

MARGARET STONE, ANN HOOPER, PAMELA SHAW
AND LESLEY TANNER

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OBSESSION – THE PLANT COLLECTION OF THE 6TH EARL OF COVENTRY AT CROOME PARK, WORCESTERSHIRE

The parkland at Croome, Worcestershire, was the first landscape designed by Lancelot Brown, employed by George William, 6th Earl of Coventry. The Earl amassed a vast, diverse plant collection, for which over six hundred bills have survived; they cover more than sixty years from 1747 to his death in 1809. Large numbers of plants were purchased at enormous cost and there were many first introductions to Britain. By the end of the eighteenth century this was arguably the finest private collection ever formed. This paper is a study of that collection.

In 1751, George William, Viscount Deerhurst, succeeded to the title of 6th Earl of Coventry; he was twenty-eight years old and had been managing the Croome estate for three years (Figure 1). He had demolished the early eighteenth-century formal gardens and now employed Lancelot Brown as clerk of works to remodel the seventeenth-century house. Brown had worked at Stowe, Buckinghamshire, for ten years between 1740 and 1751, acquiring experience in supervising building work and remodelling the lake; he was by then thirty-five years old. The exterior of Croome Court shows considerable similarity to William Kent's neo-Palladian Holkham Hall, Norfolk. The Earl must have been deeply involved in the project; he kept his invoices carefully, often annotating them, and they have survived to the present (Figure 2).¹ Clearly, he had a good working relationship with Brown, who was soon appointed to develop the grounds. Thus, Croome was Brown's first major project and the house and park were designed as a whole. The partnership of the Earl and Brown at Croome gave rise to a style of landscape design that Brown applied to many other properties and which was copied at even more.

Croome Park is naturalistic but differs from others of the period in using the wider landscape; the house sits in a bowl with views out to the surrounding ridges. Possibly Brown was influenced by his native Northumberland, with open moors very different from the small enclosed fields of Worcestershire. Brown was quoted as saying 'Every fence is an offence', and the apparently unbounded pastures at Croome were achieved by skilful use of ha-has.² By 1748, the Earl had built a short canal in the park. Brown altered the shape to make it into a curvaceous river and extended it to lead to a newly created lake near a marshy area which had been previously known as Seggy Mere Common. Brick culverts led water from a considerable distance to feed the lake and a path was constructed for a walk from the court to the lake (Figure 3).³ Maps of 1751 and 1763 identify the key features of the landscape, which include shrubberies, a dairy, hothouse,

c/o Brockamin, Old Hills, Callow End, Worcestershire WR2 4TQ, UK
Email: stone.brockamin@btinternet.com

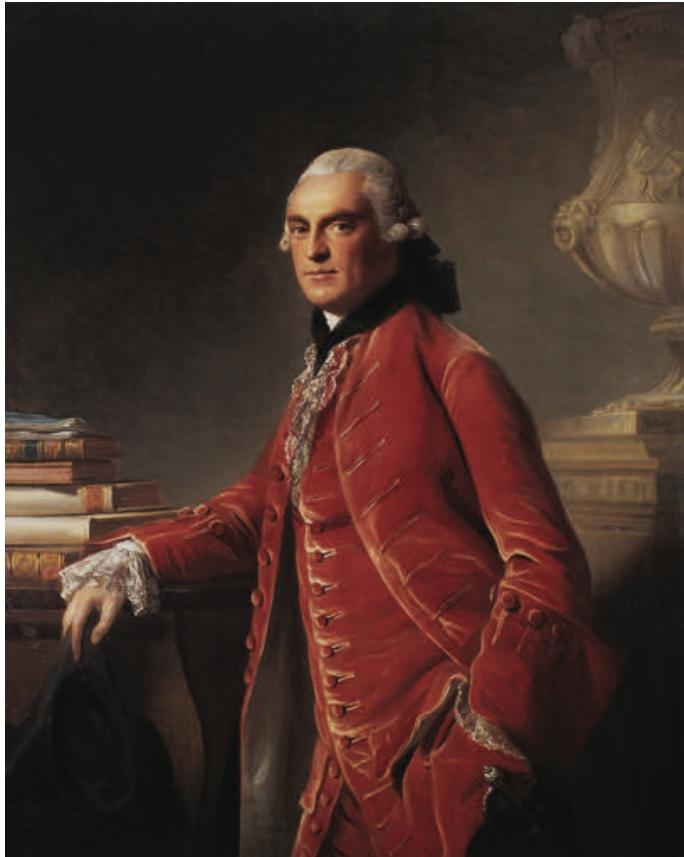


Figure 1. George William,
6th Earl of Coventry (c.1765),
by Allan Ramsay. Courtesy:
© Croome Estate Trustees



Figure 2. Bill from George Ferne (dated 6 January 1758). The Earl has written: 'Very Very dear at £3 3[s.] – Pay no more.' Courtesy: Worcestershire Archive and Archaeological Service, Bill 8



Figure 3. Survey of Croome Park (1796), by John Snape. Courtesy: Worcestershire Archive and Archaeological Service

kitchen garden, rotunda, eye-catchers, the Temple Greenhouse, arboretum, flower garden and lake, all of which have been described in detail elsewhere.⁴

Brown worked at Croome from 1751 but was soon commissioned for other landscape designs as well; he continued to advise the Earl until his death in 1783. Arthur Young recorded that 'Brown spent much of his time at Croom; it was his favourite residence; he never found himself so much at home as when there, nor at any time so happy'.⁵ Robert Adam also worked for the Earl, producing interior designs for Croome Court and church and creating buildings in the park. The first was the Temple Greenhouse, the focus of important views from the house, designed in 1760 and finished in 1765 (Figure 4). When Adam died in 1792 the Earl was seventy but employed James Wyatt (until 1805) to continue work on the park buildings and eye-catchers, so the landscape evolved over half a century.

The walks at Croome featured massive plantings of trees and shrubs. There were herbaceous borders near the Temple Greenhouse and herbaceous plants and bulbs probably lined the paths through the shrubberies (Figure 5). The early eighteenth-century kitchen garden was extended in 1750, becoming approximately seven acres and probably the largest in Georgian England; its walls provided nearly half a mile of support and shelter for climbers. Within this garden, a hollow hot wall was later



Figure 4. The Temple Greenhouse. Photo: Adrian James, May 2013



Figure 5. One of the herbaceous borders near the Temple Greenhouse recently created by The National Trust as part of its restoration of Croome Park. Photo: Adrian James, May 2013



Figure 6. *Magnolia grandiflora*; from John Sims, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1818), XLV, pl. 1952. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

constructed (1806), heated by five fires, to protect fruit trees from frost; at about one hundred yards, it is probably the longest of the period. The hothouse outside the walled garden was in addition to the Temple Greenhouse and four glasshouses in the flower garden. The flower garden also had a pond for aquatics, surrounded by rockwork for alpines. We know of these facilities from an article by Young describing the estate in 1801 and another accompanying the *Hortus Croomensis* of 1824, compiled by head gardener William Dean.⁶ In 1801, Croome was 'inferior only to Kew' and changed little over the twenty-three year interval.

There are more than six hundred plant bills surviving from the period 1746 to 1816. Thousands of plants were purchased and some varieties were bought more than once but it is not known whether the first plantings died or were so successful that more were required; experience suggests that both occurred. Plants and seeds were also sent by friends and relatives; there are few details of these but *Hortus Croomensis* lists those that survived to 1824. There is no record of exactly where most plants were placed but Young described a good number. For example, three plants of *Magnolia grandiflora* were trained against the dairy wall, reaching twenty-eight feet high and being 'the finest in the kingdom' (Figure 6).⁷ Also in the home shrubbery was a *Ginkgo biloba* 'forty feet high and the largest in England'; two trees, possibly eighteenth century, have survived in this shrubbery and there are two other ginkgoes still on the estate: one in the arboretum

and one near the path approaching the lake. One ginkgo was purchased in 1766 for the enormous sum of five guineas.⁸ The nurseryman who sold it was James Gordon, from Mile End, near Bow, who had a reputation for introducing exotics and grew the first batch of seedlings (1754), from which one was planted at Kew (1762).⁹ It is notable that many of the plants chosen for Croome were recent introductions or, indeed, first introductions and the 6th Earl and his second wife, Barbara, clearly wished to be at the cutting edge of horticulture.

NURSERYMEN

There are more than six hundred bills from nurserymen in the Croome archive, some several pages long.¹⁰ Some have elaborate engraved headings giving their address, details of what they supplied and their shop sign, used before street numbering was introduced in the 1760s.¹¹ A few have both sign and number at this time.¹² In contrast, other bills are on scraps of paper, sometimes almost illegible and with no address; the handwriting varies from a very fine script to a very poor one.¹³ They date from the late 1740s, when the 6th Earl was still Lord Deerhurst, until after his death in 1809 but the later ones, when William Dean was head gardener, are fewer or have been lost. The changes of name reflect the different ownership of the nurseries, often passing from father to son. Some nurseries supplied thousands of plants and seeds, others one item only.¹⁴ Inevitably, some bills have been lost or destroyed but there are receipts for some of these in which the original bill content is listed. The majority of the nurserymen were based in London, many having seed shops centrally located and with their nurseries at Kensington, Chelsea or Brompton (see Appendix A). Christopher Messer was at Batheaston and Richard Smith at nearby Worcester.¹⁵ Many of the twenty-four nurserymen not traced could also have been small local suppliers.

Not all the bills are for plants alone; some of the earliest bills are charges for planting, trees and fencing and most of the others include items for packing, such as 'matts', baskets, 'worked baskets', strong sacks, bags, 'flaskettes' and even 'platyline' cord for the hothouse at Croome.¹⁶ There are some bills for sundries only and at least one has tools included.¹⁷

Many nurserymen supplied huge orders to the aristocracy and other landed gentry of the country, becoming wealthy and famous for the variety and number of plants they could supply, their skill at raising them and the introduction of new plants from other countries.¹⁸ A few bills give detailed planting and care instructions.¹⁹ Some nurserymen also supplied plants and labour: '2 gardeners for planting', 'for clearing ye garden' and 'putting garden in order' are mentioned in 1762; these may have been for the 6th Earl's London house.²⁰ Although most plant and seed orders were for Croome, some were for Piccadilly or for Springhill, another property belonging to the Earl, near Broadway. It is impossible to know for certain for which property they were intended unless this is specified on the bill, as it is in a few cases. For example, John Field stated that 'order split between Springhill, Croome and Piccadilly'; Loddiges wrote 'deliver to my Lord's House, Piccadilly' and 'Goods for Springhill' is indicated on a bill from Malcolm.²¹ Lady Coventry is occasionally mentioned: 'trees for Lady Coventry' and a bill from John Bush is made out to her.²²

Several notes on the bills in the 6th Earl's handwriting indicate that he kept a close eye on these accounts, perhaps one of the most interesting being 'very very dear at £3.3.0 Pay no more' on the early bill from Ferne for American seed at £3.13.0 (Figure 2).²³ Another, from Scott, for '4 Eastern American Platanus' is annotated 'were all dead - deduct 10/-' and £1.10.0 was deducted from a Hewitt bill for 'dead Larch'.²⁴ Some bills were paid

promptly, others not for years; Bassington had to wait two years in one instance and Henry Clark died in 1778 before his estate was paid in 1781.²⁵

TRANSPORT OF ORDERS

There are many references to the transporting of orders and incidentals such as ‘porridge’ (porterage).²⁶ The earliest reference to transport by water is in 1748: ‘water carriage of 300 elms from Gloucester to Upton-on-Severn’ and ‘water carriage of 126 elms from Glos to Upton-on-S’.²⁷ In 1759 a bill from Foot states:²⁸

Brought on board the Merlela Capt Belitho from Philedelphia'
 Prime Cost and Cases £5.5.0
 To Freight and Primage 17s
 To Sandwaiters and Tidewaiters 4s 6d
 To Waterage and Wharfage 5s
 To Commission 2s 6d

In 1761, there is a reference to ‘Basket and Waterman’ and ‘Matt and Waterman’.²⁹ A bill of 1762 is for ‘foreign trees and apricots – shipping @ 13/- and custom house expenses’.³⁰ ‘Carriage from Rotterdam’ appears in a 1764 bill and ‘shipping to Bristol’ in 1779.³¹ A particularly interesting letter from John Bush, in 1771, shortly after his arrival in Russia to work for Empress Catherine II, includes a bill for Croome for a ‘box of plants from Russia, consigned to Dr Fothergill for ship Gen Conway, Capt. Robert Lumley which I hope will come safe’ (Figure 7).³²

Many orders were delivered by horse and wagon. One wagon often mentioned is Harris’s (later Smith’s) Worcester Wagon from the Bull and Mouth Inn, Bull and Mouth Street, Aldersgate. This is referred to by Loddiges in 1783 and 1793 and Gordon, Dermer and Thomson in 1781.³³ Another is Smith’s Pershore Wagon from the Green Man and Still, Oxford Street, mentioned by Clark, Malcolm and Loddiges.³⁴ There is one mention of West and Golding’s Wagon from the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate, again by Loddiges, and ‘by Wagn to Pershore with Advice per Post at the Time’ is on a bill from Maddock.³⁵ ‘Carriage to Acton and a man’s attendance there all day to see them safe delivered’ appears on Scott’s bill in 1758 and ‘To be left at the Turnpike between Bourton and Broadway by Smith’s Waggon’; ‘Directed to Springhill’ is on Eddie’s bill in 1787.³⁶ One of the earliest bills states ‘Taking up 2000 Beech sets. Carriage to London from Beechwood and Hamper. Porter to Ye Worcester Carryers Inn’.³⁷

TREES AND SHRUBS

In the early stages of the garden construction at Croome, shelter belts were planted, evidenced by an invoice for two hundred and five trees at £3 8s. 4d. in June 1746 and another for five hundred and fifty trees at £2 6s. 0d. in December of that year. John White, who supplied the former, was employed for planting: for twenty-two days’ planting in November 1746 he received £1 2s. 0d.³⁸ These trees were probably beech, elms, horse chestnuts, larch and Scotch pines, all of which were listed in 1747. Special trees stood alone or in small groups within the shelter belts. Oriental and Spanish planes, *Platanus orientalis* (from Greece) and *Platanus × hispanica*, were bought in 1748, some of which are still standing by the lake and along the river (Figure 8).³⁹ Of particular interest is an eight-foot-high cedar of Lebanon, *Cedrus libani*, which cost two guineas in 1748.⁴⁰ Twelve more were bought the following year but were two feet high only; although still expensive, they were much cheaper at £4 10s. 0d.⁴¹ Further purchases followed. These trees are now iconic at Croome, standing out on the skyline



Figure 7. Letter from John Bush on a bill dated 20 September 1771. Courtesy: Worcestershire Archive and Archaeological Service, Bill 192

on the approach to the estate. It is significant that they were first chosen by the Earl before Brown worked there because Brown went on to make them signature trees in his landscapes (Figure 9).

There are no plant bills for the early 1750s and it may be that they were lost or that work was concentrated on the house. In 1752, the 6th Earl married Maria Gunning who was not enamoured of country life so spent little time at Croome.⁴² Plant purchases were



Figure 8. The lake. Photo: Adrian James, May 2013



Figure 9. The rotunda with cedar of Lebanon.
Photo: Adrian James, May 2013

plentiful in 1758 and 1759, including seed of *Magnolia grandiflora*, possibly yielding one of those grown on the dairy wall.⁴³ These came from the southern United States and many of the plants listed at this time were from North America. The American John Bartram was collecting seeds and plants in the east and sending annual boxes of seeds to his English agent Peter Collinson, a keen gardener, who distributed them to landowners and nurserymen, such as Christopher Gray, James Gordon, James Lee and John Bush. Many of the nurseries were located in west London; Milne's land use map of 1800 shows large areas of nursery and market gardens near the Thames and, as Brown lived in Hammersmith, he would have had good contacts within the trade.⁴⁴

'Evergreen Bird Cherry', *Prunus caroliniana*, from the south-eastern United States, is on an invoice dated 17 February 1758 from Christopher Gray & Co., which specialized in North American plants, and another from James Gordon on 4 March 1758.⁴⁵ The plant is mentioned in the literature as being grown by 1759.⁴⁶ Another shrubbery plant which appeared on the same invoice from James Gordon was double Spanish broom, *Spartium junceum flore pleno*, which cost five shillings, indicating that it was considered to be special: single-flowered plants had been purchased in 1747 for three pence each.⁴⁷ Gray & Co. supplied a large number of hollies, most costing less than two shillings (e.g. twenty-eight for two guineas), but two Dahoon hollies, *Ilex cassine*, from the south-east United States, were five shillings each.⁴⁸ Gold and silver variegated hollies grew

in the home shrubbery.⁴⁹ More American trees came from James Scott in June 1758: 'White Ash of Pensylvania', *Fraxinus americana*, and 'North American Plane', *Platanus occidentalis*.⁵⁰ A few months later, the same nursery in Chiswick provided scarlet horse chestnuts, *Aesculus pavia*, and weeping willows, *Salix babylonica*; together with other purchases of the same period, it indicates that major tree planting continued.⁵¹

One group of North American plants is of interest because the invoices predate the accepted dates of introduction to Britain. In February 1759, James Gordon supplied the prostrate Canadian juniper, *Juniperus communis* var. *depressus* (at five shillings), previously thought to have been introduced in 1783.⁵² From Ferne and Garraway, in February 1761, came seeds of the American chestnut, *Castanea dentata* and the Chinkapin oak, *Quercus prinoides*, previously thought to have been introduced in 1783 and 1816.⁵³ The Croome gardeners tried to raise many plants from seed. In 1763, Wilson & Sanders supplied '43 sorts of American seeds, £2' and '80 sorts of Carolina seeds, 1 gn.'; a similar order was sent the following year but there were then '130 sorts of Carolina seeds'.⁵⁴ Thirty years later, in 1795, Conrad Loddiges was the supplier of '1 box American seeds containing 153 different trees and shrubs, 5 gns'; this was repeated in 1801.⁵⁵ However, Arthur Young wrote:

The American acorns are sent over in such wretched order, or are preserved on ship board so badly, that hardly one in 50,000 turns out good for anything. Lord C. has had many boxes without finding that a single acorn succeeded, which makes the seed from these trees so much the more valuable.⁵⁶

Lord Coventry collected magnolias and some varieties were purchased many times, appearing on forty-eight invoices, some of which contain several plants (see Appendix B). Different names are used for the same plant, e.g. small magnolia, swamp magnolia and *Magnolia glauca* are all probably *Magnolia virginiana*; the large magnolia was *Magnolia grandiflora* and the deciduous magnolia and umbrella-leaved magnolia were *Magnolia tripetala*. Many plants are listed simply as 'magnolia' but others identifiable in the collection are *Magnolia acuminata* and *Magnolia liliiflora*. The latter was supplied by James Colvill in 1796 (introduced 1790); it cost two guineas and differs from the other plants in originating from China, rather than North America.⁵⁷ In addition to the three large *Magnolia grandiflora*, Young listed *Magnolia tripetala* growing in the home shrubbery and described *Magnolia glauca* as 'so singularly sweet as to scent the whole walk'.⁵⁸ He also mentioned four magnolias planted in the arboretum. Sixteen taxa were listed in 1824, some as greenhouse shrubs.⁵⁹

Twenty-four oaks have been identified from the Croome bills and thirty-three are listed in *Hortus Croomensis* (see Appendix B). Some grew in the arboretum and unusual leaves and acorn cups can still be found there. Turkey oaks, *Quercus cerris*, dating back to Brown's plantings, survived near the Temple Greenhouse until recently; this variety was purchased several times, the first being in 1760.⁶⁰ The Ragnal oak also appears several times in the bills; it is a form of *Quercus cerris* which grew at Ragnal, near Tuxford, in Nottinghamshire.⁶¹ A cork oak, *Quercus suber*, grew just beyond the Temple Greenhouse; again, the species was bought repeatedly, the first time in 1759.⁶² *Quercus × hispanica* syn. *Quercus × hispanica* 'Lucombeana', the Lucombe oak, a hybrid between *Quercus cerris* and *Quercus suber*, was raised by an Exeter nurseryman from seed sown in 1762 and bought by the Earl of Coventry in 1781, 1784 and 1791.⁶³ In 1838, Loudon recorded a fifty-six-year-old tree at Croome being seventy-nine feet high and a thirty-year-old tree forty-five feet high.⁶⁴ *Quercus bicolor*, the swamp white oak, was bought in 1775 and predates the previously recorded date of introduction of 1800.⁶⁵

A large number of conifers were planted at Croome, including eighteen different pines. The Earl bought ten *Pinus strobus* trees in 1749 and a further thirty in 1758–60, all from Samuel Hewitt of Brompton Road, Kensington.⁶⁶ By 1765 he was buying seed and several purchases were made, usually two ounces per year.⁶⁷ This would have required land for raising the seedlings and there is a nursery shown on a map of 1796.⁶⁸ From 1790, the amount of seed increased and trees were again included; particularly large quantities are one pound of seed in 1792 and one thousand trees in 1796.⁶⁹ This indicates plantations for timber and would have been encouraged by the American War of Independence (1775–83), which halted imports. In 1790, one thousand sweet chestnut, *Castanea sativa*, and one thousand larch, *Larix decidua*, were planted.⁷⁰ They must have had an impact on the landscape. A Siberian stone pine, *Pinus cembra*, grew near the rotunda; the 1824 guide describes the species as slow growing so that most collections contained small plants only but this was ‘the largest in the kingdom’, producing cones each year.⁷¹ This variety was bought several times, the first in 1783.⁷² The Hudson Bay pine, *Pinus banksiana*, was purchased in 1760⁷³ and *Pinus pumila* (from eastern Asia) in 1762, although their previously recorded dates of first introduction are 1785 and 1807 respectively.⁷⁴

One of the early plantings at Croome was the Duke of Argyll’s tea tree, *Lycium barbarum*, from China (two for four shillings), which grew in the home shrubbery.⁷⁵ Gray & Co. supplied plants in 1759 (two for three shillings) and 1761 and, after Christopher Gray’s death in 1764, William Burchell took over his nursery and supplied Hyson tea in 1765.⁷⁶ The date of introduction in the literature is 1768 so, again, the Earl’s purchases were earlier; however, there is no record of the plants being used to provide tea.⁷⁷ Another useful plant was the Chickasaw plum, *Prunus chilensis*, similar to a damson but red, which came from William Watson in 1769.⁷⁸ It was a North American tree previously thought to have been introduced in 1806.⁷⁹

The hardy Chinese *Koelreuteria paniculata* (Golden Rain Tree) is said to have been introduced by Lord Coventry in 1763 (Figure 10); there is some evidence that *Paullinia aurea* is a synonym.⁸⁰ It has panicles of yellow flowers and grows to thirty feet or more. The Earl also introduced the winter-flowering, scented wintersweet or *Chimonanthus praecox*, for which we have no evidence of purchase (Figure 11).⁸¹ Curtis wrote to Lord Coventry in January 1799 because he had heard that the Earl was the first in England to possess this plant and he wanted information about it; Coventry sent him ‘a beautiful specimen of the plant in bloom, a seedling plant one year old, together with a seed vessel of the year 1798, and some seeds’. Curtis wrote:

By his Lordship’s direction, I received at the same time from his gardener, Mr William Dean, the following information, in answer to my queries: ‘My Lord received the plant from China in 1766:- it was planted in the conservatory, is now sixteen feet high, and expands ten feet wide:- bears a succession of flowers from September to March:- the time of its first blowing I cannot precisely ascertain, but believe it to be nearly twenty years back:- it is propagated by layers, cuttings, and seeds, the latter it produces most years at Croome, but I believe at no other place in England:- there are plants of it at Croome six feet high, in a warm situation in the open border, which have stood out several years by being covered with a single mat in severe weather.

The original plant was grown in the flower garden and in his reply to Curtis the Earl described it as ‘covered with blossoms from top to bottom, and the fragrance of it may be perceived at the distance of fifty yards from the conservatory’. Curtis stated that his lordship had supplied most of the nurserymen about town with plants. William Aiton, in *Hortus Kewensis*, described it as introduced in 1766 by the Earl of Coventry.⁸²



Figure 10. *Koelreuteria paniculata*; from *The Botanical Register* (London: James Ridgeway, 1818), IV, pl. 330. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

ROSES

In one order from James Scott, in 1759, Lord Coventry acquired thirty-nine different roses.⁸³ As this was before the explosion of rose breeding in the early nineteenth century, the number of varieties available was limited; thus the Earl's purchases represented a considerable collection and are indicative of the obsessive manner in which he pursued a new interest. Most cost one shilling each and for half of them he bought two bushes; others came as six or ten plants; the total was two hundred and twenty-eight. There was a rose border in the flower garden but some plants were probably included in the shrubberies. Many of the roses in the collection were varieties which had been grown for two hundred years or more (Table 1). 'Monthly' roses are included on the 1759 bill, a name usually used for repeat-flowering *R. chinensis* or 'Old Blush', although it has also been used for the 'Autumn Damask', *R. damascena semperflorens*. More roses, mainly repeats, were added until 1763 but over the following thirty years few plants were bought, although John Graefer sent a 'Portland Rose', a purple recurrent-flowering hybrid of *R. damascena*, in 1779.⁸⁴

There is an invoice from James Lee in 1792 listing fifty-two varieties, new roses including *R. alpina*, syn. *R. pendulina*, with early, deep pink, single flowers and the centifolias 'Bishop', 'Lisbon' and 'Sultan'.⁸⁵ Four months later, Matthew Burchell supplied '50 roses of 25 different sorts' so the rose border may have been undergoing some replanting; one guinea was paid to Daniel Grimwood for *R. chinensis*, a 'New Rose from China'.⁸⁶ Mary Lawrence supplied two roses for one guinea in 1797. Two years later, she published the first illustrated rose book, *A Collection of Old Roses*



Figure 11. *Chimonanthus praecox*; from William Curtis, *The Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Curtis, 1799), XIII, pl. 466. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

from *Nature*, which listed ninety varieties.⁸⁷ A large order from Lee in 1798 included two miniatures with small pompon flowers: the pink 'Rose de Meaux', *R. centifolia pomponia*, and 'Burgundy' or 'Pompon de Bourgogne', *R. centifolia parvifolia*, which is crimson, fading to purple.

CLIMBERS

The outside of the kitchen garden walls provided space for many climbers. Honeysuckles were among the first plants bought, although the varieties are not specified. In the 1760s, the invoices included *Lonicera × americana*, *L. periclymenum* and *L. periclymenum quercifolia*. *L. tartarica* was also purchased but that is a bushy shrub. Yellow Carolina jasmine, *Gelsemium sempervirens*, was bought in 1760 and other American plants were *Bignonia radicans*, now *Campsis radicans* (purchased 1779), and the vigorous mauve *Glycine frutescens*, or *Wisteria frutescens* (purchased 1792). All were still grown at

Table 1. Roses grown at Croome

'Maiden's Blush'	<i>R. alba</i>
'Double White'	<i>R. alba maxima</i>
'Blush 100 leaved'	<i>R. centifolia</i>
'Cabbage'	<i>R. centifolia</i>
'Moss Province'	<i>R. centifolia</i>
'Singleton Dutch 100 Leaved'	<i>R. centifolia</i>
'Blush Belgick'	<i>R. damascena</i>
'Great Royal'	<i>R. damascena</i>
'Red Belgick'	<i>R. damascena</i>
'York and Lancaster'	<i>R. damascena</i> 'Versicolor'
'Red Austrian'	<i>R. foetida</i>
'Yellow Austrian'	<i>R. foetida</i>
'Double Red'	<i>R. gallica</i>
'True Marble'	<i>R. gallica</i>
'Rosa Mundi'	<i>R. gallica</i> 'Versicolor'
'Cinnamon Rose'	<i>R. majalis</i>
'Double White Musk'	<i>R. moschata</i>
'Double Sweet Briar'	<i>R. rubiginosa</i>
'Evergreen'	<i>R. semperflorens</i>
'Burnet Leaved'	<i>R. spinosissima</i>
'Dwarf Scotch Marbled'	<i>R. spinosissima</i>
'Dwarf Scotch White'	<i>R. spinosissima</i>
'Double Yellow'	<i>R. sulphurea</i>
'Purple Frankfurt'	<i>R. turbinata</i>
'Apple Bearing'	<i>R. villosa</i>

Table 2. Clematis supplied by Lee and Kennedy, 1792–1800

<i>C. alpina</i>	<i>C. ochroleuca</i>
<i>C. cirrhosa</i>	<i>C. orientalis</i>
<i>C. cirrhosa</i> var. <i>balearica</i> (as <i>C. balearica</i>)	<i>C. viorna</i>
<i>C. crispa</i>	<i>C. viticella</i>
<i>C. integrifolia</i> (not a climber)	<i>C. viticella rubra</i>

Croome in 1824. Clematis were not collected until the 1790s, although *C. flammula* with small scented starry-white flowers was purchased in 1786 (Table 2).⁸⁸

NON-WOODY PLANTS

Small ornamental plants do not feature in the early invoices, although fifty hollyhocks were bought in 1747 (at three pence each).⁸⁹ Some flowers were probably grown in the kitchen garden but borders in the park are unlikely to have been ready for planting until the layout of the shrubberies had been established. In 1759, Lord Coventry bought double snowdrops, *Galanthus nivalis* 'Flore Pleno', and in 1760 double sweet williams, *Dianthus barbatus* 'Flore Pleno', double white rockets, *Hesperis matronalis* 'Alba Plena', and double campions (all at sixpence each).⁹⁰ Double lily of the valley, *Convallaria majalis* 'Flore Pleno', double dropwort, *Filipendula vulgaris* 'Multiplex', and double Italian chamomile were followed by a double marsh marigold, *Caltha palustris* 'Flore Pleno', and double lady smock, *Cardamine pratensis* 'Flore Pleno'.⁹¹ Early purchases of hardy perennials were mainly of European origin.

More than twenty aster species appear in the plant bills, most of them introductions from eastern North America earlier in the eighteenth century which have had recent name changes. The earliest invoice, listing several asters, is from William Malcolm in 1771.⁹² *Eurybia divaricata* (white wood aster) was purchased as *Aster divaricatus*; it was introduced in 1765 as *Aster corymbosus* and did not appear as *Aster divaricatus* until 1800; in 1771 the Croome plant would have been thought new.⁹³ Others included

Symphyotrichum cordifolius, *S. ericoides* and *Doellingeria umbellatus*, all introduced in 1758–59, and mauve *Symphyotrichum novi-belgii*, parent of the Michaelmas daisies. The flower garden had an American border but also herbaceous borders where these plants could have been displayed. Phlox may have been included in the borders as several varieties of these North American plants were grown, including the tall mauve *Phlox maculata* and *P. paniculata*. There were also yellow *Coreopsis verticillata*, *Rudbeckia triloba* and *Solidago caesia*, plants with late summer and autumn colour not available early in the century.

The Earl's plant collection included a number of hardy geraniums which came mainly from James Lee at sixpence each, although *Geranium tuberosum* cost 7s. 6d.⁹⁴ Several geraniums are included in a bill from James Lee of February 1792; this has four hundred entries, of which two hundred and twenty-six are perennials; it looks as if Lord Coventry ordered one of each in Lee's catalogue.⁹⁵ The total bill came to £39 15s. 1d., showing the large sums that the Earl was spending on plants.

Some of the first ornamentals purchased were hardy bulbs (including corms and tubers): winter aconites, *Eranthis hyemalis*, were 3s. 4d. per hundred, crocus 1s. for forty-four and double snowdrops, *Galanthus nivalis* 'Flore Pleno', 1s. 8d. for fifty.⁹⁶ 'Fine Mixed Broke Tulips', 'broken' by virus, were one guinea for fifty, a relatively modest price. In 1760, two spring *Cyclamen coum* and two autumn *C. hederifolium* were sixpence each but *Lilium canadense* cost ten shillings for two. *Lilium chalcedonicum*, with Turk's cap flowers, was first bought under the name 'Scarlet Martagon' in 1762, at three shillings for six. The large 1792 order from James Lee mentioned above included *Colchicum autumnale*, *Cyclamen purpurascens*, *Erythronium dens-canis*, *Leucojum aestivum*, *Lilium martagon*, *Muscari racemosum* and *Scilla peruviana*. *Narcissus bulbocodium* (at 2s. 6d.), *Scilla bifolia* and *Tigridia pavonia* followed.

One bill of 1761 includes *Acorus calamus*, which grows in shallow water, and the same period saw purchases of *Caltha palustris* 'Flore Pleno', *Eupatorium purpureum* and *Lobelia cardinalis*, bog plants possibly for planting in the margins of the lake or in the flower garden fish pond. *Zantedeschia aethiopica* and *Helonias laeta* (now *Amianthium muscitoxicum*) were also purchased, the latter first described by Curtis in 1805, stating that it had been introduced by Lord Coventry in 1770.⁹⁷ The illustration was drawn from a plant grown at Malcolm's nursery, which shows how the Earl passed plant material around (Figure 12). Later purchases included *Geum rivale*, *Iris ochroleuca*, *Lobelia siphilitica*, *Trollius asiaticus*, *Viola palustris*, *Iris pseudacorus* and *Iris versicolor*. The pond was surrounded by 'borders for rock plants', which might have included the shorter achilleas but also *Arabis alpina*, *Aurinia saxatilis*, *Bellis perennis* 'Prolifera' (in both red and white), *Dodecatheon meadia*, *Erinus alpinus*, *Iberis sempervivum*, *Iris pumila*, *Sempervivum arachnoideum* and *Sisyrinchium bermudianum*.⁹⁸ *Jussia repens* (now *Ludwigia adscendens*), a tropical aquatic plant, was purchased in 1768 from John Bush 'for Piccadilly' (the Earl's London house); previously it was thought to have been introduced in 1816.⁹⁹

The flower garden was the site of the Earl's collection of dianthus (Figure 13); there are many references to unnamed 'pinks' in the early bills but named varieties included Good's 'Countess of Coventry', supplied by John Bush in 1767.¹⁰⁰ In 1775, James Maddock supplied Lord Coventry with a collection of auriculas (Table 3).¹⁰¹ Maddock had grown up in Warrington and moved to London in 1770, bringing with him knowledge of the northern weavers' florists' societies. The auriculas were presumably show varieties, as opposed to border; if 'Ortain' was 'Mortain', it was the first white-edged variety. The prices were high and the plants must have been grown under shelter because rain spoils the farina. Several years later, the Earl bought '7 roots of best Polyanthus' at seven



Figure 12. *Helonias laeta*; from John Sims, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Curtis, 1805), XXI, pl. 803. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

Table 3. Auriculas supplied by James Maddock

'Ashwell's Earl Temple'	5s.	'Harvey's King George'	2s. 6d.
'Bang's Fame'	2s.	'Ortain'	1s.
'Baskerville's Julius Caesar'	3s.	'Parmer's Globe'	3s.
'Berry's Fancyer'	10s.	'Plat's King Herod'	10s.
'Berry's Royal Prince'	5s.	'Severn's Fame'	2s. 6d.
'Courton's Don Quixote'	1s.	'Smith's Marquess of Granby'	2s. 6d.
'Crouchley's Prussian Hero'	2s.	'Taylor's Ethiopian King'	4s.
'Gorton's Earl of Chatham'	3s.	'Thorpe's Queen Mab'	4s.
'Grundy's Aurora'	4s.	'Turkish Kaisir'	2s.
'Grundy's Pan'	2s.	'Vice's Green Seedling'	2s.
'Grundy's Pandora'	2s.		

shillings.¹⁰² One 'double striped polianthus' at five shillings followed and, in 1793, a double red polyanthus. These would have been gold or silver-laced primulas because the 'garden' polyanthus had not then been introduced; they would have been treated as show plants. *Primula marginata* (1s. 6d.) came in 1793 and *P. cortusafolia* (*P. cortusoides*) at



Figure 13. *Dianthus chinensis*; from William Curtis, *The Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Curtis, 1790), I, pl. 25. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

10s. 6d. in 1797, both from James Lee, who had introduced them in 1777 and 1794, respectively (Figure 14). In 1798, William North supplied a ‘new crimson primrose’ (2s. 6d.) and a double oxlip (1s.).

James Maddock also specialized in hyacinths. An invoice of April 1786, for a ‘scarce yellow’ greenhouse carnation and a ‘new and most fine double wallflower’, included a note informing Lord Coventry that hyacinths had been marked for him while growing in Holland; they would be dug up later in the year and exported (Figure 15).¹⁰³ In October, the invoice for ‘very best double hyacinths’ was sent.¹⁰⁴ There were eleven varieties: one of each was purchased, except for two of the large yellow ‘Ophir’ (Table 4). Weston listed some hyacinths in his *Universal Botanist and Nurseryman* (1777), a book which the Earl owned. ‘Trianon’ was described as deep purplish violet and was then five guineas per bulb.



Figure 14. *Primula cortusoides*; from Henry Andrews, *The Botanist's Repository* (London: Andrews, 1797), I, pl. 7. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

Table 4. Hyacinths supplied by James Maddock

Red	'Perruque Quarree'	2s.	Yellow	'Ophir'	6s.
	'Regina Rubrosum'	10s.	Blue	'Globe Celeste'	6s.
	'Rex Rubrosum'	6s.		'Gloria Mundi'	10s.
White	'Don Gratuit'	4s.		'Marshall Soubize'	5s.
	'Gloria Florum Suprema'	6s.		'Trianon'	10s.
	'Vicomtesse de Roakoull'	6s.			

The plant bills include annuals, many of them well-known today, but in the late eighteenth century they were relatively expensive (Table 5). For example, twenty packets of hardy annual seeds cost six shillings and seven of tender annuals three shillings.¹⁰⁵ An order from Lee & Kennedy in 1797 included many of these plants at sixpence each.¹⁰⁶ This bill includes a 'yellow lathyrus' and an earlier bill from Eddie, Beck & Wright refers to 'New Yellow Sweet Pease'.¹⁰⁷ The China asters are listed in the invoices as red, white, purple or striped, although when first introduced (1731) they came as single purple flowers only. Lupins came as white, yellow, blue and rose. *Leonotis nepetifolia* was thought to be introduced in 1778 but appears as *Phlomis nepetifolia* on an invoice of 1762 (Figure 16).¹⁰⁸

GREENHOUSE PLANTS

In April 1762, the Earl paid one guinea for an 'African Erica' and also bought 'Parcels of Jamaican seeds'; he had turned his attention to exotic species for his new hothouses.¹⁰⁹

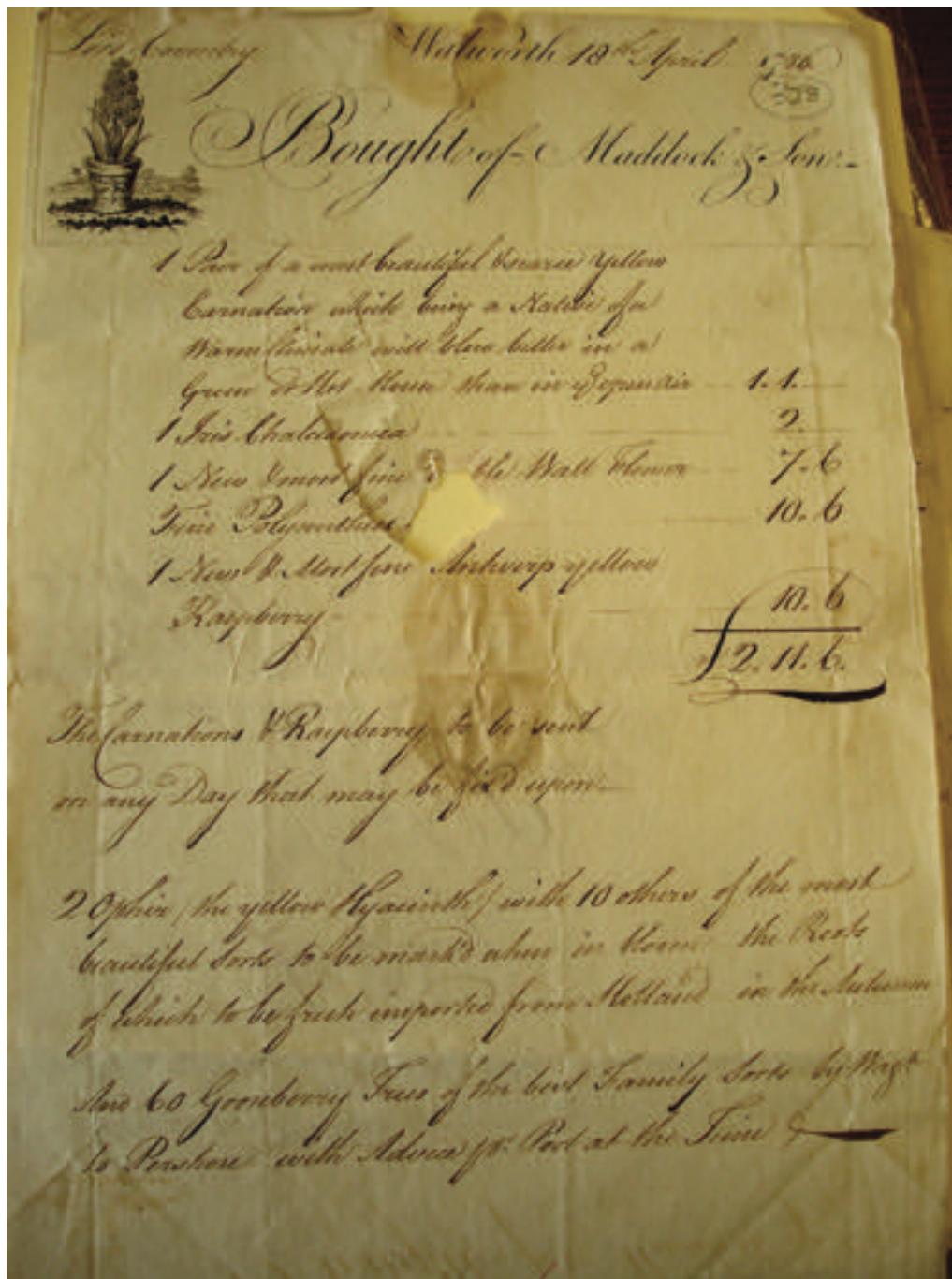


Figure 15. Letter from James Maddock on a bill dated 17 April 1786. Courtesy: Worcestershire Archive and Archaeological Service, Bill 328

In June, Gray & Co. supplied plants from South America and the West Indies, including *Cassia planasquiliqua* (now *Senna occidentalis*).¹¹⁰ One important invoice from Lewis Kennedy in 1762 lists the shrubs *Celastrus myrtifolius*, from Jamaica, the South African *Gnidia oppositifolia* and *Osteospermum ilicifolium*; they were previously thought to have been introduced in 1810, 1783 and 1816 respectively (Figure 17).¹¹¹

Table 5. Some of the annuals listed in the plant bills

<i>Adonis annua</i> , Pheasant's Eye	<i>Lathyrus odoratus</i> , Sweet Pea
<i>Amaranthus tricolor</i> , Chinese Spinach	<i>Matthiola incana annua</i> , 10 week Stock
<i>Amberboa moschata</i> , Sweet Sultan	<i>Mirabilis jalapa</i> , Marvel of Peru
<i>Atriplex hortensis</i> var. <i>rubra</i> , Red Orach	<i>Moluccella laevis</i> , Bells of Ireland
<i>Callistephus chinensis</i> , China Aster	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> , Tobacco
<i>Carthamus tinctorius</i> , False Saffron	<i>Nigella hispanica</i> , Spanish Nigella
<i>Celosia argentea</i> , Cockscomb	<i>Nigella orientalis</i> , Oriental Nigella
<i>Cerinthe major</i> , Honeywort	<i>Polygonum orientale</i> , <i>Persicaria orientale</i>
<i>Coix lacryma-jobi</i> , Job's Tears	<i>Reseda odorata</i> , Mignonette
<i>Consolida ajacis</i> , Larkspur	<i>Senecio elegans</i>
<i>Convolvulus tricolor</i>	<i>Tagetes erecta</i> , African Marigold
<i>Coreopsis lanceolata</i> , Tickseed	<i>Tagetes erecta (patula)</i> , French Marigold
<i>Dimorphotheca pluvialis</i> , Rain Daisy	<i>Viola tricolor</i> , Heartsease
<i>Helianthus annuus</i> , Sunflower	<i>Xeranthemum annuum</i>
<i>Iberis umbellata</i> , Candytuft	<i>Zinnia peruviana</i> , Red Zinnia
<i>Ipomoea purpurea</i> , Common Morning Glory	<i>Zinnia pauciflora</i> , Yellow Zinnia



Figure 16. *Leonotis nepetifolia*; from *The Botanical Register* (London: James Ridgeway, 1818), IV, pl. 281. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)



Figure 17. *Gnidia oppositifolia*; from John Sims, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1817), XLIV, pl. 1902.
Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

The plants were given Linnean names: Kennedy's partner, James Lee, was instrumental in introducing these into English horticulture.

Another group of plants that was introduced earlier than has been thought includes the West Indian *Mimosa latisiliqua* (now *Lysiloma latisiliquum*) in 1768; *Passiflora punctata*, from Peru, was one of several passifloras bought in 1768.¹¹² *Daphne sinensis* (now *Daphne odora*) and *Malpighia verbascifolia* (now *Byrsonima verbascifolia*) came from James Gordon in 1770 (Figure 18).¹¹³ With the latter he sent 'a letter of advice to Mr. Graefer', head gardener at Croome. *Myrtus zeylanica* (now *Syzygium zeylanicum*) from the East Indies is on a bill from John Bassington of 1783.¹¹⁴ The South African *Brunia speciosa* (now *Berzelia squarrosa*), appears to be another first introduction in 1796.¹¹⁵ John Graefer left Croome in 1776 to join James Gordon as a nurseryman and, in March 1779, he sent Lord Coventry the North American *Hopea tinctoria* (now *Symplocos tinctoria*) at two guineas.¹¹⁶ In June 1790, James Lee supplied some plants recently introduced from Australia, including *Banksia dentata* (two guineas), probably a first introduction at Croome.¹¹⁷ The Earl was attracted to novelty, which the nurserymen seemed ready to supply.



Figure 18. *Daphne odora*; from John Sims, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1813), XXXVIII, pl. 1587. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

The 1761 bills include the first listing of pelargoniums, then geraniums; these became an ongoing speciality of the Croome collection and purchases are recorded until 1801.¹¹⁸ In 1761, prices ranged from 1s. 6d. to 5s. but in 1793 Lord Coventry paid as much as three guineas for one plant of *Pelargonium tricolor* (Figure 19).¹¹⁹ By 1824, William Dean had a collection of one hundred and three pelargoniums but stated that they were ‘increasing every year’. Hybrids named then included ‘Croomensis’, ‘Deanina’ and ‘Lady Coventry’.¹²⁰

Erica herbacea, syn. *Erica carneae*, (from Europe) is stated to be a first introduction by the Earl in 1763.¹²¹ *Hortus Kewensis* lists *E. herbacea* as a different plant from *E. mediterranea*, which was cultivated in an Oxford garden in 1648, but *The Botanic Magazine* stated that ‘This species does not appear to us to be specifically different from the *mediterranea*.¹²² However, *E. mediterranea* is described in later volumes and the authors then concluded ‘from examining them more attentively, we are satisfied that they are distinct’.¹²³ *E. australis*, from Spain and Portugal, was thought to have been introduced by the Earl in 1769.¹²⁴



Figure 19. *Pelargonium tricolor*; from William Curtis, *The Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (London: Curtis, 1800), VII, pl. 240. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

The Earl was collecting ericas seriously in the early 1790s. At this time, there was a major increase in all his plant purchases and the number of items on one invoice was often large, particularly on those of James Lee. It is probably because the number of varieties available had multiplied. Some of the ericas had been introduced from the Cape twenty years previously but must have been in short supply because they were expensive, usually one to three guineas; newer varieties were sometimes five guineas. One invoice from James Lee, in 1793, lists fifteen species, including *E. lachnea* (*E. lachneifolia*) introduced that year, and *E. planifolia*, previously thought to have been introduced in 1795 (Table 6).¹²⁵ Lee was a friend of the plant hunter Francis Masson and the nursery specialized in plants from the Cape. Another possible first introduction was *E. filamentosa*, bought from Malcolm & Co. in April 1798.¹²⁶ Spring-flowering *E. coventryana* (now *E. infundibuliformis*), introduced from the Cape of Good Hope

Table 6. Ericas supplied by James Lee & Co. (26 March 1793)

<i>E. lutea</i>	2 gns	<i>E. humilis</i> or <i>E. banksia</i>	5 gns
<i>E. marifolia</i>	3	<i>E. lachnea</i>	3
<i>E. spicata</i>	2	<i>E. translucens</i>	5
<i>E. discolor</i>	2	<i>E. taxifolius</i>	2
<i>E. imbricata</i>	2	<i>E. planifolia</i>	1
<i>E. coccinea</i>	3	<i>E. fascicularis</i>	5
<i>E. viridipurpurea</i>	1	<i>E. halicacaba</i>	3
<i>E. nova</i>	2		

in 1808, is not listed in the plant bills but was named for Lord Coventry and grown on the estate.¹²⁷ The ericas were grown in the flower garden, in a greenhouse which was dedicated to South African plants. In 1801, there were more than one hundred¹²⁸ and in 1824 about two hundred.¹²⁹ There were also proteas in the greenhouse, including *Protea decora* (*Leucadendron laureolum*) bought from Daniel Grimwood in 1786.¹³⁰ Seventeen were bought from James Lee in 1793.¹³¹ The nurseryman died in 1795 but in 1798 his son (also James) supplied *Protea cordata* and *Protea grandiflora* at five guineas each. The invoice included *Protea acuminata* at three guineas;¹³² it was one of twenty-three still growing there in 1824.¹³³

FRUIT

In 1757 Lord Coventry bought seven peach trees, twenty-one in 1759, ten more a year later and more than forty in 1761.¹³⁴ Nectarines and apricots were purchased at the same time. This quantity could not have been contained in glasshouses so must have been grown outside; the kitchen garden is west facing and slopes to catch the sun. Some trees would have been trained on the walls and invoices include ‘double-worked’ plants. Most peach trees cost 1s. 6d. but the trained trees were 2s. 6d. The varieties are not always specified but include ‘Gallande’, ‘Grosse Mignonne’, ‘Montauban’, ‘Neal’s Early Purple’, ‘Noblesse’, ‘Old Newington’, ‘Red Magdalene’, ‘Royal George’, ‘Swalch’, ‘Smith Newington’ and ‘Vanguard’. Sometimes the same variety was listed under two different names and nomenclature was a problem.

The Horticultural Society held a peach trial in 1826 when thirty-two synonyms of ‘Grosse Mignonne’ were found.¹³⁵ Some nurserymen had been growing peaches from seed and introducing the seedlings as new varieties, even when they closely resembled the parent. Thus, ‘Neal’s Early Purple’ and ‘Royal George’ were both deemed to be ‘Grosse Mignonne’.¹³⁶ Daniel Grimwood used the name ‘Royal George’ to celebrate the coronation of George III, who came to the throne in 1760; the 6th Earl purchased his tree in 1761 from Kennedy and Lee. The Croome varieties would have given some succession of fruiting: ‘Grosse Mignonne’ and ‘Montauban’ ripened in late August, ‘Noblesse’, ‘Red Magdalene’ and ‘Smith’s Newington’ (syn. ‘Early Newington’) in early September, ‘Gallande’ in mid-September, and ‘Old Newington’ in late September.¹³⁷

The named apricots were ‘Breda’, ‘Brussels’, ‘Great Turkey’ and ‘Royal Orange’.¹³⁸ ‘Brussels’ was an old variety, with the synonym ‘Roman’, which could have been introduced by the Romans; ‘Breda’ is thought to have been introduced to England from Holland in the mid-eighteenth century and was mentioned in a catalogue of 1777 by Richard Weston, so Croome must have been one of the first estates to grow it.¹³⁹ The nectarines included ‘Brugnon Violet’, ‘Clermont’, ‘Dutilde’, ‘Lord Northumberland’, ‘Murry’, ‘Newington’ and ‘Red Roman’.

After 1762, small quantities only of peaches, apricots and nectarines were purchased until 1773, when more than seventy (unspecified) trees were added; in 1776 it was forty-eight.¹⁴⁰ The next year of major buying was 1780, when William Malcolm was the

nurseryman involved. He provided a detailed invoice and did so annually until 1785, although the number of trees reduced.¹⁴¹ There were very few apricots; the named ones are ‘Algiers’ and ‘Moor Park’ (syn. ‘Temple’), which had been introduced by Lord Anson, probably in 1760.¹⁴² The nectarines were ‘Early Fairchild’s’, ‘Elruge’, ‘Geneva’, ‘Golden’, ‘Italian’, ‘Peterborough’ and ‘Temple’s’. ‘Elruge’ was raised by Captain Leonard Gurle before 1670 and named by reversing the letters of his surname; he was a Hoxton nurseryman who became keeper of the royal garden in St James’s Park.

There are two invoices from Joseph Kirke for a ‘White Nectarine’, which was relatively expensive at two for one guinea in November 1778 and seven shillings and sixpence (for one) in 1781.¹⁴³ This was a new variety known to be raised before 1800 by the Revd Neate. It had good flavour but tended to fall before maturity. In 1790, Grimwood sold peaches to Croome, including ‘Nivette’ and ‘Teton de Venus’.¹⁴⁴ In 1792, William North supplied a ‘fine new scarlet nectarine’, a ‘fine new Black Apricot’ at 7s. 6d. and ‘other new fruits’, showing that the Earl was still attracted to novelty.¹⁴⁵ The king’s gardener, William Forsyth, wrote of the ‘Black Apricot’ in 1802: ‘This has been very lately introduced by Sir Joseph Banks, from France.’¹⁴⁶ Banks planted trees on his estate, Spring Grove, near Hounslow, which fruited for the first time in 1799, so it is possible that the Earl of Coventry’s tree was planted earlier. There were annual invoices from Lee and Kennedy from 1796 to 1800, including peaches ‘Brown Nutmeg’, ‘Magdalene Blanc’ and ‘Royal Charlotte’ and nectarine ‘Violet Hative’, an old French variety.¹⁴⁷

The early peach invoices include some pear trees, priced from sixpence to one shilling; a 1762 purchase, from James Gordon, supplied named varieties which could have been used from September to June (Table 7).¹⁴⁸ From 1765 to 1771, Samuel Hewitt supplied twelve to twenty pear trees, usually dwarf, each autumn but they were not itemised. William Malcolm supplied pears from 1773 to 1776 and listed six varieties in 1774, with ‘large Holland’s Bergamot’ (syn. ‘Lord Cheney’s Green’) and ‘Monsieur Jean Hative’ among a total of thirty-nine trees.¹⁴⁹ There is an invoice from Grimwood in 1780 for eight trees, including two ‘Jargonelle’ and two ‘Gansel’s Bergamot’, a winter pear of good flavour raised by Lieutenant-General Gansel at Donneland Hall, near Colchester, Essex, in 1768.¹⁵⁰ Malcolm supplied a few trees from 1782 to 1785, ‘Virgouleuse’ (for January) and ‘Royal Bergamot’ being new names.¹⁵¹ The last pears invoiced were bought from Lee and Kennedy.¹⁵² Trained trees had increased in price to five shillings each and included two ‘Autumn Bergamot’; the dwarf trees, at one shilling each, included ‘Swan’s Egg’ (for November) and ‘Catillac’ (a cooking pear).¹⁵³

Croome Park had an extensive orchard behind the church and the shrubbery walk to the flower garden and Lord Coventry’s planting began in earnest in 1759 with one hundred and fourteen standard apple trees.¹⁵⁴ Twenty-eight dwarf trees of unnamed varieties at one shilling each had been ordered in 1757 and may have been planted in the orchard or the walled garden.¹⁵⁵ In 1760, a further twenty-seven standard apples were planted and regular but smaller additions of standard trees, mainly from Samuel Hewitt,

Table 7. Pears bought from James Gordon in 1763

‘Bergamot’	‘Colmar’ (syn. ‘Bergamot’)
‘Beurre du Roi’ (syn. ‘Beurre Gris’)	‘Crassane’
‘Grey Beurre’ (‘Brown Beurre’, ‘Beurre Gris’)	‘Gross Rousselet’
‘Summer Bon Chretien’	‘La Chassory’
‘Winter Bon Chretien’	‘Lord Cheney’s Green’
‘Charleroi’	‘St. Germain’
‘Chaumontel’	‘Supreme’
	‘Sweet William’

were made in the next decade. A further sixty dwarf trees were ordered in 1767 and in the 1770s and 1780s more dwarf than standard trees were planted.

Two dwarf codlins, small green cooking apples, were included in 1760. Several invoices mention ‘Golden Pippins’, a famous old English dessert apple, recorded by Parkinson in 1629.¹⁵⁶ ‘Nonpareils’ were also planted, introduced from France in the sixteenth century. In 1768, a notable purchase was four trees of American apples, expensive at two shillings and sixpence each.¹⁵⁷ A 1780 bill lists dwarf trees of ‘Golden Jennet’ and ‘Herefordshire Pearmain’ at nine pence each;¹⁵⁸ ‘Nonsuch Pippins’, probably similar to ‘Golden Pippins’, were bought in 1783.¹⁵⁹ The start of the breeding and introduction of many new varieties, which occurred in the nineteenth century, is shown in a bill of 1792. The Earl paid 1s. 6d. for a ‘Pomme Violette or Black Apple’, an old French variety, and 2s. 6d. each for a ‘new striped bark Nonpareil’ and an ‘apple with a bloom like a plum’. A ‘new Tartarian Crab’ was five shillings; it would have come from the eastern coast of the Black Sea, imported via Russia after the conquest of the Crimea in 1783.¹⁶⁰

Cherry trees were bought regularly throughout the period of the plant bills. Unlike the apples, there was no major initial planting; standards and dwarfs were planted, with more of the latter (Table 8). The first fruit invoice includes espalier plums at nine pence each, which could have been for the orchard or walled garden.¹⁶¹ In 1762, fourteen dwarf trees were added, ‘Green Damascus’, ‘Blue Perdrigon’ and ‘Imperatrice’.¹⁶² Further purchases of plums were made until 1798, sometimes a few trees only but in 1769, 1777 and 1784 two dozen, usually dwarf (Table 9).

Five grape vines (unnamed) appeared on plant bills in 1757.¹⁶³ Two more, ‘Black Frontignan’ (syn. ‘Black Frontinian’, ‘Muscat Noir’), were added in 1759 at one shilling each and four of the same, presumably larger plants, at two shillings each, in 1761.¹⁶⁴ In 1764 fourteen vines were bought, the additional varieties being ‘Black Burgundy’ (syn. ‘Black Cluster’), ‘Red Muscadine’, ‘Red Raisin’, ‘Early Black July’ and ‘Royal Muscadine’ (a white grape), suitable for cropping outdoors on a wall in September.¹⁶⁵ A few vines only were added over the following sixteen years, including a ‘Muscat of Alexandria’ in 1779, three ‘Syrian’ in 1781–82, a ‘Passe Musk’ (syn. ‘White Muscat of Alexandria’) and two ‘Black Hamburgh’ in 1783.¹⁶⁶ All these varieties would have needed protection under glass so a vinery must have been built by the late 1770s.¹⁶⁷

The walled garden slopes down from east to west and, at the west end, also slopes from north to south. The existing viney was built against the north wall, fairly near the corner with the west wall. There were two rows of vines planted against the thirty-

Table 8. Cherries bought for Croome

‘Amber’ (syn. ‘Whiteheart’)	‘Duke’
‘Black Heart’	‘May Duke’ (syn. ‘Duke’)
‘Bleeding Heart’ (syn. ‘Gascoigne’s Heart’)	‘Portugal’ (‘Portugal Duke’?)
‘Heart’	‘Morello’
‘White Heart’	‘new Turkey’ (5s.)

Table 9. Plums bought for Croome

‘Blue Perdrigon’ (syn. ‘Precoce de Tours’)	‘Imperatrice’ (‘Empress’, ‘Blue Imperatrice’)
‘Bonum Magnum’	‘Indian Date’
‘Red Bonum Magnum’ (syn. ‘Red Imperial’)	‘Large Damson’ (‘Shropshire Damson’?)
‘White Bonum Magnum’ (syn. ‘Egg Plum’)	‘Muscle’
‘Fotheringham’	‘Pishamon’
‘Green Damascus’	‘Semiana’ (‘Semina’?)
‘Green Gage’ (syn. ‘Reine Claude’)	‘Winesour’ (syn. ‘Yorkshire’)
‘Blue Gage’	

two feet long walls and separated by a path; the vines on the front wall were trained under the sloping glass roof, above the path (Figure 20).¹⁶⁸ In 1791, Lord Coventry purchased seventeen vines and ten the following year, many of which can be found in the Horticultural Society trials report (Table 10).¹⁶⁹ Downhill from the viney was a fig house; the only plants in the invoices were two ‘Malta Fig’ (in 1762), a small brown fig described by Forsyth as ‘sweet and high-flavoured, which is ripe in August and September’.¹⁷⁰ Below that, on the south-facing slope, was a house for melons and cucumbers.¹⁷¹ The bills list ‘Early Romano’ melons, possibly ‘Romana’, and ‘Cantelope’, but there were many varieties of this.¹⁷² A ‘New scarlet flesh Roick Cantelope’ could have been ‘Rock Cantelope’ or ‘Scarlet Fleshed Cantelope’.¹⁷³

Below the melon house were pineapple pits, hotbeds covered by glass. The first pineapples recorded were two in November 1759 (sixpence each) but two dozen were bought a few months later and, in 1767, forty were invoiced ‘to fruit in 1768’.¹⁷⁴ In March 1770, two large and expensive plants were bought from James Shiells, costing 10s. 6d. each, so the Earl must have particularly wanted a pineapple for his dinner table.¹⁷⁵ Sixty fruiting plants and one hundred for succession followed six months later and then one hundred suckers in 1773: the Croome gardeners started a new batch every few years.¹⁷⁶ One hundred and fifty plants were bought in each of the years 1777, 1786 and 1791.¹⁷⁷ These large quantities were unnamed or ‘of sorts’ but three intermediate purchases of smaller numbers were listed in detail. James Shiells supplied two plants each of ‘Black Antigua’ (at 15s. each), ‘Green Sugarloaf’ (7s. 6d. each), ‘Bogwarp’ (7s. 6d.), ‘Monserrat’ (5s.) and ‘Striped Sugarloaf’ (5s.) in 1775.¹⁷⁸ The Earl may have thought that his pineapple crop could be improved because plans for a forcing house were included at two guineas. Twenty ‘Black Antigua’ came from William Malcolm in 1780 (small plants at 1s. 6d. each).¹⁷⁹ In 1791, Alexander Cunningham listed twenty-five ‘Queen’ Pines at three shillings each, twenty-one ‘Black Antigua’, two ‘Smooth Antigua’ and two ‘Olive Greens’ all at five shillings, a total of ten pounds; packaging and transport was ten shillings.¹⁸⁰

Citrus fruit became fashionable in seventeenth-century England and some gardeners obtained good crops; they were an accepted fruit when the 6th Earl set up his orangery. Some trees were bought before the Temple Greenhouse was built so must have had a winter home in another glasshouse; there was an orangery in the flower garden by 1801.¹⁸¹ Seed of lime, citron and shaddock were bought in 1761 and some orange trees.¹⁸² John Bassington sold the Earl two citron trees at fourteen shillings each in 1762 and a further citron and an orange in 1763.¹⁸³ Orange trees were invoiced by Gregori and Marsano in March 1763 but, the following year, the amount owing was reduced to zero because they had died.¹⁸⁴ In 1764, six orange trees, at one guinea each, were bought in March and in May a further three larger trees and a citron were added, at six guineas each, with four tubs at twenty-two shillings each.¹⁸⁵ The first lemon trees came in October 1764 (two at fifteen shillings) and bills in 1765 included ‘Bergamot’, ‘Double blossomed’ and ‘Myrtle leaved’ oranges.¹⁸⁶ There were no further purchases until 1781, when four more

Table 10. Additional varieties of grape purchased in 1791 and 1792

‘Red Syracuse’	‘Frankendale’ (‘Frankenthal’)
‘Red Frontiniac’ (syn. ‘Muscat Rouge’)	‘Lombardy’
‘Grizzled Frontiniac’ (syn. ‘Muscat Gris’)	‘Black Sweetwater’
‘White Frontiniac’ (syn. ‘Muscat Blanc’)	‘Orleans or Large Blue’
‘Black Muscat of Alexandria’	‘Fine large Violet’
‘Zante Muscat of Alexandria’	‘Black Esperione’
‘St. Peter’s’ (‘Black St. Peter’s’)	‘White Amber’
‘Duke of Northumberland’s Tokay’	‘Black Portugal’ (syn. ‘Alicante’)
‘Brown Tokay’	‘Catesby’s’

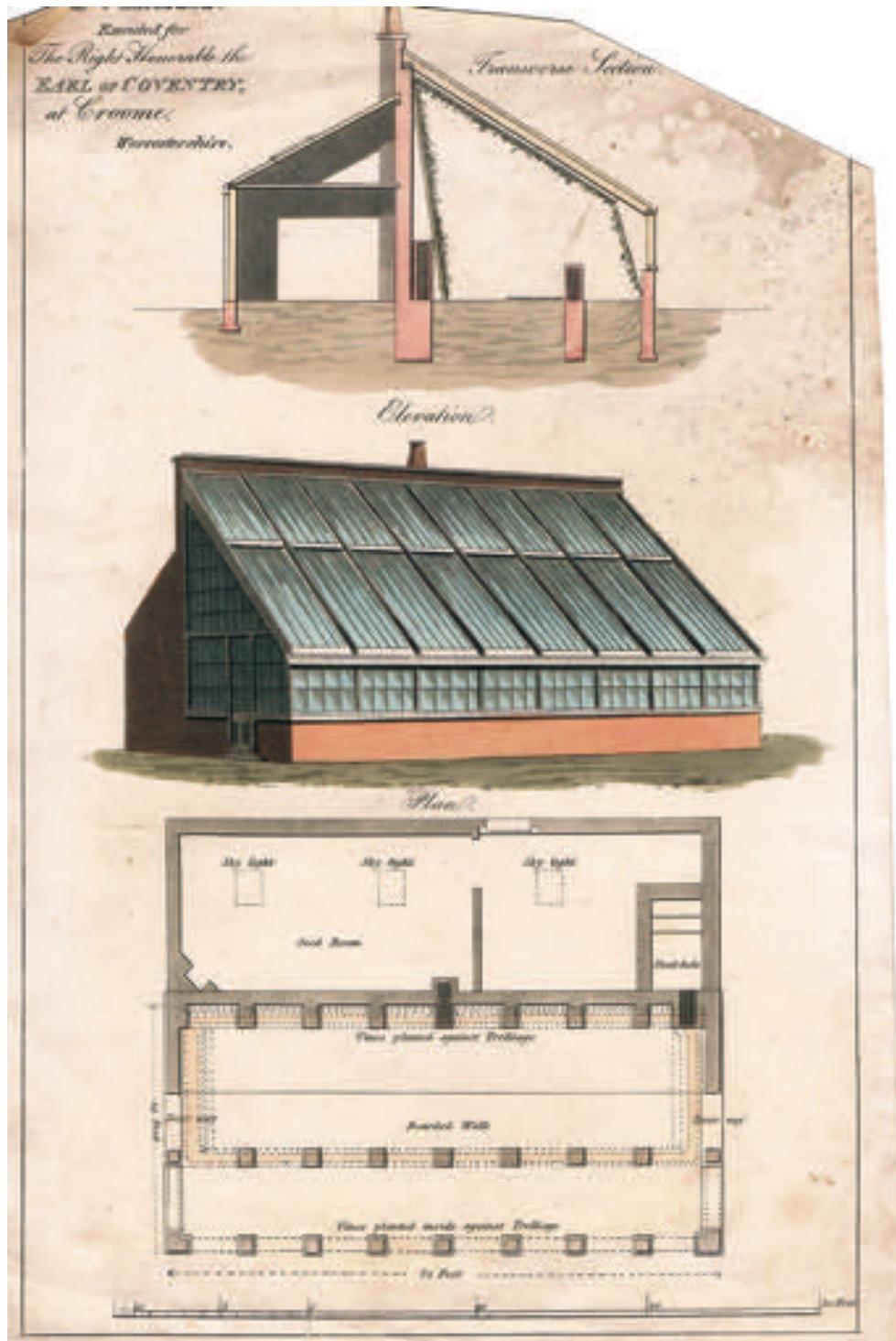


Figure 20. Scaled plan of The Vinery (etched 1806); from George Tod, *Plans, elevations and sections, of hot-houses, green-houses, an aquarium, conservatories, &c., recently built in different parts of England, for various noblemen and gentlemen : including a hot-house and green-house in Her Late Majesty's gardens at Frogmore* (London, 1823), pl. 13.

Courtesy: The Croome Estate Trust

orange trees were ordered, at one guinea each, and a 'Mandarin' at twelve shillings.¹⁸⁷ In 1785, five different suppliers provided citrus trees, including four specified for Lady Coventry.¹⁸⁸ Four bills only occur in the following twenty years but it is possible that the gardeners were raising trees from their own seed, which was common practice.

Mid-eighteenth-century gooseberries had names descriptive of their appearance, sometimes comparing them with plums: Lord Coventry bought 'Amber', 'Green Damson', 'Rough Red' and 'Smooth Green Gage' in 1760 (Table 11).¹⁸⁹ Following purchases were of a few varieties at irregular intervals. In north-west England, gooseberry clubs and competitions became popular among the weavers, who grew their own plants from seed. Many new varieties were named, including 'Conqueror', 'Matchless' and 'Nonsuch'. In 1786, the Earl purchased a collection of thirty different gooseberries (two of each) from James Maddock; most were sixpence each but some were one shilling; few were grown in the Horticultural Society trial forty years later.¹⁹⁰

Fifty 'Double Bearing' raspberries were bought for Croome in 1759; also known as 'Perpetual Bearing', these were a red which fruited twice or, sometimes, from June to November.¹⁹¹ 'White' and 'Red Dutch' were also bought and 'Black', in 1760, but there were no further purchases for many years, presumably because the gardeners were propagating their own.¹⁹² However, in April 1786, James Maddock supplied a 'New and most fine Antwerp yellow Raspberry', 10s. 6d. for one plant (Figure 15).¹⁹³ In October, the price had dropped to three plants for one guinea and they were described as 'prolific'.¹⁹⁴ This variety is recorded as being first grown in Yorkshire by Lord Middleton, having been given to his son by the Governor of Antwerp in c.1783, and was described by William Driver in 1788.¹⁹⁵ Roach mentioned that after this William North and James Maddock 'introduced it into cultivation by the end of the century' but Maddock sold it to Lord Coventry much earlier.¹⁹⁶ In 1791, Walter Hay supplied a 'New Scarlet' at 7s. 6d. and a 'New Red' at 5s. and North a 'Large new Red Antwerp' (5s.) in 1792.¹⁹⁷ The last was thought to have been raised by Cornwall of Barnet, who named it 'Red Antwerp' simply because the fruit was as large as 'Yellow Antwerp'.

'Chili' strawberries and another unnamed 'Very large' variety were bought for Croome in 1759.¹⁹⁸ 'Pine Apple' strawberries (2s. 6d. per one hundred) and 'Green' (2s.

Table 11. Gooseberries in the Croome Plant Bills

'Amber'	'Law's Carpenter'
'Barlow's Raspberry'	'Layforth Seedling'
'Black Walnut'	'Maninsi's Seedling'
'Blinkthorn's Red Bull'	'Mather's Alexander'
'Costerdine's Green Lizard'	'Mile's Seedling'
'Damson'	'Mile's White Elephant'
'Fairchild's'	'Moryal'
'Gill's Seedling'	'New Green Lancashire'
'Globe Crimson'	'Nield's White Rose'
'Green Damson'	'Pendleton's Matchless'
'Gregory's Highland King'	'Rawlinson's King'
'Gregory's Mount Pleasant'	'Rawlinson's Royal George'
'Gregory's Nonsuch'	'Red Orleans'
'Hampron's Caison'	'Richardson's Seedling'
'Hertfordshire Red'	'Rough Red'
'Hutton's Black Prince'	'Smooth Green Gage'
'Hutton's Goldfinch'	'Sugarsweet'
'Hutton's Great Caesar'	'Thorpe's Miss Gough'
'Jackson's Golden Drop'	'Tillotson's Seedling'
'Jackson's Slim'	'Transparent'
'Kenyon's Sampson'	'Worthington's Conqueror'
'Kenyon's White Lion'	'Yellow Hairy Damson'
'Large Green'	

for one hundred) followed and five hundred each of ‘Chili’ and ‘Alpine’ were bought in 1780.¹⁹⁹ There is little mention of currants in the plant bills and there could have been existing stocks in the walled garden. The pale red ‘Champagne’ was bought in 1762 and white ‘Pearl’ in 1763.²⁰⁰ Other fruits with few entries are medlars, mulberries and quinces. Three standard medlars were bought in 1760 and two more in 1761 but none was named.²⁰¹ Mulberry seed (of no further description) was supplied in 1761 at two shillings for one ounce and an American mulberry tree at five shillings came from James Gordon in 1762.²⁰² This would have been a red mulberry, which was not rated as highly as the black. Standard quinces were purchased in 1758, 1761 (a dozen) and 1771 and two dwarf American trees, at three shillings each, in 1763.²⁰³ Fifty filberts were bought in 1759, a black walnut in 1764 and sweet chestnuts in the 1770s.²⁰⁴ Exotic fruits were *Carica papaya*, at five shillings, in 1761, *Passiflora quadrangularis* in 1773 and 1786, and a coconut, *Cocos nucifera*, at five guineas, in 1798.²⁰⁵ A plant of the last and ‘above a dozen varieties of the passion flower’ were growing in the home shrubbery hothouse in 1801.²⁰⁶

VEGETABLES

Samuel Hewitt supplied vegetable seed to Croome in June 1758 and his company (later Hewitt & Smith) continued to do so until 1779, when William Malcolm became the supplier. From the mid-1780s, other seedsmen were also used but William Malcolm & Sons continued to supply seed until 1795, with John and John Field being suppliers from 1794 to 1803. There was one main order of vegetable seed each year, as gardeners found that if they saved their own seed cross-pollination often occurred.²⁰⁷ The estate would have been as self-sufficient as possible and winter vegetables, fresh or dried, would have been of great importance. There was a seed room behind the back wall of the viney.

Peas were usually ordered by the peck, sometimes a half-peck; one invoice might list three or four varieties (Table 12). Charlton was an area of London which specialized in the production of pea seeds. ‘Rouncival’ was an old, large, late season variety that was dried and used in soups; ‘Marrowfat’ was probably descended from ‘Rouncival’. Varieties of ‘Hotspur’ were developed in the eighteenth century. ‘Sugar Peas’ were mangetout, eaten as whole pods; fresh green peas were not only used in savoury dishes but also in desserts: pastries topped with icing.

Mazagan beans, similar to Windsor broad beans, *Vicia faba*, were the preferred type of the period although kidney beans, varieties of *Phaseolus*, became increasingly common in the eighteenth century.²⁰⁸ Guiney bean could be Guinea or New Guinea bean, *Lagenaria siceraria*, which does not originate from New Guinea and is not a bean but an

Table 12. Peas bought for Croome

‘Blue Prussian’	‘Marvel’
‘Blue Union’	‘Master’s Hotspur’
‘Branchino Marrow’	‘Nichol’s Early’
‘Crooked Sugar’ (or ‘Sickle’)	‘Nonpareil’
‘Crown’	‘Ormorod’s Hotspurs’
‘Dwarf Marrons’	‘Paddington’
‘Early Charlton’	‘Patagonian’
‘Early Guiney’	‘Pearl’
‘Early Golden Hotspur’	‘Readings’
‘Early Mama’	‘Spanish Morottos’
‘French Sugar’	‘Sugar Marrow’
‘Large French’	‘Tall Marrons’
‘Ledman’s Dwarf’	‘True Turner’s’
‘Marrow Fats’	‘White Rouncevals’

edible gourd. It was one of the first cultivated plants, about the size of a courgette and eaten in a similar way; a vigorous annual climber, it would have to have been raised in a glasshouse at Croome (Table 13).

Brassicas grown at Croome included cabbage, early and late, and colewort, eaten as young greens, i.e. spring greens (Table 14); one invoice listed ‘cabbage: 8 sorts’. ‘2 sorts’ of borecole are mentioned and ‘curled’; these were winter-hardy kales.²⁰⁹ ‘Italian’, ‘Early Purple’, ‘Late Purple’ and ‘Yellow’ broccoli were grown and early and late cauliflower. Brussels sprouts were invoiced in 1786 at 1s. 6d. for two ounces of seed. For comparison, ‘most fine’ early cauliflower was 2s. 6d. per ounce. The sprouts were only recently introduced to Britain and would have been more open than modern varieties.

One bill of 1762 mentions ‘Orange Carrot’, because these were fairly new, while others refer to short and long orange but ‘Early Horn’ is the only named variety. There were ‘beets of 4 sorts’, ‘Red Beet’ and ‘Malcolm’s’. Turnips were ‘Dutch’, ‘Early Dutch’, ‘French’, ‘German’, ‘London White’, ‘Stone’, ‘White Round’ and ‘Yellow’. Radish were ‘Scarlet’, ‘Short Top’, ‘Salmon’ and ‘White Turnip’. Other root vegetables were parsnips, Hamburg parsley, salsify, scorzonera and skirrit but these were given no further description. Potatoes appear on an invoice of 1768 (one bushel of Wise’s potatoes for 3s. 6d.) and later bills include white and red but ‘Red Nosed Kidney’ was used most often.

Lettuce was important for salads; endive was also used and came as ‘Batavia’, ‘Broad’, ‘Green Curled’ and ‘White’ (Table 15). Chicory was bought, as succory, and forced for chicons. Indian cress (*nasturtiums*), curled cress and ‘White Mustard’ were eaten and also winter-hardy corn salad and golden purslane. ‘Small salletting’ usually comprised seed leaves of cress, mustard, rape, radish and turnip. ‘Spinach of sorts’ is listed; it came as round or prickly, referring to the seed shapes.

Table 13. Beans bought for Croome

‘Battersea’ VF	‘Nonpareil’ VF
‘Black Speckled Kidney’ P	‘Red Speckled’ P
‘Broad Spanish’	‘Sandwich’
‘Canterbury Kidney’ P	‘Scarlet Runners’ P
‘Dwarf Fan’	‘Small Spanish’
‘Early Guiney’	‘Sparrow Egg French’
‘Early Maragan’ (‘Mazagan’) VF	‘Speckled Dwarf Kidney’ P
‘Early White’	‘Swedish Longpod’ VF
‘Early Yellow Dwarf Kidney’ P	‘Sword Longpod’ VF
‘French’	‘Taylor’s True Windsor’ VF
‘Ginza Maragon’	‘Tokens’ (‘Tokers’) VF
‘Large White Dutch Kidney’ P	‘Turkey Longpod’ VF
‘Lisbon’ VF	‘White Blossom’ VF
‘Long Red’	‘Windsor’ VF
‘Mumford’s’	

Note: P, *Phaseolus*; VF, *Vicia faba*.

Table 14. Cabbages bought for Croome

‘Alnwick’	‘Large English’
‘Battersea’	‘Large Hollow’
‘Cotswold’	‘Long Holland’
‘Drum’	‘Long Scotch’
‘Early Yorkshire’	‘Red Dutch’
‘Flat Dutch’	‘Savoy’
‘Imperial’	‘Sugarloaf’

Table 15. Lettuces bought for Croome

'Ball'	'Early Cos'
'Batavia'	'Grand Admiral'
'Brown Dutch'	'Hardy's'
'Cabbage'	'Late Spotted'
'Cilia'	'Silesia'
'Cos'	'White Cos'
'Dutch'	

Table 16. Herbs used at Croome

Angelica	Dill
Sweet Basil	Hyssop
Borage	Knotted Marjoram
Burnet	Sweet Marjoram
Caraway	Curled Parsley
Chervil	Hamburg Parsley
Clary	Summer Savory
Coriander	Thyme

Onions are listed as 'Deptford', 'Portugal', 'Red Spanish', 'Silver Skin', 'Strasburg' and 'Welch' (a corruption of the German word *walsh*, i.e. foreign). Leek seed was bought and rocambole (shallots). Garlic was used and on one occasion four pounds were bought. Finochia (Florence fennel), celery ('Italian' and 'North's'), celeriac ('Hungary Celery') and cardoons were grown, the last cultivated like celery and the blanched stems cooked. Asparagus was grown at Croome in quantity: eight hundred crowns were bought in 1764 and the same amount again in 1766; in 1768 there was an order for fifteen hundred and fifty, which came in a hamper costing two shillings.²¹⁰ Cucumber varieties were 'Early', 'Long', 'Long Roman', 'Prickly' and 'Turkey'. Tomatoes first appeared in the bills in 1791, as 'Love apple', and the same order included capsicum. Herbs were included in the orders of vegetable seed (Table 16). Tarragon was bought as plants: four dozen in 1764 and a further dozen in 1766.

CONCLUSIONS

The 6th Earl of Coventry was an obsessive collector of plants; his collection was broad-based, covering trees to alpines, but within it were highly specialized groups (see Appendix B). He sought out the latest introductions and spent a fortune on his hobby. He was forward-looking and encouraged young talent: Lancelot Brown, Robert Adam and John Graefer.²¹¹ The Earl was influential; in a letter of 1836, Thomas Andrew Knight wrote: 'The Mayor of Worcester, some years ago, when George III addressed him, said "Please your majesty, Lord Coventry speaks for me". Many of our legislators might say "and thinks for me"'.²¹²

Lord Coventry was clearly respected by the horticultural world. The minutes of the Horticultural Society of London record that on the 28 March 1804 he was admitted as a member, one of the first as the Society's inaugural meeting of seven founders had been held on 7 March. *Ranunculus asiaticus* 'Earl of Coventry', yellow with a red edge, was named after him.²¹³ *Erica coventryana* was described by Loddiges (Figure 21):

It has been named in commemoration of the late Earl of Coventry, a truly noble and liberal encourager of botany. His Lordship's collection at Croome, in Worcestershire, was very extensive, and particularly rich in hardy trees and plants, and he continued to add to it, to the latter part of his life. [...] We feel pleasure in acknowledging that he was a kind patron of our establishment in its earlier times.²¹⁴



Figure 21. *Erica coventryana*; from Conrad Loddiges & Sons, Plates by George Cooke, *The Botanical Cabinet* (London: John & Arthur Arch, John Hatchman, Rodwell & Martin and Loddiges & Sons, 1820), V, pl. 423. Courtesy: Missouri Botanical Garden (<http://www.botanicus.org>)

Much of the 6th Earl's collection was still flourishing in 1903 but it has since been lost.²¹⁵ However, without Lord Coventry's patronage, the horticultural industry may not have introduced some of the plants grown today and modern gardens would be poorer.

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REFERENCES

- ¹ George Ferne (6 January 1758) (8). The plant bills were given to the Worcester Record Office (WRO) in 2005 by the Croome Estate Trust, in lieu of death duties. In the references, numbers in parentheses are those on the plant bills in WRO, now the Worcestershire Archive and Archaeological Service (WAAS); they are prefixed by 705:73/BA14450/320.
- ² Arthur Young, *Annals of Agriculture, and other Useful Arts* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1801), XXXVII, pp. 465–81.
- ³ In one place a culvert has collapsed and it is possible to see its construction and appreciate the engineering skill involved in managing the water.
- ⁴ Survey of Croome d'Abitot (*c.*1751), by John Doherty; WAAS. Plan of Croome (surveyed 1763), by John Broome, WAAS; William Dean, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Croome d'Abitot, the seat of the Right Hon. the Earl of Coventry; with biographical notices of the Coventry family: to which are annexed an Hortus Croomensis, and Observations on the Propagation of Exotics* (Worcester: T. Eaton, 1824).
- ⁵ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ James Gordon (13 September 1766) (132).
- ⁹ William Jackson Bean, *Trees & Shrubs Hardy in the British Isles*, 8th edn, eds D. L. Clarke and Sir George Taylor, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 2000).
- ¹⁰ For example, Lee (5 February 1785) (321), (8 December 1792) (446).
- ¹¹ For example, Shiells (March 1779) (182).
- ¹² For example, Field (February 1762) (62).
- ¹³ For example, Ceasy (17 March 1786) (322).
- ¹⁴ For an example of the former, see Hewitt and Smith (29 November 1777) (239).
- ¹⁵ Messer (20 November 1779) (258); Smith (12 May 1791) (374).
- ¹⁶ For example, White (20 April 1747); and Daniel (7 April 1795).
- ¹⁷ Gibbs (19 March 1809) (567).
- ¹⁸ For example, Malcolm (21 April 1791) (371).
- ¹⁹ For example, Lee and Kennedy (16 May 1797) (457); and Fraser (17 June 1795) (459).
- ²⁰ Hewitt (19 August 1762) (69).
- ²¹ Field (*c.*1799, but undated) (533); Loddiges (15 April 1791) (376); Malcolm (7 December 1784) (318).
- ²² Valle (20 May 1785) (unnumbered receipt); Bush (2 June 1769) (170).
- ²³ Ferne (6 January 1758) (8).
- ²⁴ Scott (22 June 1758) (5); Hewitt (19 July 1766) (130).
- ²⁵ For an example of prompt payment, see Gordon (15 April 1791) (25). Bassington (17 March 1767) (119); Clark (21 April 1781) (277).
- ²⁶ Kirke (2 March 1781) (268); Gordon, Dermer and Thomson (10 November 1781) (278).
- ²⁷ Blewing Smith (21 February 1748), (7 December 1748).
- ²⁸ Foot (21 March 1759) (23).
- ²⁹ Hunt (11 July 1761) (49), (30 October 1761) (52).
- ³⁰ Hodgkinson (19 January 1762) (59).
- ³¹ Minet and Higman (25 April 1764) (95); Messer (20 November 1779) (258).
- ³² Bush (20 September 1771) (192).
- ³³ Loddiges (5 April 1783) (295), (23 February 1793) (412); Gordon, Dermer and Thomson (10 November 1781) (278).
- ³⁴ Clark (2 November 1764) (102); Malcolm (10 May 1797) (490); Loddiges (13 June 1794) (429).
- ³⁵ Loddiges (23 October 1798) (509); Maddock (17 April 1786) (328).
- ³⁶ Scott (22 June 1758); Eddie & Beck (24 March 1787) (339).
- ³⁷ Hulme (14 April 1747).
- ³⁸ A shilling (five pence) per day, now worth about six pounds.
- ³⁹ D. J. Coombs and S. D. Rose, *Croome Park Tree Survey*. Unpublished report (Pershore College of Horticulture, 1996).
- ⁴⁰ Samuel Hewitt (28 October 1748).
- ⁴¹ Ibid. (11 March 1749).
- ⁴² At that time Croome Court would have been a building site, but they also had the nearby sixteenth-century half-timbered Pirton Court on the north side of the estate.
- ⁴³ Samuel Hewitt (12 June 1759) (2).
- ⁴⁴ Thomas Milne, *Land Use Map of London and Environs* (1800).
- ⁴⁵ Christopher Gray & Co. (17 February 1758) (9). James Gordon (4 March 1758) (3), two plants at five shillings each.
- ⁴⁶ William Townsend Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis, or a Catalogue of the Plants Cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew*, 2nd edn, vol. 3 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1811).
- ⁴⁷ The double-flowered plant had been imported by Collinson in 1746 and passed to Gordon: 'I first introduced the Spanish Broom with double flowers; it was sent me from Nuremberg, anno 1746, in a pot nicely wickered all over; it cost there a golden ducat; came from thence down the Elbe to Hambro', and was brought by first ship to London, in good order. I soon inarched it on the single flowered Broom, and gave it to Gray and Gordon, two famous nurserymen, and the public soon had it from them'; Lewis Weston Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus: An Account of the Plants Cultivated by the late Peter Collinson. Arranged Alphabetically According to their Modern Names, from the Catalogue of his Garden, and Other Manuscripts. Not published* (Swansea: W. C. Murray & D. Rees, 1843).
- ⁴⁸ Christopher Gray & Co. (12 January 1759) (20).
- ⁴⁹ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.

- ⁵⁰ James Scott (22 June 1758) (5).
- ⁵¹ Ibid. (22 March 1759) (4).
- ⁵² James Gordon (18 February 1759) (18). John H. Harvey, *The Availability of Hardy Plants of the Late Eighteenth Century* (London: Garden History Society, 1988).
- ⁵³ Ferne & Garraway (9 February 1761) (37). Harvey, *Availability of Hardy Plants*; Robert Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus* (London: James Ridgway, 1826). Chinquapin oak was a name also used for *Quercus mullebergii*, introduced in 1822; Hillier, *The Hillier Manual of Trees & Shrubs*, 6th edn (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1996).
- ⁵⁴ Wilson & Sanders (7 April 1763) (80), (17 February 1764) (93).
- ⁵⁵ Conrad Loddiges (25 March 1795) (455).
- ⁵⁶ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.
- ⁵⁷ James Colvill (23 April 1796) (472). Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.
- ⁵⁸ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.
- ⁵⁹ Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*.
- ⁶⁰ Coombs and Rose, *Croome Park Tree Survey*. Kennedy & Lee (28 November 1760) (24).
- ⁶¹ Christopher Gray & Co. (12 January 1759) (20). John Claudius Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, 2nd edn (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), III, p. 1849.
- ⁶² Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*, p. 74. Christopher Gray & Co. (12 January 1759) (20).
- ⁶³ William Burchell (2 March 1781) (272), (12 March 1784) (302), (16 March 1791) (382).
- ⁶⁴ Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum*.
- ⁶⁵ Eddie & Dupin (15 February 1775) (255). Bean, *Trees & Shrubs*.
- ⁶⁶ Samuel Hewitt (11 March 1749), (24 February 1758) (1), (22 February 1760) (14). It is often named the Weymouth pine because it was widely planted at Longleat by Lord Weymouth; the British Navy used vast quantities of these trees, imported from North America, for ships' masts; Bean, *Trees & Shrubs*; John Fincham, *The Naval Magazine*, 1 (1832), p. 469.
- ⁶⁷ Minier & Mason (6 December 1765) (108).
- ⁶⁸ John Snape, *Survey of Croome Park* (1796).
- ⁶⁹ James Lee (11 February 1792) (444). George Mitchell (16 February 1796) (470).
- ⁷⁰ George Mitchell (10 December 1790) (358).
- ⁷¹ Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*.
- ⁷² Conrad Loddiges (5 April 1783) (295).
- ⁷³ James Gordon (12 April 1760) (27).
- ⁷⁴ Lewis Kennedy (3 April 1762) (60). Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*; Hillier, *Hillier Manual*.
- ⁷⁵ Christopher Gray & Co. (24 November 1759) (11). Young, *Annals of Agriculture*, pp. 465–81. The common name is a misnomer (it is thought the plant labels were mixed up!) as true tea plants, also from China, were Hyson tea, *Camellia sinensis* var. *sinensis*; Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum*. *Lycium barbarum* is now fashionable as a superfruit, the goji berry.
- ⁷⁶ Christopher Gray & Co. (12 January 1759) (20), (9 January 1761) (32); William Burchell (12 January 1765) (112).
- ⁷⁷ M. Taylor and C. Hill, *Hardy Plants Introduced to Britain by 1799*, 2nd edn (Cranborne: Cranborne Garden Centre, 1983).
- ⁷⁸ William Watson (14 July 1769) (171).
- ⁷⁹ Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*. Bean and the RHS *Dictionary of Gardening* state that Chickasaw plum is *Prunus angustifolia*, but *The Plant List* differs; Bean, *Trees & Shrubs*; F. J. Chittenden and P. Syngre, *The Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956); *The Plant List*, ver. 1.1 (available at: <http://www.theplantlist.org>, 2013) (accessed on 17 December 2014).
- ⁸⁰ *The Botanical Register* (London: James Ridgeway, 1818), IV, pl. 330; *The Plant List*.
- ⁸¹ It is also a Chinese plant which was grown in Japan and introduced from there to Europe as *Calycanthus fragrans*. *The Botanical Magazine* illustrated it in 1799 as *Calycanthus praecox*, attributing the plant to Lord Coventry; William Curtis, *The Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed* (1799), XIII, pl. 466. It is also listed in *Hortus Croomensis*, p. 25, spelled *Calicanthus*.
- ⁸² Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis*.
- ⁸³ James Scott (18 October 1759) (12).
- ⁸⁴ Gordon & Graefer (19 March 1779) (252).
- ⁸⁵ James Lee (8 December 1792) (446).
- ⁸⁶ Grimwood & Co. (5 June 1793) (414).
- ⁸⁷ Mary Lawrence, *A Collection of Old Roses from Nature* (1799).
- ⁸⁸ Matthew Burchell (22 April 1786) (324).
- ⁸⁹ Mary Cullume (4 April 1747).
- ⁹⁰ Henry Hewitt (21 June 1759) (14).
- ⁹¹ James Gordon (8 November 1760) (29); James Scott (22 November 1760) (30); Henry Clark (20 December 1760) (33).
- ⁹² William Malcolm (2 October 1771) (211).
- ⁹³ Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.
- ⁹⁴ James Lee & Co. (26 March 1793) (447).
- ⁹⁵ Ibid. (11 February 1792) (444).
- ⁹⁶ Henry & Samuel Hewitt (21 October 1759) (14).
- ⁹⁷ Curtis, *Botanical Magazine* (1805), XXI, pl. 803.
- ⁹⁸ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*. Young reported fifteen sedums and twenty saxifrages.
- ⁹⁹ John Bush (28 May 1768) (150). Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.
- ¹⁰⁰ John Bush (10 April 1767) (141).
- ¹⁰¹ James Maddock (18 May 1775) (227).
- ¹⁰² John Allport (11 April 1783) (294).
- ¹⁰³ James Maddock & Son (17 April 1786) (328).
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid. (28 October 1786) (327).
- ¹⁰⁵ Grimwood & Co. (11 February 1796) (466).
- ¹⁰⁶ Lee & Kennedy (6 December 1797)

(497).

¹⁰⁷ Eddie, Beck & Wright (13 February 1790) (362). There are no yellow varieties of *Lathyrus odoratus* available today, although there are other *Lathyrus* species with yellow flowers.

¹⁰⁸ Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*. Kennedy & Lee (3 April 1762) (60).

¹⁰⁹ James Gordon (24 April 1762) (42); Henry & Samuel Hewitt (13 April 1761) (44). ¹¹⁰ Christopher Gray & Co. (10 June 1761) (47).

¹¹¹ Lewis Kennedy (3 April 1762) (60). George W. Johnson, *The Gardeners' Dictionary* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1884); Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.

¹¹² William Malcolm (3 June 1768) (148); the mimosa was previously thought to have been introduced in 1777; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*. John Bush (28 May 1768) (150); *Passiflora punctata* was thought to have been introduced in 1784; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*. The Croome plant is possibly *Passiflora lunata* introduced before 1733; Curtis, *Botanical Magazine* (1822), XLIX, pl. 2354; John Wilkes, *Encyclopaedia Londinensis* (London: Wilkes, 1821), VIII, p. 749.

¹¹³ James Gordon (11 September 1770) (174). *Daphne odora* was thought to have been introduced in 1771; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*. James Gordon (12 October 1770) (186). *Byrsonima verbascifolia* was previously thought to have been introduced in 1818; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.

¹¹⁴ John Bassington (12 April 1783) (289). Previously thought to have been introduced in 1798; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.

¹¹⁵ James Colvill (23 April 1796) (472). Previously thought to have been introduced in 1818; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.

¹¹⁶ Gordon & Graefer (19 March 1779) (252).

¹¹⁷ James Lee (14 June 1790) (354). Previously thought to have been introduced in 1822; Johnson, *Johnson's Gardeners' Dictionary*.

¹¹⁸ Lee & Kennedy (14 March 1801) (540). ¹¹⁹ James Colvill (21 June 1793) (419).

¹²⁰ Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*.

¹²¹ Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis*.

¹²² Ibid. Curtis, *Botanical Magazine* (1790), I, pl. 11.

¹²³ Ibid. (1799), XIII, pl. 471. They list several differences, the most obvious being that *E. herbacea* is low and spreading but *E. mediterranea* tall and upright; the latter is also scented and tender. *The Plant List* recognizes the names as synonyms.

¹²⁴ Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis*.

¹²⁵ James Lee (26 March 1793) (447). Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*; Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis*.

¹²⁶ Malcolm & Co. (8 April 1798) (516). Previously thought to have been introduced in 1800; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.

¹²⁷ Conrad Loddiges & Sons, Plates by George Cooke, *The Botanical Cabinet* (London: John & Arthur Arch, John Hatchman, Rodwell & Martin and Loddiges & Sons, 1820), V, pl. 423; Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*.

¹²⁸ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.

¹²⁹ Ibid.; Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*.

¹³⁰ Grimwood, Hudson & Barrit (16 June 1786) (331). Previously thought to have been introduced in 1790, but, according to *The Plant List*, this is possibly *Leucadendron grandiflora*, introduced in 1789.

¹³¹ James Lee (26 March 1793) (447).

¹³² Lee & Kennedy (12 April 1798) (520). Previously thought to have been introduced 1800; Sweet, *Sweet's Hortus Britannicus*.

¹³³ Dean, *Hortus Croomensis*.

¹³⁴ Samuel Hewitt (29 October 1757) (1), (12 June 1759) (2); James Scott (18 October 1759) (12); James Gordon (8 November 1760) (29); Kennedy and Lee (9 May 1761) (45); John Williamson (30 October 1761) (53).

¹³⁵ Horticultural Society, *A Catalogue of the Fruits Cultivated in the Garden of the Horticultural Society* (London, 1831).

¹³⁶ Frederick A. Roach, *Hooker's Finest Fruits: a selection of paintings of fruits by William Hooker 1779–1832* (London: Herbert and Royal Horticultural Society, 1989). This peach is still available, as is 'Bellegarde' (syn. 'Gallande') from R. V. Rogers of Pickering, Yorkshire.

¹³⁷ R. W. Dickson, *A Complete Dictionary of Practical Gardening* (London: 1807).

¹³⁸ James Scott (1 December 1758) (4).

¹³⁹ It was later taken to the United States and is still grown in England today; Roach, *Hooker's Finest Fruits*.

¹⁴⁰ Hewitt & Smith (15 January 1773) (207); William Malcolm (9 September 1773) (216), (23 November 1776) (233).

¹⁴¹ William Malcolm (19 February 1780) (253), (4 November 1780) (265), (9 November 1781) (286), (7 December 1782) (282), (3 November 1783) (296), (7 December 1784) (318). The additional varieties of peach listed are 'Early Admirable', 'Late Admirable', 'Alberge', 'Belle Chevreuse', 'Catharine', 'Chancellor', 'Double Montagne', 'French Admiral', 'Millet's Mignonne', 'Monstrous Pavie of Pomponne', 'Portugal' and 'Rambouillet' ('Rambullion'). Grimwood supplied 'Hemskirk'; Grimwood & Hudson (8 January 1780) (259).

¹⁴² Roach, *Hooker's Finest Fruits*.

¹⁴³ Joseph Kirke (13 November 1778) (247), (2 March 1781) (268).

¹⁴⁴ Grimwood & Co. (14 December 1790) (361).

¹⁴⁵ William North (10 February 1792) (409).

¹⁴⁶ William Forsyth, *A Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees* (London: T. N. Longman & O. Rees, T. Cadell, W. Davies & J. Debrett, 1802).

¹⁴⁷ Lee & Kennedy (6 February 1796) (460), (22 November 1796) (484), (6 December 1797)

- (497), (8 December 1798) (511), (20 December 1800) (551).
- ¹⁴⁸ James Gordon (13 August 1762) (68).
- ¹⁴⁹ William Malcolm (26 October 1774) (222).
- ¹⁵⁰ Grimwood & Hudson (8 January 1780) (259). Roach, *Hooker's Finest Fruits*.
- ¹⁵¹ William Malcolm & Son (3 November 1783) (296).
- ¹⁵² Lee & Kennedy (12 November 1798) (511).
- ¹⁵³ All are still available from Keepers Nursery, Maidstone, Kent.
- ¹⁵⁴ Samuel Hewitt (16 November 1759) (14).
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibid. (2 December 1757) (1). The dwarf trees were 'on Dutch Paradise', a dwarfing rootstock which is still used but was renamed at East Malling Research Station, Kent, in the early 1900s.
- ¹⁵⁶ Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *The New Book of Apples* (London: Ebury, 2002). 'Golden Pippins' were also suitable for cider-making and there was a cider mill in the orchard; John Snape, *Survey of Croome Park* (1796).
- ¹⁵⁷ John Bush (12 November 1768) (151).
- ¹⁵⁸ Grimwood & Hudson (8 January 1780) (259). The 'Jennet' (syn. 'Jenetting', 'Geneting', 'Joaneting', 'Juneting'), known since c.1600, was a dessert apple of short season which did not keep but was grown because it ripens in late June to early July. 'Pearmain' were cider apples thought to be the first apples named (in the thirteenth century), but the 'Herefordshire Pearmain' (syn. 'Winter Pearmain') was also used for cooking in November to December.
- ¹⁵⁹ William Malcolm & Son (3 November 1783) (296).
- ¹⁶⁰ William North (10 February 1792) (409). Forsyth, in 1802, mentioned 'Striped Nonpareil' as 'a new fruit, the wood of which is striped'; Forsyth, *Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees*, p. 65.
- ¹⁶¹ Samuel Hewitt (2 December 1757) (1).
- ¹⁶² James Scott (3 April 1762) (55).
- ¹⁶³ Samuel Hewitt (29 October 1757) (1).
- ¹⁶⁴ Ibid. (12 June 1759) (2); James Gordon (28 February 1761) (29). 'Black Frontignan', which ripened in October, had been popular as a dessert grape in the previous century.
- ¹⁶⁵ John Williamson (17 November 1764) (101).
- ¹⁶⁶ William Malcolm (2 October 1779) (253), (10 January 1782) (286), (3 November 1783) (296). 'Black Hamburgh' was introduced from Germany in the early eighteenth century and planted at Hampton Court in 1769, still cropping today.
- ¹⁶⁷ The existing vineyard, erected before 1806, may be the original or a replacement.
- ¹⁶⁸ Part of this building has been recently restored by Karen and Chris Cronin, who now own a large part of the walled garden.
- ¹⁶⁹ William North (25 March 1791) (370), (15 December 1792) (400). Horticultural Society, *A Catalogue of the Fruits*.
- ¹⁷⁰ James Scott (26 November 1762) (73). *Forsyth, Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees*, p. 132.
- ¹⁷¹ Both glasshouses have now been restored.
- ¹⁷² James Gordon (5 March 1763) (68).
- ¹⁷³ William North (15 December 1792) (400).
- ¹⁷⁴ James Gordon (24 November 1759) (16); James Scott (19 April 1760) (12); Hewitt & Smith (29 August 1767) (140).
- ¹⁷⁵ James Shiells (20 March 1770) (182).
- ¹⁷⁶ William Malcolm (6 October 1770) (185), (9 September 1773) (216).
- ¹⁷⁷ Hewitt & Smith (29 November 1777) (239); William Malcolm (9 September 1786) (347); William North (1 October 1791) (389).
- ¹⁷⁸ James Shiells (16 July 1775) (225).
- ¹⁷⁹ William Malcolm (7 September 1780) (265).
- ¹⁸⁰ A. Cunningham (14 April 1791) (386).
- ¹⁸¹ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.
- ¹⁸² Christopher Gray & Co. (10 June 1761) (47); Joseph Brogi (28 January 1761) (36).
- ¹⁸³ John Bassington (29 June 1762) (65), (8 December 1763) (91).
- ¹⁸⁴ Gregori & Marsano (4 May 1764) (79).
- ¹⁸⁵ Bartholomew Valle (15 March 1764) (94); James Scott (7 May 1764) (89).
- ¹⁸⁶ Lewis Kennedy (12 October 1764) (99); John Bassington (8 June 1765) (119); John Bush (9 August 1765) (110).
- ¹⁸⁷ Gordon, Dermer & Thomson (30 April 1781) (275).
- ¹⁸⁸ Bartholomew Valle & brother (20 May 1785) (320).
- ¹⁸⁹ James Scott (22 November 1760) (30).
- ¹⁹⁰ 'Jackson's Slim' was described as dark red, of average size and quality.
- ¹⁹¹ Henry Hewitt & Co. (16 November 1759) (14).
- ¹⁹² James Gordon (24 November 1759) (16); Henry Clark (26 December 1760) (33).
- ¹⁹³ James Maddock & Son (18 April 1786) (328).
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid. (28 October 1786) (327).
- ¹⁹⁵ Roach, *Hooker's Finest Fruits*; William Driver, *The Pomona Britannica; or Fruit-garden displayed: containing scientific descriptions of all such fruit-trees and fruit-bearing-plants as are cultivated in Great-Britain ... By several hands* (London: William Darton & Co., 1788).
- ¹⁹⁶ F. A. Roach, *Cultivated Fruits of Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).
- ¹⁹⁷ Walter Hay (12 March 1791) (383); William North (10 February 1792) (409).
- ¹⁹⁸ James Gordon (24 November 1759) (16).
- ¹⁹⁹ Williamson & Co. (27 October 1764) (101); William Malcolm (7 September 1780) (265). 'Pine' strawberries were a hybrid between *Fragaria chiloensis* ('Chili') and *F. virginiana* which would have been recently bred. 'Pine Apple' was later classed as a synonym of 'Chinese'; Horticultural Society, *Catalogue of the Fruits*. However, the name was also used for 'Green', but in this context the varieties seem to be different; 'Green'

strawberries had juicy, greenish flesh with a slight pineapple flavour.

²⁰⁰ James Gordon (13 August 1762) (68); Lewis Kennedy (18 September 1763) (84).
²⁰¹ Henry Hewitt & Co. (22 February 1760) (14); Samuel Hewitt (14 November 1761) (44).
²⁰² John Webb (20 January 1761); James Gordon (13 August 1762) (68).

²⁰³ Henry Hewitt (20 June 1758) (1); Samuel Hewitt (13 April 1761) (44); Hewitt & Smith (12 September 1771) (197); William Padmore (7 October 1763) (86).

²⁰⁴ Henry Hewitt & Co. (21 June 1759) (14); John Webb (31 March 1764) (90); Hewitt & Smith (9 December 1774) (224), (29 November 1777) (239); Alexander Eddie & Co. (31 January 1777) (240).

²⁰⁵ Kennedy & Lee (23 January 1761) (48); James Gordon (16 July 1773) (215); James Lee (30 June 1786) (326); Lee & Kennedy (18 June 1798) (524).

²⁰⁶ Young, *Annals of Agriculture*.
²⁰⁷ Philip Miller, *The Gardener's Dictionary* (London: 1754).

²⁰⁸ Joseph Prentis, *Monthly Kalender and Garden Book* (1775–88); repr. (American

Botanist, Cornell University, 1992).

²⁰⁹ John & John Field (20 December 1800) (535). The name 'cale' (Green and Brown Curled) was used in 1800.

²¹⁰ Hewitt & Smith (18 March 1768) (140).
²¹¹ John Graefer went on to be a plant hunter, best known for introducing *Aucuba japonica*.

²¹² Thomas Andrew Knight, letter written from Downton (29 September 1836); from *A selection of Physiological and Horticultural Papers, published in the Transactions of the Royal and Horticultural Societies* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841), p. 55.

²¹³ Joseph Harrison, *The Floricultural Cabinet* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1 February 1839), VII, p. 27.

²¹⁴ Conrad Loddiges & Sons, Plates by George Cooke, *The Botanical Cabinet* (London: John & Arthur Arch, John Hatchman, Rodwell & Martin and Loddiges & Sons, 1820), V, pl. 423.

²¹⁵ Anon., 'Croome Court, Worcestershire, the seat of the Earl of Coventry', *Country Life* (25 April 1903), pp. 536–42.