The Circuit and the Eighteenth-Century English Garden

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Abstract

In eighteenth century England some landscape gardens included a circuit in or of the garden. Some circuits were of a ferme ornée or were planted with shrubberies. Other circuits were imposed later for the convenience of visitors or tourists. Today the most popular eighteenth century circuit form may be the specialised circuit garden. This dissertation considers the cultural origins of circuit gardens and addresses questions concerning the route and content of a circuit in order to define the circuit garden in the context of other circuits. It argues that categorising a circuit in a garden is not necessarily straightforward. It offers a more flexible way of understanding the relationship between circuit gardens and the other eighteenth century English circuit types that recognises that many circuit gardens contain forms more often associated with other types of circuit.

Circuits and the Eighteenth-Century English Garden

> Gardening, in the perfection to which it has been lately brought in England, is entitled to a place of considerable rank among the liberal arts.[1]

1 Introduction

The National Trust guide book to Stourhead describes the Fir Walk to the Obelisk as 'the original, circuit walk from the house'.[2] It was a simple shape, roughly trapezoid, the three shorter sides along straight alleés, the fourth across open ground back to the house. The circuit walk for which Stourhead is justly famous is of a very different character. This dissertation explores the conditions that arose in the first two quarters of the eighteenth century that led to circuit walks that eschewed straight lines for paths and approached focal points obliquely. These 'Circuit Gardens', most fashionable in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, shared some characteristics, like shrubberies, buildings or statues, and farmed fields, with other circuits in gardens which makes a precise definition and classification of different types of circuit walks in gardens difficult. Using examples to illustrate the cultural conditions that contributed to the evolution of circuit gardens and to address questions about the definition of the circuit garden, this dissertation proposes a more flexible way of understanding the relationship between four types of circuit in eighteenth century gardens: circuit gardens, the circuit shrubbery, a *ferme ornée* and a circuit of or in a garden.

[1] T. Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, (London, 1770), p. 1.
[2] O. Garnett & A. Lambert eds., *Stourhead, Wiltshire: A Souvenir Guide*, (London, The National Trust, 2014), p. 20.

In order to keep this dissertation within bounds, gardens outside England are not considered. In particular, two gardens that might have been part of the milieu within which circuit gardens evolved, either consciously or sub-consciously, cannot be addressed. Woodbridge suggests that the garden at Bomarzo is a circuit.[3] Hunt suggests that the route through the garden is a journey to the triumphant Temple past the monster. Hunt may not have been using the term 'journey' in the precise topographical sense that has been suggested on pages 32-33 below[4] but it is possible that Bomarzo had been visited by some of the garden makers who constructed circuit gardens. It is also possible that the itineraries around part of Versailles, devised by Louis XIV to show diplomats and others around in the 1690s, were known in England in the 1710s and the decades following. While Louis created circuits in a garden, rather than a circuit garden, the idea of a circuit may have gained traction in England when the cultural changes discussed below took shape.

Further, this dissertation is not a survey of circuit gardens or other circuit walks in the eighteenth century, nor is it an analysis of the structures, iconography, meaning or planting in particular gardens. The analysis of the cultural context of the evolution of circuit gardens does not address those phenomena which were either present before circuit gardens evolved or which applied more widely than gardens that contained circuits. For example, psychological forces such as ego have always been a driver behind garden making and a general investigation of the role of ego in circuit garden making adds little to our understanding, in

[3] K. Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens: The Origins and Development of the French Formal Style*, (New York, Rizzoli, 1986), p. 292n2 & p23-24. Woodbridge implies but does not make explicit a possible link between a circuit in a garden and labyrinths in early Renaissance gardens.

[4] Symes suggests that 'A circuit implied a journey, a path of discovery which led ultimately to a return to the start, completing a circle with a sense of fulfillment and purpose accomplished.' M. Symes, *Mr. Hamilton's Elysium: the Gardens of Painshill*, (London, Francis Lincoln, 2010), p. 10. See pp. xx-yy below for a further discussion of this aspect of circuits in gardens.

general, of the evolution and definition of eighteenth century circuits; though it could be very important in understanding a particular garden.

The dissertation begins with an analysis of the cultural milieu of the early eighteenth century as it impacted on the emergence of circuits and circuit gardens. This lays the foundation for a definition of the circuit garden and raises questions about its relationship to other types of circuit. A short middle section contains a summary of the issues raised by the opening analysis for the definition the circuit garden and the other three types of circuit that circuit gardens closely resemble. The final section addresses these questions with evidence drawn from a variety of gardens. Some of the gardens are hard to categorise as one type of circuit or another. In the conclusion a new way of defining circuits that allows for a 'permeable boundary' between categories is proposed. Some gardens can be described as more than one type of circuit and, as there is no hierarchy between types of circuit, sit between the neat, precise definitions that are a sufficient definition of many gardens with circuits.

2 Circuit Garden Culture

When the 'long eighteenth-century' began with the 'Glorious' Revolution and accession of William III to the English throne in 1688/9, garden design in England was inspired by formal Dutch and French gardens. Over the next twenty-five years fashions began to change. Several cultural changes led, without necessarily being fully or even consciously understood by garden-makers, to the emergence of the English landscape garden and a particular form of it, the circuit garden. The emergence of circuit gardens was neither inevitable nor was it rapid or uniform. Garden forms that looked back were still being designed in the mid-1700s and some gardens contained backward looking axial designs alongside forward looking landscape and floral elements.

2.1 Framed Painting and psychology

In a letter to Horace Walpole in 1758, Sir Horace Mann admited that he has failed to find paintings by Claude Lorrain for 'Mr Hoare'. However, 'There are,' he wrote, 'some fine Poussins, *paysages*, with figures of Nicolò, his brother, larger than any I believe, except some at Versailles'.[5] The seventeenth-century landscape paintings of Claude Lorrain (c. 1600-1682), Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) and his brother-in-law Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675)[6] were hugely popular in the eighteenth-century and it is difficult to overestimate their influence.[7] Their

[5] W. S. Lewis ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 Vols(1937-83); Vol. 21, p. 208-209, (London, OUP, 1960). Sir Horace Mann, to Walpole, 3 June 1758.

[6] Gaspard Dughet married Nicolas Poussin's sister and also became his pupil. He was often known as Gaspard Poussin and eighteenth century collectors were not always rigorous in distinguishing between the two. An unspecified reference to 'a Poussin' from this period might refer to either Nicolas or Gaspard.

[7] The entrance hall to the house at Stourhead is said to have contained '2 landscapes copied from originals in the Pamphilli Place, Rome of Claude Lorrain by Luccatelli', 'A landscape by Gasper Poussin', 'A landscape by Nicolo Poussin, in his first and dark manner, when he studies at Rome'. *A Description*

depictions of the landscape were not attempts to reproduce the landscape exactly as they saw it. They were idealised improvements on nature and Poussin and Claude 'were both masters of ideal landscape'[8]

Nicolas Poussin's *Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake* (Figure 1) illustrates the importance of light, mood and atmosphere on the evolving garden style of the first quarter of the eighteenth-century. In this painting Poussin created a narrative using light and shade, lines of sight, perspective and scenes of dramatic action. The combination of these techniques creates a story that the viewer can read and that manipulates the emotions of the viewer as the sequence of dramatic relationships within the painting, or the chapters of a story, are understood.

Figure 1: *Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake*, Poussin, (probably 1648) National Gallery, London; (photograph by the author)

of the House and Gardens at Stourhead, (London, 1800), pp. 7-10. There were more elsewhere in the house.

[8] M. Kitson, 'The Relationship between Claude and Poussin in Landscape', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. 24:2, (1961), p. 145.

Paintings like ‘Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake’ supplied key ingredients for the circuit garden. First, there is a sequence of scenes. Second, these scenes tell a cumulative story. The story is presented dynamically. Third, lines of sight between the protagonists control the story. Fourth, light is used to manipulate the viewer. Fifth, the landscape frames the human story. The purpose of the landscape is to provide the conditions within which the story unfolds. These elements of circuit gardens - sequence, a cumulative story, views, psychological manipulation and framing will be a recurring theme.

In England at the time that circuit gardens were beginning to emerge, Hogarth produced several series of paintings and engravings that led to popular prints. Depicting the life of two people in *The Harlot’s Progress* (1731) and *The Rake’s Progress* (1732-33),[9] Hogarth’s earliest series created two moral tales using a sequence of images. The progresses show a cumulative story in a sequence of framed views. The parallels between these series and circuit gardens should not be overstated; they are story-telling journeys rather than circuits in which there is no redemption for either character, and the framing scenery, a commentary on the human drama taking place in the foreground, is less passive than the framing of a landscape painting or set-piece scene in a circuit garden. Nevertheless, Hogarth, well known in London, added to the cultural context in which the seeds of the idea of a circuit, a series of linked set piece views inspired by framed painting, were germinating.[10]

In 1709 George Berkeley published his influential *New Theory of Vision* that popularized the importance of the senses in perception. Sicca describes the impact of the change on painting, and therefore garden design, as space

[9] The dates refer to Hogarth’s original paintings. Engravings were produced in 1732 and 1735 respectively.
[10] M. Rosenthal, *Hogarth*, (London, Chaucer Press, 2005).

became conceived less in rigid geometric terms and more in 'illusionistic and psychological'.[11] Kent, a painter by training and inclination, understood the change. Sicca comments

> Painting, therefore, affects the designing of gardens. It does so not so much by offering a variety of themes which can be translated from the canvas into reality but rather by enriching the designer with a corpus of theories on the use of lights, shades and colours, for instance, to draw upon.[12]

At Rousham, Kent retained Bridgeman's *allée*, the Long Walk, that leads through woodland from a statue of Apollo (Figure 2) to the Vale of Venus.[13] A letter from William White, General Dormer's steward to General Dormer dated 3 June 1739 asks for permission to place the statue so that it faces away from the Long (Elm)Walk.[14] That White did not know Kent's intentions illustrates Kent's unwillingness to leave clear plans for others to follow. He preferred to design with a (painterly) image in his mind. It is possible that the direction that the statue faces was White's idea or that he had previously discussed the matter with Kent but wanted General Dormer's approval before placing it; an eighteenth century audit trail. It is also reasonable to suppose that General Dormer was aware of Kent's intentions or that he consulted him in London. However, Apollo faces out of the garden, and towards the rising sun, and this is consistent with the iconography of the lower garden. In Kent's original route (see page xx) the visitor approached Apollo who stood at the entrance to the dark and enclosed

[11] See C. M. Sicca, 'Lord Burlington at Chiswick: Architect and Landscape', *Garden History*, Vol. 10:1 (1982), p. 58-61.
[12] Sicca, *ibid*., p. 60-61.
[13] Mowl points out that we now know that the statue is of Antinous not Apollo. In Kent's time it was believed to be Apollo, the description preferred at Rousham today, and the designation used here. T. Mowl, *William Kent: Architect, Designer, Opportunist*, (London, Cape, 2006), p. 241.
[14] U. Müller, 'Rousham: the Steward's Letters', *Garden History*, Vol. 25:2, (1997), p. 184.

Figure 2: Rousham: The statue of Apollo

(photograph by the author)

Long Walk, having visited Townsend's Temple and the gothic mill by the river.[15] Mowl describes Kent's work at Rousham as both dynamic and manipulative.

> At no point is Kent's layout emotionally or visually inactive. Demands are always being made of any moving figure. It is a garden based upon motion yet within five or six places for sitting down, viewing the prospect and thinking. Each visitor is being controlled by two men, both long dead, General Dormer and William Kent.[16]

This shows that the impact of a century of landscape painting, encouraged by the contemporary popularity of series of prints and a new understanding of perception and space. Rousham is a series of carefully controlled scenes and views linked by short walks through woodland with a very different atmosphere to the open areas where Kent placed the scenes. In his largely critical review of Lagerlöf's *Ideal Landscape*, Verdi summarizes the impact of Poussin, Claude and their slightly older colleague Annibale.

> Thus, if Annibale excels at making an ideal world appear physically believable, Poussin portrays a mental universe which appeals primarily to the understanding while Claude creates an imaginary world so convincing in its rendering of light, atmosphere, and naturalistic effects as to appear sensually attainable, if only through art.[17]

Between them, Annibale, the Poussins and Claude succeeded in creating a believable ideal world that engaged the mind and the emotions. In achieving this, in making landscape painting fashionable and in promoting classical culture

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[15] There is a question about how prescribed the route followed in a Circuit Garden should be and which route Kent intended should be followed at Rousham. The circuit at Rousham is discussed in section 4 below to address the question of route choice in circuit gardens.
[16] Mowl, *William Kent*, pp. 242-243.
[17] R. Verdi, 'Review of M. R. Lagerlöf, *Ideal Landscape: Annibale Carracci, Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain'*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 133, No. 1060, (1991), p. 459.

through this medium, they created models of landscape that were taken up in England a century later. Further, they created models of the picturesque that Pope and others incorporated into their evolving ideas about landscape gardens.[18]

2.2 The Picturesque in art, poetry and drama

Circuit gardens emerged, flourished and then fell out of fashion during a century long evolution of the meaning of 'picturesque'.[19] The earliest English circuit gardens were conceived when the understanding of what constituted a picturesque landscape was closely associated with what was considered appropriate subject matter for paintings. This association extended to other creative arts like poetry and drama. Garden making as an art form gradually became more independent and distinguishable from other art forms and, while analogies with painting, poetry and drama remained, a picturesque landscape was defined more and more on its own terms.[20]

Hunt has shown that key figures in the cultural evolution of the English Garden in the early decades of the eighteenth-century, such as Addison and Pope, took

[18] Poussin's theory of art was heavily dependent on the sixteenth century Italian poet Tasso and, in particular, his poem *Gerusalemme liberata(1581)*, and his treatises *Discorsi dell'arte poetica* (1587) and *Discorsi del poema eroico* (1595*)*. See J. Unglaub, *Poussin and the Poetics of Painting: Pictorial Narrative and the Legacy of Tasso*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006), pp. 8-37. It is not surprising, given the interdependence of sixteenth century poetry and seventeenth century landscape painting, that it was possible to develop a poetics of landscape gardening that had roots in both.

[19] We will see that the term 'Circuit Garden' can be defined broadly. The broader the definition the more likely it is that circuit gardens didn't so much fall out of fashion as evolve in a direction in which a narrower 'classical' form of circuit garden played a reduced role.

[20] The term 'picturesque' was not applied to gardens until later in the eighteenth century. When attempts were made to define it late in the eighteenth-century it proved hard to formulate a universally accepted understanding of the term. The definition and evolution of the term 'picturesque' is complex and lies outwith the scope of this dissertation. It is however, one of several key factors in the evolution landscape gardens in general and circuit gardens in particular.

their understanding of the picturesque from a variety of forms of creative, public art and applied it to their writing and garden making.[21] Addison believed Virgil's finest poetry was written when he was 'in his Elysium, or copying out an entertaining Picture'.[22] Indeed Hunt suggests that 'That [Pope's] use of *picturesque* has little if anything to do with landscape'.[23] For Pope, writing in his introduction to Book XIV of his translation of *The Iliad*, the picturesque is exemplified by 'the Attitude he [*Patroclus*] is here describ'd in'.[24] An earlier analogy illustrates how Pope understood the term 'picturesque' and how it applied to painting, poetry, theatre and gardens. 'Our author's work is a wild paradise, where, if we cannot see all the beauties so distinctly as in an ordered garden, it is only because the number of them is infinitely greater.'[25]
Here, in this appropriately horticultural metaphor, the landscape is the location for the real activity of the analogy – the author's work. An appropriate 'picturesque' painting was one in which the landscape provided the backdrop which framed, or even illustrated through its references and allusions, the central action of the human beings.

The framed paintings of the Poussins, Claude and others, and Hogarth's prints could de described as picturesque in Pope's terms: a human drama unfolding within a framing landscape. A theatre stage too is, literally, a frame for the enactment of a human drama. For some time, theatre sets had been closely

[21] J. D. Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992). See especially pp. 104-137. It should be understood that the term 'picturesque' was rarely used in this period.
[22] J. D. Hunt & P. Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1988), p. 144; J. Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 417.
[23] Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, p. 107.
[24] Quoted in Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, p. 107. In some editions of Pope's *The Iliad of Homer*, including the edition referred to below, this introduction appears in a single, longer introduction as a preface to his translation.
[25] A. Pope, *The Iliad of Homer*, (Baltimore, Nicklin, Lucas & Jeffries, 1812), p. iii.

Figure 3: Engraved print of a court ballet, Vlasislav Hall, Prague Castle, 1617

(Victoria & Albert Museum, London: http://www.vam.ac.uk/users/node/8468)

related to garden design. In England, Inigo Jones, who began his career painting theatre sets saw the relationships between the two art forms. His set designs for *The Shepherd's Paradise* in 1631 followed closely a Callot etching of the Parterre at the Palais de Nancy.[26] Theatre sets were a sequence of painted or constructed scenes that framed a cumulative story. There was a particular viewpoint onto the drama – the seat in the auditorium on which the theatre-goer sat - and the seat gave a long, narrow, perspective view of the drama of the theatre framed within the sequence of sets. It was a short leap of the imagination for designers and landowners to develop a garden as a series of viewpoints designed like a framed painting and following a sequence like successive theatre sets.[27]

The set shown in figure 3 of a ballet performed in Bavaria in 1617 illustrates importance of the theatre set. Constructed to look like a rocky arch this set hid machinery but also marked a boundary. Beyond the boundary the choreographer used a narrowing perspective to draw attention to draw the attention of the audience to what was important. Similarities between this set and the entrance to a number of garden grottos (see figure 4) are striking. Figure 5 below shows the set designed Arsinoe by Sir James Thornhill in 1705. While the garden depicted is of its time it is not difficult to imagine this view inspiring a garden-maker or designer.

[26] T. Mowl, *Gentleman Gardeners: The Men Who Created the English Landscape Garden*, (Stroud, The History Press, 2000), p. 5

[27] The presence of a painting-like view or a stage-like set piece does not imply that a circuit is present. Mowl describes Kent's triumphal arch ledge at Holkham Hall as 'more stage scenery than convincing antique' Mowl, *William Kent*, p. 222. Holkham Hall lacks a convincing circular route or a sequence of views or set pieces.

Figure 4: Stourhead: the rock gate entrance to the grotto

(Photograph by the author)

Figure 5: Set design for Arsinoe by Sir James Thornhill, 1705.

(Victoria & Albert: Museum no. D.25-1891)

Later in the eighteenth century George Lambert (1700-1765), a friend of Hogarth, member of the Beefsteak Club and landscape painter in the style of the Poussins, Claude and Rosa was set designer at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre and, from 1732, at Covent Garden Theatre. His scenery was so well thought of that it was still is use when fire destroyed Covent Garden Theatre in 1808. Described as the 'English Poussin' he also abandoned the practice of painting a country house from the front and placed it obliquely in its natural setting.[28] Anyone familiar with the London theatre scene from the 1730s would have known Lambert's work. Theatre set designers provided a cultural backdrop for the naturalistic and picturesque in gardens.

Pope carried his theories into his gardening at Twickenham. He erected an obelisk to his mother at the end of his garden in an exedra of dark, shadow creating planting: a framing landscape symbolizing the death of his mother embracing the memorial at the heart of the scene. Pope told Spence that 'All gardening is landscape-painting' and Williams records that when 'Discussing his own garden with Spence in the summer of 1739, Pope remarked that 'those clumps of trees are like the groups in pictures', and, of garden-layouts: 'you may distance things by darkening them and by narrowing the plantation more and more towards the end, in the same manner as they do in painting' (Spence No. 610).'[29] Jacques has suggested that if the

> bowlers on Pope's Green [can be] seen as the central group in the Great Light of a History Painting, the groves to be the Great Shadows, and the second grove to provide a glimpse of a smaller further light piercing the

[28] E. Einberg, 'George Lambert', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15933?docPos=1. Later in the century Philip de Loutherbourg developed new techniques in stage set design at the Drury Lane Theatre that enabled landscape sets to appear to change with the weather or seasons.

[29] R. W. Williams, 'Alexander Pope – Artist', *Sydney Studies*, Vol. 19, (1993), p. 64.

> background landscape [then] we must acclaim Pope's invention in applying poetic and painted classical landscape to five acres by the Thames in a day when Vanbrugh was eliciting little apparent sympathy for his magnificent scenic concepts at Claremont, Blenheim, Castle Howard and Stowe, with their romantic overtones of medieval militarism.[30]

Pope expressed his notion of the picturesque in painting, poetry and the theatre in his garden making at his Twickenham villa.

Pope did not create a circuit or even a landscape garden. His garden was strongly axial and straight lines and geometrical shapes predominate, but through his use of perspective and alternating light and shade he created an early expression of a key element of the circuit garden. Figures 6 and 7 show the circuit walk at Hardwick Park, near Sedgefield in County Durham. The Temple of Minerva sits on the summit of an artificial mound and, inspired by Italian villa models such as Villa Aldobrandini, appears larger and more impressive than anticipated. The views from it are expansive west, out of the park, and north-east towards to house. After leaving the Temple the path descends from the hill and then winds through dark, mainly evergreen planting from which there is no view and a sombre, enclosed mood. The route is mysterious and, although a tower has been glimpsed previously, first-time visitors will not be expecting the 'river', statue of Neptune or a view of the Gothic Gatehouse that greets them when they emerge into sunlight again. Here, in both scenes the visitor contemplates the set presented and then joins the scene becoming an actor in it as well as a spectator of it. Elsewhere, a letter of 1750 by John Macclary, the gardener at Rousham wrote 'From hence you turn down a little Serpentine Gravil Walk, into a little opening, made with Yew and other

[30] D. Jacques, 'The Art and Sense of the Scribblerus Club in England 1715-1735', in *Garden History*, Vol. 4:1 (1976), pp. 42-44.

Figure 6: Hardwick Park: following the path into woodland

(Photograph by the author)

Figure 7: Hardwick Park: emerging from woodland to a clearing

(Photograph by the author)

Evergreens as dark and melancholy as it was possible to make it'.[31] The psychologically manipulative use of the dark, evergreen path emerging suddenly into an open area can be traced back through Pope and others to the landscape art of the Poussins, Claude and their colleagues.

2.3 Attitudes to nature

As early as 1710 Joseph Addison wrote a critique of English gardening. In an article in *The Tatler* his *alter ego* dreams and imagines himself 'making Airy progress over the Tops of several Mountains'[32]. This, in tune with the times as the Grand Tour was becoming more fashionable, was an early foretaste of picturesque or even sublime ideas that would evolve during the eighteenth-century.[33] His character imagined 'a prodigious Circuit of Hills' that surround a plain in which there was the 'most agreeable Prospect I had ever seen'. The prospect was 'agreeable' because

> The Place was covered with a wonderful Profusion of Flowers, that, without being disposed in regular Borders and Parterres, grew promiscuously, and had a greater Beauty in their natural Luxuriancy and

[31] M. Batey, 'The Way to View Rousham by Kent's Gardener', *Garden History*, Vol. 11:2 (1983), p. 129.
[32] D. F. Bond ed., *The Tatler*, Vol. II, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 398; J. Addison, *The Tatler*, No 161.
[33] Addison travelled to Italy and in 1705 wrote 'certainly no Place in the World where a Man may Travel with greater Pleasure and Advantage than in Italy'. Quoted in E. Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance*, (London & Portland, Frank Cass, 1998), p. 102. 57 years before him, Evelyn had made a similar journey crossing the Alps and commenting 'Next morning we mount againe through strange, horrid & firefull Craggs & tracts abounding in Pine trees, & onely inhabited with Bears, Wolves, & *Wild Goats*', E. S. de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1955), Vol 2, pp. 506-519. From a reference in C. Chard, *A Critical Reader of the Romantic Grand Tour: Tristes Plaisirs*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 91. For Evelyn what would become sublime held no attraction.

> Disorder, than they could have received from the Checks and Restraints of Art.[34]

Addison was calling for an end to the rigid geometric lines of English gardens that were derived from Dutch and French practice, although he recognized the French and Italian gardens contained 'an agreeable mixture of Garden and Forest'.[35]

Addison's dislike of geometry was a consequence of his ideas on nature. He was an Empiricist, praising Locke in the Encaenia oration in 1693.[36] Following Locke, his influential 'Pleasures of the Imagination'[37] began from the empiricist standpoint that the imagination must rely only on what is perceived by the senses. The 'Imagination' reflects upon what is sensed and searches for memories to create meaning and pleasure. Addison is in no doubt that

> If we consider the Works of *Nature* and *Art*, as they are qualified to entertain the Imagination, we shall find the last very defective, in Comparison of the former; for though they may sometimes appear as Beautiful or Strange, they can have nothing in them of the Vastness and Immensity, which afford so great and Entertainment to the Mind of the Beholder.[38]

It followed from this that 'When, therefore, we see this imitated in any measure, it gives us a nobler and more exalted kind of Pleasure than what we receive from the nicer and more accurate Productions of Art'.[39] Addison did not mean to suggest that gardening of any sort is inferior to 'Nature' left to its own devices

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[34] Bond ed, *The Tatler*, Vol. II, p. 398; Addison, *The Tatler*, No 161.
[35] Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 142; Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 414.
[36] M. Batey, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's Influences on Early Landscape Gardens', in *Garden History*, Vol. 33:2, (2005), pp. 189-209.
[37] J. Addison, *The Spectator*, Vols 1-3, (Routledge, London, 1891).
[38] Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 141; J. Addison, *The Spectator*, 414.
[39] Hunt & Willis eds., *ibid*., p. 142.

but wanted Nature to be imitated so that the Art created in a garden can aspire to the scale and greatness that only Nature can achieve. There is a paradox because while Nature is pleasing in and of itself, 'yet we find the Work of Nature still more pleasant, the more they resemble those of Art: For in this case our Pleasure rises from a Double Principle; from the Agreeableness of the Objects to the Eye, and from their Similitude to other Objects'[40]. It is for this reason that Addison proposed what later came to be called a *Ferme Ornée*.

> It might, indeed, be of ill Consequence to the Publick, as well as unprofitable to private Persons, to alienate so much Ground from Pasturage, and the Plow, in many Parts of the Country that is so well peopled, and cultivated to a far greater Advantage [than France]. But why may not a whole Estate be thrown into a kind of Garden by frequent Plantations, that may turn as much to the Profit, as the Pleasure of the Owner?[41]

Much later Switzer may have had Addison's articles in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* in mind when, in 1742, he wrote

> I HAVE one thing more to add, as to Design, which has been generally omitted by all that have wrote, and many that have practiced Rural and Extensive Gardening; and this is the Ambit, Circuit or Tour of a Design, such as in all large Designs can only be done on Horseback, or in a Chaise or Coach: …
>
> This *Anfilade* or Circuit ought to be six or seven Yards wide at least, and should be carried over the tops of the highest Hills that lie within the Compass of any Nobleman's or Gentleman's Design, though it does not extend to the utmost Extremity of it; and from those Eminencies (whereon,

[40] Hunt & Willis eds., *ibid*., p. 141.
[41] Hunt & Willis eds., *ibid*., p. 142.

> if anywhere, Building or Clumps of Trees ought to be placed) it is that you are to view the whole Design …[42]

Addison's aesthetics were not unique and arose from 'the general mid-eighteenth-century shift of critical interest to the reaction of the audience'[43]. Manwaring quotes William Salmon in his *Polygraphice* of 1701

> Landskip is that which expresseth in lines the perfect vision of the earth, and all things thereupon, placed above the horizon, as towns, villages, castles, promontories, mountains, rocks, valleys, ruines, rivers, woods, forests, chases, trees, houses and all other buildings both beautiful and ruinous.[44]

Pope followed Addison in his critique of the sight of a tree 'cut and trimmed into mathematical Figure'[45] in an article in the Guardian in 1713, published the year after Addison's death, mocking topiary.[46] The mood in English gardening was changing and within a decade gardens emerged that followed the taste that Addison, Pope, Shaftesbury and others were promoting. Indeed as early as 1713 Samuel Molyneux, later Secretary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, wrote a letter describing the garden at Petersham Lodge. He commends the garden in terms that would have brought approval from Addison.

> I think I have never yet seen any piece of Gardening that has so much as this the true taste of Beauty. There is a certain sort of Presumption

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[42] Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p.154; S. Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, (1742),
[43] G. Leypoldt, A Neoclassical Dilemma in Sir Joshua Reynolds's Reflections on Art, in *British Journal of Aesthetics*, Vol. 39:4, (1999), p. 337.
[44] W. Salmon, *Polygraphice, or, The arts of drawing, engraving, etching, limning, painting, varnishing, japaning, gilding, &c.* quoted in E. W. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rose on English taste 1700-1800*, (Oxford University Press, New York, London, 1925), p. 14.
[45] Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 143; J. Addison, *The Spectator*, 414,
[46] Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 208.

> appears in the common restrain'd formal & Regular Parterres & Gardens that one meets with But here art has nothing Sawcy and seems to endeavor rather to follow than alter nature, and to aim at no beautys but such as she before had seem'd to dictate …[47]

This description is close to a lowland equivalent of Addison's alpine dream

> I was wonderfully pleased in ranging through this delightful Place, and the more so, because it was not incumbered with Fences and Enclosures; till at length, methoughts I sprung from the Ground, and pitched upon the Top of an Hill, that presented several Objects to my Sight which I had not before taken notice of. The Winds that pass'd over this flowr'y Plain, and thro' the tops of the Trees which were full of Blossoms, blew upon me I such a continued Breeze of Sweets, that I was wonderfully charmed with my Situation.[48]

There are two consequences of Addison's writing that made a substantial contribution to changing garden fashion in the early decades of the eighteenth-century. First, Addison is 'charmed with my Situation' in Nature which is 'not incumbered with Fences and Enclosures'. It is better to experience a landscape that imitates nature rather than a landscape that controls nature. Art works to perfect nature. In so doing, human activity restores Nature to the perfection it has lost; paradise regained, at least metaphorically. Second, it is practical to construct a landscape on a substantial scale that incorporates nature while still being productive and profitable. This may be achieved by planting carefully so that the landscape remains pleasurable. Although Addison did not develop his image of looking down on an 'agreeable Prospect' from a 'Circuit of Hills', he

[47], Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 149.
[48], Bond ed., *The Tatler*, Vol. II, p. 400; J. Addison, *The Tatler*, No 161.

created a conceptual framework in which the idea of a profitable garden might by pleasurable and might be enjoyed by walk around it.[49]

2.4 Circularity, the Circuit and Eden

During the eighteenth-century the internal layout of country houses changed dramatically for the first time in more than a century. Girouard suggests that an architectural solution to changing ways of socializing was provided at Norfolk House, St James' in London in about 1750.[50] This solution then inspired a number of gardens as good taste indoors was replicated outdoors.

> The surroundings of their houses were reorganized in much the same way as the interiors, and for rather similar reasons. Axial planning, and straight avenues, canals or walks all converging on the ceremonial spine of the house disappeared in favour of circular planning. A basically circular layout was enlivened by different happenings all the way round the circuit, in the form of temples, obelisks, seats, pagodas, rotundas and so on. The result was like an external version of the circuit as Norfolk House, with its different colour schemes giving a different accent to each room.[51]

However, it is unlikely that there was such a neat, linear progression from indoors to outdoors that helps to explain the emergence of circularity in gardens. The relationship between house and garden design was more complex and interdependent. There was a much more untidy progression from strongly axial gardens to landscape gardens in general and gardens with circuits in particular: 'the so-called English Garden was ushered in an unobtrusive, good humoured

[49] The message was not universally accepted. A frequent correspondent with *The Tatler*, 'T. S.', aware of Addison's article, wrote of his 'Pyramids of Yew' expecting to receive the approval of his readers. Bond ed, *The Tatler*, Vol. II, (1987), p. 476; T. S., The Tatler, No 179.
[50] See M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1978), pp 181-212.
[51] Girouard, *ibid*., p. 210.

way, that was not the revolution it is sometimes said to have been'.[52] There is also good evidence that gardens with strong circularity were being conceived (as well as laid out) well before Norfolk House was conceived. The chronology that Girouard proposes is problematic.

At Hagley Hall in Worcestershire, Sir Thomas Lyttelton and his son George were developing their extensive parkland. Although there is little direct evidence, it is likely that most of the creative drive for the development of the ancient deep park came from George. Secretary to Prince Frederick from 1737, he is likely to have known Charles Hamilton and William Kent. He also knew Pope, Thomson, who amended *The Seasons* after his 1744 visit to Hagley, and his near neighbour William Shenstone.[53] His second wife, Elizabeth, encouraged George to employ Sanderson Miller to design the new Hall.[54] The new Hall, built between 1754 and 1760, allowed for several circuits of increasing size based on the hall, dining room and drawing room.[55] There is no doubt however, that the landscape garden predated the Hall by more than a decade and therefore predated Norfolk House.

Also in the 1740s, Shenstone was beginning his self-conscious circuit at The Leasowes. He carried out some early work in about 1740 but began in earnest from 1743 after taking up full residence in the House[56]. By 1746 'a comprehensive scheme had…come into his mind' and 'the basic structure…had been put in place'.[57] Shenstone believed that 'Landskip should contain variety enough to form a picture upon canvas; and this is no bad test, as I think that

[52] Batey, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' p. 190.
[53] M. Symes, & S. Haynes, *Enville, Hagley, The Leasowes: Three Great Eighteenth-Century Gardens*, (Bristol, Redcliffe Press, 2010), pp. 102-103, 108.
[54] http://www.hagleyhall.com/the-hall/history
[55] M. Girouard, *English Country House*, p. 211.
[56] Symes & Haynes, *Enville, Hagley, The Leasowes*, p. 138.
[57] Symes & Haynes, *ibid*., pp. 154-155.

landskip painter is the gardener's best designer'. Earlier still, William Kent created a short circuit amending Bridgeman's earlier design and created 'a series of carefully prepared prospects'.[58]

Even earlier in the 1720s, Allen Bathurst, 1st Earl Bathurst, was one of the first to follow Switzer's advice referred to above (see page 23-24) at the *ferme ornée* at Riskings, Buckinghamshire. Although much of the landscape was axial in the older style, Switzer was able to write that 'beside the main Walks which go straight diagonal ways, and round the whole Plantation, there are also little private Hedge-Rows or Walks round every Field where it is large'.[59] By 1742 Switzer had helped to transform English gardening and could note with satisfaction that his question 'And why, is not a level easy Walk of Gravel or Sand shaded over with Trees, and running thro' a Corn Field or Pasture Ground, as pleasing as the largest Walk in the most magnificent Garden one can think of?'[60] had been answered. Circuits were evolving as a landscape garden form from the 1720s and there is little doubt that the internal circularity of the country or town house did not precede circularity outdoors.

Schulz draws on other expressions of circularity to support his belief that circuit gardens evolved as a result of theological and cultural changes following the Reformation.[61] He suggests that

[58] Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening During the Eighteenth Century*, (Baltimore & London, John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 219.
[59] Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 163; S. Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, (1742).
[60] Hunt & Willis eds., *ibid*,, p. 153; Switzer's foresight is, perhaps, underestimated.
[61] M. F. Schulz, 'The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth Century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress' in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 15:1, (1981), pp. 1-25.

> Implicit in the circumambient route of the west garden at Stowe and the inner lake circuit at Stourhead, in addition, however, as also at Woburn Farm, Hagley, The Leasowes, Rousham, Chatsworth (although somewhat camouflaged by the nineteenth-century alterations of Joseph Paxton), and any number of gardens with a lake to circle or an outer belt of trees to follow, is a paradigmatic action which lent itself to a secularized and (if you will) faintly frivolous parody of the soul's circuitous passage in the world from its earthly to its heavenly home.[62]

Despite overstating his case,[63] Schulz has recognized that the seventeenth and eighteenth century saw a change from a medieval, linear view of theological time to a more sophisticated understanding in which the sacred and profane are able to coexist in the same time and space. The Renaissance, he suggests, encouraged a new way to relate to the loss of the Garden of Eden, Paradise. By integrating a Judaic tradition in which God's Chosen People are promised a return to their Land in this world and in their lifetime with a Neo-Platonic belief in the 'return of the soul to an ideal enclave after an exiled sojourn in the world of appearances', Renaissance Christianity was able to understand the 'soul's realisation in this world of a paradise within as preparatory for and prelude to realisation in the next world of paradise without'.[64] He describes this as 'the Christian paradigm of the circuitous pilgrimage of the soul back to its spiritual home from which it began'[65] and concludes that

> The comparative comfort of a morning or afternoon stroll around a garden [which] is parodic of the arduous earthly pilgrimage of a person to a holy

[62] Schulz, *ibid*., p. 3.
[63] Only Roman Catholics would have received communion frequently and few churches were built 'in the round'. It is acknowledged that Pope was Catholic but he did not advocate circularity in gardens.
[64] Schulz, *ibid*., p. 11.
[65] Schulz, *ibid*., p. 10.

> church or sacred place and of the spiritual pilgrimage of the soul through the temptations of the mortal world to realize and interiorized "heaven on earth" – all analogous ultimately of the prototypical journey of Jesus through this incarnate life back to his heavenly home.[66]

Some leading Whig and Tory landowners saw their garden-making in explicitly religious terms. In Figure 8 Sir Henry Hoare's memorial in St Cuthbert's Church, Stourton reads

> Ye who have view'd in Pleasure's choicest hour
> The Earth embellish'd on these Banks of Stour,
> With grateful Reverence to the Marble lean,
> Rais'd to the Friendly Founder of the Scene.
> Here,. With pure love of smiling Nature warm'd,
> The far-fam'd Demy-Paradise be form'd:
> And, happier still, here learn'd from Heaven to find
> A sweeter Eden in a Bounteous Mind.
> Thankful these fair & flowery paths be trod,
> And priz'd them only as they lead to GOD.

The path that left a building and returned to it by a circuitous route took on a more subtle and often subconscious meaning. A distinction is also implied here between 'circuit' and 'journey'.[67] A circuit returns to the original location transformed by the experience whilst a journey travels to somewhere new. A journey focuses more on the newness of the destination for which the elements

[66] Schulz, *ibid*., p. 17.
[67] Between 1724 and 1727 Daniel Defoe published a 'Bradshaw's' for the post-chaisse age. His *A Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies* clearly distinguishes between a journey and a circuit. The first seven trips are circuits returning close to their starting point. Trips eight to thirteen are long, linear journeys.

of the journey are a preparation or foretaste; the starting point is of little importance. For the circuit garden, it is the experience of the circuit that transforms the starting point redeeming it so that it is fitting as an end point. This is not to be overstated, few circuit gardens are explicitly theological metaphors[68] but, as the memorial to Sir Henry Hoare suggests, for some in the eighteenth century, gardening was close to godliness.

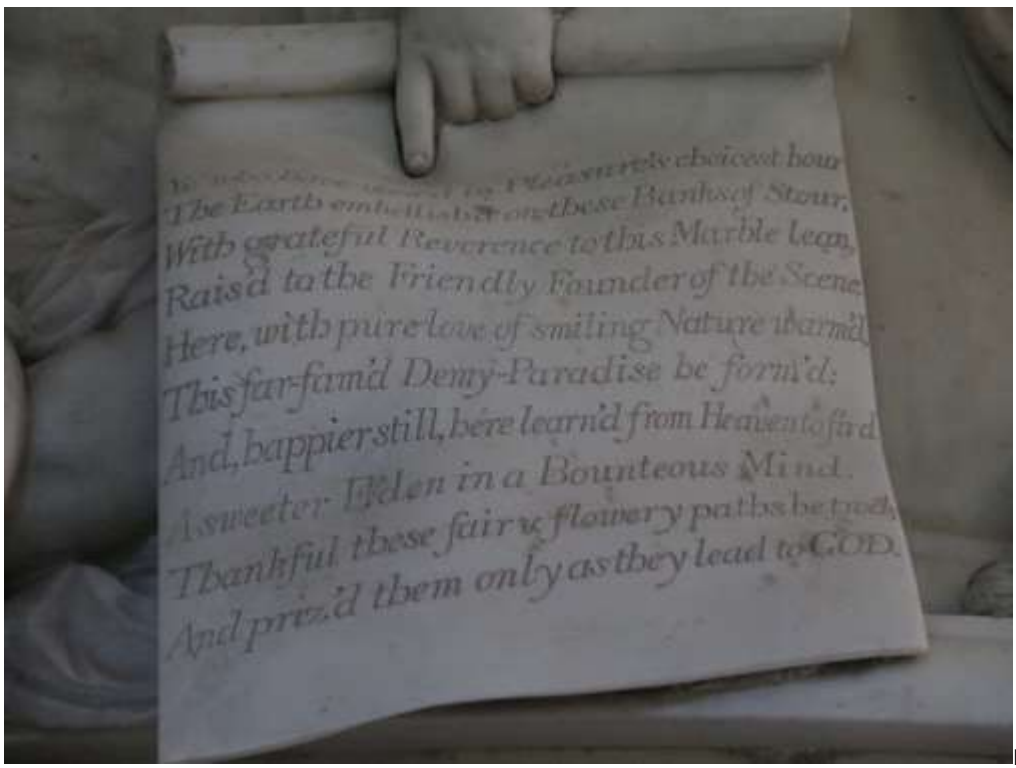

Figure 8: Stourton: Part of the Memorial to Sir Henry Hoare (1705-1785) in St. Cuthbert's Church (photograph by the author)

[68] Hawkstone may be an exception.

3 Interim Summary

The previous section of the dissertation described the cultural context in which circuit gardens emerged. There can be no certainty that all aspects of the cultural milieu were prerequisites for the evolution of the circuit garden and there was no inevitability about the particular forms that circuit gardens took. The conditions were ripe for a gardening art form like the circuit garden to flower but the evolution of the English garden could have taken a different form. Indeed, there was not one single form of garden, circuit or otherwise, that was being designed during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century.

Circuit gardens were a sequence of painterly scenes, like theatre-sets in their composition which placed the visitor first as spectator of and then as actor in the human drama framed by the landscape. These scenes were linked by a route that returned to the original starting point by a circuitous walk in which the mood of the visitor was controlled and manipulated by the route the walk took and the planting beside it. These two characteristics, the route and the content of the route, define a circuit garden and differentiate it from other types of circuit and landscape garden.

However, questions remain about the limits of the definition of the circuit garden and its relationship to other types of circuit. Switzer suggests that a wide path, suitable for riding or a carriage, around an estate that links buildings and viewpoints of the estate, a circuit, should be more widely adopted. He does not suggest that buildings are required for the circuit, but he does imply that the design of the entire estate should be visible.[69] In 1742 few circuit gardens were well developed and it appears that the distinction between a circuit garden and a

[69] See pp. 23-24 above.

ferme ornée was not clear.[70] Could a circuit garden also be a *ferme ornée*? At Stourhead Henry Hoare only devoted part of his estate to his garden. Is a circuit garden a circuit of a garden or can it be a circuit in a garden?

Switzer's *anfilade* is of considerable length but the circuit John Burdon laid out at Hardwick Park from 1750 is little more than a mile and can be easily walked.[71] Is there a minimum length for a circuit in a garden? Switzer alludes to the possibility of buildings visited and/or seen on his circuit but the circuit is primarily about views of the owner's estate. Hardwick Park is a series of views of buildings each of which was designed and placed quite deliberately. The walks between the buildings are also carefully considered to provide contrasting views, moods are manipulated by planting and the use of light and shade and to ensure that no building is approached directly after it has been seen for the first time; thus pre-empting Shenstone's 1764 advice: 'When a building, or other object has been viewed once from its proper point, the foot should never travel to it by the same path, which the eye has travelled over before. Lose the object and draw nigh, obliquely'.[72] Can a circuit garden be a walk (or ride) around an estate that affords good views of the estate or must it contain more? Must it manipulate the visitor? Are buildings or views out of the estate required?

There is no retracing of steps at Hardwick Park or on a Switzer circuit and there is little opportunity for variation in the circuit. Must the route of a circuit garden be continuous and prescribed? In places the circuit at Hardwick Park, particularly between the Gothic Gatehouse and the Banqueting House, follows a

[70] It is questionable whether the two are mutually exclusive. The circuit at Kedleston Hall is a path around pasture.
[71] For a description of Hardwick Park see www.follies.org.uk, (Issue 18 Oct 2008).
[72] W. Shenstone, 'Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening', (1764) in J. D. Hunt, ed, *The English Landscape Garden*, (New York & London, Garland Publishing, 1982), p. 131.

winding path planted with tall trees and planned shrubbery planting. But, can a garden that has a 'circuit shrubbery'[73] be described as a circuit garden? In the following section these questions, which concern either the route or the nature of the route, will be addressed and a new way of conceiving of the boundary between circuit gardens and other types of circuit is offered.

[73] The term 'circuit shrubbery' is taken from M. Laird's *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds 1720-1800*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press,1999).

4 Towards a Definition

4.1 The Route

In 1770 Thomas Whately wrote

> Many gardens are nothing more than such *a walk around a field*; that field is often raised to the character of a lawn; and sometimes the enclosure is, in fact a paddock; whatever it be, the walk is certainly a garden.[74]

Whately thought that a circuit route around a field constituted a garden. Phibbs sees this 'in the tradition of the *ferme ornée*'[75] and Laird writes 'the circuit walk of the *ferme ornée* – Philip Southcote's Woburn Farm or Dickie Bateman's Grove House – constitutes our first glimpse of what might be called a proto-shrubbery'.[76] It seems likely that the possible tedium of the *ferme ornée* was relieved by the development of plantings on one or both sides of the path that went around the estate.[77] The form survived and evolved and can be seen in, for example, Wright's design at Badminton, where a single route is suggested (Figure 10) or at Sion Hill, where there are several options to choose between and circuits of different lengths could be followed (Figure 11).

Whately did not use the term 'circuit garden' speaking only of 'circularity' but it is clear that circuit shrubberies around fields in the manner of a *ferme ornée* were being commissioned. Riley says of The Leasowes

> But the novel feature was a belt-like walk that enabled the visitor to make

[74] T. Whately, *Observations*, pp. 206.
[75] J. Phibbs, 'The Structure of the Eighteenth-Century Garden', in *Garden History*, Vol. 38:1 (2010), pp. 21.
[76] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 102. The term 'shrubbery was not used until an exchange letter between Lady Luxborough and Shenstone in 1749, p. 109-113. For a discussion of the shrubbery at Woburn Farm as described by Spence see p. 102-109.
[77] Thomas Jefferson described Woburn Farm as 'merely a highly ornamented walk through & round the divisions of the farm & kitchen garden'. From 'Memorandums Made on a Tour to Some of the Gardens in England (1786)', in Hunt & Willis eds., *The Genius of the Place*, p. 334.

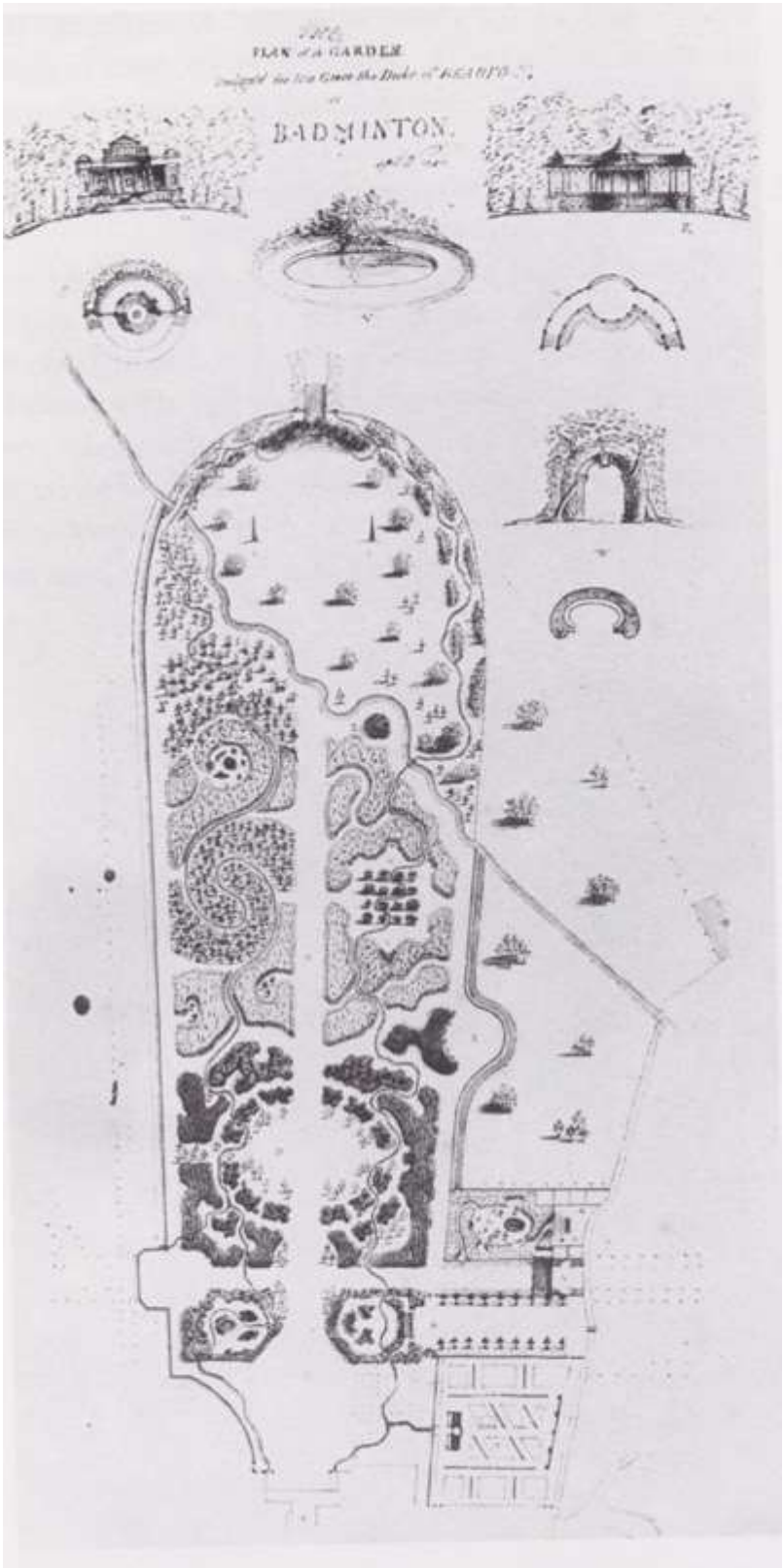

Figure 9: Badminton, Gloucestershire: Thomas Wright's plan of garden, 1750

(taken from M. Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 128.)

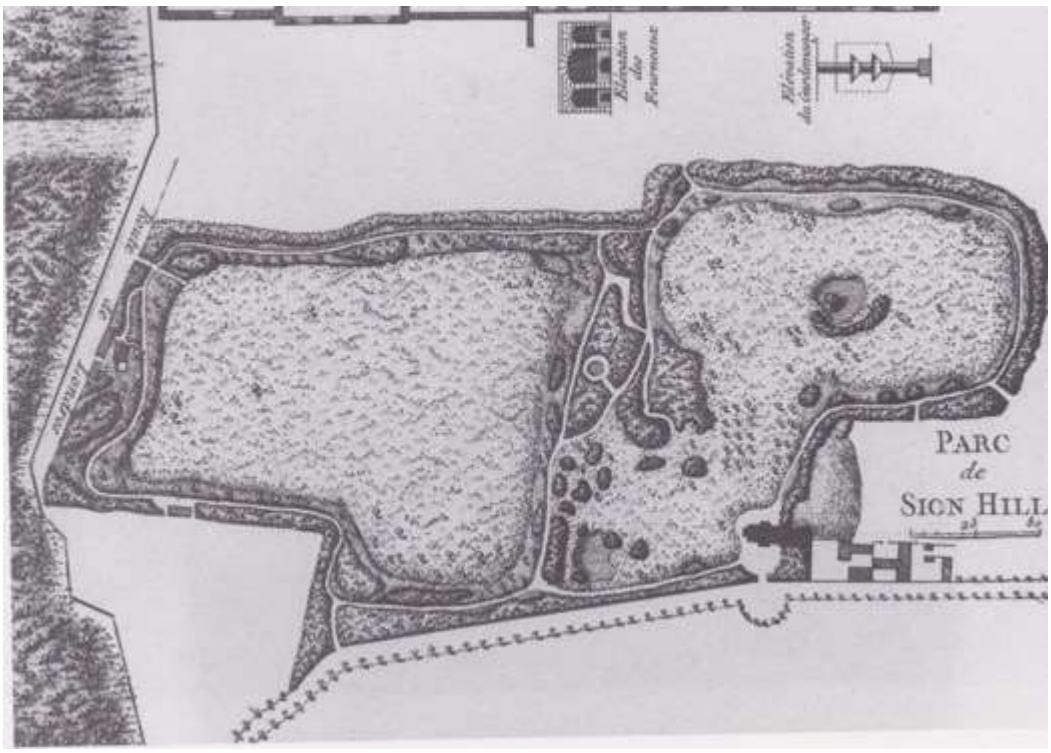

Figure 10: Sion Hill, Middlesex: Plan of the circuit shrubbery, pre-1788 (taken from M. Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 148.)

> a pictorial circuit of the farm, observing the surroundings from many different viewpoints. The great benefit of such a plan lay in the pleasing variety of scenes it afforded. There was an incipient version of the belt walk at Stowe in the early 1730s and the idea was adopted at Hagley (The Leasowes' near neighbor) and at Stourhead. But it was Woburn Farm that indirectly inspired Shenstone, as we learn from the *Recollection of … Shenstone* written by his lifelong friends Rev. Richard Graves.[78]

The 'belt-like walk' is closely related to Switzer's *Anfilade*, Brown's belt walk and later, and later in eighteenth century, Whately's Ridings and Repton's carriage drives.[79] A key difference between Brown's circuit belts and Repton's circuit

[78] J. Riley, 'Shenstone's walks: The Genius of The Leasowes', *Apollo*, Vol. 110, (1979), p. 202.
[79] See T. Whately, *Observations*, pp. 227-242; and J. Bradney, 'The Carriage-Drive in Humphrey Repton's Landscapes', in *Garden History*, Vol. 33:1 (2005), pp. 31-46.

carriage drives is discussed below.[80] For now it is sufficient to observe that a walk around a pastoral field can be described as a *ferme ornée*. The circular walk may also have a shrubbery on one or more sides for some or all of its length.

Figure 11: Kedleston: Robert Adams original sketch for the circuit walk, 1758 (photograph by the author)

[80] See p. 33.

Phibbs, in his seven-fold classification of eighteenth-century gardens,[81] the simple and potentially tedious 'walk round a field' was relieved by the appealingly named 'string-of pearls' design. The classification is particularly apt at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire which Phibbs describes as

> the circuit walk, with its 'various spots', or 'diversions', the outdoor rooms, buildings and structures that Robert Adam offered at approximately 100-yard intervals along the three mile Long Walk at Kedleston.[82]

Phibbs included Robert Adam's 1758 'Sketch for a Pleasure Ground' in his article to illustrate the circuit at Kedleston (Figure 11). This plan was not constructed but it is interesting because it shows that, like Sion Hill, two or more fields could be given a circuit shrubbery boundary and there was also more than one circuit planned. It also illustrates Adam's intention to punctuate the 'string' walk with 'pearls' of interest that included buildings, viewpoints, island shrubberies and a small lake. There was an out and back loop (Phibbs' third category) in which some retracing of steps would have been required. So Adam's Keddleston plan shows that a circuit garden can be a *ferme ornée*, which is also a circuit shrubbery, punctuated by deliberately constructed pause points at scenes containing buildings and/or views.

Walpole criticised Lord Scarsdale for over ambition[83] and, just as the house had to be built with fewer wings than originally planned,[84] so the original ambitious garden plan was reduced in size; Figure 12 show a plan for a rustic hut that was not built.

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[81] J. Phibbs, 'The Structure of the Eighteenth-Century Garden', in *Garden History*, Vol. 38:1 (2010).
[82] Phibbs, *ibid*., pp. 22.
[83] O. Garnett, *Kedleston Hall*, (National Trust, 1999), p. 4.
[84] It was built to the design of Matthew Brettingham, who had worked at Holkham Hall, and James Paine (who also designed Hardwick Park). Robert Adam, critical of the original design, was given oversight of the project in 1761. See http://jeromeonline.co.uk/drawings/index.cfm?display_scheme=795.

Figure 12: Kedleston: Rough elevation of a hut in a woodland by Robert Adam (http://jeromeonline.co.uk/drawings/index.cfm?display_scheme=876&object_id=4222#; Sir John Soane's Museum)

After completion the walk at Kedleston took the walker on a circuit from the main house along a winding path through dark planting of trees and shrubs into sudden and unexpected openings from which there are views across the park and out of the garden towards the hills of Derbyshire. The walker's senses are manipulated by the planting, which alternates between dark, wooded gloom and sudden bursts of sunlight. The laid out walk was contained within two ha-has and varied in width from only about six metres to several tens of metres; the route offered little choice for the visitor. The relative lack of buildings or inscriptions made the experience of the Kedleston circuit less intense than more famous gardens at Painshill or Stourhead. Kedleston had fewer theatrical set scenes that alluded to classical or other references and it challenged its visitors' learning less than a literary garden like The Leasowes, but it was a circuit of pastoral land from and to the main house that was, for the latter part of the circuit, a key view. Figure 13 shows one of the first glimpses of the roof of the

house and the exotic pleasure ground in its immediate vicinity. There is contrast here between the rustic planting of the distant shrubbery and the exotic planting of the 'home garden'; the further one walks away from the house the more the planting is restricted to a selection of 'native' species.[85]

Figure 13: Kedleston: Exotic planting near the home garden

(photograph by the author)

At three miles, the Long Walk was far longer than the circuit at Hardwick Park but it was punctuated more by views than theatrical scenes. However, each vista was planned: the route is a deliberately controlled path that presents surprise, gloom, and changing moods. It is this element of the circuit garden that Kedleston exemplifies and in so doing demonstrates that a circuit shrubbery of some length that is psychologically manipulative can be described as a circuit garden. Clearly, Kedleston *as it is now*, is a different experience to an archetypal circuit garden like Stourhead, but it remains an experience of a circuit garden because the walker is manipulated by light and shade, by surprise, by views of the house, estate and open countryside and the option to rest at carefully placed

[85] This opinion is based on observation while walking around the present day circuit.

seats. The circuit is not so much a tour of set painterly scenes, like Painshill, that revisited Italy and the educated man's classical upbringing as a tour that begins and ends in the good taste of the English gentleman and visits the English countryside of which he is the master and custodian.

Figure 14 shows Richard Wood's plan for improvements to Little Linford near Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire in 1761.[86] The chronology of the garden is unclear but Woods introduced a serpentine lake and a circuit shrubbery around it. There are no records to indicate the planting and, while there appears to be indication of more densely planted clumps between the path and the lake, it not clear how far the planting controlled light and shade to manipulate the mood of the visitor. Wood's work at Little Linford and other similar designs such as Cannon Hall, Yorkshire where exotics were used extensively, is closer to a ferme ornée like Southcote's Woburn Farm but it illustrates that the difference between a circuit shrubbery, a *ferme ornée* and a circuit garden can be very small.[87]

At about the same time as Woburn Farm but a decade earlier than Little Linford and much earlier than Wood's work at Brize, Horace Walpole began to develop his garden at his villa at Strawberry Hill. Figure 15 shows his garden from a description of 1784 but it was planted much earlier. In 1753 he wrote to Horace Mann saying of his garden that '…before it is an open grove, through which you see a field which is bounded by a serpentine wood of all kind of trees and

[86] For an extensive discussion of Richard Wood's work see Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, pp. 302-315. There is not space here to describe Wood's improvements in 1788 to Brizes, in Essex for William Dolby. At Brizes a long 'Lady's Walk' was part of a circuit around the estate, a farm, which culminated in a temple and an island.

[87] See F. Cowell, *Richard Woods (1715-1794): Master of the Pleasure Garden*, (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 21-23 and pp. 132-133, on Little Linford, the *ferme ornée* and its longevity and the links between Southcote and Woods.

flowering shrubs and flowers.'[88] Strawberry Hill was more than a circuit shrubbery around 'a field' as Walpole added a shell seat in one corner and a chapel in another. Laird suggests that latticework and a flower border were introduced in front of the shrubbery as it was showing signs of ageing.[89] This is largely speculative however, and it unlikely that the view shown in Figure 16 of

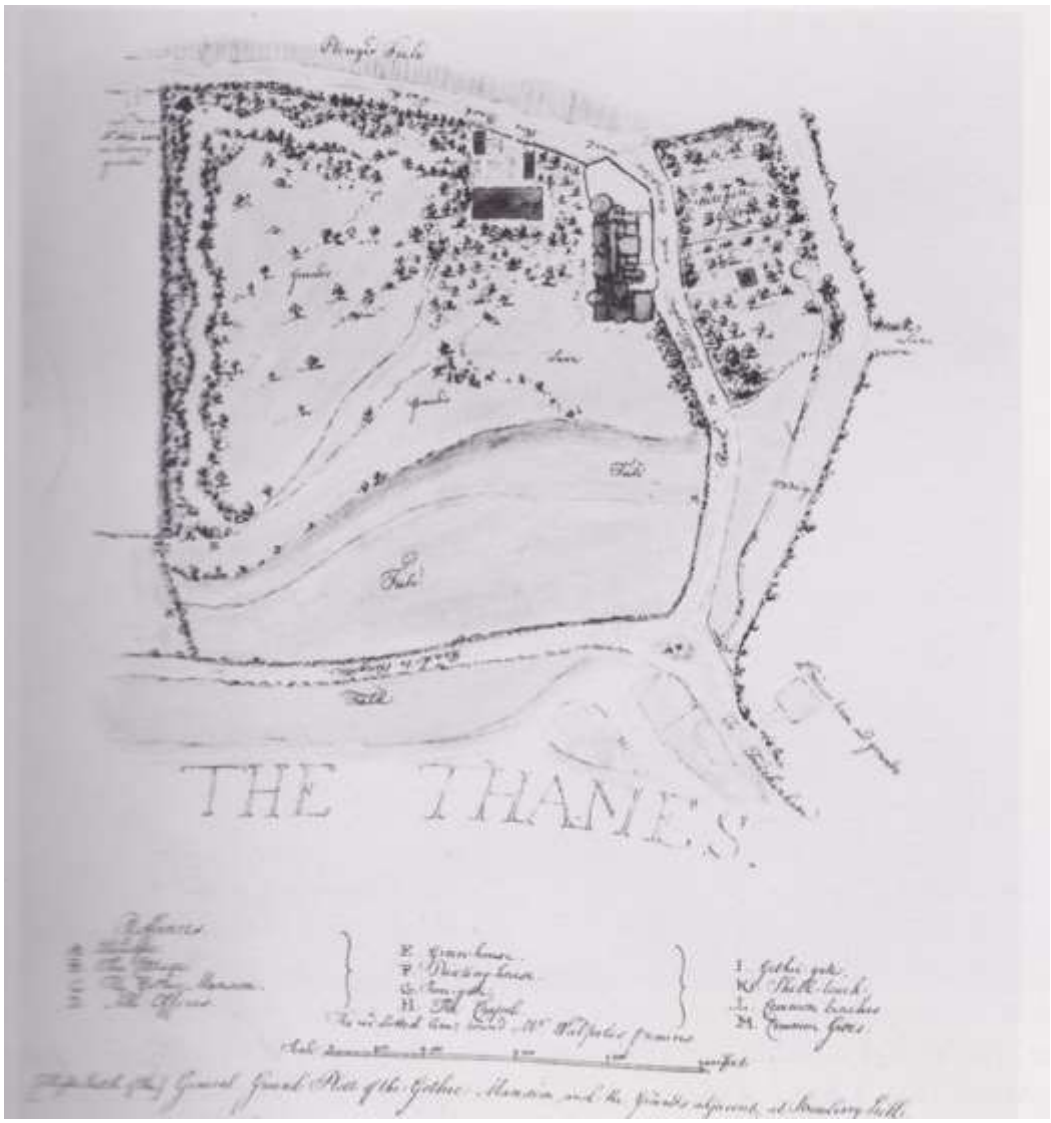

Figure 15: Strawberry Hill: Plan from 1784

(taken from M. Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 167.)

[88] W. S. Lewis, (ed., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Vol: 20 (New Haven and London, Oxford university Press, 1933-83), p. 380, quoted in Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 163.
[89] Laird, *ibid*., note to pl 99, p. 171.

the chapel would have been adversely affected by the later introduction. Laird also suggests that Walpole's 'shady walk' remained in the tradition of earlier

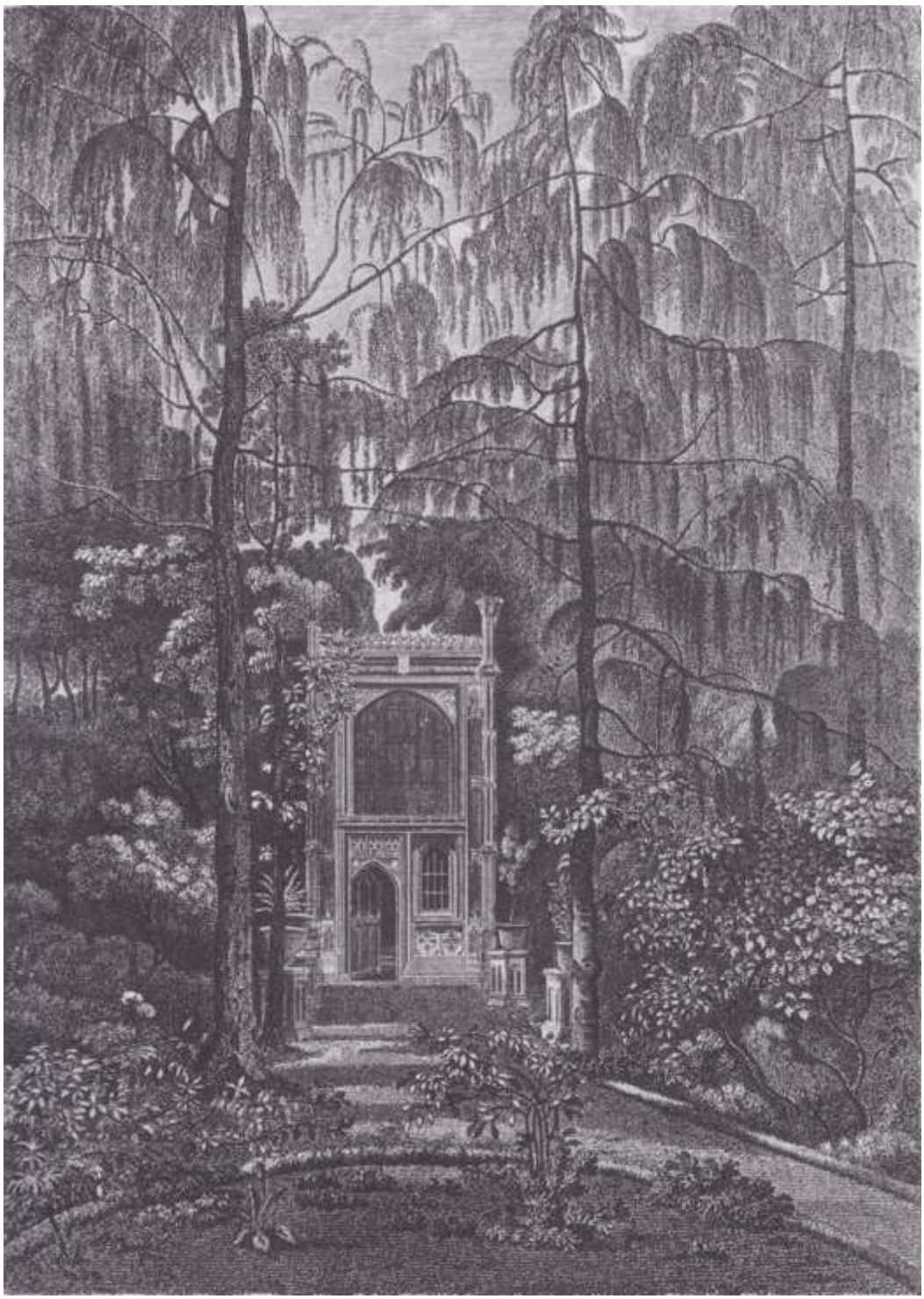

Figure 16: Strawberry Hill: Chapel in the circuit walk

(taken from M. Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 169.)

wildernesses, far removed from the “theatrical” model of Southcote’s sunny peripheral walk’.[90] However, it is not clear from the sketch of 1784 that the inner side of the path is completely shady and light may have been allowed in a number of places along the walk. Nevertheless, the use of a building, which while unseen from a distance remains a surprise when first encountered, a rococo seat and a largely shaded serpentine walk mean that Strawberry Hill can rightly be described as circuit garden, despite its small scale and the fact that it is also a circuit shrubbery, might be considered a *ferme ornée* (like Kedleston) and is, without doubt, also a circuit in a garden.

Strawberry Hill was built to a modest scale but how short can a circuit garden walk be? In 1760 Thomas Wright designed a circuit shrubbery for the Duchess of Beaufort at Netheravon in Wiltshire on a very small scale (Figure 17).[91] Despite the fact that the site measures only 140 feet by 140 feet, the garden has many of the key elements of a circuit garden. A central lawn functions as an ‘empty centre’ like the lake at Stourhead or the pastoral fields at Woburn Farm. An alcove seat, pool and two greenhouses provide resting points with views. Laird believes that ‘the island beds … could have contained flowers alone’[92]. There is no direct evidence of this. In principle, it is possible that the island beds could have framed views across the lawn (which has a central axis)[93] or placed part of the circuit in a shady woodland walk. But, it would take no more than ten minutes to walk round the entire circuit and that must be considered too short for the walk to make a psychological difference to the visitor. There is not time between the scenes in the walk for their impact to register nor are the walks long

[90] Laird, *ibid*., p. 171.
[91] See Laird, *ibid*., pp. 194-195.
[92] See Laird, *ibid*., p. 194.
[93] The island beds function as a ‘Kentish clump’ (see Laird, *ibid*., p. 195) or like Adam’s island clumps at Kedleston but on a scale fitting to the size of the garden.

enough for the contrast between light and dark to be felt. It is not possible to be precise about the minimum length for a circuit in a garden to be described as a circuit garden. A judgment needs to be made in the light of the circumstances of each garden and it may be that garden historians will make different judgments.

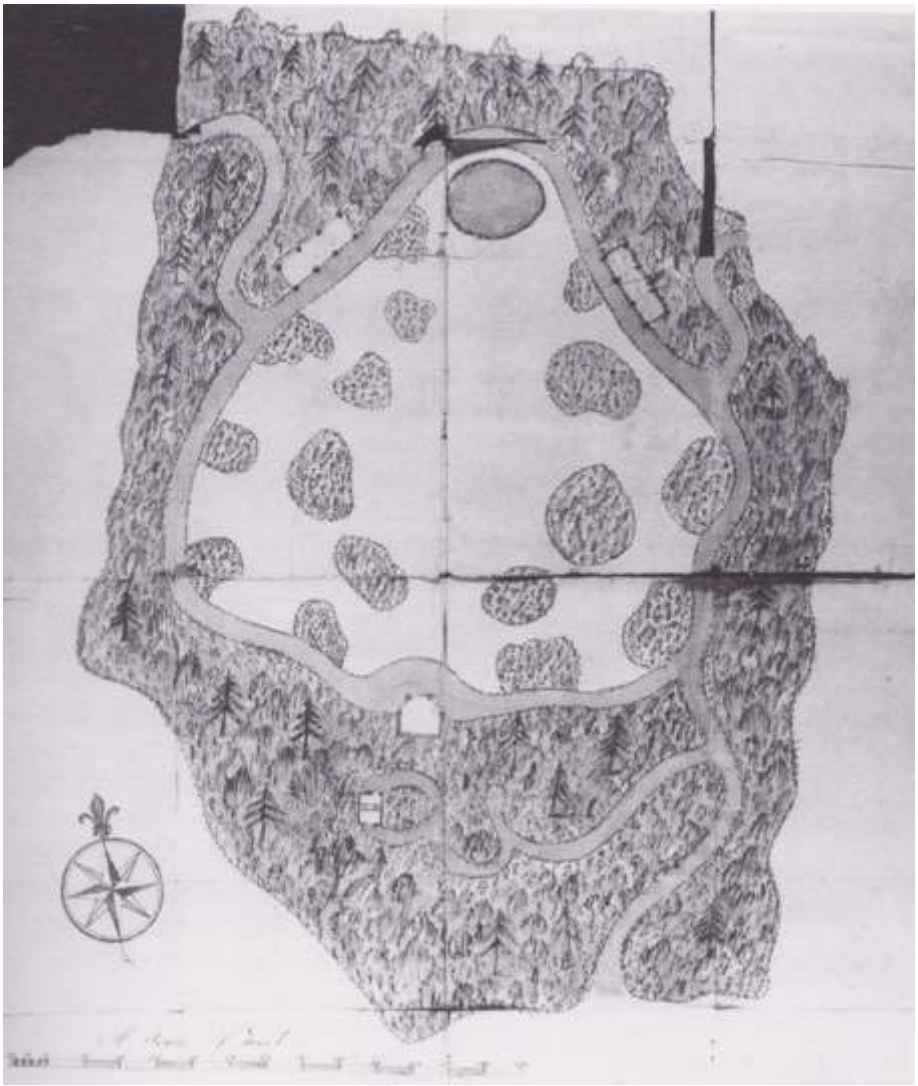

Figure 17: Netheravon: Thomas Wright's small circuit shrubbery

(taken from M. Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 195.)

Shenstone set the ideal conditions for a circuit in which one does not retrace one's steps. But this is not a categorical rule. Painshill requires a few tens of yards of out and back walking to visit the hermitage and a loop was part of

Adam's original plan at Kedleston. It is not possible to place a precise figure on the length or frequency of retracing that would be acceptable. A fully retraced route is an out-and-back journey and not, in any sense, a circuit and the ideal is to have a continuous path where every step is previously untrod, but often, for good design, practical and pragmatic reasons circuit gardens, circuit shrubberies and *fermes ornées* contain some retraced route.

At Kedleston, as it was actually laid out, Stourhead and Strawberry Hill the visitor had few choices to make when following the circuit. The route was clear and there was little doubt that the visitor was following the circuit intended by the designer. All three gardens, like The Leasowes which had a self-consciously prescribed circuit, were, with minor exceptions and some evolution during their construction, fresh designs in the landscape.[94] It was far easier to lay out a fresh circuit where a garden did not already exist. At Rousham however, Kent was altering a relatively recently completed garden by Bridgeman. Figure 18 shows the circuit of the garden as followed today taken from the plan provided at the entrance to the garden. It differs in one key respect from the route described by John Macclary (later know as John Clary) the head gardener in a letter from 1750 which refers to a plan drawn up in 1738.[95] Macclary described the route from the Gladiator to the

> … Rustic Door that lets you out into the road … you walk forward down a pretty concave Slope, which brings you to a fine Large oval Fish pond … which you goe by in to one of the noblest Green Serpentine Walks that was ever seen, view narrowly as you walk along, and youl perhaps see, a greater variety of evergreens, and Flowering Shrubs, then you can

[94] There was a pre-existing layout at Kedleston attributed to Brightman but the circuit that Adam designed was not greatly impacted by the earlier garden. Adam needed to do little than remove the garden to the south of house; his primary work lay in his provision of lakes, buildings and the circuit.
[95] Batey, 'The Way to View Rousham', p. 125-132.

possibly see in any one walk in the World, at the end of this walk stands a four Seat Forrest Chair, where you set down and view what and where you walked along.[96]

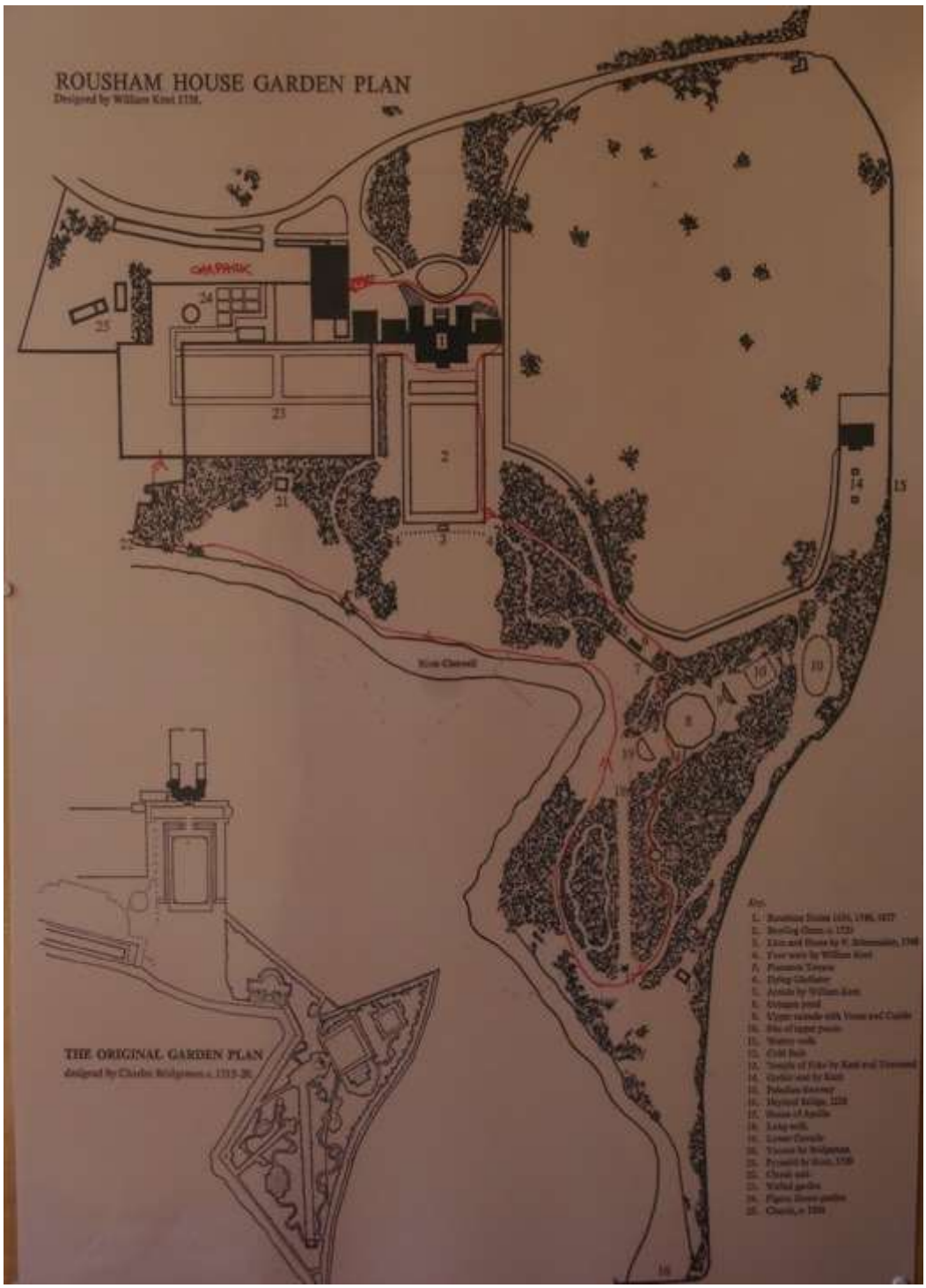

Figure 18: Rousham: The circuit of the garden as displayed at Rousham today (photograph by the author)

[96] Batey, *ibid*., p. 128.

This route avoids descending to the Vale of Venus and gives a very indirect route to the previously unseen 'Townsend's Temple' and statue of Apollo[97]. It should be noted that Macclary does not mention the statue of Apollo. It also means that when the Vale of Venus is viewed from below it is a surprise having been unvisited earlier.

Batey believes that this route was Kent's original intention, although her suggestion that on leaving the bowling green 'the scene was set for a *ferme ornée* type walk'[98] may be questionable. While there is no doubt that the first few hundred metres of the walk are beside a ha-ha overlooking rough pasture, Kent designed a garden with a circuit, a strong iconography and, most importantly, a series of views inspired by his roots as a landscape painter. Crucially, the route only looks out to fields that are being farmed. Views into the garden are exclusively of a designed landscape intended for pleasure not profit. This dissertation suggests that a circuit garden may also be a ferme ornée but Rousham is not. The circuit as followed today is problematic because, by crossing the Vale of Venus above the Lower Cascade the valley is seen but only in part and the relationship between the cascade and statuary of the Vale and 'earlier' part of the original circuit is lost. The arrival at the Vale should be sudden and below the Lower Cascade. This suggests that where there is more than one route in a circuit garden the choice must be carefully designed.

Repton understood this and in creating carriage-drives to link views was determined to remove the choice for visitors to choose their own route through a

[97] It should be noted that Macclary does not mention the statue of Apollo.
[98] Batey, *ibid*., p. 125.

garden that Brown encouraged.[99] Phibbs describes Brownian gardens, disapprovingly, as 'more sophisticated forms of garden [that] could have no single route for visitors, and so there was less room for a carefully organised succession of effects'.[100] Bradney believes that Repton did not expect visitors to return to his gardens often so his

> … drives meandered throughout the park directing and delivering the visitor to every view and feature he deemed appropriate, and allowing them to experience along the way a carefully constructed agenda of limited choice …[101]

It has already been shown that the circuit at Kedleston was originally intended to contain loops and branches (see Figure 11). At Painshill, one of the most iconic circuit gardens, it is possible to shorten the circuit at the Palladian bridge. While the impact of the garden is considerably reduced, Hamilton must have known that some would take the shorter route. At Hafod near Aberystwyth, Thomas Johnes, created two separate walks, one less strenuous than the other. A single, prescribed route might be the ideal for a circuit garden, or indeed a circuit shrubbery, *ferme ornée* or any circuit in a garden but it was not a prerequisite.

Some choice and retracing of steps may have been inevitable or even desirable. At Hagley 'there was no single preferred way of encompassing all the points of interest'[102] and 'there [was] a certain amount of retracing of one's steps'[103]. However, a key element of a circuit garden is the degree to which experiences of the visitor are planned and manipulated by the designer. Shenstone wanted

[99] See the discussion of the 'Tourist Route' at Stowe below pp. 57-58. The rise of the guide book reduced the *de facto* choice a visitor had as most are likely to have followed the route described in the guide book.
[100] Phibbs, 'The Structure of the Eighteenth-Century Garden', p. 25.
[101] Bradney, 'The Carriage-Drive in Humphrey Repton's Landscapes', p. 36.
[102] Symes & Haynes, *Enville, Hagley, The Leasowes*, p. 32.
[103] Symes, & Haynes, *ibid*, p. 113.

his circuit to be followed in a particular direction, Hamilton had particular views that he wanted his visitors to see and at Hardwick Park it was important that visitors saw the buildings, which alternate between classical and gothic, in the correct order. Consequently, too much choice undermines a fundamental principle of a circuit garden, a principle that is not fundamental to a circuit shrubbery or *ferme ornée*.

The astronomer and designer Thomas Wright (1711-1786) designed a garden at Stoke Park near Bristol. There, from 1750, Wright designed a landscape with several serpentine 'wood walks', a number of classical buildings, a tunnel and a lake.[104] Pococke described a route around the garden in 1764, but it is not at all clear that this could be described as a circuit as visitors were able to choose their route around the many interweaving, labyrinthine wood walks for themselves. By contrast, the route that Wright designed at Badminton (see Figure 10) and Preston's general comment that

> Wright's landscapes were associative rather than allegorical making little use of statuary and designed to deliver a heightened experience for those who relished the experience of individual response, prefiguring the Romantic Movement. Whether visitor or initiate, entry into a Wrightian landscape offered a journey that was both spiritual and physical, progressively moving from regularity to irregularity, each transition marked by placement of garden building and planted features, with a requirement to acknowledge and validate feelings as well as taste.[105]

[104] See the discussion of Wright's work at Stoke Park in D. Lambert & S. Harding, 'Thomas Wright at Stoke Park' *Garden History*, Vol. 17:1 (1989), pp. 68-82; Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, pp. 90-92; and J. Preston, 'A Polymath in Arcadia: Thomas Wright (1711-1786)', *Garden History*, Vol. 38:2 (2010), pp. 159-176, in which Preston argues that Wright always designed with a meaning in mind and became increasingly interested in masonic imagery.
[105] J. Preston, *ibid*., p. 173.

suggests that some Wrightian gardens were at the boundary between a circuit shrubbery and a circuit garden.

This section of the dissertation suggests firstly, that, while a circuit garden must have a minimum length, it is hard to be precise about how short ‘too short’ would be. The circuit at Strawberry Hill is measured in hundreds of yards but it has the hallmarks of a circuit garden but the circuit at Netheravon had, or could have had the hallmarks of a circuit garden but is too short to create the emotional effect that a circuit garden must have. Secondly, it is clear that a circuit garden does not have to be a circuit of a whole estate, or even the whole of the parkland or garden part of an estate as demonstrated by Stourhead and Hardwick Park (after 1791). Thirdly, same ground can be covered again on a circuit in a circuit garden as one retraces one’s steps back to the ‘main’ route. The amount of retracing must be limited but it is not possible to place a general limit, or distance on the length of a path that must be traversed in each direction. Finally, a degree of flexibility in route finding is permissible but, while it is not possible to say how much flexibility is permitted, the flexibility must be part of the designed landscape. A visitor might be allowed to choose an option at a junction in the path but in a circuit garden, where the experiences of and the associations made by the visitor are carefully controlled by the designer the choices presented must also be carefully controlled by the designer. This is not the case in a circuit in a garden and it is not necessarily the case in *ferme ornée* or a circuit shrubbery.

4.2 Circuit Content

A circuit garden is more than just a circuit path around a garden. Just as a circuit shrubbery has a particular planting style, a circuit garden has a particular content that distinguishes it from other types of circuit and landscape gardens.

Circuit gardens evolved in part because of the early picturesque interest in landscape paintings, theatre sets and poetic dramas in which human action was centre stage in a framing scene. Symes describes Painshill as pictorial garden because of 'the careful placing of buildings in the landscape. … they draw the eye and lead the visitor onwards in the hope of coming across them at closer quarters later in the tour'.[106] There is no cumulative story at Painshill, the circuit is a succession of views and scenes that the visitor observes and then, later, participates in. Shenstone's advice to avoid a direct approach to a building seen (p. 37) is followed. Hardwick Park adopted a similar strategy and Prince Frederick used buildings, often by Chambers, to punctuate his garden at Kew. It is the buildings and their location in the landscape that are the most important element of the circuit garden at these gardens although others are present too.

The Leasowes contains some buildings and statuary[107] but, partly because of the financial constraints faced by Shenstone, literary inscriptions were most important feature of the garden. It was through painting-like scenes that Hamilton displayed his taste and through literature that Shenstone hoped to impress others. While buildings, grottoes, lakes, cascades, resting places, winding shady paths and shrubberies were present in both gardens not all these features were necessarily required for the circuit to described as a circuit garden. Two of the key principles of the circuit garden - a controlled circuit in which the designer manipulated the visitor to see particular views and feel particular emotions and the use of a sequence of pictorial scenes and views - do not necessarily require any one of these elements to be present. Indeed the

[106] M. Symes, *Mr. Hamilton's Elysium: The Gardens of Painshill*, (London, Francis Lincoln, 2010), p. 76.
[107] Statuary is more modest in scale than a building like a temple, rustic house or Turkish tent but it fulfills the same function in a scene or view. Inevitably, the viewer must be closer to the smaller object in order for the impact to be the same.

two walks at Hafod did not visit buildings although Devil's Bridge can be seen and there were several bridges in scenes intended to convey a dangerous, sublime air.[108] By contrast Woburn Farm, predominantly a *ferme ornée*, had a temple.

The circuits at Hafod suggest that buildings are not a prerequisite of the definition of a circuit garden. However, it is rare to find a circuit garden that did not have at least two or three buildings or statues. The flower garden at Nuneham Courtenay, which was contained within a plantation, belt shrubbery and a circuit walk, had by the end of the eighteenth century, a Temple of Flora, a grotto and several statues. Both can be considered circuit gardens, although neither are in as 'pure' a form as Painshill or Stourhead. Buildings or statues are a medium through which the pictorial principle of a circuit garden is expressed. It is not so much the way in which the principle of presenting scenes and views that is essential to the definition of a circuit garden as the fact that the visitor observes a view and then participates in a scene that is essential. Where such observation and participation are absent, for example in the circuit shrubbery at Sion Hill (Figure 10), a circuit garden cannot be said to have existed.

A circuit garden requires a planned emotional manipulation of the visitor. Through indirect routes through a garden to the subject of previous views, like the route from the Gothic Temple to the Turkish Tent at Painshill or the use of light and shade and unexpected open vistas like the view from the Temple of Apollo at Stourhead, designers of circuit gardens sought to control the mood or thoughts of their visitors. This degree of manipulation is not a critical feature of a ferme ornée, circuit shrubbery or a circuit in a garden. For example, the circuit

[108] See M. Symes, *The Picturesque and the Later Georgian Garden*, (Bristol, Redcliffe Press, 2012), p. 138-141. The 'Ladies Walk' was much less wild than the longer 'Gentleman's Walk'.

shrubbery at Sion House contained too much that is merely a walk across a field with a good view of the Thames to be considered a circuit garden. The circuit at Kedleston by contrast, used light and shade between pause points and internal and external views to manipulate the emotions of the visitor and, while it has all the characteristics of a circuit shrubbery can also be described as a circuit garden.

As with questions concerning the route of a circuit discussed above, the judgment about whether a sequence of pictorial views and scenes or the level of manipulation qualifies a particular garden to be described as a circuit garden may be difficult decision which may lead to disagreement amongst garden historians.

4.3 The Tourist Circuit

In July 1748 Jemina, Marchioness Grey wrote of Stowe:

> There is scarcely anything concealed in it, or Object you come upon without having seen it a Mile off and in fifty different Views in your journey of Five Miles around the Enclosure'
>
> 'That side of the Garden first finished is so Crowded with Buildings that as you seem them at a distance seem almost on Top of One Another that each loses its Effect[109]

Marchioness Grey is not describing a carefully planned series of painterly scenes. Neither Lord Cobham nor any designer or gardener he employed attempted to design, or redesign the garden to create a circuit in the manner of Hardwick Park or Stourhead. Clarke acknowledges that the Elysian Fields had a 'pictorial quality characteristic of Kent', but also suggests that 'The first area that

[109] Marchioness Grey, 'Letterbook of Jemima, Marchioness Grey (1748), Wrest, 5th July 1748 in G. Clarke, *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe 1700-1750*, (Bucks, 1990), pp. 181, 182.

could possibly have been intended as a Claudian landscape (and this is doubtful) was the Grecian Valley'.[110] Consequently, as Marchioness Grey describes, 'Objects' were approached directly, mood was not manipulated on a garden-wide scale and some scenes were not carefully constructed. There were pastoral fields within the garden and short stretches of belt shrubbery, but these are insufficient to describe Stowe as either a ferme ornée or a circuit shrubbery.

However, Lord Cobham and his heirs did want to take their visitors around the garden. In 1744 Benton Seeley, a printer from Buckingham published the first guide book to a large garden for general consumption. Clarke describes his innovation: 'His starting point was the description of Stowe contained in the appendix to Defoe's Tour (1742). This had to be adapted and re-arranged into a sequence which followed the visitors' normal circuit of the gardens.'[111] The tourist circuit was imposed on the garden by the need to take visitors and then tourists around the garden by an efficient route that also made the most of several relatively disconnected areas. It was not part of the design of the garden but added to make sense of the garden and get round the garden in an efficient manner.

Tourist circuits are circuits in a garden because they do not have the design integrity of a circuit garden, *ferme ornée* or circuit shrubbery. Some elements of each of these three types of circuit may be present but in insufficient quality or quantity to warrant the designation of a particular type of circuit. But, like circuit gardens, *fermes ornées* and circuit shrubberies, circuits in a garden, like Stowe may contain some elements of the other types.

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[110] R. G. Clarke, 'Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham's gardening programme and its iconography', *Apollo*, Vol. 136 (New Series), XCVII, June 1973, pp. 562, 563.
[111] Clarke, *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens*, p. 122.

The sublime and moral garden at Hawkstone in Shropshire, laid out by father and son Sir Rowland and Sir Richard Hill, was also the subject of an early guidebook.[112] The popular version by Rodenhurst shows that, while Hawkstone was primarily a sublime garden with a clear religious message to its visitors. It was also a circuit garden. Rodenhurst described the walk out of St Francis's Cave

> After having groped around for some yards in total darkness, you are suddenly transported into the cheerful light of day, and whichever way you turn yourself, the most enchanting prospect, intermixed with woods, hills, lawn and water are enlivened with the busy scenes of Agriculture, meets your view.[113]

Later, the walk between 'The Green-House' and 'The Red Castle' passes an oak seat and continues 'thick and solemn' and then 'the near and distant prospects both break in upon you at once'.[114] The key definers of a circuit garden are here. A sequence of controlled, pre-planned scenes, in this case viewpoints, that appear by surprise because the mood of the visitor is manipulated by the designer; the route to them conceals the destination and is, in contrast to the scene, enclosed and dark.

[112] For a description of Hawkstone, particularly as a sublime garden, see Symes, *The Picturesque*, pp. 141-4.
[113] T. Rodenhurst, *A Description of Hawkstone, the Seat of Sir Richard Hill, Bart,* (Shrewsbury, 1784), p. 27.
[114] Rodenhurst, *ibid*., p. 37.

5 Conclusion

This dissertation has shown that circuit gardens evolved in the context of several key cultural changes: new attitudes to nature and circularity at the same time as early notions of the picturesque in landscape painting, poetry and the theatre was applied to gardening. Circuit gardens have been defined as a circuit in a garden that contains a sequence of set scenes linked by a path that controls the emotions of the visitor. At the same time other forms of gardens with circuits were also evolving. The four types of circuit – circuit garden, *ferme ornée*, circuit shrubbery and circuit in a garden – all contained forms, such as a pastoral field or a shrubbery or a set scene, which could be found in the other types of circuit. This means that the boundaries between the four types of circuit are not clear or fixed but somewhat permeable. In order to make sense of the permeable nature of the circuit forms of the eighteenth century English garden a new way of conceiving their relationship is suggested.

Figure 19 is a diagrammatic way of locating a particular garden between four types of circuit walk. The four 'poles' represent the purest form of each type of circuit in which the forms of the other types of circuit are not present. Between the four poles is space to locate a particular garden on a series of continua where a garden contains the forms of more than one type of circuit. For example, Stourhead is placed near the circuit garden pole because, on the continuum of circuit types it has few of the characteristics of the circuit shrubbery or *ferme ornée* and the circuit was not imposed later. Kedleston is placed between circuit garden, circuit shrubbery and *ferme ornée* because it has characteristics of the three circuit types.

Designing a garden by linking scenes inspired by landscape painting that placed human beings at the centre of a drama framed by the landscape, placed garden making at the heart of the growing, classically inspired picturesque 'movement'

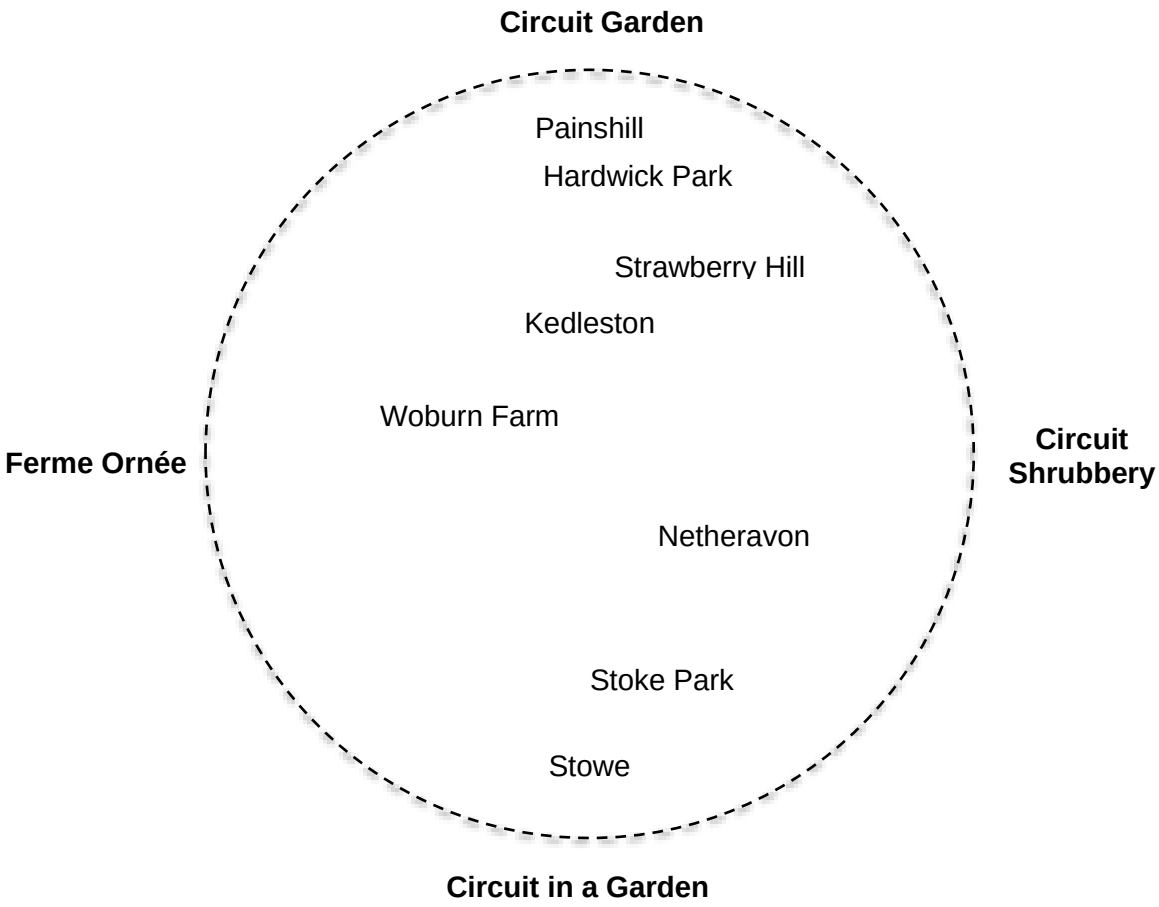

Figure 19: A Pictorial Representation of Types of Circuit Walk in Particular Gardens

driven initially by Pope and others. In the process, garden makers saw themselves improving nature and some may have seen themselves as doing God's work in recreating a lost Eden. The circuit walks created have become some of the most popular eighteenth century gardens today. These circuit gardens, punctuated by classical, gothic and rustic buildings, statuary, water and resting points designed to enjoy or admire views and containing carefully

planned planting that manipulates the mood of the visitor are a significant cultural creation in English history.

However, these gardens often, though not always, contained features of closely related circuit walks. Some walks went around farmed fields, usually pastoral fields that were more common in the productive and pleasurable circuit walks of the *fermes ornées*. Meanwhile, some *fermes orneés* contained buildings and resting points. Some walks contained the newly emerging shrubbery style of planting and some circuit shrubberies also contained statues, resting points and even buildings. Some gardens appear to contain a circuit but the circuit has been imposed later by a later generation or by tourists. These are not circuit gardens, *fermes orneés* or circuit shrubberies but are circuits in or of a garden. It should be understood that there is no hierarchy or circuit types. A pure form is no better or worse than a hybrid and a circuit in a garden need not be seen as inferior to a circuit garden.

This dissertation has shown that neat definitions that separate the circuit garden from other forms of circuit are problematic. Many gardens, even if they can be described as one type, shared elements from the others styles. Consequently, this dissertation has proposed a definition of the circuit garden but recognized that the boundary of the definition is permeable. It recognizes that the types of circuit walk are closely related to one another. Most gardens are hybrids even if they display a dominant type of circuit and can be placed along a continuum between the different types of circuit. The diagram represents this concept in a visual form.

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