MICHAEL SYMES, ALISON HODGES
AND JOHN HARVEY

THE PLANTINGS AT WHITTON

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The substantive part of the article consists of the List in Part II. The initial project was planned by Alison Hodges, and was focused on the List. She carried out the basic research, but ill health did not permit her to write it up. I have compiled the prefatory essay which forms Part I, and Part II is entirely the work of Dr John Harvey, completing a trilogy of enormously valuable identifications — see also his appendices on the plantings at Oatlands (*Garden History*, 9, no. 2), and at Painshill (*Garden History*, 11, no. 2).

Michael Symes

PART I

THE TREE-MONGER OF WHITTON: ARCHIBALD, 3RD DUKE OF ARGYLL AND HIS PLANTINGS

Alison Hodges and Michael Symes

Archibald Campbell (1682–1761), who was Lord Islay and later the 3rd Duke of Argyll, is a central figure in the eighteenth-century garden story on account of his vast nursery and his interest in collecting and growing new and recently-introduced trees. He is one of a group of Scotsmen who made their mark in gardening not just in England but within a concentrated area, that of 'Twickenhamshire'. From the time of the Duke of Lauderdale, who designed and planted at Ham House in the seventeenth century, there was almost an invasion from north of the border bringing innovation and enthusiasm for all aspects of gardening. James Johnston (1655–1737), formerly Secretary for Scotland, had fallen out of favour and gradually withdrew from Scottish politics, particularly after he took the lease of Orleans House in 1702. There he planted and gardened extensively,

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specializing in fruit: he grew a productive vine on his slopes. There was a lawn, with sculpted figures of a dog and bitch, one on each side, which Pope immortalized.[1] Johnston built the famous Octagon Room specially for the reception and entertainment of that royal garden-lover Queen Caroline.

Sometimes gardeners from Scotland would come down and work for their fellow-countrymen, such as James Lee, referred to below.

John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, also figures in the local story. He held the estate of Sudbrook Park, Petersham, where Gibbs designed a house for him *c.* 1717. The gardens were formal in layout, possibly with a hand from Bridgeman, and Archibald Campbell may well have supplied some of the trees.

Although Campbell did not succeed to the dukedom till 1743, for convenience he will henceforth be referred to throughout this article simply as 'Argyll'. He was born in 1682 at Ham House, and later became by astute moves virtually ruler of Scotland, although never actually Secretary for Scotland. After Eton he served in the army under Marlborough and then assumed a political career in harness with Sir Robert Walpole. By 1705 he was already Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and five years later Lord Justice-General of that country. On the accession of George I he became Lord Register. He does

Figure 1.
Archibald Campbell (Lord Islay and the 3rd Duke of Argyll) by W. Aikman
Faculty of Advocates

not seem to have been a particularly attractive character: slow, morose, vengeful, and careless about his appearance. His marriage proved a failure, and he established a lifelong liaison with Mrs Elizabeth Williams, whom he set up near him at Whitton and for whom he later built a London residence. His portrait by Aikman is reproduced as Figure 1.

Argyll developed his interests in gardening while still in Scotland. He did not come south until the early 1720s, when he bought the estate at Whitton in Middlesex. He was a member of the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture, established in Edinburgh in 1720, and from that date commuted between England and Scotland while he developed Whitton; a London home in the newly-created Argyll St (1736); and the Whim, Peeblesshire (1729). The Society, which was active till about 1745, had a dynamic secretary, Robert Maxwell of Arkland, who campaigned vigorously for the cause. It numbered among its members many of the aristocracy who were involved in farming, several law lords, and a good many of those gentry who held substantial lands. By 1743 the membership had reached 300, including several names familiar to garden historians. Of these, Stephen Switzer is the most famous and the odd man out, being 'of London' where all the others were of Scotland. Sir John Dalrymple is known for his *Essay on Landscape Gardening* (*c.* 1756) and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik described a number of gardens including Whitton and wrote an essay in rhyme, *The Country Seat* (1727). Lord Kames, author of *Elements of Criticism* (1762), was also a member although he does not appear in the 1743 list. The purpose of the Society was to introduce and spread new techniques of farming including such activities as land reclamation, though it seems that often the motive was fashion rather than economic necessity.[2]

Although Argyll devoted much time and trouble to the development of his London house, with the help of Gibbs and Roger Morris in particular, his heart was in Whitton, and that was where he made much out of very unpromising material.[3] Before we turn to that, however, there is another local interest which must be mentioned. It was Argyll who initially purchased 25½ acres of land in 1724 for Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, when she settled at Marble Hill, the money coming as a grant from the Prince of Wales.[4] There is no evidence that Argyll advised the Countess on the actual layout, but it is thought that Pope and Bridgeman gave assistance. The house at Marble Hill was designed by Roger Morris, who acted as architect for Argyll over a number of years, both in the south and in Scotland, where he planned Inveraray Castle from 1745.

Morris also built the house at Coombe Bank in Kent, which Argyll owned but let to his cousin, the future 4th Duke of Argyll. The grounds were neat, in a formal style, with rows of vases and varied plantings. Angus and Woollett engraved different views of the property.

The land Argyll acquired at Whitton was virtually waste, an extension of Hounslow Heath. Two accounts of the estate have appeared in recent years which form the basis of the following description: Mary Cosh, 'Lord Ilay's Eccentric Building Schemes', *Country Life*, 20 July 1972, pp. 142–45; and P. Foster and D. H. Simpson, *Whitton Park and Whitton Place*, Twickenham Local History Society Paper no. 41 (1979). The nucleus of sixteen acres, bought from William Heath in 1722, was augmented by a further twenty-two acres in 1734–35 plus some land which once belonged to the poet Suckling.

Further plots of pasture were obtained, and by 1750 Whitton Park embraced in all fifty-five acres.

Effectively work on the Whitton grounds started in 1725: Argyll spent a lot of time in the gardens, and the first architectural results were the Green House and an aviary. Gibbs designed the Green House (Figure 2), and it will be seen that it was a substantial structure, of stuccoed brick. The upper floor contained a dining room and two

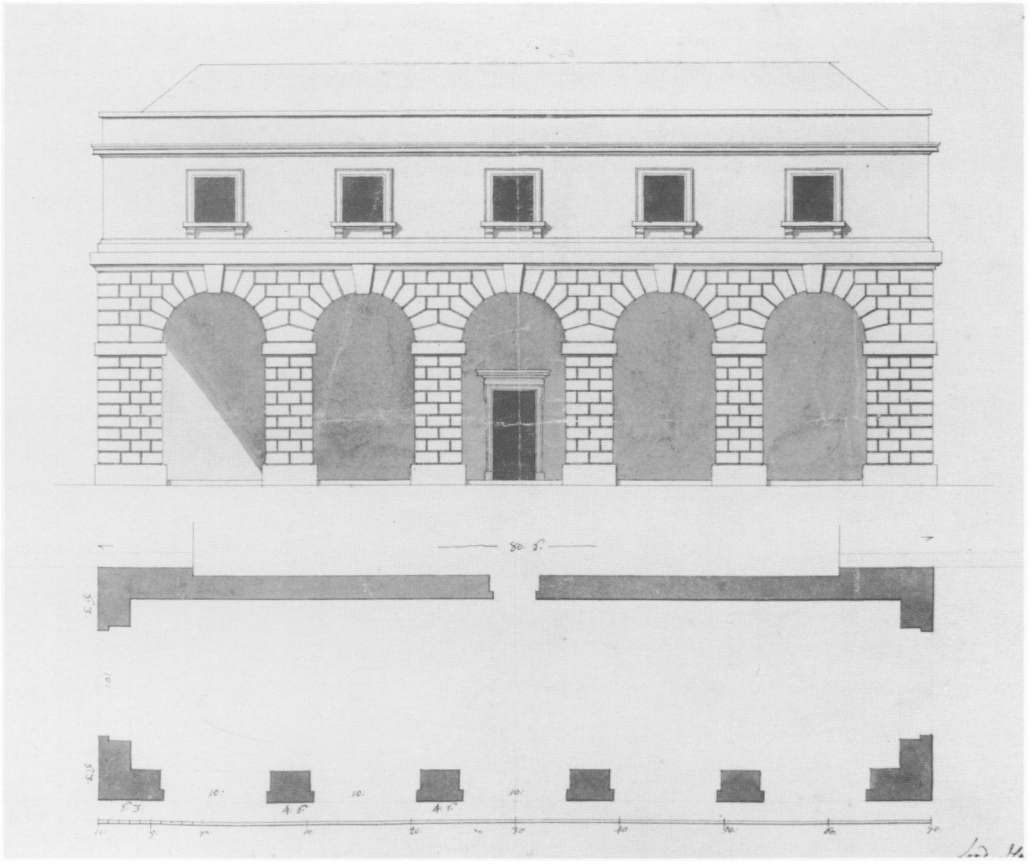

Figure 2. Design for Green House by James Gibbs, *c.* 1724–25
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

bedrooms. The lower floor was for the protection of plants in winter, and was heated by coal fires. Light entered primarily through seven large sash doors with circular tops which could be raised. It was not until 1737–38 that a proper house was built, attributed to Roger Morris.

The gardens in their final shape are shown in the Sale Plan of 1765, reproduced as Figure 3. In form they are unremarkable and mainly formal: Argyll does not seem to have absorbed much of the natural landscape movement, but his gardening interests

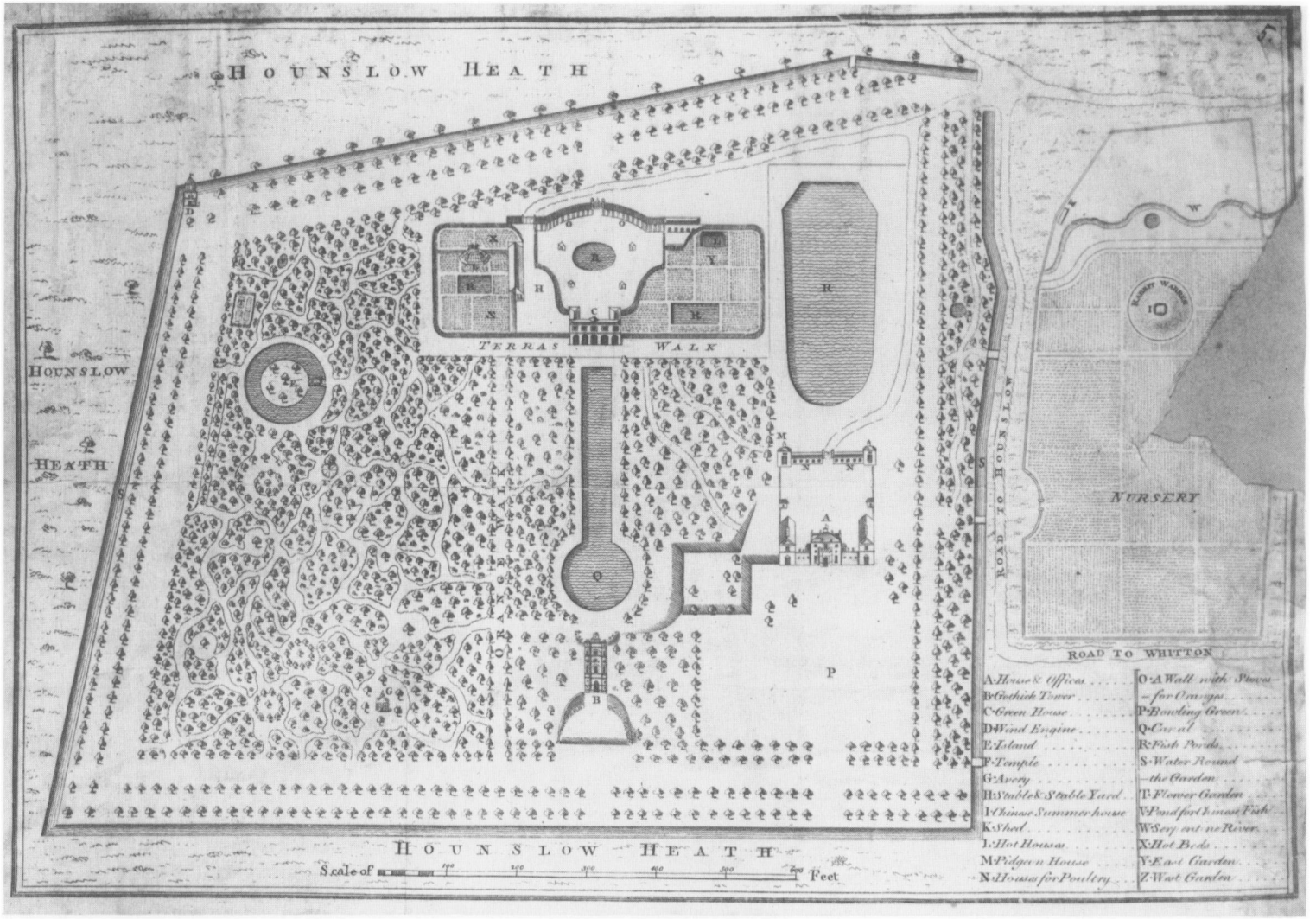

Figure 3. Sale Plan of 1765

Bodleian Library, Oxford

were firmly focused on planting. The garden was divided into two main sections, the ornamental and the nursery. The ornamental side on the west had as its principal feature a canal 370 ft long, leading from the Green House to a raised Gothic Tower, and there were woods, fishponds, and an aviary. The canal was flanked by rows of cedars of Lebanon (Figure 4). A straight avenue, the Orange Walk, lined by trees, ran parallel to the canal. This part of the garden clearly has as its focal point the Green House rather than the house itself, which was built later. To the north of the Green House was a walled garden which contained *inter alia* hotbeds, two glass hothouses and a long curving wall which was heated by stoves. This was for the growing of citrus fruits. Terry Friedman, in his recent book *James Gibbs* (Yale University Press, 1984, p. 163) considers that Gibbs was much involved in the gardens, his designs including the aviary, the octagon, and a sundial. Gibbs also drew up plans for Argyll at Adderbury, Oxon, but the garden works were not executed there.

The Gothic Tower, built probably by Morris although it may have been designed by Gibbs, is illustrated in Figure 4; a triangular castellated building with two storeys and an arch in the base. A staircase of 100 steps was in one angle tower. Henrietta Pye did not much care for the view from the top, but thought that 'The best View is from the Mount on which the Tower stands, which is cut into an Arch, that contracting the Prospect, forms a very striking Point of View from the farthest Part of the Garden'.[5]

The Revd James Bramston (1694–1744) satirized the western part of the gardens in a poem quoted in one of Walpole's letters:

> Old Islay, to show his fine delicate taste,
> In improving his gardens purloin'd from the waste,
> Bade his gard'ner one day to open his views,
> By cutting a couple of grand avenues;
> No particular prospect his lordship intended,
> But left it to chance how his walks should be ended.
>
> With transport and joy he beheld his first view end
> In a favourite prospect — a church that was ruin'd —
> But alas! what a sight did the next cut exhibit!
> At the end of the walk hung a rogue on a gibbet!
> He beheld it and wept, for it caus'd him to muse on
> Full many a Campbell that died with his shoes on.
> All amazed and aghast at the ominous scene,
> He order'd it quick to be clos'd up again
> With a clump of Scotch firs, that served for a Screen.[6]

The termination of a prospect, popularized by Kent and Langley, was later to be satirized also in Garrick's *The Clandestine Marriage*. The widespread fashion for ruins of ecclesiastical buildings — chapels, priories, abbeys, and so on — was rather later than the date of this poem (1742), although Southcote entered the field early at Woburn Farm. The screen of evergreens is referred to by Joseph Spence below.

Below the house was the bowling-green and, to the east, on the Whitton side, was the nursery, nine acres in extent. Within it stood an enclosed rabbit warren with a Chinese summer house in the centre. This was the famed nursery where Argyll raised his astonishing collection of trees and shrubs, including many exotics and several species new to this country. His chief gardeners were Daniel Craft, or Crofts, whose inventory

Figure 4. 'A View of the Canal and of the Gothick Tower in the Garden of His Grace the Duke of Argyl at Whitton' by William Woollett, 1757

British Library

Figure 5. 'A View of the House and part of the Garden of His Grace the Duke of Argyl at Whitton' by William Woollett, 1757

British Library

forms the basis of Part II, and James Lee, a Scottish gardener who came south about 1732 and founded the Vineyard nursery in Hammersmith in 1745.[7]

The remainder of the fifty-five acres was made up by some sixteen acres of pasture not shown in the 1765 plan. After succeeding to the dukedom in 1743, Argyll had to spend much of his time back in Scotland, but in old age seems to have returned to Whitton. He died on 15 April 1761 at the age of seventy-eight. His mistress Elizabeth Williams, to whom he left the estate, died the following year and it passed to her (and Argyll's) son, William, who adopted the name of Campbell. He retained part of the estate but leased the house and offices to Lord Shelburne, the owner of Bowood and Wycombe Abbey. After 1765 the estate went through the hands of various owners including the lawyer George Gostling who split it into two, the western part being called Whitton Place, consisting of the Green House as the mansion, with the canal and tower. The eastern half, also called Whitton Place for a while, passed to Sir William Chambers, who enlarged and improved the house and packed a large number of classical ornaments into the grounds: temples, statues, ruins, a bath, a mausoleum, sarcophagi, busts, and urns. The estate was reunited in 1847, but the park grew derelict after 1900, and building development from 1910 effectively destroyed it, and the water was filled in. A few cedars are all that now remain to remind us of this magnificent collection.

We know of the nursery from a number of sources. Horace Walpole, in his essay 'On Modern Gardening' from *Anecdotes of Painting in England* stated: 'The introduction of foreign trees and plants, which we owe principally to Archibald Duke of Argyle, contributed essentially to the richness of colouring so peculiar to our modern landscapes',[8] and went on to claim that exotics were unknown to Kent, who was therefore restricted in the effects he could achieve. In addition to his growing of trees in the nursery, Argyll was equally successful with stove plants — an annona (paw-paw) was famous, which Peter Collinson said flowered every year; and oranges, lemons, limes, and other citrus fruit were grown against the wall described above. They were merely covered by glass in the winter.[9]

A Finnish pupil of Linnaeus, Pehr Kalm by name, visited England on his way to America in 1748. On 4 May he wrote, 'In the morning I visited the Duke of Argyle, a man who was a very great lover of *Mathematique* and Natural Science but in particular of *Botanique* and the branch of that science which is called *Dendrologie*, which treats trees'.[10] On 29 May he saw the gardens and left this valuable description:

> This Duke's house lies on a great flat common. The soil was very meagre, nearly all around being bare ling-heath; but the Duke has been able to show what pleasure, art, and money are able to effect, and that by their means the most meagre places are converted into fruitful land. The Duke, who had himself the greatest insight into Botany, as well as Mathematics, and other branches of Natural Science, had also had a beautiful garden laid down here. The first beginning of it was made in the year 1723, when the Duke first bought this ground. Here, there was a collection of all the kinds of trees, which grow in different parts of the world, and can stand the climate of England out in the open air, summer and winter. The Duke had himself planted very many of these trees with his own hand. There was here a very large number of *Cedars of Lebanon*, which appeared to have the best opinion of a dry and meagre earth, and it seems that it might be suitable for planting on our great heaths and sandy tracts in Sweden and Finland.
>
> Of North American Pines, Firs, Cypresses, Thuyas, all these and many other kinds, there was an abundance, which throve very well. There were already small groves of them.

> Diligence and Art have not been spared here to make everything delightful. The Duke comes out here from London as often as he can find time from his duties. Here is also a beautiful *orangery* . . . [The Duke said] 'I have first decided to prepare this meagre soil, and make it available to plant all kinds of trees in, and after setting the trees in the order, and in the positions they ought to occupy so that they may grow, then, as I have the money, I can always build the most handsome Castle . . . he who intends to build a house, and lay out a garden round it, ought to make a beginning with planting trees to gain time'.[11]

This provides an interesting explanation of Argyll's giving priority to the plantations over building the house (the castle had to wait until Inveraray). Later in his account Kalm describes a further specimen grown at Whitton: 'The Duke of Argyle had some of these bushes (Myrica, sweet willow) planted in his garden, which not only throve there incomparably well, but had also borne such a quantity of fruit that he caused wax candles to be dipped from the wax which he caused to be boiled from the berries. (MYRICA FOLIIS LANCEOLATIS SUBSERRATIS, FRUCTU BACCATO.)'.[12]

Mrs Pye, who found the thirty-acre garden in the 1760s to be in 'no very extraordinary taste', mentioned several noteworthy specimens: 'In one Part of the Garden there is a fine Collection of Exotics, among which are the Coffee Tree, the Banana, the Chian Pepper, the Palm Tree, the Pistacchio Tree, the Torch Thistle, and many others equally valuable for their Scarcity and Beauty: among the rest the evergreen Oak, which flourishes in equal Verdure all the Year, and has a leaf exactly like the Myrtle, also a Cork Tree'.[13] To this list may be added a Lombardy poplar which Miles Hadfield thought could well have been the first in England.[14] This was grown *c.* 1758.

Joseph Spence paid a visit to Whitton in 1760, and noted the 'fence' of evergreens two or three deep protecting and distinguishing the estate from the common land. He observed a Siberian stone pine, a swamp pine, a Portugal laurel, orange, and lemon trees (against the wall), and American deciduous cypresses. Within an area of groves there were a red Virginia cedar, scarlet oak, American bird-cherry trees, larch, cedars of Lebanon, cypress, Swedish maple, scarlet-flowered maple (Sir Charles Wager's maple), an unusual nut-tree from Temeswaar, Weymouth pines, and acacias.[15] Spence described the gardener as coming from Kent, presumably referring to Crofts.[16]

The cedars were an early planting, raised from seed. Spence dated them from 1724 and Peter Collinson from the following year, although Loudon claimed that Collinson dated them from as early as 1722. It is clear from their number and growth that they formed the foundation of the nursery, together with the Weymouth pines, which Collinson described as the tallest he had come across and which Horace Walpole also praised. In a letter to George Montagu of 8 November 1755 Walpole described his own garden, containing a Weymouth pine 'which is that beautiful tree we have so much admired at the Duke of Argyle's for its clean straight stem, the lightness of its hairy green, and for being feathered quite to the ground'.[17]

J. C. Loudon, in *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1838), was writing many years after the event, when most of the rare trees had been transferred to Kew, but he noted that a good many specimens had been left behind. In some cases their size would have made them unsuitable for removal. Loudon saw remarkable specimens of cedar, Weymouth pine, silver fir, deciduous cypress, walnut, hickory, black hickory, American oak, Lombardy poplar, willow oak, larch, robinia, gleditsia, and various firs, pines,

and oaks.[18] In a general section of eighteenth-century introductions Loudon said that Argyll introduced *Larix microcarpa* and *Smilax rotundifolia* in 1760.[19]

Among deciduous trees, Loudon singled out a Lombardy poplar (*Populus fastigiata*) 115 ft in height, and a British oak 75 ft high, 15 ft in diameter. The poplar-leaved birch (*Betula populifolia*) was said to have been first cultivated in England by Argyll at Whitton, and the paper birch (*B. papyracea*) was introduced into Europe and cultivated by Argyll in the same year, 1750.[20]

Some fine conifers remained, too. Some *Pinus taeda* were 60 ft high, and there were many *P. strobus*, the tallest being 81 ft 6 in, with a diameter of 4 ft. There were some fine *P. cembra* and a silver fir (*Picea pectinata*) 97 ft in height. Of the cedars, one was 75 ft high, 5 ft in diameter, and another was over a hundred years old but scarcely ever produced catkins. A *Taxodium distichum* was 81 ft high, 5 ft in diameter.[21]

A number of trees were blown down in a hurricane in 1839, but Loudon noted that, uninjured and coming into bloom, were *Carya olivaeformis* and *C. porcina*. In this later work he mentions *Quercus esaulis* in addition to the above species.[22]

Further plantings are mentioned in an account by John Hope in 1766 and by William Aiton in *Hortus Kewensis* (1789), and these are referred to in Part II. In addition, Philip Miller was very struck by Argyll's cultivation of Cistus Virginiana, flore et odore periclymeni, the Upright Virginia Honeysuckle, saying that the finest plants he had seen of this kind were at Whitton.[23] In commenting on the difficulty of growing the Chamaerhododendron, *C. americanum sempervirens* (sweet mountain-rose), he pointed out that some had succeeded at Whitton (see under Chamaerhododendron in Appendix III). Peter Collinson had 'Mespilus verginiana grossulariae folia spinis longissimis. Lord Islay's Haw',[24] and in 1751 he raised a paper mulberry from seed sent from China: he passed some to Lord Lincoln at Oatlands, to the Chelsea Physic Garden and to Argyll, among others.[25] Loudon in the 1883 edition of *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, p. 666, described the Duke of Argyll's tea-tree, which has caused some botanical confusion.[26]

A. B. Lambert, in *A Description of the Genus Pinus*, I (1803), p. ii, noted that several pines remained at Whitton, including the first *P. cembra* ever planted in England, in a state of perfect maturity. There were also two fine specimens of *P. pendula* and *P. microcarpa*; and (p. 47) the tallest and best *P. picea* (silver fir) Lambert had seen was at Whitton. He also praised the vigorous cedars.

The question naturally arises, from where did Argyll get his trees? He was in the field long before Bartram started supplying seeds from Pennsylvania in the early 1730s and before the trade between Bartram and Collinson became a business a few years later.[27] There were possible early sources such as Mark Catesby (collecting for patrons in Britain between 1712 and 1726) and the Houston collections from Georgia, and Argyll certainly had many North American species before 1748, when Pehr Kalm visited him. It was not until that year that Argyll joined Philip Miller, the Dukes of Norfolk, Richmond, and Bedford and Lord Bute in the Bartram-Collinson trade of exotics from North America, and it would therefore have been several years later still that the trees would have attained appreciable size and appearance. Argyll also brought seeds or plants home with him from his travels (e.g. from Spain — see Part II) and had some means of obtaining material from Hungary.

The nursery at Whitton represented without question one of the largest and best collections of trees and shrubs in the country at the time. The lists in Part II not only show the contents of the nursery but can serve a practical purpose as a basis for period replanting. They are to be compared with the lists of plantings at Oatlands and at Painshill in this respect. The nursery is also important for its relationship to other collections. Since Argyll used the agency of Peter Collinson, certainly during his later years at Whitton, this bears directly on the plantings of others who dealt with Collinson, most notably the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood, Lord Petre at Thorndon Hall, and Charles Hamilton at Painshill and also at Holland Park. One can therefore see the ornamental plantings on these estates as part of a movement giving new life, shape, and colour to the previously mainly native appearance of trees in landscape gardens.

Argyll also supplied other plantsmen and designers, especially in Scotland. John Adam admitted he had gained more from Argyll than from anyone else both by his experience and advice and by the opportunity Argyll had given his father, William Adam, of choosing the pick of the nursery, so that the oldest larches, spruces, and silver first at Blair Adam were those sent by Argyll.[28]

The tree-monger (as Walpole called him) of Whitton can lay claim to advances in arboriculture which paralleled, and, in some sense, complemented and reflected advances in eighteenth-century landscape design.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For permission to reproduce illustrations, I am grateful to the following: Figure 1 in the collection of the Faculty of Advocates; Figure 2 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Gibbs, III, 90b; Figure 3 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gough Maps 18 fol. 15 Gen. Top. 62.14.a; Figures 4 and 5 Trustees of the British Museum. Mrs Margot Butt has kindly provided information about the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture. Dr John Harvey has been unfailingly helpful, as always.

REFERENCES

1. A. Pope, *Minor Poems*, VI (Methuen/Yale edn, 1954), p. 43. The following couplet is taken from the poem 'The Alley. An Imitation of Spenser' (1727):

And *Twick'nam* such, which fairer Scenes enrich,
Grots, Statues, Urns, and *Jo–n's Dog* and *Bitch*:

2. T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People* (Collins, London, 1969), pp. 296–97.

3. Louisa Stuart, youngest daughter of the 3rd Earl of Bute, claimed that Argyll specifically acquired the most barren land in order to see what trees and shrubs he could grow there. See *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, I (1889, reprinted 1970), p. xxiv. Bute was Argyll's nephew and played a large part in laying out Kew under Princess Augusta.

4. On Marble Hill, see Ashley Barker, 'Marble Hill House', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, n.s., 25 (1981), pp. 113–22.

5. (J. H. Pye), *A Short Account of the Principal Seats and Gardens In and About Richmond and Kew* (Brentford, n.d.), p. 15.

6. Horace Walpole to H. Mann, 3 June 1742. Yale edn of Walpole's correspondence, 17 (1955), pp. 441–42.

7. For Lee's association with Argyll, see E. J. Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith* (Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961), pp. 3–5.

8. H. Walpole, 'On Modern Gardening', *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, IV (London, 1827), pp. 266–67. Walpole described Argyll in similar terms as one of the 'first great encouragers of planting in England; most of the curious exotics which have been familiarized to this climate being introduced by him'. See Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second*, ed. Lord Holland, I (London, 1847), p. 278.

9. M. Hadfield, R. Harling, L. Highton, *British Gardeners* (Zwemmer, London, 1980), p. 17.
10. *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his way to America in 1748*, trans. J. Lucas (Macmillan & Co., London 1892), pp. 31–32. Argyll had a considerable library of books on architecture and horticulture.
11. Ibid., pp. 57–59.
12. Ibid., p. 113. The Latin name Kalm used was that published by Linnaeus himself in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (1738), p. 455 and in *Hortus Upsaliensis* (1748), p. 295, i.e. before his new binomials of 1753.
13. Pye, op. cit., p. 15.
14. Hadfield *et al.*, op. cit., p. 17.
15. See R. W. King, 'Joseph Spence of Byfleet—Part IV', *Garden History*, 8, no. 3 (1980), pp. 104 and 107.
16. Hardly anything is known of Crofts, but *c.* 1791 there were still in Whitton two gardeners called Daniel and Leonard Crofts (*Universal British Directory*).
17. *Correspondence of H. Walpole*, Yale edn, 9 (1941), p. 177.
18. J. C. Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, I (1838), p. 10.
19. Ibid., I, p. 82.
20. Ibid., II, pp. 1670, 1708, 1709, 1837.
21. Ibid., IV, pp. 2239, 2278, 2337, 2404, 2426, 2487.
22. *Gardener's Magazine*, V (1839), p. 424.
23. P. Miller, *Gardener's Dictionary*, II (1739), p. 331. (Azelia in Crofts' list.)
24. N. G. Brett-James, *The Life of Peter Collinson* (London, 1926), p. 248. Presumably *Crataegus tomentosa*, the gooseberry-leaved haw.
25. Ibid., p. 245.
26. The correct name for the tea-tree, which was not introduced by Argyll at all but arrived *c.* 1696, is *Lycium barbarum* L., which embraces *L. halimifolium* Mill., *L. chinense* Mill. (which is what Loudon called it) and *L. europaeum*. The traditional story concerning the tea-tree is told in Alice M. Coats, *Garden Shrubs and their Histories* (1963), pp. 207–08.
27. For Bartam and Collinson, see Hilda Grieve, *A Transatlantic Friendship, 1694–1777* (Historical Association, Essex Branch, 1981), and Alice M. Coats, *The Quest for Plants* (1969), pp. 267–79.
28. A. A. Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland* (Edinburgh University Press, 1980), p. 99.

PART II

THE CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF TREES AND SHRUBS FORMED BY LORD ISLAY (LATER DUKE OF ARGYLL) AT WHITTON, MIDDLESEX

John Harvey

This catalogue, made by Daniel Croft or Crofts, gardener, was printed with the sale particulars in 1765. Typographical errors, mis-spelling and mistakes in alphabetical order have been corrected.

The very large plantings of trees and shrubs at Whitton by the 3rd Duke of Argyll were among the principal collections of the mid-eighteenth century. After Argyll's death in 1761 his nephew the 3rd Earl of Bute transferred 'a large number of rare trees and shrubs' to Kew Gardens, where they formed an important nucleus near the Temple of the Sun in the Old Botanic Garden (W. J. Bean, *The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* (1908), pp. 16–17, 191–96). Several of the long-lived trees survived into this century: a cedar of Lebanon, a Turkey oak, a persimmon, and a false acacia; perhaps also the ancient ginkgo (*Ginkgo biloba* L.), though some consider it a still earlier planting. Dr John Hope, on his visit to Kew in 1766, recorded (*Garden History*, 9, no. 1, pp. 50, 52) two other plants, a hardy bonduc (*Gymnocladus dioicus* K. Koch = *Guilandina dioica*) 'a slender tree 12 feet high from Whitton and there from frame'; and a Kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera* L.) 'from Spain brought home by the D. of Argyle'. Hope also visited what was left of Whitton, four years after the removals to Kew and a year after the list made by Crofts. He mentioned about a dozen species not in the list, presumably specimens too old for

removal (see Appendix I). From other sources it is known that there was also an important collection of citrus fruits at Whitton, grown against a wall with some glass protection.

Apart from the list of 1765 and Hope's visits the next year, there is an independent source including seventeen species which should have been at Whitton: those plants stated by William Aiton (*Hortus Kewensis* (1789) to have been introduced to Great Britain by Argyll. Of these only five are in the 1765 list, but one more was noted at Whitton by Hope, and another at Kew. It is possible that the remaining ten had all been moved to Kew in 1762, or that they had died before Argyll himself; or that they had been given away by Argyll or removed to some other place that suited them better (see Appendix II.)

A few other plants are mentioned in accounts by visitors to Whitton during Argyll's time and long afterwards; for these see Appendix III.

The list made by Daniel Crofts, even though it lacks some of Argyll's rarest plants, comprises a very large number of items, approximately three hundred and forty varieties in all against about two hundred and thirty in each of the trade catalogues of Christopher Gray (1755), John Webb (1760), and James Gordon (*c.* 1770). It was not until the issue in 1771 of the first of William Malcolm's catalogues, listing some four hundred and ninety sorts, that the Whitton total was markedly surpassed.

Identification of those species and forms described in the trade catalogues is reasonably certain, since these form an unbroken succession from 1677 down to modern times. It is precisely over the unusual species or forms collected by Argyll that difficulty arises, since Crofts gave them names which do not seem to be paralleled elsewhere and which do not appear in the standard works such as Philip Miller's *Gardeners Dictionary* in its many editions. This awkward category amounts to some ten per cent of the total listed, but many may have been mere forms not now recognized.

Four items have been omitted from Crofts' list as it stands: Holly, blotched with yellow; and blotched with white, cultivars which are not now precisely identifiable; and 'Mulberry, Montpelier' and 'Viburnum, Scotch'. These two entries seem to be confused duplications of the correct 'Maple, Montpelier' and 'Laburnum, Scotch'.

It is evident from other items that Crofts was liable to error: e.g. in his statement that the Bead-tree, Azederah, was 'from Virginia'; and his 'Lord Hays' for 'Lord Islay's' hawthorn. It is probable that he was mistaken also in describing the five-leaved Bladder-nut as from Virginia, though it is just conceivable that what he meant was the rare three-leaved variety of *Staphylea pinnata*. In any case, that is not American (see P. J. Jarvis in *Garden History*, VII, no. I (1979), p. 70).

The list has been divided, placing conifers separately in part 2; Crofts' English name is followed by the modern binomial (normally that used in the Royal Horticultural Society's *Dictionary of Gardening* (1956/65) and by the generally accepted date of introduction to Britain. Where this date is later than 1761 it has been placed in inverted commas thus: '1798'. It should be noted that certain other dates have been brought forward from those given by Aiton, as a result of extensive study of dated trade catalogues; all such dates are in brackets thus: (1783).

A second line, whenever applicable, shows the occurrence of each species in surviving catalogues. For the commoner plants only the date of the earliest is given, with

the range of recorded prices, mainly from provincial catalogues but supplemented from bills. Where more than one price is shown, thus: (6*d*/4*d*), the second is the lower rate current in Scotland and the North of England, where the maintained retail prices were undercut. Where two prices are quoted thus: (6*d*, st 1*s*), the first is for a dwarf or bush tree, the second for a standard. Heights in feet are sometimes given for forest trees largely propagated. For less usual plants a full series of dated prices is given down to 1787 to demonstrate the relative popularity of the species and, generally, its increased propagation by the nursery trade. A key to the abbreviations used for the various nurseries, and for surviving bills, follows the list.

I. FOREST AND ORNAMENTAL TREES AND SHRUBS

Acacia, Virginia three thorned — *Gleditsia triacanthos* L. — *c.* 1690
F 1727–; prices 1*s* and 2*s*/1*s*, 1754–87

—— Virginia with yellow (*sic.*; ? rose) flowers, Robinia — *Robinia hispida* L. — 1743
Bu 1764 (3*s*), P 1768 (5*s*), KL 1769 (1*s* 6*d*), Go 1770 (66*o*), M 1771; 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*/1*s* 6*d*)

—— three thorned called the Water or Swamp — *Gleditsia aquatica* Marsh. — 1723
F 1727–; Go 1752 (5*s*); Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*)

—— three thorned that are long and slender — ? *Gleditsia* sp.

—— with very strong thorns — ? *Gleditsia caspica* Desf.

—— Virginia small and white thorns — ? *Robinia pseudoacacia* L. var.
Dr 1762 (1*s*); 'R. pygmaea, Four-leaved Robinia', M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— common Virginia that is called Robinia — *Robinia pseudoacacia* L. — ? 1634
R 1688–; prices 1753–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— Siberian called Caragana with thorns — *Caragana arborescens* Lam. — ? 1748
G 1755, Go 1770 (66*1*), M 1771, A 1775 (6*d*), T 1775 (1*s* 6*d*), Br 1782 (1*s* 6*d*), Ld 1783, Br 1787 (1*s* 6*d*)

—— Siberian Caragana without thorns — *Caragans frutex* K. Koch — ? 1748
(? F 1727 'Dwarf flowering, no Thorns'); M 1778

Alaternus, broad leaved — *Rhamnus alaternus* L. — (1629)
L 1677–; prices 1764–87 (6*d*)

—— blotched yellow — *R. alaternus* L. 'Maculata'
L 1677–; prices Wh 1764 (6*d*), T 1775 (2*s* 6*d*), Br 1782 (6*d*), D 1783 (9*d*), Br 1787 (6*d*)

—— blotched with white — *R. alaternus* 'Argenteovariegata'
L 1677–; prices (2*s* 6*d*/1*s*)

—— with jagged leaves from Pennsylvania — ? *R. alnifolia* L'Hérit. — '1778'
? F 1727 'the Broad-leav'd, saw'd Edges'; G 1755 'the narrow jagged-leaved'; prices Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*), 1775–87 1*s* 6d–6*d*.

Alder, round leaved Dutch — *Alnus glutinosa* Gaertn.
F 1727–

—— with long leaves — *Alnus oblongata* Willd. — '1730'
F 1727–

—— Turkey — *Alnus orientalis* Dcne — '1924'

—— berry bearing, Frangula — *Rhamnus frangula* L.
F 1727–; price 1753–87 (3*d*)

Almond, bitter — *Prunus dulcis* (Miller) D. A. Webb var. *amara*
Wh 1764 (1*s*)–

—— sweet soft shelled — *Prunus dulcis* (Miller) D. A. Webb
L 1677–; prices 1764–87 (1*s*, st 1*s* 6*d*)

—— dwarf with single flowers — *Prunus tenella* Batsch — (1683)
R 1688–; prices 1754–87 (6*d*/4*d*; or 1*s*)

——dwarf with double flowers — *Prunus glandulosa* Thunb. 'Sinensis' — 1673
F 1727–; Go 1752 (2*s* 6*d*), 1762–87 (1*s* 6*d*/1*s*)

Ash-tree, common — *Fraxinus excelsior* L.
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (4*s* 100, 2 ft), T 1775 (7*s* 6*d* 100, 3 ft)

—— manna — *Fraxinus ornus* L. — (1700)
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (6*d*), Wh 1764–Br 1787 (1*s*)

——American sweet flowering — *Fraxinus* sp.
J 1754 (6*d*), G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Go 1770 (*318*), M 1771, T 1775 (6*d*), M 1778, Ld 1783 'Fraxinus paniculata, American flowering', Br 1787 (6*d*)

(Note: Loddiges' catalogues and other sources continue to list '*F. paniculata*' and regard it as American; but modern authorities treat it as a synonym of the Old World *F. ornus*)

—— Pennsylvania broad leaved — *Fraxinus pensylvanica* Marsh. — '1783'

—— from Turkey with small leaves — *F. parvifolia* Lam. — 1710

—— from Carolina with broad leaves — *F. caroliniana* Miller — (1775)
F 1727–; price 1764–87 (1*s*)

—— Virginia white — *Fraxinus americana* L. — 1724
W 1760–

—— Virginia black — *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh. — '1800'
G 1755, W 1760, Go 1770 (*319*), Ld 1783

Azelia (Azalea), a shrub honeysuckle from Virginia — *Rhododendron viscosum* Torr. — (1691), 1734
G 1739–; Wh 1764 (5*s*), T 1775 (7*s* 6*d*), Br 1782 (7*s* 6*d*), D 1783 (5*s*), Br 1787 (7*s* 6*d*)

Barberry-tree, the male — *Berberis vulgaris* L.
F 1727–; Wh 1764 (1*s*), A 1775 (6*d*), T 1775 (3*d*), Br 1782 (3*d*), D 1783 (2*d*), Br 1787 (3*d*)

—— the female — ? *B. vulgaris* var. *alba, asperma*
F 1727–; Wd 1729 (1*s*), 1764–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

Bay-tree, with maple flowers — ? *Persea borbonia* Spreng. — 1739

—— fruit-bearing — *Laurus nobilis* L. — ?*c.* 1300
L 1677–; J 1754 (8*d*), Wh 1764 (6*d*–1*s*), A 1775 (1*s*, 2*s*), T 1775 (6*d*), Br. 1782, 1787 (6*d*)

—— with long leaves — *Laurus nobilis* L. *angustifolia*
F 1727, Go 1770 (*450*), M 1778

Bead-tree, from Virginia (*sic.*), Azederah — *Melia azedarach* L. — C 16
J 1754 (2*s*), G 1755, Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*–5*s*), Go 1770 (GH *53*), M 1771 (GH), A 1775 (1*s*), T 1775 (2*s* 6*d*), M 1778 (GH), Br 1782 (2*s* 6*d*), Ld 1783, B 1787 (2*s* 6*d*)

Bean-tree, Carolina kidney — *Wisteria frutescens* Poir. — 1724
G 1739, J 1754 (2*s*), G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (2*s*), Go 1770 (*337*), M 1771, A 1775 (1*s*), T 1775 (2*s*), M 1778, Ld 1783

Beech-tree, the male; the female — *Fagus sylvatica* L.
F 1727–; price 1754–87 (15*s* 100, 3 ft)
(Note: no other reference to 'male' and 'female' forms of beech has been discovered)

Benjamin-tree from Virginia — *Lindera benzoin* (L.) Blume — 1683
F 1727–; J 1754 (1*s*), 1764–87 (3*s*/1*s* 6*d*)

Birch-tree, the white — *Betula pendula* Roth.
F 1727–; Cl 1754 (1*s*), T 1775 (3*d*, 3–4 ft), 1782–87 (5*s* 100, 1 ft)

—— from Nova Scotia — *Betula populifolia* Marsh. — 1750
? M 1771 'B. lenta, Heart-shaped leaved', M. 1778, 'B. lenta, Poplar-leaved', Ld 1783 'Poplar-leaved'

—— Canada broad-leaved — *Betula nigra* L. — 1736
W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Go 1770 (*160*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— American paper — *Betula papyrifera* Marsh. — 1750
Go 1770 (*163*), Ld 1783

Bladder-nut, three leaved from Pennsylvania — *Staphylea trifolia* L. — (1640)
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (6*d*), Dr 1762 (1*s*), A 1775 (3*d*), T 1775 (6*d*), Br 1782 (1*s*), D 1783 (9*d*), Br 1787 (1*s*)

—— Virginia (*sic.*) five-leaved — *Staphylea pinnata* L. — (1596)
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (3*d*), Wh 1764 (4*d*), T 1775 (3*d*), D 1783 (2*d*), Br 1787 (3*d*)

Bladder-Senna or Colutea — *Colutea arborescens* L. — C 16
L 1677–; price 1731–87 (3*d*)

—— eastern with blood-coloured flowers — *Colutea orientalis* Miller — 1710
Wn 1753–; price 1753–87 (1*s*)

—— Doctor Pocock's with yellow flowers — *Colutea istria* Miller — 1752
G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (6*d*), Go 1770 (*231*), M 1771, T 1775 (1*s*), M 1778, Ld 1783

—— Ethiopian — *Sutherlandia frutescens* R. Br. — 1683
G 1755, Wh 1764 (1*s*), T 1775, Br 1782, Br 1787 (all 1*s*)

Broom, Spanish — *Spartium junceum* L. — *c.* 1548
L 1677–; price 1731–87 (3*d*)

—— Portugal, yellow — *Echinospartum lusitanicum* (L.) Rothm.
G 1755, Go 1765 (2*s*), Go 1770 (*326*, *778*)

—— Portugal, white — *Genista* (*Lygos*) *monosperma* Lam. — 1690
F 1727–; price 1764–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

—— Lucca — *Genista tinctoria* L. var. *elatior*
G 1755–; Wh 1764 (1*s*), Bu 1764 (6*d*), A 1775 (4*d*), T 1775 (1*s*), Br 1782 (1*s*), D 1783 (3*d*), Br 1787 (1*s*)

—— butchers — *Ruscus aculeatus* L.
Wh 1753 (3*d*), G 1755, W 1760, M 1771, A 1775 (3*d*), T 1775 (3*d*), M 1778, D 1783 (2*d*), Ld 1783, Br 1787 (3*d*)

Buckthorn, sea; with yellow berries (i.e. male and female plants) — *Hippophae rhamnoides* L.
F 1727–; Wn 1753 (1*s*), 1754–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

—— purging — *Rhamnus cathartica* L.
F 1727–; price 1764–87 (3*d*)

—— American — ? *Rhamnus alnifolia* L'Hérit. — '1778'

Button-wood, Cephalanthus — *Cephalanthus occidentalis* L. — 1735
G 1755–; price 1762–87 (1*s*/9*d*)

—— three leaved — *C. occidentalis* var. *angustifolius*

Cassioberry-bush — *Viburnum laevigatum* Aiton — 1724
J 1754–; price 1754–87 (1*s*)

Cherry, common bird — *Prunus padus* L.
F 1727–; Wn 1753 (6*d*), J 1754 (4*d*), Wh 1764 (6*d*), J 1770 (4*d*), 1775–87 (3*d*/2*d*)

—— Cornish bird — *Prunus virginiana* L. — 1724
F 1727–; J 1754 (6*d*); 1762–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— American bird — *Prunus serotina* Ehrh. — 1629
F 1727–; prices 1764–84 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— double blossomed — *Prunus cerasus* L. 'Rhexii' — C 16
R 1688–; prices 6*d*, 1*s*; 9*d*, 1*s*; A 1775 (8*d*), T 1775 (9*d*, st 1*s*); 1782–87 (1*s*, st 1*s* 6*d*/8*d*, st 1*s*)

—— perfumed (St Lucie Cherry) — *Prunus mahaleb* L. — 1714
F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (1*s*/9*d*)

—— Belgrade — ? *Prunus* sp.

Chest-tree (Chaste-tree) — *Vitex agnus-castus* L. — (1570)
L 1677–; prices 1754–82 (1*s*/6*d*), 1787 (1*s* 6*d*)

Chestnut-tree, New England — *Castanea dentata* Borkh. — (1783)
Ld 1783

—— Spanish — *Castanea sativa* Miller
L 1677–; prices J 1754 (8*s* 6*d* 100, 1½ ft); 1785–87 (6*s* 100, 1 ft)

—— horse — *Aesculus hippocastanum* L. — *c.* 1616
L 1677–; prices J 1754 (7*s* 100, 1 ft); 1775–87 (5*s* 100, 1 ft)

—— Virginia Chinquepin — *Castanea pumila* Miller — (1699)
F 1727–; A 1775 (1*s*)

Christ-thorn, or Paliurus — *Paliurus spina-christi* Miller — (1597)
L 1677–; prices J 1754 (5*s*); A 1775 (6*d*); 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*)

Cistus, gum, with white flowers — *Cistus ladanifer* L. var. *albiflorus*

—— gum, with purple spots — *Cistus ladanifer* L. — (1629)
L 1677–; prices 1754–83 (1*s*/6*d*), Br 1787 (9*d*)

Cleathra (*sic.*), the Virginia, two sorts — *Clethra alnifolia* L. — (1731)
G 1739–; prices Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*); KL 1769 (1*s* 6*d*); A 1775 (1*s* 6*d*);
T 1775 (2*s*); Br 1782 (2*s* 6*d*); D 1783 (1*s*); Br 1787 (2*s* 6*d*)

—— (second sort) — ? *C. alnifolia* 'Paniculata' — '1770'
Ld 1783

? *Clethra tomentosa* Lam. — 1731
T 1775 (2*s* 6*d*)

Climber, Canada five leaved — *Parthenocissus quinquefolia* Planch. — (1629)
R 1688–; price 1754–87 (3*d*)

—— Virginia virgin's bower with red flowers — *Clematis viorna* L. — (1719)
M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— Virginia virgin's bower with purple flowers — *Clematis crispa* L. — 1726
Cree 1768 (2*s* 6*d*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— virgin's bower with double purple flowers — *Clematis viticella* L. var. *flore pleno* — (1569)
R 1688–; prices J 1754 (2*s*); Wh 1764 (2*s*); M 1769 (2*s* 6*d*);
A 1775 (1*s* 6*d*); D 1783 (1*s* 3*ds*); Br 1787 (2*s*)

—— with white flowers from Siberia — *Clematis alpina* Miller var. *Sibirica* — 1753
M 1771, M 1778

—— the evergreen — *Clematis cirrhosa* L. — (1596)
G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Go 1770 (*224*), M 1778, Ld 1783

—— from Virginia with white flowers — *Clematis virginiana* L. — '1767'
Go 1770 (? *223*, *227*, 'Broad leaved Canada; Virginian'),
M 1771, T 1775 (6*d*), M 1778, Ld 1783, Br 1787 (1*s*)

—— the Virginia Euonymus — *Celastrus scandens* L. — 1736
G 1755 'The climbing Staff-tree or Bastard Spindle-tree',
W 1760 'Celastrus, Bastard Euonymus', Wh 1764 'Celastrus or Climbing Staff Tree' (1*s*),
Go 1770 (*198*), M 1771, A 1775 'Euonymus Scandens' (4*d*), M 1778, Ld 1783

—— the Virginia fox-grape — *Vitis labrusca* L. — ? 1642
G 1755, M 1771, A 1775 (3*d*), M 1778, Ld 1783

Crab, Virginia sweet flowering — *Malus coronaria* (L) Miller — (1717)
F 1724–; prices 1754–75 (1*s*/6*d*); D 1783 (9*d*); Br 1787 (1*s*–2*s* 6*d*)

Dog-wood, Virginia broad leaved — *Cornus florida* L. — *c.* 1725
F 1727–; Wh 1764 (6*d*)

—— called Cornelian Cherry — *Cornus mas* L. — ? *c.* 1350
R 1688–; prices Wd 1731 (3*d*); 1754–82 (6*d*/4*d*); D 1783 (2*d*); Br 1787 (6*d*)

—— Virginia with narrow leaves — *C. racemosa* Lam. — '1758'
G 1739, G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (6*d*), Go 1770 (*248*), Ld 1783

—— Virginia female — *Cornus stricta* L'Hérit. — '1758'
G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (6*d*), M 1778, Br 1787 (6*d*)

Elder, white berried — *Sambucus nigra* L. var. *fructu luteo*
F 1727–; price 1764–87 (3*d*)

—— Virginia scarlet mountain — *Sambucus canadensis* L. — 1761
Wh 1764 (3*d*), Go 1770 (*725*), M 1771, M 1778, Br 1782 (6*d*),
Ld 1783, Br 1787 (6*d*)

—— parsley leaved — *S. nigra* L. var. *laciniata*
F 1727–; price 1764–87 (3*d*)

—— marsh — *Viburnum opulus* L.
F 1727–; price 1775–87 (3*d*)

Elm, common rough leaved — *Ulmus procera* Salisb.
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (25*s* 100, 4–5 ft), T 1775 (15*s* 100, 2½ ft)

—— smooth leaved wych — *Ulmus glabra* Hudson
F 1727–; price 1754–75 (5*s* 100, 2 ft)

—— Dutch — *Ulmus* × *hollandica* Miller var. *major*
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (16*s* 100, 4 ft), T 1775 (6*d*)

—— wych, with striped leaves — *U. glabra* L. var. *variegata*
Ld 1783

—— smooth barked, Irish — ? *U. glabra* Hudson var. *nigra*

—— Cornish — *U. angustifolia* West. var. *cornubiensus*
T 1775 (1*s*), M 1778, Ld 1783

—— Scotch — *Ulmus glabra* Hudson form

Fig — *Ficus carica* L. — ?*c.* 1150
cultivars: brown Naples
Scandroon
Hanover
called Oliver Cromwell's
early white
Malta

Gale, bog myrtle, sweet Dutch — *Myrica gale* L.
F 1727–; prices 1764–87 (6*d*/3*d*)

—— candleberry myrtle — *M. pensylvanica* Lois. — 1727
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*), Wh 1764 (1*s*)

—— candleberry evergreen — *Myrica cerifera* L. — (1699)
F 1727–; prices J 1754 (3*s* 6*d*); Wh 1764 (4*s*); A 1775 (1*s* 6*d*);
T 1775 (1*s*); 1782–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

Gelder-rose of Virginia — *Physocarpus opulifolius* Maxim. — 1687
G 1739–; prices 1754–87 (3*d*/2*d*)

Gilder-rose, or Gelderland rose — *Viburnum opulus* L. 'Sterile'
R 1688–; Wy 1700 (4*d*); 1731–87 (3*d*)

Groundsel-tree — *Baccharis halimifolia* L. — 1683
F 1727–; prices 1753/64 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*)

Hart-wort, Ethiopian — *Bupleurum fruticosum* L. — (1596)
F 1727–; price T 1775 (1*s*)

Hawthorn, with double flowers — *Crataegus oxyacantha* L. 'Plena'
F 1727–; J 1754 (8*d*); Wh 1760, 1764 (1*s*); Bu 1764 (1*s d*); 1775–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— Neapolitan azarole — *Crataegus azarolus* L. — 1629
F 1727–; Bu 1764 (1*s* 6*d*); Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— Pyracanthus — *Pyracantha coccinea* Roem. — 1629
L 1677–; prices 1764–87 (6*d*/3*d*)

—— Glastonbury — *Crataegus monogyna* Jacq. 'Biflora'
F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (6*d*, st 1*s* 6*d*, 1*s*)

—— cockspur — *Crataegus crus-galli* L. — 1691
F 1727—; price 1754–87 (6*d*, st 1*s* 6*d*, 1*s*)

—— Virginia shining leaved — *Crataegus phaenopyrum* (L. f.) Med. — 1738
G 1739, G 1755, Wh 1764 (1*s*)

—— from Virginia with very long thorns — ?*C. macracantha* Loudon — '1750'; '1819'
G 1739, G 1755, W 1760

—— called Indian Apple, the fruit large — ?*Crataegus pedicellata* Sarg. — 1683
G 1755 'The Virginia Lazarole with large red Fruit', ? Go 1770 (*494*) 'Virginia l'Azarole'

—— from America called Lord Hays (*sic.*; Ilays), yellow fruit — *Crataegus uniflora* Moench — (1704)
J 1754 (9*d*); prices 1764 (1*s* 6*d*); 1775–87 (6*d*)

Haw, without thorns — *C. crus-galli* L. var. *pyracanthifolia*
J 1754 (1*s*), G 1755, W 1760, Dr 1762 (st 1*s* 6*d*), Go 1770 (*493*), T 1775 (6*d*)

—— black or Virginia sweet meat — *Viburnum prunifolium* L. — (1717)
F 1727–; price 1775–87 (6*d*)

——Virginia with quince leaves — ? *Crataegus tomentosa* L. — '1765'
? M 1771, ? M 1778, Ld 1783

Hazel-nut, New England — ? *Corylus americana* Walter — '1798'

Hazel, Hungarian — *Corylus colurna* L. — *c.* 1550
M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— from Carolina — *Corylus rostrata* Aiton — 1745
F 1727, G 1755, Wh 1764 (1*s*), M 1778, Ld 1783

—— Collinsonian — ? *C. colurna* L. var. *arborescens*

—— wych, Hamamelus — *Hamamelis virginiana* L. — 1736
G 1755, W 1760, Go 1770 (*341*), M 1771, M 1778, D 1783 (1*s*), Ld 1783

Holly, green with smooth leaves — *Ilex aquifolium* L. cv
L 1677–; price 1775–87 (5*s* 100, 1 ft)

—— hedgehog variegated — *I. aquifolium* L. 'Ferox Argentea'

—— hedgehog green — *I. aquifolium* L. 'Ferox'
J 1754 (8*d*, 1–1½ ft), T 1775 (6*d*, 1 ft), M 1778, Ld 1783

—— dahoon with broad leaves — *Ilex cassine* L. — 1726
G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (5*s*), J 1770 (2*s* 6*d*), M 1771,
A 1775 (2*s* 6*d*), T 1775 (1*s*), M 1778

—— narrow leaved — *I. cassine* L. var. *angustifolia*
F 1727, Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*), Cree 1768 (2*s*), M 1771, M 1778
with several other sorts

Honeysuckle, long blowing — *Lonicera periclymenum* L. 'Serotina'
R 1689 (3*d*), F 1727–; prices Wd 1731 (3*d*), J 1754 (2*d*),
Wh 1764 (3*d*), 1775–87 (2*d*)

—— with oak leaves variegated, green — *L. periclymenum* L. var. *quercina*
L 1677, G 1755 (both sorts), Go 1770 (*556*, *557*); prices 1764–87 (2*d*–6d)

—— Dutch — *L. periclymenum* L. 'Belgica'
R 1689 (3*d*); prices 1731–70 (3*d*); 1775–87 (2*d*)

—— Virginia trumpet — *Lonicera sempervirens* L. — (1656)
F 1727–; prices 1754–82 (1*s*/9*d*); 1783–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— upright red berried — *Lonicera alpigena* L. — C 16
F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

—— the fly — *Lonicera xylosteum* L.
F 1727–; prices 1754–82 (3*d*); 1783–87 (3*d*/2*d*)

—— upright, from the Alps — ? *Lonicera caerulea* L. — ? C 16
F 1727 'the blue berried upright'; prices 1764–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

Hornbeam, Virginia Hop — *Ostrya virginiana* (Miller) K. Koch — 1692
F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

——Virginia flowering — ? *Carpinus caroliniana* Walter — '1812'
F 1727, G 1739, G 1755, W 1760, & A 1775 (6*d*)

—— Virginia swamp — ? *Carpinus caroliniana* Walter var.

—— eastern or azad — *Carpinus orientalis* Miller — 1735
G 1755, M 1778, Ld 1783

Indigo, wild — *Amorpha fruticosa* L. — 1724
G 1739–; Go 1752 (10*d*); prices 1764–87 (1*s*/9*d*)

Itea, Virginian, a shrub — *Itea virginica* L. — 1744
G 1755–; prices 1764–87 (2*s* 6*d*/1*s*)

Jasmine, Spanish yellow — *Jasminum humile* L. — 1634
L 1677–; prices Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

—— with white flowers — *Jasminum officinale* L. — (1548)
L 1677–; price 1684–1787 (3*d*)

—— common yellow — *Jasminum fruticans* L. — C 16
L 1677–; price 1684–1787 (3*d*)

Jesuits' bark tree from Virginia — *Iva frutescens* L. — 1711
J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*), Wh 1764 (1*s* 6*d*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

Judas-tree, broad leaved — *Cercis siliquastrum* L. — C 16
L 1677–; prices 1754–75 (1*s*); 1782–87 (1*s* 6*d*/1*s*)

—— from Carolina — ? *Cercis canadensis* L. var.

—— New England — *Cercis canadensis* L. — 1730
G 1739–; Br 1787 (2*s* 6*d*)

Laburnum, English — *Laburnum anagyroides* Med. — (1560)
L 1677–; Wy 1700 (6*d*); 1731–64 (3*d*, st 1*s*); 1775–87 (3*d*, st 6*d*)

—— Scotch — *L. alpinum* Bercht. & Presl. — (1596)
L 1677–; price 1764–87 (6*d*)

Laurel, wood, or spurge — *Daphne laureola* L.
F 1727–; price 1764–83 (3*d*)

—— Portugal — *Prunus lusitanica* L. — (1648)
R 1688–; Wn 1753 (2*s*); 1754–87 (1*s*/3*d*–6*d*)

Laurus-tinus, with shining leaves — *Viburnum tinus lucidum* Aiton
R 1688–; prices 1764–87 (6*d*/4*d*)

—— with rough leaves — *Viburnum tinus* L. — (1560)
L 1677–; Wd 1731 (3*d*); 1754–87 (6*d*/3*d*, 4*d*)

—— with variegated leaves — *V. tinus* L. 'Variegatum'
F 1727–; Wh 1764 (2*s*, 2*s* 6*d*); T 1775 (1*s*); Sm 1784 (6*d*)

—— from Virginia — *Virburnum nudum* L — 1752
G 1755–; Wh 1764 (2*s*); 1782–87 (1*s*)

Lime, Carolina — *Tilia americana* L. — 1752
G 1755, W 1760, Go 1770 (*811*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— Silesia — ? *Tilia tomentosa* Moench — '1767'

—— common — *Tilia* × *europaea* L.
L 1677–; R 1689 (1*s*); J 1754 (16*s* 100, 3 ft); 1775–87 (6*s* 100, 1 ft)

Liquid Amber-tree or sweet gum — *Liquidambar styraciflua* L. — 1681
F 1727–; prices 1762–87 (1*s*–2*s* 6*d*)

Maple-tree or sycomore (*sic.*) — *Acer pseudoplatanus* L. — *c.* 1550
R 1689 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (6*d*); 1775–87 (7*s* 6*d* 100, 2 ft)

—— common or lesser — *Acer campestre* L.
F 1727–; D 1783 (2*d*)

—— Virginia yellow flowering — *Acer saccharinum* L. — 1725
G 1739–; prices 1764–75 (1*s*)

—— Virginia scarlet flowering — *Acer rubrum* L. — (1656)
F 1727–; Wn 1753 (2*s*); 1754–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— Virginia ash leaved — *Acer negundo* L. — 1688
F 1727–; J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*); Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1764–87 (6*d*)

—— Swedish with plane-tree leaves — *A. platanoides* L. — (1683)
F 1727–; J 1754 (8*d*), Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*/2*d*)

—— Virginia sugar — *Acer saccharum* Marsh. — 1725
G 1755–; Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*/2*d*–4*d*)

—— Montpelier — *Acer monspessulanum* L. — 1739
G 1755, W 1760, Go 1770 (*30*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783

—— or sycomore (*sic.*) variegated — *A. pseudoplatanus* L. var. *albovariegatum*
F 1727–; Wh 1764 (1*s*, 4–5 ft); 1775–87 (4*d*, 2 ft)

—— three leaved — *Acer pensylvanicum* L. — 1755
G 1755, W 1760, T 1775 (1*s*), M 1778, Ld 1783

Mulberry, common black — *Morus nigra* L. — *c.* 1200
R 1689 (2*s*); Wh 1764 (1*s*–5*s*); 1782–87 (1*s* 6*d*–2*s* 6*d*; st 5*s*–10*s* 6*d*)

—— white — *Morus alba* L. — (1596)
F 1727–; price 1754–82 (1*s*); Br 1787 (1*s* 6*d*)

—— Virginia broad leaved F 1727–; J 1754 (3*s*, 4 ft); Bu 1764 (1*s*)	*Morus rubra* L.	(1629)
—— paper Go 1770 (*504*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783	*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.	(1750)
Nettle-tree, with purplish fruit F 1727–; J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*); 1764–83 (1*s*)	*Celtis occidentalis* L.	(1656)
—— with broad leaves and red fruit	*C. occidentalis* var. *cordata*	
Oak-tree, common F 1727–; J 1754 (10*s* 100, 2 ft); T 1775 (7*s* 6*d* 100, 2 ft)	*Quercus robur* L.	
—— with striped leaves or variegated F 1727–; J 1754 (5*s*); Wh 1764 (2*s*); 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*)	*Q. robur* var. *variegata*	
—— Carolina F 1727, Wh 1764, ? Ld 1783	? *Q. rubra* L. var.	(1724)
—— with small woolly leaves, Turkey G 1755, ? W 1760, ? Go 1770 (*625*)	*Quercus cerris* L. var. *cana minor*	
—— American gall	? *Quercus velutina* Lam.	'1800'
—— Virginia scarlet G 1739–; Wh 64 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*, 2 ft)	*Quercus coccinea* Muenchh.	1691
—— chestnut leaved G 1739–; J 1754 (1*s*), Wh 1764 (1*s*), A 1775 (6*d*)	*Quercus prinus* L.	1688
—— willow leaved F 1727–; Wh 1764 (1*s* 6*d*); A 1775 (6*d*)	*Quercus phellos* L.	(1723)
—— Turkey, leaves rough underneath G 1755, W 1760, T 1775 (2*s* 6*d*), M 1778, Ld 1783	*Q. cerris* L.	1735
—— Spanish swamp G 1755, Wh 1764 (1*s*), A 1775 (6*d*)	? *Quercus bicolor* Willd.	'1800'
—— Virginia champion G 1739–; J 1754 (6*d*, 3 ft), Wh 1764 (1*s*)	*Quercus rubra* L	1724
—— Italian Go 1770 (*626*), Ld 1783	*Quercus frainetto* Ten.	1739
—— Virginia, fir like growing	? *Quercus palustris* Muenchh.	(1783)
—— Virginia, blue ? Wh 1764	? *Quercus cinerea* Michx.	'1789'
—— Virginia, grey ? F 1727, G 1739–	? *Quercus borealis* Michx.	'1800'
—— Virginia, black G 1739–; Wh 1764 (1*s*)	*Quercus marilandica* Muenchh.	? 1723
—— radner (*sic.*; ? Ragnal) T 1775 (1*s*), Br 1782 (1*s*), D 1783 (9*d*), Br 1787 (1*s*)	? *Quercus cerris* L. var.	

—— Spanish ? F 1727, W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Br 1787 (1*s*)	*Quercus falcata* Michx.	1763
—— evergreen with small leaves L 1677–; price 1753–87 (6*d*)	*Quercus ilex* L.	(1581)
—— evergreen with olive leaves F 1727, G 1739, W 1760, Go 1770 (635), M 1771, M 1778	*Q. virginiana* Miller	1739
—— evergreen from China	*Quercus* sp.	
—— evergreen with sweet acorns	*Q. ilex* L. var. *ballota*	
—— evergreen with broad leaves F 1727, G 1755, W 1760, D 1783 (3*d*–4*d*)	*Quercus* sp.	
—— from Bilboa (*sic.*) in Spain	? *Quercus coccifera* L.	C 17
—— evergreen from Portugal	*Quercus* sp.	
—— evergreen broad leaved cork-tree L 1677–; A 1775 (1*s*, 2*s*)	*Quercus suber* L.	(1699)
—— evergreen small leaved cork-tree ? F 1727	*Q. suber* L. var. *angustifolia*	
Olive, wild oliaster R 1688–; prices 1754–87 (1*s*/6*d*, 9*d*)	*Elaeagnus angustifolia* L.	C 16
Paw-paw, Virginia, anona G 1755, W 1760, Go 1770 (90), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783, Fo 1838 (1*s* 6*d*)	*Asimina triloba* (L.) Dun.	1736
Persian plum-tree from Virginia G 1755	? *Persea gratissima* Gaertn.	1739
Persimmon or date plum F 1727–; Wh 1764 (1*s*), T 1775 (1*s*), Br 1782, 1787 (1*s* 6*d*)	*Diospyros virginiana* L.	(1629)
Pistachia Nut-tree G 1755–; Wh 1764 (2*s*)	Pistacia vera L.	? (1570)
Plane-tree, oriental L 1677–; J 1754 (4*d*, 4 ft), 1762–64 (st 1*s*), 1775–87 (3*d*)	*Platanus orientalis* L.	? *c.* 1350
—— western L 1677–; Wn 1753 (1*s*), J 1754 (4*d*, 4 ft), Dr 1762 (st 1*s*), Wh 1764 (6*d*); KL 1769 (4*d*), 1775–87 (3*d*, 2 ft)	*Platanus occidentalis* L.	1638
—— Spanish F 1727–; Dr 1762 (st 1*s*), Wh 1764 (1*s*)	*Platanus* × *hispanica* Muenchh.	(1663)
—— from New York Wh 1764 (1*s*)	*P. occidentalis* L. form	
Poison-oak G 1739–; prices 1764–87 (6*d*/2*d*)	*Rhus toxicodendron* L.	(1640)
—— (trailing) F 1727 'Russos with Trefoile Leaves', G 1739–; 1764–87 (3*d*/2*d*)	*Rhus radicans* L	1632

Poplar, white aspen-tree F 1727, G 1755, W 1760, ? Go 1770 (*599*)	? *Populus tremuloides* Michx.	(1778)
—— black American ? G 1755, W 1760, ? Go 1770 (*600*)	*Populus deltoides* Marsh.	'1772'
—— white, called Abele R 1688–; J 1754 (6*s* 100, 2 ft), 1775–87 (5*s* 100, 1½ ft)	*Populus alba* L.	
—— called Aspen-tree F 1727–	*Populus tremula* L.	
—— Carolina broad leaved G 1739–; J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*); 1762–87 (1*s*/6*d*)	*Populus angulata* Aiton	1738
—— Carolina with small leaves	*Populus angulata* Aiton var.	
Rose, burnet leaved J 1754 (4*d*)–; Wh 1764 (3*d*); 1775–87 (4*d*/2*d*)	*Rosa pimpinellifolia* L.	
—— apple bearing F 1727–; prices 1764–82 (6*d*/2*d*); Br 1787 (3*d*)	*Rosa villosa* L.	
—— dwarf, Scotch F 1727–; price 1775–87 (4*d*)	*Rosa pimpinellifolia* L. vars.	
—— Eglenton's (*sic.*) sweet briar M 1771, M 1778	*Rosa rubiginosa* L.	
—— double blossom sweet briar J 1754 (1*s*); price 1764–83 (1*s*); Br 1787 (1*s* 6*d*)	*R. rubiginosa* L. var. *flore pleno*	
—— maiden blush sweet briar F 1727–; prices 1764–87 (1*s*/6*d*)	*R. rubiginosa* L. var.	
—— Dutch hundred leaved F 1727–; Cl 1750 (2*s*); 1754–87 (1*s*/6*d*)	*Rosa centifolia* L. var.	
—— moss province (*sic.*) F 1724–; Cl 1750 (2*s*); 1754–64 (2*s*); 1764–87 (1*s* 6*d*, 2*s*/1*s*)	*R. centifolia* L. 'Muscosa'	1724
—— velvet F 1727–; prices 1764–87 (1*s*/6*d*)	*Rosa gallica* L. var. *holosericea*	
—— red, monthly F 1727–; Cl 1750 (6*d*); 1754–63 (4*d*); 1775–87 (6*d*/4*d*)	*Rosa* × *bifera* Hurst	
—— white, monthly G 1755–; Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*/4*d*)	*Rosa* × *bifera* Hurst var. *alba*	
—— Belgic F1727–; prices 1754–87 (1*s*/6*d*)	*Rosa damascena* Miller var. *belgica*	
—— double yellow F 1727–; Cl 1750 (1*s* 6*d*); 1754–87 (1*s* 6*d*/1*s*)	*Rosa hemisphaerica* Herrm.	(1625)
—— without thorn F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (6*d*/2*d*)	? *Rosa pendulina* L.	
—— with several other sorts (e.g.):		

—— evergreen G 1755–; price 1764–87 (6*d*)	*Rosa sempervirens* L.	
Sage-tree F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (6*d*/3*d*)	*Phlomis fruticosa* L.	(1596)
St John's wort, broad leaved	? *Hypericum ascyron* L.	'1774'
—— with narrow leaves Ld 1783	? *H. prolificum* L.	1758
St Peter's wort F 1727–; prices 1753–83 (3*d*/2*d*)	*Symphoricarpos orbiculatus* Moench	1730
Sassafras-tree F 1727–; Cree 1768 (5*s*); A 1775 (10*s* 6*d*)	*Sassafras albidum* Nees.	*c.* 1630
Senna, scorpion R 1688–; prices 1731–87 (3*d*/2*d*)	*Coronilla emerus* L.	(1596)
Service, manured F1727, Go 1770 (774), M 1771, T 1775 (1*s* 6*d*), M 1778, Ld 1783	*Sorbus domestica* L.	? *c.* 1530
—— with maple leaves G 1755–; prices 1764–87 (1*s*/2*d*)	*Sorbus torminalis* Crantz.	
—— Virgina called Currant-tree	? *Aronia melanocarpa* Elliott	*c.* 1700
—— American dwarf	? *Aronia* sp.	
—— Virgina, with arbutus leaves G 1739–; Wh 1764 (1*s* 6*d*); 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*/6*d*)	*Aronia arbutifolia* (L) Pers.	*c.* 1700
—— fruit pear-shaped, call(ed) True G 1755, Go 1770 (773)	*Sorbus domestica* L. var. *pyriformis*	
—— Virginia large swamp	? *Sorbus decora* Schneider	? 1636
Spindle-tree, common F 1727–; J 1754 (4*d*); 1764–87 (3*d*)	*Euonymus europaeus* L.	
—— Virginia broad leaved G 1755–; Dr 1762 (1*s* 6*d*); 1764–87 (1*s*/6*d*)	*Euonymus atropurpureus* Jacq.	1756
—— evergreen G 1739–; J 1754 (2*s*); Wh 1764 (1*s* 6*d*); T 1775 (2*s* 6*d*)	*Euonymus americanus* L	1683
Stalf-tree (*sic.*; Staff-tree), or Colastrus (*see* Climber, *above*)		
—— Virginia Go 1770 (197), M 1778, Ld 1783	*Celastrus bullatus* L.	1759
Stone-Crop-Tree, a shrub F 1727–; Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*/4*d*)	*Chenopodium multifidum* L.	1732
Shawberry-tree (*sic.*; Strawberry tree), arbutus, common L 1677–; Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*–5*s*); 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*/1*s* 6*d*)	*Arbutus unedo* L.	

—— with reddish flowers — *A. unedo* L. var. *rubra*
W 1760, Wh 1764 (10*s* 6*d*), Go 1770 (*107*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783, Br 1787 (7*s* 6*d*)

Sumach, Virginia stag's horn — *Rhus typhina* L. — (1629)
R 1688–; Cl 1750 (6*d*); Wh 1753 (6*d*); J 1754 (1*s*); Wh 1764 (3*d*); 1775–87 (1*s*/4*d*)

—— New England — ? *Rhus aromatica* Aiton — '1759'
G 1739, J 1754 (1*s*), G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), D 1783 (3*d*)

—— Carolina — *Rhus glabra* L. — (1620)
G 1739–; prices 1762–75 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— Venetian, called Coccygria — *Cotinus coggygria* Scop. — 1629
R 1688–; prices 1753–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

Tamarisk, German — *Myricaria germanica* Desv. — (1582)
F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (4*d*–6*d*)

—— French — *Tamarix gallica* L.
F 1727–; prices 1754–87 (4*d*–6*d*)

Trefoil-tree, Virginia ptelia — *Ptelea trifoliata* L. — *c.* 1690
F 1727, G 1739–; Bu 1764 (6*d*); 1775–87 (1*s*/8*d*)

Tulip-tree, Virginia — *Liriodendron tulipifera* L — *c.* 1638
F 1727–; J 1754 (7*s* 6*d*, 4 ft); Wds 1760 (4*s*); Dr 1762 (st 1*s*); Wh 1764 (2*s*); 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*–5*s*/1*s*–2*s*)

Tulip-tree, laurel leaved, magnolia — *Magnolia grandiflora* L. — 1734
G 1739–; Wh 1764 (42*s*); J 1770 (10*s*–20*s*); A 1775 (15*s*); T 1775 (7*s* 6*d*)

Viburnum, Virginia — ? *Viburnum acerifolium* L. — 1736
? J 1754 (3*d*), W 1760, Go 1770 (*830*), ? Br 1782 (3*d*), Ld 1783, ? Br 1787 (3*d*)

—— Carolina — ? *Viburnum dentatum* L. — 1736
W 1760, T 1775 (1*s*), Ld 1783, Br 1787 (1*s*)

Walnut, French — *Juglans regia* L. cv — *c.* 1200
J 1754 (7*s* 100, 1 ft); Wh 1764 (1*s*); T 1775 (9*d*, 8–9 ft)

—— Virginia white — *Carya ovata* K. Koch var. — (1629)
G 1739–; Wh 1764 (1*s*), A 1775 (6*d*)

—— Virginia black, with round fruit — *Juglans nigra* L. — 1629
F 1727–; Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*)

—— Virginia black with long fruit — *Juglans cinerea* L. — (1634)
G 1775–; Br 1782, 1787 (6*d*)

—— called Virginia Hickary-nut — ? *Carya tomentosa* Nutt. — '1766'
G 1739–; Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (1*s*/6*d*)

—— Virginia pig-nut hickary — *Carya glabra* Sweet — (1783)
G 1739, G 1755, W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Ld 1783

—— called Shag-bark hickary — *Carya ovata* K. Koch — (1629)
F 1727–; T 1775 (1*s*)

Widow wail, a shrub — *Cneorum tricoccum* L. — (1596)
J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*); Wh 1764 (2*s*); 1775–87 (1*s*)

Willow, long leaved yellow — *Salix alba* L. var. *vitellina*
? G 1755–

—— with striped leaves — *Salix caprea* L. var. *variegata*
G 1755–; Bu 1764 (6*d*); 1775–83 (3*d*/2*d*)

—— weeping — *Salix babylonica* L. — '1730'
F 1727 'the weeping, from Babylon'; prices 1754–87 (3*d*/2*d*)

2. CONIFERS

Cedar of Lebanus — *Cedrus libani* A. Rich. — 1638
L 1677–; J 1754 (7*s* 6*d*, 1½ ft); Wh 1764 (2*s* 6*d*); T 1775 (3*s*, 1 ft); Br 1782 (2*s* 6*d*); Br 1787 (1*s* 6*d*)

Cypress, common upright — *Cupressus sempervirens* L. — *c.* 1350
L 1677–; R 1689 (3*d*); J 1754 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (6*d*); T 1775 (6*d*, 1 ft); D 1783 (2*d*–6*d*); Br 1787 (1*s* 100)

—— spreading or horizontal — *C. sempervirens* var. *horizontalis*
F 1727–; T 1775 (4*s*); Br 1782 (6*d* 1 ft); D 1783 (2*d*–6*d*)

—— American that sheds its leaves — *Taxodium distichum* (L.) Rich. — *c.* 1637
F 1727–; J 1754 (1*s* 6*d*); Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (2*s* 6*d*)

—— with very small cones, called white cedar — *Chamaecyparis thyoides* (L.) Britt., Sterns & Pogg. — 1736
F 1727–; 1775–83 (1*s* 6*d*, 1*s*)

—— Portugal — *Cupressus lusitanica* Miller — *c.* 1680
G 1755; T 1775 (4*s*)

Fir, silver — *Abies alba* Miller — *c.* 1603
L 1677–; J 1754 (12*s* 100, 1 ft); Wh 1764 (3*d*); T 1775 (10*s* 100)

—— Norway spruce — *Picea abies* (L.) Karst. — (1500)
L 1677–; R 1689 (1*s*); J 1754 (10*s* 100, 1 ft); T 1775 (10*s* 100, 1 ft)

—— Virginia hemlock spruce — *Tsuga canadensis* Carr. — 1736
W 1760; 1764–82 (2*s*); Sm 1784 (5*s*); Br 1787 (2*s*–5*s*)

—— white Newfoundland — *Picea glauca* (Moench) Voss — 1680
G 1755; Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (9*d*, 1 ft)

—— black Newfoundland — *Picea mariana* (Miller) Britt., Sterns & Pogg. — *c.* 1690
W 1760; Wh 1764 (1*s*); T 1775 (1*s*); Br 1782, 1787 (9*d*)

—— New England balm of Gilead — *Abies balsamea* Miller — 1696
F 1727–; J 1754 (3*s*, 1½ ft); Wh 1764 (2*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*, 1 ft)

—— American green spruce — ? *Tsuga canadensis* Carr. form

—— Portugal silver — ? *Abies alba* Miller form

—— Russian balm of Gilead, sweet scented	*Abies sibirica* Ledeb.	'1820'
—— Hanover spruce	? *Picea abies* (L.) Karst. form	
Juniper, Scotch	*Juniperus communis montana* Aiton	
F 1727, G 1755, W 1760		
—— Swedish	*Juniperus communis* L. var. *suecica*	(1701)
F 1727–; J 1754 (6*d*); Wh 1760 (1*s*); 1764–87 (6*d*/4*d*)		
—— red Virginia Cedar	*Juniperus virginiana* L.	*c.* 1664
F 1727–; J 1754 (3*s*); Wh 1764 (1*s*–2*s*); 1775–87 (1*s*, 1 ft)		
—— Carolina	*J. virginiana* L. var. *caroliniana*	
F 1727–; Go 1765 (5*s*)		
—— Virginia savin leaved	*J. virginiana* L. var.	
? G 1739, ? G 1755		
—— Phenetian (*sic.*) cedar	*Juniperus phoenicea* L.	1683
G 1755, W 1760, M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783		
Larch, with white cones	*Larix laricina* K. Koch form	1739
G 1755 'The Larch-tree with white Rudiments', ? Go 1770 (*442*)		
—— American black	*Larix x pendula* (Aiton) Salisb.	1739
W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Go 1770 (*443*), M 1778, Ld 1783		
—— common	*Larix decidua* Miller	*c.* 1620
F 1727–; J 1754 (25*s* 100, 2 ft); Wh 1760 (6*d*); Em 1763 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (3*d*); T 1775 (7*s* 6*d*) 100, 1 ft)		
Pine-tree, manured	*Pinus pinea* L.	(1500)
L 1677–; J 1754 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (1*s*); 1775–87 (6*d*, 1 ft)		
Pine, Scotch	*Pinus sylvestris* L.	
L 1677–; R 1689 (6*d*); Wy 1700 (5*d*); Wn 1753 (9*d*, 3 ft); J 1754 (7*s* 6*d* 100, 1 ft); Em 1783 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (2*d*); T 1775 (7*s* 6*d*, 100, 1 ft)		
—— cluster	*Pinus pinaster* Aiton	(1596)
L 1677–; J 1754 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (1*s*); T 1775 (20*s* 100, 1 ft)		
—— New England, or Weymouth	*Pinus strobus* L.	1705
F 1727–; J 1754 (3*s*, 2 ft); Wh 1760 (3*s* 6*d*); Em 1763 (2*s*); T 1775 (4*d*, 1 ft); Sm 1784 (1*s*)		
—— highland, or mountain	*Pinus mugo* Turra	(1750)
Go 1770 (*581*), Ld 1783		
—— Aleppo	*Pinus halepensis* Miller	1683
Go 1770 (*583*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783		
—— bastard three leaved	*Pinus echinata* Miller	1739
W 1760, Go 1770 (*587*), M 1771, Ld 1783		
—— Virginia frankincense	*Pinus taeda* L.	1741
W 1760, Go 1770 (*586*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783		

—— American with long leaves W 1760, Go 1770 (*589*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783	*Pinus palustris* Miller	1730
—— Jersey W 1760, Wh 1764 (1*s*), Go 1770 (*584*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783	*Pinus virginiana* Miller	1739
—— Carolina swamp F 1727, ? W 1760	? *Pinus elliottii* Engelm.	
—— Carolina pinaster	? *Pinus pungens* Lamb.	'1804'
—— New England three leaved ? M 1771, Ld 1783	? *Pinus rigida* Miller	? 1743
—— from Montpelier with white seed	*Pinus* sp.	
—— black seed	*Pinus* sp.	
—— Virginia pitch W 1760, Go 1770 (*585*), M 1771, Ld 1783	*Pinus rigida* Miller	? 1743, 1759
—— Switzerland	? *Pinus uncinata* Miller ex Mirb.	
—— Virginia yellow W 1760	? *Pinus palustris* Miller	1730
—— from the Alps ? G 1755 'Wild Pine'	*Pinus* sp.	
—— from Siberia Go 1770 (*582*), M 1771, M 1778, Ld 1783	*Pinus cembra* L.	(1739)
—— from Siberia, dwarf	? *P. cembra* L. var. *sibirica*	1746
Savin-tree F 1727–; Wn 1753 (6*d*); J 1754 (6*d*); Wh 1764 (6*d*); 1775–87 (3*d*/2*d*)	*Juniperus sabina* L.	(1380)
Savin, berry bearing R 1688–; D 1783 (3*d*)	*J. sabina* L. *tamariscifolia* Aiton	? 1562

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Entries referring to individual bills are in brackets ( )

A	1775	Robert Anderson, Edinburgh, Scotland
(BPk	1684, 1764	Brompton Park Nursery, Kensington, London)
Br	1782, 1787	John Brunton, Birmingham, Warws.
Bu	1764	William Burchell, Fulham, London (MS prices)
(Cl	1750, 1754	Henry Clark, Chipping Campden, Glos.)
(Cree	1768	John Cree, Addlestone, Chertsey, Surrey)
D	1783	Archibald Dickson & Sons, Hassendeanburn, Scot.
(Dr	1762	Samuel Driver, Walworth, London)
(Em	1763	Thomas Emmerton, Barnet, Herts.)
F	1724, 1727	Robert Furber, Kensington, London

Fo	1838	Richard Forrest, Kensington, London
G	1739, 1755	Christopher Gray, Fulham, London
Go	(1752, 1765) 1770	James Gordon, Mile End, London (Numbers are those of the numbered entries in *c.* 1770 list)
J	1754, 1770	William, Stanley Joyce, Gateshead, Co. Durham
(KL	1769	Lewis Kennedy & James Lee, Hammersmith, London)
L	1677	William Lucas, Strand, London
Ld	1783	Conrad Loddiges, Hackney, London
M	1771, 1778	William Malcolm, Kennington, London
(Perf	1768	William Perfect, Pontefract, Yorks.)
R	1688, (1689)	George Rickets, Hoxton, London
(Sm	1784	George Smith, Worcester)
T	1775	John & George Telford, York
W	1760	John Webb, Westminster, London
(Wd	1729, 1731	Henry Woodman, Chiswick, London)
Wh	(1760), 1764	John Whittingham, Coventry, Warws.
(Wn	1753	John Williamson, Kensington, London)
(Wy	1700	Henry Wesby, ? London)

For details of catalogues see J. Harvey, *Early Horticultural Catalogues* (University of Bath Library, 1973); for reprints of catalogues see J. Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (1972) for Lucas 1677, Telford 1775; J. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (1974) for Rickets 1688, (1689), Clark (1750, 1754), Woodman (1729, 1731); P. Miller, *The gardeners and florists dictionary* (1724) for Furber 1724; B. Henrey, *British Botanical . . . Literature*, II (1975), p. 348, for Gray 1739; *Garden History*, II, no. 2 (1974), pp. 34–44, for Joyce 1754.

APPENDIX I

Plants seen at Whitton in 1766 but not in 1765 list

Arbor Vitae 'does well with drawing'	*Thuja occidentalis* L.	*c.* 1534
Ash, Mountain 'several dead'	*Sorbus aucuparia* L.	
Box, narrow leaved '15 feet high'	*Buxus sempervirens* L. var. *angustifolia* Miller	
Carob 'on the wall'	*Ceratonia siliqua* L.	(1570)
Catalpa '5 (ft) 7 (ins) at 3 (ft) above 30 (ft) spread 40'	*Catalpa bignonioides* Walter	1726
Hazel, a nondescript 'which grows to sixty feet brought home by Lord Hyndford'	? *Corylus chinensis* Franch.	'1900'

(Larch), Siberian Larix fogged	*Larix sibirica* Ledeb.	'1824'
Laurel '2 walls covered on North with laurel to 22 to 24 feet high' '4 laurel bushes each about 74 feet in girt'	*Prunus laurocerasus* L.	1576
Lysimachia virgin. Punk bush	? *Lysimachia ciliata* L.	1732
Oak, Sassafras '18 feet high'	*Quercus* sp.	
—— nondescript	*Quercus* sp.	
Rhamnus scandens vel volubilis, Souple Jack	*Berchemia scandens* Koch	1714
(Rose, evergreen — added to list under 'several other sorts')		
Tallow tree	*Sapium sebiferum* Roxb.	1703
(Tupelo) Nyssa aquatica '25 feet best in England a pyramidal tree'	*Nyssa aquatica* L.	1735

The notes of Dr John Hope's visit to Whitton in September 1766 are printed in J. Harvey, 'A Scottish Botanist in London in 1766', *Garden History*, IX, no. 1 (1981), pp. 60–62; plants seen by Hope in Kew Gardens, brought from Whitton in 1762, are mentioned on pp. 50, 52.

APPENDIX II

Plants introduced to Britain by the Duke of Argyll.

These are recorded by William Aiton in *Hortus Kewensis* (1789); Aiton states (p. x): 'Mr James Lee, nurseryman at the Vineyard, Hammersmith, who remembers the gardens of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, at Whitton, near Hounslow, cultivated with much care and liberal expense, has furnished the Author with a list of the Trees that were introduced by his Grace'.

Andromeda, Panicled	*Leucothoë racemosa* A. Gray (*Andromeda paniculata*)	1736 (1748)
—— Narrow Box-leaved	*Chamaedaphne calyculata* Moench var. *angustifolia* (*A. angustifolia*)	1748
Birch, Paper, listed in 1765		
—— Poplar-leaved, listed in 1765		
Bonduc, Hardy moved to Kew 1762	*Gymnocladus dioica* K. Koch (*Guilandina dioica*)	1748
Cuckold-nut Tree, American, listed in 1765 (Hazel from Carolina)	*Corylus rostrata* (*cornuta*)	1745
Hawthorn, Hollow-leaved	*Crataegus coccinea* L. var. *rotundifolia* Sarg. (*C. glandulosa*)	1750

—— Great Yellow-flowered (*sic.*; fruited)	*Crataegus punctata* Jacq. var. *aurea* (*C. aurea*)	1746
Holly, Carolina	*Ilex opaca* Ait.	1744
—— Deciduous	*Ilex decidua* Walter (*prinoides*)	1736
Itea, Virginian listed in 1765		
Maple, Mountain	*Acer spicatum* Lam. (*montanum*)	1750
Mespilus, Snowy	*Amelanchier canadensis* (L.) Med. (*Mespilus canadensis*)	1746
Pine, Siberian Stone, listed in 1765 (Pine from Siberia)		
Smilax, Round leaved	*Smilax* (*Tamus*) *rotundifolia* L.	(1760) 1888
Trichomanes, or Fern, Hare's foot	*Davallia canariensis* (L.) J. E. sm. (*Trichomanes canariense*)	(1699), 1741
Tupelo, Mountain	*Nyssa aquatica* L. (*integrifolia*)	1735

Owing to botanical rearrangements of species, it is not possible in all cases to be certain precisely what form was introduced by Argyll, nor whether it was really the earliest introduction. It is clear, all the same, that twelve of these 17 plants belong to Argyll's collections, but are not in the list of 1765.

APPENDIX III

Residual plants

A few plants mentioned by visitors to Whitton do not appear in Crofts' list of 1765, nor in appendixes I and II above. Disregarding merely general references, e.g. to 'Acacias', 'American Oaks', or 'Citrus', the remainder are set out here with indications of identity wherever possible.

Annona (paw paw) *Asimina triloba*, in List. Several species of the genus *Annona* had been introduced between 1656 and 1739 but all required stove conditions. The English name paw-paw limits identification to the species listed.

Banana *Musa* cv. The banana is traditionally *M. sapientum* L., introduced 1729, but for a modern view of the extremely complex botanical facts, see J. W. Purseglove, *Tropical Crops: Monocotyledons 2* (1972), pp. 349–51.

Cedar, Virginian *Juniperus virginiana*, in List (Conifers, Juniper).

Chamaerhododendron Probably *Kalmia latifolia* L., said to have been introduced in 1734. Miller in the 1754 abridgement of the *Gardeners Dictionary*, pp. 317–18, said that the plant was at present very rare in Europe, but some were to be found at Whitton.

Coffee Tree Strictly this should be *Coffea arabica* L., 1696, but is more likely to be the hardy *Gymnocladus dioica*, 1748, in Appendix II (Hardy Bonduc). This was also known as the Kentucky Coffee Tree.

Gleditsia see Acacias in List.

Hickory: Carya 'olivaeformis' This is *C. illinoensis* K. Koch (*pecan*), *c.* 1760. It seems doubtful whether this species, seen by Loudon in 1839, had actually been planted in Argyll's time. C. 'porcina' is a synonym of *C. glabra*, for which and other hickories see List (Walnut).

Maple, Scarlet-flowered (Sir Charles Wager's Maple) This was formerly regarded as a paler variety of *Acer rubrum*; later described as *A. eriocarpum* Michx. and as *A. dasycarpum* Ehrh., the 'Silver Maple'. These names are now regarded as synonymous with *A. saccharinum*, introduced 1725, in List.

Myrica (Sweet Willow) *M. cerifera*, in List (see Gale).

Nut-tree from Temeswaar Temesvár, formerly in Hungary, is now Timisoara, Romania (see List: Hazel, Hungarian; and Appendix 1). Temesvár had been retaken from the Turks in 1718 and it is likely that the opening of this part of Hungary to western Europe led to plant introductions. The two references must refer to different species of *Corylus*: *C. colurna*, the Turkish Hazel, though certainly capable of growing to 60 feet or more, could not be Hope's 'nonedescript' in 1766, as it is included in the original edition of Linnaeus' *Species Plantarum* of 1753 (II, p. 999).

Oak, Evergreen, with 'leaf like the Myrtle' This is the American *Quercus virginiana* Miller, introduced 1739, see List.

Palm Tree This may have been *Chamaerops humilis* L., the Dwarf Palm, introduced 1731 and the only palm marginally hardy in England. The only other 'palms' which could then have been grown, though only in a stove, were *Corypha umbraculifera* L., 1742, and the cycad called the Sago Palm, *Cycas circinalis* L., introduced in 1700.

Pepper, 'Chian' (Cayenne) *Capsicum frytescens* Roxb. (*minimum*), 1728, requiring stove treatment in winter.

Pine, Swamp This could be either *Pinus elliottii* or *P. palustris*, see List.

Poplar, Lombardy *Populus nigra* L. 'Italica', a form apparently first introduced by Argyll at Whitton before 1758.

Quercus 'esculus' This was probably *Q. frainetto* Ten., the Hungarian Oak or Italian Oak, see List. It may well have arrived with the nut-tree from Temesvár.

Robinia see Acacias in List.

Thuyas see Appendix 1 (Arbor Vitae); the Chinese species, *Thuja orientalis* L., had probably been introduced by *c.* 1740.

Torch Thistle *Cereus hexagonus* (L.) Miller, introduced 1690, a cactus from the West Indies, the least tender of the giant kinds. When small it could have been set outdoors in summer but required frostproof shelter in winter as well as complete protection from damp (P. Miller, *The Gardeners Dictionary*, Cereus sp. 1, The large upright Torch-thistle from *Surinam*). He describes it as 'the most common in *England*'. The other species introduced at early dates were decidedly more tender.

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