

# The Stocks held by Early Nurseries

By JOHN H. HARVEY

THE history of trade nurseries in England before 1660 is almost a blank. Some evidence appears by 1670, when Leonard Meager printed a list of sorts of fruit trees, furnished by Captain 'Garrle' (identifiable as Leonard Gurle, *c.* 1621-85), "my very Loving friend . . . dwelling at the great Nursery between Spittlefields and White-Chappel, a very Eminent and Ingenious Nursery-man, who can furnish any that desireth with any of the sorts hereafter mentioned, as also with divers other rare and choice Plants."<sup>1</sup> Gurle was a citizen and vintner of London and some of his bills for trees and plants have survived.<sup>2</sup> In 1677 he succeeded the famous John Rose as King's Gardener and died early in 1685.<sup>3</sup> The other important London nurseryman after the Restoration, George Ricketts of Hoxton, was well known by 1665 but was declining in 1691, when his nursery was said to be large.<sup>4</sup> He bought an orchard of 3 acres in 1672, but must already have had substantial grounds.<sup>5</sup> A number of nurseries, mostly small, had been established by 1691.<sup>6</sup>

The trade was revolutionized by the founding of a really large nursery at Brompton Park in Kensington. This was only part of a vast horticultural scheme set forth in 1681 by four distinguished gardeners: Roger Looker, Moses Cooke, John Field, and George London.<sup>7</sup> The senior partner, Looker, gardener to the Queen, died in 1685;<sup>8</sup> Field died in 1687, and in 1689 Cooke retired. George London, who in 1687 had taken Henry Wise into the partnership, was left in control until his death in 1714.<sup>9</sup> The firm concerned itself with correct standard naming of varieties of fruit and with garden design, formation, and planting, as well as with the sale of trees and plants. There is some doubt as to the area of ground covered, which has been put as high as 100 acres, though about 50 is more probable; in the latter days of the nursery around 1800 the acreage had dropped.<sup>10</sup>

In 1705 it was said that the plants in the nursery, if valued at only 1d. each, would

<sup>1</sup> L. Meager, *The English Gardener*, 1670, pp. 82-8.

<sup>2</sup> Society of Genealogists, *Boyd's Citizens of London*, 1765; Vicar-General's Marriage Licence of 4 September 1676; R. T. Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, 1928, pp. 305, 307-8, a reference for which I am indebted to Dr E. A. Gee; see also M. Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, 1969, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books*, v, pt 1, pp. 828-9; viii, pt 1, p. 290.

<sup>4</sup> For Ricketts see Hadfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

<sup>5</sup> Survey of London, viii, *St Leonard Shoreditch*, 1922, p. 68. Ricketts died in 1706 (will, P.C.C. 184 Eedes, P.R.O., Prob. 11/490), but he had been assisted in his business since 1678 at least by his son James (W. Roberts in *R.H.S. Jour.*, 63, 1938, p. 425). Rickett's catalogue of evergreens, trees, shrubs, and plants was printed in 1688 by J. Woolridge in *Systema Horti-culturae*, 3rd edn, pp. 268-70.

<sup>6</sup> J. Gibson in *Archaeologia*, xii, 1796, pp. 181-92.

<sup>7</sup> B.M., Harl. MS. 6273, fols. 50-6.

<sup>8</sup> Will, P.C.C. 35 Cann, P.R.O., Prob. 11/379.

<sup>9</sup> D. Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne*, 1956.

<sup>10</sup> D. Lysons, *The Environs of London*, II, pt ii, 1811, p. 842, put the area at 50 acres, but this seems to be roughly double what is shown on Thomas Milne's land-use map of the London area (1795-9), which marks nursery grounds distinctively (B.M., K. TOP. vi-95). For the history of the Brompton Park Nursery see *Gardener's Chronicle*, lxxiv, p. 218.

be worth over £40,000, implying a total of roughly ten million plants.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to understand how London and Wise, when stocking the gardens of Blenheim in that same year, could send trees and plants of many kinds by tens of thousands at a time.<sup>2</sup> For ten years more Brompton Park was also sending large consignments to great estates all over the country and enjoyed a near-monopoly of the business. Yet within fifteen or twenty years substantial nurseries were springing up in different places.<sup>3</sup> Generally we know very little of the numbers or varieties of the plants they stocked.

Nurseries, then as now, were of various sizes but it is rarely possible to be sure even of the total number of acres occupied. Brompton Park was probably about 50 acres in its heyday, but most of the early nurseries were much smaller. It was usual for scattered parcels of land to be leased from different owners, perhaps in several parishes. Since hardly any muniments of the early firms have so far become accessible,<sup>4</sup> our picture of the working of any given nursery is partial and inaccurate, and only in a very few instances is there anything like a complete stock-list.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately at least two detailed probate inventories survive for nurseries of standing in the outer-London area.<sup>6</sup>

It happens that both of these nurseries were mentioned by Batty Langley (of Twickenham) in his book *New Principles of Gardening*, published in 1728. In writing of peas he described "the several sorts of *Hotspurs*, of which those are the best that were first raised and improved by Mr. Cox, late of *Kew Green* near *Richmond* in *Surrey*, Nursery Man, deceased." He also stated that another kind of Hotspur Pease "called and known by the name of *Master's Hots*, were first raised and improved by an ingenious Gardiner and Nursery Man of that Name now living at *Strand in the Green*, near old *Brentford* in *Middlesex*." Further on, in referring to the Norway (spruce) fir, Langley wrote that "the only Nursery, that I know of, as has this Tree, with all other Ever-Greens, Fruit and Forest-Trees, Flowering Shrubs &c., in their best Perfection, is that of the ingenious Mr. *Peter Mason*, Nursery-Man at *Isleworth* . . . who, I dare to affirm, has one of the best Collection of *English* Fruits of any Nursery-Man in *England*; and on whom every gentleman may safely depend of

<sup>1</sup> J. Bowack, *Antiquities of Middlesex*, quoted in Hadfield, *op. cit.*, p. 149.    <sup>2</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-9.

<sup>3</sup> John H. Harvey in *Yorks. Arch. Jour.*, XLII, 1969, pp. 352-7; in *The Northern Gardener*, XXIV, no. 5, September 1970, pp. 153-5; XXV, no. 2, March 1971, pp. 50-7; in *The Garden History Society Newsletter*, no. 15, November 1971, pp. 6-7; no. 16, February 1972, pp. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to bankruptcy, many of the books of the firm of Henry Hewitt, later Harrison & Bristow, of Brompton, were preserved and are now in the Greater London Record Office (B/HRS/1-753), but they give only partial cover, and that only in the later period of the firm, 1775-1833 (stock-list of seeds and plants in 1812). In the Lincolnshire Archives Office are records of the firm of Pennells of Lincoln, but these begin only in 1830; also (Falk 5) a ledger of 1827-31 and associated documents (including stock-lists of 1831) of the bankrupt nursery of G. Tuxworth at Louth. The business papers of an Edinburgh merchant and seedsman, Arthur Clephane, for 1706-30 have been studied by T. Donnelly in *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, 18, pt II, 1970, pp. 151-60.

<sup>5</sup> The Harrison list of 1812 (see footnote above) is a full valuation (B/HRS/11) covering vegetable and flower seeds, greenhouse, American, and herbaceous plants, and utensils, and is complemented by a stock-book of seeds, 1811-32 (B/HRS/12). The stock of Tuxworth of Louth in 1831 includes forest trees, shrubs, and greenhouse plants.

<sup>6</sup> Both are among the inventories of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Public Record Office: that of William Cox is Prob. 3/21/77; that of Peter Mason, Prob. 3/29/111.

having, not only every kind of Fruit exactly of the right Kind desired, but the very best Growth, and at reasonable Rates."<sup>1</sup>

Who, then, were these outstanding nurserymen, Cox of Kew, Master(s) of Strand-on-the-Green, and Mason of Isleworth? The parish registers of Richmond show that on 29 December 1704 William Cox senior of Kew, gardener, was buried, and that his son William Cox junior of Kew, baptized on 9 February 1679/80, was buried on 18 March 1721/2. It was probably the younger Cox, dead only a few years when Langley wrote, who had improved the Hotspur pea in the period 1705–21.<sup>2</sup> George Masters, probably the nurseryman from just across the river, was one of the valuers of Cox's stock in 1722, and "Master's Hotspur Pea" or Short Hotspur, continued to appear in seed lists as late as 1828.<sup>3</sup> At Isleworth, we find from the registers that there were likewise two gardeners called Peter Mason, father and son. The elder was buried on 23 August 1719, and his son Peter Mason the younger (baptized on 16 April 1680), on 15 February 1729/30. In both cases the deceased gardener was entered as "Mr. Peter Mason," implying a substantial standing in the parish.<sup>4</sup>

The younger William Cox and the younger Peter Mason died intestate and detailed inventories were prepared in the course of legal administration of their estates. The values assigned to the parcels of trees described are probably very low and have little economic significance, but the numbers of each sort of tree and shrub provide explicit evidence of a rare kind. To anticipate, the totals show that Cox in 1722 had over 30,000 plants at Kew, as well as 7 acres of barley, 3½ acres of peas, and 1 acre of beans. In 1730 the Mason nursery at Isleworth contained more than 115,000 trees and plants. Cox, whose business evidently included farming, had "one Plow and 2 Harrows" valued at £1 5s., also 3 carts (£10 10s.), 4 horses (£7), and 5 "Cowes" (£12). Mason at Isleworth, exclusively a nurseryman, had only "one Black Carthorse vallued at £1. 4. 0," and a long list of book debts, of considerable interest.

It is hard to say how typical these numbers were for nurseries of the period, but there is a little more evidence of an analogous sort. John Berry, of Tytherington,

<sup>1</sup> B. Langley, *New Principles of Gardening*, 1728, pp. 128, 151. I am most grateful to Mr Ken Spelman for his generous loan of a copy of this valuable work. The nursery at Kew Green was still in existence in 1795–9, when it was surveyed by Thomas Milne and marked on his land-use map of the London area (above, p. 18, n. 10). In 1692–5 the elder William Cox had supplied seeds, fruit trees, etc. to Viscount Irwin for Temple Newsam, Yorks., to the value of £10 2s. (Leeds City Library, Archives, TN/EA/12/11), and in 1696–1703 appears as a Kew freeholder (Surrey R.O., from the kind information of Miss M. Gollancz, County Archivist). In c. 1731–51 the Kew Nursery belonged to one Butt, who in March 1750/1 supplied £29 19s. worth of trees and shrubs for Kew New Garden (the beginning of Kew Gardens) to Frederick, Prince of Wales. This was doubtless the Richard Butt who in 1749 had supplied the Earl of Uxbridge with 700 trees and shrubs for Dawley Lodge near Harlington, Middlesex, for £9 2s. 6d. (Bucks. R.O., Lee of Hartwell papers, D/LE/C6/9, 17; Staffs. R.O., D.603/F/1976). Butt's or Golden Hotspur Pea (the earliest kind) was offered in some seed lists of the later eighteenth century. It is uncertain whether Masters's nursery at Strand-on-the-Green was the same occupied by Henry Woodman (below, p. 22, n. 1) from 1727 to his death in 1758 (information from Chiswick Rate Books, by the kindness of Mrs R. K. Judges). There were several Isleworth nurseries.

<sup>2</sup> *Parish Registers of Richmond 1583–1780* (Surrey Parish Register Society, I, III).

<sup>3</sup> Inventory of Cox's stock (above, p. 19, n. 6), along with Andrew Pope; both Masters and Pope were evidently in the trade, as the valuers of Cox's household goods were John Martyn and Thomas Flavell.

<sup>4</sup> Society of Genealogists, MS. transcript of Isleworth parish registers.

Glos., about ten miles north of Bristol, was sued by the vicar for tithes and the papers in the case (see Appendix I) show that Berry admitted a stock of some 5,000 trees and shrubs in an average year of the period 1714-21.<sup>1</sup> He was a market gardener, though on a very small scale, as well as a nurseryman, and in his will of 1726 (proved 19 September 1727) he describes himself as a yeoman "aged and sick", and mentions his "Shop Goods." He also held grounds in the parishes of Frampton Cotterell and Stowell (the latter bearing "moveable Trees" bequeathed to his granddaughter Sarah Pullen).<sup>2</sup> The nursery was evidently only part of Berry's business, but included other stock as well as that involved in the Tytherington tithe-suit.

Later in the century two detailed sale catalogues provide fairly explicit information. James Clarke, a nurseryman of Dorking, Surrey, went bankrupt in 1767, and over 20,000 plants were put up at auction, besides beds of seedlings.<sup>3</sup> In 1783, after the death of Henry Clark of Barnet, Herts., his stock (largely cedars, magnolias, and rarities) comprised 1,250 items besides over twenty-five beds of fir, holly, pine, roses, whitethorn, and small fruit. The uncommon exotics were bought by Mr Lee and Mr Lodigz, doubtless the famous nurserymen James Lee of Hammersmith and Conrad Loddiges of Hackney.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it may be worth mentioning that two private nurseries on the Bruce estates in Yorkshire, at Rookwith and Carthorpe, in 1791 contained 72,000 forest trees as well as beds of seedlings.<sup>5</sup> In the last quarter of the eighteenth century it is reasonable to suppose that the larger provincial nurseries held stocks of well over a million plants at least, and that a few of them equalled the ten million of Brompton Park.<sup>6</sup>

So much for mere numbers. The different kinds of trees and shrubs, and the relative demand for them, are another matter (see Appendix II). It is convenient to divide the whole stock according to the classification normal in the early catalogues: forest trees, fruit trees, and evergreen and flowering trees and shrubs. Until a fairly late date the categories of herbaceous plants and bulbs were mainly held by specialist florists rather than by general nurserymen. Among forest trees it is remarkable that both Cox and Mason had great numbers of yews: 2,250 or about 7½ per cent of Cox's whole stock, and over 13,500 or more than 11 per cent of Mason's stock. Cox had over 1,200 elms, 900 or so hornbeams, 600 horse-chestnuts, 450 sycamores and 440 limes, but only 200 walnuts and 80 spruce fir. Mason held over 8,000 English and 6,000 Dutch elms, besides 1,670 wych elm, 6,400 hornbeam, more than

<sup>1</sup> Gloucester City Library, Diocesan Archives, B4/T2/18.4. The vicar's claim alleged large numbers of trees etc. sold, but this was refuted by Berry with precise statements apparently taken from detailed records of his business in each year 1714-21.

<sup>2</sup> Gloucester City Library, Glos. Wills.

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O., C.110/174 (Chancery Masters' Exhibits), a printed catalogue for the auction to be held on 22 and 23 April 1767. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr M. F. Thick.

<sup>4</sup> Herts. R.O., 52600, a printed catalogue of the auction held on 20 and 21 February 1783, interleaved with the names of purchasers and prices for each lot, in MS. For Lee see E. J. Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith*, Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961; for Loddiges see A. M. Coats, *Garden Shrubs and their Histories*, 1963, pp. 387-8.

<sup>5</sup> Wilts. R.O., Savernake Papers 10/13e (B).

<sup>6</sup> See John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, 1972, pp. 38-9, and for forest trees, below, p. 22, n. 1.

4,000 horse-chestnuts, and 1,500 Spanish chestnuts, 3,600 beeches, 3,250 limes, and over 3,000 hollies. He had also about 1,300 each of poplars and sycamores, 1,200 mountain ash, and 2,000 walnuts. It was, however, in conifers that Mason showed a new trend, with some 5,000 Scots firs, 2,700 silver firs, 5,370 spruce (the Norway firs of Batty Langley's encomium), a few "Pines" (probably pinasters), and 111 cypress. The beginning of a vogue for the plane was marked by 100 standards, 350 old, small, or unspecified trees, and twenty stools with layers. The birch too was represented by 300 of different sizes, and there were 500 seedling ash.

In fruit trees the pear was still favourite as it had been since the thirteenth century, but the apple was moving up towards first place by 1730. The peach and nectarine, much grown by the gentry in the seventeenth century, were still in demand. Cherries and plums were popular and, rather surprisingly, the filbert. Currants (red and white rather than black), and to a less extent gooseberries, were of substantial importance, and (black) mulberries were adequately stocked; but for medlars and quinces there was not much sale, then as now. Pineapples and strawberries, not included in the earlier inventories, had arrived by 1767.

From the viewpoint of many modern gardeners the most interesting section of the list is that of ornamental trees and shrubs. In rural Gloucestershire John Berry had only 50 laurustinus and 5 bay trees, besides 350 yews, 100 hollies, 30 cypress, and 14 "Firr." Cox at Kew, in the same period, had barberry, box, Spanish broom, guelder rose, honeysuckle, Persian jasmine (i.e. lilac, *Syringa persica*), laurel, laurustinus, common lilac, bladder senna, and syringa (*Philadelphus coronarius*). A definite movement towards hardy flowering shrubs, as against tender evergreens, was setting in and within a few years reached major proportions. This is specifically evidenced in the case of Henry Ellison of Gateshead Park, who "had no great Veneration for greens," and ordered from the nursery of Henry Woodman (c. 1698-1758) at Strand-on-the-Green a thousand mixed flowering shrubs for £12 10s.; the low price of 3d. each shows that mass production of newly popular lines had begun.<sup>1</sup>

Woodman, in 1732, could supply 100 each of cyttisus, St. John's wort, scorpion senna, Spanish broom, lilac, syringa, and "Spiraea Frutex" (*S. salicifolia*), but we have no means of knowing what proportion of his total stocks went into this one large order.<sup>2</sup> Mason's inventory shows that two years earlier a neighbouring nursery had held a total of 100 each of scorpion senna, Spanish broom, and spiraea, 400 lilacs, and 180 syringa, but no cyttisus or St John's wort. Even so, Mason had about forty kinds of shrubs against only half that number listed by Henry Wise a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>3</sup> It looks as though the interest in shrubberies, becoming marked by about 1730, was closely linked to the reaction against the old formalism

<sup>1</sup> Central Library, Gateshead, Co. Durham, Ellison Papers, letter from Woodman to Mr Woolley, 17 February 1731/2. For the kinds of forest trees grown and sold by the thousand, and their prices c. 1670-1850, see John H. Harvey in *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, LXVII, no. 1, January 1973, pp. 20-37.

<sup>2</sup> "... as to Flowering Shrubs I have as great Variety as any of the Trade".—Henry Woodman to Mr Woolley, Ellison's gardener, 15 December 1731 (Ellison Papers, Gateshead Central Library).

<sup>3</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, list of trees and shrubs reproduced from MS. book of Henry Wise as Pl. 53.

and the onset of the landscape movement in English gardening. This is confirmed by the wide variety of shrubs included in the famous illustrated catalogue of Robert Furber of Kensington, *Twelve Months of Flowers*, published in 1730, a clear indication of fashionable taste at the highest level.<sup>1</sup>

The change in horticultural fashion became more definite after the middle of the century and this is reflected in the sale catalogues of 1767 and 1783 already mentioned (see Appendix III). The Dorking nursery sold up in 1767 had a modest collection of fruit, notably plums of different kinds, substantial numbers of a few sorts of forest trees (2,000 seedling Spanish chestnut, some 3,000 Scotch fir, about 2,500 spruce, over 700 larch, and 1,000 pinaster). But a great contrast with the holdings of the first half of the century is seen in the wider selection of ornamental trees and shrubs. In this department the total number of sorts, without counting variegated plants, had risen from Mason's forty to over 100. Another important departure is evidenced in the 1783 sale at Barnet. The catalogue of the late Henry Clark's nursery is not really comparable to any of the earlier lists. Clark was already a specialist in rarities, working on a small scale for a high-priced market. That this was possible at all indicates the onset of the great age of plant introductions. The earliest printed trade catalogues to show this were those issued by leading London firms within a few years of 1770: James Gordon (60 pages), William Malcolm (1771, 70 pages), Kennedy & Lee (1774, 76 pages), Conrad Loddiges of Hackney, and John Brunton of Birmingham (both 1777).<sup>2</sup> The importance of Clark's small collection is shown by the fact that James Lee and Conrad Loddiges thought it worth while to attend the sale and buy in most of the exotic shrubs: andromedas, magnolias, and rhododendrons.

In little more than two generations the horticultural scene had changed completely. For the first twenty-five years of the eighteenth century there were still nurserymen who combined the sale of plants and trees with market gardening, or whose businesses were a specialized offshoot of farming, as in the case of William Cox of Kew. In the last quarter of the century it was possible to grow almost exclusively new and rare exotics which commanded extremely high prices and needed special skill and attention. Here was a new means of livelihood for a growing class of gardeners: some went bankrupt, but for others had opened a path to success and even to renown.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the list of plants illustrated by Furber in 1730, see Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, 1972, pp. 176-82 and plates.

<sup>2</sup> Copies of Gordon's catalogue of c. 1770 exist in the Lindley Library of the Royal Horticultural Society and at Cambridge University Botanic Garden; of Malcolm's of 1771 in the British Museum (B. 81 (3) and 443.d.27 (6)), R.H.S., and The Queen's University, Belfast; of Kennedy & Lee's in B.M. (B.67.3), also B.M. (Natural History), Linnean Society, Hammersmith Public Library, and The Queen's University Belfast; of Loddiges' of 1777 in B.M. (B.67.4); and of Brunton's of 1777 in B.M. (B.116(3)) and Birmingham Reference Library, Local Studies no. 57720; cf. John Harvey, *Early Horticultural Catalogues—a Checklist* (University of Bath, 1973).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 19, n. 4; p. 21, n. 3. The long list of Peter Mason's book debts (see Appendix II) shows the large sums for which nurserymen might have to wait, even for years. A letter-book of Harrison & Bristow for 1818-29 (G.L.R.O., B/HRS/13) and papers concerning the collection of debts due to Samuel Harrison (B/HRS/53-251) also demonstrate this.

## APPENDIX I

## THE STOCKS OF JOHN BERRY AT TYTHERINGTON, 1714-21

(extracted from the papers of a tithe suit against John Berry, yeoman, instituted by Samuel Hall, vicar of Tytherington, now Gloucester Diocesan Archives in Gloucester City Library, B4/T2/18.4)

The vicar claimed that in each of the eight years 1714-21 Berry had sold 500 each of various kinds of fruit trees, mostly at £5 per hundred, and 1,000 each of cypress, yew, holly, fir, laurustinus, hazel, bay, maple, and willow, all at £10 per hundred. Berry admitted only to smaller stocks in most cases, and to small sales at very much lower prices. In the following table the details have been set out in simplified form.

## FRUIT TREES AND STOCKS

		<i>Average yearly stock</i>	<i>Sales</i>	<i>Price per hundred (s.)</i>
Apple	—Crab stocks grafted	150	50 p.a.	50
	Kernell stocks grafted	20	10 in all	50
	Crab stocks ungrafted	300/500*	300 in all	18
	Kernell stocks ungrafted	800 (1719-21)	none	9s. 4d.
Apricot		10	†	80
Cherry	in 1714-1717	200	} 600 in all	50
	in 1718-1721	400		
Filbert		24	†	8s. 4d.
Medlar		2	2 sold at 4d. each	
Nectarine			†	
Peach			†	
Pear		100	40 in all	50
Plum	in 1714-1718	10	} 40 in all	30
	in 1719-1721	30		
Walnut		80	†	100

\*300 in the years 1714-19, 500 in 1720-1.

† Total sales of apricot, filbert, nectarine, peach, and walnut 40s.

## FOREST AND ORNAMENTAL TREES

Bay		5 in all	50
Cypress	30	14 in all	18
Fir	14	14 in all	50
Holly	100	60 in all	70
Laurustinus	50	60 in all	50
Yew	350	250 in all	70

## APPENDIX II

STOCKS OF TREES AND SHRUBS HELD BY WILLIAM COX AT KEW IN 1722, PETER MASON AT ISLEWORTH IN 1730, AND JAMES CLARKE AT DORKING IN 1767

(for sources see p. 19, n. 6; p. 21, n. 3)

To obtain totals it has been necessary to reconstitute the sorts from scattered parcels in different fields or beds. The Kew Nursery consisted of the following plots of land: Thames Close, the Further Garden, Well Close, Pine Close, the Old Ground, and 11½ acres of land cropped with barley (7 acres), peas (3½ acres), and beans (1 acre).

The Isleworth Nursery consisted of ground leased from three proprietors, Mrs Gumley, Fauntleroy, and Mr John Johnson. The last, by far the largest, was held on a lease which in 1730 had four years to run and was rented at £30 per annum.

The Dorking Nursery was near the parish church and comprised about 2 acres of ground, a large stove for pines (pineapples), and two fish-ponds, held as copyhold of the manor of Dorking. The plants were described as growing in four "Quarters," the Slope behind the House, the Slope below the Yew Hedge next the ponds, and "Exoticks" in the Bark Pit. This was probably identical with Ivery's nursery grounds, seen in a painting of Dorking of c. 1770-85 (*Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LIV, 1955, pp. 142-3).

## FRUIT TREES AND STOCKS

	Kew, 1722	Isleworth, 1730	Dorking, 1767
Apple		3,000	
yearling	150		
small	840		
dwarf (i.e. bush trees)		100	243 plus
old	100	900	
Crab stocks	1,500	3,680	(407 plus)
Crab Quick		5,000	(3 beds)
Paradise stocks			251
Apricot			113
and Peaches mixed	640		
and Nectarines mixed		100	
Cherry	440	1,360	91
old		1,700	
Duke			4
Morello			6
stocks	3,000	about 1,500	244
yearling	2,000		
Damson		17	
rough		50	
(and Almonds mixed)		100)	
Fig		10	
Blue			12
Grapevine		100	33
Medlar		15	
Mulberry	60	260	12
small			9
stools		20	1



FRUIT TREES AND STOCKS—*continued*

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
Nectarine and Peaches mixed	120		
See also Apricot, above			
Peach	40		31
old standard		26	
dwarf			6 plus
and Almonds and stocks mixed		600	
and Plum stocks mixed		400	
See also Apricot, Nectarine, above			
Pear	50		
old		40	
Primitive			1
White, stocks			86
(trees) and stocks		3,900	
stocks	4,200	1,200	35 plus
Plum		120	
old		350	
rough etc.		250	
dwarf			69
"Standard Apricock"	100		
Blue Perdigon			2
Green Gage			8
Green Gage, standard			6
Orleans			4
Seed			2 rows
stocks	50	300	391
(trees) and stocks		1,060	
Pear, White Pear stocks		500	1 bed
Mussel stocks	3,480	1,800	275 plus
Brussels stocks			1 bed
Quince		56	24
			30

## NUTS ETC.

Almond—see *Fruit trees*, Damson, above; *Evergreen etc. shrubs*, below

Filbert

1,160

small

800

Hazel, Cob

29

Walnut—see *Forest trees**Small Fruit*

Currant

small

750

126 plus

200

Currant, Black

40

34

Gooseberry

250

145

large

100

Pineapple

stools

50

47

Raspberry

50

8 rows

Strawberry

93 pots plus

## EARLY NURSERY STOCKS

27

## FOREST TREES

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
Ash			50
seedling		500	2 beds
Ash, Scotch (? Mountain Ash)	400		
Ash, American			37
Ash, American White			97
Ash, Flowering			49
Ash, Mountain (and see Ash, Scotch, above)		1,190	18
Beech	some	3,480	
small		120	
Birch		300	1
Cedar of Lebanon			16
large			2
Cedar, Red Virginian			1
stool			1
Cedar, White Virginian			10
stools			2
Chestnut, Horse-		1,550	140
standard		500	
small	600		
seedling			75
bedded		2,100	
Chestnut, Scarlet Horse-			2
Chestnut, Spanish		1,400	2,056
small 'English'	200		
seedling in beds		100	2,000 plus 1 bed
Cypress		111	
Cypress, American Deciduous			45
Elm, English		4,240	1
standard and espalier		3,203	
bedded		150	
hedge		400	
small	220 plus		
'snagling'		200	
and Dutch mixed	1,050		
Elm, Dutch	3 parcels	5,360	
standard		602	
stools		160	
Elm, Wych		70	(? 19)
standard		1,600	
Elm, Yellow		20	
Fir, Balm of Gilead			651
small			45
Fir, 'Pine'		10	
Fir, Scotch		3,090	2,947 plus 7 beds
middle-sized		200	
smaller		1,100	

FOREST TREES—*continued*

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
Fir, Scotch— <i>continued</i>			
bedded		180	
seedling		400	
Fir, Silver		2,492	169 plus 1 bed
large		26	
small		200	
Fir, Spruce	80	770	2,343 plus 2 beds
small		1,800	
bedded		800	
seedling		2,000	
Fir, Black Spruce			62
Fir, Hemlock Spruce, stools			2
Holly, Green	1 parcel	1,598	325
rough		623	
small			40
large Fan		360	
round-headed		70	
Holly, Striped		700	13
rough Fan		19	
Holly, Hedgehog			1
Hornbeam	some	1,700	
large		800	
small	900	3,900	
Larch			724
Lime		2,160	29
standard		473	
small	440		
stools and layers		68	2
Lime, White		650	
Oak, English, standard		60	
unspecified		30	
in beds		50 plus 7 beds	
Oak, Evergreen, large		80	2
in beds		500 plus 1 bed	
Pinaster			984
Pine		78	
Pine, 'Hemlock', stool			1
Pine, Jersey			1
Pine, Stone			120
small			150
Pine, Lord Weymouth's			189
Plane		50	
standard		100	
old		50	

## EARLY NURSERY STOCKS

29

FOREST TREES—*continued*

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
<i>Plane—continued</i>			
small		250	
stools		20	
Plane, Eastern, stools			2
Plane, Western			95
stools			4
Poplar, Abele		1,200	1
bedded		100	
Poplar, American Abele			5
Poplar, Carolina			14
large			1
Poplar, White			80
Sycamore		1,333	50
small	450		
Thorn, Quickset			150
Thorn, White			42
Walnut	200	2,099	4
old		12	
Willow			1 piece
Willow, Weeping			104
Yew		8,122	78
standard		136	
large	300		
rough	900	3,011	
rough Pyramid		55	
Yew, Fan		1,721	479
large		400	
Yew, Hedge	150		76
small	900		
Yew, Pyramid		80	
See also Yew, rough Pyramid above			

## EVERGREEN AND FLOWERING SHRUBS ETC.

Acacia, Common			27
Acacia, Triple Thorn			6
stools			2
Acacia, Water			12
Agnus Castus			1
Almond, fruit-bearing, standard	100		16
old	150		
dwarf	20		
unspecified	330		
and Damson mixed, see <i>Fruit trees</i>	100		
Almond, Double Flowering			2
Almond, Single Flowering, dwarf			some
Almond trees and stocks	100		
Althea Frutex	13		52
in beds	150		

EVERGREEN AND FLOWERING SHRUBS ETC.—*continued*

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
Arbor Judae			2
Arbor Vitae, Common			79
stools			2
planted		200	
in beds		100	
Arbor Vitae, Chinese			7
stools			2
Arbutus, stools			4
Barberry	200	1 bed	1 parcel
Bay, Sweet		120	186
small		130	
'Bean Tree, French'			4
Bladder-Nut, Five-leaved		54	
Bladder-Nut, American 'Triennial'			8
Box	400	20	70
rough		840	
Box, Gilded		4	
Box, Silver-edged			2
Box, Variegated			3 plus 1 bed
Box, Dwarf (in yards)		1,000	120
Box, Rough Fan		39	
Broom, Lucca, stool			1
Broom, Spanish	700	100	1
Caragana			83
Cassioberry Bush, South Sea Tea Tree			1
Cereus			3
Cherry, Common Bird		175	
Cherry, American Bird			39
large			2
Cherry, Perfumed			2
Cherry, Cornelian		14	19
stools and layers		11	2
Cistus, Gum			6
Cistus, Laudanum			46
stools			2
Citron			2
Cytisus of Naples			1
Cytisus Secundus			60
stools			12
Dogwood, Black			2
Dogwood, Red			58
Dogwood, Red American, stools			4
Geraniums			4 pots
Geranium, Variegated			4 pots
Guelder Rose	520		20
stools			4
Guelder Rose, American			3

EVERGREEN AND FLOWERING SHRUBS ETC.—*continued*

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
Guelder Rose, Italian			40
Hickory			5
Honeysuckle	100	3	2 parcels
dwarf		500	
cuttings		1,000	
Honeysuckle, American Upright			1
Honeysuckle, Elder-leaved, stools			2
Honeysuckle, ? White ('Whitbine')		200	
Hypericum Frutex		250	70
stools			3
Ivy, Headed		16	
Jasmine, White		100	
cuttings		200	
Jasmine, Yellow		3	1 parcel
'Jasmine, Persian'	50		40
stools			12
Juniper		220	6
Laburnum, Common		100	43
small		40	
Laburnum, Scotch			2
Laurel, Common	1 parcel	280	552
large			2
stools and layers		500	
Laurel, Portugal			243
large			1
Laurustinus	some	193	422
large			4
Laurustinus, Deciduous, large			1
stools			3
Laurustinus, Rough-leaved		20	
Laurustinus, Shining-leaved, small			2
Lilac	1,800	202	rows
small	50	200	
Lilac, Persian—see 'Jasmine, Persian', above			
Maple		100	
Maple, Scarlet-flowering			12
Maple, Sugar			11
Maple (Virginian), Ash-leaved			38
Mespilus, Snowy			20
Mezereon			48
small		12	15
Mulberry, White			2
Myrtle			84
Myrtle, Candleberry, stools			6
Myrtle, Chestnut			3
Olive, Wild			7
Orange			139
Peterswort, St			20

EVERGREEN AND FLOWERING SHRUBS ETC.—*continued*

	<i>Kew, 1722</i>	<i>Isleworth, 1730</i>	<i>Dorking, 1767</i>
Phillyrea, True	125		
stools			2
Phillyrea, Hyssop-leaved, stools			2
Phillyrea, Olive-leaved, stool			1
Phillyrea, Alaternus			52
stools			20
Phillyrea, Gold blotch Alaternus, stools			12
Phillyrea, Silver-striped Alaternus			5
stools			2
Prickwood or 'Nonemuch'			3
Privet			6 plus
small	200		1 bed
Pyracantha	20		
Rose	607		30 plus
			3½ rows
Rose, Monthly			3
Rose, Moss Provence, stools			5
Rose, Pompone			8
Rose, Velvet Double			4
Rose, Yellow Double			12
Rose, Sweet Briar	150		2
Rosemary, Sage-leaved			1
Savin, Common			5
Savin, Striped, stools			4
Senna, Bladder	100	100	seedlings
Senna ('Colutea'), Oriental, stool			1
Senna, Scorpion		100	40
Service		92	1
Silk Wood Tree			11
Spiraea Frutex		100	2 rows
Styrax or Liquidamber, stools			2
Sumach		50	12
Sumach, Velvet			15
Sumach, Yellow			4
Syringa	70	180	rows
Taccamahacca			100
Tamarisk, French			10
stools			2
Thistle, Torch, large			1
small			1
Thorn, Cockspur, large			1
stool			1
Thorn, Glastonbury			1
Thorn, Water			1
Thorn, Egyptian	100		
small	110		
'Double Blossoms'		3	

EVERGREEN AND FLOWERING SHRUBS ETC.—*continued*

Kew, 1722    Isleworth, 1730    Dorking, 1767

Thuya, stools	2
Toxicodendron	12
Tulip Tree, stools	5
Tutsan, Spreading	1 bed
Tutsan, Tree	1
Viburnum	16
Walnut, Black	1

Besides the items listed above, a few plants in the catalogue of James Clarke's nursery are described as "unknown"; and in the inventory of Peter Mason there are 100 "Carpenter's Cap", not known as the name of a tree or shrub (from the context just possibly a conifer, perhaps stone pine). For an attempt to identify the trees and shrubs listed in two standard, priced catalogues of 1775-7, see John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, 1972, pp. 84-116.

## THE BOOK DEBTS OF PETER MASON OF ISLEWORTH IN 1730

At Mason's death there were 115 debts owing to him on his books, and listed in the inventory. In many cases only a surname is given but a few of the debtors are identifiable with certainty or with a high degree of probability. These are:

- Bincks, Mr, £8 3s. 2d., probably Mr William Bincks, Seed Merchant, Thames Street, London (subscribed to *The Practical Husbandman and Planter*, 1733).
- Burlington, Earl of, £171 3s. 2d., of Chiswick Park.
- Butts, Mr, £2 14s. 9d., probably Richard Butt of the Kew Nursery (see above, p. 20, n. 1).
- Clarke, Sir James, 1s. 6d., probably of Molesey, Surrey.
- Clitheroe, James, esq., 12s., probably of Brentford.
- Driver, Samuel, £2 17s. 6d., probably the nurseryman of Lambeth.
- Dunmore, Lord, £1 2s., the 2nd Earl, 1710-52; of Richmond, Surrey.
- Fitzwilliams, Lord, £1 16s. 2d., the 3rd Earl, 1728-56; of Richmond, Surrey.
- Forrester, Lady, 12s. 6d., probably of Richmond, Surrey.
- Greening, Thomas, £9 11s. 8d., Gardener to the King (1684-1757); buried at Isleworth.
- Gumley, Madam, £91 os. 10d., owner of a small part of the land leased by Mason for the nursery; presumably the widow of John Gumley of Gumley House, Isleworth, cabinet-maker, who in 1712 had subscribed to John James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening*.
- Hamilton, Dowager Duchess of, £65, widow of James, 5th Duke (d. 1723).
- Hopson, Lady, £1 7s. 6d., probably widow of Sir Thomas Hopson, Admiral (d. 1717); of Weybridge, Surrey; she died in 1740.
- Hunt, Samuel, 6s. od., probably the nurseryman of Putney, Surrey, a member of the London Society of Gardeners (c. 1695-1763).
- Oram, Mr, £7 11s. 5d., possibly Mr William Oram, gardener of Brompton, who subscribed to *The Practical Husbandman and Planter*, 1733.
- Pagett, Lord, £7 12s., presumably son of the 1st Earl of Uxbridge.
- Sayers, Mr, £1, possibly Mr Nicholas Sayers, Seedsman, Pall Mall, a subscriber to Philip Miller, *The Gardener's Dictionary*, 1731.
- Shrewsbury, Lord, £1 2s. 2d., the 13th Earl, 1717-43; had a villa at Isleworth.
- Spyers, Joshua, £2 10s., probably the nurseryman and surveyor of Twickenham (fl. 1748-50).
- Walcot, John, £3 15s. 1d., of Isleworth; owed this sum for seed of parsley and spinach, quicksets, and wheat, but declined to pay on the ground that Mason owed him a greater sum.



Waldegrave, Lady, £28 1s. 8d., possibly the wife of the 2nd Baron, later Earl Waldegrave, 1722-41.

Woodman, Henry, £6 os. 7d., probably the nurseryman of Strand-on-the-Green, Chiswick (c. 1698-1758): see above, p. 20, n. 1; p. 22, n. 1.

Also mentioned is Mr Minors of Isleworth, deceased, landlord of part of the nursery leased by Peter Mason at a rent of 15s. a year; about four years of this lease were still to run in 1730. A Mrs Minors, very likely his widow, owed Mason 17s. 3d. Another person referred to is George Monday, who had been servant to Peter Mason in the nursery, and who seems to have carried on the business at Mason's death, paying into the estate some £4 for trees sold. The total of book debts amounted to £654 19s. 6d.

### APPENDIX III

#### THE STOCK OF HENRY CLARK, DECEASED, AT BARNET, 1783 (reconstituted from the sale catalogue, Herts R.O., 52600)

Clark's nursery was small but rather highly specialized, with a hothouse and succession pit. The numbers of plants are less carefully specified than in the other lists, and in addition to the named plants there are not less than 185 under the heading of Miscellaneous. The following abstract is in one alphabet.

<i>Sorts of plants</i>	<i>Number</i>
Acacia	sundry
Aletris guineensis	2
Andromeda	9 4 bought by Loddiges
Arbor Vitae	48
Arbutus	61
Azalea	24 2 bought by Lee; 8 by Loddiges
Benzoin	2
Borassus flabellifer	2
Cactus Cereus flagelliformis	6
Calycanthus florida	2
Cedar of Libanus	509 plus bed plus parcel
Ceratonia siliqua	1 bought by Lee
Cherry stocks	some
Cycas circinalis	1
Dirca palustris	8 1 bought by Lee; 5 by Loddiges
Erica, unspecified	2 1 bought by Lee
Erica longiflora	2
Erica mediterranea	2
Erythrina corallodendron	3
Fir	a parcel
Fir, Scotch	1
large	11
Fir, Siberian	1 bought by Loddiges
Fir, Spruce	3 beds
Fir, American Spruce	1
Gardenia	9
Gingko biloba	1 bought by Loddiges

<i>Sorts of plants</i>	<i>Number</i>
Gooseberry and Currant	5 beds and sundry
Hibiscus mutabilis	3
Hollies	10 beds
Honeysuckle, American	1
stools and layers	4
Juniper	2
Kalmia angustifolia	3
Kalmia latifolia	1
Kalmia thymaeifolia	1
Laurel	20
Laurel, Portugal	sundry
Laurus Sassafras	1
Laurustinus	1
Magnolia acuminata	5 3 bought by Loddiges
Magnolia glauca	133 10 bought by Lee; 65 by Loddiges
Magnolia grandiflora	20 2 bought by Lee; 3 by Loddiges
Magnolia tripetala	55 4 bought by Lee; 13 by Loddiges
Myrica cordifolia	1
Myrica quercifolia	1
Nerium	4
Nerium lativariegatifolium	8
Olea odoratissima	1
Philadelphus	4
Pine, Swamp	1 bought by Loddiges
Pine, Weymouth	3 beds
seedlings	1 bed
Raspberry, double-bearing	1 bed
Rhododendron maximum	10 3 bought by Lee
Roses	1 bed plus sundry etc.
Rose, Pennsylvania	9 4 bought by Loddiges
Rose, Sweet-leaved	about 30
Spiraea frutex	3
Teucrium	1
Thea virida	1
Vaccinium	2 1 bought by Loddiges
Whitethorn	2 beds
Zanthoxylon	6

Lee paid a total of £2 8s. 6d. for the lots he acquired, and Loddiges £9 18s. Lot 2 in the second day's sale (12 Hand Glasses, 3s.) and Lot 54 (4 Cedars of Libanus, 4s.) were bought by Mr Emmerton, probably Isaac Emmerton senior (1736-89), a distinguished nurseryman, florist, and seedsman of Barnet; his son of the same name (1769-1823) published a famous *Treatise on the Culture of the Auricula* in 1815.