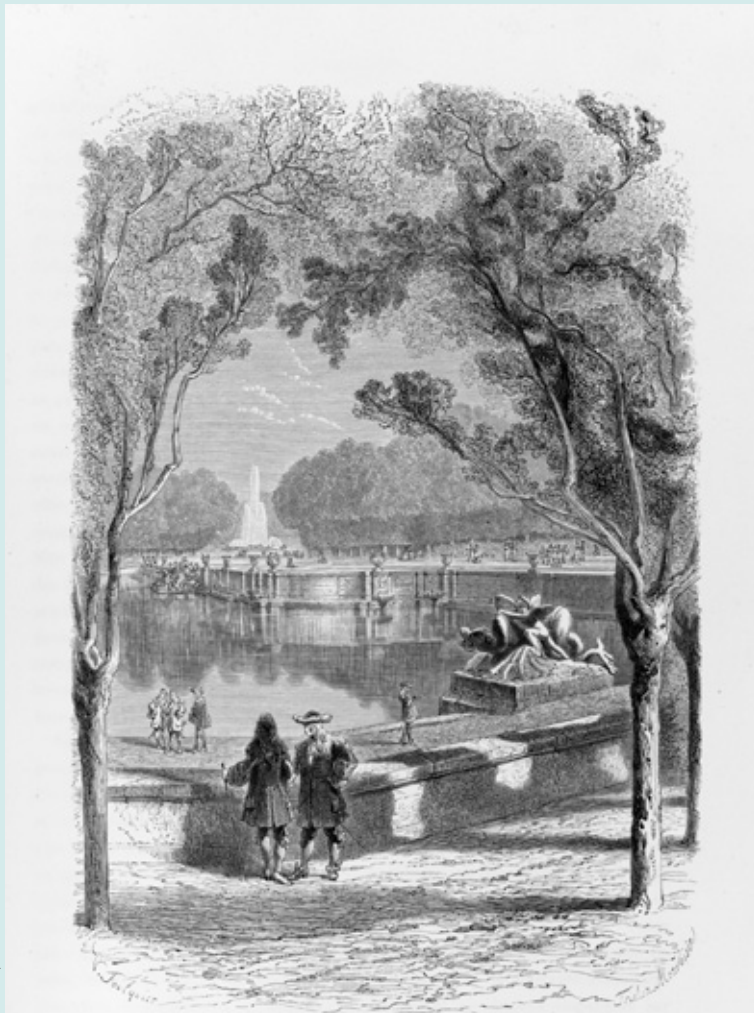


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VOLUME NINE DECEMBER 2012
The history of garden history



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Cover illustration:

Engraved illustration of the gardens at Versailles, from *Les Jardins: histoire et description* by Arthur Mangin (c.1825–1887), published in 1867.

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Volume Nine

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The history of garden history

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The development and present state of garden history

BRENT ELLIOTT

c/o The Lindley Library, the Royal Horticultural Society, London

FOR BARBARA COLLECOTT

Garden history as an academic discipline is a development of the past fifty years, and as a profession, of the past thirty. Before the 1980s, aspiring garden historians in Britain did their professional training and their theses in departments of geography, architecture, art history, or even literature. Some courses on architectural or design history, for example those that Paul Edwards taught at the Inchbald School of Design, included sessions on garden history, but from the departmental point of view it was always seen as a sideline.

The Garden History Society was founded in 1965, and began producing its journal, *Garden History*, in 1972. During the course of the 1970s, the profile of and the monographic literature on garden history gradually increased; the Museum of Garden History was founded in 1977. Then came the *annus mirabilis*, 1979: the year of F.R. Cowell's *Garden as a Fine Art*, Graham Stuart Thomas's *Gardens of the National Trust*, Roy Strong's *Renaissance Garden in England*, and Christopher Thacker's *History of Gardens*, and above all the year of the Victoria and Albert Museum's exhibition *The Garden*. This was the third in a series of exhibitions devoted to conservation issues – its predecessors being *The Destruction of the Country House*, and *Change and Decay* (endangered churches) – curated by the team of Roy Strong, Marcus Binney, and John Harris. While presenting a chronological narrative of British garden history (with the eighteenth-century landscape garden largely omitted, in deliberate and well-publicised reaction against the period enthusiasm for Capability Brown), it emphasised the loss of gardens in the past and the threats to them at the present, and helped to push the idea of historic gardens into public apprehension and the public domain. (As for the books just mentioned: Cowell's was the swan song of an older notion of garden history, Thomas's the first history of gardens based on practical experience of restoration, Strong's not only the pioneering study of its

period but the effective introduction of art history into British gardening literature, and Thacker's still the best, and best-written, introduction to the subject.)

In 1981 the major rival to *Garden History* was started, by John Dixon Hunt: the *Journal of Garden History*, a title which caused much agitation among the Council of the Garden History Society because of the perceived likelihood of confusion between the two, and which in 1998 was changed to *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*. One could say that the major difference between the two periodicals is the association of *Garden History* with garden conservation, and the *Journal/Studies* with art history. Also in 1981 appeared John Harvey's *Mediaeval Gardens*, the first in an intended series of four scholarly studies of periods of garden history from the firm of B.T. Batsford; it was followed by David Jacques' *Georgian Gardens* (1983) and my own *Victorian Gardens* (1986) – the intended fourth, by John Harris on the formal garden of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, never appeared. In the mid-1980s the first degree or diploma courses on garden history were begun: at the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies of the University of York, organised by Peter Goodchild, and at the Architectural Association, organised by Ted Fawcett and Gordon Ballard (see Ted's account of the course, included in this volume). In those same years the National Heritage Act was passed, establishing a Register of Historic Parks and Gardens, designed to give some degree of legal protection to historic gardens in the planning process, with Christopher Thacker as the first Registrar.

A quarter of a century later, how does the situation look? The York University course closed in the 1990s, the Architectural Association's a decade later. I heard disconsolate conservationists say at the time that students today were only interested in new build within historic settings, no longer in preserving what had been inherited. On the other hand, the literature on garden history proliferates, and there are now garden history societies around the world, some producing high-quality journals; in addition to the journals of the Australian and New England Garden History Societies, and the lamented *Canadian Horticultural History*, there is *Hommes et plantes*, one of the journals of the Société Nationale d'Horticulture de France. And we await a three-volume *Cultural History of Gardens*, edited by John Dixon Hunt, in course of publication from Berg Publishers.

What has definitely been lacking so far is historiography. Elsewhere in the world of historical studies there is by now a rich literature on the development of history as a discipline, and of the concepts which historians have used at different periods. So far, by comparison, the world of garden history has been unreflective. I know of no study of past garden historians until Stearn (1977), and only recently has the first biographical study of a garden historian (Alicia Amherst) been undertaken (Minter, 2010). But Michael Conan has recently edited a volume of *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (1999; see also Hunt *et al.*, 2007), so the historiography of garden history can be said to have begun.

In this paper I shall concentrate primarily on the course of garden history in Britain, but will from time to time look at the situation in other countries. This cannot be a thorough survey of the literature; there are many excellent works on garden history which will not be mentioned, though I will feel free to draw the attention of hopeful scholars to some of the gaps I would like to see filled. But I hope to give an outline of how garden history, its techniques, its standards of interpretation, have developed, and what the main tendencies are at the present day.

The beginnings of garden history

Writings on garden history first emerged as a medium for stylistic propaganda, a presentation of the faults and ignorance of the past by comparison with the enlightenment of the present day. Stephen Switzer began his *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718) with nearly a hundred pages on “the history of gard’ning”, rather weak on information – “Who it was that particularly Design’d and Laid out the Gardens, &c. belonging to [Louis XIV], is not known to me” (Switzer, 1718: I 41) – and primarily intended to promote the merits of his current style – gardens like Wrest Park “denote[d] that Greatness of Mind that reigns in the English Nobility and Gentry” (*ibid.*, 85).

The first publication that claimed to be devoted specifically to garden history was a curious little work entitled *The Rise and Progress of the Present Taste in Planting Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, etc.*, published anonymously in 1767, and effectively unknown until John Harris published a facsimile edition in 1970 (Anon., 1970; Henrey, 1975, II: 503–505). As the title indicates, it was a paean of praise for the English landscape

garden, an elaboration of themes from Pope and Addison. Horace Walpole discovered this poem around 1770. He was at the time preparing his essay “On Modern Gardening”, which was printed in 1771 but not published until 1780, when it was incorporated in the final volume of his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (Henrey, 1975, II: 509–510; Batey, 1991). Walpole’s work had a considerable success, and was translated into French in 1785; it praised William Kent as the initiator of the true style in gardening (poor Switzer – his style was dismissed as a stage between the heyday of the false and the discovery of the true). This trend continued in the next work to publicise the history of gardens on its title page, Richard Steele’s *Essay upon Gardening* (1793 and 1800 editions), but which referred only to the Bible and Milton as indicators of the true direction, while blasting “the deformities of Garden Tonsure, and the almost exploded taste of Garden Sculpture” (Steele, 1800: 128).

The first publications on garden history, in short, were produced as propaganda for the new English landscape style – or at least what its proponents declared was a new style. For a history of gardens that was comparatively neutral and objective stylistically, the world had to wait until the emergence of the idea that different styles were incommensurable, and should not be judged by the aesthetic criteria of other styles. This idea was the work of Herder more than any other single figure; from the 1780s he was proclaiming that the arts of each period or culture were incommensurable with those of other periods or cultures, and should not be judged by the criteria of foreign styles. This early version of cultural relativism gradually became more common in the early nineteenth century, and made its impact on garden history in the work of John Claudius Loudon.

Loudon (1783–1843) had begun his career as a disciple of Uvedale Price and an opponent of Repton, who in the first decade of the nineteenth century was the most visible figure reviving older styles. He was to change his attitudes considerably, to the point where he was regarded as Repton’s successor, and he did indeed edit a one-volume edition of Repton’s works to make them accessible to practical gardeners. As early as 1812, he offered parterres copied from Dezallier d’Argenville as models to be followed in England (Loudon, 1812: vii–ix, 26–30). The experience of touring the continent after the Napoleonic wars, and seeing the formal parterres of surviving seventeenth-century gardens, opened his mind further to the

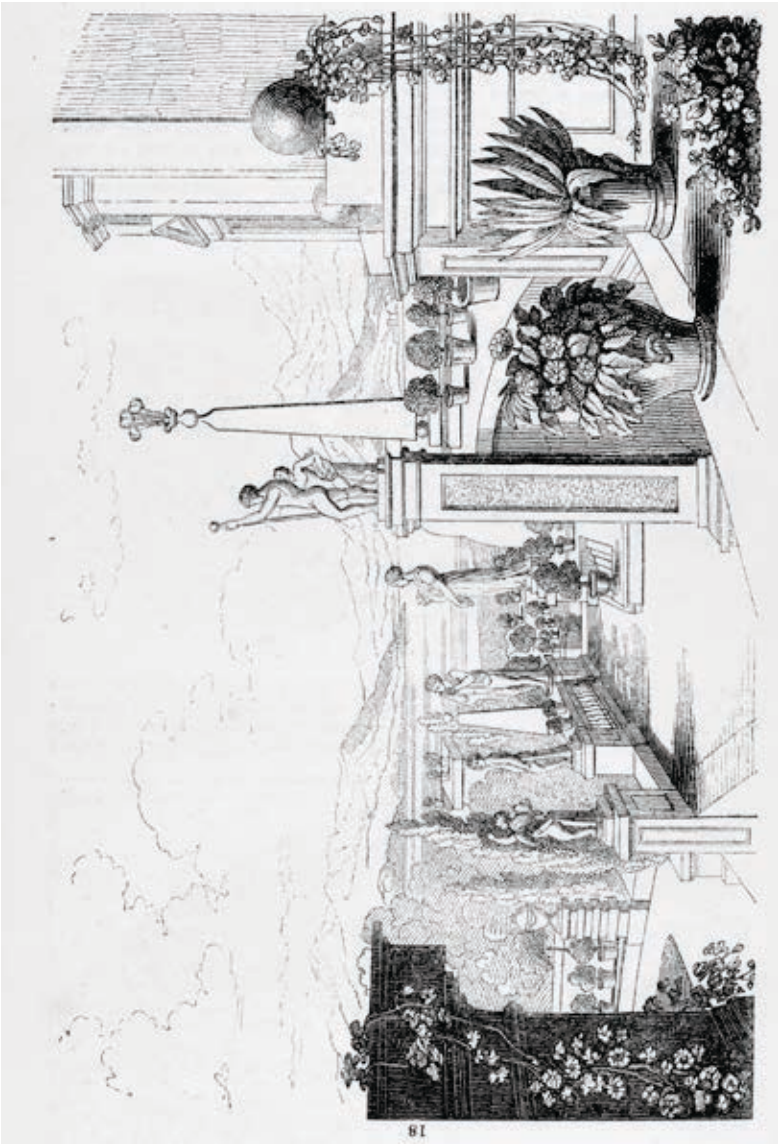


Fig. 1. Woodcut of Isola Bella, from Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1834).

merits of the gardens of abandoned fashions. (Within the next quarter-century, many of these gardens would be converted into landscape parks by their royal owners. Among these was Het Loo, the most famous Baroque parterre garden of the Netherlands, whose parterres were restored in the last quarter of the twentieth century; try now to find good documentation about the century and a half it spent as a landscape park.) In 1822 Loudon published a massive *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, nearly 1500 pages in its first edition; it shrank slightly, but also gained more and better illustrations, in later editions – the fifth had been reached by 1827, there was a “new edition”, heavily revised, in 1834, other amended versions without edition numbers, and a posthumous edition in 1850 with later reprints. Loudon began his *Encyclopaedia* with a history of gardening on a worldwide scale: a 120-page survey, much of it in very small print, from “the fabulous gardens of antiquity”, notable for its lightly amused handling of the garden of Eden as a poetic fiction, to the year 1820, in three chapters, followed by individual chapters on the Netherlands, France, Germany and Scandinavia, Russia and Poland, Spain and Portugal, Britain, Turkey, and non-European countries. (How gratifying to modern tastes that Britain does not get pride of place in the sequence.) The last eight pages were devoted to speculations about the effect of different forms of government and society, climate and manners, on gardens. At the end of the volume there was a further “topographical survey” of existing British gardens, and a chronological survey of horticultural literature. Several of the individual descriptions of gardens were accompanied by plans or perspective views in line. Loudon’s evidence was primarily literary: there was as yet no garden archaeology to speak of, and Loudon could have visited only a small number of the foreign gardens he described. While he did not hesitate to pass judgment on gardens, he tried to ensure that he did not dismiss a style wholesale: “In order to judge of the fitness or utility of a style, we must know the purposes to which it is applied” (Loudon, 1822: 116). Nothing remotely comparable in scope, detail, or stylistic neutrality would appear until the twentieth century.

The 1834 edition saw the most significant revisions to the garden history section. The discussion of Eden was expanded threefold, and now included an interesting comparison of the ways in which Eden had been imagined over the centuries, comparing an illustration from Andreini’s *L’Adamo* (Eden with topiary and formal flower-beds) with one by John Martin (Eden as picturesque landscape garden), the latter asserted to

represent Milton's idea of Paradise (Loudon, 1834: 4–5). And in many cases he softened the judgments of the first edition, and became even more welcoming to defunct styles. Take Isola Bella: in the first edition (Loudon, 1822: 20), he said bluntly that “The extent and beauty of [the gardens] of the Isola Bella, have been greatly exaggerated by Eustache, and other travellers”; but in 1834 he confined himself to: “The beauties of the Isola Bella have been differently estimated by different travellers” (Loudon, 1834: 34), accompanying the text with a woodcut. (Perhaps he was merely learning a lesson about relying on travellers' reports.)

In the wake of Loudon, while there was much discussion of the merits of past styles in the horticultural press, the only significant works on garden history for a couple of generations were George W. Johnson's mistitled *History of English Gardening* (Johnson, 1829), in fact a bibliography of gardening literature, and an antiquarian piece by Thomas Hudson Turner on the evidences for gardening in mediaeval manuscripts (Turner, 1848).

By far the most popular work on the history of gardens in the nineteenth century was Arthur Mangin's *Les Jardins: histoire et description* (1867), retitled *Histoire des jardins anciens et modernes* in later editions (1874, 1888). (An English-language work, *The Famous Parks and Gardens of the World Described and Illustrated*, was cribbed from it in 1880.) Mangin, who was primarily a writer on natural history, was proud of the novelty of his achievement: “The art of gardens has been discussed and celebrated perhaps more than any other... But no one has yet been bothered to trace its history. Even in the most considerable works, for example Loudon's great *Encyclopaedia*, the history of gardens figures in only the most introductory manner, and in a form neither attractive nor instructive. I have therefore undertaken a novel project, in studying a subject which might be regarded as exhausted, from a hitherto neglected point of view”. That point of view entailed the relations of garden history to “the history of arts, of sciences, of civil, political, and religious institutions, of customs, of civilisation in a word” (Mangin, 1867: v–vi). All of this information was, of course, derived from the handiest secondary sources, but no one in England had yet attempted such a survey, and Mangin deserves credit for his aim if not his achievement.

The illustrations could be described as “school of Gustave Doré” – and not surprisingly, for the book was published by Doré's sometime publisher

Alfred Mame, and most of the engravers had worked on Doré's plates in the past. (There were at least seven artists involved, most notably Valentin Foulquier and Auguste Anastasi.) The consequences could hardly be described as paragons of archaeological correctness. Some plans and bird's-eye views drawn from period sources showed the gardens of Hampton Court, Marly, and Nassau with reasonable accuracy, but most of the illustrations represented views within the gardens, and few indeed of these showed a formal parterre in the foreground. France was in the throes of a cult of picturesque gardening, and the imaginary views were selected so as to place trees or other tall clumps of vegetation in the foreground. Problems really arose with ancient and classical gardens, where there were fewer constraints on the illustrators' imagination, and the gardens of ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Rome were portrayed as burgeoning with flowers, climbing plants, and floral archways, presumably on the grounds that these were the things that gardens ought to have, at whatever period.

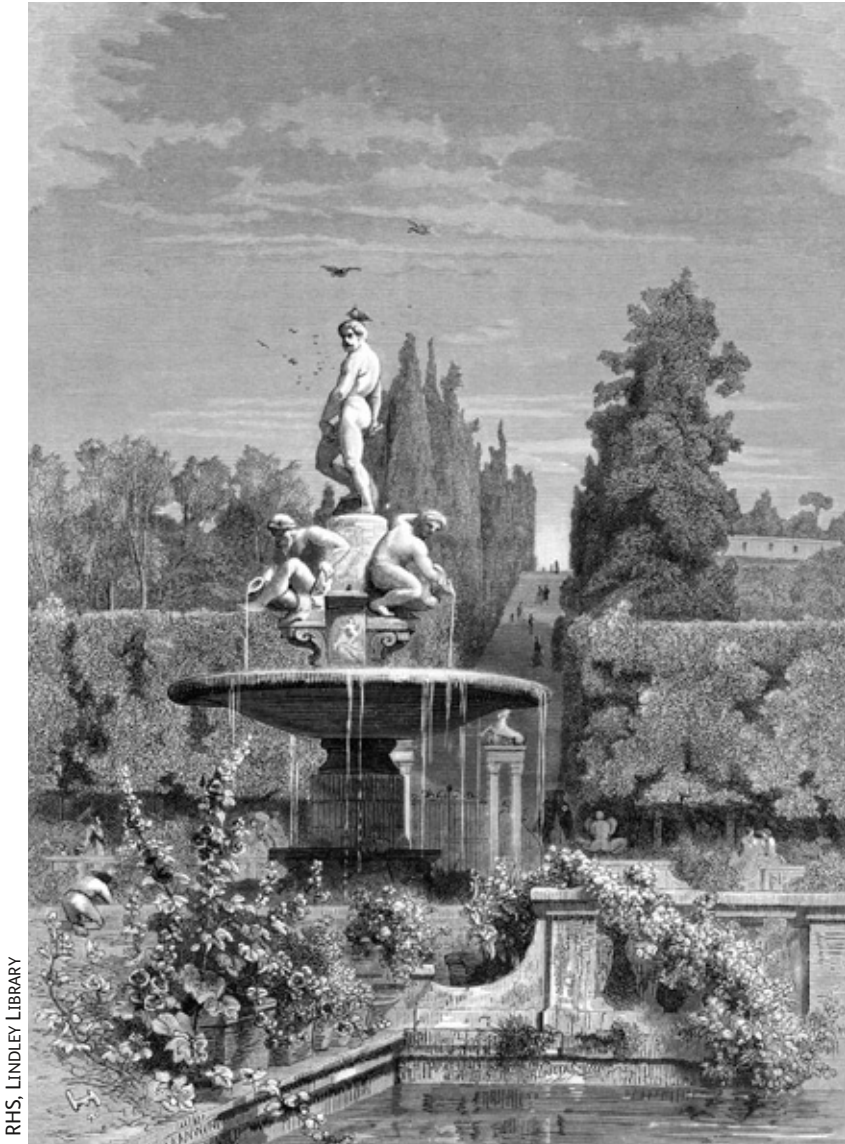
Garden history as stylistic propaganda

I have said that Loudon's history of gardening had no rival until well into the twentieth century; but what impact did it have? How well did his contemporaries read it? Certainly Loudon's lifetime saw the rise of historical revivalism to a position of dominance in both architecture and garden design; but how accurate were the results?

Let us take the first work after Loudon's own to offer multiple historical styles to the gardening world with the aid of illustrations. Charles M'Intosh, the head gardener to the King of the Belgians at Claremont, published a little work called *The Flower Garden* in 1838, and in it gave accounts of four styles, with an engraving of each. We do not know who the artist was, or how much supervision M'Intosh exercised; in one passage he referred to the artist having "attempted to delineate a garden arranged in this style", a phrase so studiously neutral that it might be considered a face-saving device, to cover a worrying gap between M'Intosh's statements and the artist's version.

The first style is Italian (fig. 3):

The Italian Style of Gardening, though it be not now prevalent, may still be seen about some antique places, and is characterized by one or



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Fig. 2. Engraved illustration of the Boboli Gardens, Florence, from *Les Jardins: histoire et description* by Arthur Mangin, published in 1867.

more terraces, sometimes supported by parapet walls, on the coping of which vases of different forms are occasionally placed, either as ornaments, or for the purpose of containing plants. Where the ground slopes much, and commands a supply of water from above, *jets-d'eau* and fountains are introduced with good effect. If judiciously managed, the style is excellently adapted for the display of climbing plants, which are to be trained on the terrace walls, while others are planted at the base. [He goes on to quote Eustache on Isola Bella, copied from Loudon, and William Forsyth Jr.]

None of this description explains why an Indian-style conservatory, based on one of Humphry Repton's designs for the Brighton Pavilion gardens, should appear. But matters get worse when we come to the French style (fig. 4):

The French partially adopt the Italian style close to their chateaux and houses; and, beyond the terraces, lay out parterres, sometimes in very complicated figures. [Descriptions are quoted from Evelyn and Patrick Neill.]

Not much of a parterre, and M'Intosh has nowhere mentioned the pierced arcades in the middle distance. Now try Dutch, and watch the illustration directly contradict the text (fig. 5):

The leading character of the Dutch style is rectangular formality, and what may sometimes be termed clumsy artifice, such as yew trees cut out in the form of statues, though they require a label to inform the observer what they mean to represent. The boxes, hollies, and other trees, which we occasionally see trimmed in the form of cheeses, either single or piled one above another with diminishing diameters, are in this style.

Where is the rectangular formality in the engraving? The text gives every appearance of being merely cribbed from Pope and Addison; one wonders how much topiary M'Intosh had ever actually seen, though he suggests it could be found in cottage or eccentric gardens: "The taste for these fancies", he writes, "still lingers among suburban amateur gardeners, notwithstanding the ridicule with which it has been so unsparingly treated

by the press.” Most importantly, even though M’Intosh has seemed to pour scorn on the style, he concludes: “We have only to say, that we have no wish to oppose the Dutch style, should any of our readers choose to adopt it.”

The great message is hammered home in the section on the English garden; M’Intosh was one of a generation that was becoming irritated by the way in which Europe used the phrase “English garden” for a style which young English gardeners were rejecting (fig. 6).

It is generally understood, that the style termed English in gardening consists in an artful imitation of nature, and is consequently much dependent on aspect and accessories. In the true English style, accordingly, we have neither the Italian terrace, the French parterre, nor the Dutch clipped evergreens... The pretended adherence to nature... is wholly a style of conventional artifice, not so stiff and formal, indeed, as the Italian terraces, the French parterres, or the Dutch clipped evergreens, but still strictly artificial (M’Intosh, 1838: 9–23).

None of this is very heartening for garden historians: the gap between major research and its popular absorption is immense. The situation had improved somewhat a century later, but if we look at the works of T. Geoffrey W. Henslow, who produced book after book of advice on garden design in the 1920s, we will find that notions of period style are vague and impressionistic, and once again the text and the illustrations, by E. Du Plessis Herne, are not entirely in unison:

Tudor Gardens rested almost entirely on lawn and stone ornamentation for effect. Well-placed trees played a prominent part, but flower-beds were few and shrubs were rare. This was a practical age, when the Orchard and Herb Garden took premier positions...

In Stuart Gardens we find both the Formal and the Informal styles well represented. Garden architecture and ornamentation also are of the very highest order, the craftsmen of this period being exceptionally talented...

[Queen Anne:] These Formal Gardens almost seem to forget that they are Formal, and yet the set beds and yew hedges leave no doubt as

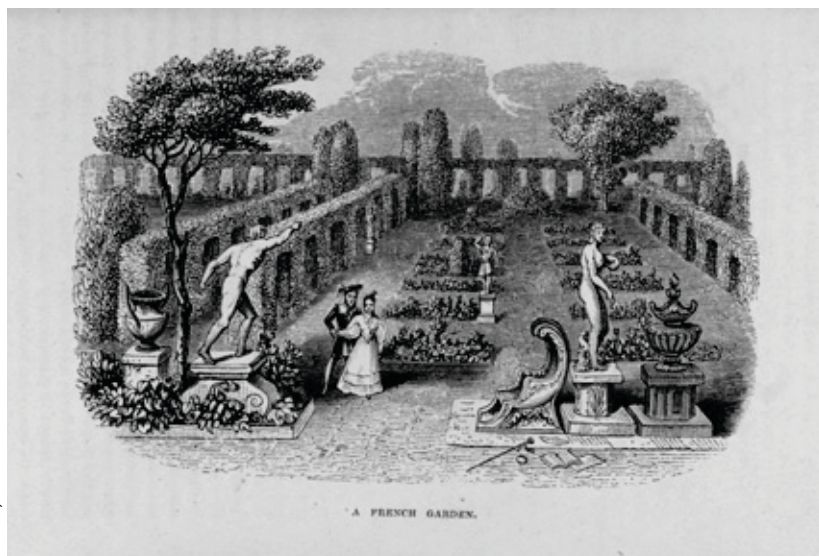


Fig. 3, 4. Italian (top) and French gardens, from M'Intosh's *Flower Garden* (1838).

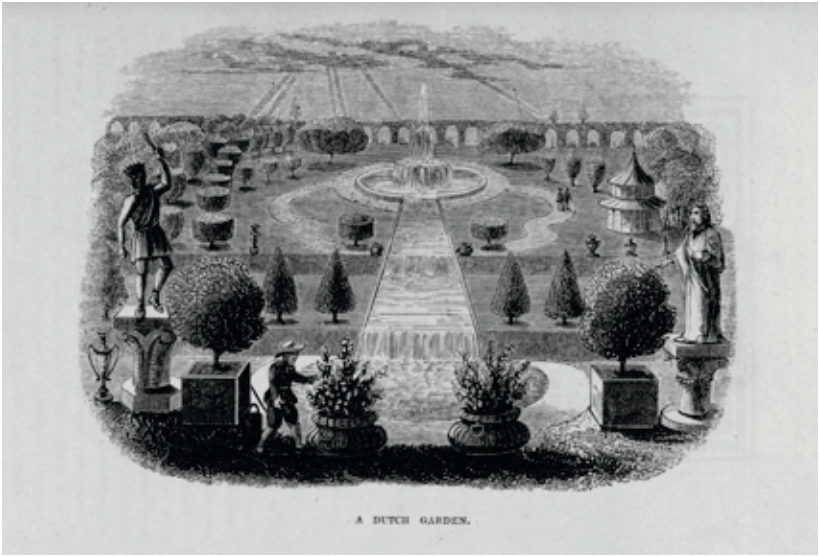


Fig. 5, 6. Dutch (top) and English gardens, from M'Intosh's *Flower Garden* (1838).

to this fact.... We think not of a lavender or a rosemary bush, but a veritable hedge of these herbs, so prized by the ladies of this reign. The flower borders were more studied, and species and varieties were on the increase...

Georgian Gardens may be rather heavy in appearance, but they certainly have their attractions. The garden ornaments are for the most part on the massive side, and are a trifle heavy to look at... The plantings, although fine, often strike one as being a little funereal, due in all probability to the shrubs and trees popular at that period...

The Victorian period was a very poor one for style, howbeit an age full of garden enterprise. It was a plants-man's period, and not one that distinguished the garden architect... (Henslow, 1926: 98–117)

But then, Henslow was not so much giving lessons in garden history to the public, as advertising the firms of designers who could produce gardens allegedly of the right period: Robert Wallace of Colchester for Tudor, Baggesen of Pembury for Stuart, Wilson and Agar of Reading for Queen Anne, W.H. Gaze of Surbiton for Georgian.

Compare the period gardens exhibited at the Chelsea Flower Show with the works of garden historians: are the designers and the audiences of the present day that much better in their grasp of period styles?

Since the vogue for historical revivalism began in the early nineteenth century, it has become almost a commonplace to note that the revivalist buildings and gardens of a given decade come, in the fullness of time, to resemble the general styles of that decade more than they resemble the period they were attempting to revive. In large part this is an inevitable consequence of paucity of information, coupled with the difficulty of dismantling the prejudices with which one comes to a subject. Trentham and Shrubland Park may have looked genuinely Italian to the generation of the 1840s, the Shakespeare Garden at Stratford-on-Avon genuinely Elizabethan to that of the 1920s; today they look very 1840s and 1920s respectively. One wonders whether this disjunction between goal and final result will narrow as the efforts of garden restorers are devoted to works closer to us in time. For the gardeners of the late nineteenth century,



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Fig. 7. Stuart garden from *Garden Architecture* (1926), by T.G.W. Henslow.

trying to create an “old-fashioned garden” in Late Stuart style, it seemed accurate enough to limit one’s planting choice to the genera available in their target period, so one could use Kelways’ new delphiniums without qualms. Today the genus alone would not be enough: the purist would forbid the use of modern cultivars, and we are now seeing a demand for precise clones in the name of authenticity (Woudstra, 2007). When our descendants a century from now undertake to reconstruct a *Ground Force* garden, with full access to the original films, will they produce a true facsimile, or will there be some way in which the ironies of history force themselves between the intention and the achievement?

In the nineteenth century, the selection of period to be chosen as a model followed the same pattern in garden design as in domestic architecture, furniture, and even ladies’ fashion: beginning with the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (the Elizabethan revival of the 1830s and 1840s), moving into the age of Louis XIV (Nesfield and his parterres, drawn from the literature of that period), to the later seventeenth century (the old-fashioned garden of the 1870s to Edwardian period), and eventually ending up in the early eighteenth, during the years before the First World War (Mervyn Macartney, Blomfield, and the “Wrennaissance”). Each of these phases of fashion dictated in part the desirable field of study for garden historians at the time (Elliott, 1986: 54–78, 138–147, 220–242). It has recently been suggested that this tradition of research primarily by designers was supplanted in the mid-twentieth century by a new demand for research by art historians:

The nineteenth-century tradition of studying garden history continued to exist until the beginning of the Second World War. Probably its demise was connected to the rejection of a self-discredited ‘romantic chauvinism’ in all its forms and with the expansion of art history as an institutional branch of studies: garden history ceased to be interesting for landscape designers and became the domain of professional art historians (Vronskaya, 2006: 273)

I think this is simply wrong, and I do not see much evidence for the invasion of professional art historians before the 1970s. I think this is a case of tunnel vision: what actually happened after the Second World War was a change in period preference for historical revivalism, with



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Fig. 8. Georgian garden from *Garden Architecture* (1926), by T.G.W. Henslow.

the English landscape garden becoming the favoured style, and garden historians focusing their attention on the eighteenth century instead of its predecessors. More on this below.

But the story does not end merely with changes of style. The third quarter of the twentieth century saw a radical innovation emerging from the imperatives of garden restoration, to which we have all become indebted. Graham Stuart Thomas, a nurseryman by profession, was appointed Gardens Adviser to the National Trust in 1955, with a view to providing appropriate garden management for the increasing diversity of gardens in the Trust's ownership. Historical considerations were no part of his job description at first, but over the course of years Thomas came to advocate giving each of the Trust's houses a garden of the appropriate period to complement its architecture, and by the mid-1960s a programme of eclectic revivalism was well established. By the time Thomas retired in the 1970s, the Trust's gardens ranged from a late seventeenth-century parterre at Ham House created in 1976, to the great eighteenth-century landscape at Stourhead (where Thomas removed nineteenth-century clumps of rhododendrons), to Barrington Court and the work of Gertrude Jekyll. From this point of view Thomas's *magnum opus* is *Gardens of the National Trust*, published in 1979. After an introduction about the Trust, it contains four chapters on the history of English gardens, a series of descriptions of the individual gardens owned by the Trust, and finally three chapters on the practical mechanics of garden maintenance and restoration: avenues and trees, boundaries and barriers, and stone in gardens, all based solidly on, and illustrated by photographs of, practical repairs being carried out. Thomas's account of garden history may not have been innovative – it holds no surprises for anyone familiar with the general pattern of garden histories before it – but it was imbued with years of practical experience, and approached its subjects by asking what problems the designers had had to cope with, and how the resulting gardens would have been maintained by their staff. Experimental excavation only began to be used by the Trust as Thomas was ending his career (the amphitheatre at Claremont, described in the book but excavated after his retirement), so the archaeological element of his book is meagre. As a manual of repair and archaeology, the book has been superseded: thirty years of additional experience resulted in the English Heritage manual (Watkins & Wright, 2007). But Thomas's book is

not merely a period piece, but a lively piece of literature which will one day be rediscovered as a gardening classic, and the first history of gardening to be informed by the experience of actually restoring and conserving gardens.

Garden history as national history

Throughout the nineteenth century, and in varying degrees well into the twentieth, the method for classifying historical garden styles was in national terms. The first set of distinctions to be widely adopted was derived from Humphry Repton:

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, 1806: 4–5).

And he added in a footnote, “the French Style of Gardening ... was only a corruption of the Italian style, and was never generally adopted in England”. We have already seen the use of Italian, French, and Dutch by M’Intosh. These remained the general currency of gardeners if not of historians throughout the century, and indeed were gradually watered down to the point where they no longer bore much relation to their alleged national characteristics. Thanks to the association of Italian gardens with the country houses of Charles Barry, and their role in the development of ornamental bedding, the phrase “Italian garden”, if encountered on the plan of a public park late in the nineteenth century, meant little more than an area of geometric flower beds; while the terrace garden at Lyme Park in Cheshire passed from being an Italian garden to being a Dutch garden around the turn of the century without any physical alteration involved. This division of garden history into styles identified with national schools was adopted on the continent as well; the vocabulary of Italian, French, and English (Dutch to a much lesser extent) can be found in the writings of Jakob von Falke, August Grisebach, and Marie Luise Gothein.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the vocabulary of reigns – Elizabethan, Jacobean, Tudor, Stuart, Queen Anne, Georgian (whether accurately or not) – was becoming dominant among the English

historians. John Lindley could comfortably use “Elizabethan” as a term of contempt, in a lecture he gave in 1848 in an effort to stop architects, who were becoming enthusiastic about Elizabethan architecture, from trying to create Elizabethan-style gardens to accompany their houses. Referring to the “false fashion of the Elizabethan age”, he denounced the gardens described in the writings of William Lawson and Didymus Mountaine as showing “a most Lilliputian grasp of mind and imagination... no wide yet varied expanse of surface; no undulation is spoken of; no changing views created artificially yet natural in effect... no winding paths, or purling streams, or beautiful water-falls; no well-placed groups of trees, and not a hint of a noble avenue” (Lindley, 1848: 2, 11). He argued that a garden should be adapted to the surrounding landscape, not to the style of the house: not that his views had much effect.

By the end of the century, in a nationalistic turn of sorts, the attention of architects and garden designers was being directed away from foreign models, toward the survivals of the English past. Reginald Blomfield provoked considerable controversy with his *Formal Garden in England* (Blomfield, 1892), which praised the gardens of the late seventeenth century, and reviled the English landscape garden. Blomfield’s polemic was not a piece of accurate history; he created the impression that the landscape garden had been the dominant mode of gardening ever since the 1740s, and William Robinson was easily able to mock his apparent ignorance of places like Chatsworth and the RHS Garden in Kensington, which from a logical point of view were every bit as formal as any of the gardens Blomfield admired; and Blomfield was fooled by claims for the seventeenth-century provenance of Packwood, a mid-nineteenth-century topiary garden. Nonetheless, Blomfield established the term “formal garden” as the equivalent of a period label; and, more to the point, he encouraged garden makers to study the actual surviving gardens of the seventeenth century, like Haddon Hall, to get their architectural details right. In 1908 Mervyn Macartney published a volume of early eighteenth-century garden views, specifically as models for garden designers (Macartney, 1908). And Inigo Triggs, concluding a cursory treatment of the English landscape garden in his *Garden Craft in Europe* (1913), said, “Happily during the last quarter of a century a revival of the best traditions of the formal garden has taken place”, with architects receiving commissions instead of landscapers (Triggs, 1913: 311).

In 1895 appeared the first attempt at a systematic coverage of English garden history: Alicia Amherst's *History of Gardening in England*.¹ She announced the purpose of her work with becoming diffidence:

This work does not pretend to be a history of the Gardens of England... It is hoped rather that this work, inadequate though it is in comparison with the vastness of the subject, may in some measure serve as a handbook by which to classify gardens, and fix the dates to which they belong. In many cases it must always be difficult to assign an exact date to a garden, as although frequently a garden adjoining the house has existed from very early times, the changes, though few, have been so gradual that it is almost impossible to determine for certain the time at which they assumed their present condition (Amherst, 1895: ix–x).

The book gave its greatest coverage to the mediaeval period – Amherst had published an edition of a fourteenth-century gardening manuscript the year before, in *Archaeologia* – and effectively came to an end in 1699, the coverage of later events being perfunctory; but it was a pioneering piece of archival research (see below) and contained an impressive bibliography of English gardening literature (Amherst, 1895: 322–379), which was reissued separately in 1897. After the First World War, Amherst's work was rivalled by Eleanor Sinclair Rohde, first in bibliography – her *Old English Herbals* (1922) and *Old English Gardening Books* (1924) were long standard works – then in her *Story of the Garden* (1932), which despite its title was a work very solidly devoted to England.

The recognition of national schools was not confined to England. The parterre garden of the seventeenth century, having been rejected during the heyday of the landscape garden, was being promoted once more by the end of the nineteenth century as France's unique contribution to the development of the garden. (In one of history's little ironies, the revival of the parterre began among the proponents of carpet-bedding, who soon found themselves sidelined by the historical purists; see Elliott, 1981). In 1913, the tercentenary of Le Nôtre's birth was celebrated by a biography,

¹ First edition 1895; second edition 1896; third edition 1910, by which time she had become the Hon. Mrs Evelyn Cecil – fortunately for librarians and bibliographers, she did not publish another edition after she became Lady Rockley.

and by a survey of French intellectuals asking their opinion of the man and his style; and the verdict was resounding – Le Nôtre was France's greatest gardener, and the paragon of French style (Bernard, 1913).

Back in England, on the verge of the First World War, the gardens of the early eighteenth century were the favoured mode for revival. After the War, both the Italian Renaissance and what would soon be called Baroque were acceptable degrees of expansion of scope; J.C. Shepherd and Geoffrey Jellicoe published their *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* in 1925, and the Baroque influence, if not yet called by that name, can be seen in several major gardens of the 1920s (Elliott, 1995: 124). But the onward march of revivalism then hit a stumbling block: the English landscape garden, the object of detestation for most of the later nineteenth century. Blomfield, Amherst, Triggs, Rohde: all had taken the formal gardens of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the stylistic peak of development; what came after, the repudiation of formality and the development of the landscape park, they saw as a decline, to be either excluded or passed over speedily. Triggs provided the most detailed account of the phenomenon to be found before the First World War, in his *Garden Craft in Europe* (Triggs, 1913: 288–311), but made it clear that it had been a mistake. But forces were at work that would bring the informal landscape back into favour. Christopher Hussey published in 1927 a study of the picturesque theories of the late eighteenth century, and as architectural editor of *Country Life*, he was able to bring a more appreciative attitude to the landscape garden into that magazine's coverage of historic estates (Hussey, 1927; Elliott, 1995: 176). B. Sprague Allen's *Tides in English Taste* (1937), a survey of the arts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had several chapters on gardening, and dealt sympathetically if sometimes sarcastically with the landscape; admittedly, the author was American and less hidebound by English fashions. Ralph Dutton's *English Garden* (1937; 2nd ed. 1950) divided the history of gardens into three stages: the search for sustenance (1066–1500), the age of symmetry (1500–1720), and the return to nature (1720–1900); he was the first historian to present that last stage as in some degree a valid development.

After the Second World War, the rediscovery of the later eighteenth century gathered momentum. Frank Clark published the first book on the

history of *The English Landscape Garden* in 1947. Clark was a landscape architect, who later helped to create the setting for the University of York; the increasing vogue for the landscape garden mirrored the newest fashions in laying out ground. Three years later Dorothy Stroud brought out the first edition of her biography of Capability Brown. Throughout the third quarter of the century the literature on the landscape garden lauded the works of Kent, Brown, and the early Repton as the peak period of English garden history. As garden history has developed into an academic pursuit, most of the theoretical discussions have made the landscape garden their focus; even at the end of the century, when the “Walpolean” history of the landscape garden came under attack, it was not nineteenth-century theorists but the continental garden writers of the late eighteenth century who were held up as providing alternatives (Hunt, 1999: 84–86).

The gradual acceptance of the eighteenth-century landscape was not confined to Britain. French scholars, like Georges Gromort, were also beginning to treat the age of Rousseau sympathetically. One factor unique to French culture that might have assisted this process was surrealism: in *Le Paysan de Paris* (1926), Louis Aragon includes an effusion by Marcel Noll on the imaginative merits of the designs in J.C. Krafft’s *Plans des plus beaux jardins pittoresques* (1809).¹ Still, it was not until 1978 that Dora Wiebenson published the first detailed study of *The Picturesque Garden in France*. The great three-volume history of German gardens by Dieter Hennebo and Alfred Hoffmann (*Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst*, 1961–1965) devoted its third volume to the landscape garden, taking the story halfway through the nineteenth century, while Siegmar Gerndt,

¹ From Aragon, “Le sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont”, section 9, in *Le Paysan de Paris* (1926): “Ô Krafft, Allemand hydrocéphale et triste ... tu inventas ces tortueux dessins desquels on voit de moins en moins s’éprendre la jeunesse qui dans ces jours maudits les trouve fatigants. Et pourtant toi seul sus donner aux jardins leur idéalité: tu les rendais ensemble attirants et burlesques. ... Je te salue, pétrisseur de planètes. Et mes hommages à Madame Krafft.” [“O Krafft, sad and hydrocephalic German ... you invented those convoluted designs which appeal less and less to young people, who find them tedious in these cursed times. And yet you alone gave gardens their ideal character: you made them charming and ridiculous at once... I salute you, moulder of worlds. And my respects to Mrs Krafft.”]

in his *Idealisierte Natur* (1981), explored the theoretical issues of the landscape movement as they developed in Germany. Meanwhile, the eighteenth-century Italian landscape garden languished until 1987, when Carlo Knight's *Giardino inglese de Caserta* appeared, to be followed three years later by Alessandro Tagliolini's anthology *Il giardino italiano dell'ottocento*. A theme increasingly running through this body of work is the comparative independence of the continental landscape garden from its (alleged) English model: an effort seconded by the efforts of John Dixon Hunt, first with a search for Italian antecedents (*Garden and Grove*, 1986), and more recently with studies of the picturesque garden abroad.

In 1960 Miles Hadfield published his history of *Gardening in Britain*, and for the first time the years from 1720 onward took up half the text of a work on garden history. Hadfield indeed tried to do some justice to the Victorians. There had been two little books by Geoffrey Taylor – *Some Nineteenth Century Gardeners* (1951) and *The Victorian Flower Garden* (1952) – but these were error-ridden, and the only heroes were the Loudons, Robinson, and Farrer. Hadfield's enthusiasm, equally, lay with plant collectors, nurserymen, and glasshouse pioneers rather than with garden designers; for him, as for Gothein, Rohde, and Taylor, the wrongs of the early Victorian period were put right by William Robinson from the 1870s. When I first became interested in Victorian gardens in the 1970s, I found that the existing histories of gardening either stopped before 1820, or skipped over the period as lightly as possible, as the nadir of bad taste; so I had no option but to go back to the literature of the period itself, and the gardening magazines. Before *Victorian Gardens* (1986), there was only one study of the period (apart from occasional monographs on particular gardens) that I would regard as accurate and worthwhile: *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830*, by Edward Malins and Patrick Bowe (1980).

As for the twentieth century, Hadfield in 1960 thought that it was too soon to attempt the subject, but did suggest a list of what he anticipated would become some, at least, of the key gardens of the period: Westonbirt, Bodnant, Sheffield Park, and Hidcote. His criteria are worth noting:

It is rather difficult to single out for description gardens in the grand manner particularly associated both in time of construction and ideals with the first part of the twentieth century. If domination of all else

except the lie of the ground is to be by trees and shrubs, purposefully arranged to make use of their form, texture, and colour throughout the seasons (autumn and winter are then nearly equally valued as spring and summer) – and this is surely a distinguishing feature of our century – then Westonbirt must take a high place (Hadfield, 1960: 424).

But the years after the V&A exhibition ‘The Garden’ in 1979 marked a return to favour for the formal and architectural garden, to such an extent that by the 1990s students on garden history courses regularly questioned whether the woodland gardens of the early twentieth century counted as works of art – where was the design? A quarter-century after Hadfield, Jane Brown’s *English Garden in our Time* (1986) offered Hidcote, Rodmorton, Sissinghurst, Shute, and Sutton Place as the greatest British gardens of the century. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the time is no doubt right for looking back and reassessing the twentieth, and in addition to Jane Brown’s, there have been such works as Janet Waymark’s *Modern Garden Design* (2003) and Tim Richardson’s *English Gardens in the Twentieth Century* (2005) to start the project off.

The development of historical standards

The nineteenth century was the great age of historical writing, the century in which techniques and intellectual standards were introduced that have largely governed the researching and writing of history ever since.¹ The majority of the world’s great national histories appeared between Niebuhr’s *Römische Geschichte* in the 1820s and the First World War: if I mention, in roughly chronological order, Niebuhr, Ranke, Carlyle, Guizot, Thiers, Prescott, Michelet, Macaulay, Froude, Mommsen, Parkman, Adams, Creighton, and Maitland, I have presented not only a programme of some of the world’s most enjoyable reading, but also the outlines of two distinct stories about the onward march of history as a discipline. The first is the increasing popularisation of history; Macaulay, who hoped that his *History of England* (1848–1861) would replace novels on ladies’ bedside tables, and achieved his wish, was the greatest stimulus to his and later generations in opening people’s minds to the excitements

¹ The classic studies of the rise of modern historiography are Gooch (1913), Meinecke (1936), Breisach (1983), and now the various works of Donald Kelley, especially for our purposes Kelley (2002). See also Peckham (1972).

of history as a subject. And not only in England, but even in Germany, where one might have thought that Ranke had provided quite a sufficient stimulus; Macaulay's history appeared in three different translations while it was still in progress,¹ and in 1856, the prospectus to the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte* credited the enthusiasm for his work with having made possible the level of interest to sustain a journal (Falke, 1856: 7). The second is the progression of steadily increasing sophistication and depth in the handling of historical research. The development of garden history follows, at usually two generations' distance, the same stages in conceptual and technical progress.

The first stage, inaugurated by Niebuhr and taken further by Ranke, was the critical analysis of sources: the historian as inquisitor. Ranke's famous demand, that the historian should reveal what actually happened (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*), meant that the historian should no longer take the word of period chroniclers without enquiring into their motives and assumptions, and should compare their narratives with the harder evidence of codes of law and administrative records as a reality check.

The second stage was the demand to go behind what had been published, and look at manuscript sources: the historian as archivist. The exemplary figure here is James Anthony Froude, who for his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Spanish Armada* (1856–1870) plunged not only into the state papers of England but into the Spanish archives at Simancas, sometimes finding sand still clinging to the old letters and despatches, an indication that he was the first person to examine the documents since they had been deposited.² The first garden historian to make any extensive use of original documents in this sense was Alicia Amherst, whose *History of*

¹ The three translations I have traced are by Friedrich Bülow (1850–1856), Wilhelm Beseler (1852–1856) – neither of which included the final volumes – and finally, the complete translation by L.G. Lemcke (1852–1861), which is the one generally reprinted in later generations. I have yet to see a comparison of the respective merits of the three versions.

² Before the invention of blotting paper, sprinkling sand was the usual method of making ink dry more quickly, so that the document could be rolled or folded without smudging.

Gardening in England (1895) made use of state papers, ministers' accounts, and exchequer receipts for the history of Hampton Court; illustrations from manuscripts in the Harleian and Cotton series in the British Museum; the manuscripts of Norwich Priory (over three pages of extracts, ranging from 1340 to 1484, quoted); and, included as appendices, the Parliamentary surveys of Wimbledon and Theobalds, made under the Commonwealth and transcribed from the manuscripts in the Public Record Office. Froude would have been proud of this example of his legacy.

What sorts of original documents are relevant to garden history? State and family papers were the first categories to be exploited by historians generally, and while family papers are an obvious source, state papers might not seem greatly relevant to the garden historian. But consider the effect of the enclosure movement on the landscape garden; the first studies of the landscape garden gave a general impression that enclosures were an eighteenth-century phenomenon, but when W.E. Tate's *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts* was published in 1978, it made it clear how many Enclosure Acts had been passed in the two preceding centuries. In the third edition of her biography *Capability Brown*, Dorothy Stroud drew on Brown's account book, and provided an appendix based on that manuscript work, which had been deposited in the RHS Lindley Library (Stroud, 1975: 214–247). During the 1970s, the papers of Gertrude Jekyll, which had been sold at a Red Cross sale during the Second World War and acquired by the University of California at Berkeley, began to be examined by British scholars, with a microfilm eventually being deposited with English Heritage.

And since then there has been a progressive development of what counted as relevant documents. When I first began researching Victorian gardens, I found that such recent commentary as existed on the subject had tended to rely on a few books – by Loudon, Robinson, and occasionally Shirley Hibberd – while the immense bulk of literature in the gardening magazines of the period was ignored. Garden historians have tended to be pathetically grateful for any relevant scrap of paper that came their way for pre-nineteenth-century gardens. By contrast, if you want to find out what was happening in the gardening world in, say, the 1880s, you have two volumes of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, two of the *Journal of Horticulture*, two of *The Garden*, single but fat volumes of the *Gardeners' Magazine* and by the end of that decade *Gardening World*, all of which provided biographical notices,

descriptions of gardens, accounts of flower shows, notices of new plants, etc.; while in addition there were the more middle-class, advice-based magazines *Amateur Gardening* and *Gardening Illustrated*. Small wonder that historians, venturing into a period they did not much like anyway, tended to restrict their focus to something smaller and handier, even at the risk of being shown the nineteenth century through one biased viewpoint. Ray Desmond first broke through the barrier with his *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (1975) and *Bibliography of British Gardens* (1984); these works blazed a series of trails through the dense verbiage.

From plans and correspondence, through estate and regional archives, periodical literature, and trade literature, the range of documents the garden historian is now expected to use has vastly increased since Amherst's day. Add to this list the various sources of images. Published garden plans and views, and the occasional estate map, began to be used by Amherst, where her predecessors and indeed contemporaries were content to use conjectural scenic views (Falke, for example, used illustrations copied from Mangin). The works of Gothein and Rohde showed a steady increase in the range of period illustrations used. In 1908 the architect Mervyn Macartney published *English Houses and Gardens in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, an anthology of engravings drawn from the work of Kip, Knyff, and Badeslade. In 1925 Sir Frank Crisp's *Mediaeval Gardens* was published posthumously: two volumes of images drawn from mediaeval manuscripts and Renaissance published literature. For more recent history, the exploitation of photography as a resource came rather late, despite the wealth of photographs of gardens published in the Edwardian period in *Country Life* and the anthologies it issued in book form under the title *Gardens Old and New* (see Elliott, 1995: 7, on the ambiguities of dating some of these photographs). Marcus Binney pioneered the use of aerial photographs for garden history in his *Elysian Gardens*, whose publication coincided with the V&A Garden exhibition of 1979 (Binney and Hills, 1979); twenty years later, Christopher Taylor would publish a history of British gardens based on such aerial photographs (Taylor, 1998). Finally came the addition of picture postcards, primarily a twentieth-century phenomenon, but a major source of documentation for municipal parks (Elliott, 2003). Two collections of such postcards were made available for public access at the end of the twentieth century: Nigel Temple's, deposited with English Heritage, and my own, deposited in the RHS Lindley Library, each numbering about 5,000 cards.

The third stage was to move beyond written documents altogether, and examine the evidence of monumental inscriptions and artefacts: the historian as archaeologist. The exemplary figure this time was Theodor Mommsen, who from the 1840s produced the first collection of ancient Roman inscriptions that did not include later forgeries, the most comprehensive history thitherto of ancient coinage, and in the final volume of his history of Rome, the first detailed account of the life, customs, and administration of the Roman Empire based on archaeological evidence rather than on the testimony of the ancient Roman chroniclers. In his last years he organised the archaeological study of the boundary between the Roman Empire and the German territories outside it, and founded the first journal devoted to the study of papyri. In the world of garden history, while Blomfield had drawn attention in the 1890s to the importance of surviving stonework and structures as models for revivalism, and Inigo Triggs had provided measured drawings of Stuart gardens in his *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland* (1902), it was not until the 1930s that garden history started to dig beneath the soil, when the garden at Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire, began to be excavated in an attempt to determine its dimensions and structure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Sladen, 1984). Christopher Taylor, at the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, was in the third quarter of the century the major figure putting the techniques of field archaeology to work on gardens, producing the first British manual on the subject (Taylor, 1983) and eventually his *Parks and Gardens of Britain: a Landscape History from the Air* (1998). His role has been effectively taken over by John Phibbs, who provided instructions for aspiring garden historians on how to record a landscape in *Garden History* in 1983 (Phibbs, 1983), and has put field archaeology to work in challenging many notions about the radical break with the past that the English landscape garden is supposed to have constituted (Phibbs, 2009, 2010a). Archaeological investigation did not begin to become *de rigueur* until English Heritage began insisting on it in the 1990s as a preliminary to attempts at restoration.

Archaeology and archives do not always sit happily together. Archaeology, in its most basic form, involves visual assessment of the site, and tensions can arise between those who trust their eyes in the open air and those who trust documents. Every garden historian will know the jokes about the scholar who discovers that a site had a terraced garden because he finds

an account for its making in the muniments books, whereas everyone else knew it because they visited the site and saw the terraces. The second half of the twentieth century saw a partial reaction, in the architectural world, in favour of the immediate experience of the site. Vincent Scully became famous for his 1962 book *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods*, in which he described the experience of visiting ancient Greek temples and concluded that the function of the buildings was to bring the surrounding landscape into focus for the observer. This was heady stuff, and very persuasive at the time. Scully has more recently turned his attention to the gardens of Le Nôtre, and criticised F. Hamilton Hazlehurst for the alleged inadequacy of his book *Gardens of Illusion*: “A recent book about Le Nôtre ascribes the whole vast series of programs to a simple love of ‘display,’ apologizes for its grandeur, and says nothing whatever about iconography” (Scully, 1991: 223). How does Scully deal with the “programme”? Here is a key moment in negotiating the site at Versailles:

The oval of Latona opens up and surprises us, releasing us to the burst of velocity that explodes up the middle of the garden. Our gaze moves rapidly down the *tapis vert*, but when it hits the water it literally takes off. It no longer adheres but slides – slides across the water to the sky reflected in it (Scully, 1991: 227–228).

Splendid rhetoric: but how much of this is Le Nôtre, and how much merely Scully?¹ I cannot help feeling that the ground is more solid under

¹ Scully also suggested that Le Nôtre’s gardens functioned as illustrations of Descartes’ philosophy: “The way that pool is used seems to derive directly from Descartes. He writes... that the angle of reflection is the same as the angle of sight. So if the pool of water is large enough and the position of the viewer can be controlled, one can reflect not only the sky but objects that might have been thought to be far out of reflective range” (Scully, 1991: 253). This idea has been pursued more thoroughly by Allen S. Weiss, in his *Mirrors of Infinity*, to the point where he speaks of Le Nôtre “anticipating Merleau-Ponty’s critique of Descartes and incorporating these intuitions in his gardens at Vaux-le-Vicomte” (Weiss, 1995: 46). Sunset reflected in the windows of Versailles means that “the window no longer serves as the Renaissance frame through which the world is to be viewed and represented; it now functions as a baroque mirror, to distort and multiply effects” (ibid.: 68). Did the windows of Palladian villas never reflect the sunset?

Hazlehurst's feet; and Hazlehurst's illustrations actually do a better job than Scully's of conveying the transcendent experiences he delights in. But Scully's influence has spread. Patrick Nuttgens' *Landscape of Ideas* (1972) has chapters on "the landscape of the gods" (with many a nod to Scully) and "the metaphysics of light", responding poetically to the experience of visiting the site. And the recent interest in analysing what it was like to walk around an historic garden at different phases of its development (see for example Szafranska, 2006) seems to me a logical consequence of the absorption of Scully's ideas.

Changing fashions in the study of history

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, it seems as though every generation has brought forward claims for a new strategy by which the writing of history can be improved. These claims have always involved a rebellion against the perceived dominance of political and national history – accompanied in each instance, of course, by backlashes in favour of politics as the historian's proper subject (see e.g. Barzun, 1974, and Himmelfarb, 1987). I say "perceived dominance", for each of the rebellious trends can be seen as the intensification of focus on some aspect that was already present in the work of the political historians.

Much has been made in recent times of mentalities (more usually *mentalités*: see below) as the proper object of historians' study, but from a broad perspective there is nothing new in this: this was the great shift in historical awareness that began with Niebuhr's generation. The famous opening line of L.P. Hartley's *Go-between* – "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there" – could have been affixed as a motto to any of the great nineteenth-century histories. Take this example, from Froude's *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*:

And now it is all gone – like an unsubstantial pageant faded; and between us and the old English there lies a gulf of mystery which the prose of the historian will never adequately bridge. They cannot come to us, and our imagination can but feebly penetrate to them (Froude, 1856: I 62).

The hope of recapturing or reconstituting the experience of past generations was the object of both the historian and the historical novelist, and this hope has driven all the new approaches to history since

the mid-nineteenth-century. Let me now run through the major phases of historical revisionism, and see how they affected the study of gardens.

Cultural history. Cultural history – the attempt to focus, not on the ephemeral consequences of political decision-making by an elite, but on the development of customs, attitudes, and behaviour as revealed in cultural artefacts – emerged in Germany in the 1820s. Outside the German-speaking world, most of the early development of cultural history has been forgotten and neglected; if you look on Wikipedia, you will get the impression that cultural history began with Jakob Burckhardt, whose *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* was published in 1860. But four years before that date, Müller and Falke had founded the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, and when Friedrich Jodl published his account of the cultural history movement, he ignored Burckhardt altogether (Jodl, 1878). T.K. Penniman, the former curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, once quipped that in the middle of the nineteenth century “It is probable that every German who was not writing an *Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte* in ten volumes was writing *Die Völkerkunde* in twenty” (Penniman, 1965: 97). This was clearly a dig at Gustav Klemm, whose *Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit* appeared in ten volumes between 1843 and 1852 – and was also, as far as I have traced, the first work of cultural history to include horticulture, with discussions of Chinese, Aztec, and mediaeval European gardening.

Conventional accounts of the development of history give the impression that the original cultural history movement dissipated at the beginning of the twentieth century, in part because of the controversies over Karl Lamprecht and his attempts to establish a scientific history that would allow people to deduce its future development, and the more widely noticed controversies over Oswald Spengler and his *Decline of the West* after the First World War. However, I see the *Annales* school of French historians (to be discussed in a moment) as a continuation of the line of cultural history, which has resurfaced in full panoply with such diverse modern phenomena as Jürgen Osterhammel’s *Verwandlung der Welt* (2009) and Neil MacGregor’s *History of the World in 100 Objects* (2010).

I have found it difficult to determine how much attention the German cultural historians gave to gardening. There is no complete run of the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte* in this country; the British Library has only the first

few volumes, and while the range of topics includes road construction, place names, legal processes, dance, religious movements, and Paracelsus, there is no treatment of horticulture in what I have had access to. The compilers of the large-scale cultural histories give gardening only a cursory and derivative treatment; Klemm devoted more space to it than most, but his treatment of Aztec horticulture, for example, was entirely derived from Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*. But the influence of cultural history lies behind the first German monographs on the history of gardening. Jacob von Falke's *Der Garten* (1884) was announced as an art-historical study, but its initial three chapters (collectively labelled "Theory" to distinguish them from the chronological history that followed), establishing the formal and the natural as two competing principles throughout history, ranged through enough subjects to suggest an origin in cultural history; the author was, after all, the younger brother of Johann Falke, the co-founder of the *Zeitschrift*. Falke is one of the most interesting garden theorists of the nineteenth century; his work was described later by Gothein as "really meritorious" but, she said, "received little attention outside a small circle; for its appearance coincided with a phase of empty and meaningless art" (Gothein, 1914/1928: I ix). In 1910 August Grisebach's *Der Garten: eine Geschichte seiner künstlerischen Gestaltung* offered the perspective of architectural history, and was better illustrated but less ambitious than Falke's work.

But the cultural history movement's masterpiece on the subject of gardening was Marie Luise Gothein's *Geschichte der Gartenkunst*, published in 1914, and later translated into English as *A History of Garden Art* in 1928 – when, no doubt at the publisher's insistence, a chapter by Walter P. Wright on modern English gardens was added. Gothein was the wife of Eberhard Gothein, who had begun his career with a ringing defence of cultural history (*Die Aufgaben der Kulturgeschichte*, 1889); their correspondence while she was working on her study entertainingly reveals the development of the attitudes of an archetypal conservationist.¹ Her

¹ While visiting Versailles in 1909, she wrote to her husband: "At noon, to be sure, I imitated a Frenchman, laid myself on the grass in the shade of a tree, and slept for an hour", described how the condition of Versailles ("hardly a shadow of what was once there") filled her with hatred for the French Revolution, and raged against her Baedeker for disparaging "the boringly regular": "it praises the Petit Trianon to the skies; I cannot accept that miracle" (Gothein, 2006: 328–329).

history was carried through far enough to cover the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though with little enthusiasm. No previous history of gardening had covered such a wide scope with so much detail and so many period illustrations (“the 660 illustrations are a liberal education in gardening”, said a reviewer in the *RHS Journal*). She described her approach in impeccable cultural-history terms:

The study of old gardens that still exist, which I have tried to pursue in the course of much travel extending over more than ten years, is peculiarly difficult; what you actually see with your eyes has to be “restored,” like a corrupt text, into its original context, and then compared with traditions and ancient examples... It is true of all art, but especially of ours, that its life is closely interwoven with the life of society, and the history of the one forms part of the history of the other. All important currents of thought have affected the fate of the garden ... The garden has an important determining influence on our interpretation of other arts... (Gothein, 1914/1928: I x).

Gothein’s influence was immense; it can be seen within a few years in the work of Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, the only garden historian up to her time who was also a practising horticulturist (for several years she ran a commercial herb farm, which was continued after her death by Kathleen Hunter). Rohde opened her history with the proclamation that the key determinant of garden design was irrigation:

The civilizations of Egypt and Babylon depended entirely on irrigation, a fact which is of dominating importance in the history of gardening. For every illustration of a mediaeval, Tudor, or Stuart garden, every book in the whole range of mediaeval, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century garden literature, whether English, French, Italian, or Dutch, points to the influence of garden-craft based on the necessity for continual irrigation (Rohde, 1932: 2).

She was also an ardent diffusionist, speculating about a common origin for European, Asian, and ancient American gardens (ibid.: 18, 23); and she introduced the idea of a Mary garden, whose planting choice was intended to glorify the Virgin Mary, an idea which is still with us, but has failed to produce documentary evidence for its existence (ibid.: 55–60). But even though her



Abb. 73. Versailles,
Bosquet de l'Etoile (Le Pautre).



Abb. 74. Versailles,
Bosquet de la Colonnade (Le Pautre).

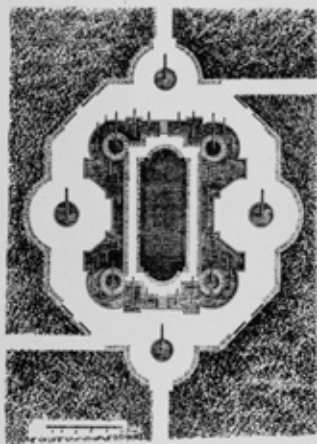


Abb. 75. Versailles,
Salle du conseil: Bosquet de la Salle
des Festins (Le Pautre).

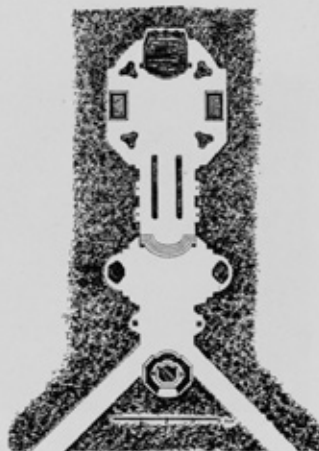


Abb. 76. Versailles,
Bosquet de l'arc de Triomphe
(Le Pautre).

Fig. 10. Four bosquet plans from Grisebach, *Der Garten* (1910).

history is, after its initial chapter, solidly devoted to England, it brought aspects of cultural history to bear on gardens; more than any other garden historian, Rohde paid attention to the development of techniques of cultivation.

Much of the approach introduced by the cultural historians has become simply the norm in subsequent history. Christopher Thacker's *History of Gardens* (1979) is probably the outstanding example in general garden histories of the late twentieth century: a scholar of French literature by profession, Thacker provided much literary and philosophical background to the development of gardens, but also kept an appreciative eye open for whimsy, and was the first garden historian to include a chapter on water jokes and mazes (Thacker, 1979: 113–119). Cultural history can be light-hearted.

Social history. Social history, more than the other revisionist approaches, differs greatly from country to country (or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say from society to society), so I will restrict myself to Britain for this summary. The arrival of social history came in the 1870s with J.R. Green's *Short History of the English People* (1874), in its time the most commercially successful work on English history since Macaulay. Green boasted that "I have devoted more space to Chaucer than to Cressy, to Caxton than to the petty strife of Yorkist and Lancastrian, to the Poor Law of Elizabeth than to her victory at Cadiz, to the Methodist revival than to the escape of the Young Pretender" (Green, 1874: v). Gooch summarised his achievement: "Dynasties come and go, battles are won and lost, but the people remain. That this reading of history is now a commonplace is mainly the work of Green... The pyramid which historians had tried to balance on its apex now rests on its base" (Gooch, 1913: 330). Green thus initiated a long and progressive trend that would eventually be characterised as "history from below", whose primary focus was the changing experiences of the common people, or "the daily life of the inhabitants of the land in past ages", as George Macaulay Trevelyan would later put it – also offering a definition of social history as "the history of a people with the politics left out" (Trevelyan, 1946: vii).

Traditional social history, unfortunately, was also history with the gardening left out. Green did not approach the subject. Trevelyan had two passages on the history of gardens (Trevelyan, 1946: 401–402, 247–248): a three-paragraph summary of the rise of the landscape garden,

and a little over a page on the gardens accompanying seventeenth-century houses, this latter based solidly on Eleanor Sinclair Rohde. This fact suggests that, since social historians cannot be expected to research everything themselves, any treatment of gardens in their work is likely to depend on the information provided by garden historians, so that garden history must reach some sort of fruition first before it can be absorbed into the social history database. But then Green could have found plenty of material in Loudon had he been interested.

The major problem with “history from below” is that it is always possible to dig a layer deeper, and then your predecessors’ “below” suddenly starts to seem “above”. Some contemporaries denounced Green’s *Short History* as a democratic manifesto (Brewer, 1881: 50–103); today, a work of history with Green’s concentration of interests would be derided as elitist. (This is the fate that has overtaken Trevelyan’s work, which once seemed such a model of democratic inclusiveness; his *English Social History* has chapters on Chaucer’s England, and Shakespeare’s, Defoe’s, Dr Johnson’s, and Cobbett’s – by some recent standards, a privileging of the literate minority over the majority of the population.) But the further one digs in search of the common, the more that one tries to render the experience of the lowly and downtrodden, the further one is removed from the driving forces of social change, and the less one can provide explanations of that experience. The more extreme forms of social history risk being reduced to the condition of the proles of Orwell’s 1984, who were “incapable of comparing one age with another. They remembered a million useless things... but all the relevant facts were outside the range of their vision.”

Social history often has an axe to grind; its practitioners frequently see their work as a rescue operation, a resistance to the rule of the elite. As E.P. Thompson put it: “I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the ‘obsolete’ hand-loom weaver, the ‘utopian’ artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity” (Thompson, 1963: 12). (I will confess to being activated by similar motives on behalf of the once despised nineteenth-century head gardener in my *Victorian Gardens*.) Tony Judt once famously condemned social history on the Trevelyan model: “This sort of ‘history with the politics left out’ is inimical to the very enterprise of social history ... Otherwise we have not social history but retrospective cultural

anthropology” (Judt, 1979: 71). Social history, in Judt’s formulation, had to be linked to activism, to a campaign for social change. During the later twentieth century, social history, at least as practised in England, became mired in Marxism to the extent that contributing to the debates on theory seemed to take precedence over discovering anything new about the past. Extricating social history from the mire has not been an easy process; when one hears a respected historian recommending what he calls “concept-criticism”, i.e. “modifying one’s working concepts in the practical process of research” (Wilson, 1993: 296), as though this were a new idea, one gets a sense of difficulties not yet surmounted.

In the later twentieth century, much of the practice of social historians declined into what would better be called ideological history, with a focus on “issues of race, class, and gender”. In the world of garden history, the primary representative of this tendency is Martin Hoyles’ *Story of Gardening* (1991), a book which exhibited both the excitements and the flaws of the approach – the flaws consisting of inadequate references and an uncritical use of anecdotes (see Quaintance, 1993, for the tracking down of one untrustworthy anecdote). At the other extreme, some works which have offered themselves as social histories of gardening turn out on examination to be what might be better called Society histories: accounts of particular upper-class circles and their influence. It is of course the upper classes whose gardens have been best documented, so there is a certain inevitability about this. But in any attempt at a genuine social history of gardening, I would expect the following questions to be addressed:

1. In any given period under discussion, in the country in question, how many gardens were there and of what size?
2. How many gardens, or what proportion of large multi-purpose gardens, were devoted to cultivation for food? How much food production took place in private, how much in communal, and how much in commercial gardens?
3. What were the differences (if any) in planting, both of ornamental and of culinary or medicinal plants, between the gardens of large estates and the gardens of the poor?
4. Who were involved in creating, and later in maintaining, gardens? What was the size of gardening staff in large estates, and how was it organised? Were there jobbing gardeners, and if so, how did they work?

If these questions cannot be answered, then the first duty of any social history of gardening would be to explain why not, what the available sources of information are, and what can be legitimately inferred from them.

There are no signs on the horizon yet of any comprehensive social history of gardening in Britain appearing. However, pioneering work of a social-historical nature has been devoted to some particular themes in garden history, so there are some worthy prototypes to follow. The development of municipal parks has now had half a century of literature devoted to it, of which the major peaks are George Chadwick's *The Park and the Town* (1966), flawed though it was by factual error about the Victorian period, Hugh Prince's *Parks in England* (1967), and Hazel Conway's *People's Parks* (1996) – which carried the story only up to 1885, but was supplemented, for the following generation, by Harriet Jordan's article in *Garden History* (Jordan, 1994). While various individual parks have had histories devoted to them, there has as yet been no detailed study of an urban parks system in Britain to correspond to Cynthia Zaitzevsky's *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System* (1982) or Joan Hockaday's *Greenscapes: Olmsted's Pacific Northwest* (2009). Janet Waymark's study of Thomas Mawson (2009) comes closest, in the sense that it studies the work of a noted park designer, but the parks of Liverpool, Hull, or Norwich are calling out for monographs.

Of the various forms of institutional gardens, Sarah Rutherford's thesis on asylums has provided an excellent survey (Rutherford, 2003), while Todd Longstaffe-Gowan has produced the first history of London squares from the garden, rather than architectural, point of view (Longstaffe-Gowan, 2012). Anne Scott-James's *Cottage Garden* (1981) was a lightweight work, but performed a valuable service in exploding some of the myths about cottage gardens that had been influential on gardeners in the first half of the century. (Is there no scope for archaeological investigation and pollen analysis of cottage garden sites?) Wartime food production and the Dig for Victory campaign provide a subject recent enough to be approached through oral history, and one which has proven highly popular, with museum exhibitions devoted to it as well as books, the best of which is *Digging for Victory*, by Twigs Way and Mike Brown (2010). As for the development of gardening as a profession, I tried to attract attention to the role of the head gardener on nineteenth-century estates

in my *Victorian Gardens* (Elliott, 1986: 13–16), and Joan Morgan followed in greater detail with *A Paradise out of a Common Field* (1990); but the subject has not been traced into the twentieth century, apart from an account of the rise and fall of education and examinations for gardeners in my history of the RHS (Elliott, 2004: 313–329). The final subject has been allotments. David Crouch and Colin Ward published *The Allotment: its Landscape and Culture* in 1988, mixing historical documentation with pleas for activism; the documentation has now been greatly improved by Jeremy Burchardt's studies – *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793–1873* (2002), and *Breaking New Ground: Nineteenth-century Allotments from Local Sources* (2010) – as well as the first of what one hopes will be many local studies: *Norfolk Allotments*, published by the Norfolk Recorders (2007).

American scholars are doing a far better job than the British of exploring the development of the middle-class garden, and of the gardens of the poor. This is a literature that grows out of town planning as a discipline, which in Britain has given us such relevant, if from the gardening point of view seriously incomplete, studies as Arthur Edwards' *Design of Suburbia* (1981); in America, it has given us Anne Whiston Spirn's *Granite Garden* (1984), Christopher Grampp's *From Yard to Garden* (2008), and Graham Wade's *American Eden* (2011). Britain has yet to produce even a detailed study of the garden suburb movement, though some introductory steps have been taken (Elliott, 2001; Hollow, 2011; Seifalian, 2011); while the phenomenon of postwar housing estates and their landscapes has yet to receive scholarly attention. In America, Dolores Hayden's *Building Suburbia* (2003) produced a typology of new town planning types, not all of which have appeared in Britain, but the book could function as an early warning system for the attentive. As for the makeshift and adaptive forms of gardens made by the very poor, Diana Balmori's *Transitory Gardens, Uprooted Lives* (1993) has seen no counterpart in this country yet. In Germany, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn has opened up a rich seam of social history with his various studies of the role that enthusiasm for native plants and wild gardening played in nationalistic and conservative circles in pre- and interwar Germany (see e.g. Wolschke-Bulmahn, 1997).

History of mentalities. We now come to the celebrated *Annales* school, named after the scholarly journal founded by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in 1929 (originally *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* but

going through four changes of name over the years), and for three generations the source of the most publicised and debated changes in historical methods and approaches.¹ Since each generation – after Bloch and Febvre came Braudel, after him Le Roy Ladurie – has brought a shift of emphasis to the *Annales* programme, I shall consider its influence under two different headings.

Annales has been famous for its rejection of traditional narrative history (though there is more than enough narrative to keep readers happy in the school's bestsellers, Braudel's *Mediterranean* and Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*). There was nothing new in this. Lord Acton, the founder of the *English Historical Review*, urged his students to study "problems in preference to periods" (Acton, 1895: 63), and this recommendation provoked a flight of young historians from national histories towards examinations of particular incidents. By the mid-twentieth century there was a general consensus in most countries that any overarching, unified narrative was an expression of the historian's biases rather than of historical reality. One consequence of this is the now widespread tendency for large-scale histories to take the form of anthologies, so that no authorial viewpoint can be superimposed on the material overall. This tendency was introduced into the world of garden history by the *History of Garden Design* edited by Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (published 1990–1991 in three different languages), whose compilers explained their rationale as follows:

In accordance with a current tendency away from vast compilations and *grands récits*, this book is structured chronologically, but proceeds by a series of essays on specific subjects, intended not so much to provide the reader with any comprehensive catalogue of all the gardens laid out in the period under consideration as to demonstrate the wide range of research programmes currently being undertaken (Mosser & Teyssot, 1991: 11).

¹ There have been three very good studies of the *Annales* school, each an improvement on its predecessor: Philippe Carrard's *Poetics of the New History* (1992), François Dosse's *New History in France* (1994), and André Burguière's *Annales School: an Intellectual History* (2009).

Even so, the arrangement of the essays into five categories – the humanist garden, baroque to classical, picturesque, eclectic, and contemporary – corresponded broadly to the familiar chronology of stylistic periods derived from art history (see below). The single grand narrative may have been eroded, but the individual contributions were still aligned along one principal trajectory. A more radical approach to the rejection of grand narratives has recently appeared in the field of literary history: the aggressively scattergram approach adopted in the series of national literary surveys produced by the Harvard University Press,¹ in which instead of a single narrative, or even surveys of a given period by a particular scholar, the text consists of a series of short essays by multiple hands, each taking an event in a particular year as the focus for an examination of some theme, with no organising framework except the single chronology of years. It would be very interesting to see what effect this approach would have on the history of gardening; ambitious editors, take note.

The major theoretical position of the early years of the *Annales* school was the idea of the history of mentalities – the supposition that there are limitations to what can be thought in any given period or culture, and that it is the task of the historian to reconstruct the mental world of past ages. The key works were Bloch's *Rois thaumaturges* (1924; English trans. 1973), a study of the phenomenon of touching for the King's evil, and Febvre's *Problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle* (1937; English trans. 1982), a study that concluded that atheism was mentally impossible in Rabelais' time. Bloch's work was quickly taken up by anthropologists – A.M. Hocart's *Kingship* (1927) drew on it – but the fact that, decades later, one still hears English commentators refer to *histoire des mentalités* suggests that the idea has been incompletely naturalised. This is odd, since the whole concept of reconstructing past mentalities is a logical outgrowth of nineteenth-century cultural history, and would have posed no difficulties even for Froude.

Structuralist history. After the Second World War, the *Annales* school came to be identified with the work and influence of Fernand Braudel,

¹ Denis Hollier, ed., *A New History of French Literature* (1998); David Wellbery and Judith Ryan, eds, *A New History of German Literature* (2005); Greil Marcus and Werner Sollors, eds, *A New Literary History of America* (2009).

whose epoch-making study of *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* appeared in 1949 (English trans. 1972–1973). Febvre had already tried to ally history more firmly with geography, but Braudel took this approach much further, regarding the events normally studied by historians as merely “surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs” and looking instead for the underlying, long-term structures within which these events take place: “a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in relation to his environment, a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles” (Braudel, 1949/1972–1973: I 20–21). (Again, the fact that these terms are usually employed by English-language historians in their French form – *longue durée*, *histoire événementielle* – suggests that they have been incompletely assimilated, even after decades of eminence and adulation.) So the first part of his work on the Mediterranean covers the role of the environment – geology and climate; the second part, “Collective destinies”, deals with patterns of agriculture, shipping routes, trade, and warfare; while the third part, “Events, politics, and people”, is a fairly straightforward political history of the Holy League and the events leading up to the battle of Lepanto. Many commentators have noticed a disconnection between the parts: how necessary are the first two parts to an understanding of what happens in the third? The great American historian Bernard Bailyn was quick to declare that “Braudel has mistaken a poetic response to the past for an historical problem” (Bailyn, 1951: 280).¹

¹ One of the things that impressed Braudel’s audience was his use of tables of figures, and the multiplication of tables came to characterise the *Annales* school over the next couple of decades. To grumble about the proliferation of tables will no doubt seem ungenerous on the part of one who has yet to produce an Occasional Paper without them, but there are limits. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s monumental work on *The Peasants of Languedoc* had, in its original French edition, a second volume containing nearly 300 pages of tables and graphs, all of which were omitted from the English translation; did anyone, apart from the author and his proofreaders, ever *check* all these tables? J.H. Plumb testified to the impact of pages of tables, when he said of Braudel’s attempt to calculate the average income of agricultural workers in the sixteenth century: “The evidence is slender, uncertain, disparate: the margins of error, Braudel admits, are so very great that the calculations are almost meaningless... Nevertheless, these juggled

The *longue durée* may not seem to have much relevance to gardening, for which we have only a few centuries of real documentation and a corresponding tendency to concentrate on changes in fashion. But consideration of climate and geography never comes amiss, and Braudel assembled much interesting material on the agriculture of Mediterranean Europe, and of North African oases as centres of cultivation. The data he provides do seem to suggest a long-term stability, especially when considering oases; but this might be a special case, the extremes of desert climate enforcing a long-term uniformity (Burmil, 2007) that is not found elsewhere. Certainly the trend in recent ecology has been to discover that there is usually no such thing as a stable environment. Braudel himself asserted that the coastal areas of Europe had been heavily deforested within historical time, an assertion that has been challenged by Oliver Rackham and his colleagues (Grove & Rackham, 2003: 8–22). Rackham has been particularly effective in exploding the traditional idea of ecological succession, and of long-term stability in the British landscape; his pioneering work *Ancient Woodlands* (1984) brought about an almost immediate recognition of woodlands as human artefacts, both the selection of trees and their habit the result of planning for human needs. In subsequent works, most notably his volume on *Woodlands* in the New Naturalist series (2006), he has further emphasised the degree to which local variation in soil type and climate have determined tree populations, so that the image of a once thickly forested England has yielded to an image of mixed woodland and grassland, where oak was no longer the naturally dominant tree. Debate over the history of British and European grassland has been further promoted by F.W.M. Vera's *Grazing Ecology and Forest History* (2000); the conclusions are still being argued about. John Fletcher has recently argued for the origin of the ha-ha in the management regimes of deer parks (Fletcher, 2011: 56–60, 185–186); though John Phibbs has offered a salutary scepticism about the influence of sports on the development of the landscape park (Phibbs, 2012).

ducats seem to clench the argument much more fully" (Plumb, 1973: 64). Plumb elsewhere remarked of Braudel's "decorative" use of figures: "often they do no more than give a heightened sense of reality to the commonplace" (Plumb, 1988: 302). In other words, their effect is rhetorical rather than substantial. – In America, a similar attempt to make graphs and tables do the work of historical argument became known as cliometrics; on which, see Barzun (1974).

This brings us to the recent prominence of the notion of climate change. It is a signal merit of the *Annales* school that its historians were the first to look seriously at climate change as a matter of historical importance. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie published the first survey of the subject by an historian rather than a meteorologist: *Histoire du climat depuis l'an mil* (English trans. 1972). Here he explained the paucity of documentation: "for the historian the field of research here is at once limited: the ancien régime left little evidence about the dates of the lilac and the rose. There is only one date that appears regularly every year... and that is the date of the wine harvest" (Le Roy Ladurie, 1967/1972: 50). There is more evidence than that, however. Mark Laird and I, working independently, have recently investigated aspects of climate change in the English garden, he working from the archives of particular houses, and I from the gardening calendars published from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, some of which record which plants may be expected to flower in which month (Elliott, 2009). Presenting our findings at a conference on the landscape garden at Painshill in 2010, we discovered that we had both seized on the same years as turning points for climate change (Laird, 2010; Elliott, 2010b). We now await Mark Laird's forthcoming book, which should provide the most detailed evidence for the measurable effects of climate change on the garden.

History of memories. The most recent trend I wish to pick out in historiography again produced its pioneering text in France: Pierre Nora's massive anthology, *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984–1992).¹ Nora, a publisher as well as an historian, was uniquely placed to initiate and carry through large publishing projects beyond the means of ordinary historians; he commissioned (and himself wrote large tracts of) a multi-volume work whose various essays examined, not so much the history as the reputation of significant places and events in France. The focus was on the ways in which whatever actually happened has been remembered, revised, distorted, and re-imagined by later generations. The project proved an

¹ For whatever reason, the English translation appeared in two different series, under different titles, from different translators and different publishers: *Realms of Memory* (three vols., 1996–1998), and then *Rethinking France* (four vols., 2001–2010). And even then the two series between them still have not translated the entire text.

immense success, and has so far been imitated in at least three countries, beginning with Italy in the form of Mario Isnenghi's *Luoghi della memoria* (1996–1997) – which, even though its title is a straight translation of Nora's, is a very different and equally interesting work.

The world of garden history has proven a fertile seedbed for this new approach. In 1995, Simon Schama published *Landscape and Memory*, an attempt to look at the history of landscapes from the point of view of their accumulated layers of perceived meanings. Organised into sections on wood, water, and rock, it dealt not only with gardens but with memorial landscapes, the image of the forest primeval, and the mythology of rivers. Its format and presentation suggested that it was intended to do for landscape studies what Philippe Ariès' *Hour of our Death* (1977; English transl. 1981) did for death studies, but it fell considerably short of this goal, since instead of covering a theme, it offered a series of discrete studies of particular aspects only. Nonetheless, it was a respectable beginning, and prompted the hope that this new orientation might bring to garden history the same benefits that it has brought to art history.¹

Meanwhile the idea of “cultural landscapes”² as an object of study had been developing in America, and during the 1990s would be adopted as a standard of site classification by UNESCO; it was noteworthy how many garden history students were calling for instruction about cultural landscapes by the end of that decade. And in 1999, John Dixon Hunt proposed what, befitting his background in literary studies, he called the “reception history” of gardens:

We need, above all, a history of the reception or consumption of gardens that acknowledges that they yield as much a dramatic as

¹ See Christopher S. Wood's *Forgery Replica Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (2008) for an inspiring example.

² The study of cultural landscapes – defined as landscapes that had been modified by human agency – was initiated by the American geographer Carl Sauer, an ambiguous figure who had considerable influence in the mid-twentieth century, but some of whose theories were handicapped by a lack of botanical knowledge, and ably torn to shreds by Elmer D. Merrill (Merrill, 1954: 271–287).

a discursive experience. There is a virtual dimension to the designed landscape: despite its palpable objectivity, it needs an addressee, as it were, to receive it – a spectator, visitor, or inhabitant, somebody to feel, to sense its existence and understand its qualities... we need to track how people have responded to sites in word and image (Hunt, 1999: 89).

I find the vocabulary of “reception” restricting: it makes sense to talk of the reception of a literary work, which in many cases has only a single form to be experienced by different generations, but less to talk of the reception of a garden. Few gardens have the sort of public launch that Versailles or Elvaston Castle did, and the older a garden is, the more likely it is to have been altered in successive phases, so that what the historian discovers is at best a series of separate receptions, or more likely a blending together of impressions and memories from different periods. Hampton Court has exhibited successively a Tudor garden, a formal garden of the period of William III, a wild garden, a public display of carpet-bedding, and in the twentieth century, more than one programme of occasionally controversial restoration; each stage has involved not only the reception of a change, but attitudes toward what has been lost, and latterly more or less muddled notions of what preceding styles entailed. As James Stevens Curl said in a review of Michael Conan’s anthology of essays on Baroque gardens, “memory, really, is the heart of the matter: if we understand that, we are getting somewhere” (Curl, 2007: 122).

Art history and its impact on garden history

During the second half of the twentieth century, the most obvious change in garden history has been the adoption of terminology, and to a lesser extent theories, from the discipline of art history. Some have seen this influence as beginning immediately after the Second World War (Vronskaya, 2006: 273), but I cannot see a significant impact of art-historical theory until the 1970s, with a slow leakage of stylistic vocabulary before that. The importance of the adoption of stylistic periods, as defined by art historians, is that it facilitated the comparison of gardens in different countries at a given period, made more easily possible the investigation of conceptual influences on style, and raised questions about the relations between gardens and other arts, and indeed other aspects of culture.

There have been great metaphysical issues raised by the attempt to delimit artistic periods. Which features are deemed central, and which peripheral, to the style? What caused these selected features to become so important at a particular period? One extreme, that of the *Zeitgeist* or “spirit of the age”, could be represented by Élie Faure’s *Histoire de l’art* (1919–1921; English trans. 1921–1930), which took such a lofty view of the forces driving the development of art that it could pass over huge tracts of art history without bothering to name a single individual artist. For the opposite extreme we could choose Ernst Gombrich, who regarded *Zeitgeisterie* as implicitly totalitarian and tried to exclude all cultural determinants except directly demonstrable personal influence – so that in his *History of Art* (1950) Mannerism is seen purely as the influence of Michelangelo’s later style. Most historians fall somewhere between these extremes. Then there are the confusions added by historians with a cyclical theory of history, such as Henri Focillon, who saw every style as having a classical, a mannerist, and a baroque period; fortunately, current fashion has marginalised such theories, even if only temporarily.

The historiography of art history has been slow to emerge, and is as yet nothing like so well developed as the historiography of national or social history. Most of the best work so far has been devoted to the theoreticians of art history – Michael Podro’s *Critical Historians of Art* (1982) stands head and shoulders above its rivals – but more attention is gradually being paid to the changing assumptions of the less theoretically minded art historians. So for none of the stylistic period labels can we yet point to a thorough and comprehensive history of the concept and its usage; everything I am about to say about Baroque, Mannerism, etc. is tentative, and no doubt earlier uses and more significant turning points in usage will be turned up as scholarly work progresses. But it will be helpful to get some idea of how our notions of stylistic periods have developed, and what issues remain to be resolved. (For reasons that may become obvious, I am capitalising these terms when they refer to styles or periods, and leaving them uncapitalised when they refer to qualities or attributes.)

Renaissance, mediaeval. These two concepts are intertwined; there is obviously no point in calling a period the “Middle Ages” unless one has both a previous and a subsequent period in mind. Nonetheless, while a

contrast between the Dark Ages and the Revival of Learning was long established, the current terminology only emerged in the nineteenth century. For Gibbon, the Middle Ages were an unknown concept: for him, more than a millennium of European history, from 180AD to 1453, was covered by the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The idea of the Middle Ages had multiple sources, but none more important than Herder. By 1818, Henry Hallam could regard that period as “usually denominated the middle ages”, but I cannot recall the word “mediaeval” appearing once in his *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*; it wasn’t until his 1843 supplement that he used the word “mediaeval”. The first appearance of that word in English has not been specified; the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives an 1827 citation from the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, but its tone suggests that it can hardly be the first usage.

As for “Renaissance”, the origins of the term are murkier, for it definitely reached English from French. One of the earliest citations in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from Thomas Trollope, referring to “that heaviest and least graceful of all possible styles, the ‘renaissance’ as the French choose to term it” (1840). “Renaissance” was a familiar word in the history of painting and architecture by the 1850s, when Ruskin could happily use the word in multiple senses in the third volume of *The Stones of Venice* (1853), but something broader can be felt when he refers to “Renaissance Europe”. Ruskin’s treatment of the Renaissance in that work was generally as condemning as Trollope, as architecture was his subject, but in the same decade Burckhardt was using the word as a stylistic label for late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century painting in his *Cicerone* (Burckhardt, 1855/1908: 57–59). In 1855 Michelet published the volumes of his *Histoire de France* dealing with the Renaissance, helping to establish the word in a broader context than art history, and in 1860 Burckhardt published his *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (English trans. 1878, as *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*), which firmly established the Renaissance as a general historical term on an international scale.

In the wake of Burckhardt, the concept of the Renaissance garden emerged in Germany, and was well established by the time W.P. Tuckermann published his monograph on *Die Gartenkunst der Italienischen Renaissance-Zeit* in 1884. (Tuckermann regarded the Renaissance as continuing until the irruption of the landscape garden.)

It had become accepted in England by the time of Blomfield's *Formal Garden in England* (1892).

The next important period labels to appear were both limitations on the chronological spread of the term "Renaissance", and were both long resisted. The architectural historians Reginald Blomfield, T.G. Jackson, and Banister Fletcher continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century to use "Renaissance" as a capacious term covering everything from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries (though for that matter Sir Frank Crisp, in his *Mediaeval Gardens*, posthumously published in 1924, extended the coverage of the mediaeval to the beginning of the eighteenth century).

Baroque. The word *baroque*, apparently derived from a Portuguese adjective for asymmetrical pearls, began to be used in the 1750s as a derogatory term for art that breached the rules of decorum – the paintings of Tintoretto, the buildings of Borromini and Guarini; the word was probably introduced into English by Fuseli's 1765 translation of Winckelmann. It was not until the 1850s that it began to be used, by Burckhardt and the architectural historian Wilhelm Lübke, for a chronological phase of seventeenth-century art (see Hills, 2011, and Conan, 2005: 3–15, for summary, and see Burckhardt, 1855/1908: 220–221). In 1888, Heinrich Wölfflin published *Renaissance und Barock*, a systematic attempt to establish Baroque as a neutral stylistic label. The word began to be more widely used in English in the 1920s, when there was a deliberate attempt to promote late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century painting, signalled by the short-lived Magnasco Society, and Sacheverell Sitwell's *Southern Baroque Art* (1924).

The spread of the concept of Baroque from painting and architecture into the other arts and the life of the mind can be seen developing at least from the 1920s, when Mario Praz described the poetry of Donne and Crashaw as Baroque, followed by Émile Mâle's attempt to find the origins of Baroque in the demands of the Counter-Reformation.¹ In 1954 Jean Rousset published his *Littérature de l'âge baroque en France*, identifying

¹ Praz, *Secentismo e marinismo in Inghilterra* (1925); Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (1932).

the key nuances he found in French writing and culture between Montaigne and Bernini. By the 1960s the idea of the Baroque was becoming widely accepted, though never dominant, as a period label for literary studies in the English-speaking world.

German garden historians, living in the atmosphere of Burckhardt and Wölfflin, were the first to use the term Baroque; Jakob von Falke referred to Baroque gardens in 1884, and was followed in this by Gothein. In the English-speaking world, the first significant use was by Geoffrey Jellicoe, who in 1932 published a study of *Baroque Gardens of Austria*. B. Sprague Allen, though his *Tides in English Taste* (1937) was inspired by current art history, used the term only for painting. By the beginning of the 1960s the idea of the Baroque garden was tentatively emerging in English-language garden history. Derek Clifford in 1962 wrote of the temptation to use “baroque” to describe everything “between Bramante’s Belvedere and Charles III’s Caserta”, a rather longer time-range than most scholars would tolerate today:

In so far as the baroque was theatrical, then these were baroque; in so far as the baroque used material with the minimum of respect for its essential properties, they were baroque; in so far as the baroque overplayed its hand, they were baroque; but in so far as the baroque is emotional, passionate, anguished, and purposively so, then it is really only here and there in Spain and Portugal that the baroque garden is to be found, for the only emotional response most of these gardens strove for was stupefaction (Clifford, 1962: 109).

Not yet a neutral stylistic label, then: its attributes still defined by subjective judgments about decorum. Christopher Hussey used English, Dutch, and Baroque as labels for the pre-landscape period (Hussey, 1967: 18–26). Cowell (1979) used the word “baroque” as little more than a chronological identifier; but the *Oxford Companion to Gardens* (1986) had no entry for Baroque – an omission remedied by Patrick Taylor in the *Oxford Companion to the Garden* (2006).

Mannerism. Mannerism, as a term for a period intermediate between the Renaissance and the Baroque, was coeval with those terms in inception but took much longer to become accepted. The word *manierismo* was first

used by Luigi Lanzi in the 1790s as a derogatory epithet – an intensification of the more generalised word *manierato*, meaning stylised – for the mid-sixteenth-century paintings of Pontormo and Parmigianino (Lanzi, 1792–1796/1847: I 407; II 233–244). Again, Burckhardt, in the 1850s, was the first to use it as a neutral stylistic label (Burckhardt, 1855/1908: 214–215), but art historians were slow to follow his example, and as late as 1951, Arnold Hauser could complain that “Mannerism came so late into the foreground of research on the history of art, that the depreciatory verdict implied in its very name is often still taken to be adequate, and the unprejudiced concept of this style as a purely historical category has been made very difficult” (Hauser, 1951: II 353–355). It has to be said that the idea of Mannerist literature has not caught on even to the extent that that of baroque literature has.

As for Mannerism as a stage in garden history, that concept gradually emerged during the third quarter of the twentieth century.¹ The earliest uses I have found, as when Eugenio Battista denied that Bomarzo can be reduced to an example of mannerism (Battista, 1962: 133–137, esp. 137), fall short of period label status. But then in 1979, Roy Strong, coming from a background as an art historian, adopted the vocabulary of High Renaissance and Mannerism in his *Renaissance Garden in England* without feeling the need to offer a definition or defence of the term:

By the 1540s the garden repertory had established itself in Italy. What was to typify the Mannerist phase that followed was the application to the garden of allegorical programmes such as had already been applied to the interior of the palace or the villa (Strong, 1979: 19–20).

With that, the word was firmly established in the garden-historical world, though neither *Oxford Companion* contained any entry for Mannerism.

¹ According to John Dixon Hunt, in his *Afterlife of Gardens* (Hunt, 2004: 94), “Gabriel Thouin ... remarks in the preface to *Plans raisonnés de toutes les espèces de jardins* (1820) that there were basically two garden modes, what could be called ‘mannerist’ and ‘natural’.” Don’t be misled. The word “mannerist” is Hunt’s formulation, not Thouin’s, and indeed Thouin distinguishes three, not two, modes of ornamental gardens (as opposed to kitchen, orchard, and botanical gardens): symmetrical, Chinese, and natural.

Still, there is little controversy attached today to the use of Mannerism and Baroque to refer to periods of garden history.

Rococo. But any such comparative consensus falls apart once historians push forward into the eighteenth century. Rococo, Neoclassicism, and Picturesque are stylistic labels that are often used for different parts of the century, but none seems satisfactory for the period as a whole.

Different etymologies have been proposed for the origin of the word “rococo”, but all are agreed that *rocaille*, shellwork, comes into the mixture somehow, and that the word appeared at the end of the eighteenth century as a term of derogation for early eighteenth-century style that emphasised asymmetry and curvature in design (see Park, 1992 for a survey). The transition from term of abuse to stylistic label may have begun as early as the 1840s, but most citations are ambiguous in tone. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites a passage from Lady Blessington (1847) about the eighteenth-century decorations of the ancient Roman ruins at Nîmes as “a curious mixture of military and *rococo* taste”, and Patrick Taylor (Taylor, 2006: 410) offers this as the earliest use of the word in a garden context – though it is clearly a sneer rather than an attempt to identify a style. Late in the nineteenth century Wölfflin identified Rococo as the terminus of Baroque.

“Rococo” was adopted as a garden-historical category earlier than either Baroque or Mannerism. The Rococo garden was an explicit concept as early as Sir George Sitwell:

Invention was not exhausted in the eighteenth century when design went out of fashion. I know no reason why we should not have subtly curving terrace fronts and courts that sweep outward like the mouth of a trumpet to enlarge the view, and indeed but for the intrusion of the unhallowed *Giardino Inglese*, this might have been the natural development of the Rococo garden (Sitwell, 1909: 95).

Sitwell was writing at a time when the progressive course of historical revivalism was touching on the early eighteenth century, so this focus of period interest may have eased the introduction of the Rococo idea. But by the time garden historians were becoming seriously interested in the

English landscape garden, the term had faded, and was only revived in the last quarter of the century. In 1978 John Harris published Thomas Robins' designs for gardens as examples of the "Rococo English landscape"; in 1991 Michael Symes published *The Rococo Garden in England*. Both works clearly set out criteria for the Rococo which require it to terminate with the rise of the landscape garden – so there is a clear conception of the Rococo garden as a phenomenon of the early eighteenth century only. While in other categories of the arts (e.g. book illustration) Rococo tendencies continued until the end of the century, there has been no enthusiasm among garden historians for stretching the concept of Rococo to include Capability Brown. Note, however, that Harris has argued for the hidden continuation of Rococo trends throughout the eighteenth century, and their rediscovery as "gardenesque" in the nineteenth (Harris, 1981).

Picturesque. Starting from the other end of the eighteenth century and working back, some historians have attempted to elevate Picturesque from a stylistic to a period label. Here the difficulty is the opposite of that of Rococo. The word "picturesque", in various spellings and variations, had been around throughout the eighteenth century, but it was only in the 1780s that theorists of the picturesque arose (Gilpin, Price, Knight), who offered instruction in how to produce a picturesque landscape; were their theories a natural extension of earlier usage, or a new direction employing an already existing vocabulary? On this subject there has been immense, and unremitting, debate.

One meaning of the word "picturesque" is "as seen in pictures". In 1924 Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring published her hypothesis that the English landscape garden had been influenced by the painting of Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Salvator Rosa (Manwaring, 1924). On this reckoning, the picturesque in English gardens began with William Kent and continued through Capability Brown, before the theorists arose. The idea that the landscape garden was effectively an imitation of paintings, while contested, became a basic assumption for three generations of garden historians. This usage would sanction the treatment of "picturesque" as a stylistic label covering the post-Rococo period, and it was indeed taken up in this sense by a variety of Modernist architectural critics (Tunnard, 1938; Pevsner, 2010), who used it to describe that arrangement of the landscape for visual interest rather than functional organisation which

they wanted to sweep away (Thompson, 2006). And so we find A.A. Tait offering the suggestion that “Neoclassicism is an art-historical label which in landscape terms covers the period of the picturesque – that is roughly 1770 to 1830” (Tait, 1983: 317) – without explaining in satisfactory terms what the linkage between Neoclassic and Picturesque was.

This version of Picturesque faced the little difficulty that the picturesque theorists of the late eighteenth century hated Capability Brown and attacked his landscapes precisely for their lack of picturesqueness. On the other hand, the adoption of Picturesque as a stylistic label independent of the theories of Price and Knight has meant a beneficial expansion of the range of studies: in the last few decades, beginning with Dora Wiebenson’s *Picturesque Garden in France* (1978) and culminating in John Dixon Hunt’s *Picturesque Garden in Europe* (2002), the landscape gardens of the continent have begun to be assessed as picturesque gardens and not simply as imitations, successful or otherwise, of the English landscape garden.

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that another meaning of “picturesque” emphasised roughness of texture. Over twenty years ago Philip Sohm, in a study of the concept of *pittoresco* in Renaissance art criticism, showed its origin in discussions of the “painterly” style of Titian and his Venetian coevals. Sohm laid down a challenge at the end of his book:

It should be emphasized, since it has not been so recognized, that the basic precepts of the English picturesque, even though they were applied primarily to landscape gardening and landscape painting, were first formulated in mid and late seventeenth-century Italy to describe pictorial composition and brushwork (Sohm, 1991: 240).

Of historians of the Picturesque, only John Dixon Hunt has noticed Sohm’s challenge, and his summary (Hunt, 2002: 13) concentrates on pictorial composition, relegating to a sideline what I would regard as Sohm’s major point: “painterly” brushwork. Price’s “variety of forms, tints, and lights and shadows” (Price, 1794: I 87) could be seen as stemming directly from the usage Sohm described, and one could make a case that it is this rather than pictorial composition that lay at the origin of picturesque theory.

In conclusion, no stylistic period label has yet become accepted for the eighteenth century as a whole; the landscape garden serves as a stumbling block to either Rococo or Picturesque as a chronologically comprehensive label. Personally, I think that “Enlightenment”, in the sense used by Morse Peckham (Peckham, 1965: 270–291), covers the ground excellently, but I doubt if I’ll persuade anyone.

Romanticism. Romanticism has not yet become a standard label in the world of garden history, but a recent book, *Romantic Gardens: Nature, Art, and Garden Design*, by Elizabeth Barlow Rogers *et al.* (2010), has attempted to establish the term, and I wish to nip this usage in the bud. I will attempt to be as brief as possible in outlining the confusions entailed by the word.

What I object to in this book is the conflation of “romantic” as the term was used for painting and landscape in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – exemplified by Coleridge’s “deep romantic chasm” – with “romantic” as that term was used, initially for a literary movement, in the nineteenth century and after – exemplified by the phrase “romantic poets”. These are two quite distinct cultural phenomena, and I would like to draw as hard a boundary between them as I can; the two versions of “romantic” even have, to an extent, different etymologies. The older sense was derived from “romance”, with an admixture of “Roman”, referring to the Italian school of painting; think of *Orlando Furioso* and the paintings of Salvator Rosa and you have two of the key reference points. This use of “romantic”, to describe “the untamed wildness of mountain scenery” (Hazlitt) and similar phenomena, was primarily an English locution; it could on occasion be found in other languages, but was not so well established. No one in the eighteenth century ever used the word “romanticism” to describe the creation or appreciation of such scenery: that word was a later coinage. The newer sense of “romantic” emerged in the late 1790s, effectively coined by Friedrich Schlegel, who derived it from “*Roman*”, the German word for novel, meaning by that in particular the modern psychological novel as found in Sterne and Goethe. Schlegel and his colleagues actively called for a *romantisch* literature, characterised by irony, post-Kantian philosophy, and the deliberate disorientation of the reader. Mme de Staël helped to introduce this new notion of “romantic” to the non-German world in her *De l’Allemagne* (1810;

English transl. as *Germany*, 1813); by the 1830s every country in Europe had a self-proclaimed romantic movement in literature – except England, where the word meant something different.¹ But international trends are hard to resist forever, and gradually, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it became common to group together Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley *et al.* as “romantic poets”. (See Eichner, 1972 for surveys of the history of the word in different countries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* is not very helpful on this one.)

So I would urge the reader to resist any tendency to muddle the two meanings of “romantic” together. Since “romantic” was a word in use in discussions of landscape in the eighteenth century, there can be no objection to its use in that context; but “romanticism” is a nineteenth-century coinage, and a nineteenth-century phenomenon; nothing is helped or clarified by extending its remit to include eighteenth-century gardens, let alone Salvator Rosa.

Cross-cultural comparison. Thus the state of play so far in the adoption of stylistic labels from art history to describe periods of garden history. (Art historians have lately been debating, and trying to find substitutes for, the word “modernism”, but this debate has yet to impinge seriously on garden history.) The most important consequence of this approach to chronology is that it facilitated an escape from the straitjacket of national history. Gothein, Rohde, and Gromort all covered an international range of styles in their successive histories. While many histories of gardening

¹ Some English writers could see that there was a connection between the new tendencies in English and continental writing in the early nineteenth century; they just floundered in their attempts to find a label for it. Carlyle suggested “the new school”, not very helpfully. In 1839 the poet-critic John Abraham Heraud gave a very respectable roll-call of what we would call international romanticism, including Fichte, the Schlegels, Schiller, Goethe, Mme de Staël, Chateaubriand, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, and Keats – but he merely called it a cycle of modern thought and poetry, and did not attempt to give it a name ([Heraud], 1839: 6, 8). In the 1860s, Hippolyte Taine treated Wordsworth, Byron, and Shelley as members of the “English romantic school” in his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*: probably the first time they had been thus grouped together under that name.

have included sections on Chinese and Japanese gardens (though seldom showing the same expertise as with European), there have been few attempts at cross-cultural synchronic treatments of garden history in Europe and Asia, and to my mind, little indication that the venture has been profitable. Michael Conan's recent anthology of essays on *Baroque Garden Cultures* (2001) includes a study of a Chinese garden which does little to establish its relevance to its companion studies.

Some notes on genre and accessories

The garden historian is not limited to studies of particular periods or problems; let us quickly look at some of the other genres of work that have yielded important contributions to the development of the discipline.

Biographical studies. The first garden designer to be treated to an historical study of his work was André Le Nôtre. The tercentenary of his birth was welcomed not only by a symposium declaring him the greatest and most French of garden designers, but also by a biography by Jules Guiffrey (which was eventually translated into English in 1986, by which time there were much better studies available). If we exclude memoirs, of which the first prominent example is Francis Jekyll's memoir of his aunt *Gertrude Jekyll* (1934), then no English designer was accorded the same privilege until Margaret Jourdain wrote her book *The Work of William Kent: Artist, Painter, Designer, and Landscape Gardener* (1948); as the title indicates, gardens played only a part in the study, and this aspect of her study has been superseded by John Dixon Hunt's 1987 work. In 1950 Dorothy Stroud published the first edition of her *Capability Brown*; she was later to produce the first modern study of *Humphry Repton* (1962), as well as more purely architectural studies of Dance and Soane. In between these came David Green's *Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise (1653–1738) and the Formal Garden* (1956), still the only study devoted (one-sidedly) to the partnership of London and Wise. To continue with the eighteenth-century theme, in 1977 Peter Willis published an immense study of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, to some controversy, claiming for him something of the initiatory role that had traditionally been given to Kent. In the 1980s Richard Woods began to emerge from under the shadow of *Capability Brown*, with a series of articles in *Garden History* by Fiona Cowell; she finally produced her biography, *Richard Woods (1715–1793), Master of the Pleasure Garden*, in 2009.

Apart from Le Nôtre, few pre-eighteenth-century garden designers have been the subject of individual studies: Hazlehurst on *Jacques Boyceau and the French Formal Garden* (1966), and more recently Luke Morgan's *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and early Seventeenth-century Landscape Design* (2007), have been the most important ones. Moving forward into the nineteenth century, the 1960s saw books that were declared major in their day on Paxton and Loudon: George Chadwick's *Works of Sir Joseph Paxton* (1961) tried to boost Paxton's reputation by wrongheadedly assimilating him into an eighteenth-century tradition, distancing him from the "excesses" of the Victorian period, while John Gloag's *Mr Loudon's England* (1970), which was devoted as much to furniture as to gardens, was largely an exercise in blame – an important work for the study of twentieth-century neo-Georgianism, but of little use for the study of the nineteenth century. In 1988 Melanie Simo published *Loudon and the Landscape*, the first truly competent biography of a nineteenth-century garden designer.

Horticultural biographies were dominated in the 1960s and 1970s by the works of Mea Allan and Betty Massingham, hero-worshipping and thin on references; most of their subjects have been given more substantial biographies since. The first decade of the present century saw serious, thought-provoking studies of such garden designers as Avray Tipping, Norah Lindsay, Brenda Colvin, and John Brookes – and of Andrew Jackson Downing, and Frederick Law Olmsted in America, Barillet-Deschamps, and Édouard André in France.

Studies of individual gardens. The first historical study of a garden that I have traced was the work of Donald Beaton, at the time head gardener at Haffield in Herefordshire: in 1836 he published a note, based in part on manuscript estate accounts, on that garden's development in the eighteenth century (Beaton, 1836). Beaton's article was a pioneering venture, but while the nineteenth-century gardening magazines published descriptions of gardens which from time to time remarked on their past history, nothing so archivally based would appear again until the twentieth century.

Versailles was the first garden to have a significant historical study devoted to it. Pierre de Nolhac, who had made his name as a scholar of Renaissance

humanism, published no fewer than sixteen works on Versailles and the Trianon, mostly focusing on the architecture or the art collections, culminating in *Les Jardins de Versailles* (1906), one of the best examples of early photographic illustration in garden history. More books have been written about Versailles than about any other historic garden – especially if you include the books about Le Nôtre, which devote more space to Versailles than his other works. You can find studies of the iconography of Versailles, its diplomatic use, its cultural and scientific history – see for example the works of Michel Baridon, and Claire Goldstein's *Vaux and Versailles* (2008), a much better book than its exclamatory subtitle (The Appropriations, Erasures, and Accidents that made Modern France) would suggest. It was not until 1972 that Louis XIV's own guidebook to the gardens at Versailles was translated into English – by Christopher Thacker, in the first issue of *Garden History* (Thacker, 1972).

David Green's study of *Blenheim Palace* (1951) was largely architectural, but included a few pages on its gardens, and at least managed to reproduce two of Brown's own drawings, in addition to other plans. The modern style of monographic treatment of a particular garden was finally standardised by David Coffin in his book on the Villa d'Este (1960). Since then, there have been several studies of individual Italian gardens; too few French gardens, however, have received individual monographs, and the rate falls when other countries are looked at. In England, no single publication has yet matched the immense and thorough *Royal Landscape: the Gardens and Parks of Windsor*, by Jane Roberts (1997).

During the 1970s, the diffusion of art-historical techniques and preconceptions led to a growing interest in the iconography of gardens. The study of iconography had been pioneered by Émile Mâle and other early twentieth-century students of Gothic art, and had been applied to Renaissance painting by Erwin Panofsky and others from the 1930s: the analysis of the meaning, rather than the form or technique, of a work of art by studying the symbols it depicted. The most celebrated example in the world of gardens is Versailles, where the use of figures of Apollo, the sun god, to symbolise Louis XIV, the Sun King, had become a commonplace of interpretation by the 1970s. Following close behind is Bomarzo, where conflicting interpretations have been offered without resulting in a consensus. In England, Stowe and Stourhead were the first

two gardens to be analysed in terms of iconographical programmes. George Clarke interpreted the selection of busts of British worthies and ancient Grecian heroes as an allegory of virtue at Stowe (Clarke, 1973), while Kenneth Woodbridge saw deliberate echoes of the sixth book of the *Aeneid* at Stourhead: "Is the path round the lake an allegory of Aeneas's journey? The imperceptible descent to the Grotto and the steep climb out of it evoke the sibyl's words, *Facilis descensus Averno!*" (Woodbridge, 1970: 35, and see 31–37 generally). Clarke's interpretation has been generally accepted, Woodbridge's has remained controversial. And indeed the danger of over-egging allegorical interpretations is real; the late George Hersey made a career of it, and in his study of *Architecture, Poetry, and Number in the Royal Palace at Caserta* (1983) he alleged an iconographical programme which was dismissed by a later scholar as:

a study which has contributed to the iconology of the palace and park by adducing explanations and literary justifications which are certainly foreign to those who commissioned, projected and realized both palace and park. Indeed, some of his interpretations are especially awkward when they are used about a project like Caserta which was worked upon for over a century (Chigiotti, 1985: 199).

Illustrations. In the nineteenth century, it was sufficient for a book on the history of gardens to use engravings or woodcuts commissioned from artists, either depicting a current view or imaginatively reconstructing a past view. The use of photographs was pioneered by Inigo Triggs, in his *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland* (1902), *The Art of Garden Design in Italy* (1906), and finally *Garden Craft in Europe* (1913). *Country Life*, more than any other single publication, established a standard for the use of good-quality photographs that were sufficiently light in tone for details to be discerned clearly. *Country Life* was one of the first magazines to be printed uniformly on shiny paper; previously, most photographic reproductions had had to be printed on a different paper from the rest of the work, and inserted as plates. *Country Life* Publications not only produced three volumes of articles (*Gardens Old and New*) reprinted from the magazine, but also issued two works on Italian gardens (by Charles Latham, 1905, and E. March Phillips, 1919), using illustrations from its stable of photographers. Gothein's *History of Garden Art* carried the *Country Life* revolution into monographic publications: shiny paper, and a large quantity of illustrations,

including multiple plans, or plans and photographs of the same gardens, presented on facing pages or as near to each other as possible.

In 1913 Henri Stein's *Jardins de France* established a new sub-genre: the collection of historical illustrations – little text, but over 100 plates reproducing parterre plans and a few period views. In 1925, Luigi Dami's *Italian Garden* outdid Stein, by printing both sides of the leaf, and managed to include over 350 photographs, engravings, and plans. The beginning of the 1920s saw the publication in Paris of a series of portfolios of high-quality photographs, frequently accompanied by plans, of important gardens. There were three series of two-volume collections – *Jardins d'Italie* (1922) and *Jardins d'Espagne* (1926) edited by George Gromort, and *Jardins de France* (1925) by Prosper Péan – followed by a single-volume portfolio, *Les Beaux Jardins de France* (1926): an anthology of recent work by Achille Duchêne and his coevals, edited by Hector Saint-Sauveur.

One of the greatest benefits to garden-historical publication has been the spread of offset photolithography, since the 1960s, to take over all aspects of the printing and formatting of books. Just compare the multitude of images that Roger Phillips was able to assemble on the pages of his *Photographic Garden History* (1995) with even the best of previous literature. The presentation of multiple images on the same pages as text has made a great difference to the use of comparative illustrations. Georges Gromort, in his *Art des jardins* (1934), bombarded the reader with photographs, perspective drawings (generally by Achille Duchêne), and plans; but they all had to be reproduced on separate plates, so one's capacity to compare them easily, let alone thumb through them to find the relevant bit of text, was heavily compromised. Histories of landscape architecture have benefited immensely from the ability to place diagrammatic plans side by side: look at the various approaches presented by George Tobey's *History of Landscape Architecture* (1973), Thierry Mariage's *Univers de Le Nostre* (2003), and Tom Turner's *Garden History: Philosophy and Design* (2005), and see how comparisons and courses of historical development can be suggested in a way unavailable to their predecessors a century before.

Horticultural history

So far, virtually everything we have considered has fallen under the heading of garden design, but there is far more to most gardens than

the realisation of plans on paper. The history of plants, of cultivation, the technical aspects of gardening, forms a distinct category of interest, and one that has been comparatively neglected. For the mediaeval period, admittedly, the nature of the surviving documentation has more or less forced historians to concentrate on planting lists; but as soon as the Renaissance and the printing press appear on the scene, historians have happily shifted to questions of design, that can be dealt with satisfactorily from the artistic and architectural points of view. Of the major historians of gardening in the twentieth century, only Eleanour Sinclair Rohde was a practising horticulturist, and kept both planting and garden technique in the foreground throughout her chronological survey.

Horticultural history has been the poor relation of garden design history. Apart from books about plant hunters (generally concerned with narratives of adventure), the only books published for a general audience on horticultural history have been Anthony Huxley's *Illustrated History of Gardening* (1978),¹ and Penelope Hobhouse's *Plants in Garden History* (1992). Some garden historians have dismissed horticultural history as a sideline: the plodding world of maintenance, after the great artist has created the design, no more relevant to proper garden history than techniques of museum curation to the history of painting. The first signs of change in this attitude appeared in the 1970s, when Georgina Masson gave a paper at the first Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium challenging the conventional assumption that Italian Renaissance gardens were characterised by stone and clipped hedges, showing that the absence of flowers was a phenomenon of later decline in standards of maintenance; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Italian villa gardens had boasted extensive flower gardens (Masson, 1972). In 1990, Claudia Lazzaro took her approach a stage further, and published the first monograph on Italian Renaissance gardens which took their planting as the determining factor in their development (Lazzaro, 1990). It would be nice to say that her lead has been widely followed, but it certainly has not yet spread to the study of French seventeenth-century gardens. But in England, the work of Mark Laird and John Phibbs on the vegetation of the eighteenth-century landscape garden has provided an impressive counterpart to her work (Laird, 1999; Phibbs, 2010b).

¹ Anthony Huxley's book has, I think, a unique status: it is (so far) the only work of garden history to feature in a pop video (T'Pau's "Secret Garden", 1988).

A survey of writing on horticultural history will be largely a record of first attempts amidst great tracts of unexplored territory.

Kitchen gardens and orchards. Let us start with what throughout history has been the most important part of the garden: the orchard and kitchen garden. People have traditionally sought food before decoration. Those who live in towns may have access to markets for their food; country estates have had to be self-sufficient, and so the kitchen garden remained the central, the most heavily funded, and the best staffed department of the garden until the Second World War. But what garden historian, looking at any post-mediaeval period, has given it equal weight with the parterre or landscape? It was not until 1984 that the first important paper on the subject appeared: Susan Campbell's account of the creation of the kitchen garden at Frogmore, published in *Garden History* and followed the next year by her guidelines for the archaeological investigation of old kitchen gardens (Campbell, 1984; 1985). She did not publish a fully-fledged book on the subject until 1996, the whimsically titled *Charleston Keding* (anagram of "old kitchen gardens") – which in its second edition (2005) took the more immediately intelligible title *A History of Kitchen Gardening*. It would be nice to say that the trails she blazed have become thronged with historians, but while her work quickly became indispensable for restoration and conservation projects, the academic literature has remained small.

Fruit, for some reason, has always had a more copious literature than vegetables. No one ever attempted a survey of vegetable cultivars comparable to Robert Hogg's *Fruit Manual*, the last edition of which (1884) was the most comprehensive work on fruit varieties ever published; twentieth-century counterparts have deliberately been more selective (Elliott, 2010a). We now have a model history of apple cultivars, in the two editions of Joan Morgan's *Book of Apples* (1993, 2002), and we are eagerly awaiting her companion volume on pears. The history of cultivated varieties, however, is not the history of cultivation; there is an increasing literature on old fruit varieties, but there has been no substantial attempt to update F.A. Roach's *Cultivated Fruits of Britain* (1985) as a general history of fruit growing.

The country house estate is one thing; what of the commercial orchards and market gardens that furnished food for the rest of the population?

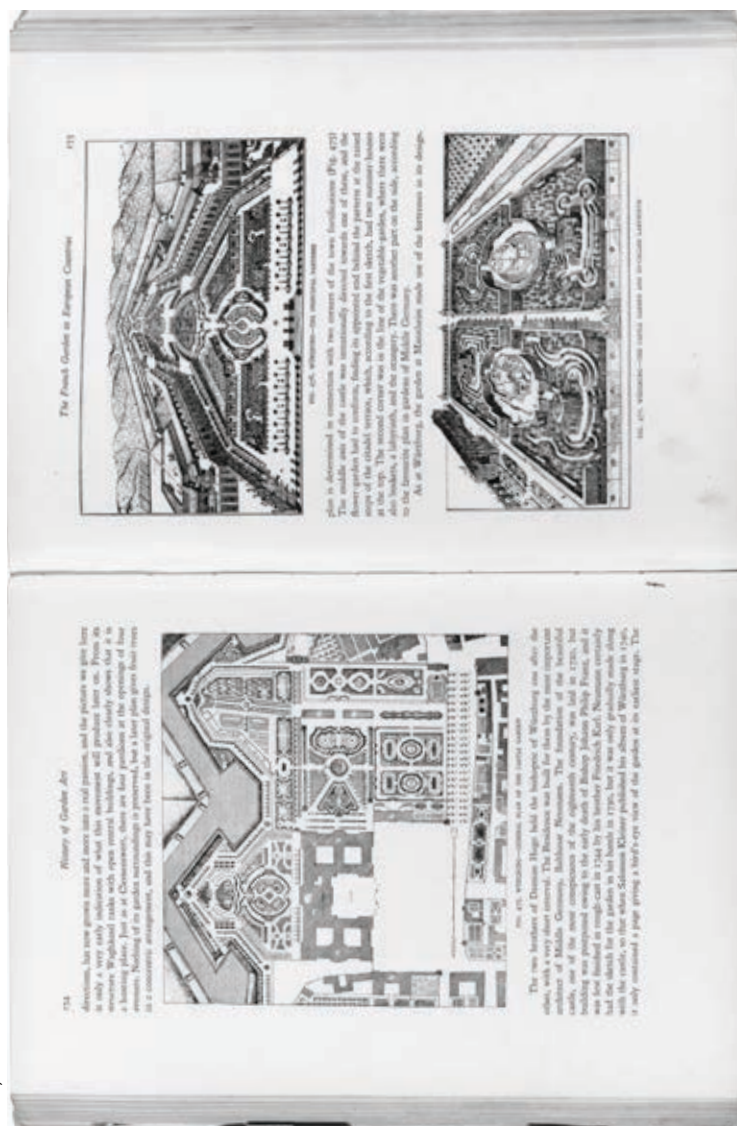


Fig. 11. A representative spread from Gothein, *History of Garden Art*, 1928 translation, in its time the most richly illustrated history of gardening.

Unfortunately market gardeners seldom wrote books, whether historical or practical. There was no survey of market gardens published before C.W. Shaw's *London Market Gardens* in 1879 – and an equal dearth since. The first historical study of the subject was Ronald Webber's *Market Gardening* (1972), following his history of *Covent Garden* (1969), both worthy starting points but sadly deficient in references. Malcolm Thick ransacked local archives and maps for his *Neat House Gardens: Early Market Gardening Around London* (1998), but apart from Davies and Hope-Mason's *From Orchard to Market* (2005), an organisational and definitely not horticultural history of the fruit and vegetable trade, his work has yet to be followed up for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A thriving periodical literature for the market trade grew up in the early twentieth century – now radically shrunk, since *Horticulture Week* absorbed the *Grower*, the last of its rivals, in 2006 – but it remains unexplored by historians.

Commercial horticulture. Rather more attention has been paid to the commercial trade in ornamental plants. The first nursery to be the subject of a monograph was the firm of Lee and Kennedy, studied by E.J. Willson in her *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery Hammersmith* (1961). But in a broader sense the study of nursery history was pioneered by the late John Harvey, who had begun collecting old nursery catalogues while pursuing his official career as an architectural historian (it was Harvey who identified Henry Yevele as the master mason responsible for the nave of Westminster Abbey – see his biography of Yevele, published in 1946). In the late 1960s he began to produce accounts of particular nurseries, and in 1972 he published the contents of a number of plant lists from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries in *Early Gardening Catalogues* (1972). He followed this with a history of *Early Nurserymen* (1974), and an examination of the prices of plants in the 1750s, which might stand as the earliest contribution of economic history to the history of gardens (Harvey, 1974). This was a worthy beginning, and Harvey's work has never been superseded; but he basically stopped at the end of the eighteenth century, completing the stories of the already established firms if they lasted past 1800 but not approaching any new nurseries founded after that date. Since Harvey's day we have had histories of a few individual firms; a number of twentieth-century nurseries have been the subject of books (more memoirs than histories), while for the nineteenth century there have been good studies of Loddiges, Cheal, Veitch, and

Sutton Seeds. We have also had surveys of the nurseries of particular geographical areas, most notably E.J. Willson's *West London Nursery Gardens* (1982) and *Nurserymen to the World: the Nursery Gardens of Woking and North-west Surrey* (1989), and the eccentrically titled "*Now Turned into Fair Garden Plots*" (*Stow*) by J.G.L. Burnby and the late Audrey Robinson (1983), dealing with nurseries in the Edmonton area. Add to this Elinor Roper's *Seedtime* (1989), an account of the growth of the seed industry in Essex. A small harvest, it must be said, despite the excellence of the research. The number of pamphlets giving the history of individual nurseries is growing, but forty years after Harvey started it, the history of nurseries has little more than begun.

Glasshouses. Nurseries, kitchen gardens, and ornamental gardens alike have relied on protected cultivation for many plants. The history of the glasshouse was first approached by architectural rather than garden historians, perhaps sensibly enough, but the resulting biases (such as the tendency to refer to Paxton as an engineer, and distance him from the horticultural world in which he worked) infected garden history for a long time. Research on the subject got off to a very creditable start with the architect Arnold Tschira's *Orangieren und Gewächshäuser* (1939), but this work long remained too little known because much of the stock was destroyed in the War, and it was not reprinted until 2000. At the beginning of the 1970s two approaches were offered: a purely horticultural perspective in Kenneth Lemmon's *Covered Garden* (1972), and an architectural one in John Hix's *Glass House* (1974), the scope of which extended far beyond horticultural uses of glass buildings. No significant archival work was being carried out on glasshouses, and inaccurate notions of history and attribution circulated in popular garden-historical writings; it was not until 1982 that Edward Diestelkamp published his study of the building of the Palm House, which revealed the role that Decimus Burton had played in reducing Richard Turner's "Gothic detail" into the "style-less" shape celebrated today (Diestelkamp, 1982). Since then we have had competent histories of glasshouses by Kohlmaier and Sartory (*Das Glas Haus*, 1981; Engl. trans. 1986) and May Woods (*Glass Houses*, 1988), though the horticultural history of the pre-nineteenth-century orangery is still largely unexplored. But the most detailed study of the construction techniques and other mechanisms of the glasshouse remains a work too little known, because published in a limited edition in Wageningen: van den Muijzenberg's *History of Greenhouses* (1980).

Tools and techniques. For a long time the only publication on the history of garden tools was Kay Sanecki's little book *Old Garden Tools* (1979), apart from a little specialist literature on lawn mowers, the only category of garden tools to which specialist societies have been devoted. In 1995–1996 I published twelve articles on the history of garden tools in *The Garden* (odd-numbered months), which have yet to appear in book form – and which, again, are only a beginning, since based primarily on a literature search rather than on the handling and identification of artefacts.

Of the various techniques used in the garden, ornamental pruning has been the only one to attract a literature – but Miles Hadfield's *Topiary and Ornamental Hedges* (1971) was a very meagre beginning, and there has yet to be a geographically thorough survey. Margaret Marston produced a thesis on the history of propagation techniques which she issued in a limited edition (Marston, 1953), but her work has not been followed up to any significant extent. Neither fruit pruning nor grafting has been the subject of significant historical research yet.

History of plants. Books about plant hunters are legion, though Alice Coats' *Quest for Plants* (1969) is still the most comprehensive account on a worldwide scale. But the history of plant introductions is a separate matter, hedged around with difficulties, and the pioneering work on the subject, Richard Gorer's *Growth of Gardens* (Gorer, 1978), has yet to be superseded.

When the Royal Horticultural Society's *Dictionary of Gardening* was published in the 1950s, its compilers (F.W. Chittenden, W.T. Stearn, and Patrick Synge) made an effort to give the introduction dates of the plants it discussed. Because of the lack of early records, first mention in a published work was considered the best approximation to an introduction date, so the work fairly bristles with repetitions of 1597 (Gerard's *Herball*), 1629 (Parkinson's *Paradisus*), etc. When the work was revised in the 1990s, Anthony Huxley and Mark Griffiths omitted these introduction dates, as error-ridden and difficult to substantiate. Many accepted dates of introduction are based on those proffered by Aiton in the *Hortus Kewensis* (last and largest edition, 1810); Aiton used not only Gerard and Parkinson, but the records at the Royal Gardens at Kew and at certain private estates, most notably Badminton, to whose records he had access. As more of the archives of country estates are searched, transcribed, and

published, I suspect that many accepted dates of introduction will be pushed backward. Official plant-collecting expeditions were a decided rarity until Kew sent Francis Masson to South Africa in 1772; but there was a steady trickle of plants brought back unofficially by sailors, travellers, and diplomats, most of which were never recognised in print. Take the story of the introduction of the fuchsia, which was first marketed by Lee and Kennedy of Hammersmith – Lee having allegedly spotted a potted fuchsia on the windowsill of a sailor's wife (Willson, 1961: 28–31); the story may be dubious but the circumstances are believable. This process continued unabated; the Horticultural Society in its early days gave many medals to sea captains who had successfully brought plants into Britain from overseas. So there are many ways in which plants could arrive in Britain without that introduction being documented. The various studies by John Harvey of what was available from British nurseries in the eighteenth century provide the best data source yet compiled (see especially Harvey, 1988); comparable studies for the nineteenth century remain to be tackled.

So much for Britain: what about introductions into other countries? The literature is much more meagre as soon as one crosses the Channel. Federico Maniero has compiled a valuable record of plant introductions into Italy (Maniero, 2000); I have yet to see a similar work for any other country. The European empires bring further problems, for every administration was in search of economically important plants that could be cultivated in its colonies, and the worldwide movement of plants through imperial channels has yet to be studied outside the context of particular botanic gardens. Spain in particular, as the administrator of the first empire with sizeable territories in both the Americas and eastern Asia, was responsible for the spread of many plants throughout the tropics, so that cannas, originally from South America, were thought of as native plants of India and eastern Asia by early botanists, and accepted by Linnaeus as pan-tropical. But Spain had retreated into itself by the eighteenth century, and never published the records of its botanical explorers, which languished in the archives of the Madrid Botanic Garden and other institutions. In recent years, Maria Pilar de San Pio has overseen the publication of many of the results of Spanish expeditions from the eighteenth century onward; so we can hope that scholars will be attracted to the cultivated plant world of the Spanish empire as a research topic.

But introduction is only the first step. Not all newly introduced plants become popular; some die out within a short interval, and may be reintroduced later. Adjustment to climate can also cause a hiatus in an introduced plant's career; David Douglas introduced the Monterey pine in 1833, but most of the resulting stock died in the winter of 1837–1838, and the plant had effectively to be reintroduced in the 1850s. The case of the monkey-puzzle can stand as a cautionary tale: it is usually stated to have been introduced in the form of seed by Archibald Menzies in 1795, planted at Kew; but no further trees were ever propagated from the Kew specimens, and the bulk of Victorian monkey-puzzles were presumably derived from the later introduction by the Veitch nurseries. Even so, in 1841 three different nurseries were advertising monkey-puzzles in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, and it is highly unlikely that a commercially viable range of specimens could have been propagated from Veitch material by that time. In between these two dates, monkey-puzzle seed had been sent by James Macrae to the Horticultural Society, and in 1826 the minutes of Council (the RHS's governing body) reported that seedlings were ready to be distributed to the Society's members (Elliott, 2004: 202–203 and note 19).

There have been many attempts to divide European history into periods, and one of the most interesting was proposed by Gregor Kraus, the Director of the Halle Botanic Garden in Germany, as part of his history of that garden (Kraus, 1894). He devised six periods, categorised according to the sources of plants introduced into European gardens, beginning with a period before 1560, when there were few foreign introductions, and carrying on up to 1820. Despite the oddity of two different periods (his periods 4 and 5) covering the same years, this was a very handy and workable scheme, and could serve as an overview of the history of European horticulture. As for the years since 1820, an extension to Kraus's scheme was proposed by W.T. Stearn, with three additional periods, culminating in a "period of hybrids" beginning in 1930 (Stearn, 1965: 325–326). Kurt Wein, meanwhile, had produced another revision, in which he linked Kraus's periods to the Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, and Enlightenment (Stearn, 1977: 48–50). Stearn's "period of hybrids" did not mean that hybridisation began around 1930; the nineteenth century saw extensive hybridisation programmes, which poured thousands of varieties of South American and African plants, now mostly vanished, into British

flower gardens.¹ It really means that since 1930 there have been far fewer introductions from the wild than at any previous point in the past three hundred years. I would argue that garden use is a more comprehensive category than introductions, and that the vogue for seventeenth-century herbaceous border plants in the late nineteenth century, for old roses and then for Victorian subtropical plants in the twentieth, ought to be taken into consideration. Table 1 (opposite) sets out the Kraus–Stearn scheme, with another column for my own suggested revisions.

The introduction of plants has also brought other things with them. Plant diseases have formed an important part of horticultural and indeed social history: consider the way Dutch elm disease has changed the British landscape, and the long-term consequences of the potato blight of the 1840s in provoking an Irish diaspora to America. The historian William McNeill received plaudits for his book *Plagues and Peoples* (1977), which is widely credited (after Braudel, presumably) with launching the new genre of environmental history that has resulted in such works as Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel* (2005). But here the horticultural historians were for once in advance of their establishment colleagues. McNeill devoted only a single paragraph to epidemics of plant disease, primarily the potato blight (McNeill, 197: 259). But two of the masterpieces of twentieth-century history had already been devoted to that crisis: E.C. Large's *Advance of the Fungi* (1940) – primarily a history of the development of the science and the technology of fungus control – and Redvers Salaman's *History and Social Influence of the Potato* (1949). Various historical studies of potatoes have appeared since then, foothills surrounding Salaman's peak, most valuable when they add accounts of particular cultivars.

¹ “Now mostly vanished” – the Victorian period invested immense effort in the breeding of bedding varieties of various garden plants, mostly of South African or South American origin – pelargoniums, verbenas, petunias, calceolarias, and (somewhat later) tuberous begonias. While strictly speaking half-hardy perennials, these plants were usually treated as annuals and propagated anew each year; so when fashions changed and they were discarded, they disappeared. Only a handful of Victorian pelargoniums and begonias are still available in cultivation, and no cultivars from the other genera.

Table 1. Kraus's table of European history as defined by plant introductions, with modifications by Stearn and Elliott.

No.	Dates	Kraus and Stearn	Elliott's revisions
1	To 1560	Period of European plants	
2	1560–1620	Period of oriental, or Near East, plants	
3	1620–1686	Period of Canadian and Virginian plants	
4	1687–1772	Period of Cape (South African) plants	Period of Cape and North American plants
5	1687–1772	Period of North American trees and shrubs	
6	1772–1820	Period of New Holland (Australian) plants	
7	1820–1900	Period of tropical glasshouse plants and hardy plants from Japan and North America	Period of eclectic introductions and revivals
8	1900–1930	Period of West Chinese plants	
9	1930–	Period of hybrids	Period of hybrids and revivals

History of flower shows, exhibitions, and floral decoration. In addition to food gardening, ornamental gardening, and commercial growing, there is another category of plant use that warrants historical attention: display and exhibition.

The growing of plants for purposes of display rather than garden effect – whether in the house, the glasshouse, the display bench, or special forms of staging such as the auricula theatre – goes back for centuries, but has been little documented until recently. It probably played a role in tulipomania (a handy and long-familiar term, recently displaced for obscure reasons by the less euphonious tulipmania – a trend worth resisting), which at least has been well investigated, with studies from Solms-Laubach's *Weizen und Tulpe und deren Geschichte* (1899), through Wilfrid Blunt's *Tulipomania* (1950) to Anna Pavord's *Tulip* (1999). Ernst Krelage published a quantity of the original documents during the Second World War, and a further anthology has recently appeared, this time in English (Krelage, 1942; Emmett, 2000). Most recently, an economic historian has challenged the idea that there was anything

special about tulipomania: it was a perfectly normal market adjustment (Garber, 2000). I cannot comment on the market analysis, but the memory of tulipomania became one of the great object lessons of horticultural life, and while hyacinths, dahlias, and orchids experienced comparable booms of price inflation in their turn, there has never been quite such a bubble again.

Tulips were, of course, the primary example of what came to be known as florists' flowers: plants whose flowers, for whatever reason (e.g. virus infection) produced striking variations in the colour and shape of their flowers. During the course of the seventeenth century, local societies sprang up in England (query: also on the continent? unexplored territory), devoted to the competitive exhibition of such flowers. The traditional categories of florists' flowers were tulips, carnations, pinks, ranunculus, auriculas, polyanthus, hyacinths, and anemones. The modern historical literature on the plants themselves has been meagre – Sacheverell Sitwell published the pioneering work on the subject, *Old Fashioned Flowers*, in 1939, but the first monograph on a particular genus, Oscar Moreton's *Old Carnations and Pinks* (1955), was notoriously error-ridden, and where are the histories of hyacinths and ranunculus? Is the history of the anemone to be left forever to Roy Genders?

The study of the florists' societies was initiated in the 1980s by Ruth Duthie, first in an article in *Garden History* in 1982, and then in a book, *Florists' Flowers and Societies* (1988). Since then, despite some studies by Jim Gould published in *Garden History* in 1989–1991, the field has lain largely fallow. One would have thought that social historians would have gravitated to the subject. There was a short-lived effort in the 1820s towards publishing the records of florists' shows, and a longer-lasting one of publishing the records of gooseberry shows in the north of England; but this material has so far been largely neglected.

As for flower shows, Chelsea has had three histories devoted to it so far, with a fourth due for publication in 2013; there have also been works on the Ghent Floralties (Ronald Viane *et al.*, *Flowers in History 200*, 2008) and the Philadelphia Flower Show (Levine and Rogers, *The Philadelphia Flower Show*, 2003). Pamphlet histories of local societies and shows have begun to appear. Again, one would have thought that this was ideal territory for social historians to examine.

The use of plants for floral decoration in the house is the subject of lively attention, but mostly from the point of view of flower arrangers striving for accuracy in making period arrangements. The problem that has bedevilled the history of the subject is that, for the period before books on flower arranging began to appear around 1860, the major source of historical information is paintings of bouquets and vases of flowers, and how trustworthy are these as records of what was actually done? Every modern historian of flower arranging has been aware that Dutch flower pieces frequently portray vases full of plants that do not flower in the same season, but the assumption is that even if the choice of flowers cannot be trusted, the style of arrangement can be. There have been three major histories of the subject, representing a steady increase in range of evidence and sophistication of analysis: Julia Berrall's *History of Flower Arrangement* (1953; rev. ed. 1969); Dorothy Cooke and Pamela McNicol's *History of Flower Arranging* (1989), and Mary Rose Blacker's *Flora Domestica* (2000) – this last begun with the collaboration of Gervase Jackson-Stops before his death, and making the heaviest use so far of archaeological evidence. And now that we have had the first history of a piece of flower arranging equipment – Patricia Coccoris's *Curious History of the Bulb Vase* (2012) – the ability to assess that archaeological evidence has been improved. As for the history of professional floristry, Jennifer Davies' *Saying it with Flowers: the Story of the Flower Shop* (2000) has made a start, comparable to Webber's pioneering work on market gardening.

Garden history outside the European orbit

This review of garden history has concentrated mainly on Britain and, to a lesser extent, Europe and its empires and former empires. It would leave it seriously incomplete to finish it without giving some consideration to state of garden-historical research on the gardens of the non-European civilisations, albeit with the proviso that I can provide no account of literature in the non-European languages.

Prehistory and the ancient world. The earliest evidence for ornamental gardens has so far come from excavations in Egypt and Mesopotamia, with the Greek/Anatolian area following shortly after. As archaeology expands its domain, this may change: but for the present, while we suspect that agriculture (and therefore, at a time when it was hardly feasible to

distinguish them, horticulture) has a long lineage, the evidence is sparse. Jane Renfrew's *Palaeoethnobotany* (1973) is the best survey to date of the results of excavations of prehistoric sites in Europe and western Asia: but all it can tell us is the identity of the plants used for food, not how they were cultivated or in what settings. Most commentators on the ancient world assumed that agriculture preceded the development of towns; Jane Jacobs famously argued that towns preceded agriculture, for they provided both social stability and the capacity to diversify and specialise in terms of job (Jacobs, 1969: 18–48). If that is the case, then the evidence for demarcated gardens would be doubly important, for agriculture as well as horticulture.

Egypt has been the most fertile subject for the researches, and sometimes the imaginations, of historians of ancient gardens, ever since 1886, when Franz Woenig published *Die Pflanzen im alten Aegypten* (second edition, 1897) and Charles Moldenke his dissertation, completed at Strasbourg, on the uses of trees in ancient Egypt. The burst of excavations carried out after the First World War, which gave Tutankhamun to the popular press, gave the works of Fernande Hartman (*L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Egypte*, 1923) and Georg Schweinfurth (*Die Gartenpflanzen in alten Ägypten*, 1924) to the world of scholars. Most recently we have had Alix Wilkinson's *Garden in Ancient Egypt* (1998), John Bellingher's *Ancient Egyptian Gardens* (2008), and various works by the Kew botanist Nigel Hepper. Egyptian wall paintings, whatever the ambiguities of their interpretation, have left us a visual source not sufficiently paralleled in any other ancient culture.

By the time we come to Roman times, the situation becomes easier, for the archaeological investigation of Pompeii has yielded striking results, summarised by Jashemski (1979). The excavations at Fishbourne (Cunliffe, 1971) have shown us much about Roman gardens in Britain, but a poor survival rate for pollen has meant that the horticultural evidence has not been as prolific as at Pompeii.

In the search for origins, there is always a tendency to look for the “primitive”, and to see the earliest finds as likely to indicate the first faltering steps of human development in some particular endeavour. It would be wise to resist this tendency. The first known museum of

antiquities dates from the sixth century BC,¹ and it would be well to bear in mind the possibility that the earliest garden we find may already have been an example of historical revivalism.

South Asia and the Islamic world. The gardens of Persia, India, and Islamic Spain were obviously less familiar to garden historians than those of Europe, but had long been rumoured to have influenced European garden design. Marie Luise Gothein spent her latter years on a cultural history of Indian gardens (Gothein, 1926), which has never been translated into English and generally languishes unknown. C.M. Villiers-Stuart published *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, the first book-length account of the subject, in 1913, and half a century later it was still considered sound enough by Sylvia Crowe to be adopted as a guide for her own *Gardens of Mughal India* (1972). Thereafter the studies of gardens in India and the Islamic world generally started multiplying, with Elisabeth MacDougall editing a *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* volume on the subject in 1976. Elizabeth Moynihan had begun a study of surviving Mughal gardens in India in 1973; her *Paradise as a Garden* appeared in 1979. The title indicates a major theme of these earlier works on Islamic gardens, the idea that the garden was constructed as an image of Paradise. "Intrigued by the symbolic nature of the gardens", wrote Moynihan, "I attempted to trace their origins by working backwards from the seventeenth century through Central Asia and Persia to ancient Mesopotamia and the concept of Paradise as a Garden – one of mankind's oldest ideals" (Moynihan, 1979: vi). In addition to Moynihan, there were Jonas Lehrman's *Earthly Paradise* (1980), John Brookes' *Gardens of Paradise* (1987), and Emma Clark's *Underneath Rivers Flow* (1996), the title a reference to the garden of Eden. Notice that in the quotation from Moynihan the assumption of the symbolic nature seems to have preceded the research; similarly, when John Brookes says that "The enclosed garden thus also becomes a defined space, encompassing within itself a total reflection of the cosmos

¹ When Leonard Woolley was excavating Ur, he was puzzled by the discovery of a number of artefacts from different periods jumbled together, until he found inscriptions that indicated they had been assembled by Bel-shalti-nannar, the sister of Belshazzar, as an educational collection (Woolley, 1929: 199–204). You are free to imagine the court ladies of Babylon attending lectures on the development of Sumerian style, and then going home to try out the retro look.

and, hence, paradise" (Brookes, 1987: 23), there is no documentation provided to show that this cosmic reflection is more than Brookes' own preconception. But in 2000 D. Fairchild Ruggles challenged the assumption that there was such a symbolic programme:

My study of Andalusian gardens has yielded no evidence for an explicit association between the humanly constructed palatine garden and heavenly paradise in the eighth through tenth centuries. To the contrary, gardens belonged to the world of luxury and personal vainglory that was, on more than one occasion, castigated as the work of the devil. Whereas the foundation of a mosque for the worship of God was an act of piety, the creation of a garden was not (Ruggles, 2000: 219).

And in line with her political and environmental interpretation of the emergence of Islamic gardens, more recent studies have emphasised the political. Whereas MacDougall's Dumbarton Oaks colloquium had articles on "The Celestial Garden in Islam" and "Paradise on Earth: the Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature", the anthology *Middle East Garden Traditions*, edited by Michael Conan (2007), contains five essays on the political use of Safavid and Mughal gardens, whose titles brandish the vocabulary of "political metaphor" and "imperial display".

China, Japan, and Eastern Asia. China has aroused a fascination in European garden makers and historians since the first accounts sent back by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century. Sir William Chambers published a fanciful account of Chinese gardens in his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardens* (1773), intended as propaganda for the sorts of changes he wished to introduce into garden design; the consequence was that on the continent, an unwillingness to grant too much priority or influence to English models led various pundits to describe the landscape garden as "anglo-chinois", and the alleged Chinese influence on the English garden remained a recurrent theme in the garden-historical literature until the second half of the twentieth century (see Jacques, 1990, for a correction). Osvald Sirén, who produced the first important study by a European scholar of Chinese gardens, followed it a year later by its avowed companion volume, *China and the Gardens of Europe*, in which the decisive influence of China is taken for granted despite a heavy accumulation of evidence

for other conflicting influences (Sirén, 1949, 1950). The reputation of Chinese gardens has often been carried by rumour alone; I doubt that E.H. Dance was speaking from personal experience when he wrote, in his delightful and too little known monograph *History the Betrayer*:

But by gardening Bacon meant landscape gardening in units of thirty-five acres or so: and on that scale the specious estates of rich Chinese for centuries past have exhibited a 'civility and elegance' beside which the achievements of Lenotre seem simple, and Capability Brown not much more than an accomplished hedger and ditcher (Dance, 1960: 105).

In recent years we have had good studies of Chinese garden history, from Maggie Keswick's *Chinese Garden* (1978) to Vera Schwarcz's study of *Place and Memory in the Singing Crane Garden* (2008 – note the emphasis on memory). We need an up-to-date study of the reputation of Chinese gardens, though a good beginning has been made with Bianca Maria Rinaldi's study of the Jesuit sources (Rinaldi, 2006). Let it be acknowledged with shame that, after generations of either uncritical acceptance or idle dismissal as fakery, it was not until 1998 that Ciaran Murray traced the true etymology of Sir William Temple's word "sharawadji" to the Japanese *sorowaji* (Murray, 1998).

Interest in Japanese gardens was delayed until the mid-nineteenth century because of Japan's closure to the West. Lorraine Kuck was the primary western authority on the Japanese garden, beginning her career in 1936 with a little volume, *One Hundred Kyoto Gardens*, going on to produce the first substantial monograph, *The Art of Japanese Gardens* (1940), and finally publishing her summation, *The World of the Japanese Garden* (1968). Since that time there have been some brilliant studies, including Holborn's *Ocean in the Sand*, 1978, and various works by Teiji Itoh, most notably *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden* (1983). Standing behind all these works, however, is the major Japanese survey of historic gardens, Shigemori's *Nihon Teien shi Zukan* [Japanese gardens illustrated], published in 26 volumes between 1936 and 1939. Shigemori was himself a garden designer (Tschumi, 2007), and his views on the influence of Zen Buddhism on the Japanese garden have been adopted, perhaps uncritically, by all the foreign scholars who have

followed him. Will the Zen garden be targeted by the same revisionism that has challenged the idea of the Islamic paradise garden? The first archaeological investigations of Japanese historic gardens are currently in progress: it will be interesting to see whether the image of the Zen garden as currently understood and appreciated in the West has had an uninterrupted historical pedigree. Meanwhile a quite different aspect of Japanese garden history has been tackled, with Kashioka and Ogisu's study of the florists' flowers of Japan (1997).

The history of Korean gardens is only beginning to be explored by western scholars: Jan Woudstra has recently collaborated with a Korean scholar on an eye-opening study of the emergence, from the fifteenth century if not earlier, of an independent tradition of greenhouse construction in Korea (Sang & Woudstra, 2007).

The peoples "without history". Horticulture exists everywhere that people do not merely hunt or forage for food; but an absence of written records and datable events has condemned many cultures to be treated as fodder for anthropologists rather than historians. Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (1935) is the exemplary case of an anthropologist's treatment of horticultural practice by a "primitive" people. Where such horticulture has received an historical treatment is where traditional practice has been altered by, or has had to adapt to, the advent of Europeans. Wayne Suttles, the self-proclaimed founder of "ecological anthropology", launched his project with a study of the effects of the introduction of the potato on the Indians of the Pacific Northwest (Suttles, 1951), and anthropologists, if not garden historians, have followed his lead. (See Marshall (1999) for a recent example of the reconsideration of Amerindian horticultural traditions.)

The Aztecs have escaped from the category of "peoples without history", but their introduction into the world of garden history took place in the nineteenth century, before many Aztec documents had been studied. W.H. Prescott, in his *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), made by implication an arresting claim:

But the pride of Iztapalapan, on which its lord had freely lavished his care and his revenues, was its celebrated gardens. They covered an immense tract of land; were laid out in regular squares, and the paths

intersecting them were bordered with trellises, supporting creepers and aromatic shrubs that loaded the air with their perfumes. The gardens were stocked with fruit-trees, imported from distant places, and with the gaudy family of flowers which belong to the Mexican Flora, scientifically arranged, and growing luxuriant in the equable temperature of the table-land... Such are the accounts transmitted of these celebrated gardens, at a period when similar horticultural establishments were unknown in Europe; and we might well doubt their existence in this semi-civilized land, were it not a matter of such notoriety at the time, and so explicitly attested by the invaders (Prescott, 1843: II, 60–61).

A footnote added: “The earliest instance of a Garden of Plants in Europe is said to have been at Padua, in 1545” (not far off – Pisa predated Padua by a year). The suspicion has lingered fitfully ever since that the European tradition of botanic gardens may have been inspired by the Aztecs (see e.g. Hyams & MacQuitty, 1969: 12). Today, archaeological investigation has revealed much about Aztec gardens, and even the chinampas, or floating gardens, of Mexico City have been studied historically, even as they seem to be on the point of disappearing (Evans, 2000; Granziera, 2001).

Some random thoughts by way of conclusion

Garden history arose as a means of providing justifications for changes in artistic style; it developed slowly into an eclectic discipline that, to a greater or lesser extent, broke free from the claims of current fashions to embrace the entire range of styles in gardens across time and space. As this eclecticism broadened in the twentieth century, commitment to a style was replaced, in the minds of many commentators, by a desire to see in gardens some image of transcendence – the garden as a symbol of paradise, of religious aspirations, of cosmic harmony, whether Eden, the Virgin Mary, the Islamic heaven, Zen Buddhism, Cartesian philosophy, or a longing for the infinite. The twenty-first century, by contrast, appears to be challenging ideas of transcendence and looking instead for politics, diplomacy, and allegories of power.

Whether these ideas of transcendence are accurate accounts of the motivations of the creators of historic gardens will no doubt long be debated; but they are certainly part of the twentieth-century experience

of gardens, and therefore part of that deposit of memory to which our latest fashion in historical interpretation is devoted.

Now, are there any closing bits of advice I can offer aspiring garden historians, to help them through their investigations? First, an aphorism which I attribute to G.K. Chesterton, though I have been unsuccessful in locating it while writing this paper: “Whenever I hear it said that something is here to stay, I know it is on its way out”. To which I would add the converse, Whenever I hear it said that something has finally disappeared once and for all, I know it is on its way back. And lastly, always bear in mind as your operative principles: everything begins earlier than you think, and carries on longer than you think.

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NB. Translations from Aragon, Mangin and the Gothein correspondence are the author's.

The Architectural Association course on the Conservation of Historic Landscapes, Parks and Gardens

TED FAWCETT

c/o The Lindley Library, the Royal Horticultural Society, London

The proposal

Early in 1986 Alvin Boyarsky, the Director of the Architectural Association's School of Architecture, said that he would like to run a course on the conservation of historic landscapes and gardens, similar to the successful one on historic buildings which the AA had been running for some ten years.

It was a timely thought. The Garden History Society had been founded in 1965 and interest in the subject was expanding rapidly. Its journal, edited by Christopher Thacker, provided a regular flow of authoritative articles, but nowhere was the discipline taught.

Alvin asked Jane Fawcett, one of the tutors of the Building course, whether she could suggest anyone who might be able to set up and run a similar course for historic landscapes and gardens. She suggested me. I was a founder member of the Garden History Society, and had been its chairman for a regulation three years. At the National Trust, I was its first Director of Public Relations, expanding its membership from 150,000 in 1969 to 1,500,000 in fifteen years; but I had never taught. It was a challenge I decided to try.

The Architectural Association was Britain's first school of architecture, and it has always led in innovation. Conservation was not a main-line subject for it, and landscape and gardens were peripheral to its interests. Clearly one was not going to get much help from the AA staff. Alvin, however, decided to assign one of his assistants, Sarah Matheson, to help. Without her, I would have got nowhere. She knew how to operate the system and was a good organiser.

I also took on Gordon Ballard, who had trained at the AA, and had worked in the Department of Science and Education – and was a founder member of the Garden History Society. He was a lucky choice, proving to be hard-working and an excellent tutor.

Together we worked on a potential curriculum. We decided to design a course that would give equal weight to theory and practice. Site visits would therefore be important. It would be designed for people professionally interested in the subject, for instance planners, landscape architects, landscape consultants, architects, garden historians, government officials, and the owners or managers of historic landscapes, parks and gardens. Each course would run for two years, meeting every Friday during the AA terms, from 10 am to 6 pm. On successful completion of the course, including a thesis that satisfied an external Board of Examiners, students would be awarded an AA Diploma in the Conservation of Historic Landscapes, Parks and Gardens.

Importantly, we decided that the lecturers must be the best that could be found. We also decided that in each session the lecturer should speak for forty minutes, leaving twenty minutes for discussion. This proved to be critical to the success of the course. Questions, instead of interrupting the flow, could be kept to the end, and allowed enough time to tackle whatever had not been understood, or seemed questionable. Lectures can be an inefficient way of teaching; notes, unless carefully revised, are forgotten. Participation in discussion ensures that everyone is awake. A tutor was always in attendance to steer discussion and to bring in students who might not otherwise have participated.

The curriculum

After the initial planning stage, the detailed curriculum was drawn up with advice from a team of advisers (see table 1). The course included detailed study of the following:

- The history of garden design from the Romans to the present.
- Background, geology, climate, geography, agriculture, arboriculture.
- Horticulture. Plant introductions, plant use, planting design, obtaining plants.
- Garden maintenance, past and present techniques.
- Research, history and surveys; management plans.
- Artefacts: garden buildings, water features, sculpture, etc.
- Conservation and restoration: legislation, planning regulations, finance, the conservation movement.

Table 1. Advisers on the curriculum, 1986.

Name	Position at the time
Elizabeth Banks, DiplLA, ALI	Landscape architect, Land Use Consultants
Brent Elliott, PhD	Librarian, Royal Horticultural Society
Patrick Goode, MA, MPhil	Senior Lecturer in Landscape History, Thames Polytechnic
David Jacques, MSc, DiplTP	Gardens Inspector, English Heritage
Michael Symes, MA, MPhil	Department of Extramural Studies, London University

A typical day consisted of four lectures, each followed by discussion, or two lectures and a site visit.

Although the course was roughly chronological, certain subjects appeared throughout, for instance the history of layout and design, upkeep and maintenance, plant introductions and planting design, garden buildings and decoration, the history of horticulture, the making of surveys and management plans.

The first year dealt with all subjects up to 1788 (the year of Capability Brown's death); the second covered the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Lecturers

I knew a wide range of experts in the course of my work with the National Trust, and in particular from my membership of its Gardens Panel, which controlled gardening throughout the Trust's properties. More information came through membership and chairmanship of the Garden History Society.

I also had detailed help from Rosemary Angel, Elizabeth Banks, Gordon Ballard, Brian Halliwell, David Jacques, and Michael Symes.

Over the years the team of lecturers varied, as new scholars emerged with expertise on particular subjects. A list, as complete as my records allow, of the lecturers will be found in Table 2.

	10.00am-11.30am	11.40am-1.00pm	2.00pm-3.30pm	4.00pm-5.30pm
4/10	TUTORS Discussion on Years Work	TED FAWCETT 19th Century Social History	BRENT ELLIOTT Aesthetic Theory in the 19th Century	BRENT ELLIOTT William Barron
11/10	TOM TURNER J.C. London - his life writing and influence	Discussion	BRENT ELLIOTT 19th Century Garden Publications	BRENT ELLIOTT Bedding, Carpet and Sub-tropical Bedding
18/10	VISIT to Chatsworth, Biddulph, Derby Arboretum, Elvaston, Alton Towers			
25/10	JOHN GLENN and TEAM Surveying, Methodology and Practice - Part 1			
1/11	JANE FAWCETT Victorian Houses - the background		PETER THODAY The Productive Garden	
8/11	BRENT ELLIOTT Cemeteries	BRENT ELLIOTT 19th Century Parks	TED FAWCETT 19th Century Plant Hunters	TUTORS and JAN WOULDSTRA Explanation of Planting Exercise
15/11	JOHN GLENN and TEAM Surveying, Methodology and Practice - Part 2 (Location - Chiswick)			
22/11	JOHN DAVIS 19th Century Ornament	ELIZABETH WHITE Conservation of Garden Furniture	BRENT ELLIOTT Rock and Japanese Gardens	TUTORS and JAN WOULDSTRA Analysis of Planting Exercise
29/11	PHILLIP COTTON - TUTORS Visit to Claremount Garden		TREVOR PROUDFOOT Sculpture Workshop	
6/12	JOHN POPHAM Conservation Studies		HAZEL CONWAY Public Parks - History and Conservation	

GARDEN CONSERVATION - Autumn Term 1996 - 2nd Year

Figs 1, 2 (opposite). Timetables for the second-year programme, 1996-1997.

	10.00am - 11.30am	11.40am - 1.00pm	2.00pm - 3.30pm	4.00pm - 5.30pm
10/1	TUTORS Dissertations	JOHN SELLS Restoration of Garden Buildings	JANE BROWN Lutyens and Jekyll	
17/1	BRENT ELLIOTT Arborea and Woodland Gardens	BRENT ELLIOTT Conservatories	MARC SCHOLLEN 19th Century Gardens in Northern Europe	
24/1	DAVID LAMBERT Public Enquiries	DAVID LAMBERT Conservation Theory	JANE BROWN Arts and Crafts Gardens	
31/1	TED FAWCETT Presentation and Public Relations		PETER SIBLEY Urban Parks - Problems of Conservation	
7/2	ALAN TAYLOR Role of Local Government in Garden and Landscape Conservation	ALAN TAYLOR Work of County Conservation Officers	BRENDA LEWIS The Association of County Garden Trusts	TED FAWCETT The Garden History Society
14/2	SEMINAR Tutors - The Do's and Don'ts of Conservation		JANE BROWN Amateur and Professional Gardens of the Twentieth Century	
21/2	HILARY TAYLOR Garden Cities Garden Suburbs, Small County Houses		HARRIET JORDAN English Heritage and the Register	HARRIET JORDAN Thomas Mawson
28/2	JOYCE BELLAMY Gardens, Parks and Problems in South London		BRENT ELLIOTT Historical Revivalism in the 20th Century	Discussion
7/3	JOYCE BELLAMY Visit to Gardens and Parks in South London			
14/3	RICHARD BISGROVE William Robinson	RICHARD BISGROVE Plants and Garden Design	JEAN STONE The Rustic Taste	ANTHONY PASLEY Construction and Maintenance of Hard Surfaces
21/3	AXEL GRIESINGER Muskau and Wörlitz and German Architectural Gardens		JAN WOUDESTRA The Modern Movement in France, the Netherlands and England	

GARDEN CONSERVATION - Spring Term 1997 - 2nd Year - 6.12.96

Course content

The recruitment of students was organised by Barbara Paca-Steele, by agreement with the AA. We advertised through the Garden History Society, the National Trust, and English Heritage, and in the *Guardian*. The result was 120 applications for twenty places. The standard was high, many being as well qualified as the tutors – including Susan Campbell, the acknowledged authority on kitchen gardens, Dr Andrew Sclater, an expert on arboriculture, and Christopher Sumner, later to be English Heritage's adviser on gardens. The students clearly expected a top-level standard from the course, and they got it. On the first day they were welcomed by the Architectural Association's Director, Alvin Boyarsky; a perspective on garden history by Mavis Batey, soon to be the President of the Garden History Society; lectures by Peter Drewett, architect and archaeologist, Oliver Rackham, the authority on ancient woodlands, and Brian Halliwell, Head of Education at Kew.

The overall objective of the course was to qualify the students to undertake, sympathetically and competently, all tasks connected with the restoration of historic landscapes, parks and gardens, from the initial survey to the final report and management plan, including the supervision of the work of contractors. With this in mind, visits were arranged to study gardens and landscapes, particularly those in course of restoration.

First-year students were required to produce a report based on original research on a little-known historic garden or landscape, and a further essay on one of the eighteenth-century parks or gardens visited, with recommendations for its restoration. In addition, students undertook group projects, typically a report with plans, for the restoration or management of a neglected historic site, each group making a presentation followed by discussion. In their own time students were expected to read recommended books, make reports on places visited, and keep up-to-date notebooks.

Second-year studies concentrated on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and included the techniques of surveys and management plans, of opening grounds to the public, the study of specialist gardens, walled gardens, public parks, etc., and of raising financial support. The introduction of new plants and their effect on landscapes and gardens was studied for



Fig. 3. Student group visiting Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire.

all periods. A programme of day and weekend visits was arranged to fit the particular interests of students, and also of overseas visits.

In the second year the students' priority was the production of a thesis of at least 15,000 words. This thesis had to be based on original, unaided work, on a subject agreed with the Tutors. The theses were assessed by outside experts, who also attended the students' defence of their work in a *viva voce* discussion of its quality. The marks awarded represented 40% of the total assessment. Only students who attended 75% of the course work qualified for assessment. The award of the AA Graduate Diploma was validated by the Open University.

The thesis was a vital component of the two-year course, which was designed to demonstrate the students' ability to think and act competently about conservation and change in historic landscapes and gardens.

Visits and tours, home and overseas

The visits were intended to introduce students to gardens and landscapes undergoing, or having recently undergone, programmes of conservation

or restoration. Whenever possible we were accompanied by the person in charge, always by someone with an intimate knowledge of the intention and execution of the plan.

Day or half-day visits:

- Chiswick Park, London
- Cliveden, Bucks
- Crystal Palace Park, London
- Eltham Palace, London
- Ham House, Middlesex
- Osterley Park, Middlesex
- Sissinghurst, Kent

– as well as a selection of open spaces in south London, and of Lutyens and Jekyll gardens in the home counties.

Weekend visits:

- Cumbria
- Devon and Cornwall
- Dorset
- Midlands (Chatsworth, Biddulph Grange, Derby Arboretum, Elvaston Castle, Alton Towers)

Overseas visits:

- Austro-Hungarian Empire
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
- France
- Germany
- Italy (Florence and Rome, Venice)
- Netherlands
- Poland
- Russia (St Petersburg)
- Spain (Andalucia)
- USA (Boston)

ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, 34-36 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON WC1B 3ES

The Conservation of Historic Landscapes, Parks and Gardens

A two-year day-release postgraduate diploma course



The Architectural Association's postgraduate day-release course is designed for those professionally interested in landscape and garden conservation and is the only one of its kind. The two-year course starts in October. Up to twenty places are available to students from the UK and overseas.

Fig. 4. Cover of promotional brochure for the course (1990), with views of Stowe.

The cost of overseas trips was additional to the fee for the Diploma Course, so these were not obligatory. If there were enough spaces available, other qualified people were admitted. The knowledge and experience that they brought with them was a benefit to the AA students.

For each trip we provided an illustrated guidebook of a high standard, probably better than anything else available. Whenever possible we had English-speaking guides, thus avoiding the time taken up by translation. We offered one of these trips per year, to all students, past and present. They were hugely appreciated. Without them the perspective and outreach of the course would have been diminished. There was much to learn, and lots of fun.

The students

The course attracted architects, landscape architects, town and country planners, garden historians, and park managers, as well as art historians and writers. Among the students in the first year (1986) were:

- Joyce Bellamy, authority on public open spaces
- Annette Boyd, who produced a report on the effect of farming on landscape
- Susan Campbell, the leading authority on kitchen gardens
- Judith Conway, who produced a study of Anglo-Japanese gardens
- Jane Crawley, who became the editor of *Garden History*
- Benoît Fondu, Belgium's leading garden conservationist
- Susan Ilman, Director of Ilman Young Landscape Design
- Ian Kitson, author of *Christopher Tunnard and the Modern Movement*
- Sandra Morris, an AA staff member, who would write the horticultural history of Fulham Palace
- Susan Rhodes, Director of Gardens at the Lord Leycester Hospital in Warwick
- Andrew Sclater, arboriculturist
- Jean Stone, who would write *The Rustic Garden*
- Christopher Sumner, of English Heritage
- Marigold Webb, Director of Webb Nursery Gardens
- Andrew Wimble, of English Heritage
- Jill Wrightson, journalist

– all of whom are making a significant contribution to the movement for landscape and garden conservation.

The impact of the course

After the course had been running for some eight or nine years we did a survey of all past and present students, to see how they rated the course and what improvements they wished to suggest. Here are three of the comments:

“... a very inspirational course – I would recommend it to anyone interested in landscaping, gardening and history...”

“I found it immensely stimulating. The course has opened up new horizons for me.”

“It has been the main reason for my present wonderful job, for which I will always be grateful.”

If the tutors enjoy what they are doing, their enthusiasm will be transmitted to the students. And this is what happened.

The birth of the Garden History Society in 1965 encouraged a rapid growth of interest in gardens and landscape. The Architectural Association course filled a need for organised study. In a sense it was making or extending the subject as it went along. It was in the lead, and that was where we wanted to be.

The staff of the Architectural Association, generally speaking, took little or no interest in the Landscape and Gardens course. For the AA this was a missed opportunity, as one of the principal shortcomings of development schemes was the failure to design the planting, thereby admitting chaos where there should have been order. (Eric Lyon of Span was almost the only architect, except for Sir Edwin Lutyens, who designed the plant settings for his schemes.) For us this lack of interest had advantages. No one interfered. We could do whatever seemed to us to be best. No forms to fill in; a generous budget; it was up to us. The amount of clerical drudgery in universities can stifle initiative.

Had the students complained there would have been trouble, but they didn't. As tutors we tried to foster a relaxed interchange. Nothing was done without discussion, but our word was final.

Most of the students were middle-aged and mid-career, and so experienced. We had to keep up-to-date through reading and membership of relevant societies. There was a timetable for tutorials, but we always tried to make time for anyone who wanted extra help.

Almost from the beginning we encouraged students to lecture on subjects in which they were expert. Equally we invited lecturers for lunch, or to stay on after 5.30 pm for discussion. In this way many of the lecturers became friends, and found useful contacts. The AA offered only nominal lecture fees, £30 per session plus travelling expenses to start with; but only one lecturer complained.

Friendship was the hallmark of the course. An amazing number of students have said that this AA course was the best two years of their lives. To lead it was a privilege.

It would have been a pity to lose touch with the ex-students, and so we organised each year an AA trip abroad. Paul Wood, previously National Trust Curator at Sissinghurst, kindly arranged travel, hotels, etc. The trips have been popular, and usually fully subscribed. They act as a refresher course and a working holiday. They continue under the leadership of Robert Peel.

Developments and changes, change and decay

Students early demonstrated a decided opinion on what they valued most, calling for increased emphasis on techniques such as archaeology, surveying, the writing and presentation of reports and master plans, client relations, public relations, historic planting, maintenance techniques, the conservation of garden buildings and water features, legislation and public enquiries. As a result increased emphasis was placed on these subjects.

Gordon Ballard and I were unable alone to satisfy the students' need for tutoring in conservation techniques and planning, and in accompanying day visits, weekend tours, overseas trips and the supervision of all theses.

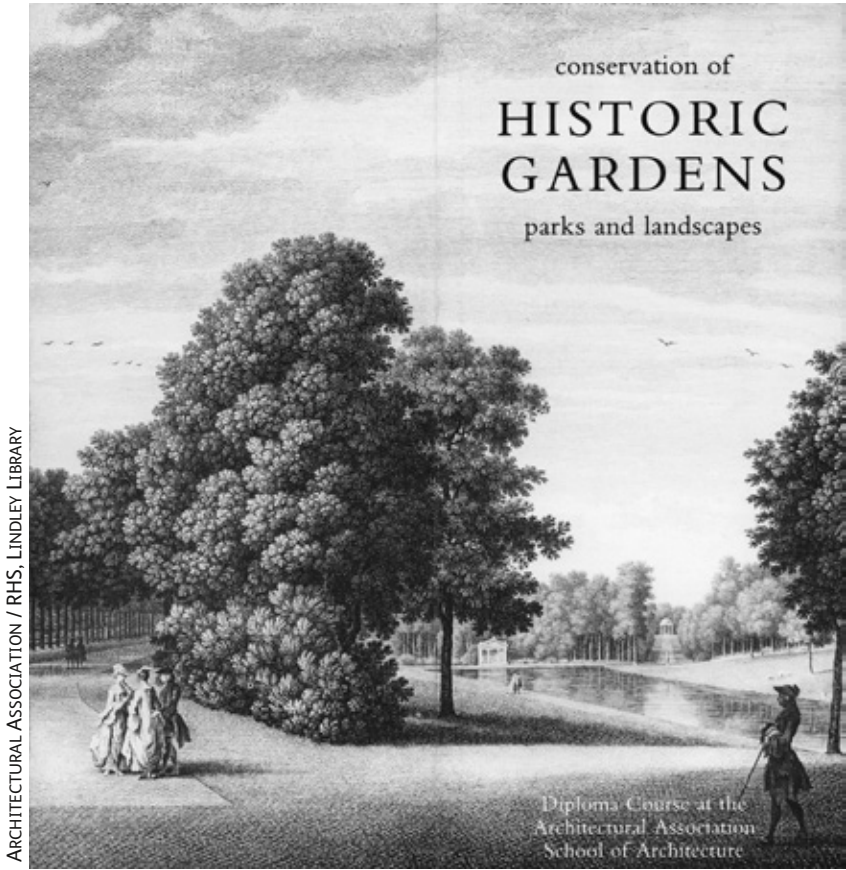


Fig. 5. Cover of promotional leaflet for the course, 1995.

We were lucky in being able to persuade David Jacques and Jan Woudstra to join us. David's book *Georgian Gardens: the Reign of Nature* (1983) remains overall the best book on that period, while Jan Woudstra provided expertise on modernism, and an intimate knowledge of contemporary gardens in northern Europe. When Jan left to take up an appointment as Reader in the Landscape Department of Sheffield University, we were joined by Axel Griesinger, who had an encyclopaedic knowledge of German gardens and culture, and an infectious interest in gardens as places of entertainment (Vauxhall Gardens for instance).

I decided to retire in 2002, and David Jacques was appointed as Academic Co-ordinator. He had been the Inspector at English Heritage 1987–1993, had shared the running of the course at York, and had been involved with the AA course since its inception. He decided to introduce an MA degree course, while retaining the Graduate Diploma. Here, in a statement he has provided for this paper, is his account of his experience of the last years of the course:

The Diploma offered was the AA Postgraduate Diploma, but because the AA was not part of the university system (despite being the oldest school of architecture in Britain), students and staff felt that its validation by the university system would demonstrate to employers, prospective students and the outside world generally that the course was meeting the academic standards implied by its title.

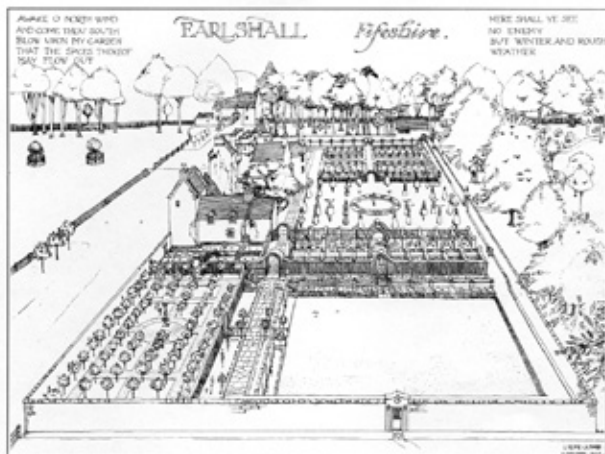
At the same time the field required greater professionalism, reflecting the emergence of the conservation of historic landscapes, parks and gardens as a new branch of landscape practice. In 1984 historic gardens had begun to be protected through the town and country planning system, English Heritage acquired its first Inspector of Historic Parks and Gardens in 1987, and since 1988 there had been a number of grant schemes from English Heritage and the Countryside Commission that had stimulated hundreds of management plans and restorations. During 1999 the grants that had been awarded through the Heritage Lottery Fund's Urban Parks Programme exceeded £200m.

The answer was to seek validation for the course, using the occasion to rethink the coursework. David Jacques joined the staff, mainly to undertake this task. Validation from the Open University was obtained

Architectural Association School of Architecture
34-36 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3ES Tel 071-636 0974

THE CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC LANDSCAPES, PARKS & GARDENS

*A two-year day-release, postgraduate diploma
course, specially designed for those professionally
interested in landscape and garden conservation*



Advisors and lecturers include Mavis Batey, John Harris, John Sales, Dorothy Stroud, Peter Shephard, William Stearn, Elizabeth Banks, Janie Burford, Brent Elliot, John Dixon-Hunt, Peter Goodchild, David Jacques, Hal Moggeridge, Alan Tait, Christopher Taylor, Christopher Thacker, Paul Walshe, Tom Wright.

Lectures and visits take place on Fridays during three academic terms of 10, 11 and 11 weeks. Successful candidates will be awarded the AA Graduate Diploma in the Conservation of Historic Landscapes, Parks and Gardens.

To: The Co-ordinator, Landscape and Garden Conservation
The Architectural Association, 36 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3ES. Tel 071-636 0974

Please send me further particulars of the AA day-release course in Landscape and Garden Conservation, starting on 5 October 1990.

Name: _____ Profession/interests: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

Fig. 6. Application form for the course, 1990.

in summer of 1999 for the Postgraduate Diploma in Conservation (Landscapes & Gardens), and the new syllabus was implemented from the start of the 1999 academic year.

There were now 64 days of contact time, consisting of 12 taught units. Six units covered garden history, and six covered conservation, viz. Survey, Research, Evaluation, Management Plans, Protection and Presentation, and Conservation in Practice. The course prided itself on the range of experts it brought in to provide this teaching. Projects and theses were to be carried out in the students' own time, the requirement being four projects (site description, historical report, evaluation, management plan), thesis (15,000–20,000 words, lodged in the library of the Architectural Association), and field trips.

This appeared to be a step forward, allowing students to progress to a Master's course after qualifying for a Diploma, or to start with a Master's degree in mind. Unfortunately the information on course structure was unclear, and the applications scarce.

In 2001 an MA course was prepared, as an option independent from the Diploma course, though students on the Diploma course could upgrade to the MA programme by increasing their coursework. Since by this time there were already MA courses in garden history offered by Birkbeck College (University of London) and by the University of Bristol, both requiring lower fees than the AA, it was decided to change the aim of the MA course from garden history to "the teaching of conservation for the future generation of landscape professionals". Accordingly, landscape conservation was retained in the course structure, and Jan Woudstra became the main tutor for coursework in "landscape restoration detailing", the two units being taught on Thursdays and Fridays respectively. This meant that the MA could be taken as a full-time course over a twelve-month period (or, alternatively, as a part-time course over three years). The teaching of history, however, was passed to the Histories and Theories Department of the AA, which was offering a programme on the "history of landscape design", though that programme was soon curtailed.

Over the next couple of years, further modifications were made to both the content and the structure of the MA course. The ending of the Histories

and Theories Department's landscape history course in 2002 prompted a reconsideration of the course's historical content, with a new emphasis placed on "cultural landscapes", and a "Form and Style" unit, under the direction of Axel Griesinger, partially replaced the history teaching. A new administrative structure was devised, consisting of David Jacques as Programme Director, with Sarah Couch as head tutor for Conservation in Action, Brian Dix for Survey and Research, David Lambert for Future (i.e. planning and management), Sandra Morris for Evaluation, and Jan Woudstra for Historic Details. David Jacques says of the programme: "The coursework was largely unavailable through the schools of landscape architecture or other educational channels. The proposed course was thus not a replacement for the normal areas of training for the landscape architect, garden designer and town and country planner, but could be seen as supplementary, or parallel, to it."

The assessed work consisted of a project or essay per unit, a journal of study tours and a dissertation of 15,000 words minimum. In 2004 the name of the course was changed to "Landscape Heritage and Change"; David Jacques explains this as "a recognition that the conservationist should not be seeking merely to put landscapes back as they were, but should be looking forward in two ways: negotiating a future for historically important landscape through restoration and maintenance, and, where change is desirable, to help to increase the overall quality of a place by giving the older elements a new role in a new context". The length of units was adjusted to be more comparable to other Architectural Association MAs.

By 2005 the course was experiencing difficulties. David Jacques has provided this account of its final years:

The course had increasing difficulty in attracting students. The main reasons appeared to be that the AA's fees had risen inexorably, whilst there was a decreasing number of students who felt they could justify them, and because firms and organisations that in previous years had sponsored their staff to attend such courses no longer generally did so. Strenuous attempts were made to publicise the course through its section of the AA website, and by contacting and sending literature to professionals and academics abroad.

However, the number of applications in 2005 was so low that it was decided to suspend the course, and no applications were accepted that year. The AA decided to terminate the course at the end of the 2005–2006 academic year, having fulfilled its commitments to students from previous years.

It had needed an independent academic institution like the AA to take the risk of a diploma in a subject that was completely unprecedented in 1985, but ironically it was the same independence, with concomitant fees, that eventually extinguished the same course. In the meantime over 200 students had attended it over a period of 20 years, of which about 35 had received validated Diplomas or MAs since 2000. Many of these 200 students now are leaders in the field of landscape conservation and have achieved prominent positions at home and abroad.

So the teaching of Landscape and Garden Conservation was abandoned in 2006.

The similar course at Birkbeck College was also closed, leaving London without a course in a subject in which it had led the day.

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Mary Anderson	Anderson & Glenn, landscape consultants	Surveying	1997, 2000
Stephen Anderton	Gardening journalist	Belsay	1988
Rosemary Angel	RBG Kew	Plant collectors	1988
John Anthony	Garden historian	Joseph Paxton	1990
Tony Baggs	Architectural historian	Eastern Europe	1999
Gordon Ballard	West Dean College	Garden buildings; grottoes; Blomfield	1990
Elizabeth Banks	Land Use Consultants	Role of the consultant	1988–1989
Peter Barber	British Library	Maps	1988
Mavis Batey	Garden History Society	Arts and Crafts movement; Pope; Georgian period; Repton; Ruskin	1989–1990, 1999–2000
Joyce Bellamy	Metropolitan Gardens Association	Conservation of London's open spaces	1989–91, 1997
Jeremy Benson	Chairman, English Heritage Historic Parks & Gardens Committee	Curtilages	1989
Camilla Beresford	Landscape architect	Historical reports	1999
Richard Bisgrove	University of Reading	Plant introductions; Robinson	1990–1993, 1997, 1999–2000
Sue Blundell	Architectural Association	Writing a thesis	1999
James Bond	Landscape historian	Blenheim	1989–1990
Charles Boot	Garden History Society	Bibliography	1999–2000
Christopher Bradley-Hole	Garden designer	Minimalist gardens	2000
Kathryn Bradley-Hole	Gardening journalist	Garden journalism	2000

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Peter Bridgeman	Arboricultural consultant	Arborea	1987–1988
Bill Brogden	Scott Sutherland School of Architecture, Aberdeen	Stephen Switzer	1988–1990
John Brookes	Garden designer	Modern movement	1989–1990
Jane Brown	Garden historian	Lutyens and Jekyll; 20th-century gardens; Arts and Crafts; Jellicoe	1989–1997
Michelle Brown	University of London	Maps	1988
Janie Burford	Painshill Park Trust	Managing a restoration project	1988–1990
Jackie Burgess	University College	Public parks	1995
Neil Burton	English Heritage, Georgian Group	Georgian town gardens	1999
Janet Butcher	Garden historian	Papworth	1994
Michael Calnan	National Trust	Surveys & management plans	1988–1990
Krystyna Campbell	Hampshire County Council, Planning Dept	Scottish inventory of gardens	2000
Susan Campbell	Garden historian	Kitchen gardens	1987–2000
Kate Clark	English Heritage	Conservation	2000
George Clarke	Stowe School	Stowe	1987–1988
Dominic Cole	Land Use Consultants	[work in progress]	1997
Carol Colson	Colson Stone Practice	Presenting reports	1989–1990
Hazel Conway	Garden historian	Municipal parks	1987, 1995–1996 1999–2000
Scott Cooper	Garden History Society	Scottish gardens	1999
Philip Cotton	Head gardener, Cliveden	Cliveden	1993–1997

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Fiona Cowell	Garden historian	Richard Woods	1999–2000
Anne Crawford	Public Record Office	Public Record Office	1999–2000
Stephen Daniels	Garden historian	Repton	1999
John Davis	Author, <i>Antique Garden Ornament</i>	Garden ornament	1994–1996
Ray Desmond	India Office Library	Journals and periodicals; nursery catalogues	1987
Edward Diestelkamp	National Trust	Conservatories	1987–1990
Brian Dix	Archaeologist	Garden archaeology; Kensington Gardens	1999–2000
Duncan Donald	National Council for the Conservation of Plants and Gardens	Conservation of garden plants; plant introductions	1987–1989
Michael Dover	[see note]	National parks	1991–1994
Peter Drewett	Archaeologist	Field archaeology; prehistoric landscape	1990
Ruth Duthie	Author, <i>Florists' Societies and Flowers</i>	Horticultural societies & flower shows	1987
Paul Edwards	Landscape architect	Garden ornaments, garden buildings	1987–1988
Brent Elliott	RHS Lindley Library	Various 19th-century subjects, 20th-century revivalism, parks, cemeteries, conservatories, magazines and postcards	1987–2000
Jennette Emery-Wallis	Land Use Consultants	[work in hand]	2000
Lise Erkens	Historian of Het Loo	Het Loo	
Paul Everson	Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments	Relict landscapes	1999
Ros Faith	Oxford University	Feudal system	1999
Graham Fairclough	English Heritage	Sense of place	2000

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Jane Fawcett	Architectural historian, former secretary of Victorian Society	Victorian eclecticism	1995
Ted Fawcett	ICOMOS, West Dean College	Mediaeval gardens; 19th-century garden statuary; nature conservation & woodland management; National Trust; & other subjects not handled by others	1987–2000
Richard Fellowes	Huddersfield School of Architecture	Reginald Blomfield	[see note]
Jean Feray	Architectural historian	Garden conservation in France	1988
Richard Flenley	Land Use Consultants	Kensington Gardens	1987–1988
Tarsem Flora	Landscape architect	Restoration of fountains	[see note]
Benoît Fondu	Landscape architect	Belgian gardens	1988
Hazel Fryer	Garden historian	Garden conservation outside London	1999
Chris Gallagher	De Bois Landscape Survey Team	Survey methodology	1990
Giorgio Galletti	Landscape architect	Italian baroque	1999
Vernon Gibberd	Architect	Grottoes	1990
Mark Girouard	Architectural historian	19th-century social background	1988
John Glenn	Anderson & Glenn, landscape consultants	Surveying; tree surveys, yew	1996–2000
Peter Goodchild	University of York	Documentation; nature of landscape	1994, 1999–2000
Patrick Goode	Thames Polytechnic	Paris parks; French historicism	1987, 1999
Keith Goodway	University of Keele	Biddulph Grange	1990, 1993
Wendy Grant	[see note]	Industrial landscapes; 19th-century social background	1990–1995

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Alan Greening	Architect	Computing	1999
Axel Griesinger	Garden historian	German gardens; graphics	1997, 1999–2000
Isabel van Groenningen	Garden designer	Herbaceous borders; Eltham Palace	1999–2000
Malcolm Hadley	[see note]	Presentation; photography	2000
Ivan Hall	English Heritage	Capability Brown; Japanese gardens	1990
Brian Halliwell	Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew	Bedding plants, carpet bedding	1987
Stewart Harding	Parks Agency	[work in hand]	2000
E.G. Harris	[see note]	Dredging, soil disposal	[see note]
John Harris	RIBA Drawings Collection	Thomas Robins; early Georgian gardens	1990
Ray Hawes	[see note]	Woodland management and ecology	2000
William Hawkes	Architect	Restoration of garden buildings	1989–1990
Virginia Hinze	Garden historian	Site description	1999
Penelope Hobhouse	Garden designer	Planting styles, garden colour	1988–1989
Robert Holden	Garden designer	Recent landscape architecture; Woburn Farm	1987–1988; 1999–2000
Susan Horsman	[see note]	Sketching	1999
Norman Hudson	Management consultant	Managing public access	1988–1993
John Dixon Hunt	Garden historian	[see note]	[see note]
Marylla Hunt	Environmental Design Associates	Contracts; Stoke Poges	2000
Peter Inskip	Architect	Stowe garden buildings	[see note]

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
David Jacques	Travers Morgan	Public enquiries; English Heritage, ICOMOS; Olmsted & Downing; surveys; Stuart gardens; Georgian gardens	1988–2000
Patrick James	Founder, Landscape Agency	Establishing a practice	2000
Olivier Choppin de Janvry	Société Civile du Désert du Retz	Désert du Retz	1989
Rob Jarman	National Trust	Nature conservation	1988
Sally Jeffery	Birkbeck College	Georgian gardens; ferme ornée	1999–2000
Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe	Landscape architect	Jung and landscape	1990
Charlotte Johnson	Garden historian	Percy Cane	2000
Christopher Jones	Posford Duvivier engineers	Kew, Syon	1987–1988
Harriet Jordan	Registrar of gardens, English Heritage	Mawson; English Heritage registration	1989, 1993–1994, 1997, 1999–2000
Maggie Keswick	Garden historian	Chinese gardens	1988–1990
David Lambert	Garden History Society	Public enquiries; conservation theory; Chinoiserie	1989–1990, 1997–2000
Michael Lancaster	Thames Polytechnic	20th-century gardens abroad	1989
Sylvia Landsberg	Garden historian and designer	Mediaeval gardens	1999
Ray Laurence	University of Kent, Classical Studies	Roman gardens	2000
Michael Leslie	Sheffield University	[see note]	[see note]
Brenda Lewis	Surrey Gardens Trust	County Garden Trusts	1997
Mary Lockwood	Heritage Lottery Fund	Heritage Lottery Fund	1999

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Todd Longstaffe-Gowan	Garden designer and historian	Georgian town gardens	2000
Anthony Lord	National Trust	Ham House	[see note]
Jonathan Lovie	Garden historian	Mawson	1999–2000
Jim Marshall	National Trust	Kingston Lacey	1990, 1994
G. Michelson	[see note]	Spain	1999
Nicole Milette	Garden historian	Alfred Parsons	1994
Hal Moggridge	Landscape architect	[see note]	[see note]
Graeme Moore	Garden designer	Harold Peto	1990
Sandra Morris	Historian of Fulham Palace gardens	Indian water gardens; North American plant introductions; American landscape gardens	1999–2000
Brian Morton	Structural engineer	Conservation of greenhouses	1987–1988
Timothy Mowl	Garden historian	Jacobean garden buildings	1999
Susan Muir	[see note]	Welsh gardens	1989
Simon Mulhearn	Landscape architect	Establishing a practice	2000
Toby Musgrave	Garden historian	Suburban gardens	1999–2000
Max Nicholson	Founder, Land Use Consultants & World Wildlife Fund	City landscapes	1988
Peter Nixon	[see note]	[see note]	[see note]
Tom Oliver	National Trust	Lakes	1990
Anthony du Gard Pasley	Garden designer	Hard surfaces	1989, 1997

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Graham Pattison	National Council for the Conservation of Plants and Gardens	Conservation of garden plants	2000
John Phibbs	De Bois Landscape Survey Team	Tree surveys	1987–1989, 1999
Patrick Phillips	Superintendent, Crystal Palace Park	Crystal Palace Park	1987–1988
Maurice Pickering	Landscape architect	Crowe, Colvin, Gibberd	1990
Sophie Piebenga	Head gardener	W.S. Gilpin	2000
John Popham	Landscape consultant	Management plans	1996–1999
Hugh Prince	Geographer and garden historian	Maps; economics of landscape parks; Stuart gardens	1989, 1999–2000
Trevor Proudfoot	National Trust	Garden statuary	1987–1997
Oliver Rackham	Author of <i>Ancient Woodlands</i>	Ancient woodlands; vernacular landscapes	1990, 1999
Jill Raggett	Garden historian	Chinese gardens	2000
John Redmill	Architectural Association (building conservation)	Irish garden buildings; conservation of brick and stone, aerial surveys; restoring the Casino	1987–1989, 1993–1994
Diana Reynell	Grotto restorer	Restoration of grottoes	1989
Judith Roberts	De Montfort University	English Heritage register; recording the landscape; Persian gardens	1999–2000
John Sales	National Trust	Management plans; conservation of plants	1987, 1999–2000
Caroline Sandwich	Historic Houses Association	Historic Houses Association	1999
Matthew Saunders	Ancient Monuments Society	National amenity societies	[see note]
Susan Schnare	Garden historian	Rock gardens	1990
Mark Schoellen	Garden historian	French Renaissance & baroque; 19th-century gardens in northern Europe	1997, 1999

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Andrew Sclater	Landskip and Prospect	William Robinson; plant introductions; High Victorian houses & their gardens; Welsh gardens	1988–1994
Ada Segre	Garden historian	Italian gardens	1990
John Sell	Landscape architect	Restoration of garden buildings	1989, 1997
Paul Sharrock	Architect, Thomas Ford & Partners	Presentation	1999
Sir Peter Shepheard	Landscape architect	Elements of space	1990
Peter Sibley	Environment Agency	Urban parks	1997
Paul Stamper	English Heritage	English Heritage register	1999–2000
Jean Stone	Garden historian	Rustic work	1993–1994, 1997
Dorothy Stroud	Garden & architectural historian	Capability Brown	[see note]
David Stuart	Garden historian	Victorian plants	1987
Christopher Sumner	London Historic Parks & Gardens Trust	Hydraulics	1990, 2000
James Sutherland	Structural engineer	Conservation of greenhouses	1987–1988
Michael Symes	University of London, Dept of Extramural Studies	Garden ornament; arboreta; Georgian gardens; glossary	1987–1994
Alan Tait	Garden historian	Economics of landscape parks	1988
Alan Taylor	Architect	Local government	1994, 1997, 2000
Christopher Taylor	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments	Garden archaeology	[see note]
Hilary Taylor	Landscape architect	Public parks; garden suburbs; natural vs formal gardens	1994, 1997–2000

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Nigel Temple	Garden historian	Humphry Repton; pattern books for garden buildings	1988–1990
Christopher Thacker	Garden historian; formerly registrar of gardens, English Heritage	Romantic movement	1990
David Thackray	National Trust	Garden archaeology	1988–1989
Peter Thoday	University of Bath	Productive garden	1996
Michael Tooley	University of Durham	Lutyens & Jekyll	2000
Tom Turner	Thames Polytechnic	Loudon; 20th-century garden design	1987–1995, 2000
Peter Vickers	[see note]	[work in hand]	2000
Marion Waller	Brighton Pavilion	Australian gardens	2000
Paul Walshe	Landscape consultant	Countryside Commission, grants & legislation, woodland landscapes	1988–1990
Merlin Waterson	National Trust	Estate agent's view of parks and gardens	1988
Marigold Webb	Garden designer	Fountains	1989
Elizabeth White	Furniture historian	Garden furniture	1995–1996
Roger White	Georgian Group	Georgian garden buildings	1989–1990
Elizabeth Whittle	CADW	Welsh register	1999–2000
Adrian Wikeley	Land Use Consultants	[work in hand]	2000
Alix Wilkinson	Garden historian	Ancient Egypt	2000
Tom Williamson	University of East Anglia	Landscape parks; Georgian gardens	1999–2000
Peter Willis	University of Newcastle	Charles Bridgeman	[see note]
Andrew Wimble	English Heritage	Garden archaeology; Kirby Hall	1988–1989

Table 2. Lecturers, 1986–2000 (cont.)

Name	Affiliation	Subjects	Period
Elizabeth Woodhouse	Landscape architect	Tudor gardens	1999
John Workman	Consultant on forestry, National Trust	Woodland management, historic tree maintenance	1987–1989
Jan Woudstra	Travers Morgan, University of Sheffield	Modern movement; Church, Burle Marx; late Georgian gardens; shrubberies; paths and hard surfaces; landscape consultants; threats to gardens	1990–2000
Tom Wright	Wye College	[see note]	[see note]
Elizabeth Wrightson	Garden historian	Arts and Crafts movement	1988
Elizabeth Young	Architect	France	1999

Note. In some instances, the records for the first-year programme of lectures are incomplete.

Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library: future issues

Volume 10 will contain:

B. ELLIOTT. The language of flowers.