, of which the range of glass and terrace bank form the base. This bank is thrown out in the centre, in accordance with the projection of the conservatory, and there is a broad flight of steps from the middle of it, supported by large handsome vases on pedestals, with a few busts on terms at a little distance form these. Besides the rows of Robinias before named, there are other parallel rows of standard roses by the sides of a walk which divides each half of the flower garden, and various specimens are placed about in other parts....

A semicircular gravel walk defines the flower garden on the southern side, and some large and ancient urns occur at intervals along the outer margin of this walk. Behind them, the border is filled with different kinds of plants in lines, to form a regular boundary fringe to the whole garden. ...

Within the flower garden, the beds are arranged in regular figures, divided into several compartments on either side, so as to suit the general form of the plot. A few of these compartments have the beds cut out in the grass, with broad grass margins; but the bulk of them are separated by gravel walks, with box edgings. Some of the larger and central beds in the compartments are raise a foot or two above the rest, to relieve the flatness that would otherwise result from having so large a surface covered with flowers....A few small sculpted figures, on pedestals, and some plain vases, filled with scarlet pelargoniums and other summer plants, form agreeable breaks and raised points in the garden during summer...

Edward Kemp, The Parks, Gardens, etc., of London and its Suburbs described and illustrated for the guidance of strangers, 1851, pp. 106-09.

In 1855 standard Acacia Robinia inermis were planted on the terrace, main walk and outer perimeter which were 'very common in Italy'. T. Appleby, Country Gentleman's Companion, 1855, pp. 69-70, p. 70.
Appendix A

CHISWICK HOUSE (continued)

Other Italian Evidence
Chiswick House had a long established reputation as an Italian villa set in Italian grounds, being the creation of Lord Burlington and following the architectural ideas of Andrea Palladio. 20 May 1830, whilst staying in Rome Charles Greville recorded in his diary, ‘....To the Borghese Villa. At present I think Chiswick better than any villa here, but they tell me when I get home and see Chiswick and remember these I shall think differently.’ Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, (ed. Henry Reeve), The Greville Memoirs. A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV. And Queen Victoria 1818-1860, 8 vols, 1891, vol I, p. 371.

Chiswick was frequently held up as an exemplar of the Italian style of gardens as in 1852 when Richard Brown defined the Italian garden as

somewhat architectural, being formed of several plateaux, and each stage separated by a dwarf wall and steps, ornamented with statues and vases; those gardens likewise contain fountains, in the middle of which are tritons, and sometimes vases on pedestals, with water rising and falling into basins. The most noted garden of this kind is that of Isola Bella in Italy, and at Chiswick and Chatsworth in England".... fint explained: The gardens at Chiswick House, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, are in the Italian taste, but divested of conceits, and far preferable to every style that reigned till our late improvements. The buildings are heavy, and not equal to the purity of the house. The lavish quantity of urns and sculpture behind the garden front should be retrenched. The larger court, dignified by picturesque cedars, and the classic scenery of the small court that unites the old and new house, are more worthy seeing than many fragments of ancient grandeur which our travellers visit under all the dangers attendant on long voyages. Richard Brown, Domestic Architecture; Containing a history of science,..., 1852, p 336.

Lord Gower, whose mother, Harriet, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland was a Carlisle Howard spent much of her childhood at Chiswick House. He recalled:

More than a century and a half has passed since Horace Walpole thus wrote of the gardens of Chiswick House “They are,” he said, “in the Italian taste, but divested of conceits, and far preferable to every style that reigned till our late improvements.” They have suffered little change since Walpole’s day. About them is quite a museum of antique busts and marbles, of sculptured lions and weird quadrupeds by Scheemakers; and among them are the damaged remnants of antique marbles... Lord Ronald Gower, My Reminiscences, 1895, p. 177.

Survival
Conservatory survives in a dilapidated state. Two Coade stone copies of the Warwick vase are housed inside it. It is not clear if these were part of Kennedy’s original design or not. Two later copies stand on the terrace outside. The garden is surrounded by a yew hedge set with vases on pedestals. Again it is not clear if these were part of the original design. All trace of the green arches and walkway have disappeared although the octagonal pool survives. The parterre also survives as do a handful of the Robinias. The garden is about to be closed for restoration (June 2008.)

Additional Notes
6th Duke also engaged Wyatville to lay out parterre at Chatsworth that became known as the Italian Garden.

1813 Kennedy returned from Malmaison where he had been laying out similar gardens for the Empress Josephine. He had also visited the Boboil Gardens, Florence and the Villa Doria Pamphili and Villa Borghese in Rome. Lewis Kennedy, Notitiae for Chiswick Gardens, 1814, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth
Kennedy's design for Chiswick House included a 'Fruiterié' similar in concept to that he proposed for Abercairney, Perthshire which he described as a 'Rustic Fruit Room'. Chiswick's 'Fruiterié' was inspired by a similar structure at Malmaison. Lewis Kennedy, *Notitiae for Chiswick Gardens*, 1814, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

The original design for the Chiswick Italian Garden trellis arbour recycled a section from an archway previously designed by Kennedy for Oddington, Gloucestershire. Lewis Kennedy, *Notices with Drawings for the Proposed Alterations at Oddington*, 1813, Department of Drawings and Prints, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institute, New York.
### Appendix A

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**Italian Garden**

English Heritage listing description (c 1990) and Timothy Mowl, *The Historic Gardens of Gloucestershire* refers to an Italian Garden.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Not known.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

| Site       | CLIVEDEPN       |
| County     | Buckinghamshire |
| Grid reference | :              |
| Listing    | Not known       |
| Date Established | : c 1902     |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | 1914           |
| Owner(s)   | 1st Viscount Astor |
| Designer(s)  | Not known      |

Italian Garden
Oval garden with high tuffa walls and a dripping well described in Gardeners' Magazine, 3 Jan 1914, p. 12 as an Italian Garden.

Other Italian Evidence
When John Evelyn visited in 1679 he recounted how '...The house stands somewhat like Frascati to its front,.....' quoted in Hadfield, A History of British Gardening, 1969, p 174.

Many have commented upon the similarity of Sir Charles Barry's house to the Villa Albani, Rome. Lord Gower, My Reminiscences, 1883, p. 15.

1st Viscount Astor introduced balustrading from the Villa Borghese, Rome to the south front, as well as marble well heads, Roman sarcophagi, etc.

Survival
The Italian Garden was modified to become a memorial garden for Canadian Soldiers who died at Cliveden during its time as a military hospital in World War II.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: CLUMBER PARK
County: Nottinghamshire
Grid reference: SK 61 75
Listing: Not known
Date Established: Before 1839
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1839
Owner(s): 5th Duke of Newcastle
Designer(s): William Sawrey Gilpin

Italian Garden
A terrace connected the house to the lake by two flights of steps. The terrace was bound by a balustrade and decorated with three pools with fountains. This garden was discussed by Charles M'Intosh in his chapter on Italian Gardens, The Flower Garden, 1839, p.

In 1860 Sir Charles Barry planned an extension and modification to the terrace garden such that 'Externally, the Italian garden was to be extended so as to encircle the house, and a range of conservatories added on the eastern side.' Alfred Barry, The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry, 1870, p. 271. Barry's scheme proposed a schola at either end of the narrow terrace as first used at Kingston Lacy, Dorset. The terrace was to be paved with his usual diamond pattern paving also first used at Kingston Lacy.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
W. S. Gilpin's terraces impressed the Sutherlands when they visited during the early planning of Barry's garden for Trentham Hall, Staffordshire. This may have inspired Barry to experiment with his designs for steps descending to the lake at Trentham Hall although the idea was eventually abandoned.
Appendix A

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**Italian Garden**

Undated perspective drawing by George Somers Clarke (see Fig. 6.108) shows the original garden plan was larger than that actually constructed. Clarke added a series of three terraces running down from the house towards the lake. A promenade walk along the dam overlooks a magnificent water garden fed by the masks of seven satyrs to represent the seven source springs of the River Thames said to rise on the estate. Thomas Shotter Boys undated watercolours show that the basin beneath the central satyr's mask was re-used from a garden feature originally adjacent to the church. (see Alastair Smart, Cowley Manor in Gloucestershire and some unpublished watercolours from the studio of Thomas Shotter Boys, *Transaction of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 92, pp. 198-201.) The satyrs cascade fed a circular pool and a miniature water staircase that disappears under ground just short of a series of lakes formed along the River Churn. Clarke's perspective showed an oval terrace with steps descending to the lakes. The two arched loggias reminiscent of Barry's three arched garden loggias at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire and Shrubland Park, Suffolk was never constructed. Clarke's perspective also showed a gondola floating on the lower lake. The garden was decorated with a mixed array of statues. Clarke's drawing was been wrongly catalogued as Townley Manor and attributed to Charles Barry for many years. It is in the Yale Center for British Art, Paul, Mellon Collection, Connecticut, B1975.2.361.

In a letter to the *Builder* Edward Power, a pupil of Clarke's between 1854-62, wrote describing how he 'entirely rebuilt Cowley Manor' and 'also designed the singularly beautiful Italian garden, with terraces, waterfalls, pavilions, and termini, &c., belonging to the same. The style adopted was pure Italian.' 29 July 1882, 43, p. 160.

The fountain and the surrounding walks immediately below the top terrace are marked as the Italian Garden on a plan of 1874. This also shows the house as designed between 1855 and 1860 by Somers Clarke. Nicholas Kingsley, *Houses of Gloucestershire*, 2001, 3, p 106.

**Other Italian Evidence**

Clarke gave the house a typical Italianate exterior.

**Survival**

Most of the statuary has been lost from the water garden as has all the statuary that was added to the terraces around the house when they were extended by the architect, R. A Briggs, towards the end of the nineteenth century. Briggs extended terraces remain. The Seven Satyrs Cascade and water staircases survive although the oval terrace that connected it to the lake has been lost.

**Additional Notes**

Clarke was a pupil of Sir Charles Barry who travelled extensively in Italy. His sketches show that he 'laid the foundation of an intimate acquaintance with, and delicate appreciation of, Italian detail which afterwards characterised his works.'  *Obituary, The Builder*, 15 July 1882, vol 43, p. 94. Clarke came to Barry's attention through his brother, who took over the Brighton firm of solicitors that had previously been run by Thomas Attree had given Barry his first opportunity to design an Italian Garden (see Attree's Villa.)
### Appendix A

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**Italian Garden**

English Heritage listing description of c 1990 describes it as an Italian Garden.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

**Additional Notes**
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<th>Site</th>
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**Italian Garden**

Two wedding cake fountains 250 feet high dominated the scene. Twenty-six statues symbolising important commercial and manufacturing nations, and the major industrial cities of England and France adorned the Upper Terrace. Below was a large second terrace where fountains combined with curved paths to produce a much admired ‘mixed Italian and English garden’. Samuel Phillips, *Guide to the Crystal Palace & Park* 3 vols (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854), 1, p. 155. Paxton’s design was singled out for the success with which the Italian style had been modified and adapted ‘to suit English climate and English taste’ and for the way in which ‘the violent juxtaposition’ of two such different styles was softened. Phillips, *Guide*, 1, p. 155. The 1854 perspective view of the garden by James Duffield Harding was exhibited at the Royal Academy Exhibition and is now in the Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection.

Matthew Digby Wyatt took up the theme of the successful combination of ‘the best features of Italian and English gardening’. Matthew Digby Wyatt, *Views of the Crystal Palace and Park Sydenham: From Drawings by Eminent Artists and Photographs by P. H. Delamotte* (London: Day, 1854), pp. 34-5. The guidebook offered its readers ‘a few words…to describe the leading characteristics of both’ styles. Phillips, *Guide*, 1, p. 146. It defined the Italian garden style through the model of the sixteenth-century gardens of Rome and the Medici family which demanded a profuse use of architectural ornaments – the grounds being subdivided into terraces, and adorned with temples, statuary, urns, and vases, beds cut with mathematical precision, formal alleys of trees, straight walks, hedges cut into fantastic devices, jets of water, elaborate rock-work, and fish-ponds dug into squares or other geometrical form. (p. 146)

Many of these features were found in Sydenham Park. The mixed area of garden surrounding the second terrace was labelled the ‘Anglo-Italian gardens’.

Sydenham Park’s second and largest terrace quickly became known as the ‘Italian Garden’ in Donald Beaton, ‘Crystal Palace’, *The Cottage Gardener*, 13 (1854), 38-40, p. 39, and the ‘Italian flower-garden’ in Phillips, *Guide*, 1, p. 152. Amongst the many water features the pair of water staircases recalled the similar feature in Paxton’s care at the much visited Chatsworth, although Digby Wyatt compared them to the ‘cascatelle’ at the Palace of Caserta near Naples and St. Cloud. (p. 35) Digby Wyatt was more accurate in describing the Upper Terrace with its balustrade and statuary as the ‘Italian Garden’. He singled out the Villa d’Este as the model for any garden made up of a progression of terraces and stressed the revivialist aspect of such features by identifying the Villa d’Este as ‘the original type for many of the Elizabethan gardens in this country’. (p. 35) Digby Wyatt suggested unspecified likenesses between Sydenham Park and the Villa Ludovisi at Frascati. The fountains reminded him of the Villa Pamfili Doria in Rome. The views and lush planting were typical of the Villa la Bergeria at Palermo, and the mixed style of Sydenham Park was reminiscent of the Boboli Gardens in Florence. An Italian model could seemingly be found for every aspect of the garden, and yet some influential voices less closely associated with the garden seemed oblivious to this. An article published in August 1854 in the *Cottage Gardener* explained:

Whatever may be the merits of the various Italian gardens, which form such conspicuous appendages to the various seat houses to which they are attached, there are few at which the eye is not more or less offended at the distortion to which some of its parts are subjected; trees
Appendix A
CRYSTAL PALACE, SYDENHAM PARK (continued)

cut into forms so much at variance with their natural shape, and flower-beds assuming so many acute points, and occasionally an incongruity in the selection of plants by which they are filled, gives to many such gardens a singular, rather than an agreeable, appearance. Now, to obviate this, some have run into an opposite extreme, by attempting to form what they call a garden on the “natural system,” in a situation exactly adapted for the “Italian, or Geometric,” without thinking that the first-named could be so re-formed as to suit the respective wants of each place. At the Crystal Palace this is well accomplished; for without breaking up that regularity which constitutes the class of gardening to which it belongs, the large scale of undisturbed turf, with trees that will doubtless be allowed to grow as they like, the whole forms a correct design pleasing to look upon, and devoid of those whimsicalities which, in other places, are so offending. (S. N. V., ‘Flower Gardening at the Crystal Palace’, Cottage Gardener, 12, 1854, pp. 401-02, p. 401)

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
The site is in a perilous state. A more detailed description can be found in ‘Crystal Palace – a way ahead?’, Garden History Society Newsletter, 77, spring 2006, pp. 11-13.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

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**Italian Garden**

An array of terraces including a semi-circular terrace seemingly inspired by Thomas Hope's sketch of a comparable space in the grounds of the Villa Doria Pamfili, Rome or that engraved by Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine of the Villa Borghese, Rome, *Choix des plus célèbres maisons des plaisance de Rome et de ses environs*, 1809. (Percier was a friend of Hope's.)

**Other Italian Evidence**

Hope was inspired by 'the suspended gardens within Genoa, and of the splendid villas about Rome....those striking oppositions of the rarest marbles to the richest verdure; those mixtures of statues, and vases, and balustrades, with cypresses, and pinasters, and bays; those distant hills seen through the converging lines of lengthened colonnades; those ranges of aloes and cactuses growing out of vases of granite and of porphyry scarce more symmetric by art than these plants are by nature.' Hope also wrote 'if we wish for variety, for contrast, and for brokenness of levels, we can only seek it in arcades and terraces, in steps, balustrades, regular slopes, parapets....we cannot.... find space for the rock and the precipice.' Thomas Hope, *The Art of Gardening*, *The Review of Fine Arts*, 1808, pp. 133-44, pp. 143-44.

Hope's only surviving sketchbook includes drawings of the gardens of the Villas Aldobrandini, Poniatowski, Doria Pamfili and Borghese in Rome, and the Cascine and Orti Oricellari in Florence'.


The belvedere of the Deepdene is widely recognised as the first Italian belvedere of the nineteenth century and was imitated by Sir Charles Barry and George Frederich Schinkel. The property also included a considerable number of Pompeian motifs such as the pierced wall and a barrel vaulted entrance way supported on slim columns.

William Henry Bartlett illustrated the 'Italian steps' leading from the pine grove to Louisa Hope's apartments on the first floor for John Britton's *A series of Drawings Illustrative of the Scenery & the Architecture of the Deepdene Surry [sic]: The Seat of Thomas Hope Esq made in the Years 1825-6*, Lambeth Archives, Minet Library, 185/188 S3247.SR, p. 48.

On August 17, 1829 John Claudius Loudon noted 'Mr Hope has greatly enlarged the house and offices, and having combined in them all the finest parts of what may be called the landscape architecture and sculpture of Italy, has formed a whole, the greatest praise that we can bestow on which is to say, that to will delight such man as Sir Uvedale Price and Gilbert Laing Meason. The house, with the conservatory and sculpture galleries on one hand, and the dairy, laundry, & c. on the other, forms a group so rich in classic forms and combinations, that no one can duly appreciate its beauties, whose mind is not thoroughly imbued with Italy and the fine arts' quoted in Prescilla Boniface, *In Search of English Gardens: The Travels of John Claudius Loudon and his wife Jane*, 1990.

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Appendix A
THE DEEPDENE, villa stage (now Kuoni Travel Headquarters, continued)

Survival
Demolished in 1964 and subsequently redeveloped. Nothing survives from the villa or its terraces although the remnants of the eighteenth-century garden in the valley remain together with part of the Gothic Gateway and the terrace overlooking Chart Park. The Mausoleum, which is now part of the golf course, was buried up to its roof in 1957.

Additional Notes
In 1823 Hope added the Amphitheatre of Arts, sculpture gallery, conservatory, and orangery merging internal spaces with the terraces outside. His wider landscape contained images taken from Islamic, Egyptian, Greek, Hindu and Tuscan culture, as well as views inspired by paintings in his own collection by J. M. Gandy and Thomas Daniell. The Deepdene was a rural outdoor partner and compliment to the eclectic interiors he had created at his London townhouse.

Hope began developing the Deepdene grounds just as John Evelyn’s diaries were published for the first time in 1818. They highlighted the Grotto of Posilipo near Naples; then thought to be associated with Virgil’s Tomb which had been the model for the tunnel cut into the valley hillside at the Deepdene in the eighteenth-century. This had been created in direct imitation of Evelyn’s Crypta at Albury, Surrey.
Appendix A

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Italian Garden

Roos designed an ornate balustraded promenade (see Fig.7.14) with niches, statues, urns and bas reliefs and modifications to the existing semi-circular terrace. Neither was implemented. In 1849 William Keane reported 'opposite to this [south-east] front are four terraces rising above each other, in the Italian style, faced with flints and pebbles, and formed into parterres.' Keane, The Beauties of Surrey..., (London: n.pub., 1849), p. 155. Nothing more is known of these, but the description suggests pebble decoration typical of a garden in Italy. It is suggested Roos would have been capable of arranging this type of decoration.

Other Italian Evidence


Benjamin Disraeli stayed at the Deepdene in October 1840, writing to his sister 'In the midst of romantic grounds and picturesque park Hope has built, or rather is still building, a perfect Italian palace, full of balconies adorned with busts. On the front a terraced garden, and within a hall of tessellated pavement of mosaics...' David Watkin, Thomas Hope (1769-1831 and the Neo-Classical Ideal, (London: Murray, 1968), p. 182.

Survival

Demolished in 1964 and subsequently redeveloped. Nothing survives from the villa or its terraces although the remnants of the eighteenth-century garden in the valley survive together with part of the Gothic Gateway and the terrace overlooking Chart Park. The Mausoleum, which is now part of the golf course, was buried up to its roof in 1957.

Additional Notes
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>DORCHESTER HOUSE (now the site of the Dorchester Hotel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>London</td>
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<td>Grid reference</td>
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<td>Date Established</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Robert Stayner Holford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Lewis Vuillamy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

In 1928 *Country Life* referred to the terraces and 'Italian garden features.' Anon., 'Dorchester House, I London', *Country Life*, pp. 644-53, p. 651. Little information has emerged about the development of the Dorchester House terrace and balustrades other than Robert Stayner Holford's usual, meticulous scrutiny of Vuillamy's plans and his desire to embrace new technology. Holford agreed to 'experiment' with asphalt sprinkled with gravel as the surface for the North and West terraces. Holford to Vuillamy, 7 September 1852, Vuillamy MSS, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawing Collection, VUL/2/2/16.

**Other Italian Evidence**

Holford's letters to Vuillamy chart their willingness to consider Italian and domestic Italianate models for the architecture of Dorchester House, including the Farnesina Palace, Rome and Sir Charles Barry's Reform Club. Holford to Vuillamy, 2 October 1852, RIBA Archive and Drawings Collections, V&A, Vuillamy MSS, VUL/1/6/21(i). Holford to Vuillamy, 26 September 1852, Vuillamy MSS, VUL/1/6/19(ii).

**Survival**

Demolished 1928 and redeveloped as the Dorchester Hotel

**Additional Notes**

See Westonbirt for another Italian Garden developed by the same partnership of Holford and Vuillamy.
Appendix A

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Site</td>
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<td>Date Established</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>: Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>: Not known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden
English Heritage description listing c 1990 refers to an Italian garden.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Plans have recently been approved for refurbishment and extension of the house. Nothing else is known about the grounds other than that the Aviary survives.

Additional Notes
Dropmore is described as a successful large scale English garden although the 'beautiful gardens' have 'fallen too much into the rustic and basketwork, and therefore perishable, ornament; and the feelings excited in a promenade through Her Ladyship's tasteful shrubberies are those of regret at so much useless expenditure, at so great a distribution of a material which a very few of our winters must destroy.' An Amateur, 'Remarks on the present Style of Ornamental Gardening in this Country, and Suggestions for Improvements', *Gardener's Magazine*, IV, 1828, pp. 85-89 and pp. 211-14, pp. 87, 214.
**Appendix A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>EASTON NESTON</th>
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<tr>
<td>County</td>
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<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>Not thought to have been implemented</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1863</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>George Fermor, 5th Earl of Pomfret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>William Andrews Nesfield</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

Nesfield wrote to 5th Earl of Pomfret about his design for an 'Italian Garden'. 27 November 1863, Castle Howard Archive, F5/73 quoted in Christopher Ridgway, 'William Andrews Nesfield: From Uvedale Price to Isambard Kingdom Brunel, *Journal of Garden History*, vol 13, 1993, pp.69-89, p. 78. Nothing further is known of this scheme.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Not thought to have been established.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

Site: ELVASTON CASTLE (now a Country Park)
County: Derbyshire
Grid reference: SK 40 32
Listing:

Date Established: 1830s
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1839
Owner(s): 4th Earl of Harrington
Designer(s): ?Owner / ?Lewis Cottingham (architect)

Italian Garden
Italian garden described as 'richly furnished with vases, statues (many of which are of grotesque forms), richly gilt, basins, fountains and other works of art.' Gardener's Magazine, 1839, p. 459. Edward Adveno Brooke referred to an Italian Garden, Gardens of England, 1857, n.p.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
House currently in ownership of Derbyshire County Council and the grounds form part of the Country Park.

Additional Notes
David Blissett has Sir Charles Barry working here, but not until 1849. The extent of his commission is unknown. William Barron was the 4th Earl's Head Gardener. The Italian Garden was part of a group of gardens including the Alhambra and the Garden of the Fair Star.
**Appendix A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>FORD CASTLE (Residential centre for Young People)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</table>

**Italian Garden**  
Document relating to 'Italian garden walls' dated 1863 in Berwick upon Tweed Record Office, NRO559/4.a.b.1L

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**  
Not known

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>FRANKLEIGH HOUSE</th>
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<td>1900</td>
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<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden
Terraces with obelisk finials enclosing central fountain set about with parterre. In 1900 *Country Life* declared of these gardens, ‘the definition of a garden as Italian, Dutch, or French does not necessarily indicate a precise style or character, but rather a general distinction more easily suggested than indicated.’ Anon., ‘Frankleigh House, Wilts’, *Country Life*, 18, 14 July 1900, pp. 48-53, p. 48.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Terraces with obelisk finials survive. The parterre has been grassed over.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: GARNSTONE CASTLE
County: Herefordshire
Grid reference: 
Listing: Not known
Date Established: before 1887
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1887
Owner(s): Not known
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
Postcard of an Italian Garden dated July 1887, National Monuments Record Office, Swindon, ESTO SC004571

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known. John Nash's Castle was demolished in 1958.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>GLOSSOP HALL</th>
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<td>Date Established</td>
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<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Matthew Ellison Hadflied, George Goldie and John Gray Weightman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

Plans for Italian Garden drawn up 1852 by Matthew Ellison Hadflied, George Goldie and John Gray Weightman. The walled garden was adjacent to the house and comprised a four quadrant parterre, around a central formal pool. Seats were integrated into the pool. Statues and columns decorated the parterres. The walls were topped with urns. No evidence that the plans were implemented has been identified. Plans in Sheffield Archives, Arundel Papers, ACM GLO 1-4L.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Hall demolished in late twentieth century. Grounds are now a public park.

**Additional Notes**

John Gray Weightman had worked in the offices of Charles Barry and Charles Robert Cockerell.
Appendix A

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Site</th>
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<td>Date Established</td>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>: Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>: Not known</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: GODINGTON PARK
County: Kent
Grid reference: 
Listing: Not known

Date Established: nineteenth century
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1967
Owner (s): Not known
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
(www.godington-house-garden.co.uk/gardens.aspx [August 2008]).

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Survives, but extent of any alterations is not known.

Additional Notes

351
**Appendix A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>GOODRICH COURT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

1884 sale particulars describe an Italian Garden adjacent to the Court (Herefordshire Record Office, M5/11/18.) A family photograph album shows decorative iron gates into the Italian Garden, a central statue of Mercury, and a terrace walk (Herefordshire Record Office, BG79.) A nineteenth-century first floor summerhouse with loggia below looks out across quartered beds.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Goodrich Court was demolished in the 1950s. The summerhouse and quadrant beds survive together with the terrace, steps and balustrade.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

| Site    | GRIMSTON PARK |
| County  | North Yorkshire |
| Grid reference | : |
| Listing | Not known |
| Date Established | Not known |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | 1858 |
| Owner(s) | 2nd Lord Howden |
| Designer(s) | Not known |

Italian Garden

Various garden features and parts of the garden were described as Italian during the nineteenth century. *Cottage Gardener & Country Gentleman* referred to the 'flower gdn, noble vases and figures of marble in profusion, rendering it a truly Italian scene' 1858, p. 7. *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1880, p. 300 referred to the Italian house and the Italian flower garden adjacent to it. (This appears to be a different flower garden from that referred to in 1858.) 1872 Sale Catalogue, British Library, describes an Italian Garden on S. terrace & below W. front; the Rosary was also known as the Italian Garden.

Other Italian Evidence

The house, as modified by Decimus Burton in 1840, was frequently described as Italian in the nineteenth-century with its two storey loggia and belvedere; for example, *Cottage Gardener & Country Gentleman*, 1858, p 7. *Journal of Horticulture & Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1898, p. 129 observed 'as might be expected, the Italian formality of the mansion has thrown a certain amount of reflection on to the garden'. House again described as Italian: *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1908, p 66.

Survival

House now subdivided into private homes.

Additional Notes

'There are many well founded objections to the introduction of statuary to an English garden, but when concentrated as here, it is very different.:' *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1861, p. 656.

The Emperors Walk, created by William Andrews Nesfield, had a strong resemblance to the well-publicised Italian Walk in Louisa Lawrence's villa garden, Drayton Green, Middlesex, but it was not identified in contemporary accounts as Italian.
### Appendix A

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>GUNNERSBURY PARK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>County</td>
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<td>Grid reference</td>
<td>TQ 19 79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
<td>Much of Gunnersbury Park is Grade II*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1843</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>de Rothschild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Italian Garden

The *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1880, p. 147 and 1893, p. 468 referred to an Italian Garden. The *Garden* referred to an 'old-fashioned Italian garden', 1881, p. 228 with geometric beds edged with 1ft high box. The garden was surrounded by *Magnolia grandiflora*. There are repeated references to the Italian Garden in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century gardening press.

### Other Italian Evidence

In 1843 Benjamin Disraeli described it as 'a beautiful park & a villa worthy of an Italian prince'..

### Survival

Now in divided ownership. House is now a museum and some of the grounds are a public park. Gunnersbury Park is now on the English Heritage 'At Risk' Register.

### Additional Notes

The Japanese garden was created c 1900-01, *Journal of Horticulure*, 1901. *Gardener's Magazine*, 1902, p. 160 stated that the Japanese garden was based on a garden from Lake Como.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>HADZOR HALL</th>
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<td>County</td>
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<td>Date Established</td>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1833</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>John Howard Galton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Alexander Roos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

Never named the Italian Garden; the terrace garden had three segmented circular flower-beds outside the south-facing library. The terrace was connected to the wider pleasure grounds by divided steps with a pool filled from a spouting lion’s mask. Urns and stone seats decorated the terrace. Plants in the garden (e.g. acacia) were grown from seed gathered in Italy by Galton.

**Other Italian Evidence**

Various gateways and the summerhouse were inspired by Italian buildings sketched by Roos (possibly in the company of Galton.) The house was Palladian. Galton was an Italiophile spending considerable periods in Italy with his family. He died in Rome in 1862. His library included a catalogue of the Borbonico Museum, Naples.

**Survival**

The terrace garden was desolate and in ruins in 2006. The Hall survives with private housing developed in the park.

**Additional Notes**

Matthew Habershon produced a sketch for the terrace, but it is not believed this was implemented. Kenneth Lowe, Letters to Galton, 1832-33, Galton Papers, Birmingham City Archive, F3102/C/D/10/41/7, 16 December 1833.
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>HAGGERSTON CASTLE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Christopher Leyland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Christopher Leyland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

Italian Garden referred to in *The Garden*, December 2005, p. 842. It is described as a walled Italian Garden with niches and statues. Contemporary plans and documents survive.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

**Additional Notes**

Christopher Leyland was a nineteenth-century botanist and sailor. The Leyland cypress is named after him. Restoration of Italian Garden was due to begin spring 2006.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>HALTON HOUSE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>possibly c 1883 when house constructed</td>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Alfred de Rothschild</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
House is now the Officers' Mess, RAF Halton.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>HAREWOOD HOUSE</th>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>3rd Earl of Harewood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Charles Barry</td>
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Italian Garden
The largest of the three balustraded terrace gardens contained two scholae, statuary, and three parterres de broderie centred on ornate pools and fountains. The scholae have the usual Pompeian influence when used by Charles Barry. The smaller east and west parterres were also centred on pools and by the 1850s were known as the 'small Italian Gardens': LIB/06, Muniments Room, Harewood House referred to in Sophieke Piebenga, Harewood House Terrace Garden Historical Research Report, unpublished report, Sept., 1992. The large urns were added to the parterres in 1937 when they were purchased from Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire. The central fountain was replaced by the statue, Orpheus with a Leopard, c 1990.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
William Andrews Nesfield had submitted a parterre design for Harewood House in 1843.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>HARTLEBURY CASTLE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</table>

Italian Garden

Andrea Rechberg, *The Italian Garden in England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century with Special reference to the garden at Trentham in Staffordshire*, (Institute of Advance Architectural Studies, University of York, unpublished dissertation, 1988) lists this as an Italianate garden. Aerial photo c 1940, National Monuments Record Office, Swindon, Red Box, Hartlebury refers to Italian Garden, but this seems to be a description provided by the photographer.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>HATHEROP CASTLE</th>
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<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</table>

Italian Garden

English Heritage listing description (c 1990) refers to an Italian Garden W of castle. It is enclosed by walls to the north and south. 50m long terraced garden with stone urns and a fountain. Plan of Italian Garden, ?twentieth century, Gloucestershire Record Office, D540/P28.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

The Castle is now a school. Nothing further is known about the grounds.

Additional Notes
### Appendix A

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<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>:HIGHCLERE CASTLE</th>
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<td>Date Established</td>
<td>Uncertain if plans were implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>2nd Earl of Canarvon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

A letter from Lady Harriet to Herbert Stapleton dated 4 April 1831 refers to the 'Italian garden' soon to be created at Highclere. Hampshire Record Office, 75M91/L14/5. This would be for 2nd Earl (who died in 1833) around the same time he employed Hopper to give the house a Grecian makeover. It is not clear if this garden was created.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

**Additional Notes**

Charles Barry was working at Highclere from 1842-9, for 3rd Earl. Barry referred to the Anglo-Italian (Jacobethan) style of architecture he employed on the house.
Appendix A

Site: HOLKHAM HALL
County: Norfolk
Grid reference: 
Listing: Grade I

Date Established: 
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1991
Owner (s): 2nd Earl of Leicester
Designer(s): William Andrews Nesfield

Italian Garden

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
It is believed the parterre and a square garden pavilion survive within the private area of the grounds.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: HOLLAND HOUSE,
County: London
Grid reference: 
Listing: None
Date Established: Not known
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1820
Owner (s): 3rd Lord Holland
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
Thomas Faulkner, The History and Antiquities of Kensington..., (London, n.pub., 1820), p.121 describes 'The gardens adjoining the house are laid out in various pleasing designs, among which a rosary of a circular form is particularly worthy of notice, and on the west, a parterre, laid out in various scrolls and devices in the Italian Style.' David Jacques, Georgian Gardens The Reign of Nature (London: B. T. Batsford, 1983), p. 193 refers to the Italian Garden which was noted for its dahlias. Alaistair Forsyth, Yesterday's Garden, plate 8 shows the Italian or Dutch garden.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
House demolished after bombing in World War II.

Additional Notes
**Appendix A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Site</strong></th>
<th>KINGSTON LACY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>County</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>ST 97 01</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

**Date Established** : 1834-41  
**Earliest Known Italian Association** : 1834  
**Owner (s)** : William John Bankes  
**Designer(s)** : Charles Barry

---

**Italian Garden**

South terrace was modelled on Inigo Jones’ terrace at the Queen's House, Greenwich. *Scholae* that terminate the terrace were based on those at The Grange, Hampshire which in turn were derived from the Tomb of Mammia, Pompeii. Charles Barry’s east garden of balustraded walkways, divided stairs and recessed grottos was never implemented, but was influenced by Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi di Genova* (Genova: Compagni impresse electriche liguri 1652; repr. 1955).

**Other Italian Evidence**

Bankes recorded copious notes on his ideas on architecture and his thinking about the modifications of the house which were inspired by his mistaken belief that Inigo Jones was the original architect. He therefore followed ideas taken from other Jones’ houses (often also mistakenly attributed to him – e.g. The Grange) and the work of Andreo Palladio. See in particular Bankes Memorandum Books in Dorset History Centre, D/BKL/H/3/1.

---

**Survival**

---

**Additional Notes**

Plate in John Hutchings, *History & Antiquities of Dorset*, 1868, shows terrace and lawn dotted with Venetian well heads which Bankes purchased or had copied in Italy. Bankes was creating an eclectic landscape which incorporated images of Egypt and the Middle East as well as Italy. Inside the house he added another strong memory of Spain in his unique collection of Spanish paintings.
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>LEIGH COURT (formerly Abbots Leigh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Avon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grid reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>Planned, but not implemented</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Philip John Miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Humphry Repton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

Humphry Repton, *Red Book* for 1814 referred to the creation of a Pleasure Garden within the walled garden which 'might be made a most interesting object by that far more magnificent style of Italian Gardening in which Terraces & Vases & flights of Steps & Fountains were blended with flowers & shrubs'. Also suggested the terrace was given a stone balustrade which would give a 'hint of the Italian style'. This work was never implemented. Special Collections, University of Bristol.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

The site is now owned by the Forestry Commission.

**Additional Notes**

Alternatively if, the terrace was edged with metal, it would introduce a 'hint at the French style'. It is suggested Repton developed the Italian Garden; which is untypical of his style, as an expression of his displeasure with the commission and the client.
## Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Site</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>County</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Listing</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Earliest Known Italian Association</strong></td>
<td>1844</td>
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<td><strong>Owner (s)</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Designer(s)</strong></td>
<td>William Masters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Italian Garden


### Other Italian Evidence

#### Survival

Slope below the terrace survives.

### Additional Notes

By 1859 there was a Dutch flower garden next to the conservatory. *Cottage Gardener* describes 'open Dutch balustrading' with a circle and semicircle of openings and double steps on the terrace 'in Crystal Palace terrace fashion.' *Cottage Gardener* 1859, pp. 162 and 144. 1861 there was an attempt to distinguish between the Dutch Flower Garden and the Italian. *Journal of Horticulture*, 1861, p 101.
Appendix A

Site: LONGFORD CASTLE
County: Wiltshire
Grid reference: 
Listing: Not known

Date Established: Not known
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1883
Owner(s): Not known
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
Referred to as Italian Garden in *Journal of Horticulture*, 1883; *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1886 and *The Garden*, 1888. Articles describe busts of Roman Emperors on obelisks, hedge clipped into arches and a parterre. The 1886 article implies this garden has been in existence for some time. Photographs show, terraces, square garden pavilion and urns. According to Inigo Triggs, *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland* (Woodbridge: Suffolk Antique Collectors' Club, 1902; repr. 1988) the large stone vases were brought from Italy in 1680. This is also suggested in *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1876. Charles Holmes (ed.) refers to the 'Italian spirit' of the garden in *Gardens of South & West Counties of England*, 1907, p. xxxiii.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Survives in good state of repair.

Additional Notes
### Appendix A

**Site**: LYDIARD MILICENT (aka Millicent House)  
**County**: Wiltshire  
**Grid reference**:  
**Listing**: None  
**Date Established**: Not known  
**Earliest Known Italian Association**: 1875  
**Owner (s)**: Not known  
**Designer(s)**: Not known  

---

**Italian Garden**  
1875 sale particulars list a 'flower garden (After the Italian style)'.

**Other Italian Evidence**

---

**Survival**  
Private house. Condition of garden is unknown.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

Site : LYME PARK
County : Cheshire
Grid reference : SJ 965 824
Listing : Not known

Date Established : 1860s
Earliest Known Italian Association : ?1890s
Owner (s) : 1st Lord Newton
Designer(s) : Edward Kemp

Italian Garden
The Italian Garden was re-named the Dutch Garden without any change to its layout according to Brent Elliot, *Historical Revivalism in the Twentieth Century*, Garden History, 2000, pp. 17-31, p. 19. Elliott suggests this occurred in 1890s.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Owned by National Trust. Garden survives, although it may have been subject to restoration.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>MENTMORE TOWERS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1879</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Baron Amschel Mayer de Rothschild</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>?Joseph Paxton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden

Gardeners' Chronicle, 1879, p. 748 describes the Italian Garden. Gardeners' Chronicle, 18 April 1890, p. 489 describes the 'Italian flower garden' with marble & bronze vases. The Builder quoted in the Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener, 1882, pp. 478-79 referred to the house as being in style of early James I with two Italian flower gardens [one was the fountain garden.] Journal of Forestry & Estate Management, 1878-79, p. 615 described the 'Italian Flower Garden' with marble & bronze vases, box edging, statues & vases. Gardeners' Chronicle, 1899, p. 389 states 'Nesfield's Italian garden...will soon be finished.' (There is no evidence Nesfield created a garden here.) Journal of Horticulture, 1900, p. 221 refers to the garden; 'termed the Italian garden, doubtless from its shape & inclusion of statuary, it has in the Box edgings to the beds and scrolls something of the Dutch character' p, 222.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes

Gardeners' Chronicle, 18 April 1890, p. 489 refers to the house 'built in the Italian style from designs furnished by Sir Joseph Paxton'. Journal of Horticulture, 1900 notes the French style Rose garden with French roses p. 222.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>MILTON HALL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grid reference</td>
<td>TL 14 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Date Established | Not known   |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | 1985       |
| Owner (s)        | Not known   |
| Designer(s)      | Not known   |

Italian Garden
English Heritage listing description for 1985 refers to a walled Italianate area with fine wrought iron gates to lake.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>MOOR PARK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
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<td>Grid reference</td>
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<td>Listing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>Before 1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>William Andrews Nesfield</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**


**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Not known.

**Additional Notes**

372
Appendix A

Site: MOUNT EDGCUMBE  
County: Cornwall  
Grid reference: SX 45 52  
Listing: Not known  

Date Established: 1787- c 1819  
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1787  
Owner(s): 2nd and 3rd Earls Edgcumbe  
Designer(s): Lord Camelford and 3rd Earl Edgcumbe

Italian Garden
July 1787 Lord Mount Edgcumbe wrote of the 'new greenhouse' or Conservatory designed by Lord Camelford. In 1789 Prince Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico visited and compared it to the Pope's summerhouse on Mount Cavallo in the gardens of the Quirinal Palace, Rome. Richard Edgcumbe (later 3rd Earl Edgcumbe) wrote to Camelford:

Mr Richard (that is to day I myself the secretary) wants to add to its beauty by the addition of a colonnade extending from each side as far as the wall of the orangerie to form porticos per piglia il fresco; while a fine fountain in the middle cools the air by falling en rappe into large marble basons. We have proved by experiment that the scheme is practicable as we have sufficient command of water, but the difficulty is to get basons large enough. The colonnade we are afraid to begin without having your taste to assist us. (Richard Edgcumbe, Letter to Lord Camelford, 7 July 1787, Dropmore Papers, British Library, London, MSS 69307/60-61.)

These changes were largely followed (apart from the colonnade) although not until after he inherited the estate. Before 1803 Ariosto had been moved to the far end of garden. (John Britton's account.) By 1812 Richard Warner's guidebook was referring to a fountain surrounded by regular gravel walks, and orange trees, and the entire garden being screened with evergreens such as arbutus and laurenstinus. Gilbert, writing during the next few years, referred to statues of modern construction. The Belvedere was established before 1819 when Elliott's map was surveyed. In 1832 Rev. Rowe referred to many more statues on the Belvedere and on the ground in the garden.

Ariosto's bust was accompanied by a quotation from Orlando Furioso, written during his time in the service of Ippolito d'Este, the creator of the great Renaissance gardens at the Villa d'Este, Tivoli. Orlando Furioso flattered his patron as the 'generosa erculea prole' or noble descendant of Hercules, who was also the central figure in the iconography of the d'Este garden. It is suggested that the quotation in the Italian Gardens at Mount Edgcumbe drew a parallel with the grounds of the Villa d'Este.

Other Italian Evidence
When the guidebook was revised in 1821 Sir Robert Hughes' poem, Stanzas on the Italian Garden, was included which pondered if Ariosto's bust came back to life whether the surroundings would be familiar to him.

Survival  
Complete.

Additional Notes
In 1842 the Gardener's Magazine reported 'The only garden worth notice is what is called the Italian garden, though there is nothing Italian in it but the orange trees and a few white painted leaden statues'. Anon., 'Sept. 13- Mount Edgcumbe', Gardener's Magazine, 18 (1842), pp. 547-48, p. 547.

The French and English Gardens were in existence by 1803.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grid reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**
Richard Bisgrove described an Italian Garden in Gardens of England, 3, p. 128. It was enclosed and divided into four by straight paths.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**
Not known.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>OCKHAM PARK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Listing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>1830s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>William Currie, 1st Earl of Lovelace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>?Charles Barry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian Garden
In 1826 J. P. Neale’s *Views of Seats, Mansions, Castles...* referred to Italian pines in the grounds. In 1841 Brayley and Britton’s *Topographical History of Surrey* referred to a garden in the Italian style. They illustrated a garden with vases enclosed by a pierced wall next to the house.

Other Italian Evidence
J P Neale wrote of the Italian roof in 1826 and Brayley and Britton, in 1841 of the Italian house, Swiss style lodges and Swiss farm & pines.

Survival
House was destroyed by fire in 1948. In 1975 the stables underwent a major redevelopment to form a new house. The architect was Robert Frith. A three arched temple and a fragment of pierced wall survive in the grounds. Other more modern pierced walls were added when Voysey worked in the grounds in the early twentieth century.

Additional Notes
William King married Ada Lovelace, the only legitimate daughter of Byron, at around the time the house and garden were being modified. The architect who gave the house its Italianate make over in the 1830s is not known. However, it is very close to Mount Felix (aka Walton House) where Barry was working from 1835-39.
### Appendix A

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<th>Site</th>
<th>OTERLEY PARK</th>
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<td>County</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Charles Kynaston Mainwaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Italian Garden

No description of this as an Italian Garden has been found, but the extent of pebble decoration to the terraces and family tradition that Italian workmen were specially brought over to lay the terraces justifies its inclusion here (See Fig. 7.26)

#### Other Italian Evidence

#### Survival

House demolished 1958. Terraces survive. Nineteenth-century Swiss chalet and Swiss style adaptation to walls of the kitchen garden and a Gothic belvedere are also to be found in the gardens.

#### Additional Notes

William Sawrey Gilpin advised on the grounds sometime between 1832 and 1835 given that it is only mentioned in the 2nd edition of his *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening*. Sophieke Piebenga argues there are stylistic links to W. S. Gilpin in the terraces and the flower garden. William Sawrey Gilpin (1761/2-1843) Picturesque Improver, (unpublished thesis, University of York, 1995).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site       : PAMPISFORD HALL</td>
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<tr>
<td>County     : Cambridgeshire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grid reference : TL 50 48</td>
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<td>Listing    : Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established : Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)  : Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)  : Not known</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Italian Garden**

English Heritage description listing c 1990 refers to a sunken Italian garden on SW of lawn and pleasure grounds.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Not known.

**Additional Notes**
## Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>PATSHULL PARK</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Earl of Dartmouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>?William Broderick Thomas</td>
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</table>

### Italian Garden

No contemporary description of this as Italian garden has been found, but it includes terraces, fountains and statuary. Dianne Barre has advised [June 2006] that the fountain was modelled on Fontana delle Tartarughe, Piazza Mattei, Rome.

### Other Italian Evidence

#### Survival
Survives in some form.

### Additional Notes
## Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>PENCARROW</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Designer(s)</td>
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</table>

**Italian Garden**


**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Not known.

**Additional Notes**
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>PENShurst Place</th>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
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<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>2nd Lord De L'Isle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>George Devey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Garden**

Parterre around a central oval fountain surrounded by raised walks and terraces to the W and N. The garden is laid out below the S front of the house. Tom Wright, *The Gardens of Britain*, 4, (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978), p. 81 describes it as an Italian garden.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Survives intact.

**Additional Notes**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
</tr>
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**Italian Garden**

David Watkin has identified that John Soane built ruins to N of the house similar in concept and style to the artificial ruin at Villa Albani, Rome which in turn was modelled on the Temple of Clitumnus. David Watkin, ‘Soane's Concept of the Villa’ in Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Villa*, p. 104.

**Other Italian Evidence**

David Watkin also analyses a series of influences from the Villa Albani that Soane incorporated into the house.

**Survival**

Not known.

**Additional Notes**
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Site</th>
<th>: REGENT'S PARK</th>
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<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>: William Andrews and Earnest Markham Nesfield</td>
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</tbody>
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#### Italian Garden

#### Other Italian Evidence

#### Survival
Intact.

#### Additional Notes
## Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>SHRUBLAND PARK</th>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Sir William &amp; Lady Anne Middleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Charles Barry</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Italian Garden

Inspiration for the Great Descent was taken from the Villa d'Este at the Middleton's suggestion. (De Saumerz Papers, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.) Barry included his usual *schola* inspired by Pompeii and installed Pompeian influenced tazzas in the Balcony Garden.

It is believed some of the vases decorating the Great Descent were also inspired by gardens in Rome. The Pavilion at the head of the Great Descent appears to take its inspiration from the Villa Pia in the Vatican.

### Other Italian Evidence

Barry designed Italianate modifications for estate cottages and an Italianate north-west lodge. Alexander Roos designed the Italianate Coddenham and Barham Lodges. Barry gave the house his usual Italianate exterior.

Edward Adveno Brooke stated 'The designs for the gardens and parterres, and the main features of the mansion have been laid down by Sir William and Lady Middleton — a residence for a considerable time in Italy having imbued them with the designs of the Italian school' *The Gardens of England*, (1857), n.p.

### Survival

Complete.

### Additional Notes

There are grounds for suggesting that Barry and Roos may have worked together in some capacity on aspects of this scheme.
### Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>MR SKERRETT'S GARDEN</th>
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<tr>
<td>Owner (s)</td>
<td>Mr Skerrett</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
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</table>

#### Italian Garden

*James Mangles, *Floral Calendar*, (1840), p. 106 referred to a garden 'in French & Italian style.'*

#### Other Italian Evidence

#### Survival

*Not known*

#### Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>STONELEIGH ABBEY</th>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Italian Garden**

Drawing of a pedestal and steps in the 'Italian Garden'. Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon, DR 671/144.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**
Not known.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

Site: STOWLANGTOFT HALL
County: Suffolk
Grid reference:
Listing: Not known

Date Established: ?c 1859 when the house was built
Earliest Known Italian Association: c 1840s
Owner (s):
Designer(s): ?Mr Page, Southampton (gardener/nurseryman) / ?James Hakewill (architect)

Italian Garden
'The house stands alone upon a gentle slope to the south, with cheerful home views all round; it has a raised terrace on the south and west fronts, that on the south being two hundred and sixty feet in length, with a lower terrace laid out as an Italian garden, whence a path leads to the gardens which belonged to the old house.' F. O. Morris, *A Series of Picturesque Views of Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen*, (n.d., but c 1840s).

Other Italian Evidence
The Italian style house by Hakewill may have been influenced by his *Picturesque Tour of Italy*, which was published in 1818-20.

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
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Date Established: ?late nineteenth / early twentieth century
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1908
Owner(s): ?Coningsby Charles Sibthorp
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
The Italian garden was photographed for Charles Holmes (ed.) Gardens of England, Midland & Eastern Counties, 1908, plate CVIII.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: SUDBURY HALL (National Trust)
County: Derbyshire
Grid reference: SK 15 32
Listing: Not known

Date Established: Not known
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1988
Owner(s): George, 5th Lord Vernon
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden

Gervase Jackson-Stops has suggested William Andrews Nesfield's plan for a parterre de broderie may have been inspired by Vernon's visits to villa gardens around the Italian lakes. An English Arcadia, p. 134. J. Anthony, The Gardens of Britain, 6, pp. 152-54 also refers to Nesfield's garden as Italianate. However, it was never implemented and so cannot be that which influenced the English Heritage description.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes
Nesfield advocates the style of 'the olden times' and the parterres aligned on S front are copied from John James, Theory & Practice of Gardening, 1712.

George, 5th Lord Vernon was an Italiophile. He visited Italy in 1820 and 1829 and went to live there in 1839. He was the foremost Dante scholar of the nineteenth-century, publishing a three volume work on the man in 1858. His son re-opened the house in 1850 whilst his father remained in Italy. Vernon, was somehow persuaded to sell part of his library to Robert Stayner Holford. This formed the nucleus of his developing library which has been suggested was a significant influence in the development of his Italian Garden at Westonbirt, Gloucestershire.
Appendix A

<table>
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<th>Site</th>
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<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Alexander Baring</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Charles Robert Cockerell</td>
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</table>

Italian Garden

Never named the Italian Garden; the formal gardens laid out by Cockerell included a *schola* based on the Tomb of Mammia, Street of the Tombs, Pompeii and illustrated by Francois Mazois in *Ruines les Pompeii*, 1812, 1, plate VII. The parterres were surrounded by a pierced wall, the design of which was taken from the Deepdene which in turn had been taken from the Villa Poniatowski, Rome.

Other Italian Evidence

On first visiting The Grange in 1824, Cockerell compared it to the Villa d'Este which also used the same pierced walling as the Villa Poniatowski. Cockerell would have known of Guiseppi Valadier's involvement at the Villa Poniatowski and his reputation for classical inspired design would have led him from their back to the Villa d'Este.

Survival

The ramps and platform of the two parterres survive. The *schola* survives.

Additional Notes

Cockerell knew of Bromley Hill House and may have gained the idea for the *schola* from the Bromley Hill 'ancient social bench'. Cockerell visited Mazois in Paris in October 1824 whilst laying out the gardens at The Grange. Cockerell also visited Thomas Hope at the Deepdene on 16-17 August 1823 during the creation of the gardens and sketched the pierced wall there. The *parterres de broderie* were influenced by John James, *Theory ands Practice of Gardening*, 1712; a title that Cockerell included on his reading list. Charles Barry visited The Grange during the planning of the gardens at Kingston Lacy, Dorset and drew the *schola* which went on to influence many of his gardens.
<table>
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<td>?George or ?Augustus Cavendish-Bentinck</td>
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<td>Designer(s)</td>
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</table>

Italian Garden
Ordnance Survey map for 1891 names the Rialto Bridge and Venetia Park with fountain. Timothy Mowl has noted two existing North Italian well heads in the garden that Augustus Cavendish-Bentinck incorporated into his 'Italianate garden'. *Historic Gardens of Dorset*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), p. 117.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known.

Additional Notes
George Cavendish-Bentinck collected Italian Renaissance sculpture; particularly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venetian sculpture.
Appendix A

Site: TOTTENHAM PARK
County: Wiltshire
Grid reference:
Listing: Not known

Date Established: Before 1853
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1853
Owner(s): Lord Ernest Bruce
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
Charles M'Intosh, The Book of the Garden, 1853, 1, pp. 646-7 describes a 'small Italian flower garden' with an extensive description of the pierced or Pompeian wall.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
It is not thought the Italian Garden survives.

Additional Notes
### Appendix A

<table>
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<th>Site</th>
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<td>: Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
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### Italian Garden

J. Anthony has described it as 'a rather Italianate version of a Jacobean style'. *Gardens of Britain*, 6, p. 159.

### Other Italian Evidence

#### Survival
Not known

### Additional Notes
### Appendix A

<table>
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<th>Site</th>
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<td>Owner(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Charles Barry</td>
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</table>

#### Italian Garden

Barry included his usual *scholae* derived from the Tomb of Mammia, Pompeii. The square garden pavilions were possibly influenced by Peter Frederick Robinson, *Designs for Ornamental Villas*, 1827, Design XVI, plate 34. The copy of Cellini’s *Perseus* holding aloft the head of the Medusa was especially made from the original owned by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Charles M’Intosh declared the flower garden ‘in front of the house’ to be ‘in the Italian terraced-style’. In discussing the need for sculpture in a geometrical garden he declared ‘At Trentham these sculpture ornaments are not wanting: some of them are figures of pure white Italian marble, bearing the impress of no mean chisel; and the good taste which so abundantly predominates at this fine establishment has distributed them with the very best effect.’ He described elevated walks at Trentham as ‘in correct keeping with the Italian style’. *The Book of the Garden*, 1853, 1, pp. 613-14.

Matthew Digby Wyatt explained ‘The most complete and satisfactory revivals in this country of the Italian mode of laying out grounds have been effected at Trentham, for the Duke of Sutherland, and at Chatsworth, for the Duke of Devonshire.’ *Views of the Crystal Palace and Park Sydenham London*, (Day & Son, 1854), p. 35.

Edward Adveno Brooke described

> The Italian Gardens are spread before us; and as we gaze, how easy it is for fancy to bring over us those skies so “darkly, deeply, beautifully blue;” the fragrant and gold-dotted groves of the orange and citrus; and graceful clusters of the luscious vine; the dark grouping of the purple pomegranate; the green forests of the olive; and the poetry and song of Italy – beautiful Italy! *The Gardens of England*, 1857, n.p.

#### Other Italian Evidence

Re-modelling the island as Isola Bella was rejected, as was placing statues of River Gods on plinths looking out across the lake. The modified trellis arcade may well have been influenced by Lewis Kennedy’s proposals for Chiswick, and hence, in turn by the Villa Negroni. Sketches of the lion of St Mark’s and the Bucintoro are to be found among Barry’s papers.

#### Survival

House demolished 1910. Formal gardens recently restored.

#### Additional Notes

Benjamin Disraeli used Trentham as the model for Brentham in *Lothair* published in 1870 describing how

> It would be difficult to find a fairer scene than Brentham offered, especially in the lustrous effulgence of a glorious summer. It was an Italian palace of freestone; vast, ornate, and in scrupulous condition; its spacious and graceful chambers rising filled with treasures of art, and rising itself from statued and stately terraces. At their foot spread a garden domain of considerable extent, bright with flowers, dim with coverts of rare shrubs, and musical with fountains. Its limit reached a park with timber such as the midland counties alone can produce.
Appendix A

<table>
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<td>Designer(s)</td>
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Italian Garden
English Heritage Register description of c 1990 lists this as an Italian garden.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: TREVARNO
County: Cornwall
Grid reference: Not known
Listing: Not known
Date Established: Not known
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1998
Owner (s): Not known
Designer(s): Not known

Italian Garden
Italian Garden mentioned by Douglas Ellory Pett, The Parks and Gardens of Cornwall (Alison Hodge, 1998)

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known

Additional Notes
Appendix A

| Site       | TULLYALLAN |
| County     | Fifeshire  |
| Grid reference | : |
| Listing    | Not known  |
| Date Established | mid-nineteenth century |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | 2007 |
| Owner(s)   | 1st Viscount Keith |
| Designer(s)| Margaret, Countess de Flahault de la Billardrie; later Baroness of Nairne |

Italian Garden
Historic Scotland website [2007] discusses the Italian Garden here.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Not known. The house is now a police college.

Additional Notes
William Atkinson was the architect of the house between 1817 and 1820 and Burke noted that his gardens were 'disposed in all styles... amongst the most admired...is the French garden...in tiny beds, with gravel walks between.' Sir B Burke, A Visititation of the Seats and arms of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland, 2nd series, 2, 1858, p. 51 quoted in David Watkin, Thomas Hope... pp. 167-8.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>WALTON HOUSE (aka Mount Felix)</th>
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| Date Established | 1835-39                       |
| Earliest Known Italian Association | 1835-39               |
| Owner (s)        | 5th Earl of Tankerville        |
| Designer(s)      | Charles Barry                 |

**Italian Garden**

Small parterre within a balustrade accessible from the main living rooms and directly below the Italianate belvedere. Not named the Italian Garden, but typical of Barry's work.

**Other Italian Evidence**

**Survival**

Stables survive. Nothing remains of Barry’s parterre garden.

**Additional Notes**
Appendix A

Site : WANSTEAD
County : Essex
Grid reference : TQ 41 87
Listing : None

Date Established : ?
Earliest Known Italian Association : 1818
Owner (s) : Wellesley Long Pole
Designer(s) : Lewis Kennedy

Italian Garden
'Italian rock garden' designed in 1818. It was to be a circular enclosed garden accessed by a trellis arbour; an 'airy construction' like those in French and Italian gardens such as Boboli. The central parterre was on a 'small scale like villas around Rome' such as the Villa Pamphili or Villa Borghese. Lewis Kennedy, 'Notitiae with Illustrative sketches for American garden at Wanstead for Wellesley Long Pole Esq', library of the late Paul Getty library, Wormsley, Buckinghamshire. It is not clear whether the garden was laid out.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Appendix A

Site: WATCOMBE
County: Devon
Grid reference: 
Listing: Not known

Date Established: mid-nineteenth century
Earliest Known Italian Association: 2005
Owner(s): Isambard Kingdom Brunel
Designer(s): Owner, possibly with advice from William Andrews Nesfield

Italian Garden
Devon Gardens Trust Newsletter, 63, winter 2005 refers to an oval Italian Garden with a central fountain, surrounding walls and castellated clipped yews. Brunel's Garden Book has information on this area of the garden. Special Collection, University of Bristol.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Additional Notes
Appendix A

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Augustus Clifford</td>
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<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>?Owner</td>
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Italian Garden
Edward Adveno Brooke described:

The straight walk from the Bastion leads to the Lower Terraces, by the sea, which is 430 feet long, with a Pavilion at each end, and a seat, copied from those at Pompeii, in front, looking towards Osborne, Stokes Bay, Anglesea Villas, and the opposite Coast. *The Gardens of England*, 1857, n.p.

Clifford described these seats as 'handsome semicircular stone seat, copied from those in the Strada di Sepulchri at Pompeii'. Sir K. Clifford, *A Description of Westfield Ryde, Isle of White* (London: n. pub., 1862) p. 90.

Other Italian Evidence
In 1851 Clifford installed a large stag and two smaller marble lions purchased from the Great Exhibition. They were set on a monumental archway leading to the house to which he added the welcoming inscription 'Qui Si Sana' (here one becomes healthy) the motto from the King's Villa at Castel-a-Mare near Naples. On the reverse, another inscription proclaimed the visit of the exiled King Louis Phillipe of France and Queen Marie Amelie of the Two Sicilies who 'found peace and calm' at Westfield in September 1860. Sir K. Clifford, *A Description of Westfield Ryde, Isle of White* (London: n. pub., 1862) p. 23.

In 1862 Clifford reflected on the improvements he had achieved at Westfield:

I used to think the eastern the prettiest side of the house, particularly having raised the wing three feet, thrown out two bows, and being well covered with ivy, and the broad projecting roof giving it a warm and sheltered appearance, as well as a Florentine character, something like Petraja and the Villa D'Este. Sir K. Clifford, *A Description of Westfield Ryde, Isle of White* (London: n. pub., 1862) p. 24.

The belvedere which echoed that of Osborne House just across the water at East Cowes, was not added until some time after 1862. Johanna Jones, *Castles to Cottages* (Wimboume, 2000), p. 50.

Survival
The house has been demolished and the gardens re-developed for housing. The archway survives although the inscription is badly eroded. The marble lions were moved to St. Thomas' churchyard, Ryde, but were stolen from their new location in 2004.

Additional Notes
Before developing these gardens Clifford had spent much of his naval career sailing the Mediterranean. He was familiar with Italy and took an interest in classical artefacts. A bronze bust of 6th Duke of Devonshire is now displayed at Chatsworth, Derbyshire terminating the Serpentine Hedge. It sits on a:

column, or pedestal, composed of four circular blocks of marble, which are indeed most interesting having been part of the Temple of Minerva Sunias: they were brought home by Sir Augustus Clifford; and he had not robbed the shrine for they had already been rolled down to the sea-beach, where sand and waves would soon have concealed them. 6th Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick* (London: n. pub., 1844), p. 180.

400
Appendix A

Site: WESTONBIRT
County: Gloucestershire
Grid reference: ST 86 89
Listing: Grade I

Date Established: 1843-?
Earliest Known Italian Association: 1844
Owner(s): Robert Stayner Holford
Designer(s): Lewis Vuillamy

Italian Garden
A largely enclosed, rectangular garden set away from the house with pavilions, ornate carved gateways and an idiosyncratic stone seat. Divided into quadrants looked down on from a slightly elevated walk. Stone tazzas and stone edged beds.

Robert Stayner Holford's diary catalogues work on the pavilions beginning in 1843 and names it the Italian Garden in 1844. *Journal Horticulture*, 1904, p. 206 described both the house and garden as Italian. *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1902, p. 134 referred to the Italian or geometrical garden.

Other Italian Evidence
Holford's diary lists measurements of buildings he must have visited including Palazzo Giorgio, Via Baburno, Rome; Durazzo Palace, Genoa; Alberzo [Albergo] dei Poveri, Genoa; Palazzo Corsini, Florence; Devonshire House, Wilton, Reform Club.

Survival
Survives largely intact although pavilions are suffering some decay and the Dolphin Pool has lost its glass bowl.

Additional Notes
It has been suggested that the garden is based upon Sir Francis Bacon's essay *On Gardens* and Franco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1499. Holford is known to have annotated a copy of Bacon's Essays. Both books were in his library at Dorchester House, if not at Westonbirt.

The house was heavily influenced by Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire where there was a 'pretty summer-house panell'd and ceil'd with looking-glass' seen by the eighteenth-century antiquarian, William Stukeley, during a visit to Wollaton. William Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum*, 1724 quoted in John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750* (London: J. M. Dent, 1986), p. 107. Holford may have known of this through the copy of Stukeley's *Iterarium curiosum* in his library and taken this as the basis for the design of the Westonbirt Pavilion roofs.

Holford had a deep interest in the Renaissance. Principle ceilings at Westonbirt are copied from Medici villas and it housed his collection of Della Robbia ware and Italian manuscripts making the house and Italian Garden part of the same composition.

Holford and Vuillamy had previously collaborated to create an Italian Garden around Holford's London home, Dorchester House.
Appendix A

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</table>

Italian Garden
Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust Newsletter, 21, summer 2003, p. 4 and Country Life, 20 March 1975, p. 705 both refer to an Italian Garden. David Whitehead has stated the Italian Garden was created to SW of house in a yew enclosure, with fancy arabesques of yew set into a matrix of lawn, planted with annals. Herefordshire Survey, p. 405. The Orangery would thus have looked down over the Italian Garden.

Other Italian Evidence

Survival
Understood the Orangery survives as a shell, but the parterre has been grassed over.

Additional Notes
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>WILTON HOUSE</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Date Established</td>
<td>1805-late 1820s</td>
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<td>Earliest Known Italian Association</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner(s)</td>
<td>Lady Catherine Pembroke, second wife of 11th Earl of Pembroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer(s)</td>
<td>Lady Catherine &amp; Sir Richard Westmacott</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Italian Garden

_Venus Anadyomene_ was selected as the central statue for the garden. This is an early copy of a sixteenth-century original by Giambologna that first formed the Fountain di Fiorenza at the Villa Castello, Florence, but was moved to the Piano della Figurina at the Villa Petraia, near Florence in 1788. Westmacott selected this statue and may well have seen the original in a Florence garden during his time in Italy.

The garden was sunk below the loggia and the library. Stone edged beds formed a parterre that was decorated with a large number of vases including Pompeian inspired tazzas.

Papers in Wilts RO show Lady Pembroke was seeking ideas from Attree's Villa (vases), Bromley Hill House, Kent (vases), Drummond Castle (the parterre). All were Italian Gardens in their own way. Lady Catherine considered using some 'pretty troughs in terra cotta & sarcophagus shaped things in Italy for plants with some ornament of flower heads and draping which could easily be made ... by Austin' and the marble group in the base of the fountain may be the '4 little Boys in white marble in my Cupboard. Got at Rome in 1847.'

Other Italian Evidence

Survival

Loggia has been enclosed, but the garden survives largely intact.

Additional Notes

APPENDIX B
The Longs at Bromley Hill House, Kent

Charles Long was a college friend of William Pitt the Younger, who rose to become Paymaster General under Pitt's political patronage. Charles' political career was a financial necessity for he joked that, 'Few persons have quitted an office with more reluctance than I retain mine'.\(^{1145}\) His real passion was Art. He was a Trustee of the British Museum, a founder member of the National Gallery and, in 1802 chaired the Committee of Taste to oversee the erection of monuments to the heroes of the Napoleonic Wars.\(^{1146}\) He had a reputation as 'a schemer and faceless functionary who it was said,...used to slide in and out, and slide here and there – nobody knew where he went or when he came!'\(^{1147}\) although Thomas Johnes of Hafod thought him an untypical Treasury politician and described him as 'worthy'.\(^{1148}\) Charles' wife, Amelia, was a well-connected blue-stocking. Her father, Abraham Hume, was a passionate collector and founder member of the Geological Society. Her mother, also, Amelia was a Cust and it was through her that she was related to Anne Cust who became mistress of Shrubland Park, Suffolk on her marriage. Amelia's sister, Sophia, lived at Belton House, Lincolnshire after her marriage. Sophia's and Amelia's uncles were successive Earls of Bridgewater, residing at Ashridge Park, Hertfordshire. We can glean a little of Amelia's character from her husband's couplet,

\[\text{Never to thwart a woman's will}\]

\(^{1145}\) Howard Colvin, Charles Long, Baron Farnborough, Dictionary of National Biography [11 March 2006].

\(^{1146}\) Thus Farnborough knew Knight who also served on the committee although it is clear Farnborough, in common with many others, found Knight to be a haughty and arrogant man. In 1809 Farrington noted Farnborough's reaction to Knight; 'a well informed man but sd. His manner was not agreeable,-dictatorial,-when observations are made upon the subject on which he has spoken, He hears witht. condescending to answer any objection, but repeats his own opinion' from an entry dated 15 June 1809 in Joseph Farrington, The Farrington Diary, ed. James Greig, VIII vols, London, 1923-28, vol V, p 195 quoted in Frank J. Messmann, Richard Payne Knight The Twilight of Virtuosity (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 133.


\(^{1148}\) Thomas Johnes to George Cumberland, 19 January 1801, Ibid., p. 153.
Charles’ knowledge of architecture was widely recognised and he was dubbed ‘the Vetrivius of his age’ during a Parliamentary debate. He produced a pamphlet entitled *Improvements in London* which appeared in 1826 and Gillian Darley tells us that one of the essays, *Observations on Parks*, was written by Amelia. In 1834 Charles was the recipient of an open letter that made the case for the establishment of the ‘chartered institute of architects’. Furthermore, a photograph album belonging to the Cawston family, who purchased Bromley Hill House, Kent in 1881, records him as the architect of one of the lodges constructed here in 1825.

Charles first attempted to buy Bromley Hill House around 1796 although the sale was delayed until 1801 because of a dispute over title. It is thought he settled upon Bromley because of its proximity to Pitt’s estate at Holwood, just four miles away. The house he purchased may have been the three-storey brick property painted by John Oldfield and said to have ‘nothing to distinguish it from the ordinary class of suburban villas’. Charles and Amelia immediately set about stamping their mark on the place. In July 1802 Charles wrote to John Freeman Mitford, 1st Lord Redesdale, that they were staying the season at D... Castle but, ‘When we return we... Castle but, ‘When we return we

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1149 Anonymous, undated and unpublished lecture notes of the Orpington History Society believed to have been prepared in the mid 1990s.
1152 JA Bell, *A Letter to Lord Farnborough, G C B &c., &c., on the expediency of having a chartered society for the advancement and protection of Architecture*, (Birmingham, 1834), n. p.
1153 Photograph Album Bromley Hill, 1848-1898, Bromley Library, 1134/1.
1154 The estate began to reduce in size when building plots were sold off from the 1880s.
1155 A watercolour by John Oldfield of ‘Bromley Hill’ is catalogued as circa 1820 in the Wakefield Collection, Guidhall Library, London. The date must be incorrect and therefore this may be the property purchased by the Farnboroughs prior to its modification.
expect to be quite finished at Bromley Hill'. This was excessively optimistic and the house and gardens continued to evolve until around 1833 when Long described the improvement programme as 'a Hobby Horse which my dear Wife and myself have ridden unremittingly and most pleasantly ever since we possessed it.'

Charles knew Humphry Repton. He acted as Pitt's representative when Repton advised on changes to the approach at Holwood. He may have had further contact with him when Repton advised on the Brighton Pavilion improvements that were eventually undertaken by John Nash. Repton certainly knew Bromley Hill and may have been as fulsome in his praise of its gardens as a means of currying favour with the Prince Regent at a time when he hoped to gain a Royal commission.

Charles' next foray into the world of gardening outside Bromley Hill came in 1824 when he drew up a design brief for the grounds of Windsor Castle structuring his advice to Lord Liverpool under the headings Approach, External Appearance, Interior Arrangement and General Observations. The format is reminiscent of Repton's Red Books. At Windsor Castle, Long advocated 'Lodges in the Character of the Castle', a desire to 'find as much to restore as to invent' its fabric and a 'dread' of modern gothic Architecture... in which the repetition of small Towers appears to me to destroy the grandeur of the Edifice without adding at all to its beauty....and does not belong to any period of Castle Architecture that I am acquainted with.

Amelia and Charles appear to have shared a keen interested in plants. Charles had a dahlia named after him and Amelia sent plants to Jane Johnes at Hafod on at least

1158 Charles Long to George Cumberland, British Library, MSS 36513 f. 273.
1160 Ibid, p. 382.
Their close friends included Lady Henrietta Liston of Millburn Towers, Edinburgh. She had accompanied her husband on diplomatic tours of duty to Philadelphia and Constantinople (1812-15 and 1817-21) where she indulged her own passion for plants, returning with many specimens of bulbs and seeds.

At Bromley Hill the terrace walls were decorated with local ‘fossil aggregate….full of rounded pebbles, Ostrea, Mya, Pectens, and many other petrifactions interesting to the naturalist’ and some of this decoration still clings on today (see Fig. 3.35). This may have been a reflection of Amelia’s father's interest in geology and fossils. In the wider landscape the Longs’ picturesque walks were dotted with seats and at least three rustic summerhouses; one of which was centred over one of the many springs which bubbled up in the valley and feed the river, weir and two lakes that completed their circuit walks.

The Longs’ died childless within a year of each other in 1837 and 1838. The remnants of their visionary picturesque Italian garden are a sad if remarkable survival.

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1161 Charles Long, Letters to George Cumberland, 1811-30s, British Library, London, MSS 36502-16, 36512, f. 326, 10 October 183?
1162 Amelia Long to George Cumberland, undated letter, British Library, MSS 36516 f. 112 Amelia explains she only has one of the plants he has asked her to send to Mrs Johnes, namely the Crinium Anabile.
1163 Cumberland, Bromley-Hill, 1816, p. 22.
1164 Bromley Hall Photograph Album 1848-1898, Bromley Library, 1134/1 and watercolour attributed to Amelia Long, Private Collection
Anon., 'Lord Farnborough's Obituary', Gentleman's Magazine 1838 (2nd series), pp. 425-26
Darley, Gillian, John Soane an Accidental Romantic (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999)
Long, Charles, Letters to George Cumberland, 1811-30s, British Library, London, MSS 36502-16
APPENDIX C
Sir Charles Barry's Other Known Garden Commissions

Buildings in a Nobleman's Park
This drawing was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1815. It was not implemented and the whereabouts of the drawing are unknown.

Horsley Place, East Horsley, Surrey (now Horsley Towers)
Barry designed a tower, hall and library in the Tudor Gothic style for William Currie, who extended the property further in the 1840s or 1850s. Blissett describes a drawing by Barry which included a terrace and flower garden.

Stanford Estate, Hove
Blissett illustrates Barry's design for a 'Grecian' Villa of 1825. It shows a garden setting with niches or possibly arches extending out on either side of house. Above these, on a level with the house, a series of urns are displayed on squat columns. There is a background of mixed conifers and deciduous trees.

Holland House and Little Holland House, London
Holland House was a well regarded example of Jacobean architecture that was featured by Charles James Richardson in his study of the subject. Arthur Barry dated his father's work here to 1834, but thought it was never implemented. Blissett has suggested Barry's work formed part of Decimus Burton's commission here the year before. Certainly Barry was involved in some work for Lady Holland recorded her gratitude to him in December 1836:

We came here, where in former times we should have been frozen, but thanks to the skill of the great architect, Mr Barry, the house is really as warm as the most chilly desire...[now]

quite warm, not from *hot air* but a beautiful method of warming too long to detail, but it is done without vapor or smell of any kind.\textsuperscript{1167}

The gardens at Holland House were impressive and formal. In 1853 Charles M’Intosh featured an engraving of the ‘Box Garden’.\textsuperscript{1168} The following year John Weale described this, a mineral parterre and ‘an area laid down in grass with a broad walk around it, and a fountain (the basin of which is cast iron) in the centre. From this terrace the southern park is seen to a very plain piece of grass with some lines of elm trees down either side of it.’\textsuperscript{1169} A newly discovered watercolour by Barry shows a scene that could well be this, but set against the backdrop of Little Holland House. This was the home of Lord Holland’s son, Colonel Charles Richard Fox and his wife, Lady Mary Fitzclarence, daughter of William IV. Little Holland House was officially known as Spectator House or 1, Addison Road, but its unofficial name, Little Holland House, was widely used. It was one of seven villas developed in the grounds of Holland House around 1827, and John Lewis Wolfe confirms dismissively that Barry did work here. He informed Arthur Barry it was

\begin{quote}
not worth mentioning – it was a common dwelling house – the Sir [Barry] did nothing more than alter a door – or the seat of a W.C. Fox who was the most crotchety fidgety man in existence worried him awfully; did nothing in the end but quarrel with him.\textsuperscript{1170}
\end{quote}

Furthermore, there is a mysterious pencil sketch by Barry of the nymphaeum in the House of the Small Fountain, Pompeii annotated with Lady Holland’s name and dated 24 September 1833; when Barry was in England.\textsuperscript{1171} Its significance is currently unclear. The gardens of Holland and Little Holland House would appear to justify

\textsuperscript{1167} Earl of Ilchester, *Elizabeth, Lady Holland to her Son 1821-1845*, (London: John Murray, 1946), pp. 163-64.
\textsuperscript{1171} See section 5, p. 169, fnnt. 674.
further research, especially as there are several suggestions that the two properties may have been confused in the past.

**Alterations for Thomas Wyse, Ireland**
Blissett has identified Thomas Wyse as the client for a scheme by Barry dating from 1827. They had previously collaborated on an intended publication about Jerusalem that would draw upon some of Barry’s drawings from his tour of the Middle East. In 1827 Wyse had just returned from Italy. Barry’s scheme for Italianate alterations to the house also included stables, and what Blissett has described as a Conservatory. He also suggested an architectural garden and one of his typical square garden pavilion.\(^{1172}\) The scheme was never implemented.

**Walton House, Surrey (also known as Mount Felix)**
Arthur Barry dated his father’s scheme for the 5th Earl of Tankerville and his French wife, Corisande de Gramont, to 1836 whilst Loudon, had the construction spanning the years 1835 to 1839. Barry gave Walton House, its Italianate shell and tower, and created a small parterre enclosed by a balustrade immediately adjacent to the house (see Figs. 7.69 and 7.70.) The wider garden included ‘flourishing orange trees’\(^ {1173}\) and in 1849 William Keene confirmed the existence of Barry’s parterre.\(^ {1174}\) The first evidence for details of its design comes from the 1912 sale particulars when the area was known as the Dutch Garden.\(^ {1175}\) This shows amoeboid-shaped beds that do not

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\(^{1173}\) John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Plants; comprising the description, specific character, culture, history, application in the arts, and every other desirable particular respecting all the plants indigenous, cultivated in, or introduced to Britain* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841), p. 349.

\(^{1174}\) William Keane, *The Beauties of Surrey being a particular description of about one hundred and twenty seats of the nobility and gentry in the county of Surrey comprising all that is interesting in the departments of horticulture, floriculture, arbiculture and Park and pleasure ground scenery from visits made in the spring of 1849* (London: n.pub., 1849), p. 15.


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resemble any other parterre associated with Barry and suggests it may have been reworked. Everything except the stables was demolished in 1973.

**Buchannan House, Stirlingshire**
In 1837 Barry produced a proposal to re-case the existing building, a shooting box belonging to the Duke of Montrose, in the Italianate style. The scheme was never implemented and the house was destroyed by fire in 1850. Barry’s drawings include one of his characteristic square garden pavilions. The garden was to be laid out between the house and a steep rocky escarpment. Barry’s perspective view illustrated an ‘American Garden’ planted mainly with conifers. The whole was surrounded with a balustrade topped with urns planted with agaves. The lower wall was decorated with pedimented niches. Overall the design has some similarities to Alexander Roos’ proposal for a balustraded promenade at the Deepdene, Surrey and Barry’s proposals for Thomas Wyse’s house.

**Highclere Castle, Hampshire**
In 1837 Barry was called in by the 3rd Earl of Carnarvon to decorate what was by then regarded as a plain classical house. An Italianate scheme similar to Trentham Hall, but devoid of towers was rejected and instead ‘the rich and original’ Highclere Castle was created using Barry’s “‘Anglo-Italian,” and Elizabethan or Jacobean style’ Barry’s sketches for both styles went no further than indicating a balustrade topped with vases extending out along the garden front. There is no evidence for a detailed garden design by Barry in either of Highclere’s guises as a Palazzo or a Castle although he did develop a new series of approaches to the house and carry out

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177 See Fig. 7.14.
minor modifications to an existing Temple.\textsuperscript{1179} The scheme was interrupted by the
death of the 3rd Earl and the outstanding work, largely to the interiors, was completed
by Thomas Allom.

\textbf{Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfries and Galloway}
This was a grand scheme to remodel the house and terrace gardens which came to
nothing.\textsuperscript{1180} Barry’s 1840 perspective gave free reign to his love of eclecticism,
decoration and complex changes of levels. In so doing it took up the main strands of
his early picturesque schemes, but envisaged them being deployed on a scale that
matched Trentham.

\textbf{Dunrobin Castle, Highlands}
This was another scheme for the Sutherlands. Barry acted as a consultant with the
work being administered by an architect from Aberdeen. Arthur Barry places his
father’s design work for the terrace gardens to 1844.\textsuperscript{1181} Blissett has explained that
work began the following year although inaccuracies in the original site survey led to
many of Barry’s ideas being altered in their execution.\textsuperscript{1182} Barry visited the Castle
towards the end of the work in 1848.\textsuperscript{1183}

\textbf{Erskine House, Renfrewshire}
Around 1848 Barry developed a garden scheme for Lord and Lady Blantyre. She was
the daughter of the 2nd Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. Barry visited the garden
when it was laid out in 1848.

\textsuperscript{1179} Letter from Barry to 3rd Earl of Carnarvon, 2 June 1842 regarding work to the Temple, Box 4A,
Bundle 5, item 19. Letter from Barry to 3rd Earl of Carnarvon, 7 December 1843 regarding sending a
man round to accurately map out the gardens and grounds, Box 4A, Bundle 5, item 41. Muniments
Room, Highclere House, Hampshire.
\textsuperscript{1180} See Fig. 6. 16.
\textsuperscript{1181} Barry, \textit{Barry, 1867}, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{1182} Blissett, 'Barry', (unpublished thesis), pp. 64-5.
\textsuperscript{1183} Barry, \textit{Barry, 1867}, p. 141.
Canford Manor, Dorset
Arthur Barry described how Sir John Guest of Canford Manor consulted his father in 1848 to modify his Gothic style house, add a conservatory, build lodges, a railway bridge over the main approach and lay out the gardens 'with his usual care and interest, and with the objects which in such work he invariably sought.' The evidence points to the 'conservatory' having a solid roof. Wolfe records that Guest and Barry quarrelled over the removal of mature trees which Wolfe believed should have been retained. Barry extended the house considerably and added the rather uninspiring formal gardens that surrounded the mansion on three fronts.

Like Trentham, Canford Manor is very flat. Barry laid out his typical shallow terrace immediately around the house. Parterre beds centred around two circular pools stretched out towards the balustrade that separated the garden from the pleasure grounds. No evidence has emerged to show the detailed design of the parterres although the intended plan was to include some denser planting of shrubs similar to that which framed the *scholae* at Harewood House. Barry also included a semi-circular bastion in his plans, similar to those built at Harewood House, but this time to circle a tree.

Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire
Barry was consulted by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe Hall in 1849 and the work was implemented between 1850 and 1852, making it a contemporary of his later work at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire and the early years of Shrubland Park, Suffolk. Barry modified the Elizabethan house in its original style and the gardens

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1184 Ibid., p. 137.
1185 See section 6, pp. 231-33.
1186 Charles Barry, Canford House, Block Plan Showing Arrangement of Garden &c, 7 April 1848, Dorset Record Office, Dorchester, DROD1/00/1.
provided him with his first opportunity to closely consider this style of gardens for at Highclere Castle plans had not developed beyond a terrace and balustrade. Up until now Barry’s parterres had been complicated parterres de broderie as at Trentham Hall and Harewood House and simple linear patterns as at Attree’s Villa, Brighton. At Gawthorpe Hall he created a semi-circular parterre on the northern front that is reminiscent of Lewis Kennedy’s Tudor rose parterre at Gwydir Castle. The parterre in the south garden, which has been grassed over, was centred on an octagonal pool possibly also inspired by the octagonal pool in the sixteenth-century gardens at Gwydir Castle. Robin Whalley and Anne Jennings have suggested that this parterre may have been influenced by the Jacobean plasterwork inside the Hall which echoes the similarity noted in this research between his design for the children’s parterre and the panelling inside the children’s cottage on the island at Trentham Hall. Paraphrasing Arthur Barry, Blissett observed that at Gawthorpe Hall, Barry applied ‘his oft-used Italianate garden principles to create formal gardens based on geometric patterns of the Elizabethan period.’ It might be that he was more specific than this, incorporating emblems gathered from sites of appropriate historical pedigree that he knew well.

Bowhill House, Selkirkshire
Plans for a garden from 1841 that were not implemented.

Unidentified Commissions
There are various undated perspectives and plans by Barry including a parterre set out
around vases and circular pools enclosed by a Jacobean-style balustrade and several
designs (possibly copies) from published texts for *parterres de broderie*.\(^\text{1190}\)

\(^{1190}\) Charles Barry, Unidentified Elevation, RIBA Drawings Collection, SC34/6.
APPENDIX D
Sir Charles Barry’s Domestic Commissions without Gardens


Buile Hill, near Manchester
1825-27 Grecian style villa built for Sir Thomas Potter.

14 Grafton Street, Brighton
c 1824 work was carried out

Dr Price’s house, 3 Old Steyne, Brighton
c 1824-25 alterations

?46/?47 Grand Parade, Brighton
c 1825-29 work was executed

Clarence Mansions, Brighton
c 1825-29 library added and the recently erected house was almost entirely rebuilt because of the shoddy workmanship.

House for Sir George Phillips near Manchester
c 1830

Sir Edward Cust’s house, Spring Gardens
Barry’s plan for alteration, which is before 1831, is in the National Archive, Kew MPE 1/1285

Mr Sperring’s house, ?London
Alterations c 1832

Pennant House, Queen’s Park, Brighton
c 1832-37 work was executed

Stafford House, London (now Lancaster House)
1835-41 alterations to the lantern and re-decoration of Wyatt’s staircase

Lilleshall Hall, Shropshire
1835 designed a selection of lodges of which at least two were built as the Heath Hill and Sherifihales Lodges. Other alterations. Drawings for the lodges are in the Trentham Hall Collection, Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, uncatalogued

Brooke House, Ash, Kent
After 1835 alterations for John J. Godfrey that were implemented. John Lewis Wolfe Letters, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, London WOJ /1/2/1
Corsham House, Wiltshire
1836 Alterations not implemented

4 Grosvenor Place, London
c 1837 alterations

Petworth House, Wset Sussex
1839 alterations were not implemented

Market House, Kenmare, Co. Kerry
c 1840

76 Marine Parade, Brighton
Work was carried out

Bridgewater House, London
1841 and again in 1845 alterations for the 1st Earl of Ellesmere. Not implemented

Duncombe Park, North Yorkshire
1843-51 Alterations and addition of wings for 2nd Lord Feversham

Eynsham Hall, Oxfordshire
1843 house re-modelled for 5th Earl of Macclesfield. Demolished 1904

1 Cleveland Square, London
c 1845 flank wall for Lord Sydney. Demolished 1895

St John’s Lodge, Regent’s Park, London
c 1846 Consultant architect for alterations by Ambrose Poynter for Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmith

Hatchford House, Surrey
c 1846 alterations

Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire
1849 alterations which were not implemented

Edgbaston Hall, Warwickshire
1852 Alterations for 4th Lord Calthorpe

Northumberland House
1852 alterations which were not implemented

Mr Lyon’s house, Goring, Sussex
1852

2 South Street, London
Colvin explains that this property was re-fronted for David Lyon in 1852 and demolished c 1928. Blissett does not include it
Colvin lists this property was re-fronted for Robert Naysmyth in 1853. Blissett does not include it.
APPENDIX E

Kiddington Hall, Oxfordshire: Why it is not a Garden by Sir Charles Barry

Arthur Barry records that his father, Sir Charles Barry, worked at Kiddington Hall in 1840. Nikolaus Pevsner places his work here to around 1850 guided by the simplicity of the styling of the stable block (Fig. E.1) and Colvin used both dates to suggest an extended period for Barry's involvement. Lost drawings suggest that Barry was here between 1840 and 1842. It is usually assumed that Barry laid out the terraced gardens to the south and west of the house with their wonderful views over the River Glyme towards Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's landscape beyond. No archival evidence has been traced to link Barry with these terrace gardens although there is a drawing by him of the kitchen garden. What is clear from the archives is that the gardens were under almost constant review under two consecutive owners who took advice from four different garden designers and four different architects between around 1840 and 1866.

Mortimer Ricardo, the son of the famous economist, bought Kiddington Hall in 1839 and engaged Barry to work on the house and John Claudius Loudon to work on the garden. Then in 1855 the property was bought by Henry Lomax Gaskell who we are informed, was possessed of a violent temper and expensive tastes. Like

1194 The former owner has confirmed their existence and dates to the author.
1195 RIBA Drawings and Archive Collection, London.
1196 'Mr Ricardo, has, it is said, purchased Lord Vaux's estate at Kiddington...' Anon., Cheltenham Examiner, 18 September 1839, n.p.
Ricardo, he also pursued a programme of improvements to the house and a procession of famous names visited to offer advice on the garden. In 1858 ‘Mr Teulon’; which may have been one of the two architect brothers, Samuel Saunders or William Mitford Teulon, received ten guineas for unspecified work or advice\textsuperscript{1198} and William Roe, a London architect, designed the new Conservatory.\textsuperscript{1199} In 1860 Gaskell paid Edward W. Cooke, a friend of Barry and the co-creator of the gardens at Biddulph Grange, Staffordshire for advice on a ‘Chinese conservatory, waterfall, Norman tower and glass houses.’\textsuperscript{1200} The following year ‘Mr Kemp Landscape Gardener’; presumably Edward Kemp, the pupil of Joseph Paxton, who designed many prominent gardens and was a popular garden writer, received the considerable sum of £344 6s 7d ‘for professional visits’.\textsuperscript{1201} Then in 1864, 1865 and 1866 Gaskell paid ‘Mr Roos Architect’ a total of £130 for ‘plans and work done.’\textsuperscript{1202} Improvements were still proceeding in 1879 when Gaskell engaged George Somers Clarke, a former pupil from Barry’s office, to work on the church which stands next to the house. It seems more than coincidence that Barry’s friend, Cooke, his ex-pupil, Clarke, and his possible associate, Roos, all made appearances at a site with such strong Barry connections.\textsuperscript{1203} Precisely what each of these architects and garden designers was doing is unclear, but their presence was testament to Gaskell’s continuing passion for a programme of improvements that had begun under Ricardo.

Loudon’s visit in September 1843, two years after Barry began work here, throws some light on the formal terrace gardens that were already in existence next to the

\textsuperscript{1198} Henry Lomax Gaskell, Kiddington Hall Account Book, 1857-66, Private Collection, n.p.
\textsuperscript{1199} William Roe, Conservatory and Balustraded Steps, Kiddington Hall, n.d., Private Collection, n.
\textsuperscript{1200} Gaskell, Kiddington Accounts, n.p.
\textsuperscript{1201} Ibid., n.p.
\textsuperscript{1202} Ibid., n.p.
\textsuperscript{1203} See section 6, pp. 226-29.
house, and have usually been assumed to be by Barry. Loudon was gravely ill during this visit and was wheeled around the garden in a chair.\footnote{1204} In fact he was close to death and on his return to London a draughtsman was engaged to complete the plans. These are dated 27 October 1843 and Loudon died a few weeks later in December. Ricardo implemented many of his proposals posthumously, including the oval Rosarium divided into three circular planting areas which was shown in a simplified form on the 1881 Ordnance Survey map (Fig. E.2) and recorded in family photographs (Fig. E.3). The surviving groundworks were recently swept away under a new house and swimming pool. One of Loudon’s plans for the Rosary recorded the eastern extremity of the exiting terrace garden as a semi-circular parterre (Fig. E.4). Its simplified outline survives today. It marks the start of the south and west terrace gardens that terminated next to Loudon’s proposed Cypress Garden at the north-west corner of the house.\footnote{1205} The Loudon papers in the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection include an undated plan in ink of the parterre beds laid out on these two terraces.\footnote{1206} It is an amateurish drawing which may indicate it was prepared by Loudon during his September visit when he was gravely ill, or as seems more likely, that it was prepared by the gardener. In 1853 M’Intosh published a plan (Fig. E.5) of this area under the anonymous title ‘Architectural Flower-Garden, Oxfordshire’.\footnote{1207} Both show the same octagonal beds surrounded by a mix of square and oblong patterned beds and both terraces terminated in semi-circular beds.

\footnote{1206} Loudon, Kiddington, RIBA, PA94/1-12, no. 3.
An elevated Conservatory now known as the Loggia (Fig. E.6) forms an extension to the western façade of the house. It looks out across a lawn that in turn acts as a balustraded viewing platform (Fig. E.7) looking back along the western terrace (Fig. E.8). The lawn occupies the site intended for Loudon’s Cypress Garden which was to be linked to the lower terrace by a single flight of steps. The balustrade, two flights of steps and the Loggia were designed by Roe and in July 1859 the builder, Henry Franklin, received £2223 6s 3d for their construction. The glazed Loggia may in fact be two separate spaces; one accessed from the garden and the other from within the house. It has six arches rather than the three used by Barry at Trentham Hall, Shrubland Park and Attree’s Villa. The Kiddington Hall Loggia also originally had a glazed roof (Fig. E.9) which Barry has not used elsewhere. Finally the balustrading that divides the lawn from the west terrace and that which tops the Loggia has a square profile that is not found anywhere else (Fig. E.10) suggesting it was created at a different period.

It is therefore concluded that the Kiddington Hall Loggia is not by Barry. It was designed by William Roe and began life as a Conservatory; a feature that Barry is not known to have constructed. Furthermore nothing in the garden that is contemporary with his work provides the architectural frame to the house that his gardens normally engender. There are no semi-circular seats and there is no distinction between the terrace on which the house stands and the garden terrace. There is no pool or fountain (despite the nearby river), no square pavilion and no balustrade to separate the terrace from the broader landscape. There is nothing

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1208 It has not been possible to see inside the Hall and another site visit would be required to confirm this.
1209 He considered including them in schemes for Thomas Wyse’s house and at Canford Manor, but there are no indications he constructed them. See Appendix C, pp. 399, 402.
stylistically to suggest this garden was by Barry and nothing to suggest the house or
the garden are in the Italian style except for what Pevsner described as the crisp
simple Italianate style of the stables. The stylistic analysis of Barry’s Italian gardens
contained in this research has provided the informed basis on which to challenge the
attribution of this garden to him.
### APPENDIX F

#### Gardens in Italy that Influenced Italian Gardens in England Between 1787 and 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian Garden</th>
<th>English Garden</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rome</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Albani</td>
<td>Osborne House</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shrubland Park</td>
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<td></td>
<td>RHS Garden, South Kensington</td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Aldobrandini</td>
<td>Deepdene</td>
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<td>Villa Borghese</td>
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<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<td>Wanstead</td>
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<td>Henham Hall</td>
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<td>Villa Doria Pamfili</td>
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<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<td>Wanstead</td>
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<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Ludovisi (which occupied part of the site of the former Villa Sallust)</td>
<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Negroni</td>
<td>Chiswick House</td>
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<td>Villa Poniatowski</td>
<td>Deepdene</td>
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<td><strong>Florence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Boboli Gardens</td>
<td>Bromley Hill House</td>
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<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cascine</td>
<td>Deepdene</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orti Oricellari</td>
<td>Deepdene</td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Castello</td>
<td>Wilton House</td>
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<td>Villa Petraia</td>
<td>Wilton House</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Frascati</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Aldobrandini</td>
<td>Osborne House</td>
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<td>Villa Mondragone</td>
<td>Trentham Hall</td>
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<td>Cliveden</td>
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<td><strong>Lake Maggiore</strong></td>
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<td>Isola Bella</td>
<td>Shrubland Park</td>
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<td>Trentham Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Naples</strong></td>
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<td>King's Villa, Castel-a-Mare</td>
<td>Westfield</td>
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<td>Palace of Caserta</td>
<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<td>Osborne House</td>
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<td><strong>Palermo</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa la Bergeria</td>
<td>Sydenham Park</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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<td>Pompeii</td>
<td>House of Diomedes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vatican</td>
<td>Quirinal Palace</td>
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<td>Villa Pia (in grounds of Quirinal Palace)</td>
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