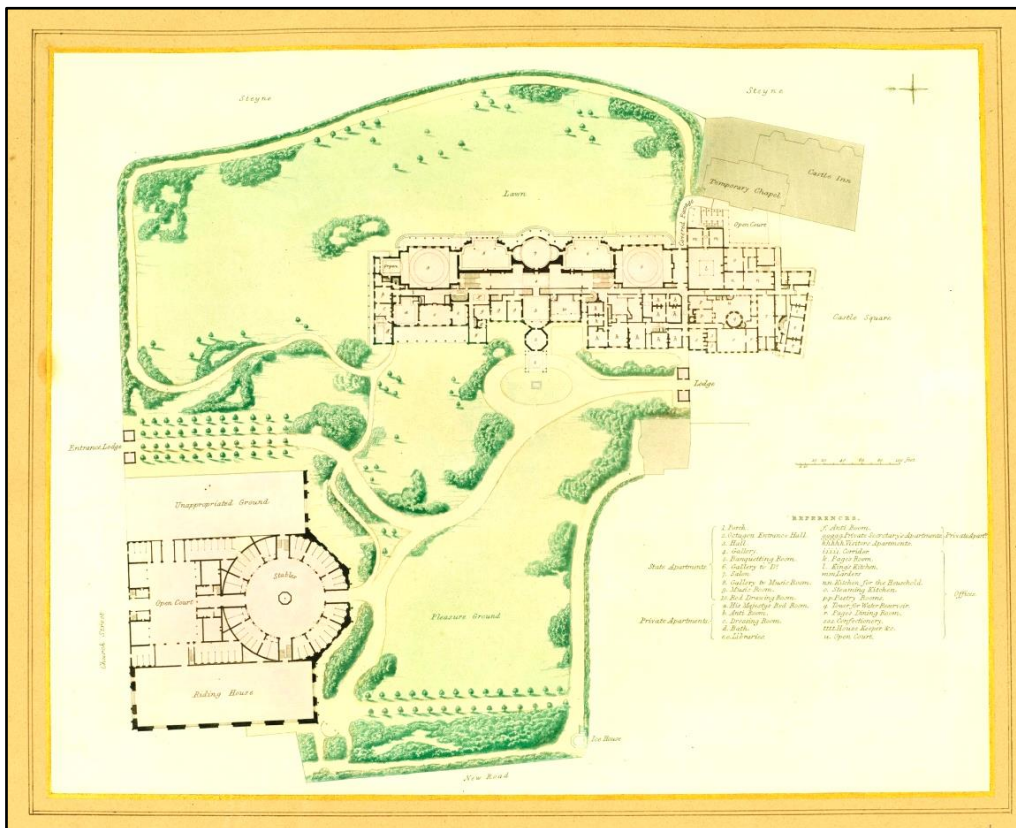


ROYAL PAVILION GARDEN

Brighton

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS, STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE, VISION AND POLICIES

a supplement to the CBA Conservation Plan 2018



Nash's garden design published in his *Views ...* 1826

SR Historic Environment Ltd
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for the Royal Pavilion and Museums Trust
October 2022

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Nash’s View of the west, entrance front with Regency planting scheme, 1826

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Nash’s View of the east, garden front with Regency planting scheme, 1826

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY INCLUDING VISION

1.1 SIGNIFICANCES AND SURVIVAL

1. The main significance of the designed landscape derives from its strongest surviving design layer: as a compact example of the Picturesque garden style for a pleasure pavilion by the nationally significant and influential early C19 architect and landscape designer John Nash, c.1815-21 with planting by the royal gardener William Aiton, which reached its zenith by 1830. This transformed the Pavilion and garden setting into a great ensemble masterminded by Nash, one of the foremost early C19 designers. The style, character and much of the layout were not lost to later artistic interventions, but the garden has become degraded by pressures of use and resources resulting in reversible changes.
2. Elements of previous garden layouts were largely removed and did not greatly influence Nash's overall design. Those that do survive are fragments. The most important to Nash's design is the nucleus of the oval East Lawn from the Holland period, which is the only feature which persisted throughout the Prince's period of ownership.
3. The mature trees contain important historic fabric with ecological significance, particularly the nationally and internationally significant Elm collection, historically, botanically and as habitat.
4. The extent of archaeological evidence of lost features below ground is unclear but there is potential for features related to C18/C19 buildings, structures, routes, drains, garden features and recorded activity during the two World Wars.
5. The extent of the whole designed landscape fabric and character as laid out by Nash and planted by Aiton largely survives except for the loss of a peripheral strip by the Steine, with planting and much of the layout restored in the 1990s to their scheme.
6. Later ornamental structures up to 1950 generally enhance or do not damage the Picturesque character, including the North Gate (1830s), South Indian Memorial Gate (1920s), East Lawn pools and balustrade with metal gateway (1920s) and café (1950).
7. Later planting by the Corporation did alter the character but this has largely been replaced with the reinstatement of key areas of the Nash scheme in the 1990s/2000s.
8. Modern structures at the periphery of the Western Lawns have damaged the character and fabric but Nash's key layout survives, in part reinstated in the 1990s, although degraded by intensive visitor use.
9. The designed landscape, largely complete in extent and by one of the most important landscape designers in this style, is of **national significance** and is a very rare, possibly unique example of a Picturesque layout with the planting scheme reinstated much as Nash designed it.
10. Ecologically the garden is locally significant. The most important fauna is associated with the mature trees, including birds, and potentially bats and invertebrates. The most important flora is the mature trees. The native elm species is a rare population nationally, forming part of the wider collection in Brighton and Hove.
11. The most significant habitat is the mature trees. The trees link the site with the wider entire population of trees in the city and beyond, particularly in a corridor along the London Road. This is one of the most

important aspects, principally for its value for invertebrates, bats and birds. Sensitive management and enhancement measures could increase the habitat and wildlife value.

1.2 SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE WIDER CONTEXT

Level of Significance beyond The Royal Pavilion:

A	Exceptional	i.e. national or international
B	Considerable	i.e. regional (South and South-East England)
C	Some	i.e. local (Brighton and environs)
D	Little	E Intrusive/ damaging

Of the highest significance (A) is the early C19 Cultural Ensemble based on the Nash scheme of c.1815 comprising Architecture, Designed Landscape, Plants and Horticulture, documentary and site-based evidence.

Later ornamental contributions were sensitive to this character and range from national (A) to local (C) significance.

Associative and Communal significances ranges from national and international (A) when in royal ownership, to local (C) more recently.

Archaeological significance ranges from regional (B) to local (C).

Wildlife and habitats are of local significance (C).

1.3 FEATURES IN ORDER OF SIGNIFICANCE TO THE ROYAL PAVILION GARDEN

The following levels of significance relate to the ornamental landscape design of the Royal Pavilion as established by the late 1920s at its most fully developed ornamentally and as Registered at Grade II. While some elements of the historic environment in its widest sense are of the highest significance (as reflected in designation as a Scheduled Monument or Listed Building), not all of these contribute to the same degree to the ornamental design established at its zenith.

A	Exceptional significance: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest of the design.
B	Considerable significance: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the design.
C	Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity.
D	Little significance or neutral. Int Damages the historic character.

A Exceptional significance

Further detail of the exceptionally significant garden features is given in Section 1.4 below.

Royal Pavilion (listed Grade I)	The Dome Concert Hall (formerly the stables)
The c.1815 Nash layout and Aiton planting scheme including beds and routes	Views of and from the wider landscape of Brighton as conceived by Nash particularly to the east and south-east.
Regency planting scheme (restoration and appropriate mature trees)	North Gate (listed Grade II*)
C18 and C19 trees, and the Elm collection	Corn Exchange (formerly the Riding House) (listed Grade I)
Landscape Character Areas as designed	

B Considerable significance

1920s alterations including MacLaren pools and associated garden on East Lawn	Indian Memorial Gate, attached walls and piers (1921) (listed Grade II)
Roadside balustrade (1920s)	C19 iron railings
Museum & Art Gallery (formerly part of stables) (listed Grade II*)	Ice House (c.1820)

C Some significance

Northgate House, attached walls piers and railings (listed Grade II*)	Cast iron lamp standards (c.1835) (listed Grade II)
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D Little significance or neutral

Café by New Road (1950)	Education building
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Intrusive Damaging

Public conveniences	Energy centre
Maintenance sheds	Bin store for The Dome
Street furniture, bins, modern lighting, modern style fencing etc	Max Miller statue
Planting which does not follow or evoke the Nash scheme including trees and hedge which damage layout and views by 1830.	Prince's Plain entrance path
Visibility of Grasscrete below north front	Skating rink
Tarmac and slab surfacing of routes	Bow top fencing
Unkempt immediate setting along boundaries and at gateways	

1.4 SUMMARY OF GARDEN FEATURES OF HIGHEST DESIGNED LANDSCAPE SIGNIFICANCE

The following features are of the utmost importance to the garden design forming the essential character, relating to Nash's design and Aiton's planting scheme c.1815, as identified under significance level A in Section 1.3 above:

- The lawns
- The circulation system
- The Picturesque planting character and palette of ornamental shrubberies maintained to evoke Forest Lawn type appearance.
- The private garden character, rather than a public park
- Views of the principal buildings: Pavilion, Dome façade, Corn Exchange façade, North and Gates.
- The setting with its variety of close and distant views, both urban and marine, and the experiential qualities of the arrival from the north along the London Road and south from the sea front.

1.5 SUMMARY VISION

Summary Vision

Preserve, restore and enhance John Nash's unique Regency garden, to unify the Royal Pavilion Estate and offer a welcoming and informative green oasis in the centre of Brighton for all to enjoy.

This breaks down into various aspects of the garden:

1. **The Royal Pavilion Estate – the King's Garden.** Conserve and present as the complex and highly maintained Picturesque garden of the royal marine pleasure pavilion for Britain's greatest connoisseur monarch, King George IV, at its zenith by 1830. Inspire the passion for this unique and jewel-like garden as part of the unity of the whole estate and welcome and encourage visitors to use it benignly as an asset and haven.
2. **An artistic artefact.** Treat the garden as the valuable historic artefact it is as part of a unified vision for the whole estate. Accord it as much respect, attention to detail and equivalent resources as the rest of the King's palatial Pavilion estate along with the built fabric, furnishings and connoisseur's artistic collection, as it forms a similarly significant part of the ensemble.
3. **An integral part of the ensemble.** Recognize and reinforce the artistic and physical relationship between the interior of the Pavilion and the exterior setting. Ensure that the curation and interpretation of the historic character links both with an intellectual understanding of the similarities and contrasts.
4. **Repair and rejuvenate.** The garden is a dynamic, living work of art with a very high and intensive visitor usage for which it was not designed, although it accommodates visitors admirably. The Picturesque style and intensive use require cyclical planned replacement and refreshing of planting and hard landscape features to retain an appropriate standard of the historic character and for visitor enjoyment.
5. **Significant later phases.** Later changes which enhanced that character and layout have their own significance and deserve due consideration.
6. **Future alterations.** Alterations to accommodate the present intensive public use should only be considered where absolutely and justifiably essential to the conservation of the fabric and character of the garden; their design should as far as possible enhance or evoke, or at least not damage, that essential character of the compact and fragile royal garden.
7. **Wildlife and habitats** should complement and enhance the significant elements of the historic garden and the ornamental design which expresses its royal origin.
8. **Inspire and engage stakeholders and decision makers.** Inspire and engage trustees, managers at all levels, volunteers and other stakeholders to embrace and promote this vision for the Pavilion garden and its implementation.

2 INTRODUCTION

2.1 PURPOSE AND SCOPE

This report was prepared to inform management and proposed conservation and enhancement of the nationally significant garden of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, which in October 2020 transferred in management from Brighton and Hove City Council to the Royal Pavilion and Museums Trust. This report by Dr Sarah Rutherford of SR Historic Environment Ltd with Sarah Couch provides information and guidance to supplement the 2018 Chris Blandford Associates conservation plan for the Royal Pavilion garden. The study area is the 2.5 ha. Royal Pavilion garden and associated structures, which is outlined in Figure 1.

The surviving layout is largely that designed by John Nash, in part restored in the 1990s-2000s. This document analyses the evidence, both documentary and that existing on the site, in order to understand in particular his likely contribution, its survival, and its significance in the wider historical context. It also addresses current management issues in this context.

2.2 APPROACH

This document provides a rigorous and objective understanding of the relative significances of the fabric, planting and presentation and use of the garden within its historic context, given the specific C21 circumstances of operational requirements, modern usage, climate change, resources, etc.

This document is informed by and refers to analysis in the CBA Conservation Plan (CP), a useful initial document which requires amplification. It makes use of key primary and secondary documents including historic maps, images, written and contextual material and existing site surveys supplied by staff of the Royal Pavilion.

The study area, the c.2.5 ha. garden, is complex in its form and planting, and its context within the Regency period. Of structural trees, the elms are a particularly significant species forming part of the National Collection in Brighton which has been acknowledged as of world significance in its designation as a World Biosphere site. The analysis addresses relevant aspects of the setting, including views, circulation and approaches. The significance and resultant policies for such a complex and intensively used and gardened urban site require attention to the detail of the planting and management to devise appropriate guidance via long term policies.

2.3 THE FORM OF THIS REPORT

This report, as noted above, supplements and amplifies the 2018 CBA Conservation Plan. It provides a greater depth of understanding of the historical development, context, changes and level of survival, and significances to inform the vision and policies for future management. To that end the report falls into two major sections, supported by appendices.

Part A Historical Understanding and Significances.

This is based on appendices addressing the history and historical context of the garden and its planting. It includes

analysis of the history to set out the key phases of development (Section 3) and analysis of the features in terms of survival and condition (Section 5), key views and setting (Sections 6 and 7) and planting and its management (Section 8). These inform a Statement of Significance in the wider context (Section 9), and identification of significances of the individual elements to the garden design (Section 10).

Key features are identified in Figure 1 below, and historic and current views in Figures 7, 10, and 11 and Section 6.

Part B Issues, Vision, and Policies for Management

This is informed by site observations, discussions with staff of the RPMT, the analysis in Part A and material in the 2018 CBA CMP. It presents issues of survival, condition and management (Sections 11-12), a site-wide vision (Section 13), and management policies (Section 14).

In a separate document, the historical understanding is enhanced by a group of semi-transparent historical map overlays with the 2013 topographical survey which can be turned on and off individually [supplied as file 'Historic map Overlays updated with tree survey 05 Oct 22'.pdf]. Extracts from these overlays are reproduced in Appendix 9 to illustrate the surviving tree positions and phases in relation to the various key maps.

Part C Appendices

These include references (1), detailed garden chronology (2), historical context for villas, garden styles and planting in Picturesque style (3-5) and contextual references (7), a synthesis of the original plant lists (6), a comparison of the Nash Views with the views today (8) and an historical analysis of the tree population and recommendations (9).

2.4 SOURCES

The findings of the report are based on a review of primary and secondary documentary sources (set out where relevant in the sections below), which were analysed with the benefit of walk-over surveys in April and May 2022. Key sources consulted are set out in Appendix 1, References. While the sources are numerous the following are essential to understanding both the historic significance and the restoration:

The best publication of the history and illustration of the restored garden as it matured by 2005 is Mike Jones's: *Set for a King 200 Years of Gardening at the Royal Pavilion (2005)*.

This is supported by two books with key views of the Nash/Aiton 1820s period:

John Nash, *Views of the Royal Pavilion (1827, Pavilion Books reproduction 1991)*. (see Figure 7 and Section 6).

Morley, J, *The Making of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton Designs and Drawings (1984)*.

Mavis Batey's book is a key summary of the Regency period in garden history: *Regency Gardens (Shire, 1995)*.

Henry Phillips's *Sylva Florifera (1823)* provides contemporary information on the design style and character.

Virginia Hinze's article explains the approach taken to the restoration in the 1990s-2000s: 'The Re-Creation of John Nash's Regency Gardens at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton'. *Garden History* 24:1 (1996), 45-53.

This explains her restoration plans of the 1990s (not yet digitized) which are still valid as the basis for the garden planting. Mrs Hinze produced for Brighton and Hove City Council in 2009 draft management recommendations in a Management Policies and Actions Document supporting a draft Management and Maintenance Plan, which although incomplete set out a sound basis for managing the garden.

2.5 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors thank members of the Royal Pavilion and Museums Trust for their generous help, principally David Beevers, Keeper of the Royal Pavilion who retired in April 2022, during the writing of this report, Kate Richardson, Curator of Community History and National Lottery Heritage Fund funded Researcher for this project, Alexandra Loske, Curator, Rob Boyle, Head Gardener, Chloe Tapping, Director of Collections & Conservation, Ceryl Evans, Director of Engagement and Public Programmes.

We are indebted to Virginia Hinze, formerly of East Sussex County Council and English Heritage, for kindly sharing her detailed knowledge of the site and her seminal contribution to the garden restoration since the 1980s including access to her archive of historical research and restoration material. Also to Peter Bourne for generously sharing his expert knowledge of the elms in the Pavilion Garden and in Brighton and Hove and his historic image collection.

This report has been produced with support from the National Lottery Heritage Fund.

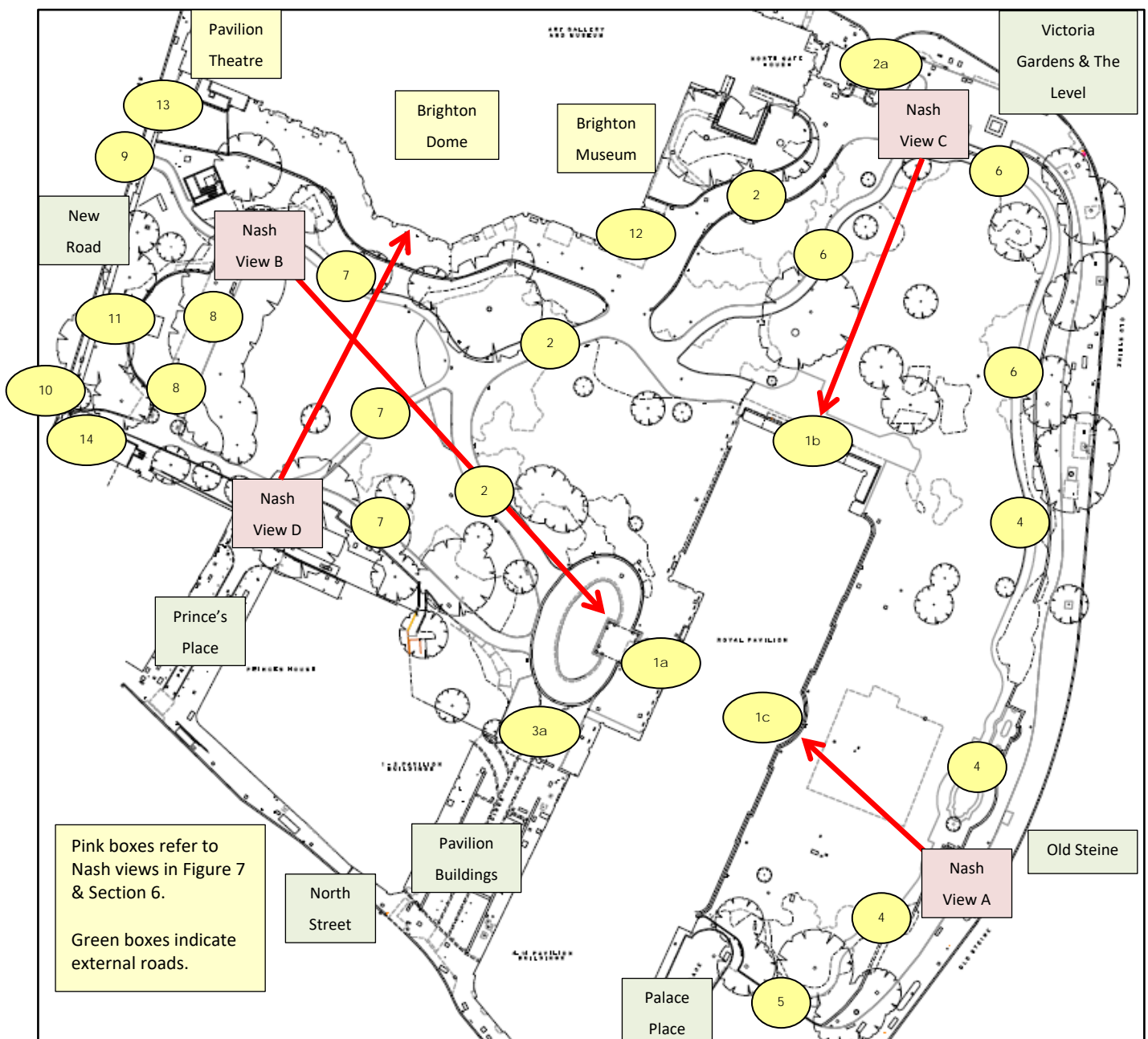


Figure 1 Features Map.

Key to Features Mapped Above

1. Royal Pavilion: 1a main entrance/porte cochere; 1b north front/ private entrance; 1c east front	2. North Drive & Gateway (2a)
3. South Drive and Indian Memorial Gateway (3a)	4. East Lawn circuit path
5. East Lawn south entrance	6. North-East Lawn circuit path
7. Western Lawn paths	8. Elm Grove (site of Quaker burial ground)
9. New Road north pedestrian entrance	10. New Road south pedestrian entrance
11. Café	12. Museum Entrance and Porch
13. Vehicle service entrance to Corn Exchange & Dome adjacent to former entrance now covered by Pavilion Theatre	14. Ice house (remains of)

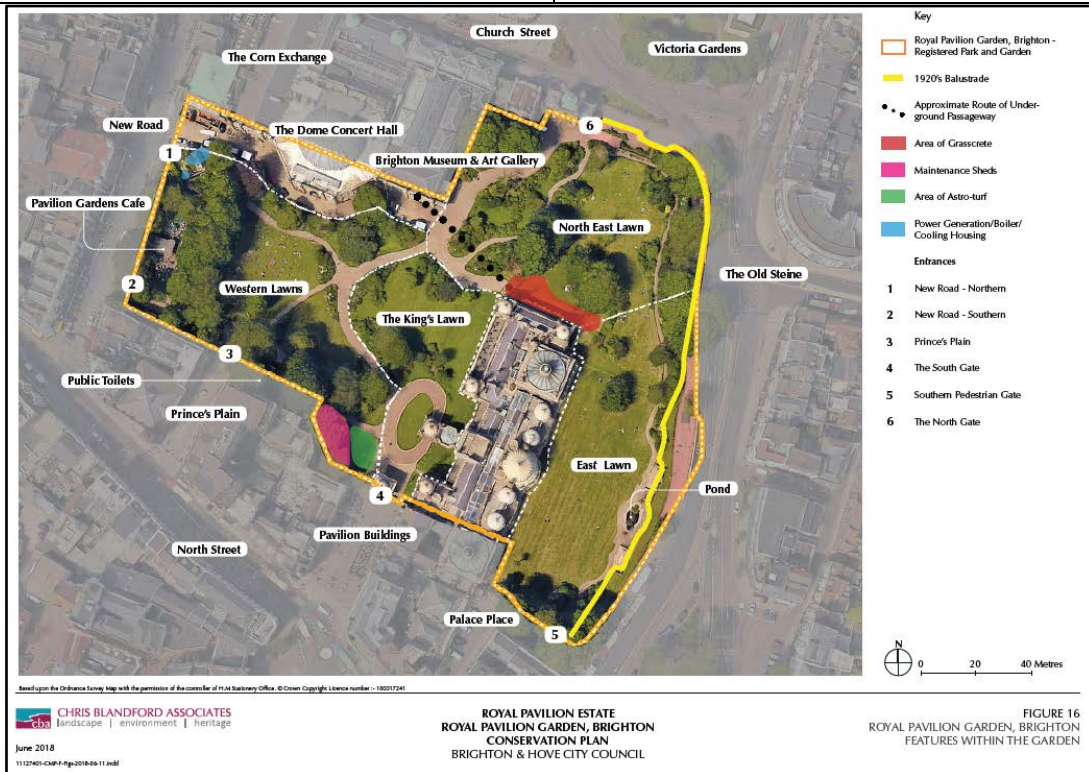


Figure 2 Features on Aerial Photograph (CBA, 2018).

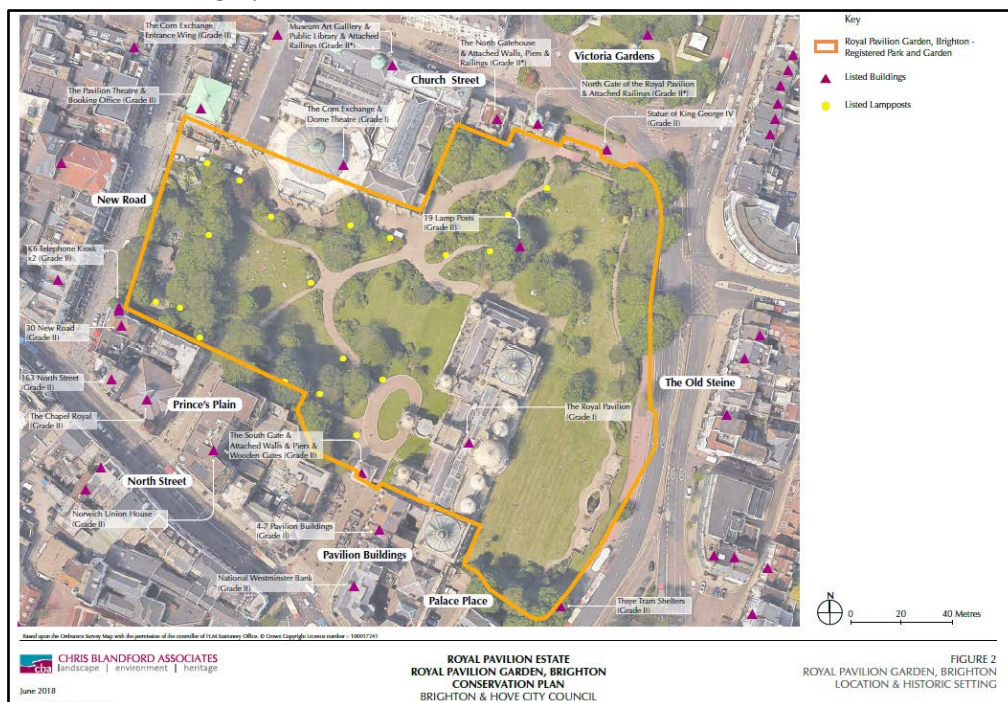


Figure 3 Estate Location and Historic Setting (CBA, 2018).



Figure 4 Character Areas and Setting on Aerial Photograph (CBA, 2018).

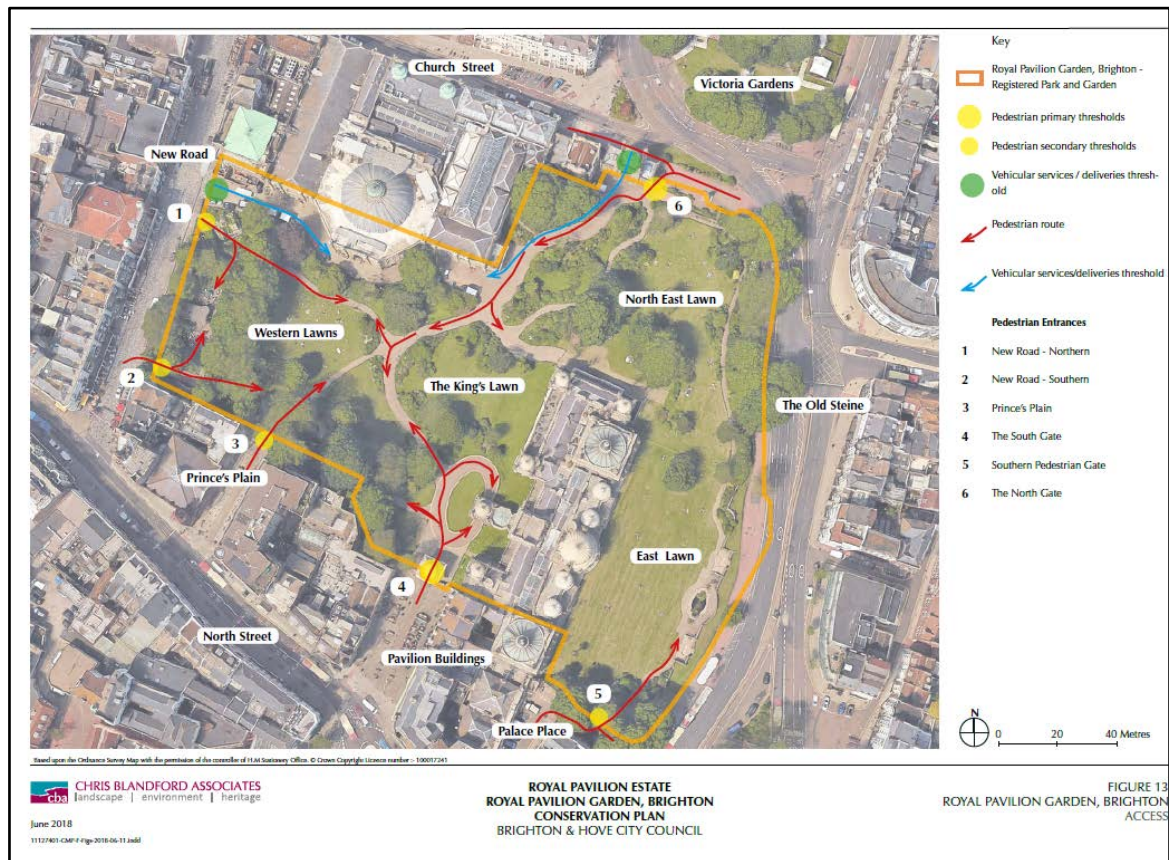


Figure 5 Entrances & Circulation (CBA, 2018).

PART A HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

Part A presents historical information about the site and its wider context (Sections 3-4), and analysis of the survival and condition of key elements (Sections 5-8) which informs the understanding of significance (Sections 9-10).

3 HISTORIC DESIGN PHASES & SIGNIFICANCE TO PRESENT LANDSCAPE DESIGN

3.1 SOURCES

This section is informed by Appendices 1 References, and 2 Chronology.

Key primary sources for individual phases are identified with each phase.

3.2 ACCURACY OF NASH'S ILLUSTRATIONS AND PLAN IN HIS VIEWS (1826)

The most important primary documentary sources for the garden are John Nash's *Views* published in 1826. These watercolour images, based on Augustus Pugin's slightly earlier watercolour views, also include a ground plan, itself based on a manuscript plan of c.1815-22 (partly reproduced in Figures 6-7 and Section 6), together with the nurseryman's planting lists of 1817-29 (consolidated list in Appendix 6) in The National Archive.

While Nash's *Views* and the plan unquestionably represent the Picturesque character he sought, it is not entirely certain that the layout shown on the plan (particularly the carriage turn and path layout) was fully implemented. There is no survey of the layout before the alterations which occurred very soon after George IV's death in 1830. Instead, the first mapping after 1830 shows the straight drive between the North and South Gateways, believed to have been carried out for William IV immediately after he succeeded, when he had these gateways built.

Nash's *Views* do not entirely agree with the layout on the 1826 plan (or the earlier sketch version) but it is unclear which is more accurate. For example, it is difficult to tell if the West front view shows the plan layout of drives and carriage sweep. The view of the east front suggests an extra path on East Lawn. This may be artistic license and it is possible that the views are a better guide to the layout than the plan. This lack of consistency is surprising if the purpose of the plan and views was as a record of the final scheme. Otherwise they could represent what was intended, as happened elsewhere such as at Pitzhanger Manor (c.1802) where later presentation drawings were deceptive and did not capture exactly what was executed.

3.3 SUMMARY CHRONOLOGY

The following chronology is based on one devised by David Beevers, former Keeper of the Royal Pavilion (until April 2022). It provides a brief summary of key dates in the history of the Royal Pavilion garden early on in this report to help general orientation of the reader. This is amplified in more detail in the main Chronology in Appendix 2.

Later C18	The fishing town of Brighton became popular as a fashionable resort for the wealthy.
1783	George, Prince of Wales, first visits Brighton, staying with his Uncle the Duke of Cumberland.
1784	George rented Grove House (the site later covered by the north end of the Pavilion).

1785	George rented the house adjacent to the south of Grove House which became the nucleus of the Royal Pavilion. It had a small garden and the surrounding area which was united for Nash's scheme by 1815 was in multiple ownership including as a pleasure garden, Promenade Grove and west of this as a Quaker burial ground for the adjacent Meeting House.
1787	Marine Pavilion designed by Henry Holland for George.
1788	Modest garden created for the Marine Pavilion. Circular east lawn fronting the Steine. At this time George enjoyed the visibility of the Pavilion to outsiders.
1792	Garden expanded. Still formal.
1793	Promenade Grove opened as a pleasure garden on land opposite the Pavilion.
1801 – 03	Samuel Lapidge (Surveyor and pupil of Capability Brown) plants the garden. Informal gardens created and circuit walk around East Lawn next to Old Steine surrounded by trees for privacy.
1804 – 08	Stables and Riding School built by William Porden in Indian style. Now the Dome and Corn Exchange
1808	Humphry Repton's plans for the garden not executed.
1810	George became Prince Regent, with an influx of funds to enable his grand plans for the Pavilion. He was able to buy the remaining nearby plots to unite them in the present garden.
Before 1815	High flint boundary wall with small run of railings on top built.
1813-15	John Nash, and the royal gardener William Aiton of Kew plan the new garden in informal Picturesque style. First trees and shrubs arrive.
1815 - 18	Marine Pavilion enlarged in Indian style externally by John Nash and decorated internally in Chinese style by firm of Crace.
1826	Garden largely completed although more plants received until 1831. Garden plan and views of the principal fronts of the Pavilion published in Nash's <i>Views</i> . Garden about 7 acres planted by John Furner of Brighton. A picturesque garden with irregular shrubberies projecting into the lawns, forming changing patterns and views. Combination of trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants, bulbs and annuals for year round interest. Very few ornaments or garden buildings.
1830	Death of George IV. William IV succeeds. Layout of garden simplified. More evergreens, conifers, rhododendrons and laurels. William IV recommends replacing the high estate wall with an open iron railing. Part of this may have been carried out but the high wall seems to have remained.
1831 – 32	William IV builds North and South gates. Carriage drive past Pavilion straight to porte cochere replaced curved drive and turning circle. North Gate House orientalised. Dormitories for servants built between Pavilion Buildings and Prince's Place.
1837	Death of William IV. Victoria becomes Queen. Dislikes the Pavilion as too public for her growing family.
1847	Pavilion stripped of contents.
1849	In Pavilion Purchase Bill The Lawns and Pleasure Grounds were to be kept open to the Public for the purpose of exercise, recreation and amusement every day essentially in daylight hours
1850	Royal Pavilion bought by Town Commissioners.
1851	Grounds opened to the public. South Gate demolished and replaced with two domed Mughal archways 40 yards to the north of the original gate. This gate replaced in 1921. Large complex of

	service buildings south and west of Great Kitchen demolished.
1875	James Shrives creates shaped areas for bedded out plants in High Victorian style.
1878	Exotic tropical plants shown in Pavilion grounds.
1893	Prince's Place entrance to Pavilion grounds opened.
1900	The high flint walls surrounding the estate taken down and replaced with low brick and flint wall topped with railings 'so that the passing public...can obtain a better view of the grounds'.
1921	Indian Memorial Gateway built at south entrance.
1921 – 23	Road widening reduces size of garden to east and north. Indian style balustrade designed by the Corporation's Captain B Maclaren along the East Lawn, replaced the 1900 railings. Also formal pools on East Lawn and metal gateway from the Steine.
1939	Gilding on the Dome lantern removed for fear of air raids.
1950	Pavilion Garden Café built to designs by local students.
1980	Beginning of research on the history of the Regency garden by Mavis Batey.
1981/2	Beginning of garden restoration to reinstate Nash/Aiton Picturesque scheme around the Pavilion as far as possible given William IV's building of the North Gateway. First shrubberies created on East front. Only plants available before 1830 used.
1984	WCs reconstructed and rebuilt in Royal Pavilion Garden off Prince's Place, Brighton.
1987	Great Hurricane. Many trees came down.
1991 – 92	Start of main restoration phase. Road in front of Pavilion removed and turning circle re-instated, thus reinstating original layout and re-uniting the Pavilion with its intended setting.
1995	Paths and planting established on the West front.
1996	Garden Registered Grade II by English Heritage for its special historic national significance.
2020	The Royal Pavilion estate vested in the charitable Royal Pavilion & Museums Trust (RPMT) which manages and operates the buildings and collections on behalf of Brighton & Hove City Council (BHCC) through a 25 year contract with BHCC. The Council owns the buildings and collections.

3.4 EFFECTS AND CHANGES HIGHLIGHTED BY HISTORIC MAP OVERLAYS

As noted above, a digital document has been supplied with this report which layers historic maps with the 2013 topographical survey [supplied as file Historic map Overlays 25 May 22.pdf]. The map layers can be turned on and off individually. The maps are in chronological order, semitransparent so that when two layers are turned on their features relative to each other are obvious. The overlays show most obviously in roughly chronological order:

1. How small and modest were the Prince's original house and garden (1779 Yeakell and Gardner Brighton).
2. The interim effect of Holland's enlargement on the building and expansion of the grounds (1779 Yeakell and Gardner Brighton; 1801 Holland extension of Marine Pavilion).
3. The effect of Nash's scheme on the Holland scheme and its extensive enlargement. (1826 Nash; 1801 Holland extension of Marine Pavilion).

4. How much effort and money was required to obtain all the land parcels together to fulfill the Prince's vision, and how long it took (1780s-1815). (1803 ownership map)
5. The position and proximity of Grove House and its effect on restricting expansion until acquired for the Pavilion estate.
6. The remarkable vision required by the Prince to unite the many regular burgage plots west of the Pavilion and Grove House to the north, combined with Nash's vision to unite them as a successful Picturesque layout in Forest Scenery style in such a short time.
7. Nash incorporated some existing features around the Marine Pavilion including the existing East Lawn.
8. The large area and frontage of the service buildings (now Corn Exchange, Dome and Museum) of similar scale and somewhat larger, than the Pavilion.
9. How short a time the King's garden survived intact after completion (10 years). (1830s map showing King William IV's gateways)
10. The major intervention of William IV with his new drive which greatly damaged the Picturesque character, and two large gateways which were sensitive to the existing estate style. These interventions changed the garden but worked within the existing Picturesque character retained in the rest of the garden. (1830s & 1849 maps)
11. Why did George IV omit impressive gateways? Did he lose interest or run out of funds? (1830s & 1849 maps)
12. The C19/early C20 Corporation changes in sensitive style did not cause major damage. (OS 1874, 1920-30)
13. Comparison of the 1849 map (the layout just at the end of Royal ownership) and the 1874 OS shows Corporation changes since 1850.
14. Successive changes in the position of beds in Nash layout recorded in 1826 to the early C20 Corporation.
15. The relatively small effect on the area of the garden when the east boundary was reduced in the 1920s (OS 1874, 1920-30). The change is most obvious when comparing the 1920s OS with the topographical survey.
16. A urinal north of the current café opening off New Road. (OS 1874, 1920-30)
17. Restoration in the 1990s created a hybrid to evoke the Nash scheme as far as possible which is itself a further change. In doing so it had to accommodate the William IV North Gate and 1920s South Gate and other significant valid changes including the additional gateways. (1826, 1849 and topographical survey)

3.5 LEVELS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF PHASES

The following levels of significance relate to the ornamental landscape design phases as reflected in today's layout.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| A | Exceptional significance: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest of garden. |
| B | Considerable significance: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the design. |
| C | Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity. |
| D | Little significance or neutral. |
| Int | Intrusive. Damages the historic character. |

Phase No., date, signif	Activity	Client	Key documents
<p>1 1787 April-July B</p>	<p>Farmhouse at the edge of the town enlarged and rebuilt by Henry Holland as ‘Marine Pavilion’ in classical style.</p> <p>Holland was influenced by Robert Adam and French neo-classical buildings. He added a circular saloon behind a screen of columns, and a further wing to balance the house. This symmetrical composition survives.</p> <p>Grounds laid out as small villa landscape flanking the Pavilion: east lawn towards the Steine, the basis of the present East Lawn. rectangular forecourt to west enclosed by wings and Great East Street.</p> <p>Level of Survival: Low</p> <p>Surviving Effect: Genesis of one of the main features of the later Nash scheme: the area remains at the heart of the present East Lawn.</p> <p>The core of the villa established which became the core of Nash’s scheme.</p> <p>Three surviving garden elms were already present in the wider landscape.</p>	<p>Prince of Wales</p>	<p>Yeakell & Gardner map, 1779.</p> <p>Holland plan of ground floor and grounds, 1787.</p> <p>Middleton & Edye views, 1788.</p>
<p>2a 1801-04 B</p>	<p>Enlargement of Marine Pavilion by Holland & PF Robinson.</p> <p>Conservatory and dining room wings added; interiors in Chinoiserie.</p> <p>Informal east lawn with boundary shrubbery and circuit walk around it surrounded by trees for privacy using part of the Steine enclosed by the Prince in the late C18 to extend it. Scheme executed by Samuel Lapidge, an ageing landscaper and former associate of Capability Brown.</p> <p>Influential use of canopies and verandas with bow windows.</p> <p>Level of Survival: Medium to high</p> <p>Surviving Effect: Development of one of the main features of the later Nash scheme as the nucleus of the East Lawn establishing the style of informality of unbroken lawn and shrubbery.</p>	<p>Prince of Wales</p>	<p>Holland plan ground floor of Marine Pavilion, 1801.</p> <p>Repton Red Book ‘before’ views, 1805. East front views: Cracklow, 1806;</p> <p>Wise, c.1810</p>
<p>2b 1804-08 A</p>	<p>Construction of stables (now Dome Concert Hall) and riding school (now Corn Exchange) by William Porden in north of west half of present garden.</p> <p>These large scale buildings were designed in Indian style. A key part of the layout on newly acquired ground and dominated the Western Lawns.</p> <p>The existing layout was not altered significantly.</p> <p>Level of Survival: High</p> <p>Surviving Effects: Established the Indian style here.</p> <p>Established a key built feature of the landscape design which still dominates that part of the site.</p>	<p>Prince of Wales</p>	<p>Repton Red Book ‘before’ views, 1805.</p>
<p>3 Framework 1813-15 Planting</p>	<p>Completion of the Regent’s garden designed by John Nash, planting by William Aiton and laid out by John Furner during the transformation of the Royal Pavilion in Indian style.</p> <p>The estate had finally been pieced together after a series of purchases since</p>	<p>Prince Regent/ King George IV</p>	<p>Nash Ms. Plan of ground floor & grounds, c.1815-22.</p>

Phase No., date, signif	Activity	Client	Key documents
<p>1816-21</p> <p>Pavilion exterior transformed</p> <p>1815-22</p> <p>A</p>	<p>1787, including the demolition of The Grove house adjacent to the north.</p> <p>Nash engaged to transform and extend the Pavilion in style based on Indian architecture for its picturesque qualities. The effect was much prized for its romantic associations in buildings and landscape gardening.</p> <p>The garden reached its fullest extent, with layout and style by Nash, planting by Aiton, scheme executed by Furner. This was the zenith of the design.</p> <p>Nash created a Picturesque scheme, based on 'Forest Scenery' principles, included lawns, island beds, perimeter beds.</p> <p>Indirect approaches from north and south to turning circle in front of porte cochere replaced the forecourt and former direct approaches along line of old Great East Street (closed 1803) and replaced with 'New Road' between North Street and Church Street. The King's Lawn was the centrepiece.</p> <p>Western Lawns extended west to New Road.</p> <p>East Lawn reached its fullest extent and wrapped round into the North-East Lawn below the north front.</p> <p>Elm Grove avenue planted to west in former Quaker burial ground. Nash followed a line depicted with an avenue by Repton in his abortive scheme.¹</p> <p>Level of Survival: High</p> <p>Surviving Effects: Established the full extent and layout which was the zenith of the ornamental scheme for Prince/King George in picturesque informal style. Established the Indian style for the principal building as the focus of the grounds and approaches. Perhaps two of the elms planted survive. The character and layout of this the most important phase largely survives.</p>		<p>Nash published plan and views in <i>Views</i>, 1826.</p> <p>AC Pugin, 1822 preparatory watercolours for <i>Views</i>.</p> <p>Lord Steward's Accounts, TNA inc. plant lists</p>
<p>4</p> <p>1831-35</p> <p>B</p>	<p>Layout simplified by Snart and Williams for William IV. New gateways.</p> <p>Straight approach drive reinstated replacing Nash's turning circle of c.1815.</p> <p>North and South gates built.</p> <p>Western Lawns broken into three areas of ornamental shrubbery and existing trees with the lawns later dotted with trees.</p> <p>Cast iron lamp posts with royal cypher installed for gas lamps (1830s).</p> <p>Level of Survival: Low</p> <p>Surviving Effects: North Gate as new main London entrance continued the Indian style and created an imposing entrance in sensitive style to the existing. Lamp posts, since converted to electricity.</p>	<p>King</p> <p>William IV</p>	<p>Stanley watercolour views of west and east fronts, 1845; Fox 1850 watercolours inc. view of west front, N gateway</p>

¹ This elm avenue which was the main formal garden element of the Nash scheme is also known as Promenade Grove. It has been believed to be part of the former Promenade Grove pleasure ground (see Jones, 20-22, 176). However, map overlay analysis (see attached pdf and Figure 18 below) contradicts this view. Instead it shows that it was not a feature of the former Promenade Grove layout that was incorporated but was a new feature set within the former Quaker burial ground to the west, designed to align at the north end on the Porden Riding House (now Corn Exchange).

Phase No., date, signif	Activity	Client	Key documents
5 1850s? C	<p>Gardens altered, demolition of structures</p> <p>Service buildings to south and west of Great Kitchen demolished.</p> <p>William IV's South Gate demolished; replaced by 2 new archways.</p> <p>?Dwarf brick boundary wall against the Steine with stone coping and iron railings (pic. Jones, 123) (largely removed by MacLaren c.1920, stretch south of East Lawn survives). Major elm planting campaign.</p> <p>Level of Survival: Minor</p> <p>Surviving Effects: ?fencing by Northgate House (or is this 1830s)? cast iron fencing and gateway south of East Lawn. A few elms survive.</p>	Brighton Corporation	1874 photographs, Western Lawn and west front, James Gray collection. Late C19 photographs
6 1870s-90s C	<p>James Shrives' High Victorian scheme in existing framework.</p> <p>Massed seasonal bedding introduced including small geometric beds in lawns. Sub-tropical bedding schemes introduced.</p> <p>Outgrown clumps removed as obstructing views of the building.</p> <p>Retains vestiges of ornamental shrubbery from the William IV layout.</p> <p>Rustic style seats installed. Tree planting in lawns.</p> <p>Prince's Place entrance opened.</p> <p>Level of Survival: Low</p> <p>Surviving Effects: Prince's Place entrance remains. A few trees survive.</p>	Brighton Corporation	Shrives plan, Western Lawn new beds Late C19/early C20 Postcards including of subtropical bedding; OS 1:500 scale
7 Early 1920s B	<p>Parks Superintendent Bertie MacLaren remodels boundaries of East and North-East Lawns reflecting new line of the Steine and reducing the size.</p> <p>East and North-East lawns reduced by 20' width with widening of the Steine removing banking and railings all round, various old trees removed.</p> <p>Revised boundary marked by Indian style pierced concrete wall/balustrade.</p> <p>Geometric pool at Steine side of East Lawn, embellished with planted urns.</p> <p>Commemorative South gateway erected in Indian style.</p> <p>Level of Survival: High</p> <p>Surviving Effects: The layout of the East and North-East Lawns survives as modified in the prevailing Indian style, with the south gateway.</p> <p>Some trees survive.</p>	Brighton Corporation	Maclaren design drawings; photographs; postcards. OS 25" editions surveyed 1929 & 1951
8 1990s-early 2000s A	<p>Partial restoration Brighton Parks Dept advised by E Sussex County Council</p> <p>Nash scheme reinstated north and west of the Pavilion as far as possible, some amendments due to post-1830 irreversible changes.</p> <p>Serpentine drive and turning circle reinstated replacing William IV's straight route, the original line being modified to accommodate his North Gate.</p> <p>Level of Survival: High</p> <p>Surviving Effects: Survives, planting and surfacing needs refreshing.</p> <p>Many trees present.</p>	Brighton Borough	ESCC/ V Hinze plans and planting lists. Photographs of restoration work.

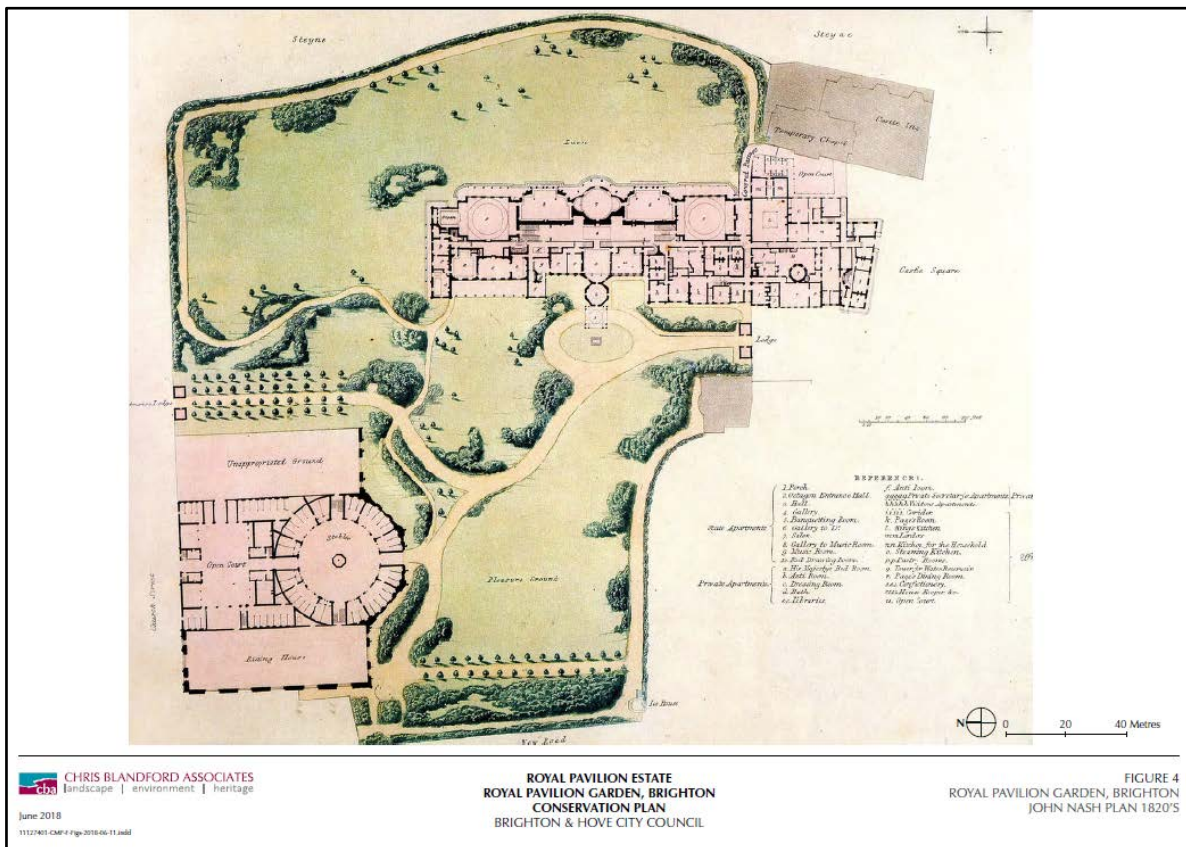


Figure 6 John Nash Garden Plan, published in *Views*, 1826 (CBA, 2018), based on an earlier sketch plan of c.1815-22.



Figure 7 The four key views of the Royal Pavilion and its grounds in John Nash, *Views*, 1826 (CBA, 2018), based on an earlier 1820s watercolours by Augustus Pugin.



Figure 8 Areas Not Part of 1980s-90s Restoration (CBA, 2018).

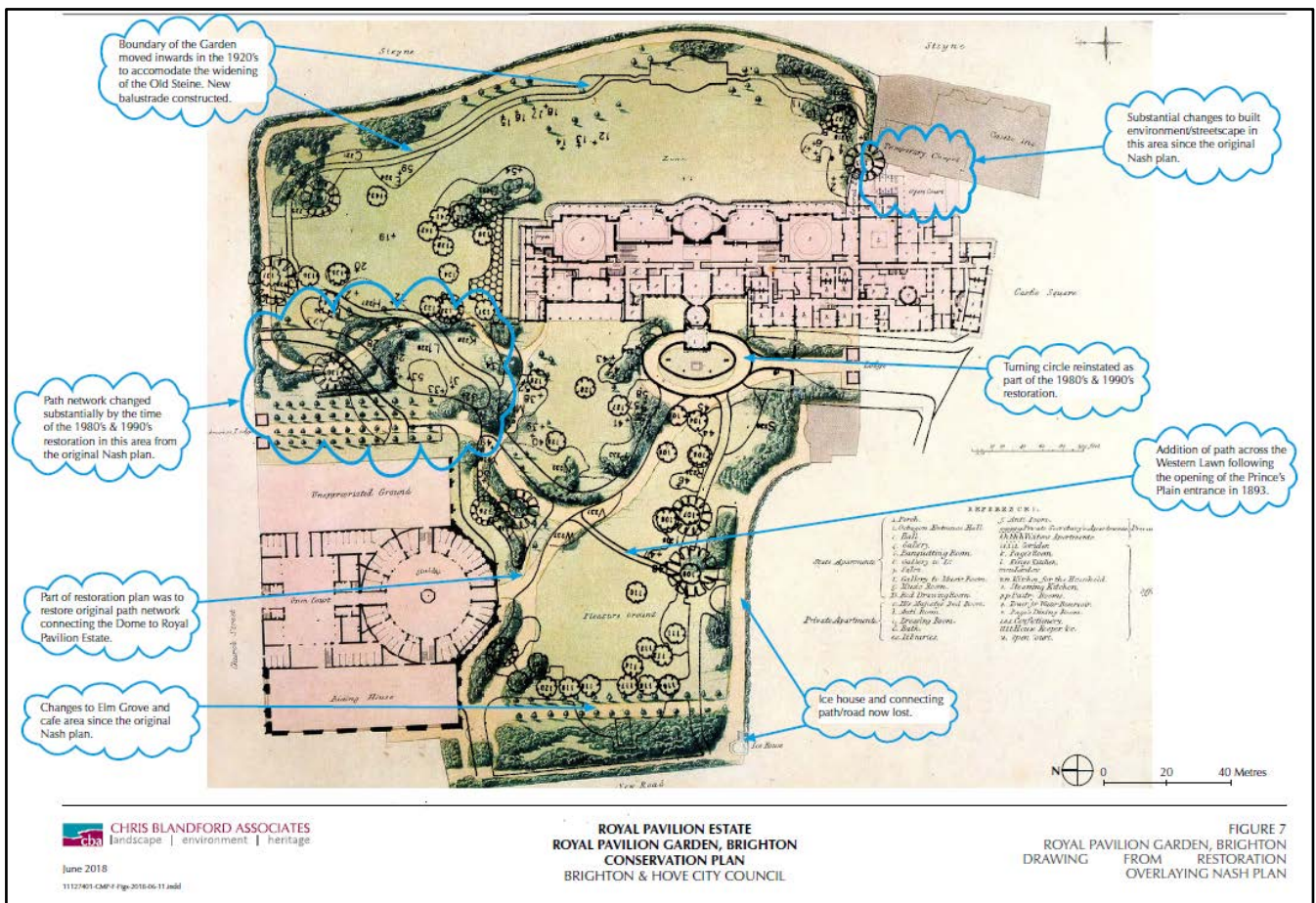


Figure 9 John Nash Plan, published in Views, 1826 (CBA, 2018), with restoration plan overlaid.

4 SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL CONTEXT & DESIGN SIGNIFICANCE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Having identified the history of the development of the garden and the significances of the phases of development to the site, the degrees of relevance of the various key aspects can be identified in the wider context beyond the site. In this case, this is by setting them in the historical context of the major aspects influencing the design to identify their comparative position in their contemporary world and level of survival.

This includes establishing an understanding of aspects of the site relative to others elsewhere:

- Dating: e.g. Early, mainstream, climactic, late
- Influence: e.g. obscure, influential, seminal
- How representative: e.g. atypical, typical/representative, rare
- Level of survival: e.g. intact, largely intact, partially intact, largely gone.

In order to assess these aspects it is necessary to identify the history in the wider context and where the site example fits into that.

The following aspects are summarised from the sections on historical context in Appendices 3-5.

Contextual garden history sources which underpin that analysis are given in Appendix 7.

4.2 EARLY C19 VILLAS

The Prince Regent's Royal Pavilion is the epitome of an **early C19 villa**. Although the Indian architectural style is extreme and atypical, and the building is large, it is certainly a villa, set in a typically compact landscape, both of which survive as a design unit very largely intact as they were by 1830. It is a climactic example.

The architecture is unique and breathtakingly imaginative. Nash's 'turban domes and pinnacles' and tent-like structures, aimed at 'glittering and picturesque effect', were more in tune with the mood of 1816, a year after Waterloo was fought and won. This was the year that 'Kubla Khan', with its romantic vision of pleasure domes was published.

At Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure dome decree
Where alph, the sacred river ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.

Xanadu, Kubla Khan and Alph, like the Arabian Nights were of a splendid hybrid culture, as were the prince's new fanciful ideas for the Pavilion. They seemed to embody a celebration of victory over Napoleon, in which the Prince was sure he had played a significant part, as seen through Coleridge's opium dreams.² One visitor noted that, 'I do not believe that since the days of Heliogabalus there has been such magnificence and luxury. One spends the

² Batey, 1995, 68-69. Tyack's *Country Life* article in 2013 is titled 'Xanadu-on-Sea.'

evening half-lying on cushions; the lights are dazzling; there are perfumes, music, liqueurs.³

As the most famous of the Regency villas the Royal Pavilion, his marine residence, exemplified the cults of variety and of the exotic, and was used as the setting for his excessive connoisseurship. The naturalistic Picturesque style used the Royal Pavilion grounds was used in a small group of early C19 villas including Sir John Soane's slightly earlier country villa and garden at Pitzhanger Manor c.1800-10, Ealing, but these are atypical of villas of the period. Although Nash provided two innovative verandas on the Pavilion, he turned his back on contemporary artificial or obviously man-made features popular for villa gardens such as trellis, ornate garden seats, formal terraces and floral displays popularized by architects Plaw and Papworth in their pattern books. He left the garden reliant on the lawns and planting for interest.

4.3 PLEASURE PAVILIONS

While the Royal Pavilion is undoubtedly a villa, if the most extraordinary one of the lot, its primary purpose is a **royal pleasure pavilion** in which to display a connoisseur's collection and entertain guests of the highest social standing nationally and internationally, rather than as a family residence. The name is significant; a pavillon in French means a secondary residence or pleasure house, of a kind that proliferated in the environs of Paris in the second half of the C18. The Royal Pavilion developed as just such a thing from its earliest days in the 1790s of Holland's relatively modest timber-framed structure, Classical in style and hemmed in by buildings to Nash's oriental-style royal connoisseur's extravaganza.

The Royal Pavilion was a very rare, and perhaps now unique, example of a pleasure pavilion of this extensive high quality for royalty and aristocracy, of which the architecture and landscaped setting survives intact. The best comparison is the former Hertford Villa (replaced by Winfield House) for the Prince's close and influential friend the 3rd Marquess of Hertford (see also below).⁴ This aristocratic pleasure pavilion was built in the mid-1820s, a decade after Nash began work on the Royal Pavilion, and the villa and its garden reflected clear influences and similarities available to be emulated by the wealthiest of the elite. It does not survive intact as the collection has gone to the Wallace Collection and house was rebuilt in the 1930s, but the garden framework survives in modified form.

4.4 GARDEN DESIGN STYLE

Picturesque Forest Scenery style. This is a rare surviving example of the Picturesque Forest Scenery style which gained in popularity from the 1790s (see definition in Appendix 3, Section 17.3.2).

It is an early adoption of it by Nash, as a style which he reprised in later royal commissions in a variety of circumstances: at the Prince's very private cottage orné, Royal Lodge, Windsor; at the regal symbol of Empire and international reception, Buckingham Palace; in the enormous and prestigious town planning scheme of villa landscapes for Regent's Park, later a public park; and for St James's Park which became a public park in Nash's scheme with Aiton. Whether or not it was suitable for its various applications, it became Nash's stylistic trademark

³ Batey, 1995, 69-70.

⁴ Hertford's mother was the Prince's mistress from c.1806-19.

for his most prestigious landscape schemes, having been initiated by him at Brighton and presumably approved of by his royal master.

Planting Palette: While a manicured and formal flower garden was rejected, **flowers were embraced** in a more subtle naturalistic way in between the shrubs and included a wide palette and variety of colours and form, specifically at the Pavilion including newly introduced rarities such as China roses (especially *Rosa semperflorens*), tiger lily and dahlia. These were used as exotic jewel-like splashes of colour, gorgeous in their richness and exclusivity. At the Pavilion, this style of design and palette was comparable with a piece of Chinese wallpaper in the Pavilion itself. Colour, texture, exotica and exquisite materials are common to both, as well as the King's obvious pleasure. The trees formed a framework, with a high proportion of elm as specimens (it has been said that English elm was the Prince's favourite tree) and a range of commonly available immature conifers punctuating the flower and shrub beds with their distinctive feathery forms.

Despite the adoption of the Picturesque Forest Scenery style at the Pavilion by the highest in the land and its widespread publicity, the degree of its influence on other gardens is unclear. It was perhaps uncommonly adopted. Nash's *Views* were popular but it is unclear if they influenced the mainstream adoption of this garden style, although Henry Phillips's *Sylva Florifera* (1823) was available and promoted the theory of the style. Although widely reported and depicted, the style appears not to have been widely adopted. This is belied by the fact that Nash applied similar Picturesque landscape principles at the King's other royal gardens where he worked, but the general garden trend was towards Repton's more formal and geometric flower gardens that the Prince had spurned. The faux shagginess of lawns leading into shrubberies that Nash advocated, with their subtle pinpricks of floral colour, was never really a great fashion, and was soon superseded by more eye-catching schemes that were easier to manage. A similar informal planting style was shown on Soane's views of Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing and Russell Square, Bloomsbury.

Grouping of a single type of plant for mass effect: However, the Pavilion saw the introduction (or very early use) of a highly influential innovation in planting schemes. That is the **group planting of a single type for visual effect**, rather than the C18 style of specimens of individual types packed together. This innovation of massing was recorded and promoted by Phillips, a popularly read author in the 1820s, and by the most prolific of gardening authors, Loudon, who advocated it into the 1840s. Furthermore Prince Puckler observed this in the laying out of the St James's Park scheme by Nash and Aiton which was in similar style and recorded it in his book *Hints* (1834). This grouping for visual effect is possibly the most influential aspect of the garden at Brighton which persists in garden design today, for we still recognize and use this concept, adopting it as a basic tenet of planting schemes.

4.5 GARDEN DESIGNERS

John Nash was the mastermind of the garden and its layout using the Picturesque style. Although he is principally known as one of the most important and prolific architects of his day, his work as a designer of many prestigious landscape schemes was as important and long lasting. The Royal Pavilion can be seen as a testing ground for the

later royal commissions in this style. The Pavilion is the earliest of his domestic schemes for the Prince to survive intact as a unit with the principal building he designed, and a considerable amount of the furnishings and artistic collection. It still demonstrates his early approach to royal landscaping which he never abandoned but instead developed in scale and complexity. The other survival intact is Buckingham Palace, which also houses its original collection in full. This late, climactic commission reiterates the landscape principles Nash set out early on in the compact and challenging site for the pleasure pavilion at Brighton, but enlarged in scale and complexity to fill a 40 acre site commensurate with the country's premier palace. His commissions and influence as a garden designer in other spheres beyond the royal circle are even less well known and deserve further study and recognition.

The influence of **William Townsend Aiton** (1766–1849), the foremost horticulturist of his day, on the Pavilion garden was immense as he designed the planting, ordered the plants and oversaw their planting by Furner in Nash's prescribed Picturesque style. He was positioned at Kew at the epicentre of the introduction and dissemination of the increasing flood of exotics, alongside Sir Joseph Banks, and this array of rarities and novelties was reflected to some degree in the palette he specified at Brighton. The Pavilion and Carlton House were his springboard to even greater royal commissions with Nash as they moved on to Buckingham Palace and St James's Park in the 1820s. Like Nash, his commissions and influence as a garden designer in other spheres beyond the royal circle are even less well known and deserve further study and recognition. The surviving plant lists are very rare, perhaps unique, in their extent in reflecting his choice for a garden scheme, and indicative of his approach to such a prestigious scheme for a royal client.

The **Nash and Aiton collaboration** in which Nash designed and supervised the layout and character, advised on planting by Aiton, presumably originated, or was at least crystallized, at the Royal Pavilion. It was an essential part of the design process. The *modus operandi* is clearly documented towards the end of their collaborative period and shows that one without the other would not have been as successful in the quality of the landscapes they created for some of the most important landscapes nationally and internationally. During their outstanding collaboration both were at their most powerful, and expert and talented in their respective spheres. This is comparable with other architects who worked with horticulturists such as John Soane and John Haverfield, who also worked on a range of commissions but none so prestigious as those of Nash and Aiton. It is comparable in a later period with the outstanding collaboration between architect Edwin Lutyens and horticulturist Gertrude Jekyll who worked in a similar way. It is a very rare example of their collaboration which survives largely intact, comparable with Buckingham Palace.

Humphry Repton, while he apparently influenced the Prince at least in part to adopt the exotic Indian style for the Pavilion building, his influence on the garden around Nash's exotic Indian style confection was minimal.

Henry Phillips, the Brighton botanist, designer and author is indirectly important. He published design advice shortly after the Pavilion garden was complete which seems to reflect observations made during its creation, apparently

disseminating its principles in an indirect manner. It is of great significance for restoration projects as it is the only detailed contemporary published source for this style and is invaluable to understand the plant choices and associations at the Pavilion.

4.6 PLANTING PRINCIPLES APPLIED AT THE ROYAL PAVILION

The Nash/Aiton scheme as executed is principally documented in Nash's *Views* (1826, Figure 7 and Section 6) and in records of the plants supplied (see Appendix 6). This unique combination of documentary evidence is of great value both to the Pavilion and to historians and conservationists more widely. It was undoubtedly a very important expression of contemporary Picturesque principles, but some key details of the scheme are absent.

While we have immensely valuable details of the plants types and numbers used we do not have an indication of how they were disposed, of the sort recorded in a planting plan. The 1826 views are not botanically accurate and show a considerable degree of vagueness so that many cannot be identified. For such a small site large numbers of plants were supplied over a relatively long period (1817-29). It is unclear if they were all planted and survived, in which case the beds would have been very crowded, and needed constant thinning, or the successive orders reflected the need for replacements after failures. Neither is there any indication of which species grew successfully and which did not thrive and were either frequently replaced or soon dispensed with and others used instead. Neither is there a record of how the garden was managed or whether the shaggy Forest Scenery lawn was perpetuated or soon abandoned and a more manageable regime of grass cutting/mowing was adopted. When was this style of gardening abandoned and did William IV have any influence over retaining or abandoning it?

Thus with these unanswered questions it is necessary to turn to other sources to understand how the garden was managed and the planting principles.

4.7 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLANTING PALETTE

The Pavilion plant lists of 1817-29 are a seminal source for replanting the garden and of immense value as they are specific to this site, where for so many other sites the exact palette is unclear. The Pavilion lists are so important that they deserve publication, perhaps in the digested form of the list that Jessica Rutherford produced.

The plant lists include principally standard C18 species and varieties, some North American introductions and some of the most recent exotics that presumably came via Aiton. This becomes apparent when comparison is made with other plant lists for specific gardens and with published lists of plants which indicate what was commonly available for the late C18 and in the early C19 Regency period. It becomes clear the Pavilion palette was varied and adventurous and redolent of the oriental aura and Arabian Nights which the Prince sought.

As Mavis Batey put it so eloquently, the perfumed riches of Cathay, peonies, roses and chrysanthemums, hitherto seen only on the wallpapers, could now bloom at Brighton. Aiton briefed the plant-hunter William Kerr to go out to Canton, and his introductions, including *Kerria japonica* and the tiger lily were propagated by Aiton at Kew and

found their way into Nash's ornamental shrubberies.⁵ The trees formed the framework and included a high proportion of elm (see Appendix 9).

The lists are both typical and atypical. They are typical for the common C18 species as the framework of the scheme. They are atypical in the exotics which were only recently introduced or other rarities which were very expensive.

4.8 COMPARABLE LANDSCAPES

The following is a selection of the most comparable landscapes, being roughly contemporary, and in similar Picturesque style. These are discussed further in Appendix 3, Section 17.6. Figure 16 shows a comparison of size of the 8 acre Royal Pavilion estate with the grounds of the Nash's schemes for first three examples below: Regent's Park (166 acres), St James's Park (57 acres) and Buckingham Palace (40 acres).

At **Hertford Villa**, Regent's Park in 1825 the Marquess of Hertford broadly adopted a similar informal Picturesque character beyond the large terrace with lawns, trees and shrubberies running down to the park lake, and a strong link with the integral Regent's Park layout. It is the largest surviving Nash period villa garden of the Regent's Park scheme (although the villa was replaced in the 1930s and called Winfield House). Hertford, as an informed and wealthy collector, ornamented his pleasure pavilion in a more conventional showy style, including a considerable display of Antique and other connoisseur's sculpture enlivening the garden but surprisingly this was not part of Nash's scheme for Brighton, nor even items of Mrs Coade's patented artificial stone, highly regarded as garden ornaments.

St James's Park (1827) is relevant as a late flowering of the Nash/Aiton design collaboration. It reflects a continuation of the Picturesque style but at a larger scale, allowing greater complexity in applying their design principles in a different theatre: in a public park.

Buckingham Palace (1826-37) is another later flowering of the Nash/Aiton design collaboration. This reflects a continuation of the use of the Picturesque style but at a larger scale, allowing greater complexity in applying their design principles for a similar regal domestic, if palatial purpose. The relationship of the principle building and its contemporary landscape as executed survives well and intact, together with the Picturesque character of the ensemble. It remains a fine example of the Nash/Aiton partnership although the planting has altered in minor ways.

Pitzhanger Manor (1800-01)

Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, was an early Regency villa in an integral picturesque setting with informal shrubberies. It predates Nash's royal commissions with picturesque grounds. The villa was designed in 1800-01 by the architect John Soane. John Haverfield of Kew, who worked frequently with Soane in similar manner to Aiton with Nash, advised on the laying out of the 12ha. grounds. The landscape was a miniature landscape park, framed by

⁵ Batey, 1995, 71.

ornamental mixed shrubberies, with lawns, exotic trees, flower garden, kitchen garden, a serpentine lake with rustic bridge, an ornamental shrubbery walk and many classical fragments, set within a small park. The villa forms the focus of a rare survival of a Regency villa landscape presenting a unified design of house and grounds.

Kemp Town, Brighton (mid-late 1820s), is important in the local context as it exemplifies the Picturesque style of the Pavilion garden applied to a prestigious development by the author and designer, Henry Phillips, after he had closely observed the laying out of the Pavilion.

Crescent Garden, Alverstoke, Gosport is comparable as roughly contemporary with the Pavilion garden, because it provided the most detailed information on the planting of a specific Regency ornamental shrubbery, which was recorded and publicised in JC Loudon's *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1838). This indicates the wider adoption of the same style and its implementation in a specific setting.

4.9 SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESENT LANDSCAPE DESIGN IN THE WIDER CONTEXT

The layout on which today's garden is based reached its zenith by 1830, based on Nash's scheme in Picturesque style evoking Forest Scenery with Aiton's planting scheme (see Appendix 3, Section 17.3.2 for a definition of these). This had been implemented as the setting for the Indian style exteriors of the buildings, and before significant alterations were made for William IV in the 1830s. This is the most significant phase and remains strongly the most evident in the landscape today, despite later changes.

Most of the important ornamental changes Nash's design after c.1830 enhanced the layout or did not damage the style, including the North and South Gateways, the 1920s pools on the East Lawn and balustrade, and the 1950 café pavilion. They enhanced the layout and historic character, have varying levels of intrinsic significance and survive. Other changes damaged the historic fabric and character of this ensemble, particularly the 1830s reinstatement of the straight north drive, and to a lesser extent the reduction of the East Lawn in the 1920s and alteration in planting style. The most damaging change, the straight drive replacing Nash's serpentine approach and turning circle, has since been reinstated as far as possible, to evoke the historic line, along with Aiton's Picturesque planting style so that the garden to a great degree once more reflects Nash and Aiton's intended layout and character. Conifers were used by Nash particularly in his shrub beds in an immature form to provide a particular feathery appearance and evergreen interest of form and colour.

The Nash scheme of tree planting, including many elms, was greatly amplified in the later C19 and C20 with a range of trees. This blurred to a considerable degree the key views that were integral to Nash's design in presenting the Pavilion and Dome. Today's collection is notable mainly for its extensive collection of historic and botanically significant elms and as a key element of the unique and nationally and internationally significant elm collection in Brighton and Hove that has survived the Europe-wide depredations of Dutch Elm Disease. Only 5 specimens, all elms, apparently survive from the 1820s scheme, which incorporated earlier plantings of elms. The high reliance on

elms, though an historically key species for the garden, makes the tree cover highly vulnerable to uncontrollable loss and damage to the historic character and fabric.

Late C20/early C21 additions have generally damaged the historic character and fabric, often both visually and physically to varying degrees. These include service structures and the Max Miller statue in the north-west corner near the Corn Exchange, the garden maintenance area on the south boundary, various utility boxes and the wide service road alongside the Corn Exchange and Dome with screening vegetation. Historically inappropriate tree species and positions have damaged Nash's palette and his design particularly blocking many of his intended views of the Pavilion and Dome. The education building near the North Gate, however, sensitively fits into a quiet corner and has a neutral effect.

Thus the significance of the layout today is predicated on the Nash/ Aiton scheme established by 1830, as partially restored in the 1990s/2000s, including additions which enhanced the ensemble in similar style.

5 SURVIVAL & CONDITION OF KEY FEATURES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This is a brief overview of survival and condition of current features in the garden. The issues noted here are also reflected where relevant in Sections 11, Thematic Issues In Character Areas, and 12, Specific Issues Relevant to the Forthcoming Restoration. For planting survival and condition including tree analysis and guidance see Section 8 and Appendix 9.

5.2 THE OVERALL LAYOUT BY 1830 AND RESTORATION

The Nash layout as established by 1830 at its zenith, survives to a considerable degree or has been reinstated. Although altered to some degree by additions, the layout, including key Nash's key landscape features, remains largely complete with little of the landscape lost to irreversible development. In the 1990s restoration the reconfiguring of much of the layout to evoke the Nash scheme was completed, so that now the main issues are achieving security, upgrading the infrastructure consistent with historic design and public use, and refreshing the planting leading to consistent and more sustainable long term management to a high standard.

5.3 CONDITION OF LANDSCAPE STRUCTURES

Condition surveys were carried out in 2022 for the following structures:

- Fencing and gateways
- Entrances (excluding North Gate and South/India Gate)
- Walls
- Lamp Posts
- Pools on east boundary
- Boundary balustrade

The key conclusions are summarised as follows:

- **Lampposts** Variable condition. There are many more of the Crown Insigna reeded base lampposts than are included within the CBA conservation plan. The original colour scheme and level of operationality is unclear.
- **Balustrade** Some stretches show significant issues with cracking; other stretches have limited access which might be obscuring defects where the wall is either covered in plant growth or unable to access the external face adjacent the Old Steine as gates were locked on inspection. The original colour scheme is unclear.
- The **Brighton bow top fencing** is in generally good repair but would benefit from a decoration scheme – but this can be an issue on galvanised steel. The original colour scheme is unclear. It has proliferated for controlling visitors but could perhaps be rationalised/ reduced.
- **Other lampposts** (typically on the east boundary) require decoration works, but the original colour scheme is unclear. These were not surveyed in detail as they are not listed.
- **Cast iron railings and gateway** to the south of the East Lawn against Palace Place are in poor condition and require a repair scheme. The original colour scheme is unclear.
- The **pools** by the east steps are disused. Their condition is unclear. The original colour scheme is unclear.

- The **curved iron gates** beside the pools are in poor condition. They have dropped and are disused. Their original colour scheme is unclear. They require repair and redecoration.

5.4 KEY SURVIVING HISTORIC LANDSCAPE FEATURES

The most important surviving features relate to the key phase which established the character of the garden, i.e. to the layout by 1830 as established at its zenith when Nash's scheme was executed. This includes earlier features that he incorporated into his scheme.

The significances of these features are also identified in Section 10, Significance of Features Within the Garden.

Significance is categorized as follows:

- A Very significant: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest.
- B Significant: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the estate.
- C Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity.
- D Not historically significant.
- INT Damages the historic character.

Condition is categorised as follows:

1. Good.
2. Fair: Complete, but some repair, clearance or replanting required.
3. Poor: Dilapidated/some damage and/ or needing major replanting/restoration/ clearance.
4. Derelict: Badly damaged/incomplete/obscured but recoverable.
5. Lost, irrecoverable.

All the surviving features incorporated into the design by 1830 are Significance A unless otherwise indicated.

See Figures 1, 2, 4, 5 and Figure 2 for character areas.

Feature	Condition	Comments/ Issues
Royal Pavilion	1	Relates to the garden on three elevations: west front main entrance via porte cochere from King's Lawn; north front entrance to private apartments through veranda off North-East Lawn; east front garden doors to East Lawn.
East Lawn Character Area	2	Ice rink in winter damages character and fabric of lawn. South shrubbery overgrown. South entrance disused; capable of re-opening if managed appropriately. Later historic structures in poor condition, including balustrade, iron fencing, iron gateway, lamp standards. A new entrance from Old Steine will damage the 1920s boundary fabric and result in excessive wear of and damage to the East Lawn.
North-East Lawn Character Area	2	Reinforced grass damages character of lawn by verandah. Shrubberies becoming overgrown with mature shrubs Inappropriately placed trees maturing to obscure views. Later historic structures in poor condition, including balustrade, lamp

		standards.
Drive and turning circle	2	Flanking bow top fencing to prevent access to lawns historically inappropriate. Character damaged by street furniture, e.g. bins, interpretation. Later historic structures in poor condition including iron fencing, lamp standards.
King's Lawn Character Area	1	Subject to heavy wear even with fencing deterring some visitors. Later historic structures in poor condition including iron fencing, lamp standards.
Western Lawn Character Area	2	Subject to heavy wear particularly lawns. Character damaged by street furniture, e.g. bins, interpretation, wooden fences. Recent trees interrupt the views. Review mowing regime. Astroturf on slope near south entrance Maintenance area needs better organization; review composting. Shrubberies becoming overgrown with mature shrubs. Later historic structures in poor condition, including iron fencing, lamp standards, retaining walls to paths and New Road. Major antisocial behaviour problems around WCs affects gardens. Some plant failures eg Monarda (C18 introduction) others becoming invasive eg <i>Allium triquetrum</i> - need review of palette. Bindweed. Generally irrigation system failing; needs upgrade- popups don't work.
Elm Grove avenue	3	Damaged by tree losses, notably the west line and mature elms need special care. Mix of ages, cultivars and hybrid cultivars. Only one tree might be original to Nash's scheme. Damaged by large areas of hard surfacing (impact of tree roots on tarmac) in historically inappropriate materials.
The west and south boundaries	3	Shrubberies becoming overgrown with mature shrubs. Boundary treatments in poor condition and historically inappropriate.
The sculpted landform	2	Mostly good condition, but the East Lawn is being altered by reinstatement of the ice rink with additional material annually.
Path network (original, evoked or reinstated)	2-3	Paths generally: a mix of surfaces, some patched up, and in need of maintenance - drainage, re-surfacing and maintaining in consistent manner to withstand heavy use. Tarmac spray and chip used successfully at Royal Parks. A practical solution here if maintained and re-dressed with gravel regularly. Tarmac and loose gravel less hard-wearing.

		Character damaged by location and mixed styles of street furniture.
Dome and Corn Exchange facades	2	Partially screened by evergreen planting and recent trees to screen the service drive and vehicles. This is becoming too large.
Ice House Significance B	4	The Pavilion ice house lies at the south west corner of the grounds near New Road. Oval plan, shown on Nash's ms. plan; early 1830s architectural drawings. Ice was used in the ice room in the Pavilion, adjacent to the confectioners room where elaborate sorbets and confections were made. Much of roof dome gone; briefly uncovered 1950s revealing horse-shoe-shaped plan and domed roof (RPMT photographs). Lower significance as incomplete/ poor condition.

Other features of significance that were introduced later and complimented the Nash scheme and Picturesque character dated between the 1830s and 1950:

Feature	Significance	Condition	Comments/Issues
The North Gate (1830s)	A	2	Modern gates now block use by visitors.
The Museum (1830s) & c.1900	B	1	The porch is poorly presented.
The South Memorial Gate (1920s)	B	1	
The Pools on the East Lawn (1920s)	B	3	Bins damage the presentation. The pools are empty, condition unclear.
Balustrade, east and north boundaries (1920s)	B	3	Poor condition, damaged, deteriorating and vulnerable to further damage from woody planting engulfing it in places. Potential threat from inappropriate new gateway from the Steine.
Iron fence and gates, east boundary (1920s)	B	3	Poor condition, damaged, deteriorating and vulnerable to further damage.
Café (1950)	C	?1 or 2	Condition unclear.

5.5 KEY LOSSES & DAMAGE

Changes and neglect that occurred since 1830 damaged the historic fabric and character of Nash's design.

The garden layout survives well and the most important overall losses and damage are:

1. Reinstated historic planting has become overmature. While a considerable proportion was reinstated in the 1990s restoration, now it is outgrown and damaged, the wide-ranging palette considerably reduced, and requires refreshing and replanting to the restoration plans by Virginia Hinze. There is no record of what is in the beds now.

2. Decay and damage to the hard landscape, street furniture and lawns from heavy use and events.
3. The presentation and condition of the historic landscape structures (which all post-date 1830) is poor. Many are suffering from the lack of a regular maintenance programme, particularly lamp posts (many Listed grade II), metal fencing, gates and balustrading. The pools are disused.
4. The original colour scheme of the landscape structures requiring repair and redecoration is unclear. Was there ever a united colour scheme for the whole estate which it would be appropriate to reinstate and to use for additional fencing? Analysis of documentary evidence and paint scrapes may help to establish this understanding and inform a united approach to the landscape structures presentation.
5. Damage to internal estate views, screened by inappropriate trees and overgrown shrubs.
6. Loss of mature trees.
7. Planting of tree varieties which do not conform to Nash's palette on the plant lists (Appendix 6)
8. Changes to the urban setting: modern buildings which are very tall or of alien materials such as glass.

Since Nash's scheme was implemented the greatest landscape damage occurred generally from reversible changes to the layout or inadequate maintenance rather than irreversible change or development. The most damaging change was the reinstatement of the drive past the front door of the Pavilion. This, while altering the Picturesque layout and character, was reversible and the original Nash line reinstated or evoked in the 1990s, along with historically appropriate planting and island beds, and the path system on the East and Western Lawns.

5.6 CONDITION

The poor condition of the landscape fabric is due to two main causes:

- a) Damage from the heavy use and events, worsened by the inability to close the garden at night and associated antisocial behaviour and vandalism.
- b) The maturity of the restoration planting scheme which is now outgrown and depleted.

The poor condition within the site can be reinstated given sufficient resources and the ability to reduce anti-social behaviour.

Damage to the setting is irreversible, and requires vigilance from the Trust to ensure no further damage of this scale is caused (see Section 7 Current Views & Setting).

5.7 ESTATE PAINT COLOUR SCHEME

It is unclear if there was ever an early estate paint colour scheme for landscape features such as lamp standards, fencing, etc. So far historical references have not been found, and indeed all these landscape features postdate the Nash scheme. Paint scrapes of the 1830s lamp standards could reveal what colour they were painted originally and subsequent schemes. It is possible that the crown insignia were picked out, e.g. in gold. A variety of shades is evident on some lamp posts, e.g. no. 37 shows previous light green and darker green shades; no. 31 has evidence of yellow (primer?), light green and dark green. In the absence of documentary evidence the question of an estate colour scheme was addressed in the 1990s restoration. Virginia Hinze has advised that that it was decided to use an historically-appropriate colour, unique to the estate, to differentiate it from the rest of Brighton. Brunswick Green

was chosen. But there was no consensus as to exactly what that was as there are several shades including dark, mid and light. The bollards were painted in the shade selected – not the many lengths of bow-top railings. There may be items left on site in the Brunswick green to identify the shade chosen. The earliest colour scheme of the 1920s gateway to the Steine on the East Lawn should also be investigated as it is possible that this should be a different colour from the railings and lamp standards.

Guidance on an estate-wide colour scheme is required. It would be appropriate to seek advice on historic paint colours as to which would be most appropriate from Patrick Baty, a renowned historic paint expert. David Beevers might also have a view.

5.8 EXTERNAL LIGHTING OF THE ROYAL PAVILION

The external lighting of the Pavilion was of a particular type quite different to today's strong, flat and uniform floodlighting. George IV's longest visits to his pleasure pavilion were in winter. Guests arriving in the evening through the garden travelled obliquely along the winding drive to the *porte cochere* on the west front. They gradually saw the Pavilion revealed and illuminated by dancing gas jets giving an almost hallucinatory effect heralding the breathtakingly surprising exotic and sparkling interiors.⁶ Dancing gas flames are quite different to harsh floodlighting giving a uniformity to the whole facade. Similarly the 1830s lamp standards would have contributed bright points of light in localised areas. When designing the external lighting this magical effect should be explored and if possible evoked at least on the west front, but it may be difficult to achieve practically and given security requirements.

5.9 ARCHAEOLOGY

Sources

The archaeological content, significance and potential of the study area is addressed in detail in the following report: Museum of London Archaeology, Royal Pavilion Brighton Gardens Archaeological Desk-Based Assessment, draft, September 2022. This desk-based study assessed the potential for archaeological remains (buried heritage assets) and the possible effects of conservation and restoration works. Above ground heritage assets (historic structures) were not discussed in detail, but were noted where they assist in archaeological interpretation.

The site has been subject to various recent programmes of investigation: in 2016 a geophysical survey in the north-eastern area revealed many anomalies none of which were clear enough to identify accurately. A test pit excavated in 2016 uncovered C18 pottery and fragments of clay pigeon targets. A watching brief in 2013 uncovered part of the tunnel within the garden and one in 2012 also exposing the tunnel found Bronze Age flints.

The main conclusions are as follows.

Factors Affecting Archaeological Survival

Neither of the two watching briefs nor the excavations conducted recorded the levels of natural geology.

Information on levels of natural geology come from nearby British Geological Survey (BGS) boreholes. A 1961 BGS

⁶ Tyack, G, 'Xanadu-on-Sea', *Country Life* (14 August 2013), 37.

borehole from the south-eastern corner of the site recorded 0.3m of topsoil, “sub” deposits of 1.1-1.8m overlying clay and flint beds. As a garden subject to little development, the shallow geology mean that archaeological remains, if present will likely be found just beneath the surface.

Types of Archaeological Remains Likely to be Present

There is localised potential for archaeological remains of different types across the site.

The construction of the earlier and present structures including the Pavilion basement and subway will have severely truncated or removed any archaeological remains on those sites that may have been present. It is unclear what foundations the C18 villa and the Marine Pavilion had, but it is likely that they were shallow. The presence of a basement in the present building and the numerous domes suggests that the foundations were substantial, possibly extending at least 1.5m below ground level. Indeed, scattered flints and finds from more recent periods were made during the watching briefs over the subway. This would be similar for the construction of the stables, riding school and Museum. Though the exact location of Grove House is unclear, its construction will have truncated or removed any archaeological remains within its footprint. Part of its foundations are likely to have been removed by the northern portion of the Pavilion. Structural remains of this building are archaeological assets in their own right.

The Pavilion was built on relatively flat land so it is unlikely that the construction of the buildings necessitated extensive land clearance or levelling. The ice house as a subterranean structure has archaeological interest, but its construction will have removed earlier archaeology within its footprint. The 1950s photograph suggests part of the top of the ice house was demolished, but it is unclear how much of it was removed. Further remains of the ice house are archaeological assets in their own right.

Where there was relatively little disturbance for the royal works there is potential for evidence. This includes the area of the former Quakers’ Croft cemetery, part of which was overlaid by Elm Grove avenue. It has been reported that bones have been found.

The foundations of the temporary World War I structures are likely to have been shallow and so will only have truncated remains immediately beneath the turf. But given the depth of the underlying sub-soil it is possible that they cut to the chalk which would be a solid base. Potentially the bases of structural remains, e.g. foundations and footings of earlier buildings, and cut features such as ditches could survive but their context would be lost.

The chronological analysis in Appendix 2 demonstrates that the meandering paths, carriageways and plant beds have changed in some locations several times. These changes will have been shallow and the more recent reinstating of Nash’s turning circle and planting will likely have removed remains of the previous layouts.

Historic views of the east and west lawns and the wider garden can help with understanding changing levels within the garden. Humphry Repton’s plans for the garden (not executed) suggest that some landscaping through cutting

and building up was planned (Jones, 2005, 61). It is unclear how much similar landscaping was undertaken by Nash but it is likely that some landscaping took place, in which case the cutting will have truncated or removed any archaeological remains, including foundation of previous buildings located within the site. Despite this, the photographs of the gardens from World Wars I & II, though limited in panorama, suggest that the western lawn and garden was relatively flat (Fig 35). The bomb crater and subsequent emergency water tank may explain the low point. It is likely that prior to the transformation of the bomb crater into a water tank, the crater was “squared off” as can be seen in Figure 21. This will have truncated the sides further.

The previous geophysical survey and watching brief note the presence of C19 drains; it likely that other drains have been inserted elsewhere across the site, locally truncating any archaeological remains if present.

Likely depth and thickness of archaeological remains

Due to the open nature of the site as a garden, both present and historic, and the shallow nature of the underlying solid geology, any archaeological remains such as material culture will be located just beneath the turf and topsoil whereas structural features would be cut into the underlying chalk to an unknown depth.

The nature of possible archaeological survival in the area of the proposed conservation and restoration work is summarised here, taking into account the levels of natural geology and the level and nature of later disturbance and truncation discussed above.

Significance and Potential

The site has low potential to contain prehistoric, Roman and medieval remains. The shallowness of the chalk bedrock suggests that any finds would be found just beneath the turf and are likely to be redeposited due to later activities. This has been the case with the antiquarian and spot finds within the site. Such finds would be of low significance.

The site has localised low potential for paths and carriageways relating to the 18th/19th century phases of the Pavilion Gardens, moderate potential for the remains of earlier 18th century buildings previously located in the now gardens and high potential for remains of the ice house, Grove House and the bomb crater/water tank.

Much of the site is an open garden and so it possible for remains of the Quaker burial ground, Grove House and the ice house to remain. These remains would be of **high** local significance. There is potential for remains of the bomb crater and its subsequent use as an emergency water tank to survive. These remains would be of **high** significance. The degree of cutting/levelling which took place as part of Nash’s landscaping is not known, but if this was minimal then there is medium potential for the remains of the foundations of previous buildings. These remains would be of **medium** significance. It is possible for the remains of previous paths and carriageways to survive, though this potential is low due to being located in areas of high disturbance. These would be of **low** significance.

Archaeological remains that may be affected by the proposals comprise:

High Potential

Quaker burial ground in the vicinity of Elm Grove avenue.

Foundations of Grove House and First World War workshops, the ice house and bomb crater. There is a high potential for structural remains to survive as these are located in areas of low previous disturbance, with the exception of the ice house.

Drains and other subterranean structural features, footings and boundary features associated with previous and present C18 and C19 structures and their gardens. These are particularly likely in areas of little or no later disturbance such as on the present site boundaries.

Low Potential

The remains of historic paths and carriageways as these tend to be in areas of greater disturbance.

Remains from all other periods. Isolated prehistoric and Roman finds have been made here, but given the likely shallow nature of the geology, any remains would lie directly beneath the surface. It is therefore likely that these have been truncated, removed, or redeposited during development in later periods.

Further Work

Given the site's location within an archaeological notification area, the site's heritage significance as a Grade II Registered Park and Garden containing other related listed buildings and the results of this report which have identified the potential for archaeological remains, further work is recommended to clarify the nature and extent of these remains.

East Lawn: Building on the previous geophysical survey of the north-east portion of the site, a wider geophysical survey of the East Lawn and other areas that have not been disturbed by planting or paths, followed by targeted trenching may shed further light on the location of Grove House and its potential remains. The geophysical survey may provide more information on the size and precise location of the WWI workshops.

Western Lawns: Geophysical survey may help elucidate if remains of C18 and earlier buildings survive below ground. The precise location of the bomb crater and water tank may be revealed through a geophysical survey followed by targeted trenching.

Ice House: Investigations could be done through trial trenching in its suspected location.

Historic paths and carriageways: these are better suited to be investigated under a watching brief if any works to these areas are proposed, given their low archaeological potential.

Monitoring

The precise nature and extent of any investigative archaeological work should be agreed with the County Archaeologist and would be accompanied by a Written Scheme of Investigation (WSI).

5.10 ECOLOGY

Sources

The ecological content, significance and potential of the study area is addressed in detail in the following report: Greenspace Ecological Solutions, Royal Pavilion Brighton Preliminary Ecological Appraisal, July 2022.

Habitats

The following habitat types are present:

- Semi-Improved calcareous grassland
- Improved grassland
- Standing water
- Amenity grassland
- Introduced shrub
- Species-poor hedgerow
- Hardstanding
- Bare ground

Species lists and relative abundances were provided for each habitat type.

Habitats for Protected and Notable Species included

Badger. A sett was tentatively identified in the centre of the site but presence was not confirmed.

Bats. The nearest records of bats are a minimum of 1km away. The garden vegetation provides potential foraging and commuting habitat; roosting habitat in mature trees, buildings. No buildings proposed for removal as part of the restoration works are likely to provide active roosting habitat at present. The Pavilion roof, rendered surfaces and vaulted archways, and the Dome turrets and vaulted archways offer moderate potential for roosting habitat.

Breeding Birds. Suitable nesting and foraging habitat in buildings, mature trees and introduced shrubs.

Great Crested Newt. Elements of the garden provide limited sheltering and foraging opportunities. Not considered to be present.

Aquatic species. The five waterbodies provide poor suitability in their present form and the site is isolated from connecting habitat by roads.

Reptiles. The site is generally unsuitable for reptiles and it is isolated from connecting habitat by roads. Elements of the garden provide limited sheltering and foraging opportunities. A 2016 survey recorded no reptiles. Not considered to be present.

Mammals. Rabbit is present and apparently resident and fox. The garden character provides suitable commuting, foraging and resting places for European hedgehog.

Insects. The elm trees provide a food plant for the larvae of the SPI White letter hairstreak which has been recorded within 2km of the site. Rob Boyle, Head Gardener reported (October 2022) that he and local moth expert Tom Wilton found evidence on a Cornus mas of a moth *Antispila treitschkiella* not officially recorded in Sussex. This tiny species occurs locally in parts of southern England, flying in June and July. The larval mines are evident from August to early October. This find is surprising in the urban location, but an indicator of the potential for unlikely species.

<https://www.ukmoths.org.uk/species/antispila-treitschkiella/>

Effects of the Proposals on the Ecological Significance

1. The limited extent and nature of the proposals, coupled with the spatial separation and lack of habitat linkages, means that no statutory or non-statutory designated sites are considered likely to be damaged by the proposals, nor Ancient Woodland, Priority Habitats, Botanical Species of Interest.
2. Three INNS were recorded. All are listed on Schedule 9 of the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 (as amended), making it an offence to plant or allow them to grow in the wild. It is therefore recommended that these species are removed and appropriately disposed of during the re-landscaping of the garden.
3. Given the absence of recorded bat, reptile and newt presence, a requirement for activity surveys is disproportionate.
4. Since lighting can disturb bats using vegetation for foraging and commuting, additional external lighting should be sensitive to the scattered trees, shrubs and surrounding buildings, avoiding direct illumination of them. Should direct lighting of trees with bat roost suitability be required, further assessment of those trees for roosting bats will be required.
5. Removal of bird nesting habitat (where necessary) should be conducted outside the core breeding period for birds of late February – August inclusive.
6. Should during the development a protected or notable species be identified within the Site, then all works should stop and the appointed ecologist be consulted on the appropriate manner in which to proceed.

Suitable Opportunities for Enhancement

Opportunities for ecological enhancements which are appropriate for this particular historic environment if sensitively designed include:

1. Bird box installation on suitable trees in low visibility areas targetting Priority Species or local Biodiversity Action Plan species such as house sparrow or starling.
2. Bat box installation in suitable locations which are of low visibility.
3. Bug hotels, loggeries and/or bee posts in low visibility areas.

6 NASH VIEWS OF THE GARDEN (1826) & OTHER KEY VIEWS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The most significant internal views are to and from the three main facades of the Royal Pavilion as designed by Nash and illustrated by Augustus Pugin in his *Views* (1826, see Sections 6.2-6.5 below). Those of paramount significance relate to the west, entrance front, and the east, garden front, as these were the set piece architectural displays externally and contained the principal rooms of the pleasure pavilion overlooking the grounds. Views of these facades were facilitated by Nash's layout of serpentine drives and paths. Later modifications of the garden for ornamental design reasons have generally respected or enhanced these views.

It is essential to understand the views illustrated as they are seminal to the layout and the 1990s restoration. This section presents a plan to show the position of the viewpoints, and the watercolours illustrating these views, together with them as they exist today.

Ornamental views of slightly lesser significance relate to other aspects of Nash's design (e.g. the incorporation of the Grove promenade from the earlier public pleasure garden), existing estate buildings he incorporated as features, and to later important features including gateways for William IV and the Corporation, and the Dome/Museum porch.

The following plan shows the viewpoints for Nash's four main views of the garden (by Augustus Pugin), and their view cones (lettered A-D, see Sections 6.2-6.5 below) illustrated with comparable photos from April 2022.

The plan shows other viewpoints numbered 1-7 which are illustrated in 2022 in photographs below (see Section 6.6).

This section informs the following Section 7, Current Views and Setting.

See also Figures 17-21 in Appendix 9 which show the current and historical distribution of trees, in particular Figure 21 which shows the trees in relation to the Nash Views based on Figure 10 below.

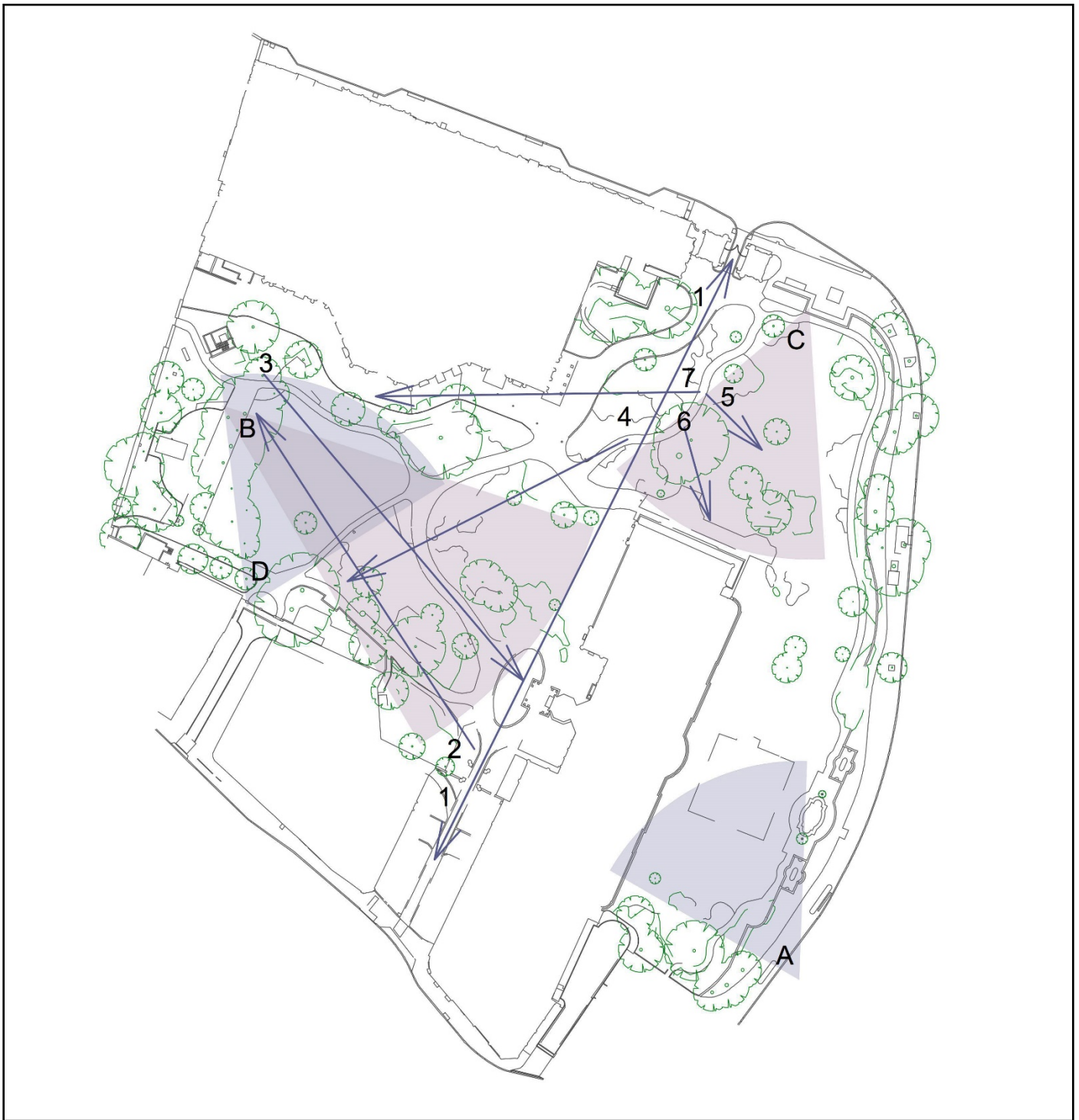


Figure 10 Plan of the viewpoints for Nash's four main views of the garden (by Augustus Pugin), and their view cones.

6.2 VIEW A STEINE FRONT GEOMETRICAL VIEW, NASH VIEWS

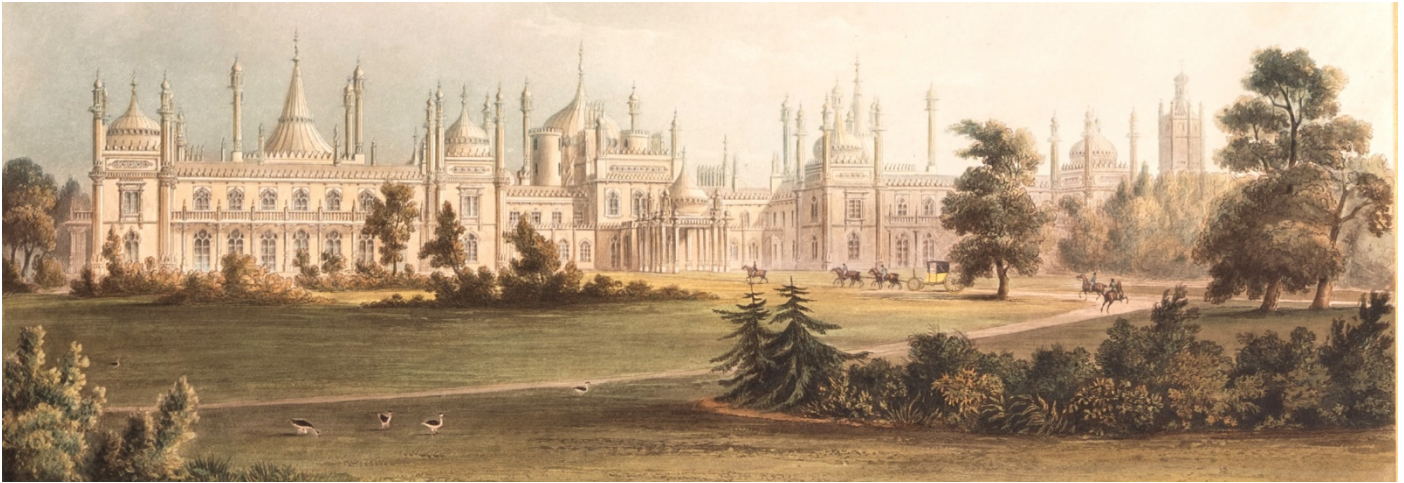


The central island bed shown in the view was not shown on the ground plan published with the views (see front cover above). Nor was the path layout as shown above. The Downs are visible on the far right, now long gone.



The boundary balustrade, iron gates and pools were added in the 1920s by the Corporation in Indian style.

6.3 VIEW B: WEST FRONT AND CARRIAGE SWEEP TO PORTE COCHERE, NASH VIEWS

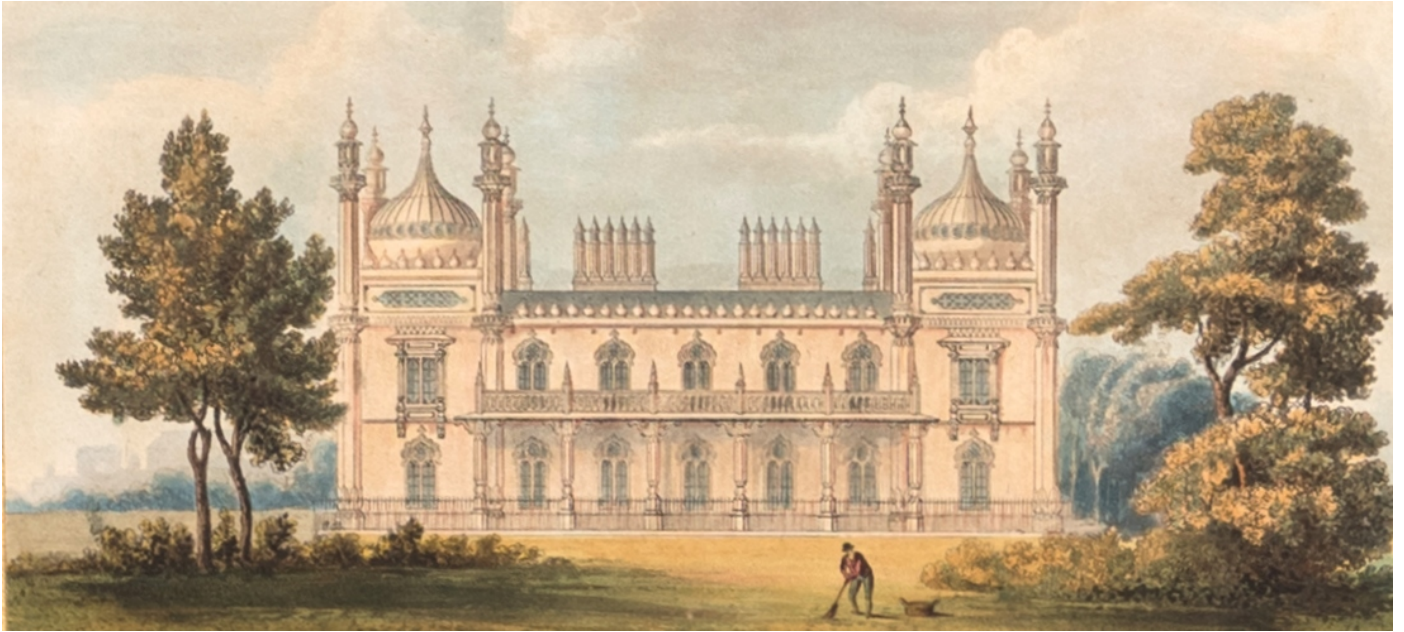


This is much as shown on the ground plan. It exemplifies the Forest Lawn style of planting and combination of evergreen and deciduous planting with the awns sweeping to the island beds.



This view is taken from slightly further away. The tower block rises above the tent roof of the Music Room.

6.4 VIEW C: NORTH FRONT AND ENTRANCE TO PRIVATE APARTMENTS, NASH VIEWS.



This view is similar to the layout on the ground plan. The sea view is visible far left.



The two trees require removal. The sea view is obscured by trees, but not irreversible.

6.5 VIEW D: VIEW OF THE DOME STABLES AND ELM GROVE (FAR LEFT).



This view is much as on Nash's ground plan and overlies Promenade Grove. To the west Elm Grove avenue frames the left-hand side, on the former Quaker burial ground, with to the east (right) an island bed.



6.6 OTHER KEY VIEWS, 1-7



View 1a, south through North Gate to Porte Cochere.



View 1b, north through Indian Memorial, south gate to North Gate over King's Lawn.



View 1c, pedestrian entrance next to Indian Memorial, south gate on axis with Porte Cochere and North Gate.



View 2, west from south entrance over Western Lawns towards Elm Grove and Dome.



View 3, east from Corn Exchange entrance at north-west corner.
Tower block rising above the Pavilion.



View 4, south from the carriage drive towards Western Lawns. The distant buildings are damaging but could be worse.



View 5, south-east over North-East Lawn towards the Steine and its C19 buildings in varied style but similar scale. North front at far right.



View 6, north front and North-East Lawn, distant East Lawn and Steine, view of sea obscured by external trees.



View 7, west to Museum and entrance, formerly (from 1900) to the Dome.

7 CURRENT VIEWS & SETTING

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Setting can be defined as the surroundings that add to the significance and experience of a defined asset. The setting of the historic environment is an experiential aspect of the significance of a heritage asset, usually including multiple facets which should be identified and understood. As well as simply ‘views’ it includes other experiences in a combination of elements such as sound, smell and light, and also the experience of ‘arrival’. Setting is not a defined spatial area in which no change may occur. Indeed change within a setting can enhance or contribute to significance. However, key elements of the setting may be of such great importance in experiencing the heritage asset that they deserve protection from damaging change.

For the Royal Pavilion the most obvious and influential aspect of the setting is the views. Although Nash tried to screen external views of the setting, today they are an important and accepted part of the historic environment and influence many of the key views between the Pavilion and its landscape. As such the scope of this project has addressed specifically that aspect, although the other experiential aspects, such as arrival, deserve systematic identification and analysis to develop an understanding of their roles, significance and vulnerability.

Internal views were a key part of Nash’s design and have remained important ever since, but external views have acquired greater effect and significance. It is important to understand the individual viewpoints, what they were intended to see and what was to be screened. In this case the most important are those forming part of Nash’s scheme as the most significant design phase of the landscape, even if they originated before his commission but were incorporated in his design. An understanding of their significance, survival and condition can inform a programme for restoration.

7.2 INDIVIDUAL VIEWS: ORIGIN, SIGNIFICANCE AND CONDITION

Individual viewpoints and direction of key views are identified in the table below, with their design origin, significance, condition and notes on their survival, and mapped on Figure 11 below.

The Nash views are mapped and illustrated in Sections 6.2-6.5 alongside current equivalents, with other viewpoints.

Significance is categorized as follows:

- A Very significant: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest.
- B Significant: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the estate.
- C Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity.
- D Not historically significant.
- INT Damages the historic character.

Condition is categorised as follows:

1. Good.
2. Fair: Complete, but some repair, clearance or replanting required.
3. Poor: Dilapidated/some damage and/ or needing major replanting/restoration/ clearance.
4. Derelict: Badly damaged/incomplete/obscured but recoverable.
5. Lost, irrecoverable.



Figure 11 Map of Key Estate Historic Viewpoints.

Key to internal viewpoints described in the following table

1. Royal Pavilion	2. North Drive
3. South Drive	4. East Lawn circuit path (Nash View A)
5. East Lawn south entrance	6. North-East Lawn circuit path (Nash View C)
7. Western Lawn paths	8. Elm Grove avenue (Nash View B from N end)
9. Entrance New Road/ Corn Exchange (NW)	10. New Road south entrance
11. Café	12. Western Lawn to Dome (Nash View D)
13. Museum Entrance and Porch	

See also Figures 17-21 in Appendix 9 which show the current and historical distribution of trees, in particular Figure 21 which shows the trees in relation to the Nash Views based on Figure 10 above.

Number	View point	Subject of view and origin	Significance/ condition of view	Comments
1.	1a) Pavilion, west front	<p>Origin: Henry Holland scheme for Marine Pavilion, developed by Nash.</p> <p>Internal: west over King's Lawn and Western Lawns to Elm Grove avenue (in former Quaker burial ground) largely screening New Road beyond.</p> <p>Oblique views of Indian style Dome and Corn Exchange facades to NW.</p> <p>External: to W and SW the garden is framed by the urban setting of rear of buildings of North Street and Prince's Place and the WC block, and of glimpsed facades along New Road.</p>	A/2	<p>Reinstated much as Nash intended.</p> <p>Internal views partly obscured in places by trees and shrubs.</p> <p>Maintenance compound and astrofurfed mound damage views.</p> <p>External views as established by mid-C20 largely unaltered. These are vulnerable to inappropriate redevelopment and more distant development of tall structures.</p>
	1b) Pavilion <i>Porte cochere</i> and main entrance to Pavilion	<p>Origin: Nash 1810s, altered by William IV and Corporation: 1830s William IV gateway on axis to N created framed views of The Level beyond.</p> <p>1920s Indian Memorial Gateway to S created framed views of Pavilion Buildings beyond.</p> <p>Internal: Nash designed views in 180 degree arc north, west and south over shrubberies and undulating lawns to show off the extent of the Western Lawns. Views through the gateways to north and south were screened by shrubbery but construction of the two main gateways and the straight main drive created views of the urban scenes beyond.</p> <p>External: Should be urban residential C19 character to S & W. To S views of the Indian Memorial Gateway frame Pavilion Buildings beyond.</p> <p>To W the garden is framed by the urban setting of rear of buildings of North Street and Prince's Place and the WC block, and of glimpsed facades along New Road.</p> <p>To N distant view of The Level framed by the North Gate archway.</p>	A/2	<p>Reinstated much as Nash intended.</p> <p>Internal views partly obscured in places by trees and shrubs.</p> <p>Maintenance compound and astrofurfed mound damage views.</p>
	1c) Pavilion, east front	<p>Origin: Holland Marine Pavilion over East Lawn, developed by Nash. Originally 1790s E to Steine and hillside beyond, and S to sea, but by 1810s Prince preferred privacy so Nash planted screen. Corporation in C20 partly re-opened screen to allow tourists iconic views of the building.</p> <p>Internal: Nash designed views in a 180 degree arc north, east and south</p>	A/2	<p>Reinstated much as Nash intended and adapted in 1920s.</p> <p>External views: Nash's intended screen planting much reduced by Corporation in C19/C20 revealing views E over Steine and</p>

Number	View point	Subject of view and origin	Significance/ condition of view	Comments
		<p>over East Lawn towards screen belt on N, E & S boundaries. External: Should be urban residential C19 character.</p>		<p>S towards sea framed by C18/C19 buildings. External views E badly damaged by glass fronted building immediately in front on Pavilion Parade. Tall buildings on hillside above damage the setting with alien form and scale. Views are vulnerable to further inappropriate redevelopment and more distant development of tall structures.</p>
	1d) Pavilion, north front	<p>Origin: Nash 1810s, opened up after Grove/Marlborough House demolished and north wing built with secondary entrance. Internal: North from veranda and north entrance, over North-East Lawn, the view originally screened in Nash scheme. External: Should be urban residential C19 character. North, views of C19 Marlborough Place buildings flanking Victoria Gardens beyond North Gate.</p>	A/1	<p>Internal views reinstated much as Nash intended. External views of urban setting to N remain as established in C19. These are vulnerable to inappropriate redevelopment and more distant development of tall structures.</p>
2.	Drive from North Gate to <i>porte cochere</i> through King's & Western Lawns See View 1 Section 6.6	<p>Origin: Nash 1810s, altered by William IV when the North Gate was built, line of drive reinstated 1990s. The section sweeping up to the <i>porte cochere</i> is illustrated in Nash's <i>Views</i> (see Section 6.3). Internal: Dynamic views from the most important entrance and approach to the Pavilion over informal lawns framed by shrubberies (evoking parkland) of north and west fronts including the <i>porte cochere</i>, and the breathtaking roofscape. External: Should be C19 urban residential so S and C19 commercial/residential to W. To S views of the Indian Memorial Gateway frame Pavilion Buildings beyond. To SW the garden is backed by the urban setting of rear of buildings of North Street and Prince's Place</p>	B/2	<p>Reinstated much as Nash intended. Internal views partly obscured in places by trees and shrubs, maintenance compound and astroturfed mound. External view of WC block damages setting to S.</p>

Number	View point	Subject of view and origin	Significance/ condition of view	Comments
		and the WC block, and W glimpsed facades along New Road.		
3.	Drive from South, Memorial Gate See Views 1a-c Section 6.6	Origin: Nash, 1810s, gateway built 1920s. Internal: Direct view of west front of Pavilion, focussed on the <i>porte cochere</i> set in King's Lawn and Picturesque shrubberies, with backdrop of North Gate and Museum and Dome facades.	A/1	Remains as Nash intended. Internal views damaged by maintenance compound and astrourfed mound damage views.
4.	East Lawn circuit path	Origin: Nash 1810s. Illustrated in Nash's <i>Views</i> (View A Section 6.2). Internal: Changing views of Pavilion over informal lawns framed by shrubberies of the long and unbroken east front including the breathtaking roofscape.	A/1	Compare Nash View & 2022 photograph. Framework remains as Nash intended but loss of planting and damage to lawn from returving annually for ice rink.
5.	East Lawn south entrance	Origin: Unclear, not Nash; minor pedestrian gateway part of C19 railings along S boundary. Not shown on C19/early C20 mapping but an entrance was shown nearby to E off the Steine by 1909 (OS). Internal: Entrance to the East Lawn, heralding the estate and breathtaking view of the Pavilion east front. No major view at entrance as shrubs screen lawn and Pavilion, then burst view of these when the south end of the East Lawn is reached, also of nearby pools, balustrade and contemporary iron gateway.	C/2	Gateway disused. Proposal to create new gateway on E boundary from Steine. Shrubbery overgrown. Prince's place setting damaged by service boxes and poor presentation.
6.	North-East Lawn circuit path	Origin: Nash 1810s. Illustrated in Nash's <i>Views</i> (View C Section 6.4). Internal: A sweeping view of the narrower and but still exotic north front of Pavilion, with veranda and private apartments, framed by trees, with glimpses of the sea beyond the East Lawn.	A/1	Compare Nash View & 2022 photograph. Reinstated 1990s as Nash intended. Issues with size, species and placement of trees damaging views.
7.	Western Lawn paths	Origin: Nash 1810s. Illustrated in Nash's <i>Views</i> (View B Section 6.3). Internal: Sweeping views of Pavilion W front and of the Dome and Corn Exchange facades. External: C19 urban residential buildings so S and C19 commercial/residential to W.	A/2	Compare Nash View & 2022 photograph. Reinstated much as Nash intended. Internal views partly obscured in places by trees and damaged by maintenance compound and astrourfed mound.

Number	View point	Subject of view and origin	Significance/ condition of view	Comments
		View E to Pavilion W front and roofscape, backed by urban residential area rising on hillside beyond Steine.		External: View of WC block damages setting to S. External view E above the Pavilion roofscape badly damaged on hillside by tall buildings with alien form and scale. It is vulnerable to further inappropriate change particularly new tall structures.
8.	Elm Grove avenue path	<p>Origin: Nash scheme on a line suggested by Repton. From the north end of the formal path view east of Pavilion main entrance front framed by Western and King's Lawns. Illustrated in Nash's <i>Views</i> (approximates to View B Section 6.3 but further distant from the Pavilion).</p> <p>Internal: Sweeping views east of Pavilion W front and of the Dome and Corn Exchange facades.</p> <p>External: Should be C19 urban residential buildings to S and C19 commercial/residential to W. View E over Pavilion, backed by urban residential area rising on hillside beyond Steine.</p>	B/2	Compare Nash View B & 2022 photograph. Remains much as Nash intended. Internal views partly obscured in places by trees. View of WC block damages setting to S. External view E above the Pavilion roofscape badly damaged on hillside by tall buildings with alien form and scale. It is vulnerable to further inappropriate change particularly new tall structures.
9.	New Road/ Corn Exchange (NW) entrance	<p>Origin: minor pedestrian gateway mid-C20. A late addition, not part of the major design phases, but its condition and character is important as an entrance to the designed landscape.</p> <p>Internal: Entrance to the Western Lawns, heralding the estate and breathtaking view of the Pavilion west front. No major view at entrance as shrubs screen lawns and Pavilion, then burst view of these when the north end of the Grove is reached.</p> <p>External: New Road, highly maintained C19 street and buildings with centrepiece the Theatre Royal, contrasting with the rural idyll of the garden.</p>	D/2-3	Poorly presented with service and utility structures, Max Miller statue and other historically inappropriate encroachments. New Road setting damaged by seats, large bins, street furniture and scruffy character.

Number	View point	Subject of view and origin	Significance/ condition of view	Comments
10.	New Road south entrance	<p>Origin: minor pedestrian gateway late C19/early C20 (Between 1874 and 1909 OS). A relatively late addition, not part of the major design phases, but its condition and character is important as an entrance to the designed landscape.</p> <p>Internal: Entrance to the Western Lawns, heralding the estate and breathtaking view of the Pavilion west front. No major view at entrance as shrubs screen lawns and Pavilion, then burst view of these when the south end of the Grove is reached.</p> <p>External: New Road, highly maintained C19 street and buildings with centrepiece the Theatre Royal, contrasting with the rural idyll of the garden.</p>	C/2	<p>Poorly presented with service and utility structures and other historically inappropriate encroachments.</p> <p>New Road setting damaged by seats, large bins, street furniture and scruffy character.</p>
11.	Café	<p>Origin: 1950 as public refreshment facility on W boundary.</p> <p>Internal: Overlooks the Western and King's Lawns, Pavilion W front and roofscape.</p> <p>External: C19 urban residential buildings to S and C19 commercial/residential to W. View E over Pavilion, backed by urban residential area rising on hillside beyond Steine.</p>	C/2	<p>Remains much as intended. Internal views partly obscured in places by trees.</p> <p>View of WC block damages setting to S.</p> <p>External view E above the Pavilion roofscape badly damaged on hillside by tall buildings with alien form and scale. It is vulnerable to further inappropriate change particularly new tall structures.</p>
12.	Western Lawn and Elm Grove	<p>Origin: Pre-Nash, illustrated by Repton as concept 1805.</p> <p>Land originated as part of Quaker burial ground (site of Elm Grove), public pleasure garden Promenade Grove (site of lawn) and partly as King's detached garden (now King's Lawn);</p> <p>To north to Porden buildings 1804-06: formal view along path framed by elm avenue (Elm Grove) to Riding House (now Corn Exchange); informal view across lawn to stables (now Dome), landscaped/ framed by Nash, see Nash's <i>Views</i> (View D Section 6.5).</p>	B/2	<p>Compare Nash View & 2022 photograph.</p> <p>Remains much as Nash intended.</p> <p>Internal views partly obscured in places by trees.</p> <p>View of WC block damages setting to S.</p> <p>It is vulnerable to inappropriate change particularly new tall structures.</p>

Number	View point	Subject of view and origin	Significance/ condition of view	Comments
		<p>Internal: Controlled view north of the Dome and Corn Exchange facades. External: None, sky only.</p>		
13.	Museum Entrance and Porch	<p>Origin: 1901-02 Indian-style canopied garden entrance for the Dome, now the museum entrance. The substantial columned porch is a major ornamental feature in this part of the garden and from the north drive. Internal: views NE to North Gate, SE to Pavilion N and W fronts, E over NE lawns, S over King's Lawn and Western Lawns.</p>	B/2	<p>Remains much as intended. Views of King's and Western Lawns obscured by yew hedge to screen service vehicles, and damaged by inappropriate fencing, large areas of tarmac etc.</p>

7.3 OVERVIEW OF INTERNAL VIEWS

Significance A

The most significant internal views are to and from the three main facades of the Royal Pavilion as designed by Nash and illustrated in his *Views* (1826, see Figure 7 and Sections 6.2-6.5). Of these those of paramount significance relate to the west, entrance front, and the east, garden front, as these were the set piece architectural displays externally and contained the principal rooms of the pleasure pavilion overlooking the grounds. View of these facades were facilitated by Nash's layout of serpentine drives and paths. Later modifications of the garden for ornamental design reasons have generally respected or enhanced these views.

Significance B

Ornamental views of slightly lesser significance relate to other aspects of Nash's design (e.g. the incorporation of the Grove promenade from the earlier public pleasure garden), existing estate buildings he incorporated as features, and to later important features including gateways for William IV and the Corporation, and the Dome/Museum porch.

Significance C/D

Of least significance are views relating to lesser later C19 and C20 features which add to the complexity of the design but make a minor contribution without damaging it. These include the south gateway in East Lawn (c.1900) and the New Road entrances to the Western Lawns, also the 1950 cafe which faces the Pavilion.

Condition and survival

Condition and survival is fair to good. Some views have become slightly obscured by trees planted in the wrong place or being allowed to grow to maturity. Some views have been somewhat damaged by minor modern structures but generally these can easily be reinstated/mitigated.

Recommendation

Produce a detailed audit of views including condition and an action plan for a regular maintenance schedule to restore and retain views.

7.4 OVERVIEW OF EXTERNAL VIEWS AND SETTING

Introduction

Most immediately the setting is based upon the C18 and C19 urban development of the hilly environs of the site which has a uniformity and air of wealthy prosperity to its facades and slight scruffiness to the rear of buildings. The site links a chain of C19 public open spaces to the north, the Valley Gardens and most immediately Victoria Gardens, and the formal open space of the Old Steine to the south connecting to the seafront. The marine character is another essential element of the experience of the setting.

The setting and key related external views divide into zones based on the cardinal compass points as follows:

West Zone

Significance C

Character of Zone: An urban backdrop largely screened by garden planting. The westerly setting is framed by New

Road, itself lined on the west side largely by C19 commercial buildings dominated by the façade of the Theatre Royal. These present a uniformity of height and building type which is glimpsed from the west half of the garden west of the Pavilion and is largely unchanged. Beyond this the hillside rises, covered by residential and commercial buildings which are not visible.

Damage and Vulnerability: The uniformity and character of the immediate setting in New Road is largely undamaged but is vulnerable to historically inappropriate changes to the facades, and to redevelopment of increased scale and height. Beyond this to the west the presently invisible hillside is vulnerable to redevelopment which becomes visible above the buildings of New Road.

South Zone

Significance C

Character of Zone: An urban backdrop largely screening views south except along three narrow roads, itself screened where possible by garden trees. The southerly setting is immediately framed by the residential and commercial buildings in the parallel and short C19 and C20 developments of Prince's Place, Pavilion Buildings and Palace Place. The ensemble was established by the mid-C19 and buildings since then have largely respected the scale and materials of the rest. The rear of the Prince's Place buildings rise sharply overtopping and shading the garden. They have not been given 'polite' facades but present a utilitarian character which contrasts with the wildly exotic character of the Pavilion buildings. Below these is the WC block adjacent to the garden which in its own mid-C20 utilitarian style compliments that of its taller companions. Beyond these the C18 and C19 town stretches south towards the sea with glimpses from the garden along the three short Places.

Damage and Vulnerability: The C19/ early-C20 setting survives largely unchanged. The relatively low height of the urban buildings beyond the immediate backdrop of buildings has not been breached visibly but these views are vulnerable to tall structures such as the BA i360 mast, which some perceive as a controversial structure on the sea front to the west.

Zone North from Western and King's Lawns Significance C

Character of Zone: A built backdrop of the large and imposing estate structures screening views north. The northerly setting is immediately framed from the Western and King's Lawns by the immediate presence of the tall Dome and Corn Exchange, and to a lesser extent by buildings along the east side of New Road, and by the North Gate. All these were established in the C19, largely incorporated by Nash into his scheme. The trees on The Level form a softening backdrop for the buildings in character with the garden.

Damage and Vulnerability: Views in this direction are well preserved in their C19 character but are vulnerable to tall structures on redevelopment sites extending for some distance north as the land rises up the valley towards the Downs (a now lost view enjoyed by the Prince initially).

Zone North from North-East Lawn Significance A

Character of Zone: The backdrop of a public open space framed by C19 residential buildings, receding northwards along The Level open space. The North-East and East Lawns are not screened from the views north by estate

structures and Nash intended these views to be obscured by woody planting. However, this screen has become permeable and an attractive view north is obtained over Victoria Gardens, framed by Marlborough Place buildings towards St Peter's Church. The trees on The Level form a softening backdrop for the buildings in character with the garden.

Damage and Vulnerability: Views in this direction are well preserved in their C19 character but are vulnerable to tall structures on redevelopment sites extending for some distance north as the land rises up the valley towards the Downs (a now lost view enjoyed by the Prince initially).

East and South-East Zone

Significance A

Character of Zone: The prestigious urban residential backdrop for the open spaces of The Steine leading to the sea, the seminal driver for the whole estate. The easterly setting is the most important for external views and the most vulnerable to inappropriate change. The East Lawns and east front of the Pavilion are largely unscreened from the views east and south-east by estate structures and Nash intended these views to be obscured by woody planting. However, a major stretch of this screen opposite the Pavilion has been removed to reveal what should be an attractive view over the easterly and south-east view of the Steine. This should be of prestigious C19 seaside residential buildings at the same level as the Pavilion and East Lawn framing the Steine open space. This view is the most open from the estate, although designed by Nash to be screened by planting. It has been maintained open by the Corporation since the early C20 so that iconic views of the Pavilion are visible to users of The Steine, a travel hub and the sea-ward view which the Prince initially embraced is reinstated. Views east of the setting are important not only from the Pavilion east front and the East Lawn but from the Western Lawns which has external views over the Pavilion to the hillside beyond. The mature elms alongside the garden boundary form a softening foreground and screen for the buildings beyond in character with the garden. The elms on The Steine provide a softening backdrop for views south.

Damage and Vulnerability: Modern structures in alien scale, form and materials are appearing in place of the characteristic unity of the C19 buildings. An example of this is the 8-bay, glass-fronted 5-storey residential structure on Pavilion Parade directly in front of the main rooms of the Pavilion. East of the Steine the hillside rises sharply and views were initially damaged by a tall mid-C20 residential block between High Street and Chapel Streets. North of this tall developments in progress will also intrude into these views. These developments indicate that the 90 degree arc eastwards is particularly vulnerable to further damage, both at Steine level and on the hillside beyond.

The southerly view seen from the East Lawn looks out over the gap for the sea, framed by the C19 buildings of the Steine which has not been damaged by later changes. However, this is vulnerable to tall seafront recreational structures such as the BA i360 or tall residential developments.

Recommendations

1. Carry out a detailed setting study defining the experiential aspects of the character areas of the setting, their significance to the Royal Pavilion and vulnerabilities to inappropriate change.
2. Use the setting study to inform supplementary planning guidance in the Local Plan.
3. Carry out regular scrutiny of planning applications in particularly vulnerable zones to identify inappropriate applications and submit comments.

8 GARDEN PLANTING AND MANAGEMENT GUIDANCE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The key to presenting the early C19 Picturesque Forest Scenery style in this garden combines the planting palette, plant associations, and management in a very particular manner. This section summarises the key points of each.

8.2 PLANTING PALETTE, ASSOCIATIONS AND STYLE

The planting palette and its arrangement in this style is discussed further in the following Appendices:

1. Design Principles of Plants and Planting in the Floriferous Shrubbery
2. Notes on Design and Plants from Henry Phillips's Books
3. Royal Pavilion Plant Lists 1817-29

This subject was researched in detail in the 1980s for the Royal Pavilion by Mavis Batey, and the findings applied in the 1990s restoration scheme which covered a considerable proportion of the garden, in Beds A-R and the adjacent lawns (see Figure 12 for map of recreated beds and areas which were left unrestored). The palette is based on the nurseryman's lists of plants supplied 1817-29 for shrubberies containing deciduous flowering shrubs and evergreens including conifers, underplanted with ephemeral plants in the spaces between and along the edges. The layout and associations of the plants for the restoration scheme were based on the Nash *Views* specifically of this garden, supplemented by contextual sources. The 1990s scheme remains valid. The plans and lists should continue as the basis for future planting unless evidence is found in future which indicates otherwise or conditions change so much that it is unsustainable. The palette may need minor adjustment guided by experience of managing the scheme since it was planted or to mitigate climate change. Replacement varieties or species, where unavoidable, should emulate those known to have been planted in the Nash scheme or recommended by Henry Phillips, or closely resemble them to evoke the general appearance of the style.

8.3 APPEARANCE

The planting required very specific and specialist gardening techniques to present the appearance required by Nash, specifically in the Picturesque style of Forest Scenery as in his *Views* (see Figure 7 and Sections 6.2-6.5). This appearance evoking a natural grazed scene with clumps of shrubs is difficult to maintain without constant attention to the shrubs to ensure they do not become crowded and do not smother the non-woody plants around them, as well as keeping the lawn at bay while allowing the grass to appear as if it is growing into the beds. Appendix 5 gives details of plant associations.

The following summary of the intended gardening style is based on Phillips (1823) and Puckler (1834):

1. The lawn should appear to grow into the shrubbery, as in forest scenery, while not allowing it to take over.
2. Use groups of a single type of shrub for effect.
3. Plant the massed shrubs first, placing evergreens far back as the grass will not grow under them.
4. Plant gaps between the shrubs and in front against the lawn with herbaceous perennials, bulbs, etc, for general effect and not for individual inspection. Use spire-like (or spiry) plants between the plants to give

points of colour (e.g. hollyhocks, verbascum, foxgloves, yellow *Sisyrinchium*, etc)

Other informative garden views include those of Pitzhanger Manor and Cronkhill:

Pitzhanger Manor, 1800-01: <http://collections.soane.org/object-xp14> (ref. XP14)

<http://collections.soane.org/ARC8249> (ref. SM 14/2/3)

<http://collections.soane.org/ARC8248SM> (ref. 14/2/7).

Cronkhill, 1802: <http://collections.soane.org/THES75575> (ref. 73/5/2)

8.4 MANAGEMENT OF BEDS AND GRASS

The main problem with these floriferous shrubberies was that the shrubs grew fast, often prodigiously, quickly closing up the spaces meant for less robust herbaceous plants, bulbs and seasonal plants, and growing into each other. The result without skilled control was an ugly woody mass and tangle. A high degree of expertise was required to keep the intended character by rigorous pruning. Many of the subjects were vigorous and unless kept in a state of strictly arrested development by frequent pruning would have to be replaced well before maturity to retain the desired effect.⁷ This is true of all shrubberies if the plants are not set out at spacings reflecting their ultimate size and including buffer gaps to retain their individuality, which is never done as the initial effect would be so bare.

It therefore had an implication for the cost of gardeners to control (i.e. prune) them and of replacement plants.

In addition the shaggy grass edges are constantly trying to invade the beds from the lawn with the loss of the smaller plants if it not carefully controlled.

8.5 MANAGEMENT GUIDANCE

The most difficult point in managing such beds is how to maintain the ideal proportion of bed coverage of herbaceous plants/bulbs to shrubs seen in the Pugin drawings, to avoid the entire loss of the non-woody plants as shrubs grow, and grass taking over the soil as it grows in from the lawn.

- The management should provide enough bed space to allow tall spiry flowers and bulbs to be visible between shrubs, and shrubs not so high as to overtop the spiry plants or the herbaceous material/bulbs at the front.
- Cyclical pruning is essential but the cycle and degree of pruning need to be specified and tailored to the subjects. Loudon indicated a four-year pruning cycle, but this is too infrequent for vigorous subjects, for which an annual or biennial prune is more realistic, adapted to the vigour of the particular subject.
- A renewal policy for replacement planting should set limits on the ultimate size of shrubs and smaller conifers after the juvenile stage in the Nash/Pugin drawings is outgrown and cannot be maintained solely with regular pruning. This would be based on arrested maturity with replacements to maintain the desired proportions resulting in complete replanting on a cyclical basis.
- Careful management of grass trimming is essential to avoid beds becoming choked with grass/weeds where lawn edges are left shaggy.

⁷ Loudon offered instructions about thinning and pruning the floriferous shrubbery in *The suburban gardener, and villa companion* (1838 edition), 258-59. See Appendix 4, Section 17.8 below.

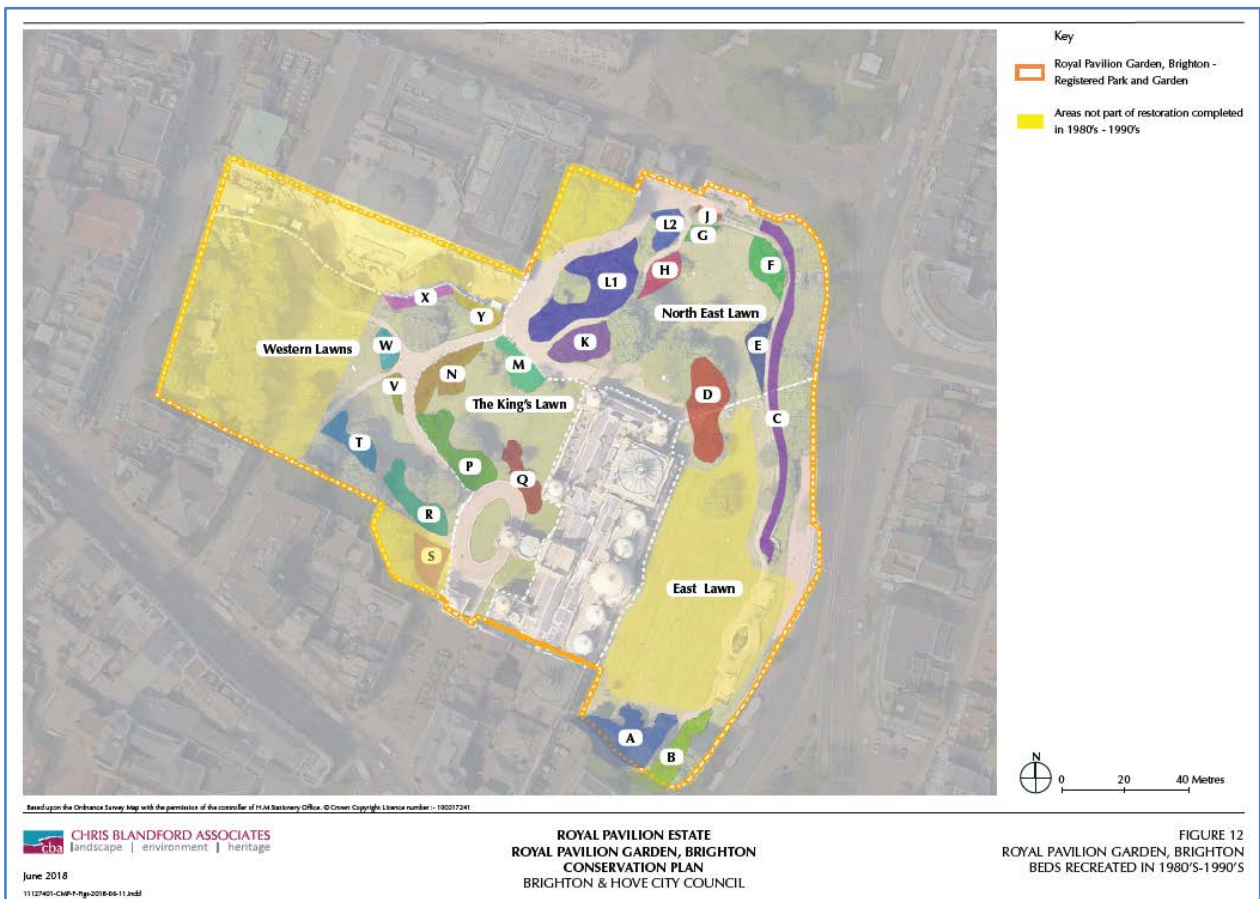


Figure 12 Map of Beds Recreated in 1980s-90s, with Bed Letters. Yellow areas not part of restoration (CBA, 2018).



Figure 13 Location of Elm Trees, 2018 (CBA, 2018).

8.6 EXISTING PLANT COLLECTION

Little survives that formed part of the Nash/Aiton planting scheme, except for up to 5 elm trees (the earliest being T2, 47, 84, see Figures 18, 19). Analysis of the 2022 tree survey has identified the phases of planting of these and later trees. Some trees are in positions which are historically inappropriate or are too large, particularly those which obscure the key Nash views and require removal without replacement or, as discussed above, pruning and retention in a state of arrested maturity to frame not block views (see Figure 22 for trees in relation to key views).

The yew hedge in front of the Dome/Corn Exchange façade is historically inappropriate. It largely obscures the visual link between the garden/Pavilion and these buildings including one of the Nash views of the Dome, and the northerly view along Elm Grove to the former Riding House, now the Corn Exchange. If the hedge is reduced in its screening effect or removed a solution is required to mitigate the appearance of the service vehicles and drive.

The restored 1980s-90s Nash beds A-R (Figure 12) contain historically appropriate material which should be perpetuated. The material in beds which were not part of the restoration requires review to establish whether it conforms to the early C19 palette (see list in Appendix 6) and management and if not whether the planting should be replaced in this style. The mid-C20 Corporation palms convey an exotic character which complements the building style and is appropriate on the East Lawn around the 1920s Bertie Maclaren pools and along his balustrade.

TREES

The following sections summarise key findings and recommendations in the tree analysis in Appendix 9.

This includes:

- A table of Phases of Tree Planting (based on the phases identified in Section 3.5), Survival and Significance,
- map analysis with phasing maps for existing trees overlaid on key historic maps (Figures 17-21) including trees in relation to identified Nash views (Figure 19) indicating areas not to plant and those which can be.
- comparison of historic images and current similar views addressing trees and changes in coverage.

8.7 KEY TREE FINDINGS: NUMBERS AND PALETTE

- 96 individual trees are recorded in 2022 and one group of yew.
- Elm comprises 44% of specimens, 42 trees. They still dominate though many mature specimens have been lost since the 1970s.
- 10 limes form the second dominant species.
- The remaining 46% comprise a few specimens each of 20 species of varied size, form and date of introduction.
- The palette includes several exotics, some unavailable when Nash's designs were laid out by Aiton. More recently introduced trees include Chusan Palm *Trachycarpus fortunei* (intro. 1836), *Tilia euchlora* (intr. 1836) and Monterey Pine *Pinus radiata* (intr. 1833). Many elm hybrids and cultivars are of recent origin.

- *Koelreuteria paniculata* (Pride of India) is a distinctive species with 4 specimens. It was introduced in 1763 but these trees date to the later C20. The oldest and best formed is T15, in front of the Dome. They may reflect the Pavilion's connection with India when a hospital for wounded Indian soldiers during World War I.
- Conifers have not always thrived, possibly due to the lime-rich soils, although there is imported soil in places. E.g. two donated *Pinus pinaster* have not survived. Two young *Pinus radiata* are present.
- 9 donated trees of various species appear in the tree survey; many are in poor condition or poorly located.⁸

8.8 KEY TREES FINDINGS: AGE

Only three trees date to the pre-1787 period and another two pre-1850 are likely to be planted for Nash; all 5 are elm. Another nine were probably planted by 1900, all elm and lime. Thus extremely few trees are contemporary with the Nash layout of 1826 and these have high significance both historically and botanically. 85% of the trees were planted after 1900 and the majority (66%) since about 1950.

8.9 THE ELM COLLECTION

Of structural trees, the elms are a very significant species both within the garden, within Brighton and Hove, the UK and beyond. The majority of the more than 30 significant specimens are on the North-East and Western Lawns and along the boundary with the Steine. (Figure 13). Some were identified in the CBA CMP (noted on Figure 13 above) which has been refreshed by the 2022 survey by Greenspace Ecological Solutions, with elm identification by Peter Bourne, local elm expert. The elms contribute greatly to the character of the garden, with existing specimens incorporated by Nash and others supplied to supplement these in his scheme as shown in the plant list (Appendix 6) as well as trees along the reinstated serpentine drive. Since then elms have been planted by the Corporation and its successors so that a range of ages ensures succession of cover but this places a reliance on a very vulnerable genus. There have been major losses to DED and the 1987 storm.

These elms represent a significant range of BHCC's holding of the National Collection of Elms in Brighton. This has been acknowledged as of world significance in its designation as a World Biosphere site for the survival of elms after the ravages of Dutch Elm Disease (DED) in the 1970s. As a result of DED very few of the formerly widespread elms survive elsewhere in the British Isles. The garden contains a still rarer survival of mature elm trees apparently dating from the late C18, and a range of elm varieties which today in England can only be seen in Brighton. Their survival is testament to the City Council's longstanding and consistently high quality tree-care which must be perpetuated if the genus is to survive here. Elm Grove (the elm walk or avenue) is the dominant display of elm specimens in the garden, but has been damaged by tree losses. The other elms are informally scattered largely around the periphery.

Dutch Elm Disease is a permanent threat and 2022 has been the worst year so far.⁹ There is a high risk that elm trees could succumb to DED and it is essential that BHCC continues to monitor and carry out remedial work to prolong the life of the collection and that newer resistant clones are added to the collection, as the older species (Field elm and

⁸ Information from Rob Boyle 03.10.22.

⁹ Peter Bourne pers.comm. 3.10.22

Wych elm) are highly susceptible to DED. The reliance for designed tree cover on a single species, and particularly the highly vulnerable elm, to such a high degree is a high risk to its continuity. To mitigate the effects of a catastrophic recurrence of DED, another pathogen or a potential climate change-related event then reliance on a single type is to be avoided. A broader proportion of other historically appropriate species or those with a similar appearance is recommended.

8.10 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELMS

Because of their extreme rarity in the British Isles the elms have great botanical (genetic), educational and arboricultural value as well as contributing significantly to the Pavilion garden scheme as a very rare, perhaps unique, surviving example of the use of elm in a garden setting. Nash's use of elm is believed to have been considerable, perhaps because of its resilience to the local conditions, giving it additional relevance specifically to this scheme.

The specific genetic material of elm specimens in Nash's scheme is of the highest significance to the garden. The 5 specimens planted by 1830 should be propagated soon so that they can be used for replacements when the originals are lost. A back-up collection should be kept in a bio-secure location. The specimens of rare species which were planted later are also of significance and may warrant similar precautions.

Elm were particularly suited to the climate and soil conditions. Given the harsh salty winds, the fact that Elms grew in Brighton before 1800 indicates that the species are hardy enough to cope and thrive in thin loam over virgin chalk and withstand this often harsh coastal environment, leading to high dependency on elms in the Brighton area.

The three earliest specimens in the garden represent elements of this sparse late-C18 tree cover in the area, in advance of the later dense population planted largely in the public realm. This rarity makes their genetic material historically highly significant as the remains of a small population of indigenous elm, in contrast to the vast number of elm which were planted in the C19 and C20.

Because of the high survival of specimens and extensive variety of species and varieties throughout Brighton, the elm collection is of national and international significance. The city holds the only significant population of Elm in England, and some of the most notable individual Elms in Europe. Within this unique collection in Brighton and Hove the Pavilion Garden contains a highly significant collection both historically and botanically.

8.11 TREES: KEY ISSUES

1. Continuing threat of DED. Although Brighton is unique in protecting the elm collection from DED, it is an ongoing threat.
2. Climate Change. Brighton was badly affected by the storm of October 1987 when around 2000 trees were lost including many mature elms. The effects of extreme weather events are a threat particularly to the oldest specimens from storms, and the youngest specimens from drought.
3. Lack of recent resistant elm clones

4. Increasing disease and climate risks to all species
5. Impact of heavy use
6. Trees of species or placement inconsistent with Regency design
7. Trees obstructing key views
8. Some trees have outgrown positions and compete with others
9. Donated trees do not always respect Regency design and Nash views
10. The positions shown on the OS 1874 and mature (elm) trees recently lost do not conform to the Nash views. Instead they reflect early changes, with planting along the reinstated north-south drive west of the Pavilion and against north front which has now been removed.

8.12 TREES: CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCES

Tree Ages (see caveat about dating methodology in Appendix 9)

1. The earliest trees: very few trees survive that were part of the Nash layout of 1826, up to 5, all elm.
2. Three of these specimens are C18 in origin and predate Nash; two others are probably part of his scheme.
3. These five earliest specimens have the highest significance both as botanically and to the historic design.
4. Trees were planted in the 1830s for William IV including former elm along the now removed straight drive.
5. A major campaign from 1850 continued during into the early C20 as part of the borough-wide municipal planting in which many trees were planted, evident on historic images, most of which were elms.
6. Many of these trees planted after 1830 obscured the designed views of the Pavilion illustrated by Nash.
7. Nine surviving trees were probably planted between 1830 and 1900, all elm and lime.
8. Thus in total, 14 trees survive from before 1900 out of a dense population established by then, many of which did not generally conform to Nash's scheme.
9. 85% of surviving trees were planted after 1900.
10. Most (66%) surviving trees were planted after c.1950.

Tree Palette

11. 13 species listed in the Nash planting lists (Appendix 6) are present.
12. 24 trees do not conform to the contemporary palette as they were not listed in 1817-29, including several of the newer elms.

The Elm Collection

13. The elm collection is of national and international significance because of the high survival of specimens, including some of the earliest specimens in Brighton, and wide variety of species and varieties as its position and role a key element of the city-wide collection.
14. The city holds the only significant population of Elm in England, and some of the most notable individual Elms in Europe.
15. **Within the unique collection in Brighton and Hove the Pavilion Garden contains a highly significant collection both historically and botanically.**

8.13 TREE RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall

1. Manage current specimens and replant to follow as closely as possible the Nash design which is the most significant phase. The layout has been partially recreated, in the vicinity of the Pavilion which forms the focus of his design. Tree conservation and planting should follow the Nash layout and views within operational requirements which cannot be modified to allow this.
2. Plan for resilience of the tree cover to reduce reliance on a single genus and thus use a greater proportion of other historically appropriate species and varieties, selecting those which are resilient to prevailing pathogens, climate warming and extreme weather events.
3. Where non-historic varieties are the only option for replacing historic varieties then they should be chosen to evoke the historic appearance.
4. Donated trees should only be accepted if they fit with the long term tree and view strategy.

Elms and Securing the Collection

5. Conserve the elm collection in situ as a high priority.
6. Maintain and manage the highly significant, oldest trees, which are species most susceptible to DED to prolong their lives as far as possible.
7. Supplement historic elm forms with resistant cultivars.
8. Continue to monitor as a high priority by experts the condition and health of the elms on a frequent basis. If DED or other issues are found undertake remedial works as soon as possible.
9. Replicate and conserve the genetic material of the historic elm collection, in situ and ex situ as a back-up in case of major losses on site, and to provide a scientific reference collection.
10. Replicate and conserve the genetic material of the earliest five elms, in particular the earliest three (T47, 02, 84) by vegetative propagation (cuttings). Analyse the genetic make-up to identify the origins and relationship between these specimens (i.e. all of similar origin or separate).
11. Replant specimens of these in the garden in positions conforming to the Nash design as long as this is a sustainable option and they remain resilient in the prevailing conditions.
12. Build on links with Plumpton College to propagate and take cuttings for gene bank in Tenerife.

Other Species

13. Limes should feature as replacements as they are the second most valuable tree to the history of the garden, are resilient to climate change threats and are susceptible to relatively few disease threats.
14. Use trees available in the Regency period and preferably from the planting lists (Appendix 6) as the basis of new planting, selecting species which are resilient to and sustainable in the local conditions.
15. Use other more resilient species/varieties as a last resort to diversify the palette where they produce the desired design effect.
16. Maintain and increase species diversity to enhance resilience; consider impact of diseases and changing climate. For forest scale trees, sycamore is resilient. Southern European species might be suitable such as

sweet chestnut but this is susceptible to disease. With additional species, as far as possible evoke the visual forms of the species used by Nash.

Conifers

17. Plant conifers in beds and as occasional specimens in lawn to evoke Nash's scenes Following soil survey and amelioration.
18. Use European larch, Scots pine, Spruce *Picea abies*, Juniperus *virginiana* Pinus *pinaster* (maritime pine).
19. Conifers in beds should not be allowed to grow beyond a state of immaturity in order to retain their specific form which contributed to Nash's intended Picturesque scenes.

Views

20. Maintain and supplement planting consistent with Nash layout and views.
21. Assess trees which obscure Nash views for their significance, health, resilience and visual or amenity value.
22. Trees which obscure views but are otherwise healthy and of high amenity value could be kept in the short term but ultimately should be removed in the medium to long term.
23. Trees that are poorly located, compete with better specimens or are in in poor condition should be removed, such as T7, T8, T67, T71, T57, especially if accompanied by reinforcement planting elsewhere.
24. Replant specimen trees in positions which conform to Nash's scheme and will not obscure key views.

Plant Health

25. Phytosanitary measures are of the highest priority, particularly to ensure the perpetuation of the historic elm population specific to the garden. All new plant material should only be introduced after it is quarantined to be certain that it contains no pathogens.

9 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE IN THE WIDER CONTEXT

A summary Statement of Significance is provided in Section 1 above.

The following assessment is derived from the methodology in the Assessment of Cultural Significance section in JS Kerr, the *Conservation Plan* (7th edn), modified to reflect the varied aspects of the significances of this particular site. Most of the historic environment aspects are based on the analysis of historical context as identified in Section 4 and Appendices 3-5.

Archaeology and Ecology are based on the findings of recent surveys carried out for the Royal Pavilion and Museums Trust and summarised in Sections 5.8 and 5.9.

Level of Significance beyond The Royal Pavilion:

A	Exceptional	i.e. national or international
B	Considerable	i.e. regional (South and South-East England)
C	Some	i.e. local (Brighton and environs)
D	Little	
E	Intrusive/ damaging	

9.1 THE CULTURAL ENSEMBLE	Level
<p>The Royal Pavilion is an internationally significant and unique cultural ensemble.</p> <p>It combines the flamboyant, exotic early-C19 Regency-style architecture of a marine pleasure pavilion within a picturesque landscape as the setting for an internationally significant artistic collection (partly intact) of the greatest British connoisseur monarch.</p> <p>The ensemble acted as the backdrop and venue for great political and social events.</p> <p>It epitomizes the taste of George, Prince of Wales, from 1820-30 King George IV, in creating one of the most important cultural ensembles of the Regency period, comparable in quality and extent with his transformations of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle although these did not display the exotic styles.</p> <p>Although some artefacts have gone, the unique artistic combination of collection, architecture and landscape survives largely intact.</p>	A
<p>The ensemble was a unique and extensive example of George, Prince of Wales's artistic connoisseurship using the Indian style externally and Chinese style internally in the greatest of marine pleasure pavilions, set within the picturesque pleasure ground.</p>	A
<p>The ensemble is relevant to, but outshone others created for similar purposes by connoisseurs in the period. Associations are clear with the few comparable pleasure pavilions of this extensive and high quality for royalty and aristocracy, particularly in England the contemporary Hertford Villa, Regent's Park for the Prince's close friend the 3rd Marquess of Hertford. The grounds and park setting of Hertford Villa survive but the connoisseur's collection is now partly in the Wallace Collection and the pleasure pavilion has been replaced by a house (Winfield House, 1930s). Abroad, the earlier Bagatelle, Bois de Boulogne, Paris, was built in 1777 as an exquisite <i>maison de plaisance</i> and was from 1835 owned by the Marquess.</p>	A

<p>The collection, furnishings and decoration of the Royal Pavilion closely supervised by the connoisseur Prince were unique in their exotic themes (Chinese and Indian) and of exceptional quality. They represent the Prince's taste and ability to commission the greatest designers and craftsmen of the Regency period.</p> <p>The collection was solely his creation, without later addition. Many items survive in situ but much that has gone is identifiably in the Royal Collection and can be loaned as has recently happened, temporarily reinstating the significance to a greater degree.</p>	A
<p>The Royal Pavilion was one of four major residences created by the Prince using the design combination of architect and landscape designer Nash and horticulturist WT Aiton, the others being Carlton House and Buckingham Palace in London, and Royal Lodge, Windsor Great Park.</p>	A
<p>Later ornamental additions to the building and landscape ensemble, by William IV and Brighton Corporation, generally respected and enhanced this character, particularly the North Gate (c.1832), South Gate (1921) and east balustrade (c.1922). Restoration works to the buildings and landscape and the reinstatement of the interior decoration and in part the collection have helped to reinstate the Regency character and significance.</p>	A/B
<p>Some neutral or damaging changes to the buildings occurred after the Corporation acquired the estate in 1850. These included the loss of part of the collection (E), degradation of the interior decoration (E) and conversion of wider estate buildings to municipal and communal use (D).</p>	D-E
<p>Landscape changes after 1830 which damaged the ensemble include a) that the picturesque character was replaced by Victorian and C20 municipal planting schemes, and b) William IV damaged the naturalistic and serpentine character at the heart of Nash's layout by the insertion of a straight drive between his gateways past the porte cochere. [These landscape changes were in the 1990s-2000s replaced as far as possible with the originally executed planting schemes and drive.]</p>	E

9.2 ARCHITECTURE	
<p>The early C19 structures form an internationally outstanding ensemble for this unique royal palace in exotic Indian style with work by nationally significant architects, most influentially by John Nash and to a lesser degree Henry Holland, with high quality contributions by other architects including William Porden.</p>	A
<p>The architectural ensemble including William IV's gateway and later major structures including the south gateway is of the utmost significance to the designed landscape as the focus of views and backdrop of the landscaping, with sensitive additions by succeeding owners to the early C20.</p>	A
<p>The most important building is the breathtakingly exotic and unique Indian-style royal marine pavilion (early C19, listed grade I), the vision of the Prince Regent. Little altered since, it is the Prince/ King George IV's palatial pleasure pavilion, the focus of an ensemble to impress and entertain social and political contacts at the highest levels including royalty and prime ministers, and to display a connoisseur's collection of furniture and objets d'art in a fashionable landscape setting.</p>	A
<p>The Pavilion is one of the most important surviving buildings by John Nash, one the greatest of early-C19</p>	A

architects, and remains intact and largely unaltered. It is unique in his oeuvre, but forms part of an outstanding ensemble of works for the Prince Regent/ King George IV at his private and public residences.	
Built ornament in the Prince's scheme was provided principally by the exuberant Indian-style architecture of the Pavilion as the focus, visible from throughout the grounds, and to a lesser but still important degree by a group of functional estate structures, particularly the stables (now the Dome) and the riding house (now the Corn Exchange). This was complemented by the equally exuberant and lavish internal schemes of the Pavilion by the firm of Crace in contrasting oriental style.	A
The Indian style of the Royal Pavilion exerted little influence on the architecture of Brighton as a resort, although architectural features including the verandas were adopted in adapted form. It was part of the leisure pattern of the influential elite who were either part of the Prince Regent's household or guests at his social events. The comings and goings of the Prince, and of people associated with him, were frequently reported in the London press, and helped to keep Brighton in the public eye. ¹⁰	C
The early-C19 former stables and the riding house are some of the largest examples of their type and period and display a high level of the Indian style ornament inside and out. Conversion to other uses has not greatly damaged their significance as integral landscape features.	A
Purely ornamental and recreational garden buildings such as summerhouses and pergolas, and ornamental sculpture and other works of art were largely absent from Nash's garden scheme.	D
Later structures largely respected the Indian style established by the Prince, most notably shortly after his death in the North Gateway (listed Grade II*) for his brother William IV, and also in the 1920s the commemorative South Gate and alterations by MacLaren: the east balustrade and pond garden.	A C
The Indian commemorative South Gate (1921, listed Grade II), has international significance for its links with Indian military personnel in World War I. This is complemented in a remote part of the Downs just beyond the outskirts of Brighton in the architecture of the Chattri commemorating the site of the funeral pyres for Sikh and Hindu Indian soldiers who died while in the Pavilion hospital in World War I.	A
The 1950 Art Deco-style café is an example of the occasional involvement of Brighton Art College in town activity as it was established following a design competition.	C
Most structures introduced since the 1920s in alien form and materials have harmed the historic fabric and character to varying degrees but they are small scale and localised (E). A few, such as the café and educational building, have fitted well into the layout and have a neutral effect (D).	D/E

¹⁰ This is discussed further in S Berry, 'A resort town transformed: Brighton c.1815–1840', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. xxIII, (2015), 213–30.

9.3 THE DESIGNED LANDSCAPE	
The national significance is recognised by Historic England's designation at Grade II on the Register of Parks and Gardens (one of 35 Registered sites in East Sussex, and c.1700 Registered sites nationwide) placing it among a relatively small number of parks and gardens of special historic interest in England.	A
The design framework and character are based on the vision established by the Prince as a compact picturesque and naturalistic ornamental setting for his marine pleasure pavilion and integral artistic collection, advised by the foremost designers of the day, with minor additions by his brother William IV and Brighton Corporation. The character and quality are comparable with the surviving contemporary villa/pleasure pavilion landscape of Hertford Villa (now Winfield House, the US Ambassador's residence) in Regent's Park, as well as with the picturesque layout of Buckingham Palace.	A
The early-C19 Forest Scenery style was a fine example of a picturesque layout of compact scale, for the wealthy leader of the most influential social milieu in Britain, expertly applied to the prevailing locality, topography and other geographical conditions to create a unique and high quality design. Tailored to his requirements in later life, perimeter plantings provided privacy from the adjacent urban world, and spacious lawns accommodated large numbers of prestigious guests amongst a naturalistic display of fashionable shrubs and flowering plants. All this was designed by Nash in a characteristic pattern that was very carefully considered in its proportions with planting advice from Aiton. The compact size and intensive use meant that the entire garden was of high design significance.	A
The designed landscape is one of a unique group of lavish royal estate landscapes as showpieces for the Prince in Nash's Picturesque style in association with Aiton as horticultural adviser. It is relevant to others laid out to a united vision by a connoisseur for his specific purposes, particularly Royal Lodge and Buckingham Palace for the Prince/King George IV which survive, and the aristocratic Hertford Villa (now Winfield House) in Regent's Park which survives to a considerable degree.	A
In its design, the garden demonstrates Nash's expertise as a landscape designer, in this case in the application of picturesque landscape design principles, and it is an early expression of these by him. These were based on the ideas of landscape writers of national influence such as The Reverend William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, J C Loudon and the poet William Mason. He went on to use them again most notably in the royal sphere at St James's Park, Buckingham Palace and Regent's Park.	A
The garden demonstrates the influence of other leading contemporary designers and scenic artists in advocating the Indian style, such as Humphry Repton (Nash's former business partner), SP Cockerell (the architect of Sezincote) and William Daniell whose folios of accurate drawings of 'Hindoo' architecture and landscapes were so admired by the Prince/George IV.	A

9.4 DESIGNERS	
Designer Influence: The landscape design is the result of two key professional designers of outstanding quality working in close collaboration: architect and landscape designer John Nash and horticulturist WT Aiton. Nash's scheme in naturalistic picturesque style demonstrates his role as one of the greatest designers of the period, a talent not generally recognized today. Aiton was the foremost horticulturist, superintendent of the Royal Gardens at Kew, and published a seminal list of plants grown at Kew by 1813. Together they worked on other prestigious schemes in this way including for the Prince, at Carlton House, Royal Lodge and Buckingham Palace, and for St James's Park.	A
This was one of Nash's greatest and most prominent commissions, combining unique and breathtaking architecture and fashionable landscape design for a royal patron with a controlling interest in the project.	A
Henry Holland established the nucleus of the marine villa by 1804 which remains at the heart of Nash's work, and influenced his Pavilion scheme to a considerable degree.	A
Nationally and locally significant architects designed the most ornamentally and culturally significant estate buildings. These include William Porden (the stables, now the Dome; and riding house, now Corn Exchange), PF Robinson who worked with Holland on his final phase for the Prince (1801-04), Joseph Good built the North Gateway for William IV c.1832, and Thomas Tyrwhitt designed the Indian Memorial Gateway (1921).	A-B
Humphry Repton, the foremost landscape designer of his day, had an unspecified connection advising in the small garden in the 1790s, but otherwise did not influence the present layout.	C
He provided a Red Book of his designs in 1806 which remained unexecuted but he published his advice in 1808; this became widely known and contains an early example of his approach to flower gardens which was influential on later garden trends.	A
Repton, most importantly, apparently influenced the Prince to adopt the Indian style for the Pavilion.	A
Other notable landscapers included Lancelot Brown's assistant, Samuel Lapidge who carried out works in 1803 but left minimal surviving impact.	C
9.5 PLANTS AND HORTICULTURE	
The Royal Pavilion garden is the only surviving example designed as a unity in a picturesque style by John Nash in which the original layout of paths and beds (based on the plan in Nash's <i>Views of the Royal Pavilion</i>) can be seen, through their restoration, largely as they were designed.	A
The garden is the only surviving example of a restored picturesque, Regency period garden in England which demonstrates the palette of species available up to 1825 as selected by Aiton (based on surviving planting lists) and including the newest introductions, such as tiger lilies, available from Kew to George IV. It demonstrates Aiton's skill as a horticulturist in selecting plants for a closely defined style of planting and maritime position, and to fit the exacting requirements of both his royal client and Nash as the designer.	A
The garden is a rare demonstration of the character and development of picturesque, ornamental, flowery shrubberies. It is a working example of the particular and specialist management techniques codified by local	A

botanist and author Henry Phillips in <i>Sylva Florifera</i> who had likely observed the laying out of the scheme.	
The garden contains a rare survival of several mature elm trees which date from the Regency period and earlier, and a collection of a wide range of elm varieties which today in England can only be seen in Brighton and which are testament to the City Council's longstanding high quality tree-care. They contribute significantly to the Pavilion garden as a very rare, perhaps unique, surviving example of the use of elm in a garden setting.	A
The elms, because of their extreme rarity in the British Isles, have great botanical (genetic), educational and arboricultural value, of national and international significance as part of the city-wide collection.	A
John Willmott's nursery in Lewisham supplied some plants, as one of the largest nurseries of the day. It is likely that some plants came directly from Kew via Aiton but there is no record of this. Little, if anything, of his original planting survives.	D
Furner, a local nurseryman and horticulturist, laid out the scheme to a high standard but little, if anything, of his original planting survives.	D
Planting since the 1850s has not always been historically appropriate. In places it altered the historic character, most damagingly the municipal planting which departed from the picturesque palette and obscured some of Nash's key view, but has mostly been replaced by the restored scheme.	E/A
9.6 VIEWS & SETTING	
The garden is the setting for the City's cultural icon. The east and north lawns form part of the London Road 'green mile' scenery and, with Victoria Gardens, St Peter's church land and The Level, the site contributes to a high quality designed chain of historic open spaces within the central towncape of this important historic resort.	A
The marine resort setting and its survival largely intact is integral to the site and form a unique setting for a royal palace.	A
The historic marine views to the south and those of the public promenade on the Steine to the east, were the strongest of the early design. Although the Nash scheme, responding to the Prince's later wish for privacy, sought to screen the grounds from the external gaze of tourists and passers-by these have been reinstated or evoked during development of the town since 1830 with municipal alterations so that the views between the Pavilion and its East and North-East Lawns, and the Steine and London Road have been reinstated.	B
The visible elm trees play a key role in the setting, including in mitigating damaging views of modern buildings. The elm collection city-wide is a key part of the setting as the garden lies at the heart of and is contemporary with this wider municipal planting since the mid-late-C19.	
Recent development in the urban setting at large scale east of The Steine has caused considerable damage.	E
9.7 ASSOCIATIVE	
The garden has strong associations with Hanoverian royalty, principally with its instigator George IV who was the imaginative power behind it, and to a lesser extent with William IV who made alterations, and Queen	A

Victoria, who disposed of it to the town commissioners and removed the contents.	
<p>The Royal Pavilion and its grounds were the venue for great political and social events nationally and internationally, hosted by George as the Prince of Wales, as Prince Regent and as King George IV in the from the late 1780s to the mid-1820s.</p> <p>It became a breathtaking showpiece for his guests, as well as for myriad visitors since it was opened in 1851 by the Corporation. It was widely publicized in print and illustrations. Politically and socially it was visited by many of the most influential people of the early C19, both nationally and internationally, including heads of state, politicians, and aristocracy. Not only did the estate host great royal events but also more intimate social gatherings and some visitors recorded their experiences and opinions. The best known visit is that of the later Nicolas I of Russia in January 1817.</p>	A
9.8 DOCUMENTARY AND SITE-BASED EVIDENCE	
<p>The understanding of the site's history and significance is based on extensive primary documentary evidence particularly in the collections at the Royal Pavilion, the National Archive and in the Royal Collection, the archives of Brighton Corporation, historic illustrations and surviving site evidence.</p> <p>Recent publications such as Mike Jones's <i>Set for a King</i> have made this information and its analysis readily available to the general reader and visitor, increasing their understanding of the garden as a heritage asset, particularly its design and planting scheme.</p>	A
<p>The understanding of the grounds in the national historic context is the result of pioneering research and analysis of this and other Regency gardens by renowned garden historians including Mavis Batey and Virginia Hinze. The results of which have been widely published and guided conservationists managing and restoring comparable sites.</p>	A
<p>The shrubberies are a live interpretation of the written advice on laying out Georgian shrubberies of Henry Phillips, an important horticultural writer of his day.</p> <p>In the 1820s Phillips, also a local landscape designer landscaped the enclosures of the prestigious Kemp Town, including Lewes Crescent, the earliest and largest example of Georgian seaside estate architecture.</p>	A B
9.9 ARCHAEOLOGY	
<p>The identified pre-1780s archaeology is of local significance. Based on this and the extent of alterations to the site since the 1780s, the potential for evidence of settlement and use before 1780 is low, particularly buildings, settlement features, routes, boundary features.</p>	C
<p>Evidence and potential exist for evidence of buildings and former landscape features since the late C18, particularly garden paths, beds, drains, boundary features and lost structures such as glasshouses; also for temporary World War I hospital structures and features associated with the World War II bomb crater.</p>	B-C
9.10 ECOLOGY: WILDLIFE & HABITATS	
<p>The garden and its varied habitats is locally significant for the fauna but contains protected species and has the potential for others.</p>	C

The most important fauna is associated with the veteran and mature trees, including birds, and potentially bats and invertebrates. The extent of use by these types of fauna is unclear but likely to be significant.	B-C
The most important flora is the veteran and mature tree population, particularly the native elm species of which this is a rare survival nationally as part of the whole collection in Brighton and Hove. The trees link the site with the wider entire population of trees in the city and beyond, particularly in a corridor along the London Road. This is one of the most important aspects, principally for its habitat value for invertebrates, bats and birds.	B
The most significant habitat is the mature trees. Elm is a food source for the White Letter Hairstreak which has been recorded within 2km of the site.	B
The Pavilion and other buildings may provide habitat for bats but there are no records of bats in the site.	C-D
The informal and varied character of the planting and its all-season interest (berries, flowers, fruits etc.) provides a range of linked wildlife habitats in a relatively extensive inner-city location. This forms a valuable link with the wildlife corridor running northwards from the Steine towards Preston Park.	C
Sensitive management and enhancement measures could increase the habitat and wildlife value, but the inner city location will probably militate against greatly increased significance.	C

9.11 COMMUNAL	
The site has national and international communal significance as the venue for great political and social events, hosted by George as the Prince of Wales, as Prince Regent and as King George IV from the late 1780s to the mid-1820s.	A
Since the garden opened to the public in 1851, it has gained a very high communal significance for the enormous numbers of local residents and visitors from worldwide who have since then, in an unbroken period, enjoyed it both as a valuable inner city open space and as the cultural setting for the Royal Pavilion. It is estimated that in 2018 alone 1.5-2 million people visited the garden.	A
The elm trees represent a significant range of BHCC's holding of the National Collection of elms, which because of their extreme rarity in England have an educational as well as arboricultural value.	A
The garden is a unique resource for both amateur and professional horticultural and landscape design study because of its extensive documentation and recreation in situ to a high degree of accuracy.	A
The garden played an international role in World War I, accommodating the hospital for a large number of wounded soldiers from the Indian sub-continent who fought with the Allies, some of whom died here. It is linked to the Chattri on the Downs north of Brighton, the cremation site of some Hindu casualties.	A
As a public open space in the town centre the site has the least interface with main traffic routes. It is therefore highly valuable for its peaceful and relatively quiet ambience.	C
The boundary balustrading along the east lawn is an example of the extensive early C20 civic	C

improvements to the town's open spaces by the Mayor Herbert Carden and the parks superintendent BH MacLaren.	
The garden played a role in the civic life of Brighton residents in World War II, being temporarily adapted for the duration, including a large water tank constructed under the East Lawn and the lawns dug up as demonstration gardens for the Dig for Victory campaign.	C

10 SIGNIFICANCE OF FEATURES TO THE GARDEN DESIGN

10.1 FEATURES IN ORDER OF SIGNIFICANCE TO THE ROYAL PAVILION GARDEN

As well as the general significance of the historic environment in the wider context it is important to understand the significance of individual features to the historic design of the garden.

The following levels of significance relate to the ornamental landscape design of the Royal Pavilion as established by the late 1920s at its most fully developed ornamentally and as Registered at Grade II. While some elements of the historic environment in its widest sense are of the highest significance (as reflected in designation as a Scheduled Monument or Listed Building), not all of these contribute greatly to the ornamental landscape design established at its zenith.

- A Exceptional significance: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest of the design.
- B Considerable significance: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the design.
- C Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity.
- D Little significance or neutral.
- Int Damages the historic character.

A Exceptional significance

Further detail of the exceptionally significant garden features is given in Section 10.2 below.

Royal Pavilion (listed Grade I)	The Dome Concert Hall (formerly the stables)
The c.1815 Nash layout and Aiton planting scheme including beds, lawns and routes	Views of and from the wider landscape of Brighton as conceived by Nash particularly to the east and south-east.
Corn Exchange (formerly the Riding House) (listed Grade I)	North Gate (listed Grade II*)
Regency planting scheme (restoration and appropriate mature trees)	Landscape Character Areas
C18 and C19 trees, and the Elm collection	

B Considerable significance

1920s alterations including MacLaren pools and	Indian Memorial Gate, attached walls and piers (1921)
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associated garden on East Lawn	(listed Grade II)
Roadside balustrade (1920s)	C19 iron railings
Museum & Art Gallery (formerly part of stables) (listed Grade II*)	Ice House (c.1820)

C Some significance

Northgate House, attached walls piers and railings (listed Grade II*)	Cast iron lamp standards (c.1835) (listed Grade II)
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D Little significance or neutral

Café by New Road (1950)	Education building
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Int Intrusive/ Damaging

Public conveniences (rear wall)	Energy centre
Maintenance sheds	Bin store
Max Miller statue	Street furniture, bins, modern lighting, modern style fencing etc
Planting which does not follow or evoke the Nash scheme including trees and hedge which damage layout and views by 1830.	Prince's Plain entrance path
Visibility of Grasscrete below north front	Skating rink
Tarmac and slab surfacing of routes	Bow top fencing
Unkempt immediate setting along boundaries and at gateways	

10.2 SUMMARY OF FEATURES OF HIGHEST DESIGNED LANDSCAPE SIGNIFICANCE

The following features are of the utmost importance, relating to Nash's design and Aiton's planting scheme, implemented c.1813-21, as identified under significance level A in Section 10.1 above:

- The lawns
- The circulation system
- The Picturesque planting character and palette of ornamental shrubberies maintained to evoke Forest Lawn type appearance.
- The private garden character, rather than a public park
- Views of the principal buildings: Pavilion, Dome façade, Corn Exchange façade, North and Gates.
- The setting with its variety of close and distant views, both urban and marine, and the experiential qualities of the arrival from the north along the London Road and south from the sea front.

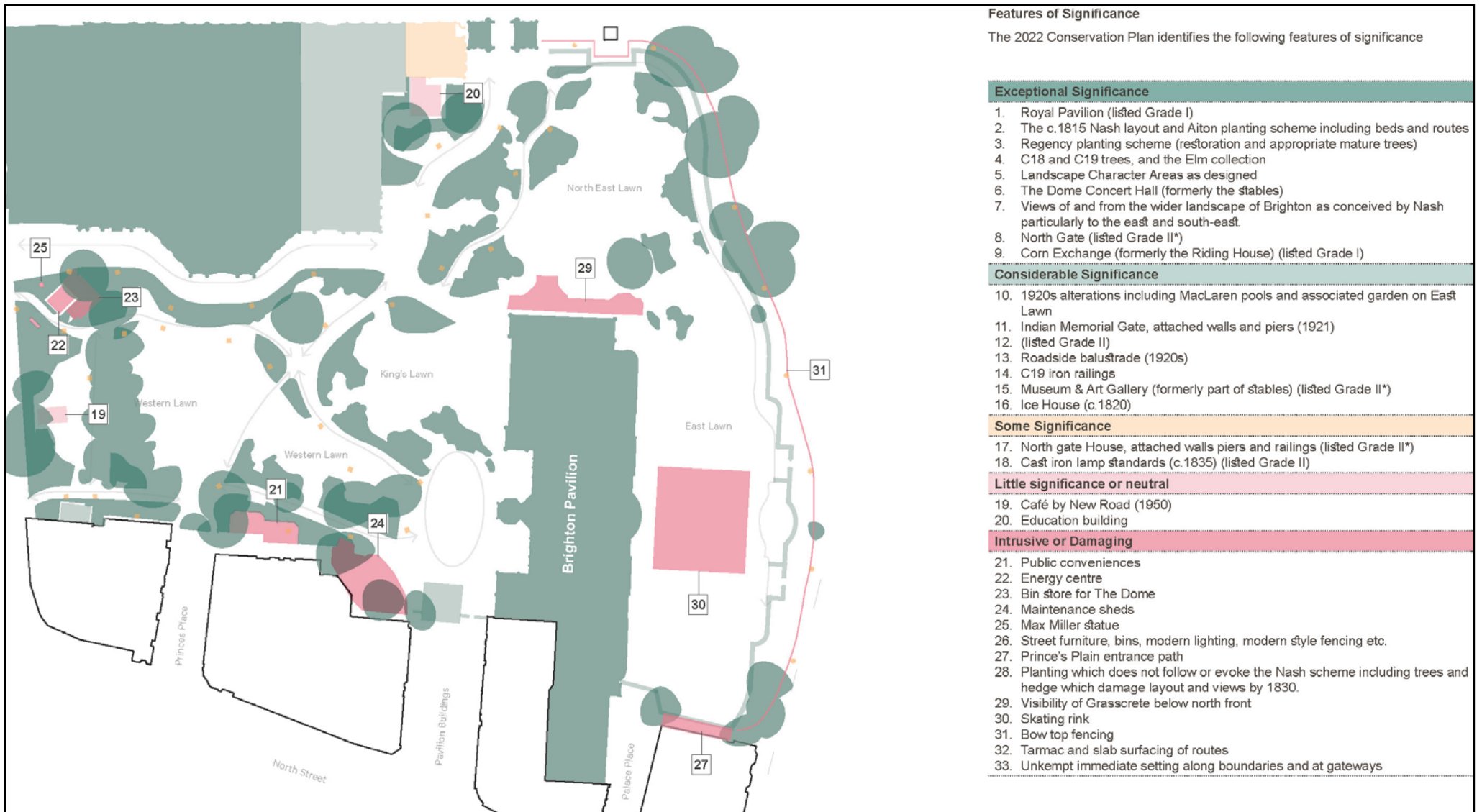


Figure 14 Map of Features of Significance (Scott Allen Landscape Architects).



Figure 15 Main Features of the Pavilion Estate, overlaid on oblique aerial photograph (Scott Allen Landscape Architects).

PART B ISSUES, VISION, POLICIES

Part B sets out issues thematically (Section 11) which affect the significance of the garden based on surveys, and the analysis in Sections 5-8 above.

Section 12 identifies issues which have been discussed particularly in relation to the forthcoming restoration.

Section 13 sets out a vision for the management and presentation of the garden to conserve and enhance the most significance aspects which is then amplified in practical Policies (Section 14) which also relate to the policies in the 2018 CBA CMP.

11 THEMATIC ISSUES IN CHARACTER AREAS

The table is arranged in thematic order. It presents general issues under each heading in the first column with specific examples identified in particular character areas.

General Issue	Area 1 East Lawn	Area 2 North East Lawn	Area 3 King's Lawn	Area 4 Western Lawns
11.1 BUILDINGS/ STRUCTURES (SEE ALSO SECTION 5)				
Historic garden structures are in poor condition.	Pools empty; unclear if water system working. Balustrade damaged.	Balustrade damaged and vegetation encroaching from beds.		Iron fencing, lamp standards, retaining walls to paths and New Road in poor condition. Ice house ruinous, inaccessible. Condition of café unclear.
Some modern structures are historically inappropriate and damage the Nash character.		Modern gates to North Gateway.	Maintenance compound visible.	Service structures in NW corner damage character and fabric. WC block adjacent to south.
C19 lighting columns in poor condition.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Figurative or other sculpture was not part of the naturalistic Nash scheme which was almost devoid of it. Sculpture is not historically appropriate.				Max Miller statue by entrance is historically inappropriate.
11.2 STREET FURNITURE (SEE ALSO SECTION 5)				
High levels of litter. It lodges in shrubberies. Inappropriate style and numerous litter bins, sited to cope with the volume of litter and visibility for users.	Setting of pools by east boundary damaged by nearby bins.	Large wheelie bin near North Gate entrance.		Especially bad around the café and Princes Place entrance including large wheelie bins.
Inappropriate commemorative features have been				Max Miller statue near south-

General Issue	Area 1 East Lawn	Area 2 North East Lawn	Area 3 King's Lawn	Area 4 Western Lawns
introduced and are proposed.				west entrance. See above.
Signage and advertising for events are visually intrusive.		Advertising attached to bow-top fencing.	Advertising attached to bow-top fencing.	Advertising attached to bow-top fencing.
Interpretation of historic and wildlife interest is minimal, difficult to read. It does not include modern digital methods		Board near Museum entrance set back behind fence.		Boards at entrances in poor condition and graffitied.
Temporary fencing and cones damage the historic character.	Metal barriers and orange cones.	White fabric and post fencing around lawn.		
Service boxes intrusive.				One inside south New Road entrance.
11.3 ENTRANCES (SEE FIGURES 1, 2, 5, & SECTION 5)				
Some entrances are poorly presented and do not have gateways.	South gateway to Palace Place is disused. Small 1920s iron gateway in MacLaren balustrade by Old Steine behind pool in poor condition.	The North Gate is no longer used and shut by modern gates. Modern entrance to east is historically inappropriate and has no gates.	Museum entrance porch is poorly presented.	The three entrances off Princes Place and New Road are poorly presented and do not have gates.
11.4 BOUNDARIES AND FENCING (SEE ALSO SECTION 5)				
The garden cannot be closed at night, leading to anti-social behaviour and damage to the fabric.	Requires fencing	Requires fencing		Requires fencing
Fence style and materials historically inappropriate in places. A plethora of bow-top of various heights, and timber post and rail. Too much fencing damaging historic character, requires rationalisation for essential purposes		Bow top fencing used to discourage access but its use has increased.	Bow top fencing discourages access but its use has increased. Timber fences	Timber fencing historically inappropriate & in poor condition.

General Issue	Area 1 East Lawn	Area 2 North East Lawn	Area 3 King's Lawn	Area 4 Western Lawns
only.			redundant?	
Historic boundary materials damaged.	1920s balustrade engulfed in part by ivy and shrubs in Bed C. C19 cast iron railings along south boundary in poor condition.	1920s balustrade part engulfed by ivy and shrubs in Bed C.		
11.5 CIRCULATION (SEE FIGURE 5 & ALSO SECTION 5.3)				
The variety of path and drive materials and styles is visually inappropriate and in places in poor condition.		Large area of grasscrete north of the Pavilion		Is café paving appropriate to Nash character in mid-C20 coloured textured concrete slabs?
The width of some of the paths is inadequate for the number of visitors, leading to worn edges on the lawns.				Acute on the Western Lawns.
Poor drainage of routes.				Deep puddle on low point of cross path prevents use of path in heavy rain.
11.6 HORTICULTURE (SEE ALSO SECTIONS 5.3 & 7)				
Excessive visitor numbers resulted in changes to the restoration scheme.				Beside South Gate, Bed S, Nash shrubbery, never recreated. The area is now open with astro-turf for waiting groups with hard-standing.
Planting needs refreshing/ replanting based on the restoration plans and planting lists, modifying palette to reflect practicalities & current conditions.	Overgrown large shrubbery at south end by Palace Place gateway (Beds A & B).	Shrubberies becoming overgrown with mature shrubs.	Shrubberies becoming overgrown with mature shrubs.	Restored shrubberies becoming overgrown with mature shrubs. Some shrubberies not restored in 1990 and need replanting.

General Issue	Area 1 East Lawn	Area 2 North East Lawn	Area 3 King's Lawn	Area 4 Western Lawns
				Some plant failures eg Monarda (C18 introduction) others becoming invasive eg <i>Allium triquestrum</i> - need review of palette. Bindweed.
Difficulty in providing year-round horticultural interest especially later summer/autumn/ winter. Site-wide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Screen planting inappropriate and/or ineffective.				Prince's Place toilets visible. Overgrown yew screen for the Dome service road. Energy centre & bin store visible at NW corner.
Areas not part of restoration scheme require review of use, planting and gardening regime.	Not all historic beds on East Lawn reinstated, reason unclear.	Education building bed engulfed by woody elm suckers. Planting ad hoc. A 'blank' space.		Review use of space and planting to ensure it evokes the restoration palette if possible, given intensive use and wear.
11.7 TREES (SEE ALSO SECTIONS 5.3 & 7)				
Absence of tree planting strategy for siting and maintenance to avoid obscuring key views. Some trees poorly sited and in poor condition, including some donated trees. See also Appendix 9.		Lime and Pagoda Tree Bed P, Weeping Willow & Turkey Oak		
Dutch Elm Disease is a permanent threat. There is a risk that elm trees could succumb to DED.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Mature elms need special care including Elm Grove.
Tree root compaction; little root zone protection of many of the historic trees especially in areas of high use.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Trees in grass areas vulnerable and in café area. Roots lifting tarmac
11.8 LAWNS (SEE ALSO SECTION 5.3)				
Large areas of grass worn away; soil compacted.	Fragile and easily			Near Café, creates an unsightly

General Issue	Area 1 East Lawn	Area 2 North East Lawn	Area 3 King's Lawn	Area 4 Western Lawns
Difficult to reinstate and retain the lawn even if repair is carried out on a frequent basis.	damaged. Ice rink considerably damaging and raising levels.			entrance from New Road; damages Nash view B of Pavilion.
Worn grass and compaction beside hard-surfaced paths. When wet these worn areas turn to mud; difficult to reinstate and retain the lawn even if repair is carried out on a frequent basis				Especially bad here along path edges. Astroturf on mound near south gateway to provide area for visitors to wait for tours.
Damage from events. Inappropriate types and frequency. Review to ensure sustainable economically and physically on fabric.	Ice rink causes compaction and raised ground level.	Ice rink		
11.9 OPERATIONAL (SEE ALSO SECTIONS 5 & 12)				
Modern features for operational purposes damage the historic fabric and character and should be removed or visually mitigated. watering, mowing issues				The maintenance compound is inadequate with unsightly structures and fence. Bin store/ energy centre/ Dome service drive damaging but not controlled by RPMT.
See Section 5.3- eg Irrigation system failing, needs upgrading. Mowing issues				Yes
11.10 VIEWS (SEE SECTIONS 6.2-6.3)				
Some views partly obscured by inappropriately sited trees planted since 1830.		Lime and Pagoda Tree Bed P, Weeping Willow & Turkey Oak		Nash view of Dome/ Corn Exchange obscured by trees and yew hedge along service road (Pride of India, lime).
Modern developments damage views. Some are mitigated by external municipal planting particularly on the Steine and Level.	View east damaged by tall developments on hillside east of the	Tall developments on hillside east of Steine including	Tall developments on hillside east of Steine including	Tall developments on hillside east of Steine including residential block between High

General Issue	Area 1 East Lawn	Area 2 North East Lawn	Area 3 King's Lawn	Area 4 Western Lawns
	Steine and modern glass fronted building at edge of Steine.	residential block between High & Chapel Streets and new building to north off John St.	residential block between High & Chapel Streets and new building to north off John St.	& Chapel Streets and new building to north off John St.
11.11 SETTING (SEE SECTION 6.4)				
The setting has been damaged by modern buildings in key vistas from the Pavilion since the 1960s, but is not entirely lost. Further damage should be strenuously resisted	Glass frontage building east of Steine. New tall buildings on hillside damaging views.			
There is no policy to monitor the planning applications potentially affecting the key views.		Setting to north is vulnerable to tall structures.	Setting to south and west is vulnerable to tall structures.	Setting to south and west is vulnerable to tall structures.
External street furniture around the boundary damages the setting.	Utility boxes with graffiti near south gate. Parking signage fixed to railings.			Bins and benches along New Road boundary. K2 phone boxes graffitied.
The distinctive character of the garden contrasting with the urban setting is blurred by the absence of strong gateways and pedestrianization.		North gateway no gates and leads from pedestrianized zone.	South gateway has no gates.	New Road gateways have no gates and lead from pedestrianized street.

12 SPECIFIC ISSUES RELEVANT TO THE FORTHCOMING RESTORATION

This section identifies some of the main issues that have been raised in discussion with RPMT staff which it is intended to address in the forthcoming restoration scheme.

Access & parking for the Dome / Corn Exchange

The access and parking damages the garden fabric and also necessitates screening (yew hedge) which in turn only increases the disconnection between the Dome and the gardens. Reducing the height of the hedge, limiting numbers of vehicles and / or adding more sensitive screening is partially effective but ideally for the historic garden this use would be stopped.

The use / management of this area should be reviewed along with present mitigation methods.

Modern structures

The **energy centre** is a major visual detractor.

There may be opportunities to reduce its visual dominance by screening / soften it better (e.g. climbers).

The bin store is also unsightly but if re-used will increase the massing and division between the Corn Exchange and the gardens.

The **gardeners' compound** is another prominent problem spot. Historic mapping shows a bed and path here at one point and so it was part of the ornamental garden layout.

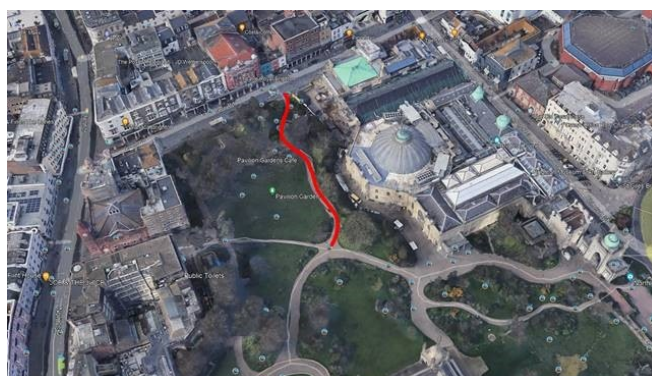
A review of its use would be appropriate, to ensure that functions are essential and whether it could be re-sited so that the area could be more effectively used perhaps as part of the arrival area / waiting space next to the south gateway, away from the main path, possibly with seating.

The **café** is an important asset. The building is a valid historic feature but its setting could be enhanced to fit better with the historic character.

Circulation

North-West Path. This well-used path (below) is narrow in places with worn turf edges despite the use of reinforcement. The edge is heavily worn as people walk across it to reach the lawn.

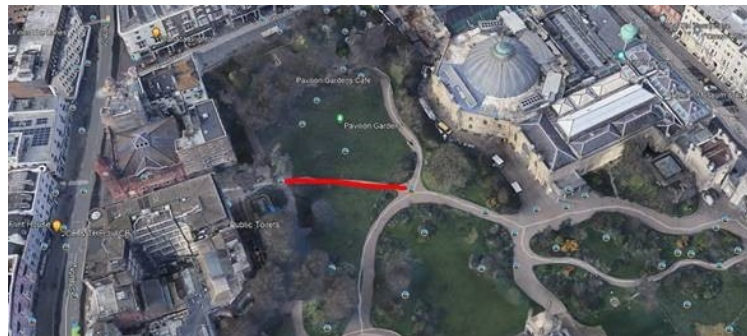
Consideration should be given to widening this (within reason) possibly as one of a combination of measures.



Princes Place Path – This path (below) leads from the public toilets across the Western Lawn. It is very narrow flanked by bow top fencing. It tends to bottle neck people and ponds at the lowest point in heavy rain. Historic mapping indicates it is a C20 addition possibly formalizing a natural desire line across the lawn.

Options to improve it include

- Widening
- And / or remove bow top fencing
- Raise the whole path and widen to remove low point + Adjust levels of the lawn either side to achieve smooth flowing 'natural' contours
- Remove path entirely



Signage and Street Furniture

Signage and street furniture are in various styles, and much is in poor condition through heavy usage by visitors, damaging the historic character.

12.2 BOUNDARIES AND ENTRANCES

Estate Fence

The high level of antisocial behaviour is an enormous, continuing and unsustainable problem. The current proposal to fence the estate addresses this practically and effectively. If the style of fence and new gateways is sensitive to the historic character this will not cause unacceptable damage while securing the historic fabric and safety of visitors. This is addressed in other documents and will be part of the forthcoming estate restoration project.

New Street Boundary

Removing the long benches along New Road will improve the boundary and relationship between the gardens and New Road. The boundary treatment requires careful consideration to include the reinstatement of views in and across from New Road and historically appropriate gateways. Views from this west boundary could be opened to a revealing and dramatic eastward view of the Royal Pavilion across its gardens and beyond to the hillside. Apart from the visual carbuncle that is the new AMEX building and the tall mid-C20 residential block between High Street and Chapel Streets, this is one of the most romantic and picturesque views in the country. For this to happen, some trees blocking the vista may have to be removed and the existing border be replanted. If this was redesigned along with the new fencing and opened up visually, most visitors approaching the Pavilion from the west and northwest

(including most train travellers) would be greeted by a spectacular view of the estate.

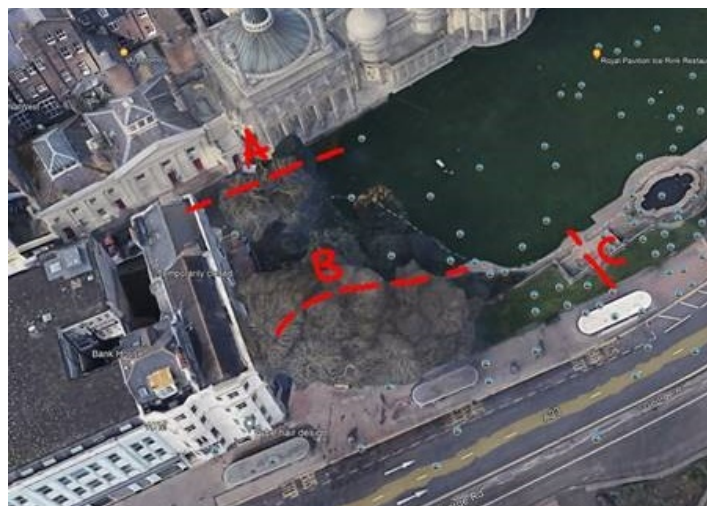
North Gate/ William IV entrance

The gate is closed to visitors creating a bottle neck through the adjacent opening to the east. It would be more appropriate for visitors to enter through the main gate. This would require measures such as an anti-ram bollard to reduce risk from terrorism. If this occurs the boundary railing will be extended to the historic gateway and replacement planting will be required. There is also a paved area adjacent within the garden which could be a C19 glass house evident on historic mapping.



Palace Place Entrance

A vehicular access route has been proposed at 'A', which is only occasionally used for events. Proposed entrance at 'C' directly from the Old Steine will damage the historic fabric and character and lead to greatly increased use and wear of the East Lawn, potential damage to other fabric and loss of tranquility of this presently 'quiet' lawn which forms the main frame for views of the Pavilion. A pedestrian route from the C19 entrance at 'B' through the rejuvenated shrubberies would not damage the historic fabric and be entirely appropriate but would still lead to greater wear and loss of tranquility.



13 VISION

13.1 EXISTING VISION AND POLICIES

The following vision and policies are included for completeness as they have led to and helped to inform the Garden Vision below.

The 2018 Royal Pavilion Lottery Fund Application included a study in 2013 which set out an overarching vision as follows: (The Royal Pavilion Estate Design Feasibility Study Report Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios August 2013)

Section 1.2 'Central to our approach is re-establishing the Garden as the heart of the Royal Pavilion Estate. The Garden has the capacity to reunite the Estate, re-establishing lost connections between John Nash's Royal Pavilion and William Porden's Dome and Corn Exchange. The historic buildings have complex relationships with their surroundings, each presenting a 'civic' facade to the street and a more private facade to the Garden. Historically, the street frontages were impressive formal faces but were not the point of access - the principal entrances to the buildings were from the Garden. Over time, the Dome buildings have reversed their orientation to address Church Street, turning their back to the Garden. Porden's magnificent south facade, to which Nash's Royal Pavilion responds, is now used as the Dome service access road and is obscured by screen planting. In order to reunify the Royal Pavilion Estate it is essential to re-awaken the potential of the Garden as the means to mediate and connect the complex relationships between the historic buildings. In addition, the Garden offers exciting opportunities for creative new uses and different patterns of occupation in support of the arts venues on the site. Reminding ourselves that the Garden is a historic garden rather than a public park should be seen as a celebration rather than a stuffy approach ...'

This was supplemented in the 2018 CBA Conservation Management Plan as follows:

Section 5.2.2 'Our vision is to restore, conserve and enhance the diverse significances and values of The Royal Pavilion Garden while retaining the Garden as a public open space in the historic centre of Brighton. At the heart of the vision is a celebration of the Garden's heritage, lively atmosphere and open space, and its capacity to enrich the lives of the local community. This forms the basis of a commitment to on-going sustainability, quality and inclusivity to ensure that the widest possible audience can appreciate and benefit from the diverse opportunities afforded by the Garden.'

The 2013 and 2018 visions are amplified in the more detailed vision below.

CBA policy headings 1. Governance, 5. Interpretation and 6. Audience Development have not been covered below. The reader is referred for guidance to CBA CMP Section 5 and to more recent specialist reports on these subjects.

13.2 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE GARDEN VISION

The more detailed vision below in Section 13.3 has been devised specifically for this project. It reflects a more detailed understanding of the garden's significances, current condition, uses and the operational requirements than was presented in the reports above in 2013 and 2018. The garden vision below is based on the following justification.

The Royal Pavilion garden is a very special and fragile jewel which needs the same level of attention as a piece of Chinese wallpaper in the Pavilion itself, to conserve it and present it, while accommodating a high number of visitors who use it for various purposes. Colour, texture, exotica and exquisite materials are common to both, as well as the King's obvious pleasure. The key Picturesque character Nash and Aiton established for their monarch by 1830 is fine-grained and complex, requiring a specialist understanding to present it to the royal standards of the building and its contents. Like the wallpaper, the garden requires an intellectual understanding of its character, fabric and presentation and curation of its contents and appearance by trained and expert staff.

Integral to this ensemble, the garden should be treated with as much care and an equivalent level of resources as the building and its interiors. Its planting is finely detailed requiring specialist gardening to retain the texture.

Unlike the wallpaper and the interiors which are curated and protected from wear, the fragile garden is subject to major direct wear from heavy and constant public use. Events and through traffic are particularly damaging and a strategy is required to minimise their lasting effects on this unique royal garden. While it is in some senses fragile, in others it is robust enough to accommodate the great number of visitors and still be attractive and welcoming, given an appropriate level of resources.

The garden compares with other publicly used royal palaces and parks of the highest historical significance in which high presentation and gardening standards are challenged by heavy use. At Hampton Court the gardens, many open free of charge, achieve the highest standards of expert horticulture despite heavy footfall. St James's Park has been recently restored with Regency-style planting and is always open to the public, requiring a balance of high quality gardening and the need to repair damage from high levels of use. The Pavilion remains comparable with Buckingham Palace, not only historically for the Nash/Aiton design, but, as relevantly, because periods of intensive wear from public functions such as garden parties, albeit limited and well controlled, have to be constantly repaired and refreshed while keeping the garden to the highest standard expected for royal functions. This is comparable with the use of the former Hertford Villa, the Marquess of Hertford's pleasure pavilion in Regent's Park, now Winfield House and the US Ambassador's residence, which has similar event pressures on a compact space. What unites these varied uses is the resultant need to maintain, repair and refresh the fabric regularly.

At the Pavilion, like these examples, the specialist nature of the Picturesque planting and the intensive use requires a constant replacement and refreshing of the fabric to present it to an appropriately high standard, based on a cyclical

programme set out in a management and maintenance plan. The 1990s restoration planting plans remain appropriate, modified to reflect experiences since the 1990s. Events, given their disproportionately damaging effect, should be better controlled or reduced to those with a minimal effect on the fabric. Other damage and antisocial behaviour would be considerably reduced by closing the garden at night, using a boundary treatment which does not damage the historic character of the garden or its relationship with the setting.

The most important aspect of the garden is its Picturesque planted garb, as a thing of managed artifice which can accommodate wildlife. The range of cultivated plants and mature trees, most notably the Elm, provide a good habitat linked to other greenspaces via green corridors, but the starting point should be the historic character of the Regency, informal and also wildlife friendly, rather than presentation as a habitat per se. It should be gardened and presented in this manner as it will offer an ecological haven. The ideal presentation is illustrated in Mike Jones's book *Set for a King*, a good source of inspiration. A skilled gardener dedicated solely to gardening in this manner (not diverted to other activities) is essential as the pivot for implementing this vision, supported by trained volunteer gardeners.

It is critical that trustees, managers at all levels, volunteers and local stakeholders are taken on the journey to embrace and promote this unified vision for the Pavilion and its garden and its implementation. Inspire the passion to ensure that it is adequately resourced and managed to enhance its beautiful historic character, while providing an essential public open space in which harmful behaviour and physical damage is minimised.

13.3 GARDEN VISION

The following vision is based on the justification above in Section 13.2, itself derived from the analysis of the significances of the site set out elsewhere in this document.

Summary Vision

Preserve, restore and enhance John Nash's unique Regency garden, to unify the Royal Pavilion Estate and offer a welcoming and informative green oasis in the centre of Brighton for all to enjoy.

This breaks down into various aspects of the garden:

Vision 1. **The Royal Pavilion Estate – the King's Garden.** Conserve and present as the complex and highly maintained Picturesque garden of the royal marine pleasure pavilion for Britain's greatest connoisseur monarch, King George IV, at its zenith by 1830. Inspire the passion for this unique and jewel-like garden as part of the unity of the whole estate and welcome and encourage visitors to use it benignly as an asset and haven.

Vision 2. **An artistic artefact.** Treat the garden as the valuable historic artefact it is as part of a unified vision for the whole estate. Accord it as much respect, attention to detail and equivalent resources as the rest of the King's palatial Pavilion estate along with the built fabric, furnishings

and connoisseur's artistic collection, as it forms a similarly significant part of the ensemble.

- Vision 3. **An integral part of the ensemble.** Recognize and reinforce the artistic and physical relationship between the interior of the Pavilion and the exterior setting. Ensure that the curation and interpretation of the historic character links both with an intellectual understanding of the similarities and contrasts.
- Vision 4. **Repair and rejuvenate.** The garden is a dynamic, living work of art with a very high and intensive visitor usage for which it was not designed, although it accommodates visitors admirably. The Picturesque style and intensive use require cyclical planned replacement and refreshing of planting and hard landscape features to retain an appropriate standard of the historic character and for visitor enjoyment.
- Vision 5. **Significant later phases.** Later changes which enhanced that character and layout have their own significance and deserve due consideration.
- Vision 6. **Future alterations.** Alterations to accommodate the present intensive public use should only be considered where absolutely and justifiably essential to the conservation of the fabric and character of the garden; their design should as far as possible enhance or evoke, or at least not damage, that essential character of the compact and fragile royal garden.
- Vision 7. **Wildlife and habitats** should complement and enhance the significant elements of the historic garden and the ornamental design which expresses its royal origin.
- Vision 8. **Inspire and engage stakeholders and decision makers.** Inspire and engage trustees, managers at all levels, volunteers and other stakeholders to embrace and promote this vision for the Pavilion garden and its implementation. **Sell it with passion!**

14 POLICIES

General policies in the 2018 CMP supporting this vision are set out in it under the following headings:

1. Section 5.3 Governance;
2. Section 5.4 Strategic Principles;
3. Section 5.5 Capital Works Priorities;
4. Section 5.6 & 5.7 Management & Operational Priorities; Masterplan
5. Section 5.8 Interpretation;
6. Section 5.9 Audience Development & Engagement.

The 2018 CMP policies 2-4 relating particularly to the management and presentation of the garden have been reviewed. They have been reformulated into the policies below, although the reader is recommended to consult the material in the 2018 CMP Section 5 which contains useful material.

CBA policy headings 1. Governance, 5. Interpretation and 6. Audience Development have not been covered below. The reader is referred for guidance to CBA CMP Section 5 and to more recent specialist reports on these subjects.

Each policy below requires a set of prioritised recommendations for management purposes. The 2018 CMP Policies 2-4 (Sections 5.4-5.7) contain detailed recommendations which can be related to the following policies.

- Policy 1. **Overall.** Conserve and present the garden of King George IV's pleasure pavilion at its zenith by 1830 with later changes and restoration works which enhanced that character, as part of the unity of the whole estate which welcomes and encourage visitors.
- Policy 2. **Structures.** Conserve, restore and maintain to the highest standards significant buildings and structures present by 1950, after which no historically significant and non-damaging structures were added, ensuring that their immediate landscape settings are historically appropriate. Prioritise items of the highest historic significance that are deteriorating and ensure that restored structures are sustainable in the long term. Additions should not damage the early C19 Nash character, views or fabric they should be sensitive and sympathetic to the historic context in position, style and materials, be fully justified and mitigated, and reversible.
- Policy 3. **Street Furniture & Visitor Facilities. See CBA Capital Works Priority 3g.**
Develop and implement a unified design and colour guide consistent with the historic character. These features are important to welcome visitors and improve their visit. Minimise the effect of C21 street furniture, and visitor facilities such as refreshment areas, WCs and interpretation in altering the historic character and fabric in the most important areas, particularly around the

north and south gateways and in areas visible from the Pavilion.

Policy 4.

Garden Art and Memorials.

Ensure that outdoor art and memorials remain absent as far as possible. Adopt a presumption against explicit memorialisation in the form of trees or other features; if necessary record donations in other ways such as a book; review and find alternatives to existing commemorative features. The historic character of the Nash scheme included almost no outdoor artworks. This helped to preserve the illusion of the Pavilion standing in a naturalistic scene with minimal human intervention. Little was added subsequently in the C19 and early C20 so that this character largely persisted.

Policy 5.

Views. See CBA Strategic Principle Priority 2g and Feilden 2013 Vision (Section 13.1 above).

Reinstate and maintain significant views clear and to a high standard, without intrusion of inappropriate planting and modern features so that the design and visual links between various areas and features are clear (see Section 7.2-7.3. & views maps Figures 10-11).

Prioritise the most significant views, i.e. those established by 1830, including the Nash Views and the visual reconnection between the Pavilion and the Indian-style facades of the Dome, Corn Exchange, etc to the north-west; also relating to the north and south gateways.

Consider phasing work to ensure that high quality resilient trees are retained in the short term.

Policy 6.

Circulation. See CBA Capital Works Priority 3b, 3g.

Maintain the layout, fabric and character of the drives and paths to evoke the Nash scheme, adapted to reflect later changes of historic significance, as in the 1990s restoration and the intense level of use by visitors.

Minimise damage to path environs from intensive use by visitors.

Mitigate the visual and physical effects of the service drive for the Dome while re-establishing a stronger visual link with the Pavilion.

Policy 7.

Boundaries and Entrances. See CBA Capital Works Priority 3b.

Use historically appropriate styles and positions for fences and gateways to enhance the Nash scheme, guided by examples on site, and visual C19/early C20 sources. Rationalise fencing to ensure it is essential and effective.

Review the suggestions in CBA Priority 3b to ensure that significant irreversible damage is not caused to the fabric and character nor consequences which significantly increase wear on the fabric.

- Policy 8. Seating. See CBA Strategic Principles 2d and 2f.** Use a single historically appropriate style as far as possible, robust enough to withstand the high intensity of use. Balance providing seating with the discouragement of anti-social behaviour.
- Policy 9. Horticulture. See CBA Strategic Principle 2d and Capital Works Priorities 3c, 3d, 3e.**
 Maintain the garden to the highest standard, based on the plans, palette and management/gardening of the 1990s restoration and planting, following as far as possible guidance from Jones *Fit for a King* (2005), Henry Phillips (1823) and Loudon (1838), adapted to reflect the garden's specific conditions as necessary. See Section 8 and Appendices 4-6.
 Prune and when necessary replant on a cyclical programme to ensure presentation always reflects the Picturesque character and Forest Lawn scenery (defined in Appendix 3, Section 17.3.3). Reinststate 1820s beds which were not part of the 1990s restoration where this is operationally appropriate. Depart from the historic planting schemes with the introduction of new features and different species and varieties only where there is no alternative or where no damage will be caused to the historic design and character.
 Guidance on appearance in Nash *Views*, both published (Figure 7 and Sections 6.2-6.5) and Pugin's preliminary watercolours, and views of other sites including Cronkhill and Pitzhanger Manor.¹¹
- Policy 10. Trees. CBA Management and Operational Priority 4g.**
 See also 2022 tree survey and analysis above (Section 8) for detailed significances and management priorities. Further detail including tree analysis with mapping of current specimens overlaid on historic maps is contained in Appendix 9.
 Analysis maps Figures 19 and 21 identify areas that should or should not be replanted.
 Maintain trees in a state of arrested development where they would block key views if left to attain full maturity. Prune sensitively to maintain a natural outline or replace when they outgrow their positions. Remove those which are in historically inappropriate positions (i.e. do not conform to the Nash scheme) unless they are of the highest significance botanically or ecologically, in which case allow these to die and do not replace; replanting should follow the 1990s restoration scheme and Nash plan (Figure 6, see Section 8).
 Prepare a tree management strategy to include a regular programme of inspections, disease

¹¹ Pitzhanger Manor, 1800-01: <http://collections.soane.org/object-xp14> (ref. XP14);
<http://collections.soane.org/ARC8249> (ref. SM 14/2/3); <http://collections.soane.org/ARC8248SM> (ref. 14/2/7).
 Cronkhill, 1802: <http://collections.soane.org/THES75575> (ref. 73/5/2)

monitoring and maintenance operations and replanting following design precedent and to agreed planting palette, with special attention to the specific management needs of significant, mature or ancient trees and trees which form structural planting.

Take all steps to maintain and enhance the elm collection with new resistant cultivars prioritising those with characteristics similar to historic types if possible.

Nevertheless in response to changing climate conditions and disease threats, it is important to make the palette resilient by increasing diversity with alternatives so less reliance is placed on the traditional elm while preserving the important specimens and historic genetic material of the earliest specimens. Species available in the Regency period should be the priority for new planting, but other more resilient types to increase diversity may be suitable where they conform to the Regency design character and appearance, in addition to new resistant elms.

Take account of heritage and ecological significance of trees in all management decisions.

Take account of views management in all tree management decisions.

Maintain avenues (e.g. Elm Grove) in historic species (if viable) at original spacing and groupings.

Identify those for replacement planting of some or all of the west line of trees.

Enhance links with Plumpton agricultural college to propagate the oldest trees and take cuttings for replanting in the garden and for biosecurity by lodging with gene bank in Tenerife.

Donated trees should only be accepted if they fit with the long term tree and view strategy. (see also recommendations in Section 8).

Policy 11. Lawns. Present the lawns as a verdant carpet in a slightly shaggy appearance, fingering into the shrubberies as grass would not have been close mown in the Regency period.
Manage turf, events and visitors to minimise wear particularly alongside paths.

Policy 12. Garden Staff. See CBA Management & Operational Priorities 4c Staff development.
Provide sufficient resources and skilled gardeners to achieve the appropriate standards of gardening and presentation via a prioritised, rolling action plan.
A dedicated, skilled gardener should be supported by the valuable roles of professional trainees and trained garden volunteers, and advised by experts in this specialist field of garden history.
Use off-site resources such as the facilities at Preston Manor for space-hungry activities such as

composting, propagation and storage.

Identify need for, and provide training in, specialist skills or knowledge, including use of this document, 2018 CBACMP and heritage impact assessment (HIA, see Appendix 8).

Rationalise the arrangement and use of on-site horticultural service areas. Increase use of off-site resources such as the facilities at Preston Manor for space-hungry activities which are not essential on site such as composting, propagation and storage.

Policy 13.

Archaeology (preservation in situ).

See MOLA Desk-Based Report (2022) and summary in Section 5.8 above for detail of significances and areas of various levels of potential.

The archaeological heritage (above and below ground) should be safeguarded, conserved, enhanced and managed appropriately reflecting relevant historic landscape conservation policies, in accordance with NPPF and Planning Practice Guidance, including an archaeological watching brief for new works involving excavation and earth moving in areas of high potential, such as tree stump removal, ground works for drainage, new structures, etc.

Use opportunities to widen understanding and interpretation of the history of all periods through archaeological survey.

Policy 14.

Ecology. See also Survey and Biodiversity Assessment: Royal Pavilion Garden, Brighton (December 2016) and 2022 Greenspace Ecological survey for detail of species and habitats present and management recommendations.

Balance the conservation of species and habitats (and associated legal obligations) and the maintenance and restoration of significant elements of the garden to perpetuate the ornamental historic character, including views, while providing habitats which do not conflict with the historic character.

Recognise, and manage to enhance, the garden's role in climate change mitigation and wildlife corridors with the adjacent greenspaces particularly along the London Road including Victoria Gardens and the Old Steine.

When planning change, comply with obligations regarding the disturbance and habitat of any legally protected species present.

Policy 15.

Use and Events. See CBA Management and Operational Priority 4d. Ensure that the garden is welcoming to visitors and that the type of use is appropriate to the various character areas, e.g. perpetuating the tranquility of the East Lawn in contrast to the busy thoroughfare of the Western Lawns.

Minimise antisocial behaviour using physical and social deterrents.

Develop and implement an events strategy which acknowledges the historic tradition since first public ownership in 1850, of holding cultural events within the garden but which is:

- i. guided by the Nash character of the Garden and does not significantly damage it
- ii. focused on events that complement the historic setting for the Pavilion and garden ambience
- iii. integrated into an overall management strategy for the Garden

Events and responses to antisocial behaviour must not cause irreversible damage in the short or long term.

Policy 16. Security. See CBA Capital Works Priority 3a. Improve security to protect visitors, staff and volunteers, and the garden fabric, while welcoming visitors. Ensure that access to the Pavilion is as secure as is practically achievable given the need for public access.

Pursue actions to address concerns raised by users in relation to the garden being a safe environment for visitors. Local residents have, understandably, a poor image of its safety.

Policy 17. Estate Management. CBA Management and Operational Priority 4b.

Address the policies above to conserve and enhance the character established by c.1830 in an MMP, particularly ensuring appropriate coverage of the long term management of trees and other planting (see Section 8).

Regularly update and implement the MMP taking account of the guidance in this addendum.

Continue working towards Green Flag/ Heritage Green Flag status.

Use heritage impact assessment (HIA) to evaluate effect of proposed work on the significance using method in Appendix 8.

Policy 18. Sustainability. See CBA Management and Operational Priority 4f

Prepare and implement a Sustainable Management Strategy for all management operations.

Adopt ecologically appropriate, sustainable and environmentally sensitive management practices in accordance with best practice, including maximising opportunities for carbon sequestration, sourcing of materials with low embodied carbon, avoiding use of herbicides, pesticides, and peat based products, composting of green waste on site, and reuse/recycling of materials where possible. Ensure that use of resources (particularly water, energy and production) and choice of plant material (planting schemes, grass, tree selection) are consistent with predictions for climate change and its mitigation.

Policy 19. Masterplanning for Restoration. See CBA Management & Operational Priorities 5a

Use this guidance to underpin masterplanning for restoration or major changes to the garden.

- Policy 20. **Value and Protect the setting.** Recognize the great experiential influence that the urban and marine setting has upon the ensemble and particularly the garden. (see Section 7.4)
Monitor and protect views into the wider setting. Safeguard the setting as established by the mid-C20 with its close and distant views, both urban and marine, and the experiential qualities of the arrival from the north along the London Road and south from the sea front. Resist development or change inappropriate and detrimental to the significance of the Royal Pavilion and its garden particularly large scale or tall buildings which will be visible to the east. Ensure that proposed changes in the setting are identified in time to influence their refusal or mitigation if they are inappropriate.
- Policy 21. **Survey Research and Recording CBA Audience Development & Engagement 6b**
Research, catalogue and conserve material in the archive. Digitisation of archival material and the restoration is essential, prioritising the most significant and informative material guided by curatorial staff. Good quality digital copies of significant documentary evidence held elsewhere is also essential for the archive to inform the approach to the garden management.
Continue the programme of cataloguing and making accessible the existing archives, adding records of existing condition of landscape and structures and any new work affecting built and landscape features and new material such as oral history records; use the archive to monitor that repairs and replacement works reflect context and original design concepts.
- Policy 22. **Maximise opportunities for interpretation both on site and digitally without damaging the historic character and fabric.**
Interpretation should provide layers of understanding about the various aspects of the garden's significances in a contemporary, non-intrusive way. Devise a policy and guidelines for interpretation to maximise the opportunities in all media which informs the forthcoming Interpretation Plan.
Minimise damage to the significant historic fabric and character, especially in visually sensitive areas near key historic features such as buildings and paths, and otherwise unchanged sweeps of landscaping.
Map areas of high sensitivity based on these aspects to guide positioning, type of media and style. Devise style guidance for the various areas of sensitivity and visual impact limits on physical interventions. Identify areas that are suitable for permanent and temporary media.

PART C APPENDICES

15 APPENDIX 1 KEY REFERENCES FOR THE ROYAL PAVILION GARDEN

Sources for the Pavilion garden are myriad. The scope of this project has not allowed for a comprehensive list but key sources are cited below, including some contextual sources. It is recommended that a comprehensive references list is drawn up for all sources for the Pavilion garden, together with the locations of the original documents and of published reproductions.

The three main sources of primary documents are collections at the following institutions:

The National Archive

The Royal Archive

The Royal Pavilion Archive

15.1 PUBLICATIONS

Aiton, William Townsend, *Hortus Kewensis* (2nd edition 1810-13).

Antram, N, Morrice, R, *Pevsner's Architectural Guides Brighton and Hove* (2009).

Attree, *Topography of Brighton*, (1809), 4-13.

Batey, M, *Regency Gardens* (1995).

Batey, M, 'Regency Setting Restored', *Country Life* (26 April 1984).

Berry, S, 'The Seaside Resorts of Sussex c.1730-1815: Resort Development & Military Defences on the South Coast of England', *The Georgian Group Journal* vol. 28 (2020), 157-76.

Carter, G, Goode, P, Laurie, K, *Humphry Repton Landscape Gardener 1752-1818* (1982), 85-87.

Crawford's Library, *A Description of Brighthelmstone ...* (29 Oct 1794), 22, 29.

Donowell, *View of Brighthelmstone the Steyne* (1778).

Farrant, S, 'The Physical Development of the Royal Pavilion Estate ... 1785-1823', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* vol. 120 (1982), 171-84.

Ford, J & J, *Images of Brighton* (1981). [topographical views]

Harvey, J, *Early Nurserymen* (1974), 89. [Willmott of Lewisham]

Hinze, Virginia, 'The Re-Creation of John Nash's Regency Gardens at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton'. *Garden History* 24:1 (1996), 45-53.

Jones M, *Set for a King 200 Years of Gardening at the Royal Pavilion* (2005).

Lambert, *View of Brighthelmstone* (1765).

Loudon, JC, 'Notes on Gardens at Brighton', *Gardening Magazine* (1842), 112-13, 347.

Morley, J, *The Making of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton Designs and Drawings* (1984).

Musgrave, C, *The Royal Pavilion* (1964, guide book).

Nash, John, *Views of the Royal Pavilion* (1827, Pavilion Books reproduction 1991).

Puckler-Muskau, Prince, *Tour of England, Ireland and France* (1940), entry for Oct 5, 1826.

Repton, H, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (1808).

Repton, H, *Memoir* (2005).

Stroud, D, *Humphry Repton* (1962).

Stroud, D, *Henry Holland His Life and Architecture* (1966).

Tyack, G, 'Xanadu-on-Sea', *Country Life* (14 August 2013), 34-40.

Wright, C, *The Brighton Ambulator* (1818).

15.2 MAPS & PLANS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

Yeakell & Gardner, Map of Sussex (1779). [In Jones, p.24]

Henry Holland, Plan of the ground floor of the Marine Pavilion as built by Holland (1787, RP). [In Jones, p.26; Plan A in Morley, 1984, 14]

Henry Holland, Plan of the ground floor of the Marine Pavilion with proposed alterations (1795, RC). [unexecuted, in Jones, p.30; Plan C in Morley, 1984, 15]

Henry Holland, Plan of the ground floor of the Marine Pavilion with proposed alterations (1801, RCIN 918857). [In Jones, p.34; Plan E in Morley, 1984, 67]

John Nash (A Pugin), Sketch plan of the ground floor of the Pavilion as rebuilt by Nash and a design for the gardens 1815-22 (RP). [Plan H in Morley, 1984, 17]

John Nash, Ground Plan, *Views of the Royal Pavilion* (1826, Pavilion Books reproduction 1991), 24.

Brighton Tithe Map

<https://escr.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=94d9d72603034a85bb68bce793fb5a59&find=BRIGTON%201&showLayers=Tithe%20Maps;Labels;MajorARoads;ABRoads;MainRoadNames;AllRoadNames;PlaceNames;Large;LargeMedium;All;Locator;BRIGTON%201> [no detail of layout]

Ordnance Survey

Ordnance Surveyor's Drawing (BL)

1:500 scale sheets Brighton - Sussex LXVI.9.25 <https://maps.nls.uk/view/229405959>

LXVI.9.20 <https://maps.nls.uk/view/229405947> Surveyed: 1874, Published: 1876.

1: 25" scale sheet Sussex LXVI.9, Revised c.1896 published c.1897; Revised: 1909, Published: 1911

15.3 ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations are myriad. For the scope of this project it has not been possible to reproduce all the relevant images which show the gradual development of the garden to its present form but many are reproduced in Jones (2005) and are available online at <https://dams-brightonmuseums.org.uk/assetbank-pavilion/action/viewHome>

An extensive collection at: Regency Society Archive <http://regencysociety-jamesgray.com/volume10/index9.html>
<https://sbpc.regencysociety.org/royal-pavilion-estate-gallery/>

Elm expert Peter Bourne has an extensive collection of historic images focussing on elms in the gardens.

A selection of historic designs and views of the Pavilion and its grounds includes:

Grimm, 'View of East front', (1787).

Holland's Office, 'The West front of the Pavilion', (1787).

Holland's Office, 'The Marine Pavilion, East front' (1787).

Edey, 'East Front, Marine Pavilion' (1788).

Middleton after Holland, 'The Prince of Wales's Pavilion' (1788)

Holland, 'Ground Floor Plan ... with Proposed Alterations' (1795)

<https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/old-steine-brighton-north-tww0041f1> 1796 Steine front

<https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/steine-front-marine-pavilion-tww0041f2> 1797 Steine front
Humphry Repton, Red Book for the Pavillon at Brighton (1806). [Royal Collection, includes views of 1805]

Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (1808). [online, includes views of 1805]

View of the east front in Attree, *Topography of Brighton*, (1809), 4.

The key views of the Nash scheme as executed are those published in Nash's *Views* (1826), largely as executed by Augustus Pugin, based on his preliminary watercolours which are also informative.

The Pavilion archive includes many others after 1830.

<https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/untitled-tww01bfda> 1828 fragment, garden with paling fence

15.4 OTHER ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

The National Archive

Lord Steward's Account books for His Majesty's Household including nursery bills from Willmott, 1816-29.

Including TNA LS 10/7, 11/1, 11/6.

16 APPENDIX 2 GARDEN CHRONOLOGY

This chronology concentrates on the later C18 onwards, from the genesis of the Royal Pavilion to now. It includes key dates for events elsewhere including in the life of King George IV.

Abbreviations to Key References below:

CBA	Chris Blandford Associates, Conservation Management Plan (2018).
Jones	Mike Jones, <i>Set for a King 200 Years of Gardening at the Royal Pavilion</i> (2005).
Musgrave	Clifford Musgrave, <i>The Royal Pavilion</i> (1964, guide book).
Stroud	Dorothy Stroud, <i>Henry Holland His Life and Architecture</i> (1966).
Stroud	Dorothy Stroud, <i>Humphry Repton</i> (1962).

For other abbreviations see the References list in Appendix 1.

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
C17	Brighton was a large fishing town.	
Later C18	By the late C18 the industrial purpose of the town had declined. The area between North Street and Church Street (first known as North Back Side) contained worker's housing and workshops. From the late 1790s these slums were largely cleared. The fishing port declined. Instead Brighton flourished as a seaside resort, partly because here the south coast was well defended, even though England was constantly at war with France.	Berry (2020).
1762	b. Prince George, Prince of Wales to King George III and Queen Charlotte.	
1765	A view west from the east above the town shows the area which became the site of the Royal Pavilion and its garden. No trees. It stood behind a flat area called the Steine. It shows the small town which was to be greatly developed as a resort in the following 30 years.	Lambert, <i>View of Brighthelmstone</i> in Jones, 22.
1770s	Great East street was the main road into the town for two of the main roads from London via Lewes and Clayton as well as from Tunbridge Wells, a spa town. It led into Castle Square and North street to a great coaching terminus.	Farrant, 1982, 177
1771	Duke of Marlborough bought his first house on the Steyne.	Pevsner, 9.
1778	A view north along the flat Steine from the sea end showing the surrounding Downs. The Castle Tavern dominated the west side in front of the site of what by 1790 became the Marine Pavilion.	Donowell, <i>View of Brighthelmstone the Steyne</i> (Jones, 23)
1779	Detailed map of Brighton shows the layout of Great East Street (along the west side of the site of the present Royal Pavilion), North Road and The Steine. (see separate map overlay pdf) Grove House, garden and adjoining areas including other properties that later formed the extent of the Royal Pavilion including the grove of trees to the west. In the north-west corner were market gardens owned by the Furner family who had a nursery. John Furner and brother were later employed by the Prince as gardeners. ¹² The east section of the gardens was bought and a road built over part of them. A small strip of water lay to the south-east of Grove house which flooded and prevented the Steine adjacent from being developed.	Yeakell & Gardner, 1779 in Jones, 24-25.
1782	By now the town had become a fashionable resort, led socially by royalty, principally the Duke of Cumberland, a keen yachtsman. It rivalled Bath and Tunbridge Wells.	<i>Morning Herald</i> , 26 Sept (Jones, 14)
1783	7 September. After the end of the London Season in June, George, Prince of Wales (later the Prince Regent and King George IV) first visited Brighton aged 21. He stayed for 11 days with his uncle the Duke of Cumberland who had leased the newly built Grove House to take advantage of the social season from August at the fashionable seaside resort. Grove House stood	Jones, 14.

¹² Furner is not included in Desmond's extensive *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (1994).

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
	<p>adjacent to the north of the future Marine Pavilion adjacent to the west of the Steine, the main promenading area. The Prince's parents disapproved of the Duke's profligate lifestyle and disapproved of the Prince's visit. It was the height of the season and the place was packed with visitors.</p> <p>The Prince promenaded on the Steine that evening and there were gun salutes, fireworks, bells rang and the town was lit up for the occasion.</p> <p>Lancelot 'Capability' Brown had died in February leaving a legacy countrywide of naturalistic landscape gardens. His successor Humphry Repton was adopting and would later adapt Brown's style for modest villas and for clients including merchants, gentry, aristocrats.</p> <p>The still more naturalistic and rough Picturesque style was gaining momentum, promoted by commentators including Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight.</p>	
1784-85	<p>The Prince rented Grove House (later called Marlborough House) for two seasons. On site of the later Music Room of the Pavilion. [OR Farrant, 1982, says it was Thos. Kemp's lodging house standing between Grove House and the Castle Inn]. Mrs Fitzherbert stayed nearby. Brighton offered many advantages over other resorts, beyond the usual assembly rooms, shops, race course and theatre. It also had the Steine and the Downs, sea bathing, medicinal sea-water cures, spas and was now favoured by the heir to the throne. He was the principal arbiter of style and fashion at the heart of the social milieu. The house consisted of a rectangular building with two 3-window semi-circular bays facing east.</p>	<p>Jones, 20.</p> <p>Stroud, 87.</p>
1785	15 December, the Prince illegally married Catholic Mrs Fitzherbert (1756-1837) in London.	
1785	Architect Henry Holland visited Paris.	Jones, 31.
1786	<p>The Prince of Wales took a three year lease for £150 p.a. on the lodging house on the Steine, adjacent to the south of Grove House, from his cook and factotum Louis Weltje who in turn rented it off local landowner Thomas Kemp (who later developed the prestigious Kemp Town estate nearby). Its appearance is unclear. Work was suspended on the extensive remodelling of his London residence, Carlton House by Henry Holland due to lack of funds.</p> <p>The marine residence was referred to as a 'cottage', and was an early example of the simple life for wealthy people, not too far from London. This became a fashion from which the <i>cottage orne</i> developed in which he indulged at the Royal Lodge in Windsor Great Park in the 1820s when he preferred reclusivity to the heart of society in Brighton and London.</p>	Jones, 22-23.
1786	Weltje leased additional property for his house and the new stables for the Marine Pavilion.	Stroud, 87.
PHASE 1	April-July 1787 Farmhouse enlarged and rebuilt by Henry Holland as the 'Marine Pavilion'. Grounds laid out with east lawn towards the Steine, and west forecourt to west as far as the adjacent Great East Street. The presence of the Pavilion began to affect strongly the development of its surroundings.	
1787	Weltje bought the property and land to the south-east between Kemp's property and the Castle Inn for £2,800 from Richard Tidy.	Farrant, 1982, 173-74
1786-88	<p>Prominent architect Henry Holland transformed the Prince's townhouse into a neoclassical pavilion with a central domed rotunda surrounded by Ionic columns, flanked to the south and north by two wings enclosing a forecourt, henceforward known as Marine Pavilion.</p> <p>Holland extended north, building a duplicate of the existing house and linking the two by a new drawing room. The latter was of unusual shape, being in plan a circle set between two smaller semi-circles, that on the north leading to the new eating room and library, while that on the south led to the ante-room and breakfast room which were the ground floor rooms of the original house. Behind this enfilade a long corridor was constructed with a hall and the main entrance to the house on the west front in the centre. At either end of the corridor wings extended westward forming a forecourt, the south wing with pages' rooms and the north one for domestic quarters. The exterior was faced in Hampshire weather tiles.</p> <p>Large bay of the drawing room emphasized by Ionic columns supporting an entablature over which were life-size classical figures of Coade stone. Behind rose the shallow dome of the</p>	<p>Jones, 24-25.</p> <p>Stroud, 87.</p>

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
	drawing room. This echoed Rousseau's Hotel de Salm in Paris (1782) and designs by Neufforge. The name <i>pavilion</i> echoed the Comte d'Artois' <i>pavilion</i> at Bagatelle and others near Paris. To the south beyond Weltje's house extensive stables were built around a court, for 42 horses.	
1787	The papers took a keen interest in the Prince's activities, noting in May 150 men working on the alterations which were to be completed by July. His decision to build a residence ensured the social status and future prosperity for the town.	<i>Sussex Weekly Advertiser</i> in Jones
1787	Holland plan shows in the grounds only the east lawn, and west forecourt, also lawn, fenced against the road and with a U-shaped path with 2 pedestrian gates. Weltje's garden to the south was blank; his small narrow house linked to the south to the stable quadrangle. To the north was Grove House (not shown). Grimm illustrated the modifications to the Pavilion with the grounds a building site.	Holland plan alterations to the house; Grimm, 'View of East front', in Jones, 26, 27.
1787	The work was completed speedily. An account of the new house notes the Prince, Mrs Fitzherbert and the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland walking on the Steine, the handsome new house with 'a grand Dome in the Centre, with Wings, and a good deal of ground before with a Ha! Ha! and behind is a noble square with Pillars and Lamps between, the stables are not yet finished.' The elegant lamps and paling timber fence against Great East Street were illustrated in front of the new double height portico. A sundial stood on the forecourt lawn. It was supported by a kneeling lead figure, <i>The Hampton Court Moor</i> by Jan van Nost, cast in 1701 for William III cost £30, removed from Hampton Court Privy Garden where it originated. It was admired in a guide book of 1794 (quote in Jones). It was given after the King's last visit in 1827 to the owners of Cowdray Park in c.1829.	Letter, 22 August, in Jones, 28. Holland's Office, 'The West front of the Pavilion', in Jones, 29. Holland's Office, 'The Marine Pavilion, East front', Jones, 29, 104.
1788	Modest garden created by Holland. Lawn fronting the Steine. First use of the term Marine Pavilion for the property in a lease. It comprised 'messenger [house] ... with the Court Yard, Stables, Coach Houses, Gardens and Appurtenances ... and also an Ice House and a Room over the same ...and also the House, Coach House and Stables which were then building by the said Louis Weltje, and which were afterwards in his occupation ...' Weltje's house had a large garden left blank on the Holland plan. This was laid out in the 1790s as a formal garden for the Pavilion. Views of the newly completed east front show the new east lawn enclosed by a sunk fence or ha-ha against the Steine with Weltje's house to the south and Grove House to the north, without creating a visual barrier. Evergreen clumps of trees and shrubs framed the front, newly planted as semi-mature. St Nicholas, the medieval parish church, crowned the hilltop above the east front.	Weltje, Lease to the Prince, 01 March, in Jones, 25. Edey, 'East Front, Marine Pavilion', Jones, 27. Middleton, 'The Prince of Wales's Pavilion', Jones, 28.
1789	Weltje purchased an ice house in the chalkpit at the western end of North Street.	Farrant, 1982, 174
1789	French Revolution started, many fugitives arrived at Brighton, one of the chief cross-Channel ports. Many were received and entertained by the Prince at the Pavilion.	Musgrave, 7.
Late 1780s-90s	East of the Steine urban development spread north and east along the clip top. Views of the Pavilion attracted some visitors to lodgings in its vicinity as an alternative to sea views. The north area of the Steine became popular for promenades and other social activities.	
1790	Weltje took a long lease of land near Kemp's lodging house. Grove House attached to the north of the Pavilion bought by the Duke of Marlborough and called Marlborough House. It retained this name until 1812 when the Prince acquired it.	Farrant, 1982, 174. Berry, 2018, 121.
1791	William Gilpin publishes <i>Remarks on Forest Scenery</i> promoting the Picturesque movement.	
1793	Weltje claimed he had spent £23k on buying the land (£5,800) and Holland's work (£16,200) for the Pavilion. Holland was asked to draw up plans for extensions. The prince did not buy the	Stroud, 88 Farrant, 1982,

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
	estate until 1808.	176
1793	The Promenade Grove opened on land west of Grove House and became very popular as a pleasure garden for entertainment (or was this in 1794? see Farrant, 1982, 177). Although it was smaller than the celebrated Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens in London, there were similarities, as described in a contemporary guide book. Beautiful gardens were enclosed by large overspreading trees where parties came to take refreshments and enjoy the saloon and an octagonal music room. Parts of the original tree line survive in front of Pavilion Gardens Café. The Prince and his neighbour immediately to the north at Grove/Marlborough House ¹³ , the Duke of Marlborough, paid to install a drain in the Steine, removing the small floody strip of water shown in 1779. In return they were allowed to enclose an area as gardens for their properties, now the East Lawns.	Jones, 20-21. Jones, 47. Farrant, 1982, 176
1793-1802	War with France.	
1795	m. The Prince of Wales to Princess Caroline of Brunswick, his cousin. In June they came to Brighton though the Pavilion was not ready to receive them until August. The Prince's debts were settled, enabling him to develop the Brighton estate.	
1795-1808	Publication of influential <i>Oriental Scenery</i> by Thos and Wm Daniell.	
1795	Purchase of Dairy Field west of the Pavilion and Great East Street. Some or all of it was used for the Prince's dairy from 1794-1802. Part was used as a detached garden for the Prince.	Farrant, 1982, 176
1795	Holland drew up abortive proposals to extend the Marine Pavilion with the addition of curved wings to north and south on the east, garden side of the house. Weltje's house to be demolished and replaced by a circular geometric garden in the whole space, enclosed on 3 sides, open to the west, road side. This, presumably of the Prince's taste, was an anomaly such geometric gardens were not fashionable. Reminiscent of Neurforgue's <i>Receuil Elementaire d'Architecture</i> vol. III. Holland used a smaller version of this design in his garden at Sloane Place. It pre-empted Humphry Repton's formal garden proposals by some years. Weltje's house was retained and the garden unexecuted.	Holland, 'Ground Floor Plan ... Proposed Alterations', Jones, 30. Stroud, 88, Morley, 1984, 15.
1796	Birth of Princess Charlotte and separation of her parents.	
Later 1790s	Separate house built for Weltje between the stable block and Pavilion. Geometric flower garden laid out for Pavilion in the space to the east.	Stroud, 1966, 88-89.
1797-1802	Humphry Repton worked at the Pavilion. Payments total £264. He noted in his last book in 1816 a method of raising or sinking surface levels as had been done 'under my direction at the gardens at the Pavilion at Brighton'.	Stroud, 1962, 105.
1800	Weltje died. His property became part of the Marine Pavilion. Between 1786-1802 building was confined to the land bought by Weltje in 1785-86. The influence on the town physically and visually was relatively slight, overshadowed by the speed of the town's growth.	Farrant, 1982, 174
PHASE 2a	1801-04 Enlargement of Marine Pavilion by Holland & PF Robinson. Conservatory and dining room wings added at angles to the main block mirroring each other. Informal east lawn and circuit walk around it surrounded by trees for privacy. Part of the Steine enclosed by the Prince in the late C18 to extend the East Lawn was set out with a perimeter path and boundary shrubbery by landscaper Samuel Lapidge (1744-1806), a former associate of Capability Brown. Influential use of canopies and verandas with bow windows.	
1801-04	The Prince acquired land west of the Pavilion including the gardens of the Promenade Grove.	CBA
1801	The prince bought the 'Grove Elm gardens, the shrubberies and pleasure-ground of the Duke of Marlborough, which the London Road intersected.' This, which became part of the western lawns, was only part of the Grove House estate. The house and its garden were not bought until 1812. There was clearly a long term plan to acquire piecemeal all the land which comprised the final extent of the grounds and was only completed by c.1820.	Guide book in Jones, 56.

¹³ This should not be confused with the present Marlborough House to the south, on the west side of the Steine.

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
1801	July, Holland drew a new plan again proposing to extend the house on the east front to north and south, with oval angled wings mirroring each other as an Eating room and Conservatory. He showed another design for a geometric flower garden to the south, on the site of Weltje's former garden between the Pavilion and stables, again reminiscent of similar ones to be made fashionable by Repton. It was largely enclosed by buildings, entered from the lawn to the east, and from the Pavilion via the new conservatory wing. It was laid out as the Chinese Courtyard Garden behind the Chinoiserie conservatory. (see separate map overlay pdf) The large rectangular east lawn enclosed by an oval circuit path, flanked by shrubberies and leading through a shrubbery directly opposite the central saloon for privacy for the 40 year old Prince from the Steine. The forecourt against Great East Street remained.	Holland, 'Plan of the Ground Floor ... with Alterations', Jones, 34. RCIN 918957
1801	Lapidge paid £384 for work at the Marine Pavilion. Bill in Royal Archives. The <i>London Chronicle</i> noted that 'The grounds are disposed with great picturesque beauty and effect by Messrs. Lapidge and Hooper, pupils of the ingenious Brown' (17 Aug. 1802).	RA 33531
1802	Holland designed Chinoiserie frontages for the east front of the Pavilion and for the stable. This was part of his Chinese Decorations for the Pavilion but remained abortive externally. The Marine Pavilion was to remain, as extended by Holland, for 15 years before the final land was acquired to build new stables which necessitated a new Pavilion with a new garden. He blurred the line between the building and garden with verandas, curved canopies, trellis and the conservatory wing painted and lined to look like stone to the south. This echoed the new Chinoiserie decorations indoors. Prince began negotiations with town commissioners to close Great East Street.	In Jones, 37, 42.
c.1802	Part of the Steine enclosed by the Prince in the late C18 to extend the East Lawn. North end of Great East Street beyond North Street subsumed into the garden by this time.	CBA
1803	East Lawn was set out with a perimeter path and boundary shrubbery surrounded by trees for privacy by Samuel Lapidge. Holland's abstract of bills shows the £384 Lapidge was paid for various items in the garden including for the ground work and planting in 1801. ¹⁴ Stroud suggests that this may have been for supervising plans which Humphry Repton had given for the lawns 1797 – 1802. One Hooper was also involved in the laying out. ¹⁵	Jones, 48. Stroud, 89. RA 33542 Musgrave, 1964, 7.
1803	October. Lapidge was succeeded by Mr Eaton as noted by Holland in a letter. ¹⁶	Stroud, 89.
1803	The Prince purchased the dairy house and field and houses in Church Street to acquire land needed for the frontages of the new stables. He laid a road west of Promenade Grove, 'New Road' between North Street and Church Street (opened in 1806), as a compromise for closing the north end of Great East Street to expand the garden to the west. Holland estimated fences would cost £323. This marked the end of Holland's involvement here. An ownership map shows the ownerships west of the Marine Pavilion and Marlborough House in their small gardens, with the narrowly rectangular crofts lining North Street to the north: firstly Great East Street 'proposed to be taken in' to the Pavilion grounds, then west of this HRH the Prince of Wales's Dairy Field (possibly used as a garden), with divers persons owning the north end of this strip including Marlborough Row lodging houses, then beyond Dairy Field Promenade Grove, thirdly Quakers' Croft, then finally and fourthly, furthest west, Furner's Gardens crossed by the proposed New Road. (see separate map overlay pdf)	Jones, 56 Farrant, 1982, 178 Survey Plan, Royal Pavilion Collection JP8 & Fig. 3 Berry, 1982.
1803	A guidebook to the town noted the difficulty of establishing a garden on the site, 'Two wings were lately added to the fabric, which complete its proportions, ... while the accompaniments of gravel-walks, grass-plats and an <i>attempt</i> at plantation, towards the	In Jones, 47.

¹⁴ Stroud, reference Windsor Castle, *Carlton House Papers*, 33530 and 33531 & Brighton Accounts 33542 Abstracts of bills by Holland for work done at Brighton, garden and planting by Lapidge.

¹⁵ The only likely Hooper referred to in Desmond's *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (1994) is James Hooper (d.1830/31), a Kew gardener who accompanied the embassy of Lord Amherst to Peking in 1816 to look after the specimens collected. He was at Buitenzorg Botanic Gardens subsequently.

¹⁶ The only likely Eaton referred to in Desmond's *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (1994) is John Eaton, fl. 1810s, a nurseryman, Horse Market, Warrington, but he seems to be too remote to have been this one.

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
	Steyne, (for trees can scarcely be <i>forced</i> to grow here), give a finished appearance ... towards the street, the front forms a square ... looking over a green, formerly the road.' This was an influential use of canopies and verandahs with bow windows which became common in most seaside towns.	
1804	Holland's account was settled. William Porden took over as the only architect, beginning with the stables with 44 boxes for horses. The Prince purchased some of the houses in Church Street to acquire land needed for the frontages of his new riding school and stables. Furner's market garden to the north-west was bought for £4k but the unwanted portion sold immediately for £3k. Porden estimate for 'sundry Expences in levelling, planting and Compleating the Pleasure Ground, supposed £500'. i.e. the newly acquired land to the west.	Jones, 50. CBA Jones, 56-57
1804	The Horticultural Society was established. Joseph Banks and William Aiton of Kew were among the founding members. Far Eastern plants from China were being discovered, imported and propagated in quantity. Kew supplied plants to the Pavilion garden.	Jones, 54-55.
PHASE 2b	Construction of the stables (now Dome Concert Hall) and riding school (now Corn Exchange) by William Porden to north of west half of present garden.	
1804-08	Construction of the stables (now the Dome Concert Hall) and riding school (now the Corn Exchange) by William Porden. East of the stables, a walled area was constructed for a proposed tennis court while further stabling and other facilities filled the space between the stables and Church Street.	CBA
1805	October. Humphry Repton summoned from the Duke of Bedford's Woburn Abbey by the Prince to Brighton. He arrived and first met the Prince on 24 November. Much Chinoiserie had been used recently at Woburn, including in the gardens the Lake, Dairy and Chinese Garden by Repton and perhaps influenced the Prince to summon Repton. Repton had been closely associated with the Indian style recently adopted at Sezincote c.1805. His Red Book of proposals was clearly influenced by the Daniells' <i>Oriental Scenery</i> deriving all the Indian detail and forms from these views. He noted that the only style he could adopt to complement the Dome was to 'combine from the architecture of Hindustan, such forms as might be rendered applicable to the purpose.' (see separate map overlay pdf) No further changes occurred until 1813 and the site remained as Holland and Porden left it.	Humphry Repton, <i>Designs for the Pavillon [sic] at Brighton</i> , 1808. Online and some in Jones, 56-71. Carter et al, 85-86. Stroud, 1962, 145.
1805	The 'before' views in his Red Book (drawn up in Nov./Dec. 1805- Feb. 1806) are the only known record of the grounds at this time. There was still a clear view of the sea from the curved east lawn, which he showed with a low fence partly screened by plants. The grounds on the west front were being laid out by gardeners. The bulky form of Grove House dominated to the north and a small sentry box guarded the north end of the still extant Great East Street as it led to the west front of the Pavilion. He noted that it was to be removed.	Repton 'Red Book, 1806, in Royal Library, Windsor
1806	Humphry Repton submitted proposals for the Garden in his Red Book (so-called because bound in red leather). The Prince was delighted and considered the work 'perfect' but they remained unexecuted as the prince was unable to afford them at that time. When, some 10 years later in 1815, they had recovered sufficiently for alterations to be made, John Nash replaced Repton with an entirely new scheme. It was the greatest disappointment of Repton's professional life.	Stroud, 1962, 145.
1805	Road diversions, closing East Street and the Steine became the main road into Brighton and easing congestion in North and East Streets.	Farrant, 1982, 183.
1806	New Road opened, replacing East Street, soldiers employed to build it.	Farrant, 1982, 178
1807	Repton produced a Red Book of designs for the gardens of Carlton House in London for the Prince, but they remained unexecuted.	Jones, 70.

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
1807	An article complimentary about the Pavilion design was not impressed by the stables, saying of them, 'The whole congestion is a sort of professional frolic, running a short lived antic around the chaste and modest elevations of the Pavilion ...'	<i>Gentlemen's Magazine</i> in Farrant, 1982, 180
1808	Repton published his proposals submitted in the Red Book in 1806, including the before and after scenes and a plan of his scheme.	
1808	The Prince bought the estate from Weltje's heirs.	Farrant, 1982, 176
1808	Between 1803-08 the prince built New Road so East Street could be closed in front of the Pavilion. The increase in the estate size led to greater effect on the town's physical and visual landscape but on the east side only. New buildings on the west side of New Road and on the west of the Dome made the Dome less obtrusive from the west and north. The view of the Dome from the Pavilion was partly obscured by Marlborough Row.	Farrant, 1982, 175
1808-12	Further land was bought to extend the Pavilion and gardens.	Farrant, 1982, 180.
1809	Description of the Marine Pavilion. 200 ft long frontage 'commands an uninterrupted view of the Steyne [sic] and a charming prospect of the ocean. The centre of the edifice is circular, displaying a lofty dome supported by pillars, with corresponding wings, etc to the North and South of it.' Detailed description of interior. Of the grounds: 'An enclosed lawn, with a shrubbery, fronts the Steyne, giving coolness and privacy to the respective rooms. The West front opens into pleasure grounds, contrived by taking in the road, which formerly led into the town from the North, and the gardens which were called the Promenade Grove, and which, for many years were used for fashionable public amusements ... This front forms a square with a colonnade in the centre, and in which is the grand entrance, there being no other carriage approach to this Marine Palace.' Notes the domed stabling 'a most superb building' being erected in Moorish style, riding house to west and 'racket court' to come to the east. 'A green-house, flower gardens etc etc the grounds will also possess ere the design has entirely resolved itself into completion.' Possibly this referred to Repton's designs. Grove House adjacent noted as seat of Duke of Marlborough. The east side had the same prospect as the Pavilion; the north had a more comprehensive view of the Level and Downs.	Attree, <i>Topography of Brighton</i> , 4-13 including engraving of east front and East Lawn.
1810	5 shops bought in Castle Square backing onto the Pavilion estate close to the Palace.	Farrant, 1982, 180
1810-13	William Townsend Aiton (1766-1849) published 2 nd edition <i>Hortus Kewensis</i> , a 5 volume catalogue of the plants at Kew. This reflected new introductions used in gardens in the next two decades and beyond. (The first edition by his father was published in 1789)	
1811	Prince of Wales became Regent and King in all but name. John Nash's scheme for Regent's Park was approved. The planting was established first before the prestigious housing schemes. The main axis of Nash's new street was centred on the entrance colonnade of the Regent's Carlton House in London.	Jones, 73-74
1812	Marlborough House, the last of the Grove estate, bought for £9k, including the house and garden allowing demolition of house and creation of north-east lawn in Nash's scheme. This was the most vital purchase for the expansion of the Pavilion as it stood attached to the north and prevented northward extension of the public rooms. It reverted to the former name Grove House. The ground plan of this large town house which had overshadowed the Pavilion is shown in the 1801-02 plan of the Pavilion published in Nash's <i>Views</i> , 1826 and it was illustrated by Repton in his Red Book (1806). It was used as an annexe from 1812 for prestigious visitors until it was demolished in 1818 and the site used for the Music Room. The Lords of the Manor of Brighton-Lewes confirmed the grant of a large area on the north and east sides (once part of the Steine) which had been incorporated into the grounds after 1780 on condition it was not built on.	Jones, 56. Berry, 2018, 121. Nash, <i>Views</i> , 1826 Repton, Red Book, 1806. Farrant, 1982,

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
		180.
c.1812	November Aiton records 'Mr John Furners account, expenses to London visiting Mr Aiton and Mr Nash, respecting the new work - £3.17s.5d'. This heralded the transformation of the grounds. The meeting was to brief Furner on the grand scheme. Nash was responsible for the Regent's personal residences and designed the gardens of all four, to be planted by Aiton: Carlton House, Royal Lodge, Windsor, the Pavilion and later at Buckingham Palace.	Jones, 71-72.
1813	Aiton planted the gardens of Carlton House.	
PHASE 3	Completion of the garden for the Prince Regent designed by John Nash with William Aiton and John Furner, 1813-21	
1808-22	In the final of three stages of purchase and development extra land was purchased to the west to consolidate the Pavilion grounds and allow the full expansion of the Pavilion, leading to greater privacy. This resulted in the purchase and demolition of the Castle Inn to the south and Marlborough Row and Marlborough House to the north.	Farrant, 1982, 175.
1813-16	The garden was completed for the Prince having acquired the land for its final extent. Remodelling of the garden in advance of the Pavilion rebuilding in Indian style. John Nash, and horticulturist William Aiton plan the new garden in Picturesque style. Gardener and nurseryman John Furner of Brighton plants it. No planting plans survive, but plant lists in Lord Steward's Accounts.	Jones, 96-105.
1813-15	Intense activity over two years in preparing the site for planting. Up to 15 men, two boys and two horses use. 987 loads of rubbish removed in shaping, levelling and preparation of the ground. Imported 1,105 loads of mould and marle, i.e. soil mixed with marl or general manure to improve it. The large amount contributed to the perimeter beds, banked for privacy.	Jones, 97.
1814	Turf laid. John Willmott's nursery in Lewisham supplied plants, one bill for £98.14s. Furner made several trips to choose plants with Aiton and brought them back to Brighton. Garden engine supplied for £14.8s for watering.	Jones, 85, 99.
	Before 1815 a high flint wall with small run of railings on top built.	
1815	The Prince Regent appointed Nash his Surveyor-General. The Prince is given poplar trees from the botanic garden at Liverpool. Nash and Aiton begin work on the garden at the Royal Lodge, Windsor Great Park. An undated hand-drawn plan (c.1822) in the RP Collection possibly by A Pugin shows the layout and ground plan of the Pavilion as executed; it is similar to that published in 1826 in Nash's <i>Views</i> (see Figure 7, and Sections 6.2-6.5).	Morley 1984, Plan H, p.17 & p.257
1815	The Battle of Waterloo (18 June). Nash designed a tented rotunda for the celebrations in the grounds of Carlton House, later moved to Woolwich and still existing.	
1815-18	John Nash transformed Holland's modest Classical Marine Pavilion into an Indian-style palace, following the style set by Porden's riding school and stables. The manuscript plan 1815-22 shows the layout of the garden much as it was constructed.	Morley 1984, 17.
1816 (or 1817?)	The first named plants arrived. Very large quantities of typical Regency varieties bought, in part for thick screening, until 1830. See Willmott Nursery bills in Lord Steward's Accounts, The National Archive. Copies in the RP archive, transcripts by Jessica Rutherford.	In Jones, 100-02.
1817	Greenhouse being repaired. Position unclear but in Promenade-grove, perhaps at the west boundary with New Street. Wright's guide book noted '... the Pavilion enclosures have numerous trees of large growth'. The gardens were 'very agreeable plantation, occupying more than 7 acres, interspersed with gravel walks, grass plats, etc which gives a finished appearance to the whole' as well as the 'beautiful green-house' which does not appear on the Nash plan (Figure 6).	In Jones, 99-100.
1817	The land north of Marlborough House (formerly Grove House) was brought into the estate.	Farrant, 1982, 181.

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
1818	Marlborough House (formerly Grove House) demolished.	Berry, 2018.
1819	Some established elms felled on the west and north fronts of the new building. North front being built.	
1819	'Making a new coach road in East Street' (garden accounts), suggesting that the building was sufficiently advanced to make a less direct link from the main carriage drive.	Jones, 100.
1820	Garden accounts list 48 Tiger Lilies (<i>Lilium lancifolium</i>); a further 48 were supplied in 1823. This new exotic introduced by William Kerr was propagated by Aiton at Kew.	In Jones, 93.
1820	d. King George III. Succession of Prince Regent as King George IV.	
1820	Marlborough Row, Nos. 1-4 demolished.	Farrant, 1982, 181.
1821	Marlborough Row, Nos. 5-7 demolished. No. 8 still stands as Northgate House. The whole row was built as lodging houses between 1784 and 1802.	Farrant, 1982, 181.
1821	The Royal Pavilion completed, costing over £500,000 and the King moved in in January. The King's coronation. Here many of the most distinguished persons in Europe had been received and to which the news of the victories of Talavera and Trafalgar had first been brought. With its Chinese interior and Indian exterior the Pavilion marks a climax of the Romantic trends of the time. There were no further experiments in Indian architecture. The building remains unique. The King stayed frequently until 1827.	Musgrave, 12-13.
1821	Finally the prince owned the whole of the Castle Inn to the south and it shut. It had been declining for some years.	Farrant, 1982, 180
1822	Subterranean passage from the Pavilion to the stables added for the Prince.	Musgrave, 11.
1822	The Castle Inn Assembly Room became the Pavilion's Royal Chapel.	Farrant, 1982, 181
1823	Henry Phillips, Brighton botanist and garden designer, codified and published the current fashionable planting theories in <i>Sylva Florifera</i> . This brought the grand theories of the naturalistic style of shrubberies and trees embellished with floral accents to a wider audience. It the only detailed manual on this type of design available.	
1824	Garden accounts record two new names, John Williams as the new foreman on site, overseen by Richard Snart, the Royal Gardener at Buckingham House who visited many times over the next decade. Snart had been employed in 1803 by George III. At Brighton he was to complete the tree planting and travel to Lewes to select plants and shrubs.	Jones, 104.
1824	Phillips's <i>Flora Historica</i> published.	
1826	Garden plan and views published in Nash's <i>Views</i> commissioned by the King to reflect the works as executed (Figures 7, 13 and 6, & Sections 6.2-6.5). This published plan is similar to the sketch plan of c.1815-22 in Morley (1984) p. 17 (RPMT). The plan shows the garden c. 7 acres. A picturesque garden with irregular shrubberies projecting into the lawns, forming changing patterns and views. Combination of trees, shrubs and plants for all year round interest. (see separate map overlay pdf)	Nash, <i>Views</i> .
1827	The King's last visit to Brighton. He spent his final years in seclusion at Windsor. Blackamoor slave sundial from former forecourt given to Earl of Egmont of Cowdray c.1829.	Jones, 29, 104.
1830	26 June Death of George IV aged 67. He was one of the greatest connoisseurs and patrons of art who had ever graced the English throne. For long periods the Pavilion had been the setting of the Court, the centre of allied Europe. William IV succeeds.	Musgrave, 13.
PHASE 4	Layout simplified by Snart and Williams for William IV. Early 1830s. Straight approach drive reinstated replacing Nash's turning circle of c.1815. North and South gates built. Western Lawns were broken into three areas of ornamental shrubbery and existing trees with the lawns later dotted with trees.	
1830	The new King on his first visit instructed Snart to make a new carriage road which ran once	Jones, 105.

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
	again straight to the front entrance of the Pavilion. The king also effected a rapprochement with Mrs Fitzherbert and she became a frequent visitor to the Pavilion until her death in 1837.	Musgrave, 14.
Early 1830s	Layout of Garden is simplified by Snart and Williams. More evergreens, conifers, rhododendrons and laurels. The Western Lawns were broken into three areas of ornamental shrubbery and existing trees with the lawns later dotted with trees. William IV recommended substituting the high wall surrounding the Pavilion by an open iron railing. Part of this may have been carried out but the high wall seems to have remained. Garden accounts cease in 1831.	Jones, 106-07.
1831-32	William IV builds North and South gates (Joseph Good, 1832) said to be 'after a model which had been made by the late Mr Nash. Carriage drive built. Northgate House orientalised. Dormitories for servants built between Pavilion Buildings and Prince's Place.	Musgrave, 14.
1832	Joseph Henry Good builds stables (now The Dome) in the style of Porden for Queen Adelaide east of the Riding School over the tennis court site next to Northgate House.	
1835	19 gas-powered cast iron lamp posts were erected north of the Royal Pavilion which carry the insignia of William IV. These were adapted for electrical power in the late C19- early C20.	CBA
1837	d. William IV; undated survey map in Royal Pavilion collection shows the new structures by this time (see map overlay pdf) Accession of Queen Victoria aged 18 who visited 4 months later and stayed subsequently several times including with her growing family. She disliked the lack of privacy at Brighton.	
1840	m. Queen Victoria to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. They find the Isle of Wight more conducive to family life and build Osborne House abandoning Brighton.	
1841	The railway arrived in Brighton, increasing the population greatly and bringing great numbers of trippers from London.	
1845	Queen Victoria's last visit to the Royal Pavilion. West and east fronts and grounds recorded in detail by Caleb Stanley watercolours (Royal Collection).	Stanley, in Jones, 111.
1847-8	Contents of the Pavilion removed to Kensington Palace. Very little sold.	
1848	Sale of greenhouse plants and garden implements from the Pavilion Garden.	In Jones, 113.
1849	The Pavilion Purchase Bill determines that the Royal Pavilion Estate will be kept open to the public on every day between 25 th March and 29 th September 6am to sunset; from 29 th September to 25 th March, 8am to sunset, subject to bye-laws, rules, orders and regulations.	
1849	Map of the grounds in Royal Pavilion collection shows the layout after alterations for William IV and immediately before ownership of Brighton Corporation. (see map overlay pdf)	
1850	The Royal Pavilion ceases to be a royal palace. Brighton Corporation acquires all the buildings and grounds of the Royal Pavilion Estate for £53,000, opens them to the public, and the restoration and refurnishing begins.	
1850-64	Porden's stables used as a cavalry barracks.	
PHASE 5	1850s Gardens altered, south gate demolished, 2 new archways to north. Buildings to south and west of Great Kitchen demolished.	
1851	Grounds open to the public. Rules to be Observed published. Grounds locked at 10pm. South Gate demolished and replaced with two domed Mughal archways. Large complex of service buildings south and west of Great Kitchen demolished.	Jones, 120
1860	Borough Surveyor noted garden in poor condition, planting exhausted, required replacing. This was done. Greenhouse for rearing plants erected on north lawn 1867.	Jones, 116.
PHASE 6	1870s. James Shrives' High Victorian scheme in existing framework.	
1874	James Shrives appointed head gardener; provided a High Victorian plan for the grounds concentrating on the Western Lawn; numerous seasonal bedding beds in fancy shapes. The existing clumps removed as obstructing views of the building. He retained vestiges of the ornamental shrubbery from the William IV layout. Rustic style seats were installed.	Jones, 116. Shrives plan for the Western Lawn. In Jones,

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
		118.
1874	Detailed OS mapping before Shrides' work; sets garden in wider town context. (see map overlay pdf)	OS 1:500 scale
1875	James Shrides creates shaped areas for bedded out plants.	
1878	Sub-tropical plants bedded out in the Garden planted by Shrides around the new marble statue of Sir Cordy Burrows.	Jones, 120.
1879	American Arbor Vitae (<i>Thuja occidentalis</i>) evergreen fir bought and used potted as temporary decoration in the grounds.	Jones, 120.
1883	Enormous quantities of bedding plants used in the Pavilion grounds, over 60k (is it certain these were all used here, not elsewhere too?).	Jones, 119.
1884	Electricity brought to the grounds.	Jones, 115.
1893	Prince's Place entrance to the Garden opened. Proposal for winter garden to cover the North Lawns, unexecuted.	In Jones, 122.
1914-18	During World War I, the Pavilion, Brighton Dome Concert Hall and Corn Exchange were used as make-shift military hospitals, first for soldiers from Indian regiments then by British limbless men who were taught skills to help them get post-war work. Three operating theatres, one in the Dome. Flower beds on lawns replaced with temporary hospital wards.	Jones, 122.
1919	Proposal to display military tank south of North Gate House.	In Jones, 122.
1920	The Royal Pavilion Estate is used for public assemblies and entertainment.	
PHASE 7	Early 1920s Bertie MacLaren remodels boundaries of East & North-East Lawns reflecting new line.	
1921	Indian Memorial Gateway a single canopied gateway built to replace the two domed Mughal archways 40 yards north of the original south gate. Designed by Thomas Tyrwhitt in historically derived C16 Gujerati style; given by the people of India in commemoration of those who were housed in the Pavilion in 1914-15. Unveiled by the Maharajah of Patiala.	Musgrave, 18.
1921-23	Corporation Parks and Garden Department Superintendent Captain Bertie MacLaren remodels the east and north boundaries, reducing the garden in size by a 20' strip. Indian style concrete boundary wall built. East Lawns levelled and several pools installed. New vistas opened with the removal of the banking and railings all round, several old trees felled and shrubs removed. On the Western Lawns elms removed.	Design drawings in Jones, 124; see also 122-23 <i>Sussex Daily News</i> , 01 Feb 1922 in Jones
1929-30	OS mapping shows garden after work by Captain MacLaren and the reduction of the East Lawn following alteration of the boundary to east and north. (see map overlay pdf)	OS 25"
1939-45	World War II; lawns dug up to grow vegetables on North Lawn, trenches across the Western Lawn and a 300k gallon tank sunk. Gilding on Dome lantern removed for fear of aid raids.	Jones, 126.
1941	Mr Herbert Tennent granted permission by the Council to re-erect one of his beachfront wooden kiosks adjacent to the north-side of the Royal Pavilion almost touching the upright columns and adjacent to the road.	
1950	Café built in modern style between March and September as a permanent location for the café. Designed by students of Brighton Art College in a competition.	
1951	OS mapping shows garden after World War II. Little change since 1920s.	OS 25"
1952	The Royal Pavilion, Dome Concert Hall and Corn Exchange are included in the statutory list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest at Grade I. The North Gate and North Gate House listed as Grade II* and the South Gate listed as Grade II.	
1955	20 <i>Trachycarpus fortune</i> palms cost £200 bought to give the garden a new exotic, competitive edge with West Country resorts. 14' high, 50 years old and weighed a ton, craned into place. Some of these survive.	Jones, 127.
1970s	Dutch Elm Disease killed some elms, but most were retained.	
PHASE 8	Restoration of the garden by Brighton Parks Dept and East Sussex County Council, 1980-2002 Four main sub-phases. The extended period	

DATE	Event, etc	Reference
late 1970s	Sussex Historic Gardens Restoration Society (from 1980 Trust) founded by John MacCarthy and formed a partnership with East Sussex County Council. One of its projects had the aim of restoring the Regency character to the Royal Pavilion Grounds.	
1980s	Building restoration prompted an interest in restoring the garden to its 1820s appearance.	
1980s	Beginning of research on the history of the Regency garden by The Garden History Society through Mavis Batey.	
1981-82	Restoration phase 1: First shrubberies restored, on East Lawn. Sussex Historic Gardens Restoration Trust involved.	
1983-88	Restoration phase 2: by Brighton Parks Department advised by Mavis Batey of the Garden History Society and Virginia Hinze of East Sussex County Council. Sussex Historic Gardens Restoration Trust involved.	
1987	October. Great Storm felled many trees in the garden which was very thickly populated.	
1990-93	Restoration phase 3: by Brighton Parks Department advised by Mavis Batey (Garden History Society) and Virginia Hinze (East Sussex County Council). Hard landscaping works based on Nash plans and Pugin views, adjusted to take account of subsequent irreversible changes such as north and south gateways. William IV road in front of the Pavilion removed and turning circle re-instated, re-uniting the Pavilion with Nash's intended setting. V Hinze planting scheme based on original planting lists arranged on Henry Phillips Picturesque principles.	
1995	Paths and planting established on the West front.	CBA
1996	Garden added at Grade II by English Heritage to Register of Historic Parks and Gardens.	CBA
2001-02	Restoration phase 4: Final phase of restoration completed adjacent to the Dome and Museum following refurbishment and new entrance arrangements.	CBA
2007	A bronze, life-sized statue of the comedian Max Miller (the City's 'Cheeky Chappie') re-located in the north-west of Garden. Originally located in New Road, it was moved due to pedestrianisation of New Road.	CBA
2014	'Estate' fencing obtained from Kensington Palace and installed adjacent to Prince's Place. Head Gardener planted bed in the Regency style.	CBA
2016	Lease signed on Brighton Pavilion Garden Café. A mature elm tree taken down having contracted Dutch Elm Disease (DED).	CBA
2017	DED affecting one of the original elm trees, planted in 1776. ?Removed	CBA
2017	Garden placed on Historic England Heritage at Risk Register, stating that its popularity with visitors is affecting the condition. HE notes that <i>"there has been an erosion of character caused by a disparate range of fencing, litter bins, signage and lighting units, all of which combine to weaken the sense of the Gardens' rich history for visitors"</i> .	CBA
2020	The Royal Pavilion estate vested in the charitable Royal Pavilion & Museums Trust (RPMT) which manages and operates the buildings and collections on behalf of Brighton & Hove City Council (BHCC) through a 25 year contract with BHCC. The Council owns the buildings and collections.	

17 APPENDIX 3 EARLY C19 GARDEN HISTORY CONTEXT

17.1 THE MOST IMPORTANT PHASE OF THE GARDEN

To understand the significance of the Royal Pavilion garden it is necessary to understand the historic context of the key aspects of its design and horticulture. The following aspects have been related to the Pavilion garden to identify their comparative position in their contemporary world and level of survival.

The garden layout reached its zenith by 1830, incorporating features established since the late C18 into Nash's design of c.1815 in Picturesque style which was laid out over the following years into the 1820s with planting by WT Aiton. George IV died in 1830 and although changes were made by William IV and Brighton Corporation/ Council the essential character and framework established by his death survived and remain the key phase. The following aspects of the context therefore address this period.

Nash conceived his breathtakingly exotic Indian Pavilion as framed by a contrasting Picturesque pleasure ground which emulated native English Forest Scenery and bore no exotic character at all, except for some recently introduced plants. The scheme comprised a fairly open landscape of soft lawns dotted with trees and set with lightly-wooded, sinuous shrubberies punctuated with jewel-like highlights of annuals, herbaceous plants and bulbs. This is best illustrated by Pugin's view of the west front in Nash's *Views of the grounds*, as a party approaches the porte cochere through these lawns (published in 1826, see Figure 7). Pugin's watercolours capture the rough, irregular silhouette with its soft windblown quality that epitomizes the picturesque, forest-lawn landscape style.

The Regent/King's marine residence, later the Royal Pavilion, was widely publicized in print and illustrations. It became a breathtaking showpiece for his guests, as well as for myriad visitors since it was opened in 1850 by the Corporation. Politically and socially it was visited by many of the most influential people of the early C19, both nationally and internationally, including heads of state, politicians, and aristocracy. Their associations are of high importance as not only did the estate host great royal events but also more intimate social gatherings and some visitors recorded their experiences and opinions. The best known visit is that of the later Nicolas I of Russia in January 1817.¹⁷ Other important visitors included Princesses Lieven (one of the most illustrious, influential and charismatic women in early C19 Europe and Russia, and a witty commentator on Georgian life), Princess Charlotte (daughter of George IV, d.1817), Prussian architect, city planner, and painter Karl Friedrich Schinkel, diarist Lord Greville, society hostess and political influencer Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, French diarist and traveller Le Comte de la Garde, German polymath Prince Pueckler Muskau, and Lady Bessborough. It was later visited by King William IV and Queen Victoria as owners.

Subsequent surviving major phases which enhanced the layout and planting included William IV's North Gate and

¹⁷ <https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/2017/01/19/a-regency-feast-a-banquet-held-at-the-royal-pavilion-for-grand-duke-nicolas-of-russia-18-january-1817/>

the 1920s additions including the remodelling of the east lawns. These retained and generally enhanced the essential character as established by Nash for George IV which has been experienced by millions of visitors; others which damagingly changed it were largely reinstated during the 1990s restoration phase. It is this Picturesque Forest Scenery character which forms the iconic artistic setting for the Pavilion, as Nash intended.

17.2 COMPARABLE VILLAS AND PLEASURE PAVILIONS

Villa Grounds

The Royal Pavilion is the epitome of an early C19 villa. Although the architectural style is extreme, and the building is relatively large, it is certainly a villa.

By 1800 the emerging merchant class required smaller houses and estates which reflected the taste and fashion of the day. The new class of smaller properties, including merchants' villas, often lay at the edge of growing towns and cities. For these owners, for reasons of space and finance, a great park or country estate setting was not an option. A divide emerged between landscaping and gardening. The garden became an attainable frame for the wider landscape, both within the owner's property and beyond in the 'borrowed' landscape. The sweeping landscape park was for the super-rich and in smaller estates it could only be suggested. So a paddock of several acres, populated by one or two milch cows, evoked the park, making interesting 'dressed' grounds immediately around the house essential, with flowering shrubberies in lawns, flower beds to display the greater range of plants available, trellis, and ornate garden seats. Floral displays also suited other types of grounds such as town square gardens for the new Regency estates.

The Pavilion is comparable with the dozen or so prestigious later detached villas built in the 1820s within Regent's Park, which were more fortunate as they and their respective gardens were set in the expansive naturalistic acres of the park itself. Of these the closest comparison in style and lavishness is the Marquess of Hertford's exquisite pleasure pavilion at Hertford Villa, Regent's Park (1825), replaced in the 1930s with Winfield House.

Elegant grounds complemented the lighter playfulness of the architecture that was developing by 1800 in the hands of architects such as Soane and Nash, which was ideally suited to smaller scale villa residences of taste. Nash and Repton and their contemporaries regarded buildings and their landscape as 'a picturesque whole'. Nash had in 1802 designed a small villa at Cronkhill, the progenitor of many similar Picturesque villas. The graceful smaller houses in pared down classical style more easily straddled the divide between the house and grounds, using bows and bays, French windows opening onto verandas with striped canopies, and balconies, conservatories and flower corridors and then into the flowering shrubbery. Brighton especially embraced these architectural devices in its urban resort architecture, particularly bows, bays, canopies and balconies. The wider availability of ornamental ironwork enabled these confections to be built, as well as sweeping curvilinear glasshouses for new tender plants.

Nash, although he provided two verandas on the Pavilion, turned his back on the popular contemporary artificial or

obviously man-made features for villa gardens such as trellis, ornate garden seats and floral displays, leaving the garden reliant on the lawns and planting for interest. The Marquess of Hertford at Hertford Villa had a considerable display of Antique and other connoisseur's sculpture enlivening the garden but surprisingly this was not part of Nash's scheme for Brighton, nor even items of Mrs Coade's patented artificial stone, highly regarded as garden ornaments.

The Pleasure Pavilion

While the Royal Pavilion is undoubtedly a villa, its primary purpose was as a royal pleasure pavilion in which to display a connoisseur's collection and entertain guests of the highest social standing nationally and internationally, rather than as a family residence. The pleasure pavilion was an indulgence of the landed wealthy who required a venue separate from their main residences in town and country to entertain their milieu, often in rural or secluded surroundings. However, the pleasure pavilions of the type the Prince and the Marquess of Hertford built were of another more extensive and extreme type, the former in a fashionable marine setting (which quickly became an intrusive urban one); the latter was set in the 'rural' surroundings of Nash's new Regent's park and its *rus in urbe* character. The pavilions were large enough to provide limited accommodation as well as several fine and lavishly decorated and furnished entertaining spaces, with exquisitely laid out grounds in which to entertain large numbers of people. They did not, however have wider estates attached which supported them practically and financially but were self-contained and relatively small in extent.

In Germany in the late C18 and early C19 around Berlin various summer houses were built including the relatively small Peacock Island castle at Potsdam in the 1790s for Prussian king William II and his mistress. This was more of a retreat than for entertaining large numbers of people. Schloss Favourite in Ludwigsberg originated as a hunting lodge in the early C18 but was remodelled in the early C19 by the King of Wurttemberg as a menagerie. Lower down the social scale, Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, West London, was built for Sir John Soane, architect and surveyor to the Bank of England, as a rural place to entertain 1800-11.

Hertford Villa

The Royal Pavilion is one of very few other pleasure pavilions of this extensive high quality for royalty and aristocracy. The best comparison is Hertford Villa (now Winfield House) for the Prince's close and influential friend the 3rd Marquess of Hertford (see also below).¹⁸ This was built in the mid-1820s, a decade after Nash began work on the Pavilion, and reflects clear influences and similarities. Hertford Villa stood in a garden, somewhat larger than the Pavilion, within the wider bucolic Regent's Park with other villas scattered distantly in the parkland, a setting which it still enjoys. This contrasted with the initially strongly marine setting of the Royal Pavilion which waned in its effect as the resort grew to engulf the Pavilion, leaving only a narrow view of the sea to the south. The polite and fashionable resort development to accommodate visitors considerably screened the Pavilion from its initially wider marine views; the sea was further masked by Nash and Aiton's woody belt around the East Lawn for the sake of the privacy

¹⁸ Hertford's mother was the Prince's mistress from c.1806-19.

of the royal occupant. Today the house has been rebuilt but the framework of the garden and its extensive parkland setting survives.

As well as a close friendship with the Prince, Hertford (then Lord Yarmouth) was the Prince's sale-room agent acquiring exquisite works of fine and applied arts for him between 1810 and 1819 at a time when much of connoisseur quality was available from post-Revolution France. He was one of the foremost collectors of such works of art of his day. They shared a respect for quality, pedigree and condition. He was appointed as one of three commissioners for the management and conduct of the Prince Regent's Lands in 1812, the first full year of the Regency, which marked the height of Hertford's royal favour.¹⁹ He was joint Deputy Ranger of Windsor Great Park from 1815—30 and would have been well acquainted with developments there.²⁰ The slightly earlier Bagatelle, Bois de Boulogne, Paris, built in 1777 was an exquisite *maison de plaisance* and from 1835 owned by the Marquess

17.3 ENGLISH GARDEN DESIGN 1780-1820

The English Landscape Style

By 1780 the Landscape Garden was at its zenith in its native Britain as the setting for the country house and being taken up in Europe and North America. Banishing the formality of the Stuarts and early Georgians, the Landscape Garden was based on a naturalistic park and pleasure grounds, with the walled kitchen garden and floral displays concealed within the informal woody planting. Park or pleasure ground lawns swept up to the walls of the house. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was the most important designer, working on 250 or more designs throughout England but many other professional designers were at work, and amateur owners also designed their own landscape gardens. The vast majority of formal gardens existing by the 1720s were replaced with the new style. This then was the scene by the 1770s and 1780s when reaction, inevitably, set in and the Picturesque style became popular.

The Picturesque Movement and Forest Scenery

In the last decades of the C18 the landscape style began to be criticised as too bland, too smooth and formulaic. A major element of the design reaction, however, was still closely based on the established design formula of the Landscape Garden, called the Picturesque. Its still more frightening brother was the Sublime, with an edgy sense of danger, but this generally required more dramatic scenery. The Picturesque was based on an appreciation of scenery (the more dramatic the better) and a range of prescribed emotions it provoked in the viewer. The word Picturesque derived from 'painterly style', originating from paintings of Italian Classical scenes by C17 artists. The range of emotions was codified, the terms such as beauty, horror, sublime and immensity, having specific meanings. This style used irregular, craggy and rugged forms and textures and asymmetrical layouts in attractive views. The Picturesque was a less polished, rougher development of the landscape style, at its rugged best when the natural scenery was dramatic with a sense of wildness: irregular, varied and spectacular, such as in Wales and the Lake District. The planting was less well manicured and relied on native and other commonly-used woody plants to evoke

¹⁹ Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscapes The Gardens & Parks of Windsor* (1997), 75.

²⁰ Roberts, 519.

the wild natural landscape, and was not supposed to have a 'gardened' character.

Forest Scenery was a sub-set which adopted the relaxed Picturesque principles derived from William Gilpin's *Remarks on Forest Scenery ...* (1791) from his observations in the New Forest as he turned his eye from mountains and lakes of the Wye and Lakes to forest scenery. He did not intentionally set out to influence landscape gardening but in his *Remarks* he advised landscape gardeners to study the form and groupings of forest plantations. It became influential on garden designers as a new source for studying plant associations and groupings.

Nash's Trademark Picturesque Forest Lawn Scenery

This, surprisingly, was the unlikely style adopted by Nash for his garden scheme for the Royal Pavilion in 1815 in contrast to that previously suggested by his former partner Humphry Repton, who suggested formal flower gardens in 1806. Nash clearly embraced the Picturesque in buildings and their designed settings and continued to use the style of the garden at Brighton in his later royal commissions. If a Picturesque setting was required Forest Scenery style was especially suited for the lowland, even urban, environment as its rather unkempt style compensated for the absence of the rugged and dramatic topography of the true Picturesque scenes initially admired by the likes of Gilpin in his *Remarks on Forest Scenery* (1791). It was a rather tamer version which could be brought effectively to Nash's most prestigious but relatively confined royal schemes in London, Brighton and Windsor and could be applied at larger scale for public parks including St James's.

Nash's garden style for the Royal Pavilion was not of the architectural and geometric form promoted by Repton in his Pavilion Red Book or his greatest executed garden schemes for aristocrats at Ashridge, Woburn and Endsleigh. Nash eschewed flower gardens to display roses, perennials, bulbs and annuals, or other specialist individual formal flower garden features, architectural structures or terraces, all of which were arguably more appropriate for a compact site but anathema to the Picturesque aficionado. Instead he echoed Gilpin in trying to evoke forest scenery using floriferous shrubberies (later codified by Henry Phillips in *Sylva Florifera* (1823)) to punctuate shaggy lawns and alongside the drive and paths to frame and screen views in Picturesque style. These attempted to emulate the naturalistic Forest Lawn effect of lawns creeping into clumps of shrubs that Gilpin's described in the New Forest, although this was achieved by grazing ponies.

This naturalistic effect for the royal marine pleasure pavilion was reprised in Nash's later commissions in a variety of circumstances: at the Prince's very private cottage orné, Royal Lodge; at the regal symbol of Empire and international reception, Buckingham Palace; in the enormous and prestigious town planning scheme for Regent's Park; and for the public St James's Park. Whether or not it was suitable for its various applications, it became his stylistic trademark for his most prestigious landscape schemes, having been initiated by him at Brighton and presumably approved of by his royal master.

Flowers and the Flower Garden

Inevitably reaction set in at the opposite end of the gardening spectrum to the smooth green lines of the Landscape Garden and the rugged Picturesque. The return of the colourful flower garden near the house with beds in lawns devoted to annuals, roses, bulbs and perennial varieties, gained momentum by the 1800s. It was the antithesis of the uncorsetted and naturalistic Picturesque, returning a controlled and convenient garden around the house instead of inconvenient grazed lawns. It also worked at a much smaller scale. Humphry Repton spearheaded this reinvention of specialist floral displays in full view of the house which gained momentum in the 1790s, and then coincided with the Regency period of the 1810s-1820s. The garden terrace reappeared, separated from the landscape park usually by a terrace with a parapet or balustrade, or perhaps an ornamental fence. While a broad terrace was not used at the Pavilion, in the 1820s the King's close friend the Marquess of Hertford laid out one below the garden front of his Decimus Burton pleasure pavilion in Regent's Park, although the rest of his grounds at Hertford Villa otherwise closely resemble those of the Royal Pavilion. The terrace and flower garden clearly defined the difference between garden and park. Often the flower garden overlooked a Picturesque park as the two were ideal companions, such as at Endsleigh, Devon (1814).

Flower beds in manicured lawns were the coming thing, particularly around the mushrooming villas in compact gardens in which space-hungry shrubberies could not be easily accommodated, and the invention of the lawn mower in the 1830s allowed lawns to be kept pristine. Commentator JC Loudon (see below) adopted the term 'Gardenesque' for the trend to enjoy plant specimens spaced out for their own form, and at the other end of the planting spectrum the availability of relatively affordable glasshouses culminated in the rage for seasonal bedding with the newly bred or introduced tender plants providing masses of bright colours in cool smooth lawns.

However, the relevance of the early C19 flower garden to the Royal Pavilion at its zenith in the 1820s is minimal. The Prince initially professed great enthusiasm for Repton's exuberant 1806 scheme for flower gardens, but after the succeeding decade during which he could not carry it out for financial reasons, entirely rejected it. Instead when funds were once more available in 1815, he accepted Nash's scheme based on the relaxed Picturesque principles of Forest Scenery, the antithesis of the formal flower garden. It is unclear who chose this style, whether it was the Prince's idea, or imposed upon him by Nash and whether costs had any influence, for it would have been a cheaper alternative to the flower gardens, in both execution and maintenance.

Flowers were not neglected, but were displayed in less prominent ways, nestled into the shrubbery beds as jewel-like points of colour. Flowers and exotics were used in the floriferous shrubberies as depicted by Pugin in Nash's *Views* (see Figure 7 and Sections 6.2-6.5). Into these shrubberies new and exotic plants were introduced for the Prince had access to the resources at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, of which Aiton was in charge. Aiton had sent William Kerr to Canton and he returned many introductions. Aiton propagated the first tiger lilies Kerr brought back at Kew; 96 these were supplied by Willmott for the Pavilion. In the 1818 list for Cape seeds sent to the Prince

Regent for Kew is *Strelitzia reginae*, the tender and spectacular South African Bird of Paradise plant named in honour of Queen Charlotte, who had just given £50,000 to her son for the Pavilion out of her privy purse.²¹ It is possible that this was also cultivated at Brighton, although it is a tender subject which needs the protection of a conservatory.

The Indian Influence

The Indian architectural style was a minor C18 and early-C19 aberration in Britain, often associated with the iniquities of East India Company nabobs who sank their ill-gotten gains into country estates instead, as the Prince's close friend Charles James Fox (d.1806) would have liked, of in the government's tax coffers. A useful overview of the highlights and historical context of the style has recently been published.²² Designers and owners did not particularly discriminate between Hindu and Mughal styles or models to ensure consistency in one or other, but picked models for their visual appeal in the particular circumstances.

The Indian style was most famously and extensively reflected in both country house and garden at Sezincote, Gloucestershire (in progress 1803-12), heavily influenced by the Daniells' recently published book *Oriental Scenery*.²³ While the house had Mughal details, the garden structures owed more to Hindu models illustrated by Daniell. Repton used Sezincote for inspiration for his abortive scheme for the Pavilion garden, along with Daniells' illustrations, and published this in 1808. Repton had helped with the garden at Sezincote c.1805 where Indian-inspired garden structures and pools were constructed to complement the style of the house. His designs for the Pavilion were taken straight from Sezincote and the Daniell paintings, with an aviary modelled on the Mohana Modan Temple at Brindaban, the pheasantry with roof details similar to the Fort of Allahabad and a garden pool gemple almost identical to the Suriya Temple at Sezincote. Even his design for the west façade of the Pavilion was similar to the Jumnah Musjed temple, at Delhi.²⁴ It is odd that the beguiling example at Sezincote did not prevail in the Prince's garden at the Pavilion, especially as applied by Repton in his Red Book.

Nash's installed an iron frame over the Holland Marine Pavilion, and built an oriental fantasia around it. Architectural historian John Summerson pointed out that Nash's architectural designs are not a plagiarism of Repton's but show 'some real strokes of architectural genius' rather than Repton's 'very little real originality' which drew heavily on the Daniells' views.²⁵ However, there was no hint of an Indian influence in the garden scheme Nash laid out and it was not adopted beyond Sezincote as a garden style even though Repton's scheme was tailored for the site and would have been more appropriate in various respects. This raises the question of why Nash did not create an Indian-style garden, especially as Sezincote was a good model. He kept to the Picturesque style which he had used in his designs

²¹ This is noted in a letter 4th August 1990 from Mavis Batey to Richard Marks in the Royal Pavilion archives.

²² Kate Harwood, 'A Little Bit of India in England', *Follies Magazine* no. 111 (Spring 2022), 12.

²³ Many of the relevant illustrations are in *Antiquities Of India. Twelve Views From The Drawings Of Thomas Daniell R.A. & F.S.A. Engraved By Himself And William Daniell. Dedicated Respectfully To The Society Of Antiquaries Of London.* London: 1799-1800 [1808]. Online at

<https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/book/antiquities-of-india-twelve-views-from-the-drawings-of-thomas-daniell-r-a>

²⁴ Kate Harwood, 'A Little Bit of India in England', *Follies Magazine* no. 111 (Spring 2022), 12.

²⁵ Quoted in Harwood (Spring 2022), 12.

since Cronkhill in 1802.

Kate Harwood, an historian who has studied the Indian style in England, believes that the Pavilion and the adoption of the Indian style by the Prince Regent were even principal factors in the demise of the style.²⁶ In her opinion, as a contribution to our culture, 'Magnificent as many of the buildings may be, by far the greatest Indian gift to England was the wealth of plants, from Hooker's Rhododendrons, to cheap tea from India thanks to Robert Fortune's introduction of tea plants, workers and processing from China to India.'²⁷

17.4 PLEASURE GROUND DESIGNERS

John Nash, Architect and Neglected Landscape Designer

The influence of John Nash (1752-1835) on the Pavilion garden at its zenith by 1830 is seminal. We need to understand where designing the Pavilion garden fits into his career and portfolio of other landscape designs to identify its significance within his oeuvre. It is also important to recognize that although he is principally known as an architect his work as a designer of many prestigious landscape schemes was as important and long lasting. The Royal Pavilion can be seen as a testing ground for these later royal commissions.

Architects designing gardens in the 1810s-20s were not uncommon, and included the foremost such as John Nash and Geoffrey Wyatville. Nash was a rarity, expertly combining the expertise and talents required for architecture and landscape design to produce entire schemes for sites. Although Nash is noted today principally for his architecture, he like Repton (his former business partner) believed in the unity of architecture and landscape setting. Equally important but overlooked today, Nash was an innovative landscape designer from small scale gardens (e.g. the Royal Pavilion) to large scale parks (St James's Park) and extensive town planning (Regent's Park). His landscape schemes were the most prestigious and closely scrutinised in the land and his influence was great. It is notable that at Brighton, as the Prince's personal architect, he convinced the Regent to adopt him as landscape designer in this case, over Repton and his floriferous scheme. For the Prince/King Nash worked in his official capacity as one of three Surveyors-General on his allocated royal residences, Royal Lodge, 1813-16 (demolished 1830), Carlton House in 1813 (demolished 1827) and Buckingham Palace (1825-30). He rebuilt Clarence House for the eponymous duke (later William IV) in 1825-28.

Nash was committed to creating a Picturesque effect for the settings of other buildings he designed, not just his royal commissions. Earlier in his career, the design for his influential Italianate villa at Cronkhill, Shropshire (1802) was shown surrounded by Picturesque shrubberies in lawn of the type he used at Brighton.²⁸

²⁶ Pers. comm. K Harwood, 29 April 2022.

²⁷ Harwood (Spring 2022), 14.

²⁸ John Nash (1752-1835), Cronkhill (Salop): Preliminary design for Francis Walford, 1802, Perspective, by George Stanley Repton, the house in a landscape setting. The Soane Museum reference 73/5/2. <http://collections.soane.org/THES75575>

Nash's output indicates a greater versatility than Repton, who never tackled large-scale metropolitan improvements or public parks. Horticulturally he had the advantage over Repton who admitted he had little horticultural expertise and did not, unlike Soane with John Haverfield, team up with a horticulturist. Nash's schemes benefitted from working with the horticulturist WT Aiton on many of the most prestigious schemes. Neither Nash nor Repton were plantsmen, but Nash clearly had some understanding of trees and their disposition. Aiton had an extraordinary knowledge of plants and, through Kew, access to the latest of myriad exotic introductions that he could offer to the highest in the land (i.e. the Prince). Of particular note is Nash's treatment of the public park at St James's as pleasure ground using, as Prince Puckler noted, 'the same principles that hold good in all wild wood and shrub plantation.' (quoted in Batey, *CL* 1984). He used flowers and shrubs in the landscape tradition. Nash's landscape design work and collaboration with Aiton in the 1820s on two other royal commissions, Buckingham Palace and St James's Park, was documented at the time and is discussed below.

His great expertise and significance as landscape designer is little acknowledged today. The significance of his work at the Royal Pavilion is that it is an early but fully formed example of his design expertise and of the style he applied to the other great royal landscapes he worked on later. It is an early example of his collaboration with Aiton, having recognized that an expert horticulturist was required to clothe the scheme to Nash's specification in the lavish and exotic manner. Meanwhile he was working on the Marylebone (later Regent's) Park scheme which was initially in 1811 rejected by the government as too densely urban, and which over more than a decade he reworked by rearranging his terraces and villas on Picturesque lines with a considerable degree of public access.

The Pavilion is the earliest of Nash's domestic schemes for the Prince to survive intact as a unit with the principal building he designed, and still demonstrates the early approach to royal landscaping which he never abandoned. The other survival is Buckingham Palace. This very late, climactic commission reiterates the landscape principles Nash set out early on in the compact and challenging site for the pleasure pavilion at Brighton, but enlarged in scale and complexity to fill a 40 acre site commensurate with the country's premier palace.

William Townsend Aiton, Premier Horticulturist

The influence of William Townsend Aiton (1766–1849), the foremost horticulturist of his day, on the Pavilion garden was immense as he designed the planting, ordered the plants and oversaw their planting by Furner in Nash's prescribed Picturesque style.

WT Aiton was the son of a great royal gardener, William Aiton (1731-93) who, having trained under Phillip Miller at Chelsea Physic Garden, ran Princess Augusta's gardens at Kew from 1759. WT Aiton through the influence of the great botanist Sir Joseph Banks was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to his father; later he undertook private commissions as a landscape gardener, designing villa gardens until he succeeded his father as superintendent at the royal gardens at Kew in 1793. He was held in high esteem by George III and the royal family, and conducted a confidential correspondence with the duke of Kent until the time of his death. In 1804 the gardens of Kensington

and St James's Palace came under his control and he was from 1820 the Royal gardener responsible for managing the gardens at Royal Lodge. His 1810-13 revision of his father's five-volume *Hortus Kewensis* provides the most comprehensive catalogue of plants available in the Regency period and is indicative of the palette available for the Royal Pavilion as well as his breadth of plant expertise. He worked on the Royal Pavilion layout with architect John Nash from 1813, and later with him, as Director General of His Majesty's Gardens, on George IV's other residences (Royal Lodge, Windsor, Buckingham Palace, Carlton House) as well as St James's Park, London in the late 1820s. Aiton also supplied 50 types of exotic and rare tender and hardy plants from Kew for the Garden of Nash's own East Cowes Castle on the Isle of Wight (Batey, 1995, 64).²⁹ He only relinquished control of the botanic garden at Kew when Sir WJ Hooker became director in 1841.³⁰

Thus the plantsman and designing horticulturist for the Pavilion scheme was the foremost in expertise and in the horticultural profession of the day. The Pavilion commission came at a time when Aiton was well established and highly regarded as a royal gardener. He worked at the epicentre of the introduction and dissemination of the increasing flood of exotics alongside Sir Joseph Banks at Kew. The Pavilion and Carlton House were his springboard to even greater similar royal commissions in partnership with Nash as they moved on to Buckingham Palace and St James's Park in the 1820s.

Humphry Repton, Foremost Landscape Designer and Author of His Day

Although Humphry Repton (1752-1818) was unsuccessful in his bid to design the Pavilion garden, it is important to understand his prominence and ubiquity in the exactly contemporary landscape design world to demonstrate how unusual a decision the Prince made in adopting the contrasting Picturesque style. Repton was the foremost and most prolific English garden designer from the 1790s-c.1815. His commissions for designs were numerous, far more so than Nash. He was a self-publicist, publishing his theories and ensuring that his name was at the forefront of his contemporaries. Clients received his advice in beguiling manuscript books bound in red morocco (known as Red Books) containing attractive water-colour paintings, using lift-up flaps to show the scenery before and after his proposals (although many schemes were not executed, most notably at the Royal Pavilion and Carlton House).

'Capability' Brown's self-proclaimed successor, he set up in 1788, five years after the Master's death. He set out to design in Brown's landscape style, but later in his career he re-introduced flower gardens in the form of specialised 'episodes', and terraces around the house, instead of park lawns and livestock up to the windows. This was the approach he adopted for his proposals for the Pavilion a compact site for a connoisseur who he believed would relish the formal display and exotic detail. He was not, however a plantsman and avoided detailed specification of plants, preferring to concentrate on the artistic effects he wished to achieve. Unlike contemporary architects and designers such as John Soane and Nash who collaborated with designer horticulturists John Haverfield and WT Aiton

²⁹ A photocopy of the original supplied by Mrs Batey is in the Royal Pavilion archive.

³⁰ This biography is largely drawn from Desmond, 1994, p.7 and the entry for WT Aiton in the Oxford DNB <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/262>

respectively, Repton did not team up with a plantsman or nurseryman to design the planted detail of his schemes to achieve the desired effects.

His most complex commissions came in the last half of his career and included Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, Ashridge, Hertfordshire, Attingham Park, Shropshire, Endsleigh, Devon and Kenwood, London, including influential flower gardens. However, the practicalities of achieving the effects is questionable, such as the rose garden at Ashridge, given the types of roses then available. He published little planting advice and admitted he was no plantsman.

It is unsurprising that he was commanded by the Prince of Wales to the Royal Pavilion as in 1805 when was at the height of his practice and well-known. It seems that he had advised at the Pavilion in the 1790s in a minor way. This Red Book was the pinnacle of his career but his hopes were dashed when the scheme was not commissioned. He was further disappointed when 10 years later his former partner Nash's scheme was chosen instead as they had parted acrimoniously in 1802 with Repton feeling Nash had done him down in business.

His inventive proposals would have provided a 'true garden' with 'rich embellishments' and an Indian pool with an island for musicians, a long conservatory corridor for flower and fragrance, and an oriental-style aviary like a sky rocket modelled on a 'Hindoo temple'. This bore strong echoes of the garden scheme for the Indian style progenitor of the Royal Pavilion, Sezincote in Gloucestershire. It was also an early example of this style which he successfully used for the Duke of Bedford at Woburn and Endsleigh, and the Duke of Bridgewater at Ashridge, Hertfordshire and was the genesis of the later C19 Victorian rage for flower gardens.

Thus although Repton apparently influenced the Prince at least in part to adopt the exotic Indian style for the Pavilion building, Repton's influence on the garden around Nash's exotic confection was minimal.

Henry Phillips, Botanist, Designer and Author

Henry Phillips, FLS (1779-1840) is indirectly important to this story. He published design advice shortly after the Pavilion garden was complete which seems to reflect observations made during its creation. This is the only detailed published exactly contemporary source for this style and is invaluable to understand the plant choices and associations at the Pavilion.

Phillips is now an obscure footnote in the history of Brighton's development as a resort town, but in his day he was prominent in Brighton as a botanist, horticulturist and landscape designer. He is principally remembered for planning the grounds of the prestigious and spacious Kemp Town estate development in the 1820s. He also designed an oriental garden with a great conservatory which collapsed during construction. He was an author, publishing six books on various horticultural subjects including apples, vegetables and flowers, as well as on design, reflecting and codifying the fashionable ornamental shrubberies, coining the term in the title of his most well-known book *Sylva*

Florifera (1823) for the type of plantations used at the Pavilion. He is relevant to the Pavilion as, although not directly involved, he would have observed on a frequent basis the laying out of the Nash and Aiton picturesque scheme by Furner. The approach to the Pavilion ornamental shrubberies was reflected in this 1823 book which was the only manual on the subject at the time. His book in turn accords with the advice on the planting of Nash shrubberies which Prince Puckler published in 1834 (*Hints on Landscape Gardening*), based on his observations of the laying out of the planting at St James's Park in 1827. Further information about Phillips's work in Brighton is given in Antram and Morrice, *Pevsner Architectural Guide Brighton and Hove*.

JC Loudon, Commentator and Arbiter of Horticultural Taste

John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) is relevant to the Royal Pavilion as a contemporary commentator whose writings on planting and design were so prolific and influential that the pleasure ground has to be considered in this context. This self-opinionated Scot designed few gardens but made his name as the most prolific horticultural writer and commentator. Early in his career, in 1806, he promoted the idea of natural planting: 'Looking at the finest passages of forest scenery ... what beauties would be added to the park by imitating such scenery'. He had obviously read William Gilpin's *Remarks on Forest Scenery ...* (1791). Later on Loudon was one of the first to consider the merits of plants in their own right, in the 'Gardenesque' style which was the antithesis of the flowering shrubbery of massed effect. Loudon was the only person to advise on managing flowering shrubberies in any detail in print. His *The suburban gardener, and villa companion* (1838) is very valuable for the maintenance of Regency flowering shrubberies on a sustainable basis. He advised that cyclical pruning was essential to maintain the balance of shrubs and herbaceous plants (see Section 17.8 below).

Other Landscape Designers

The Nash/Aiton collaboration is comparable with other professional late Georgian landscape designers, but none could boast the unique clutch of royal commissions that the pair worked on. While others worked for the most important aristocratic clients (Repton worked for a clutch of Dukes), none had the opportunity to adopt a preferred style and then repeat it several times in a variety of royal sites.

John Haverfield (c.1741-1820) was part of another dynasty of royal gardeners and often worked with architect John Soane e.g. at Soane's country villa Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, and at Tyringham Park, Bucks in the 1790s. Other designers worked on their own such as Repton. Lewis Kennedy (1789-1877) designed in England in the 1810s and 1820s in similar manner to Repton, producing so-called Green Books. Amateurs included Uvedale Price (1747-1829) who championed the Picturesque in landscape, criticizing Brown's work, and as well as designing his own grounds at Foxley on these lines, advised at various other places.

17.5 NASH AND AITON'S COLLABORATION. DESIGN AND PLANTING³¹

Mavis Batey's seminal research into Nash and his commissions indicates the breadth of his work and significance as a

³¹ This section is based on research notes by Mavis Batey 09 July 1983 and in a letter 4th August 1990 from Mavis Batey to Richard Marks in the Royal Pavilion archives.

designer with the Pavilion being one of his earliest royal landscapes (if not the earliest). He developed landscape ideas in a novel way during his royal commissions, testing them out on a small scale at the Pavilion:

1. Instead of oval or round clumps of shrubs and stiff-edged continuous shrubberies, Nash created irregular forms with deep recesses and promontories. Trees were scattered on the lawn to disguise the sharp boundary between shrubbery and grass.
2. He encouraged massing of groups of shrubs to merge into each other with the impression of natural clumps. They hung over the lawn without a strip of soil marking the boundary between bed and grass. Phillips codified this in his advice in *Sylva Florifera* to plant groups of the same type for greatest effect.
3. Hardy perennials, bulbs and shorter lived plants were still used at the front of the borders but this was made difficult by the shrubs and lawn fingering underneath them.

Nash had some understanding of planting but needed someone such as Aiton to provide horticultural expertise to advise on clothing his vision in the various schemes. As the Royal Gardener at Kew, Aiton was ideally positioned and thus played a significant role at the Pavilion as royal gardener to the Prince. Aiton advised, but the plants were provided by the large Willmott's Nursery of London and planted by a local gardener, at Brighton by Furner. It seems that Nash did not favour floral displays in his shrubberies in Regent's Park and at St James's Park, but they were added either by Aiton or others at a later date. Despite this, the Pavilion planting lists (1817-29) show that many ephemeral non-woody plants were supplied and the scheme and contemporary illustrations indicate that they were used in the shrubberies in Forest Lawn style, as there was no separate flower garden. This was presumably Aiton's choice and Pugin illustrated them for Nash's published *Views* (1826) so Nash presumably approved of their use.

JC Loudon who noted that Aiton laid out the Pavilion gardens was very accurate and presumably he had good cause for saying that. Loudon knew Aiton through various institutions and he noted that after the accession of George IV in 1820, Aiton 'was not only continued in all his appointments, but received the Royal command to make the new garden at the Pavilion and also that of Buckingham Palace.'

Prince Puckler described his observations of how the collaboration worked at St James's Park in 1827³² and Nash's involvement in landscaping and his working methods with Aiton are confirmed in detail in the 1828 Office of Works report when Nash was brought before a Select Committee of the House of Commons to account for extravagant expenditure on Buckingham Palace which had become a national scandal. For the two royal commissions of St James's Park and Buckingham Palace he was asked specifically what was his responsibility and why he charged architect's commission on work that properly belonged to the gardener. He replied that as regards his work on the plantations was concerned, 'I do not think a landscape gardener could have done it', but it becomes clear that he did have the great benefit of the expertise of Aiton.

³² *Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1834).

The collaboration between Nash and Aiton at this time was presumably similar to that at the Royal Pavilion. Nash was asked regarding extravagant expenditure at Buckingham Palace, 'Is the expense of the flower garden included in the estimates?' Nash replied 'I hardly know what is meant by the expense of the flower garden, the expense of forming beds and trellis work is not included.' Although Nash had supplied the plan for the house and gardens, Aiton was paid for the 'ground works' in the accounts. Nash agreed that the 'general disposition of the Park' was of his invention and under his direction 'the ornamental water, the forming of the ground for the plantations, the making and finishing of the gravel walks, making roads, draining the whole and everything else within the inclosure of the Park, including the alternation of the Malls'. It did not include the shrub planting for, 'those I could not make an estimate of; it includes the forming all the grounds for plantation, but not shrubs'. 'Who gives orders for the shrubs?' Nash – 'There is a gardener appointed [i.e. Aiton] and he gives in a list of the shrubs; that list is submitted to the Office of Woods. I give my opinion as to whether they are such shrubs as I intend to form the landscape with, or not; then the Office of Woods gives direction for the purchase of those shrubs, and there is a person appointed to see them put in.' He agreed that Aiton had advised on the suitability of plants and that the same methods of management had been applied at St James's as at Buckingham Palace, but in addition Nash had sent up his own gardener from Cowes to 'superintend the planting and to discriminate between the trees and to see that they should be placed properly.' Aiton was responsible to say when the Park was ready to be opened to the public. Accounts for the planting expenses were sent to the Office of Woods. However, while Mrs Batey searched abortively in those records for planting lists they were actually lodged in the Lord Steward's Accounts in The National Archive as bills from nurseryman John Willmott.

This collaborative *modus operandi* in which Nash designed and supervised the layout and character, advised on planting by Aiton, presumably originated at or was at least crystallized early on at the Royal Pavilion.

17.6 GARDENS OF FLORIFEROUS SHRUBBERIES

The Royal Pavilion and its Influence

As the most famous of the Regency villas the Prince Regent's Royal Pavilion at Brighton, his marine residence, exemplified the cults of variety and of the exotic. In a relatively compact (2.5 ha.) garden in the heart of the fashionable seaside resort, lawns and shrubberies were arranged in the new rather shaggy Forest Scenery style.

Instead of the fashionable flower gardens being promoted by Repton and which were arguably more appropriate for the Prince and his purposes, he accepted Nash's naturalistic interpretation of Picturesque Forest Scenery. This did not reflect the Indian architecture, an architectural style which was an aberration and little copied in England. The Pavilion attracted wide publicity and was much seen and reported. Nash published his scheme for the whole estate including a plan of the garden layout (although this was not exactly as executed) and views of the main scenes showing the main elevations of the Pavilion in their garden setting.

Despite the adoption by the highest in the land and its widespread publicity, the degree of influence of the

Picturesque Forest Scenery layout and planting of the Pavilion grounds on other gardens is unclear. Nash's *Views* were popular but it is unclear if they influenced the adoption of the garden style in the mainstream, although Henry Phillips's *Sylva Florifera* (1823) was available and promoted the theory of the style. Although widely reported and depicted, the style appears not to have been widely adopted in mainstream gardening. Nash applied similar Picturesque landscape principles at the King's other royal gardens where he worked but the general garden trend was moving towards Repton's more formal and geometric flower gardens that the Prince had spurned. The faux shagginess of lawns leading into shrubberies that Nash advocated, with their subtle pinpricks of floral colour, was never really a great trend, and was soon superseded by more eye-catching schemes that were easier to manage.

However, even though Forest Scenery was never a mainstream style, through it, the Pavilion saw the introduction (or very early use) of an innovation in planting schemes which persists today. That is the group planting of a single type, rather than the C18 style of specimens of individual types packed together. This innovation was recorded and promoted by Phillips, a popularly read author in the 1820s, and by the most prolific of gardening authors, Loudon, who advocated it into the 1840s. This grouping is possibly the most influential aspect of the grounds at Brighton which persists in garden design today, for we still recognize and use this concept, adopting it as a basic tenet of planting schemes.

Hertford Villa, Regent's Park

The Marquess of Hertford was a close friend of the Prince Regent and shared similar tastes. His Hertford Villa (by c.1830 called St Dunstan's Villa, and now Winfield House) designed by Decimus Burton in 1825 was one of the finest Regency villas in Regent's Park and was apparently influenced in several respects by Nash's designs for the Prince in Brighton. Uniquely in Regent's Park, it had a similar hedonistic purpose to the Royal Pavilion, being built as a pleasure pavilion for entertaining, not for accommodating, guests, for the Marquess had a London town house in Manchester Square not far away.

The villa included prominently a tented-roofed pavilion, the Tent room, similar in style to that of Nash's scheme at Brighton for the Banqueting and Music Rooms, although the was square in plan form. It clearly had a similar visual function from the garden, in drawing the eye to the exotic roofscape. In 1814 Nash designed a tented rotunda in the grounds of Carlton House, later moved to Woolwich, and still existing.³³ This extraordinary building, in the style of a spectacular bell tent, was one of several erected for the meeting of the allied sovereigns in 1814 and later used for the celebration of the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815); in 1819 Nash supervised its removal, making it into a permanent building with the addition of a leaden roof, brick walls and central pillar, and conversion into a museum

³³ Historic England description: 24-sided polygon, single storey building designed by John Nash. Concave conoid roof. Yellow brick; tented leaden roof with weathervane surmounting small wooden cupola. First erected in the grounds of Carlton House in 1814.

See G Scharf, views of the tented Rotunda, Woolwich then used as a museum, now at the British Museum.

Exterior 1826 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1862-0614-210

Interior 1828 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1862-0614-202

for the display of captured trophies.³⁴

The villa was set in a garden similar in scale, style and layout to the Royal Pavilion, the largest of the Regent's Park villa gardens. The setting, in contrast to the Pavilion, was a prestigious and sylvan London park, *rus in urbe*. The garden was intended to complement a charming country pleasure pavilion, enshrined in beautiful plantations of greenery, and overlooking what appeared to be its own lake which was in fact shared with the park users, but skilfully screened by an island. The informal Picturesque character beyond the large terrace included lawns, trees and shrubberies running down to the park lake, and a strong link with the integral Regent's Park layout. It is the largest surviving Nash period villa garden of the Regent's Park scheme (although the villa was replaced in the 1930s and called Winfield House).

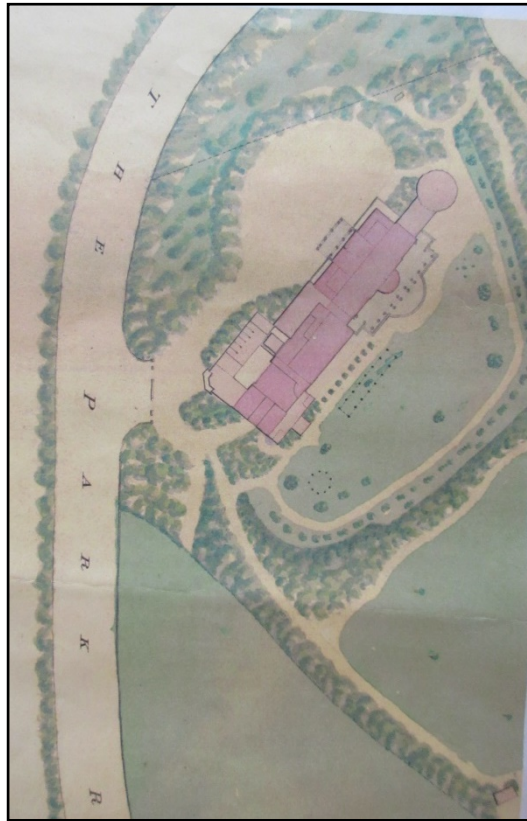
As an aristocratic villa-type garden Hertford Villa is comparable with the most prestigious gardens of the age including the contemporary 16ha (40 acre) royal garden of Buckingham Palace (Grade II*) on which Nash and William Aiton worked for the Marquess of Hertford's friend George IV, as well as with that of the king's 2.5 ha (5 acre) Royal Pavilion Brighton (1816-21) and that of the Royal Lodge, Windsor (1820s within Windsor Great Park) both by the same designers.



Hertford Villa, Regent's Park. Decimus Burton, view of the south front and entertaining lawn, c.1825.

The layout of Hertford Villa grounds is similar to that of the Royal Pavilion, with the short drive and forecourt turning circle below one of the two main fronts of each linear building, and the events lawn below the other. The turning circle of Hertford Villa was also enclosed by informal lawns dotted with specimen planting and enclosed by a woody belt. The south lawn was used for entertaining and was, like the Pavilion East Lawn, informally laid out, and encircled by a circuit path linking either end of the terrace along the villa. This led to the informal shrubberies leading to the park lake beyond. Burton's view (perhaps speculative) shows a similar style of Picturesque planting, around the circuit path enclosing the south lawn and a good deal more sculpture and ornament than at the Pavilion.

³⁴ <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1078987?section=official-list-entry> accessed 19 April 2022.



1831 Mayhew Plan of Regent's Park detail PRO_Winfield Archive_160601 - 15

St James's Park, London

St James's Park is relevant to the Royal Pavilion as a late flowering of the Nash/Aiton design collaboration reflecting a continuation of the use of the Picturesque style but at a larger scale, allowing greater complexity in applying their design principles in a different theatre: in a public park.

Nash in his scheme of c.1827 converted the formal canal to a lake with irregular margins and an island at each end. He covered the grass with shaped mounds and shrubbery walks for perambulation, his contract specifying 'ornamental shrubberies', which by the late 1820s had a specific meaning: the *Sylva Florifera* described by Henry Phillips.

Prince Pückler observed the shrubberies being staked out and planted, admiring the combination of untrimmed shrubs and flowers as in all 'wild wood and shrub plantations'. In his *Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1834) he produced a diagram to show how to plant an ornamental shrubbery, with flowering shrubs and hardy perennials (p.167 in the 2014 edition) and addressed them in the text. He noted that 'Mr Nash ... masses his shrub plantings more densely, and allows the grass sometimes to penetrate the shrubbery in deep alleys until it is lost to sight within, or sometimes to run along the edges of the plantings more or less as it will, without trimming it on the inside edge. The shrubberies are neither raked nor trimmed except where necessary for their growth; hence they soon develop into a thicket that gracefully bends over the lawn without showing anywhere a sharply define outline'. The practical gardener will realise that this is a very problematical way to maintain a shrubbery and it is not surprising that this shaggy presentation did not persist as a style although the shrubberies did.

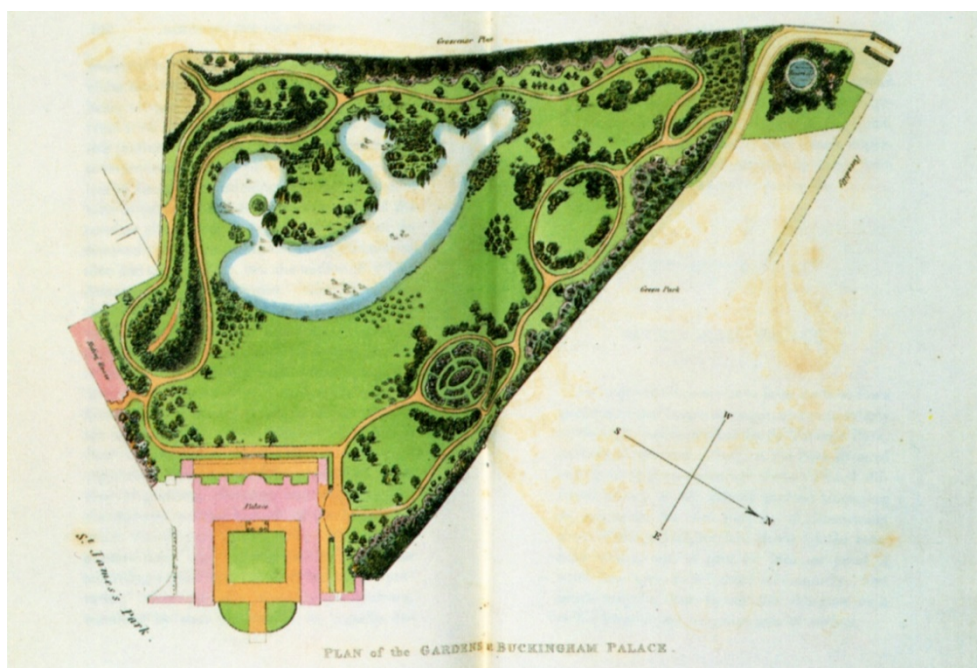
St James's Park survives intact as Nash laid it out and recently some of the floriferous shrubbery beds have been reinstated. The restoration scheme used principles established from the research by Mavis Batey implemented in the scheme at the Pavilion by Virginia Hinze.

Buckingham Palace

Buckingham Palace is relevant to the Royal Pavilion as another later flowering of the Nash/Aiton design collaboration. This reflects a continuation of the use of the Picturesque style but at a larger scale, allowing greater complexity in applying their design principles for a similar regal domestic, if palatial purpose.

As the King's main London residence, Buckingham Palace was relandscaped in the 1820s by Nash and Aiton, between 1826 and 1837, in tandem with Nash working on the building, as they had worked together at Brighton. At some 40 acres the grounds were considerably more extensive than at Brighton, and so the garden scheme was more extensive and complex: a typical layout of informal paths around a lawn, flanked by numerous naturalistic shrubberies and clumps of trees, with a convoluted lake in the distance. The main feature was grass, for the gardens were to be the setting for entertainments for hundreds of guests. A terrace and detached flower garden were included unlike at Brighton, but these were set within the main Picturesque scheme. The garden was enclosed by a wall and shrubs planted on mounds for the King's privacy.

The relationship of the principle building and its contemporary landscape as executed survives well and intact, together with the Picturesque character of the ensemble. It remains a fine example of the Nash/Aiton partnership although the planting has altered in minor ways.



Plan of the Gardens of Buckingham Palace, William Aiton, 1820s.

Pitzhanger Manor

Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, was an early Regency villa in an integral picturesque Regency setting with informal shrubberies. It predates Nash's royal commissions which had picturesque grounds. The villa was designed in 1800-01 by the architect John Soane as an advertisement for his own idiosyncratic architectural style with its stripped classical detail, radical colour schemes and inventive use of space and light. It was his country home until 1811 and he appears to have had an unusually active involvement in the design and use of the gardens and park. John Haverfield of Kew, who worked frequently with Soane in similar manner to Aiton with Nash, advised on the laying out of the 12ha. grounds which are depicted at the time in several watercolours now at the Soane Museum.³⁵

The resulting landscape was a miniature landscape park suited to a Regency country villa, framed by ornamental mixed shrubberies, with lawns, exotic trees, flower garden, kitchen garden, a serpentine lake with rustic bridge and arbour above (in imitation of a Roman temple at the water's 'source'), an ornamental shrubbery walk and a great number of classical fragments, all set within a small park. The house welcomed leading figures in the arts and was the scene for a succession of 'Gothic scenes and intellectual banquets'. The villa is regarded as an architectural treasure and forms the focus of a rare survival of a Regency villa landscape presenting a unified design of house and grounds. A major 10 year project to reunite Pitzhanger Manor with its Regency landscape was completed in 2019. Work in the park included replanted ornamental shrubberies as seen at Brighton Pavilion, drawing on similar sources.

The Local Context: Kemp Town Enclosures and Henry Phillips

Kemp Town is important to the Royal Pavilion in the local context to as it exemplifies the Picturesque style of the Pavilion garden applied to a prestigious development by the author and designer, Henry Phillips, after he had closely observed the laying out of the Pavilion. He was a notable Brighton botanical landscape gardener and author of *Sylva Florifera* (1823).

Kemp Town like Nash's Regent's Park, was conceived in 1823 as a spacious new fashionable grand scale residential estate, planned and designed by architects Amon Wilds and Charles Wilds for local man Thomas Read Kemp. The 40 acre sloping site lay above the sea a mile east of central Brighton and was laid out as a co-ordinated whole.³⁶ It included communal gardens laid out and planted by Phillips to his design of 1828. It exhibited 'great novelty and beauty of style'. Mounds were created for increased privacy and protection for the plants from the sea breezes. The planting was laid out in similar naturalistic style to that at the Pavilion, with a similar palette.

Phillips's *Sylva Florifera* was a useful and popular manual which provided an understandable and practical textbook

³⁵ These are online including Joseph Michael Gandy watercolour designs for the rebuilding of Pitzhanger Manor, 1800, <http://collections.soane.org/object-xp14> ; Design and presentation drawing for the exterior, 14 and 20 January 1801 <http://collections.soane.org/ARC8249> SM 14/2/3; Design and presentation drawing for the exterior, 14 January 1801 <http://collections.soane.org/ARC8248SM> 14/2/7.

³⁶ Further information in Antram and Morrice, *Pevsner Architectural Guide Brighton and Hove*, 143-54.

for gardeners. It brought the theories of the naturalistic style to a wider audience and was in the 1820s the only manual of its type. It was subtitled *Observations on the Forming of Ornamental Plantations and Picturesque Scenery* and described over 50 trees and shrubs suitable for shrubberies. By 1823 he would have seen the creation of Nash and Aiton's scheme over the previous ten years which were beginning to mature and his text codifies the approach to planting and management they adopted.

Crescent Garden, Alverstoke, Gosport

Crescent Garden is comparable as roughly contemporary with the Pavilion garden, because it provided the most detailed information on the planting of a specific Regency ornamental shrubbery, which was recorded and publicised in JC Loudon's *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1838). This indicates the wider adoption of the same style and its implementation in a specific setting.

A plan is presented with a key to the low growing flowering trees, roses and shrubs chosen; only the herbaceous plants to be recessed into the shrubbery are missing, but these were to be chosen by the lady of the house. Loudon provided management hints including advice to remove large trees which shaded out other plants beneath. He quite rightly warned that when an ornamental shrubbery was not managed properly it turned into a dull mass of dominant evergreens with overlarge trees. This warning was seldom fully heeded, which is why they fell out of favour when exactly that happened. The garden survives and has been subject to some restoration.

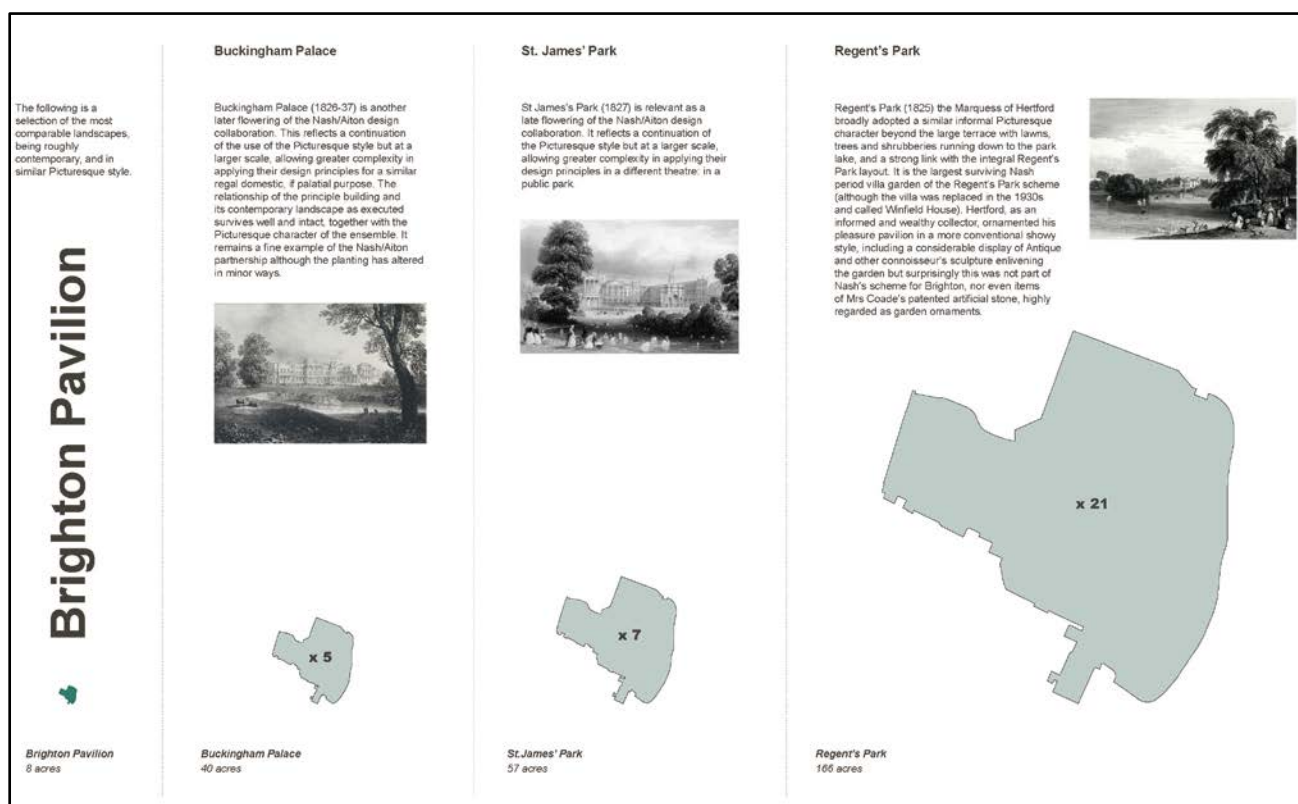


Figure 16 Scaled comparison of areas of the Pavilion garden and 3 comparable Nash landscapes (Scott Allen Landscape Architects).

18 APPENDIX 4 DESIGN PRINCIPLES OF PLANTS AND PLANTING IN THE FLORIFEROUS SHRUBBERY

18.1 RELEVANCE TO THE ROYAL PAVILION

The Nash/Aiton scheme as executed is principally documented in Nash's *Views* (1826) and in records of the plants supplied (see Appendix 6 and 8). It was undoubtedly a very important expression of contemporary Picturesque principles, but some key details of the scheme are absent. While we have details of the plants types and numbers used we do not have an indication of how they were disposed, of the sort recorded in a planting plan. The 1826 views are not botanically accurate and show a considerable degree of vagueness so that many cannot be identified. For such a small site large numbers of plants were supplied over a relatively long period (1817-29). It is unclear if they were all planted and survived, in which case the beds would have been very crowded, and needed constant thinning, or the successive orders reflected the need for replacements after failures. Neither is there any indication of which species grew successfully and which did not thrive and were either frequently replaced or soon dispensed with and others used instead. Neither is there a record of how the garden was managed or whether the shaggy Forest Scenery lawn was perpetuated or soon abandoned and a more manageable regime of grass cutting/mowing was adopted. When was this style of gardening abandoned and did William IV have any influence over retaining or abandoning it?

Thus with these unanswered questions it is necessary to turn to other sources to understand how the garden was managed and the planting principles.

18.2 THE PLANT PALETTE

Plants continued to be supplied for the Pavilion garden between 1816-30, with the major planting between March 1817 and April 1821. Appendix 6 gives an alphabetical transcription of plants and quantities from bills. Plants arrived in quantity from autumn 1820. Species conformed generally to those recorded in his book by Henry Phillips and were selected with seaside conditions in mind. With a few, generally later, exceptions, all the plants were supplied by John Willmott of Lewisham at one of the largest in southern England. Few early-C19 introductions are found in the Brighton lists, perhaps illustrating a typical time lapse between a plant's introduction, successful propagation and its general cultivation. The Kew Outward Books for 1805-36 record only one consignment to Brighton, though many went to other royal households in Europe. Perhaps Aiton's close personal role as royal gardener brought plants direct from Kew, without formal record.

While there is no indication of how the listed plants were to be arranged in the beds, each bill is of mixed stock and the selection may indicate the contents of a whole bed. Some of the lists after 1821 have a variety and large number of plants that it is difficult to rationalise.

This period saw the recognition of many garden-worthy qualities, and associations of plants that still underpin the values in our own planting schemes. In part this arises from the proliferation of species available to gardeners that

occurred in the period. The palette benefitted from introductions from North America since the 1740s, becoming a flood of new species by the 1800s from newly explored South America, South Africa and Australasia. Specialist collectors such as the 3rd Earl of Bute at Luton Hoo, the 3rd Earl of Egremont at Petworth and the 6th Earl of Coventry at Croome were rich enough to obtain plants directly from importers and create vast collections of new species with a mania that equated to stamp collecting. While not exactly a specialist collector of this type the Prince Regent did obtain some new and rare plants to display at the Pavilion via Aiton, as indicated by the plant lists in the accounts.

More commonly schemes used the standard palette established by the mid-C18. The Pavilion plant lists indicate that more common plants formed the matrix for the rarities. This was based on native and European species, spiced up with a smaller proportion of the new hardy exotics as they filtered through from collectors and botanic gardens to the nursery trade and made their way into catalogues. The old-fashioned, established plants played a major part still, and the new types, generally more expensive, would have been used more sparingly, perhaps as prestigious focal points. Trial and error played its part in deciding which were hardy. Camellias were grown in conservatories initially before it was realised that they would thrive outside in many places along with other tender species. **Mention the Pavilion Conservatory here and list of plants in the sale** Succession of flowering through the season was sought to ensure continual interest, although evergreens were still highly valued to provide continual structure and banish the desolation of winter. Planting for autumn colour started to become a consideration as recorded by Phillips.

18.3 PUBLISHED PLANT LISTS AS SOURCES

The Pavilion plant lists of 1817-29 (see Appendix 6 for the alphabetical transcription of Willmott's bills) are a seminal source for replanting the garden and of immense value as they are specific to this site, where for so many other sites the exact palette is unclear. They include standard C18 species and varieties, some North American introductions and some of the most recent exotics that presumably came via Aiton. The lists are less interesting than might be expected as they relate to commonly available nursery stock. It is possible that Aiton supplied further exotics which have not been recorded.

This becomes apparent when comparison is made with other plant lists for specific gardens and with published lists of plants which indicate what was commonly available. The following publications provide this context for the late C18 which when compared with those of the early C19 Regency period indicate the Pavilion palette was varied and adventurous.

Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822) and Phillips's *Sylva Florifera* (1823) provide plant lists which are most relevant to the Pavilion. Phillips's plant lists are surprisingly conservative, including few of the array of new plants pouring into England from China and the southern continents. Perhaps it is not surprising as he was not placed in one of the botanical centres. The exceptions were China roses (especially *Rosa semperflorens*), tiger lily, fuchsia and dahlia, which, except fuchsia, all appear in the Pavilion planting lists. His recommendations are rather for the typical British native plants or C17 and C18 introductions – hollies, heaths, laurels, guelder rose, honeysuckle, lilac and roses

in great quantities, gorse, broom and syringa. The choice of flowers is even greater, encompassing all the cottage garden favourites. These too all appear in the Pavilion planting lists amongst the exotics.

Much more ambitiously, Aiton's 1813 revision of his father's five-volume *Hortus Kewensis* provides the most comprehensive list of plants available in the Regency period including newly-introduced exotics, but then he was at the epicenter of plant introductions. Nursery catalogues are useful. The renowned Loddige's Nursery catalogues of 1820 and 1823 (12th and 13th editions) provide contemporary lists of herbaceous, bulbs and shrubs.

Tender plants became more popular as the new smaller properties could afford conservatories, attached to the house or freestanding. Tender plants should not be overlooked, as often they were used for plunging in gaps outdoors later in the season after early hardy plants had gone over. Lists are often contained in the sources above.

18.4 THE NOVELTY OF MASSING IN GROUPS

Perhaps the greatest stylistic change that occurred was in the arrangement of plants in beds with the move from 'mingling' of individual types of plants, to 'massing' in groups or clumps of the same type for greater visual effect. In the eighteenth century 'mingling' referred to arranging plants in variety, using single specimens individually among many other types, their height in beds ranked towards the back or spinal planting. Massing in groups of a single type, suggested in the 1770s, had become by the 1820s an accepted technique. Phillips in *Sylva Florifera* (1823) summed this up for woody planting: 'A shrubbery should be planted, as a court or stage dress is ornamented, for general effect, and not for particular and partial inspection.' But this also applied to herbaceous subjects. Massing is very familiar today and remains the designer's mantra, grouping for impact, with the more spotty effect of 'mingling' frowned upon except in specialist collections.

As mentioned, no instructions for the disposition of the plants on the Pavilion lists survive, but it is likely that they followed this principle of massing in groups, given Phillips's observation of the scheme in the making and his instructions in *Sylva Florifera*. Furthermore Prince Puckler observed this in the laying out of the St James's Park scheme by Nash and Aiton which was in similar style and recorded it in his book *Hints* (1834).

18.5 FLOWERING SHRUBBERIES

As noted above, the distinctive feature was the flowering shrubbery, an informal development of the archaic wilderness. It was used as a backdrop for flower gardens or as a feature in its own right, where space existed. In the mid-late C18 shrubs were graduated by height in ranks, evergreen and deciduous plants were kept separate, and species were planted individually as specimens in these rows. The ranking by height continued into the early C19, but was developed so varied shrubberies framed sinuous walks, combining herbaceous plants, bulbs, evergreen and flowering shrubs and ornamental trees in a more naturally grouped manner, more closely connected with the landscape. By the early C19 gardening aimed to use the variety of trees, shrubs and more ephemeral flowers to provide a succession of interest all year round, particularly in summer, again something gardeners strive to do today. The main guide contemporary guide to the new shrubbery planting style was Phillips' *Sylva Florifera* (1823). Loudon

later provided a detailed plan of the planting of Alverstoke Crescent which reflects the style of an earlier shrubbery in *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1838). Prince Pückler-Muskau reflected the contemporary theories in his grounds at Muskau and in his *Hints ...* (1834).

The term flowering shrubbery (coined as floriferous shrubbery by Phillips) is something of a shorthand misnomer as it contained evergreens which were not grown for their flowers but for their year-round structure, as well as trees and herbaceous plants.

The key to the new shrubbery was yet more irregularity, by using groups and thickets of various sizes, 'gliding into one another on smooth lawn, beautifully varied, broken into small scenes by trees and shrubs of the most elegant sorts'. All this was linked by smooth gravel walks winding in a 'graceful, easy manner'. The innovation was, instead of growing single specimens, to mass the different sorts in groups to make a stronger display of each, a principle which still guides gardeners today. Colour clashes were encouraged. Phillips recommended one particular combination of purple lilac and yellow laburnum.

Against a spine or backdrop of woody evergreens and a few trees, surrounded by the flowering shrubs, tall spiry herbaceous plants and annuals punctuated the gaps before the shrubs grew in and suppressed them, including hollyhocks, lilies, sunflowers, foxgloves and Jacob's ladder. The beds were enclosed by bands and pockets of lower herbaceous plants such as geraniums, paeonies and bulbs, filling the recesses. Evergreens included laurel, box, holly and phillyrea, many of which seem commonplace to us now. Popular flowering shrubs included dogwoods, viburnum, lilacs Philadelphus, roses, kalmia, brooms and gorse.

18.6 ANNUALS, BIENNIALS, PERENNIALS AND BULBS

Repton is often given the credit for the re-emergence of the flower garden near the house from the 1800s. However, the flower garden had not disappeared in the C18 as is commonly thought. It often survived in a glade at a distance such as Mason's garden of the 1770s at Nuneham Courtenay, Oxfordshire or in association with the environs of a walled kitchen garden. Smaller gardens had often kept beds near the house. These schemes continued to some degree the traditions of the later C17 and early C18 formal flower parterres. Of course gardeners embraced recent plant introductions as they became available and experimented with them.

Plants were commonly distributed by seedsmen whose catalogues provide an excellent source of varieties available, and sometimes design advice, such as Nathaniel Swinden's seed catalogue (1778). Borders could be straight or serpentine, or island beds in groups in lawns with a mix of circles, ovals, kidney-shaped or peanut-shaped. Herbaceous, bulbs and annuals might be mixed in these beds, usually graduated in height order towards the centre, sometimes the odd shrub too, and tender plants plunged to fill spaces left by plants that had finished and died away. They also had their place in shrubbery designs, as informal mixed bands around the edges and again between woody plants before they grew in and shaded out the herbaceous material.

18.7 SUMMARY OF PLANTING PRESCRIPTIONS

The following summary based on Phillips (1823) and Puckler (1834) is taken from Batey (CL, 1984, 1154):

1. The lawn should appear to retire into the plantation, as in forest scenery, giving an illusion of extent.
2. Bare earth showing should be sown with grass later.
3. No neatening of edges.
4. Plant the massed shrubs first, placing evergreens, unless pendant, far back as the grass will not grow under them.
5. Intermingle with herbaceous perennials with the shrubs, 'for general effect and not for partial inspection'.
6. Bedding displays were to be reserved for the flower garden proper.
7. Elsewhere flowers 'must be amenable to the rules of composition, otherwise they injure the scenery they are intended to adorn.'

The scheme at the Royal Pavilion Brighton for King George IV varied this in the manner of a forest lawn, blurring the bed edges when the lawn fingered its way into the borders. In contrast the 1797 scheme for Kenwood showed a parterre of geometrically-shaped crescent and circular beds arranged in an informal lawn, but axially with the house as an early reintroduction of the formal parterre. Trelliswork became popular, shown in profusion in Repton's Red Book for Ashridge (1813).

In similar manner the formal layouts of town gardens and squares which had persisted gradually gave way to clusters of beds set in lawns enclosed by serpentine paths, and framed and divided by flowering and evergreen shrubberies and elegant trelliswork.

18.8 MANAGEMENT OF PICTURESQUE FOREST SCENERY

The main problem with these floriferous shrubberies was that the shrubs grew fast, often prodigiously, quickly closing up the spaces meant for less robust herbaceous plants, bulbs and seasonal plants. The result was the ugly mass and tangle disapproved of by Loudon (see Alverstoke section). A high degree of control was required to keep the intended character by rigorous pruning. Many of the subjects were inherently vigorous and unless kept in a state of strictly arrested development by frequent pruning would need to have been replaced well before maturity to retain the desired effect. This is true of all shrubberies if the plants are not set out at spacings reflecting their ultimate size and buffer gaps to retain their individuality, which is never done as the initial effect would be so bare. It therefore had an implication for the cost of gardeners to manage (i.e. prune) them and of replacement plants.

Loudon's *The suburban gardener, and villa companion* (1838 edition pp.258-59) is very valuable for the maintenance of Regency flowering shrubberies on a sustainable basis. He is the only designer with practical instructions about thinning and pruning the shrubbery. Cyclical pruning is essential. He wrote that:

[need for regular pruning and thinning to retain herbaceous material:] It is proper to observe, however, that, as the trees and shrubs ... advance in growth, the room for flowering plants will be diminished. After 3 or 4 years, there will not be much space within the beds fit for bringing fibrous-rooted herbaceous plants to perfection; because for this

purpose it is necessary that the plants should have unobstructed light, and free air on every side. As the trees and shrubs advance, ... they must either be thinned out to make room for the fibrous-rooted herbaceous plants, or a smaller number of these must be grown. The same remark would apply to the roses planted in the beds; ... they require as much light and air as the others; and, like them ... they require to be taken up every second or third year, in autumn or spring, and parted, pruned and replanted in fresh soil. **[if little pruning carried out then grass over soil beneath:]** Supposing the trees and shrubs, exclusive of the roses, not to be thinned out, or reduced by pruning, then in five or six years, both roses and fibrous-rooted herbaceous plants would be choked. ... in that case ... cease to dig the beds, and reduce or rake them to the same level as the turf, and sow any spots not covered with the branches of the shrubs with grass. This would look remarkably well, both in a picturesque and in a botanical point of view, for another 5 or 6 years, when it would become absolutely necessary to root up some of the larger trees, and to prune in, or cut over near the ground, some of the larger shrubs. This process of keeping the beds and groups in shape, by pruning and cutting down, might be carried on for an indefinite period, as may easily be believed by observing the great duration of hedges which are continually cut, and of coppice-wood. ... **[cyclical pruning to maintain the shrubs:]** an equal amount of pruning, thinning, and cutting over should ... be performed every year ... [and] always to preserve the same proportion between trees and shrubs, and between plants both of ... evergreens and.... Deciduous, unless ... an improvement might be made by altering these proportions.'

[bulbs suitable beneath shrubs:] In addition he recommended bulbs as suitable for the areas between shrubs especially those which enjoy partial shade and where herbaceous plants will not grow well.

This guidance indicates that policies are needed to maintain the ideal proportion of bed coverage of herbaceous plants/bulbs to shrubs to avoid as shrubs grow the entire loss of herbaceous material as seen in the Pugin drawings and in other illustrations of this type of scheme in the period.

- The cycle and degree of pruning. He indicates that a four-year pruning cycle is necessary, but this is probably too infrequent, and an annual or biennial prune is more realistic. The pruning regime would need to allow enough bed space to allow growth of tall spiry flowers between shrubs, and shrubs not so high as to overtop the spiry plants or the herbaceous material at the front.
- Replacement planting; a renewal policy. Set limits on the size of shrubs and smaller conifers, based on arrested maturity with replacements to maintain the desired proportions. This would result in complete refreshing after the juvenile stage in the Nash/Pugin drawings is outgrown and cannot be maintained with regular pruning, best done on a cyclical basis.
- Tolerance of self-sown flowers.
- Management of grass trimming and avoidance of beds becoming choked with grass/weeds if edges left shaggy.

19 APPENDIX 5 NOTES ON DESIGN AND PLANTS FROM HENRY PHILLIPS'S BOOKS

19.1 HENRY PHILLIPS

Local nurseryman and designer Henry Phillips's two volumes published in 1823 and 1824 set out the guiding principles of planting and managing the floriferous shrubbery as well as listing appropriate species to be used. They provide the only detailed contemporary guidance of this sort, and so it is appropriate that his principles should be followed in the management of the recreated beds at Brighton.

19.2 GENERAL DESIGN GUIDANCE

The following notes are extracted from Phillips's books and help to guide the design and management of floriferous shrubberies such as those laid out by Nash and Aiton at the Royal Pavilion.

Key principles include:

Generally

1. Grouping introduced instead of rows of individuals. Group several of one type to give masses of colour e.g. groups of 4 or 6 lilacs or laburnum. The guelder rose should appear to be escaping above dark evergreens.
2. Continuity of seasonal interest is very important, whether flowers, foliage or fruit.

Shrubs

3. Shades of green are very important, as they are a permanent feature whereas under-planted flowers are of short duration.
4. Make undulations in ground level by forming banks and slopes. This can also be achieved by judicious planting of shrubs.
5. Create depth of perspective using grey or bluish leaved plants beyond or between yellow or bright green shrubs. E.g. 'the light and elegant acacia has a more beautiful effect when its branches float over the firm and dark holly or bay tree'.
6. Conceal bare tree trunks with evergreens or creepers.
7. Do not allow plants to become crowded or they will be drawn up into unnatural shapes.
8. Beds of shrubbery more distant from the dwelling should become more rural in character.

Shorter lived plants

9. Plant drifts and clumps of daffodils along the walks; native daffodils among the evergreens.
10. Daisies in masses of 20-40 plants in foreground of shrubbery.
11. Hyacinths in clumps at the front, do not mix colours.
12. Tulips in clumps of 6-18 in shelter of shrubs.
13. Periwinkle under shrubs, primroses and lily of the valley in wilder shrubbery. Trilliums and dornicums in shady border.
14. Mix shorter-lived non-woody plants (bulbs, herbaceous, annuals, biennials) between the shrubs and along the front of beds against the lawn. This requires sufficient space to be left between shrub groups and subsequent frequent pruning to maintain spaces.
15. For front of shrubbery candytuft, monarda, day lily, china aster, London pride, pinks, larkspur.
16. For mixing among flowering shrubs in clumps: red and white valerian, lilies (martagon, turk's cap, candidum) 3-4 of each and with clumps of roses, all against evergreens. Peonies, sweet williams, corallina. Columbines and solidago with evergreens behind asters. Lychnis chalcedonica 5-7 plants as a mass. Fritillaria imperialis among dwarf shrubs. White foxgloves among evergreens with Veronica spicata, anchusa.
17. Spire-like plants are important, hollyhocks, 5-10 of one colour or one dark clump between 2 pale clumps, each spire distinct. Sunflowers with shrubs and roses. Michaelmas daisies, campanula persicifolia, Canterbury bells. Also foxgloves and grey Verbascum.
18. Allow the lawn and bed edge to blur – difficult to manage but a key part of the effect.

19.3 SYLVA FLORIFERA DESIGN GUIDANCE

More specifically:

p.22

Plants nearest the dwelling should be of the dwarf kind [presume means those under the windows].

Shades of green important.

p.23

Trees with leaves of grey or bluish over or between yellow or bright green seem thrown into the distance. Small tremulous leaves should wave over or before broad or fixed foliage, e.g. acacia over holly or bay. Have bare trunks or conceal by evergreens and creepers. Festoons of vines. No clipping shrubs [i.e. PRUNE don't clip to hard edges of bush] Not too much crowded – natural shapes – cheerful.

p. 24

Undulating appearance of plantation assisted by progression of lowest shrub to highest tree and again the highest to lowest.

Where shade of any tree is too powerful for laurel or privet use ivy if desirable to cover ground with green.

As shrubbery recedes from dwelling it should be more rural and climbers can be introduced.

The best climbers are where nature depends on her own assistance for support.

Climbers combine spontaneity, without restraint – Ivy, bignonia, honeysuckle, vine, passiflora.

Sombre gloomy walk of yew, cypress or holly should lead to the spot from where the most prospect is visible or to a gay parterre.

p.26

Don't plant in rows.

Instead group for example 4 – 6 lilac in one place and as many laburnum in another to give mass colour effect in various parts.

Use Guelder rose as if escaping from the dark bosom of evergreens.

Plant for general effect not particular inspection.

p.26/27

The most beautiful shrubs should occupy the most conspicuous places [promontories from the bed]

e.g. projection of the plantation should be reserved for plants such as purple rhododendron, flaming azalea and other bog plants (American plants which require acid soil) and plant heaths.

For evergreens: there is a need to relieve their uniform appearance in winter.

Arrange different kinds, and those with variegated leaves or bright berries.

Aim for a succession of blossom through the year or whose coloured fruits persist for the longest time. Not just summer.

Banish gloom at all times from the grove.

Seasons:

January

Hazel and filbert crimson catkins

Rosemary

Furze at the foot of dark foliage evergreens

March

Background trees – wych elm, alder, willow, osier, flower in March

Almond

Sloe, plum, have snowy blossom, arise from dwarf evergreens and shaded by taller trees. They have fruit in season too.

Mezereon, dwarf almond and Pyrus japonica [flowering quince] in foreground in little groups of 3-4 each together

In the early season cover banks and the feet of trees and shrubs with the earliest flowers:

Snowdrop, crocus (large quantities). When these are scattered singly or in formal bodies the effect is lost. Instead make banks flow with yellow crocus or purple ones in drifts.

Clumps of winter aconites or hellebores on a large scale. Anemone hepatica, red, blue, white.

Wood anemone, primrose, daffodils, daisy in large patches among shrubs.

Lawn undulating.

Autumn flowers

use hollyhock and sunflower in shrub beds

China Aster in foreground

African marigold, nasturtium, wallflowers before the shrubs spread

Periwinkle as ground cover

Timber trees.

[this all implies CONSTANT MAINTENANCE]

19.4 SUITABLE PLANTS DISCUSSED BY PHILLIPS

These may all be used in floriferous shrubberies. Names may be archaic.

Acacia	<i>Robinia pseudoacacia</i> and <i>R. hispida</i> use in the forefront of the shrubbery
Arbor Vitae	<i>Thuja sp.</i>
Alder	<i>Alnus glutinosus</i>
Arbutus	<i>Arbutus unedo</i>
Ash	<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i> [more for parkland]
Bay	<i>Laurus nobilis</i> – slightly tender?
Birch	<i>Betula pendula</i>
Bird cherry	<i>Prunus padus</i>
Bladder senna	<i>Colutea arborescens</i>
Box	<i>Buxus sempervirens</i> and varieties
Broom	<i>Spartium junceum</i> . Plant to peep over the sombre evergreens like the rays of the sun.
Cedar of Lebanon	<i>Cedrus libani</i>
Chestnut	Sweet or Horse?
Cornus sanguinea	For red colour of branches between laurel and other evergreens.
Cypress	<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i> , Italian cypress. Tender?
Elm	<i>Ulmus procera</i> for parkland.
Fir	<i>Picea abies</i> . Use as shelter for beds and also grow honeysuckle up it.
Gorse	<i>Ulex europaeus</i> and <i>U nanus/ minor</i> (dwarf, starve to prevent lankiness). Use at a distance from the walks where it can be seen between or beneath evergreen trees.
Guelder rose	<i>Viburnum opulus</i> Roseum or Sterile
Hawthorn	<i>Crataegus monogyna</i> . Grow among evergreens. Use double/ pink varieties.
Holly	<i>I aquifolium</i> . Including variegated varieties and Ferox. Try with box below in front and larch behind. <i>I serratum</i> [not for chalky soils?]. Also as specimens on lawn, try with furze. [also I. a. Crassifolia; Argentea Marginata; Aurea Marginata; Ferox Argentea; Pendula]
Honeysuckle	<i>Lonicera periclymenum</i> , Belgica, <i>L. 146serotina</i> , <i>L. sempervirens</i> . Frequently used. Try training as shrub in border. Grow <i>sempervirens</i> up cypress or other evergreens.
Hornbeam	As park tree really.
Jasmine	<i>J officinale</i> (white), <i>humile</i> (yellow). Many useful situations in the shrubbery. Let them grow over laurel and other shrubs or train as shrubs or on a leg or as bushy shrubs.
Judas tree	<i>Cercis siliquastrum</i> . Use with laburnum and 146Guelder rose. Also with hawthorn.
Ivy	Use with caution, best under trees as ground cover. Variegated varieties used, white and silver. <i>H. helix</i> Marginata; Digitata
Juniper	<i>Juniperus sabina</i>
Laburnum	<i>L anagyroides</i> . Use centrally against evergreens or over 146and guelder rose, lilac underneath.
Larch	<i>Larix decidua</i>
Laurel, cherry	<i>Prunus laurocerasus</i> . As shrub but also good as tree trained on leg. Use it to screen

	disagreeable object.s
Laurel, Portugal	one of the great ornaments of the shrubbery.
Laurustinus	<i>Viburnum tinus</i> . Good in clumps of evergreens on lawns and to shield bare stems of trees.
Lilac	<i>Syringa vulgaris</i> . White valuable. Also carmine type known as Scotch. (Charles X?) Persian variety long-flowering. Middle rank in plantation. Contrasts well with 147guelder rose and laburnum. Purple variety good with 147guelder rose. White good with cypress, bay or other dark evergreens. Blue Persian lilac good in front of white as smaller than vulgaris. Chinese lilac.
Lime	As boundary of shrubbery.
Magnolia	<i>M. grandiflora</i> , and 17 other species. One of the greatest ornaments of the shrubbery. Also <i>M. glauca</i> or swamp magnolia /laurel he mentions.
Maple	<i>Acer campestre</i> . Not a great use for it in shrubbery.
Mezereon	<i>Daphne mezereum</i> and white var., also collina. Foreground plant. Group 3-4
Mountain ash	<i>Sorbus aucuparia</i> . Good tree for fruits when little colour elsewhere and autumn colour.
Myrtle	<i>Myrtus communis</i> . For mild areas near the sea.
Passion flower	<i>Passiflora caerulea</i> . Climber up trees and shrubs, but rather tender.
Pine	Scots, Weymouth
Portugal laurel	<i>Prunus lusitanica</i>
Privet	<i>Ligustrum vulgare</i> . Valuable under trees. Goes well with common laurel and with box and other smaller evergreens.
Rosa	Redoute rose varieties. Natives described, best for shrubberies is Provins. See pp 179-180 for varieties. Moss rose, centifolia, cinnamomum, moschata, lutea, china, bracteata, scotch. Very keen they should be used. Mix taller ones with shrubs of middle height.
Rhododendron and azalea	Colour association: flame coloured azalea should shine near the purple rhodo. [R ponticum; R luteum; R lepidotum (1829); R calendulaceum (1806, decid); R canescens (1810); R anthopogon (1820)]
<i>Spiraea frutex</i>	<i>S. salicifolia</i> ? Dense thickets, pink downy pannicles of flower. Mix with evergreens of a darker shade.
Spruce fir	<i>Picea abies</i>
sumach	<i>Rhus typhina</i> a middle range shrub
Syringa mock orange	<i>Philadelphus</i> [147 <i>coronaria</i> & c. <i>Variegatus</i> , <i>lewisii</i> (1823); grow with evergreens of dark tint. Good in shade of trees, underplant with primroses, etc.
Thuja	Good for screening; should be associated with climbing plants
Travellers joy	<i>Clematis vitalba</i>
Trumpet flower	<i>Bignonia radicans</i> To climb in trees.
Tulip tree	<i>Liriodendron tulipifera</i>
Tamarisk	<i>Tamarix tetrandra</i> ; <i>T parviflora</i> . Mix with plants of broad or fixed foliage eg laurel, holly.
Virginia creeper	<i>Parthenocissus quinquefolia</i>
Virgin's bower	<i>Clematis viticella</i> ; <i>C flammula</i> for tree trunks esp Laburnum
Yew	<i>Taxus baccata</i> Backcloth shrub.
Butcher's broom,	<i>Ruscus</i> [<i>aculeatus</i> & <i>hypoglossum</i>], in foreground with mezereon, lavender and other low growers.

19.5 GUIDANCE FROM PHILLIPS'S FLORA HISTORICA (1824)

Henry Phillips, *Flora Historica: Or, the Three Seasons of the British Parterre Historically and Botanically Treated : With Observations On Planting, to Secure a Regular Succession of Flowers from the Commencement of Spring to the End of Autumn*

Extract from end of Introduction, pp. 36-44 on flower associations:

... Flowers never appear to so great advantage as when forming a foreground in the shrubbery or to the borders of woods. In such situations they seem to have planted them-selves as if for the sake of shelter, whilst the boldness of the trees and shrubs add as much to the delicacy of their blossoms as the mass of foliage contributes to the brilliancy

of their colours. The bolder flowers should be half-observed by shrubs, for by being but partially seen their effect is materially heightened.

The smaller flowers must occupy the sloping sides of banks, because they are then brought near to the eye, and they will generally be found growing naturally in such situations. A greater part of the earliest flowering plants may be set under the branches of shrubs and trees, as they thus fill up spaces that would otherwise appear naked in the spring, and their decaying state is veiled over in the later season by the foliage of the boughs. The same arrangement should be made in small gardens, by covering the ground under Rose bushes and other shrubs which blossom in the summer, with the earliest flowers of the year, such as Snowdrops and Crocuses, &c., which are rather benefited than injured by the partial shelter ; and the space of ground which they would otherwise require in the parterre may be allotted to those plants that will not flourish in such situations.

The error most frequently committed in planting the parterre, is the inattention shown to the succession of the flowering of plants ; but without a perfect knowledge and due regard to this material part of the art of gardening, the parterre will frequently become destitute of flowers at different seasons of the year ; whereas the desirable object of continuing an uninterrupted succession of gaiety in the flower-garden, may be attained by attention in the selection and planting of flower- roots.

Our first step in this case should be to collect a sufficient quantity of those that blossom earliest in the spring, as at this time the number of species is not large, and each sort should therefore be planted in greater abundance, so as to give effect by a mass of colour, A want of attention to render the parterre gay at this period is the great defect of most gardeners. No flowers are more delicately beautiful than those which blossom at this season of the year, when they are received with a double welcome, because their appearance seems, in some degree, to banish the dreary months, and thus to prolong the duration of Flora's cheerful reign.

A very essential part to be attended to is, to observe that the plants of the spring, such as the hardy and early kinds of Narcissus, Anemonies, Snowdrops, Crocuses, Double Daisies, &c, should be planted in considerable quantities [i.e. drifts] on one spot; for when they are divided into little clumps they make no striking appearance, as we have noticed in the body of this work, under their respective histories.

At this season also the ground under such as are not evergreen should be completely covered with Primroses, Harebells, and such other flowers as will flourish in these situations, observing to contrast the colours as much as possible, but not to mix them indiscriminately. ...

We shall not be very minute in giving directions for the summer arrangements, that season being generally well and amply provided for by Flora herself; but we have to speak of a very material part of the duties of those who, at a later period, undertake to furnish the parterre with its beauties. Formerly, Flora took her departure from this island as soon as Ceres and Pomona made their appearance, as if the country was not sufficiently spacious to contain the three goddesses at one time; but since we have naturalised the plants of China and Florida to our climate, we have the delight of seeing these three deities in perfect reconciliation, walking hand in hand, and continuing their embraces until driven by Boreas into temporary shelter. By this happy union, which has been brought to such perfection by the exertions of our indefatigable countrymen, the time of the flower season is so considerably lengthened, that what formed the dreary season of our ancestors is now half expired before we perceive its approach. The Vine is now seen suspending its purple clusters over the blushing petals of the China Rose ; the Barberry Bush hangs its crimson fruit over the variously-coloured Asters of China ; the Mountain Ash droops its clusters of coral berries over the richly-painted Dahlias of the new world ; the Juniper mixes its blue-powdered berries as a contrast to the Golden Marigolds of Africa; the purple, and the sweet-scented white Clematis entwine their branches with the native Bramble, interweaving- the happy gifts of Flora and Pomona on the same festoon; the Indian Chrysanthemum waits to decorate its branches in all the hues of Iris, so as to rival and succeed the mellow fruits of the orchard. Thus we now see the well-dressed parterre clothed in the various robes of distant climes, cheering the month of November, and daring the rigours of December, until its beauties are overtaken and hidden by the falling snow.

The flowers of the autumn are generally of a larger size and richer colour than those of the spring or summer, consequently they are less delicate and more showy in appearance ; and as many of them, such as the Hollyhock, the Sunflower, and the Dahlia, (Sec., grow to a considerable height and size, their proper place is amongst shrubs ; for since there are but few trees or large shrubs that make a show at that time of the year, the plantation will be greatly enlivened by this arrangement.

The Chrysanthemums are also better adapted to beautify the foreground of the shrubbery than to ornament the parterre ; and in planting them in such situations, it should be observed to place them so that the shrubs may form a screen from the north, which will add considerably to their time of duration. It is also desirable to give as good a contrast as possible to the colour of the blossoms by the shade of the foliage before which they are planted, observing to place purple flowers before shrubs whose foliage is of a yellowish cast, as the common Laurel, &c, and those with white petals in front of the darkest foliage, giving the yellow or coppercoloured blossoms to the blue greens. Again, in planting the China Asters, where the colours are not ascertained, they should not be planted too near the Chrysanthemums, excepting in front of the white variety, as the seneral colours of these two kinds of flowers are too similar to harmonize agreeably ; but where the Purple Aster can be planted near the Yellow Chrysanthemum, and vice versa, the effect of both colours is heightened.

In planting flowers, an indiscriminate mixture of colours is generally bad, although fit may be admitted in some instances. Nature seldom confuses her colours, and we should, in arranging them, endeavour to imitate her operations, and let the dyes in bright suffusion flow,

That now with gold empyreal seem to glow,
Now in pellucid sapphires meet the view,
And emulate the soft celestial hue :
Now beam a flaming crimson to the eye,
And now assume the purple's deeper dye ;
But here description clouds each shining ray, —
What terms of art can nature's power display ?

20 APPENDIX 6 ROYAL PAVILION PLANT LISTS 1817-29

The following is a transcription by Jessica Rutherford of the plants provided by John Willmott from bills in the Lord Steward's Accounts in The National Archive.

While there is no indication of how the listed plants were to be arranged in the beds, each bill is of mixed stock and the selection may indicate the contents of a whole bed. Some of the lists after 1821 have a variety and large number of plants that it is difficult to rationalise.

REFERENCE	YEAR	MONTH	DAY	QTY	PLANT ENTRY	1817-1829
ACACIA	1824	11-November	13	6	Rose Acacia	
ACACIA	1824	11-November	13	6	Glutenous Acacia	
ACACIA	1820	03-March	25	12	dwf thorn Acacias	
ACACIA	1820	03-March	25	12	Rose Acacia	
ACACIA	1823	03-March	25	12	Acacias	
ACACIA	1825	02-February	21	6	Thorn Acacia	
ACACIA	1829	10-October	9	6	Thorn Acacias	
ALDER	1829	10-October	9	6	Alders	
ALMOND	1820	03-March	25	12	Hlf Std Almonds	
ALTHEA	1820	12-December	2	30	Althea frutex	
ALTHEA	1824	11-November	13	12	Altheas strong	Althea frutex
ALTHEA	1817	03-March	8	12	Althea frutex =	Hibiscus syriacus
ALTHEA	1820	03-March	25	12	purple Althea frutex	
ALTHEA	1820	03-March	25	12	Red Althea (frutex)	likely the same
ALTHEA	1825	02-February	21	6	Althea frutex	
ALTHEA	1817	10-October	29	3	Althea frutex	
ANCUBA	1824	12-December	14	2	Ancubas	
ANCUBA	1824	11-November	13	25	Ancubas	Ancuba
ANCUBA	1820	03-March	25	18	Ancuba	
ANEMONE	1823	12-December	4	?	Paid for Ranunculus & Anemone	
ANEMONE	1822	02-February	9	11b	fine double Anemone	
ANEMONE	1817	12-December	23	1/2 lb	single Anemone	
ANEMONE	1817	12-December	23	1/2 lb	Double Anemone	
ANEMONE	1819	09-September	18	1 1/2lb	best Dble Anemone	
ANNUALS	1822	02-February	9	12 papers	tender Annuals	
ANNUALS	1822	02-February	9	12 papers	less tender Annuals	
ANNUALS	1822	02-February	9	24 Papers	Hardy Annuals	
ARBORVITAE	1824	11-November	13	12	Common Arborvitae	
ARBORVITAE	1819	12-December	1	6	China Arbor Vitae	
ARBORVITAE	1829	10-October	9	8	Large Arborvitus	
ARBUTUS	1824	11-November	13	12	White Arbutus	
ARBUTUS	1824	11-November	13	12	Scarlet Arbutus	
ARBUTUS	1824	11-November	13	4	Arbutus Andrachni	
ARBUTUS	1819	12-December	1	12	Arbutus	
ARBUTUS	1829	10-October	9	8	Arbutus	
ARTICHOKE	1817	05-May	2	50	Globe Artichoke	
ASH	1820	03-March	25	12	Chinese Ash	
ASH	1827	04-April	2	50	Com: Ash	
ASH	1827	04-April	2	50	Mountain Ash	
ASH	1829	10-October	9	8	Large Ash	
AZALEA	1824	11-November	13	12	Yellow Azalea	
BARBERRY	1820	03-March	25	12	Barberries	
BASIL	1822	02-February	9	1oz	sweet Basil	
BAY	1830	09-September	15	100	Green Bays	
BEAN	1822	02-February	9	2 qrts	dutch dwf Beans	
BEAN	1822	02-February	9	4 lb	dutch dwf Beans	
BEAN	1822	02-February	9	4 qrts	Windsor Beans	
BEECH	1827	04-April	2	50	Beach	
BEGNONIA RADICANS	1824	11-November	13	3	Begonia Radicans	
BIRCH	1824	11-November	13	6	purple Birch	
BIRCH	1829	10-October	9	6	Birch	
BOX	1824	12-December	14	6	Box trees	
BOX	1824	11-November	13	25	large Box	
BOX	1820	03-March	25	24	Box of sorts	

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
BOX	1823	03-March	25	100	Box
BOX	1817	10-October	29	15	[Yos?] Box
BOX	1819	12-December	1	25	Box trees
BOX	1819	12-December	1	12	Minorca Box
BOX	1830	09-September	15	200	Green Box
BOX	1829	10-October	9	8	Box
BRAMBLE	1824	11-November	13	2	Dble Bramble
BROOM	1820	12-December	2	16	Spanish Broom
BROOM	1824	11-November	13	20	Spanish Brooms
BROOM	1816	10-October	30	6	Spanish Broom
BROOM	1817	03-March	8	12	Spanish Brooms
BROOM	1820	03-March	25	18	Spanish Brooms
BROOM	1823	03-March	25	12	Spanish Brooms
BROOM	1825	02-February	21	8	Spanish Broom
BROOM	1817	10-October	29	2	Spanish Brooms
BROOM	1819	12-December	1	12	Butchers Broom
BROOM	1830	09-September	15	100	Yellow Brooms
BUPLEURUM	1820	12-December	2	12	Bupleurum fruticosum
BUPLEURUM	1824	11-November	13	6	Bupleurums
BUPLEURUM	1822	02-February	9	25	Bupleurum fruticosum
BUPLEURUM	1819	12-December	1	6	Bupleurum fruticosum
CARROT	1822	02-February	9	8oz	crimson carrot
CARROT	1822	02-February	9	4oz	early Hare[?] Carrot
CAULIFLOWER	1820	03-March	25	1/2 oz	Cauliflower
CAULIFLOWER	1820	03-March	25	50	Cauliflower plants
CAULIFLOWER	1822	02-February	9	2oz	Cauliflower
CAULIFLOWER	1819	07-July	17	1oz	Cauliflower
CEDAR	1824	11-November	13	25	Red Cedars
CEDAR	1824	11-November	13	25	White Cedars [not delivered]
CEDAR	1829	10-October	9	12	Red Cedars
CELERY	1822	02-February	9	2oz	White solid Celery
CELERY	1822	02-February	9	2oz	Red solid Celery
CHERRY	1820	12-December	2	1	train'd Duke Cherry
CHERRY	1816	10-October	30	16	dwf Cherries
CHERRY	1822	02-February	9	4	dwf Cherries
CHERRY	1825	02-February	21	5	Dwarf Cherries
CHERRY	1818	01-January	27	3	dwf Cherries
CHESTNUT	1827	04-April	2	50	Horse Ches[t]nut
CHESTNUT	1827	04-April	2	25	Spanish Ches[t]nut
CINQUEFOIL	1820	03-March	25	12	Shrubby Cinquefoil
CINQUEFOIL	1817	03-March	8	6	Cinquefoil Shrub
CISTUS	1816	10-October	30	6	Gum Cistus
CISTUS	1823	03-March	25	20	Cistus of sorts
CISTUS	1820	03-March	25	24	Gum Cistus
CISTUS	1825	02-February	21	6	Gum Cistus
CISTUS	1829	10-October	9	6	Evergreen Cistus [?]
CLEMATIS	1820	12-December	2	2	Sweet Scented Clematis
CLEMATIS	1820	03-March	25	8	Sweet scented Clematis
CLEMATIS	1823	03-March	25	12	Clematis of sorts
CLEMATIS	1817	10-October	29	2	Sweet Clematis
CLOVER	1820	03-March	25	1 Gall	Dutch Clover
CLOVER	1822	04-April	5	1 Gal	Dutch Clover
CLOVER	1823	03-March	25	2 Gal	Dutch Clover
CLOVER	1825	02-February	21	2 Galls	White Dutch Clover
CLOVER	1825	03-March	28	18 lbs	Clover seed
CLOVER	1825	04-April	13	20 lbs	Clover seed
COBOEA	1820	03-March	25	6	Coboea Scandens

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
CORNUS ALBA	1817	03-March	8	6	Cornus Alba
CROCUS	1819	09-September	18	1,000	Crocus of sorts
CROCUS	1817	12-December	23	400	purple & Yellow Crocus's
CUCUMBER	1822	02-February	9	1oz	fine Cucumber
CYPRESS	1829	10-October	9	8	Cypress
DAHLIA	1820	03-March	25	12	fine double Dahlias
DAHLIA	1820	03-March	25	24	Single Dahlias
DAHLIA	1820	03-March	25	1/2 oz	Dahlia Seed
DAHLIA	1822	02-February	9	?	Dahlia seed
DOGWOOD	1820	03-March	25	12	Red Dogwoods
DOGWOOD	1823	03-March	25	12	Red Dogwood
DOGWOOD	1817	03-March	8	12	Dogwood
DOGWOOD	1829	10-October	9	2	Red Dogwood
DUTCH RUNNERS	1822	02-February	9	1 quart	dutch Runners
ELDER	1829	10-October	7	8	Elders
ELM	1820	12-December	2	20	English Elms
ELM	1824	12-December	14	12	English Elms
ELM	1824	11-November	13	12	large Elms 10 .. 12 ft
ELM	1823	03-March	25	20	English Elms
ELM	1822	02-February	9	25	Elms.
ELM	1829	10-October	9	6	Large Elms
EUONYMOUS	1820	12-December	2	16	Red berried Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1824	11-November	13	12	Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1816	10-October	30	6	Red Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1817	03-March	8	12	Red berried Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1817	03-March	8	6	White Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1820	03-March	25	18	Red berried Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1823	03-March	25	12	Euonymous -
EUONYMOUS	1825	02-February	21	8	Red Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1817	10-October	29	2	Red Berry'd Euonymous
EUONYMOUS	1818	03-March	4	6	Red Euonymous
FIR	1824	12-December	14	100	Scarlet fir
FIR	1827	04-April	2	100	Scotch Fir
FIR	1829	10-October	9	8	Large Fir
FIR	1829	10-October	7	25	Scotch Fir
FIR	1824	12-December	18	100	Scarlet Fir
GERANIUM	1824	12-December	14	1	Bavarian Geranium
GERANIUM	1817	10-October	29	1	Geranium Helen by name
GLADIOLI	1819	09-September	18	36	Gladiolus
GRASS	1825	04-April	8	2 lbs	Grass Seed
GRASS	1820	12-December	2	12	Groundsill trees
GRASS	1817	03-March	8	12	Groundsill Trees N Am.
GRASS	1820	03-March	25	12	Groundsill Trees
GRASS	1823	03-March	25	20	Groundsill trees ? Baccharis
GRASS	1825	02-February	21	6	Groundsill Trees halimifolia
GRASS	1818	03-March	4	6	Groundsill trees
GRASS	1819	12-December	1	12	Groundsill Trees
HEPATICAS	1820	03-March	25	36	Hepaticas of sorts
HERBACIOUS	1820	03-March	25	200	Herbacious plants — x
HOLLY	1824	12-December	14	3	Striped Hollies
HOLLY	1824	11-November	13	25	large Green Hollies
HOLLY	1824	11-November	13	25	large Striped Hollies
HOLLY	1820	03-March	25	18	Strip'd Hollies
HOLLY	1823	03-March	25	10	Striped Hollies
HOLLY	1825	02-February	21	6	Striped Hollies
HOLLY	1817	10-October	29	8	Striped Hollies
HOLLY	1827	04-April	2	5	Comm: Holly

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
HONEYSUCKLE	1820	12-December	2	30	Dwf Honeysuckle
HONEYSUCKLE	1824	11-November	13	6	Late Honeysuckles
HONEYSUCKLE	1824	11-November	13	8	Evergreen Honeysuckles
HONEYSUCKLE	1816	10-October	30	12	Dutch Honeysuckles
HONEYSUCKLE	1817	10-October	29	6	Honeysuckles
HONEYSUCKLE	1817	03-March	8	12	Dutch Honeysuckle
HYACINTH	1816	10-October	30	6	Dble Hyacinths
HYACINTH	1822	02-February	9	36	Hyacinths
HYACINTH	1817	12-December	23	36	best Hyacinths
HYACINTH	1818	11-November	11	24	Hyacinths
HYACINTH	1818	11-November	27	12	Hyacinths
HYACINTHS	1819	09-September	18	36	fine double Hyacinths by names
HYPERICUM	1820	03-March	25	18	Hypericum proliferum
HYPERICUM	1819	12-December	1	12	Hypericum frutex
IVY	1824	12-December	14	70	Ivys
IVY	1824	11-November	13	25	Irish Ivys
IVY	1822	04-April	5	24	Irish Ivies
IVY	1823	03-March	25	12	Irish Ivy
IVY	1823	03-March	25	12	Striped Ivy
IVY	1825	02-February	21	10	Irish Ivies
IVY	1824	12-December	18	20	Ivys
JAPONICA	1825	02-February	21	8	[Pyrus?] Japonica
JAPONICA	1825	02-February	21	8	Ancuba Japonica
JASMINE	1824	11-November	13	3	White jasmine
JASMINE	1824	11-November	13	3	Yellow Jasmines
JASMINE	1820	03-March	25	12	Common Jasmine
JASMINE	1817	10-October	29	8	White Jasmine
JONQUIL	1819	09-September	18	24	Jonquils
JUNIPER	1824	11-November	13	25	large Junipers
JUNIPER	1824	11-November	13	6	Swedish Junipers
LABURNUM	1820	03-March	25	24	Laburnums
LABURNUM	1823	03-March	25	12	Laburnums of sorts
LABURNUM	1825	02-February	21	6	Laburnums
LABURNUM	1817	03-March	8	12	Laburnums
LABURNUM	1818	03-March	4	6	Liburnums
LABURNUM	1829	10-October	7	12	Laburnums
LARKSPUR	1822	02-February	9	1oz	dwf Larkspur
LARKSPUR	1827	04-April	1	1oz	Larkspur
LARKSPUR	1828	03-March	5	2 pints	Larkspur
LAUREL	1824	12-December	14	100	Common Laurels
LAUREL	1824	11-November	13	150	large Laurels
LAUREL	1820	03-March	25	24	Common Laurels
LAUREL	1819	12-December	1	50	Common Laurels
LAUREL	1829	10-October	9	6	Laurels
LAUREL	1829	10-October	9	8	portugal Laurels
LAUREL	1829	10-October	7	25	Laurels
LAUREL	1824	12-December	18	50	Laurels
LAURUSTINUS	1820	12-December	2	30	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1824	12-December	14	3	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1824	11-November	13	100	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1820	03-March	25	18	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1822	02-February	9	25	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1823	03-March	25	12	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1825	02-February	21	10	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1817	03-March	8	12	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1817	10-October	29	8	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1818	03-March	4	6	Laurustinus

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
LAURUSTINUS	1819	12-December	1	20	Laurustinus
LAURUSTINUS	1829	10-October	9	1	Large Laurustinus
LILAC	1816	10-October	30	4	White Lilacs
LILAC	1816	10-October	30	4	Purple Lilacs
LILAC	1816	10-October	30	8	Persian Lilacs
LILAC	1820	03-March	25	12	Purple Persian Lilacs
LILAC	1825	02-February	21	8	Persian Lilacs
LILAC	1824	02-February	21	4	blue Lilacs
LILAC	1823	03-March	25	30	Lilac of sorts
LILAC	1820	03-March	25	12	Siberian Lilacs
LILAC	1820	03-March	25	12	White Persian Lilacs
LILAC	1820	03-March	25	12	Purple Lilacs
LILAC	1817	03-March	8	12	Lilacs
LILAC	1817	03-March	8	12	Persian lilacs
LILAC	1817	10-October	29	1	Purple Lilac
LILAC	1817	10-October	29	1	White Lilac
LILAC	1817	10-October	29	3	purple persian lilac
LILAC	1818	03-March	4	6	purple lilacs
LILAC	1829	10-October	9	6	Lilacs
LILAC	1818	03-March	4	6	Siberian Lilacs
LILAC	1815	02-February	21	4	blue Lilacs
LIME	1829	10-October	7	8	Limes
LINUM	1817	10-October	29	1	Linum Fla????
LIQUID AMBER	1819	12-December	1	6	Liquid Amber
LUPIN	1822	02-February	9	1 pt	Lupins
MAGNOLIA	1824	11-November	13	2	Magnolia purple
MAGNOLIA	1824	11-November	13	2	Magnolia [tripitata?]
MAJORAM	1822	02-February	9	1oz	sweet Majoram
MAJORAM	1817	10-October	29	12	Majoram
MAPLE	1829	10-October	9	6	Maples
MIGNONETTE	1822	02-February	9	4oz	Mignonette
MIGNONETTE	1827	04-April	2	2oz	Mignonette
MIGNONETTE	1828	03-March	5	1	Mignonette
MORILLA	1817	12-December	23	4	Morillas
MUSTARD	1822	02-February	9	4qts	Mustard
MYRTLE	1819	12-December	1	12	Candleberry Myrtle
NARCISSUS	1816	10-October	30	6	Narciss of sorts
NARCISSUS	1818	11-November	27	12	Narciss
OAK	1824	11-November	13	25	large Evergreen oak
OAK	1820	03-March	25	12	Evergreen Oak
OAK	1829	10-October	7	6	Oaks
OAK	1829	10-October	9	6	Turkey oaks
OAK	1830	09-September	15	100	Evergreen Oaks
ONION	1822	02-February	9	8oz	White Portugal onion
PARSNIP	1822	02-February	9	2oz	Parsnip
PASSION FLOWER	1820	12-December	2	2	Passion flowers
PASSION FLOWER	1817	03-March	8	4	passion flowers
PASSION FLOWER	1817	10-October	29	2	Passion flowers
PASSION FLOWER	1820	03-March	25	6	passion flower
PEA	1822	02-February	9	2 qts	Spanish do [seed] of peas
PEAR	1817	12-December	23	1	Jergonelle Pear
PEAR	1817	12-December	23	1	Brown Beuri pear
PEAR	1820	12-December	2	3	train'd Pears
PERRIWINKLE	1819	12-December	1	12	Perriwinkle
PHILLYREA	1824	12-December	14	3	Phyllerea
PHILLYREA	1825	02-February	21	6	Phyllirea
PHILLYREA	1817	03-March	8	12	Phillyreas

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
PHILLYREA	1820	03-March	25	24	Phyllereas
PHILLYREA	1817	03-March	8	6	Phillyreas of sorts
PHILLYREA	1817	10-October	29	4	Phillyreas
PHILLYREA	1823	03-March	25	12	Phillyreas
PHILLYREA	1820	12-December	2	18	Phillyreas of sorts
PHILLYREA	1824	11-November	13	25	Phillyreas
PHILLYREA	1829	10-October	9	14	Phyllereas
PINE	1824	11-November	13	50	Maratine Pine
POLYANTHUS	1819	09-September	18	24	Polyanthus Narciss
POPLAR	1829	10-October	7	4	Black poplars
POWDERED BEAUX	1820	03-March	25	6	Powdered Beaux
PRIVET	1820	12-December	2	100	Privet
PRIVET	1824	11-November	13	100	Evergreen Privet
PRIVET	1816	10-October	30	18	Privets
PRIVET	1824	12-December	14	100	Evergreen Privets
PRIVET	1817	03-March	8	18	Privets
PRIVET	1820	03-March	25	36	Privet
PRIVET	1823	03-March	25	25	Privets
PRIVET	1822	02-February	9	150	Evergreen Privet
PRIVET	1825	02-February	21	23	Privets
PRIVET	1827	04-April	2	100	Privet
PRIVET	1829	10-October	9	1	Large China privet
PRIVET	1829	10-October	9	100	Large Privets
PYRACANTHAS	1825	02-February	21	8	Pyracanthas
RADISH	1820	03-March	25	1 pint	Red Turnip Radish
RADISH	1822	02-February	9	1 qrt	scarlet Radish
RADISH	1817	05-May	2	1 pint	Scarlet Turnip Radish
RADISH	1817	10-October	29	1 pt	long white Radish
RADISH	1819	07-July	17	1 pt	Red turnip Radish
RADISH	1822	02-February	9	1 qrt	Red turnip Radish
RAMPION	1819	07-July	17	?	Rampion
RANUNCULUS	1822	02-February	9	100	double Ranunculus
RANUNCULUS	1819	09-September	18	150	best mixed Ranunculus
RED CURRANT	1822	04-April	5	12	Red Currants
RHODODENDRON	1824	11-November	13	25	Rhododendrons
RHODODENDRON	1824	11-November	13	1	large striped Rhododendron
RHODODENDRON	1824	11-November	13	1	large [ponticum?] Rhododendron
ROBINIA CARAGANA	1824	11-November	13	4	Robinia Caragana
ROSE	1820	12-December	2	48	Moss Roses
ROSE	1824	11-November	13	12	Evergreen Roses
ROSE	1824	11-November	13	50	Roses sorts
ROSE	1824	11-November	13	25	Moss Roses
ROSE	1824	11-November	13	20	Double Scotch Roses
ROSE	1825	2-February	21	18	Moss Roses
ROSE	1820	03-March	25	50	Moss Roses
ROSE	1820	03-March	25	12	Guilder Rose
ROSE	1820	03-March	25	36	China Roses
ROSE	1823	03-March	25	12	Moss Roses
ROSE	1824	11-November	13	15	Strong China Rose
ROSE	1817	03-March	8	18	Moss Roses
ROSE	1817	10-October	29	12	Moss Roses
ROSEMARY	1819	12-December	1	12	Rosemary
SALT TREES	1819	12-December	1	4	Salt trees
SAVIN	1819	12-December	1	12	Savin
SCARLET THORN	1824	12-December	14	2	Scarlet Thorns
SEA BUCKTHORN	1820	12-December	2	18	Sea Buckthorn
SEA BUCKTHORN	1816	10-October	30	6	Sea Buckthorns

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
SEA BUCKTHORN	1820	03-March	25	12	Sea Buckthorn
SEA BUCKTHORN	1825	02-February	21	6	Sea Buckthorn
SEA BUCKTHORN	1818	03-March	4	12	Sea Buckthorns
SEA BUCKTHORN	1819	12-December	1	20	Sea Buckthorn
SEA BUCKTHORN	1823	03-March	25	50	Sea Buckthorn
SEEDS MISC	1820	12-December	2	?	Garden & Flower Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1817	03-March	8	?	Flower & other Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1822	04-April	5	8 Papers	flower seeds
SEEDS MISC	1825	02-February	21	?	Garden Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1825	02-February	21	?	Flower Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1823	05-May	16	?	Flower Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1818	03-March	4	?	Garden & Flower seed
SEEDS MISC	1819	09-September	18	?	Kitchen Garden Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1827	04-April	2	40	Sorts tender Annual Flower Seed
SEEDS MISC	1827	04-April	2	24	Hardy Annual Flower Seed
SEEDS MISC	1827	04-April	2	16	Hardy Annual Flower Seed
SEEDS MISC	1828	03-March	5	28	Sorts of flower Seeds
SEEDS MISC	1828	03-March	5	45	Sorts of flower Seeds Hardy
SEEDS MISC	1820	02-February	12	?	Garden & flower Seeds
SENNA	1820	12-December	2	16	Bladder Senna
SENNA	1820	12-December	2	18	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1816	10-October	30	4	Bladder Senna
SENNA	1816	10-October	30	4	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1817	03-March	8	12	Bladder Senna
SENNA	1817	03-March	8	12	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1820	03-March	25	18	Bladder Senna
SENNA	1820	03-March	25	18	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1823	03-March	25	12	Bladder Senna
SENNA	1823	03-March	25	12	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1825	02-February	21	6	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1817	10-October	29	4	Scorpian Senna
SENNA	1818	03-March	4	6	Pococks Bladder senna
SENNA	1829	10-October	7	6	Blad[d]er Senna
SENNA	1818	03-March	4	6	Scorpian Senna
SHALOT	1820	03-March	25	1 lb	Shalots
SNOW DROP	1817	12-December	23	200	Snow Drops
SNOWBALL TREE	1824	11-November	13	12	Snow Ball trees
SNOWBERRIES	1829	10-October	9	12	Snowberries
SOUTHERNWOOD	1819	12-December	1	12	Southernwood
SPINACH	1822	02-February	9	1 pt	Round Spinach
SPINACH	1822	02-February	9	1/2 pt	prickly Spinach
SPINACH	1819	07-July	17	1/2 pt	Spinach
SPRUCE	1829	10-October	7	25	Spruce
ST JOHNS WORT	1820	12-December	2	20	St John's Wort
ST JOHNS WORT	1817	03-March	8	12	St John's wort
ST JOHNS WORT	1820	03-March	25	12	St John's Wort
ST JOHNS WORT	1822	02-February	9	50	Broad leaf St John's Wort
ST JOHNS WORT	1819	12-December	1	12	St John's Wort
ST JOHNS WORT	1829	10-October	9	6	St Johnswort
ST PETERS WORT	1819	12-December	1	12	St Peter's wort
STAR OF BETHLEHEM	1819	09-September	18	36	Star of Bethlehem
STONE CROP	1817	03-March	8	6	Stone Crop Trees
STONE CROP	1819	12-December	1	6	Stone Crop Trees
SUMACH	1819	12-December	1	12	Myrtle leaf sumach
SUMACH	1817	03-March	8	6	Venus Sumach
SUMACH	1829	10-October	7	10	Stagshorn Shomacks
SWEET BAY	1824	12-December	14	4	Sweet Bays

<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>QTY</u>	<u>PLANT ENTRY</u>
SWEET BAY	1824	11-November	13	25	large Sweet Bays
SWEET BAY	1820	03-March	25	12	Sweet Bay
SWEET BAY	1823	03-March	25	6	Sweet Bay
SWEET BAY	1825	02-February	21	6	Sweet bays
SWEET BAY	1819	12-December	1	10	Sweet Bay
SWEET BRIAR	1816	10-October	30	12	Sweet briar
SWEET BRIAR	1820	03-March	25	24	Sweet Briar
SWEET BRIAR	1817	10-October	29	18	Sweet Briars
SWEET BRIAR	1818	03-March	4	6	Sweet briars
SWEET PEA	1822	02-February	9	1 pt	Sweet Peas
SWEET PEA	1827	04-April	2	2oz	Sweet Peas
SWEET PEA	1827	04-April	6	1 Pint	Sweet peas
SWEET PEA	1828	03-March	5	1/2 pint	Sweet peas
SYCAMORE	1829	10-October	9	6	Sycamore
SYRINGA	1816	10-October	30	6	Syringas
SYRINGA	1820	12-December	2	24	Syringas
SYRINGA	1820	03-March	25	18	Dwf Syringas
SYRINGA	1825	02-February	21	18	White Syringas
SYRINGA	1817	10-October	29	4	Syringas
SYRINGA	1829	10-October	9	6	Syringas
SYRINGA	1817	03-March	8	18	Syringas
SYRINGA	1820	03-March	25	36	Syringas
TAMARISK	1820	12-December	2	24	Tamarisk
TAMARISK	1816	10-October	30	6	Tamarisk
TAMARISK	1820	03-March	25	36	Tamarisk 2 sorts
TAMARISK	1823	03-March	25	25	Tamarisks
TAMARISK	1825	02-February	21	8	Tamarisk
TAMARISK	1818	03-March	4	6	Tamarisk
TAMARISK	1819	12-December	1	24	Ramarisk
TAMARISK	1817	03-March	8	13	Tamarisk
THYME	1822	02-February	9	12	plants Thyme
THYME	1822	02-February	9	12	plants Lemon Thyme
THYME	1817	10-October	29	12	Thyme
TIGER LILY	1820	12-December	2	48	Tyger Lilies
TIGER LILY	1823	12-December	4	4 doz	tiger Lilies
TURNIP	1822	02-February	9	4oz	early dutch turnip
TURNIP	1822	02-February	9	4oz	yellow stone turnip
TURNIP	1822	02-February	9	4oz	early Stone turnip
VIBURNUM	1824	11-November	13	6	Viburnums [not delivered]
VIBURNUM	1820	03-March	25	12	Viburnums of sorts
VIBURNUM	1823	03-March	25	12	Viburnums of sorts
VIBURNUM	1825	02-February	21	6	Viburnum
VIBURNUM	1817	03-March	8	12	Viburnums
VIOLET	1821	04-April	4	?	Cash paid for Violets
VIRGINIA CREEPER	1824	11-November	13	3	Virginia Creepers
VIRGINIA CREEPER	1816	10-October	30	4	Virginia Creepers
VIRGINIA CREEPER	1820	03-March	25	6	Virginia Creepers
WAX TREE	1819	12-December	1	3	Wax trees
WILLOW	1829	10-October	7	2	Weeping Willows
WINTER SAVORY	1822	02-February	9	24	Plants Winter Savory
YEW	1829	10-October	9	4	Large Yews

21 APPENDIX 7 RESEARCH RESOURCES FOR REGENCY GARDENS

To understand hardy planting of the late C18/early C19 period Mark Laird's work is seminal. His book *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden English Pleasure Grounds 1720-1800* (1999) is an essential guide, together with Mavis Batey's *Regency Gardens* (1995). John Harvey's research provides further details of plants available at various times and identifies modern names where the names are obscure in the historic sources.

Of historic published sources on garden design and planting, many are available as facsimiles (often print-on-demand) or as full text digital editions online, such as at archive.org. Contemporary plant and seed catalogues are helpful to indicate the range of material available, and are pleasingly similar to today's catalogues, but they do not indicate the contemporary popularity or plant associations.

Little was published about the detailed arrangement of varieties of plants in schemes, the most helpful including schemes in Swinden's catalogue of annuals, and herbaceous plants (1778) and the introduction to Phillips' *Sylva Florifera* (1823). Humphry Repton wrote remarkably little about individual plants or their associations (he was no plantsman) and most of his Red Books and publications are unhelpful in this respect. His most useful sources are the illustrations that show the general disposition of types of planting, whether in his published books, the Red Books or the little engraved vignettes from Peacock's *Polite Repository*.

Prince Pückler-Muskau published a lavishly illustrated book on Reptonian style as he interpreted it from the 1820s in his estate on the present German/Polish border. While it is a useful source on flower gardens and landscape design based in early nineteenth-century theory and practice (he visited many British parks and gardens), it was published after the period, was not available in English until 1917, and so was not influential here.

21.1 BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR GARDENS OF THE REGENCY PERIOD RELEVANT TO THE ROYAL PAVILION

These contextual sources are largely relatively easily available in hard copy, or digital form via the internet.

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 Nash, J 1820 *Views of the Brighton Pavilion* (reprinted 1991 with commentary by G Jackson-Stops, London: Pavilion)
 Pückler-Muskau, Hermann, Prince von 1834 *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgartnerei* (republished in translation as *Hints on Landscape Gardening* 2014, Birkhauser, Basel). <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/-4337/1>
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Contemporary Plant Lists and Catalogues

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Perfect, William & John 1777 *A Catalogue of Forest-Trees, Fruit-Trees, Ever-Green and Flowering-Shrubs* (York)
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Swinden, Nathaniel 1778 *The beauties of Flora display'd: ... a catalogue of seeds* (facsim edn Ecco Print, nd).

Telford, John & George 1775 *A Catalogue of Forest-Trees, Fruit-Trees, Ever-Green and Flowering-Shrubs* (York)
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Weston, Richard 1775 *The English Flora: Or a Catalogue of Trees, Shrubs, Plants and Fruits, Natives as Well as Exotics*. London (facsim edn Ecco Print, nd).

Secondary Sources

A selection of the most relevant and rigorous sources appropriate for the circumstances of the Royal Pavilion are given below.

The secondary sources given below concentrate on indicating a typical planting palette and advice on arrangement of the period.

Antram, N, Morrice, R 2009 *Pevsner's Architectural Guides Brighton and Hove*.

Batey, Mavis 1995 *Regency Gardens*. Princes Risborough: Shire.

Berry, S, 'The Seaside Resorts of Sussex c.1730-1815: Resort Development & Military Defences on the South Coast of England', *The Georgian Group Journal* vol. 28 (2020), 157-76.

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22 APPENDIX 8 HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT GUIDANCE & METHODOLOGY

22.1 WHY ASSESS IMPACT ON HERITAGE?

- An Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) is carried out to make sure that the ‘significance’ of the garden is not damaged by change and that any unavoidable damage is mitigated.
- The aim is to conserve and enhance significant built and landscape features and the garden’s essential character, while balancing heritage and other values within existing or potential resources.
- Conservation means the process of managing change, not stopping change, but any change should be managed within the context defined by the Conservation Plan
- The Conservation Plan is a tool to help that process. It should be a live document.

22.2 WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE?

- The significance is what is special and distinctive as defined in the Conservation Plan and forms the essential designed landscape character.
- Significance means the value we give to the garden’s landscape, its historic buildings, trees, views, archaeology, ecology and use - both physical condition and our ability to understand and appreciate that value.
- The defining features of the garden (4.3) relate to the setting of King George IV’s marine pleasure pavilion and its nearby buildings, all evoking an exuberant Indian style. These contrast with the Picturesque Forest Scenery style of Nash’s garden design, which still survives as the strongest character and has been enhanced by later ornamental additions.
- The relative significance of features is set out in sections 5.3. and 10 above. Generally the highest significance relates to Nash’s layout by 1830 and should have the highest protection. Significant values include ecology, archaeology, community understanding and enjoyment as well as heritage, both built and landscape.
- The essential character of each area should be defined and used to guide management and proposals for changes.

Two approaches to assessing impacts are set out below: a simplified method for smaller changes and a full, rigorous method for major interventions.

22.3 SIMPLE METHOD FOR SMALLER CHANGES

Answer this checklist before deciding to make a change and report to Trustees.

- What is the change proposed?
- What are the features affected by this change?
- Are the features of high, medium, low or no significance or even damaging? (sections 5.3. and 10 above)
- Will the change add to or detract from the feature?
- Will the change enhance or damage the essential character of the area?.
- Is the change consistent with the Picturesque character established by Nash and the subsequent changes that did not damage this character?
- If the change damages significant features or the essential character, can the plans be altered?

Responsibility and procedure to be agreed.

22.4 FULL METHOD

Use this for major interventions and certainly for those which require planning permission.

Description of Column headings in schedule below:

Column 1: Area

Numbers of character areas affected

Column 2: Character Area name

Column 3: Proposal

A brief description of proposed works and summary of relevant historic information.

Column 4: Significant elements

Significant elements affected, as identified in sections 5.3. and 10 above

Column 5: Significance to the Landscape Design

The levels of significance are defined sections 5.3. and 10 above.

- A Very significant: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest.
- B Significant: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the estate.
- C Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity.
- D Not historically significant.
- INT Damages the historic character.

Column 6: Potential impact

Significant improvement: major repairs and enhancement to the appearance setting and perception of the most significant elements of fabric, and overall character, including major improvement to management and maintenance and to interpretation, resulting in a fundamental improvement in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource and its historical context and setting;

Perceptible improvement: repairs and enhancement to condition, appearance and perception of significant elements of fabric and improved management and interpretation, resulting in an appreciable change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource and its historical context and setting;

No perceptible change: continuation of current conditions; changes which do not impact on condition, appearance and perception of significant features and aspects, resulting in a negligible change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource and its historical context and setting;

Minor change: Impacts which create dis-benefits and benefits; repairs and enhancement to the appearance setting and perception of some significant elements but also some damage to fabric and landscape character resulting in a small change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource;

Moderate change: Impacts which result in the destruction of some significant landscape features or aspects of the garden including structures, landform and structural planting, resulting in an appreciable change in our ability to understand and appreciate the *resource; and*

Major change: Impacts which result in the permanent loss of the most significant landscape features or aspects of the garden including structures, landform, structural planting and loss of landscape character, resulting in a fundamental change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource and its historical context and setting.

Column 7: Type of impact

This assesses the positive and harmful impacts taking into account the extent and type of impact and the significance of the elements affected, as follows:

Substantial Positive: Significant improvement in the condition of a Grade I or II* registered park, conservation area or in the condition and setting of I/II* listed structures; improved management to secure the long term future of an important registered park.

Moderate Positive: Perceptible improvement in the condition of a Grade I or II* registered park, Conservation Area or in the condition and setting of I/II* listed structures; improved management to secure the long term future of a nationally important registered park. Significant improvement to Grade II sites and features.

Minor Positive: Perceptible improvement in the condition of a Grade II registered park, Conservation Area or in the condition and setting of grade II or locally listed structures; improved management to secure the long term future of a locally/regionally important site.

Neutral: No perceptible change in condition or setting of designated landscapes and setting of designated structures.

Minor change: Impacts which create dis-benefits and benefits; ...resulting in a small change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource (this could apply to some aspects of temporary features or events*);

Moderate change: Impacts which result in a major change or the destruction of some significant landscape features ...resulting in an appreciable change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource (could be the result of temporary events*); and

Major change: Impacts which result in the permanent loss of the most significant landscape features ...resulting in a fundamental change in our ability to understand and appreciate the resource and its historical context and setting (could be the result of temporary events*).

* NB Cumulative impact of repeated interventions or events should also be considered.

Column 8: Policy

Refers to relevant conservation policies from Section 14 above and Section 5 in the 2018 CBA CMP.

Column 9: Mitigation

Proposed mitigation of impacts, where required. Eg archaeological watching brief, recording, interpretation, relocation/replacement. Commentary including summary of relevant historic information, public benefits such as improvements to views and setting, enhanced use etc

Column 10: Information needed

Further information required, such as surveys or research, to ensure adverse impact are avoided.

Sample HIA table headings in pro forma

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Area No.	Character Area	Proposal	Significant elements	Significance of element	Potential Impact	Type of Impact	Policy	Mitigation	Information needed

23 APPENDIX 9 ANALYSIS OF TREES

23.1 SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

This study has been carried out by Sarah Couch with Sarah Rutherford. It provides analyses data from the trees on site to identify evidence of the history, phasing and significance of the tree collection. This leads to recommendations to manage the collection in the long term to retain and enhance its significance.

The analysis is based on site visits by the authors to inform a review of data in the 2022 tree survey by Greenspace Ecological Solutions alongside historical documentary evidence, in particular the early C19 plant lists for the Nash scheme (Appendix 6) and myriad historic images of the garden showing the changing tree cover.

Peter Bourne, local elm expert and Volunteer Curator, National Elm Collection, on behalf of Brighton & Hove and Plant Heritage, provided valuable assistance in the identification of the elm trees. He generously provided many historic images of the elms in the garden, attended site and shared his knowledge of the history of the trees, adding some planting dates. This allowed a refinement of growth rates and estimation of planting dates.

In most cases the dating is a best estimate and could be refined further as more evidence emerges. The tree schedule included below illustrates this analysis.

This information was assessed together with analysis of historic map overlays and other documentary evidence to develop an understanding of the phases of planting, their significance and how these relate to the Nash design and later phases. This report is illustrated with images and maps and concludes with broad recommendations.

Head Gardener Rob Boyle and Landscape Architect to the project James Penney (Scott Allen Landscape Architects) have also provided valuable information and discussed issues.

23.2 KEY FINDINGS: COLLECTION AND SPECIES GENERALLY

- 96 individual trees are recorded in 2022 and one group of yew.
- Elm comprises 44% of specimens, 42 trees. They still dominate though many mature specimens have been lost since the 1970s.
- 10 limes form the second dominant species.
- The remaining 46% of trees comprise a few specimens each of twenty different species of varied size, form and date of introduction.
- Several exotics; some were not available when Nash's designs were laid out by Aiton. More recently introduced trees include Chusan Palm *Trachycarpus fortunei* (introduced 1836), *Tilia euchlora* (introduced 1836) and Monterey Pine *Pinus radiata* (intr. 1833). Many elm hybrids and cultivars are of recent origin.
- *Koelreuteria paniculata* (Pride of India) is a distinctive species with 4 specimens. It was introduced in 1763 but these trees date to the later C20. The oldest and best formed is T15, in front of the Dome. They may reflect the Pavilion's connection with India when a hospital for wounded Indian soldiers during World War I.
- Conifers have not always thrived, possibly due to the lime-rich soils, although there is imported soil in places. E.g. two donated *Pinus pinaster* have not survived. Two young *Pinus radiata* are present.
- 9 donated trees of various species appear in the tree survey; one is affected by ash dieback, a weeping willow is in poor condition and some trees are poorly located. Two other donated trees are not included in the tree survey: a small Thuja and a Magnolia (planted 1994, a recommended Regency species) on the Kings Lawn which obscures the view of the Pavilion. It is a poor specimen and affected by wind scorch from the seafront. It could be relocated to a more sheltered position.³⁷

³⁷ Information from Rob Boyle 03.10.22.

List of trees in the gardens based on the 2022 survey

Species	number	% of population	Date introduced	If available by 1821
Elm	42	44		y/n
Lime	10	10	1860/N	y/n
<i>Trachycarpus fortunei</i>	5	5	1836	n
Acer	4	4	1683	y
Betula	4	4	N	y
<i>Koelreuteria paniculata</i>	4	4	1763	y
Platanus	4	4	1550-1660	y
Prunus	3	3	var	y/n
<i>Quercis cerris</i>	3	3	1735	y
Aesculus	2	2	1616	y
<i>Pinus radiata</i>	2	2	1833	n
<i>Populus alba</i>	2	2	early	y
<i>Robinia pseudoacacia</i>	2	2	1636	y
<i>Taxus baccata</i>	1	1	N	y
<i>Carpinus betulus</i>	1	1	N	y
<i>Crataegus</i>	1	1	N	y
<i>Fraxinus</i>	1	1	N	y
<i>Juglans regia</i>	1	1	early	y
<i>Laurus nobilis</i>	1	1	1562	y
<i>Salix X chrysocoma</i>	1	1	N	y
<i>Sophora japonica</i>	1	1	1753	y
<i>Sorbus aucuparia</i>	1	1	N	y
	96			

23.3 AGE OF TREES IN THE GARDEN

The planting dates have been assessed from a range of sources, but in many cases this is an informed estimate in the absence of documentary or site evidence. Even so, it indicates relative phases and survival, and the table below relates this to the main phases of the garden's development. See also Figures 1 and 2 for distribution of phases.

23.4 THREATS TO TREES

Although Brighton is unique and largely successful to date in protecting much of its elm collection from Dutch elm disease (DED) it is an ongoing threat and historic specimens continue to be lost. The high proportion of elm makes these trees, already susceptible to DED, as a major part of the historic design and population particularly vulnerable to specific threats to this genus. While new forms are resistant to DED they may not conform to the appearance of the historically used specimens.

Other threats such as weather events are also a threat. Brighton was particularly badly affected by the storm of October 1987 when overall a great many trees were lost including many mature elms, and again in the storm of January 1990. Climate change poses threats from extreme weather events, such as drought and storms, and pathogens affecting many species. Increase in average temperature means that some species will not grow well while others, particularly from southern Europe will thrive.

Planning for resilience of the tree cover should include less reliance on a single genus and thus a greater proportion of other historically appropriate species and varieties, using those which are resilient to prevailing pathogens, climate warming and extreme weather events. Where non-historic varieties are the only option for replacing historic

varieties then they should be chosen to evoke the historic appearance.

23.5 SUMMARY OF AGE OF TREE POPULATION

1. Three trees (T47, 02, 84) are likely to pre-date 1787 when the Prince of Wales arrived in Brighton and when the town had hardly begun to develop. At that time there was little tree cover in Brighton.
2. The two next oldest specimens (T01, 43) are pre-1850 and probably planted by 1830.
3. These five earliest specimens are elm and were incorporated by Nash in his scheme.
4. Another nine trees were probably planted by 1900, all elm and lime.
5. Only 14 trees survive from before 1900 out of a dense population established by then which is shown on images, particularly postcards and other photographs.
6. 85% of the trees on site were planted after 1900.
7. The majority (66%) of the trees on site were planted since about 1950.
8. **Conclusion: very few trees survive that were incorporated in the Nash layout of 1826. These have the highest significance both as elm specimens and to the historic design.**

23.6 COMPARISON WITH 1817-1829 PLANT LISTS³⁸

Of the tree species listed in the plant lists transcribed by Jessica Rutherford (see Appendix 6) the following are no longer present in the garden:

Acacia (unless this is *Robinia pseudoacacia* or Locust tree)

Beech

Sweet chestnut

Cypress (probably)

Firs and pines, including Scots pine *P. sylvestris* and maritime pine (*P. pinaster*)

Liquidambar

Oak (probably *Q. robur*) and evergreen oak (*Q. cerris*)

Poplar

23.7 APPROPRIATE SPECIES FOR REPLANTING

Of these *Pinus sylvestris*, *P. pinaster*, Liquidambar and *Robinia pseudoacacia* are appropriate to replant here in the mixed Regency shrubbery which favoured contrasting colour and foliage. These trees, with the exception of Liquidambar were recommended by Phillips, a major source for guiding Regency planting. He also recommended almond, elm, hornbeam, judas tree, laburnum, lilac, magnolia, mountain ash and sumach.³⁹

13 species listed in the 1800s (Appendix 6) are present.

24 trees present now were not listed in 1817-1829, including several of the newer elms.

23.8 HISTORY OF BRIGHTON'S ELMS TREES

Documentary evidence in particular images clearly shows how significant elms were and remain in the design of the Pavilion gardens. In order to understand the wider reasons for this significance is essential to understand the history of elms locally in Brighton.

The significance of the oldest trees in the gardens derives from their origins as part the wider Brighton context. Elms were not part of the scenery before Brighton developed significantly as a place of resort from the late C18 and early C19 onwards. Rob Greenland, former Arboriculturist with Brighton Borough Council in the 1970s and 1980s, explains that 'before 1800, Brighton had no significant tree cover apart from a few Elms growing on the dairy field that now houses the Royal Pavilion, in the Old farm Yard above North Street and the Vicarage Garden near Market Street. These were the only significant trees in existence at that time.'⁴⁰

Thus the three earliest specimens in the garden represent elements of this sparse late-C18 tree cover in the area, which existed in advance of the later dense population. **This rarity makes their genetic material historically highly significant as the remains of a small population of indigenous elm, in contrast to the vast number of elm which were planted in the C19 and C20.**

From the early C19 onwards the great planting of elm in Brighton accelerated, particularly in the public realm. The Prince Regent contributed to funding a public tree planting programme in the Steine in 1817, laid out by his own gardener. From the mid-C19 extensive tree planting in the public realm included several hundred elm trees in the North Level (now The Level) and five years later many elms in Elm Grove. They were particularly suited to the climate and soil conditions. Given the harsh salty winds, Mr Greenland adds that 'The fact that Elms are recorded growing in Brighton prior to 1800 indicates that the species are hardy enough to cope and thrive in thin loam over virgin chalk and able to withstand this often harsh coastal environment, leading to high dependency on elms in the

³⁸ 1817-1829 plant list Appendix 6.

³⁹ Henry Phillips *Sylva Florifera* (1823). See also Appendix 5.

⁴⁰ <https://www.brightonelmtrees.com/the-beginning.html> accessed 29.09.22

Brighton area'.⁴¹

From the later C20 Brighton was fortunate to receive plant material of new varieties of elms, some of which were never commercially available, from Dutch botanists. Rob Greenland notes that J R B Evison, Director of the Parks and Gardens Department from 1951, can be credited with obtaining a number of varieties and cultivars from friends and colleagues abroad which were planted locally. 'He drew on the work of Hans Heijbroek a botanist and geneticist who was carrying out extensive studies with the genus *Ulmus* at the Dorschkamp Research Institute of Forestry and Environmental Planning in Wageningen, Holland. The liaison saw Brighton receive graftwood from several of the Dutch bred clones then available even though Evison preferred the Huntingdon Elm, *Ulmus x hollandica* 'Vegeta' that features heavily in the City's streets today.'

Thus by the advent of Dutch Elm Disease (DED) in the early 1970s Brighton had an enormous population of fine elm trees, much in the public realm. In the 1970s the council introduced a new and largely effective programme to control the highly infectious form of DED which was introduced by imported Rock Elm from North America. This was possible practically because of the barrier effect of the South Downs range to the north and the English Channel to the south. The success of the programme to fight the disease protected many thousands of elm trees throughout the city.⁴² Nevertheless local losses occurred in the severe outbreaks of DED in the 1970s, with over 500 lost in 1976 and over 600 in 1977. In addition, as many trees were lost to the 1987 storm as to the preceding years of DED. 2022 was the worst year for DED with over 700 losses.⁴³

In 1998 the city of Brighton and Hove was granted full National Collection status by Plant Heritage and holds over 17,000 elm trees. The Council extends the National Collection with new elms as they become available. Listed on the website are 13 species and over 100 subspecies, varieties, forms and cultivars with some recent hybrids which are known to have high resistance such as *U. 'New Horizon'* and *U. 'Rebona'*; these and other newer hybrids are not present in the Pavilion Garden. The website proposes over 100 for the collection: this list and other sources should be referred to in planning new planting.⁴⁴ Peter Bourne has highlighted four new Dutch and Spanish elms with high DED resistance, but not all have UK licenses in 2022. He is also in a programme with Plumpton Agricultural College to propagate elms and prepare cuttings for a DED-free nursery in Tenerife. They currently have 50 different elms with 100 more from Brighton and 100 from Edinburgh to be supplied.⁴⁵

Conclusion Because of the high survival of specimens and extensive variety of species and varieties in Brighton, the elm collection is of national and international significance. 'Brighton and Hove today can be likened to a living museum in that the city now holds the only significant population of Elm in England, some of the most notable individual Elms in Europe' (Rob Greenland).⁴⁶

Within this unique collection in Brighton and Hove the Pavilion Garden contains a highly significant collection both historically and botanically.

⁴¹ <https://www.brightonelm trees.com/the-beginning.html> accessed 29.09.22

⁴² <https://www.brighton-hove.gov.uk/libraries-leisure-and-arts/parks-and-green-spaces/national-elm-collection> accessed 28.09.22

⁴³ Peter Bourne pers.comm. 03.10.22 ; he explained that some changes to disease control and sale of infected firewood in the controlled area which contributed to recent DED spread.

⁴⁴ <https://www.brighton-hove.gov.uk/libraries-leisure-and-arts/parks-and-green-spaces/list-plants-elm-collection> accessed 28.09.22

⁴⁵ Peter Bourne pers.comm 2 October 2022. The Mayor of La Laguna is behind the Tenerife elm project to reuse redundant orchards.

⁴⁶ Op.cit. Peter Bourne has contacts with Noordplant nursery. <https://www.noordplant.nl/>

23.9 ELMs IN THE PAVILION GARDENS IN 2022

The 42 elms comprise 17 distinct species/hybrids/hybrid cultivars. The naming of elms is complex. Detailed work was undertaken in England by RH Richens.⁴⁷ He identified two of the 30 species occurring in England: the native *Ulmus glabra* (Wych elm) and the introduced *Ulmus minor* or field elm, often described as English elm. Identification has been refined over time and much of this is recorded in Wikipedia with well informed scholarly contributors; this has been used as a source of summary descriptions. Peter Bourne has assisted with identification for this project and also recommends the Bioportal Naturalis website.⁴⁸

The largest group in the garden is of English/Field elms (*Ulmus minor*). This includes the oldest trees on the site.

English/Field elm 14 total (*Ulmus minor* group). These are highly susceptible to DED.

10 *Ulmus minor* 'Atinia' syn. *Ulmus procera* (Field Elm), commonly known as English elm.⁴⁹

This group includes (T47) the Brace Tree, bordering the West Lawn. The tree was planted c.1776 and has a girth of 4.6m. The trunk is hollow and has an iron brace which has grown into the tree. It has significance to park visitors who are beginning to use it for sentimental padlocks attached to the mesh. It dates to before the gardens were laid out.

4 *Ulmus minor* 'Sarniensis' (Guernsey Elm) first described in 1815 from trees on Guernsey.

Wych elm 4 total (*Ulmus glabra* group). The only native elm to Britain.

The Wych elm or Scots elm has the widest range of the European elm species. It was by far the most common elm in the north and west of the British Isles and is the only indisputably British native elm species.⁵⁰

- 1 *Ulmus glabra* (Wych Elm)
- 1 *Ulmus glabra* 'Camperdownii' (Camperdown Elm) discovered c.1835–1840 as a young contorted elm (a sport) in the forest at Camperdown Houses, Dundee.
- 1 *Ulmus glabra* 'Horizontalis' (Weeping Wych Elm); (T14) a former champion and popular local tree
- 1 *Ulmus glabra* 'Minor' (Cultivar of *U. glabra*)

Dutch elm 18 total (*Ulmus x hollandica* group) These are highly susceptible to DED.

Dutch elm is a naturally occurring hybrid between Wych elm *Ulmus glabra* and Field elm *Ulmus minor* which commonly occurs across Europe wherever the ranges of the parent species overlap. There are many natural and artificial hybrids. Dutch elm was introduced late C17. They are highly susceptible to DED.⁵¹

- 3 *Ulmus x hollandica* 'Major' (Dutch Elm) (planted mid-C19). Includes, the T29 oldest tree in the avenue; but it could be older. It is a distinctive cultivar that in England came to be known specifically as the Dutch Elm, although all naturally occurring Field Elm are *Ulmus minor* × Wych Elm. Peter Bourne notes that this was the Prince Regent's favourite tree.
- 8 Huntingdon elms *Ulmus x hollandica* 'Vegeta' An early- mid C20 hybrid cultivar raised at Brampton, near Huntingdon, by nurserymen Wood & Ingram in 1746

⁴⁷ RH Richens *Elm*, 1983.

⁴⁸ Peter Bourne pers.comm September 2022. Peter has had an interest in elms since the late 1980s and documented the loss of trees in the 1987 storm. He is Volunteer Curator, National Elm Collection, on behalf of Brighton & Hove and Plant Heritage. He has also contributed to Wikipedia entries. Refer elm database at:

<https://bioportal.naturalis.nl/result/multimedia/term=Ulmus&from=0>. Andrew Brookes, University of Portsmouth also has extensive knowledge.

⁴⁹ Wikipedia: The field elm (*Ulmus minor*) cultivar 'Atinia', commonly known as the English elm, formerly common elm and horse may, and more lately the Atinian elm was, before the spread of Dutch elm disease, the most common field elm in central southern England, though not native there, and one of the largest and fastest-growing deciduous trees in Europe.

⁵⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulmus_glabra

⁵¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulmus_%C3%97_hollandica

- 1 *Ulmus 260* (Broad tree. Dutch origin; (*Ulmus* × *hollandica* × *Ulmus pumila*) trial planting via Alice Holt, not commercially released. 19 others exist, not highest resistance, relatively slow growth.⁵² Obscure view from south gate to Dome. *U.* '260' raised at Wageningen.
- 1 *Ulmus* × *hollandica* 'Groeneveld'
- 1 *Ulmus* × *hollandica* 'Klemmer' (Flanders Elm) (planted c1930)
- 1 *Ulmus* × *hollandica* (mid-C20)
- 3 *Ulmus* × *hollandica* 'Commelin' (planted c 1970)

Himalayan elm 6 total (*Ulmus wallichiana*) and hybrids. Also known as the Kashmir elm and Bhutan elm.

History Cuttings sent to Parks Director at the Hague in 1929 and were used in major elm breeding programme.

U. wallichiana is grown in several arboreta in the UK, but by far the largest number is held by Brighton and Hove City Council, which has some 60 specimens.⁵³

- 2 *Ulmus wallichiana* P39 (Himalayan Elm).
- 4 *Ulmus* 'Lobel' in avenue south end. Dutch hybrid cultivar 'Exoniensis' × *U. wallichiana* with '336'.⁵⁴

⁵² Peter Bourne pers.comm. September 2022.

⁵³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulmus_wallichiana *U. wallichiana* was crossed with the Exeter elm 'Exoniensis' in the Netherlands in 1938, from which progeny was selected clone '202', destined to become a fundamental component of the Dutch elm breeding programme in the 1960s and 1970s. Hybridized with *U. minor* or earlier Dutch hybrids, its progeny include 'Clusius', 'Dodoens', 'Clusius' and 'Plantyn'. 'Plantyn' played a vital role in the third generation of Dutch hybrids; two selfed specimens were selected and released as 'Columella' and, much later, 'Wanoux' = 'Vada' while 'Plantyn' itself was crossed with *U.* 'Bea Schwartz' to create 'Nanguen' = 'Lutece' arguably the most successful Dutch elm cultivar released to date. 'Lutece' was recently used by English Heritage in walk replanting at Wrest Park and has been much planted in Paris. 'Plantyn' was also selected for use in the Italian elm breeding programme that started in the 1970s, and was crossed with varieties of the Siberian elm *U. pumila* to create a number of hardy trees renowned for their rapid upright growth: 'Arno', 'Plinio' and 'San Zanobi'. Some of these are in a trial planting at the Broad Walk in Christ Church, Oxford.

⁵⁴ 'Lobel' was cloned in 1962 and released for sale in 1973. Some resistance; fast growing. From 1981-2 *Ulmus* 'Dodoens', *Ulmus Plantijn*, *Ulmus* 'Lobel' were planted in the Royal Parks but one had already succumbed to DED in Hyde Park in 2012. Sarah Couch contributed to 'The Regent's Park and Primrose Hill Tree and View Management Strategy' 2013; Sarah Couch Historic Landscapes 'Christ Church Meadow Tree Management Strategy, 2014.

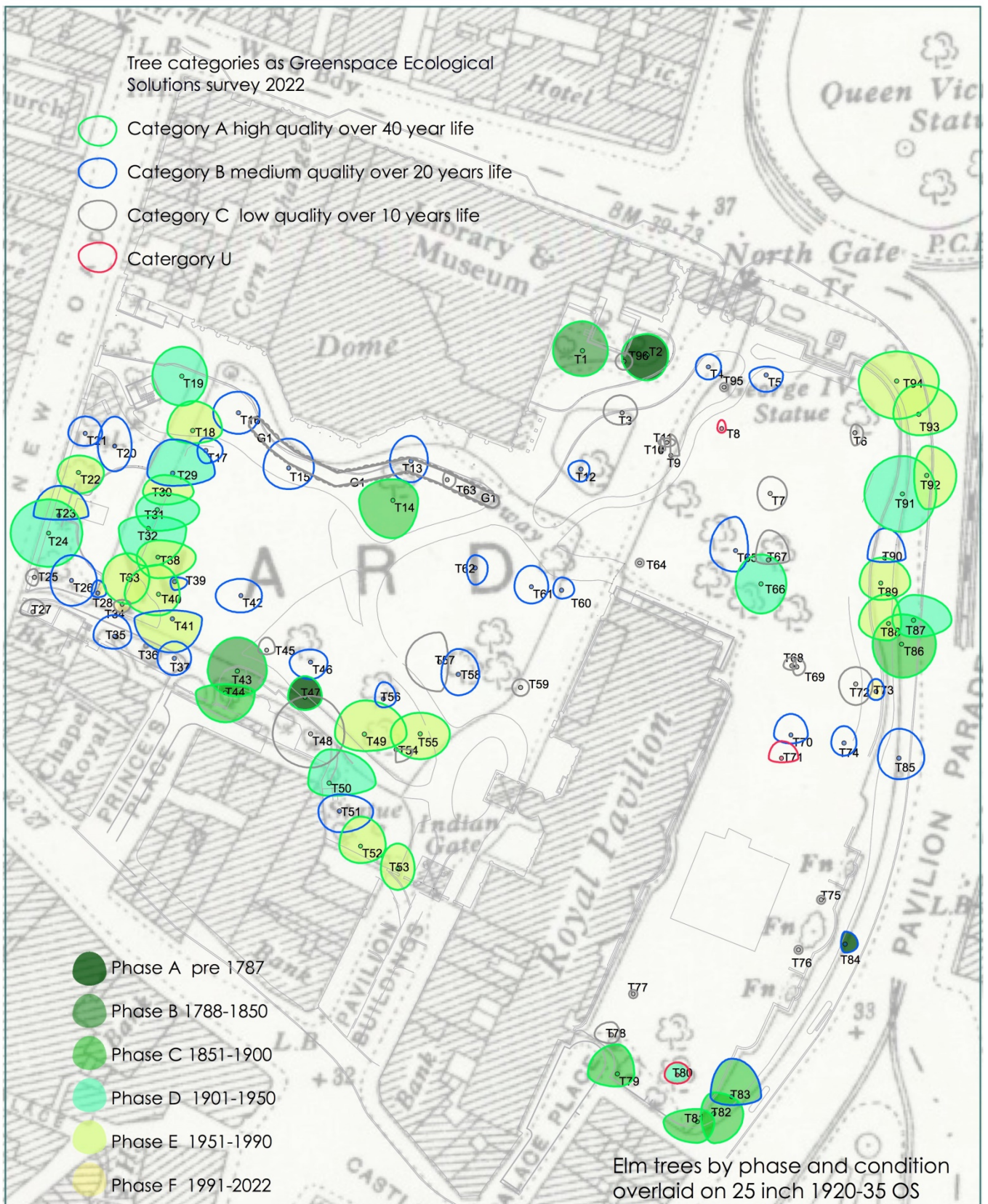


Figure 17 Current Elm trees, shaded by estimated phase of planting, overlaid on 1920-35 OS.

The OS map recorded the alignments of elm trees which lined the north-south drive, since removed, and elms north of the pavilion, which all post date the Nash plan and views. Many were lost to DED and the 1987 storm. There is some correlation between existing trees and mature trees accurately surveyed and shown by a double tree symbol. The surviving elms make up the oldest trees on site.

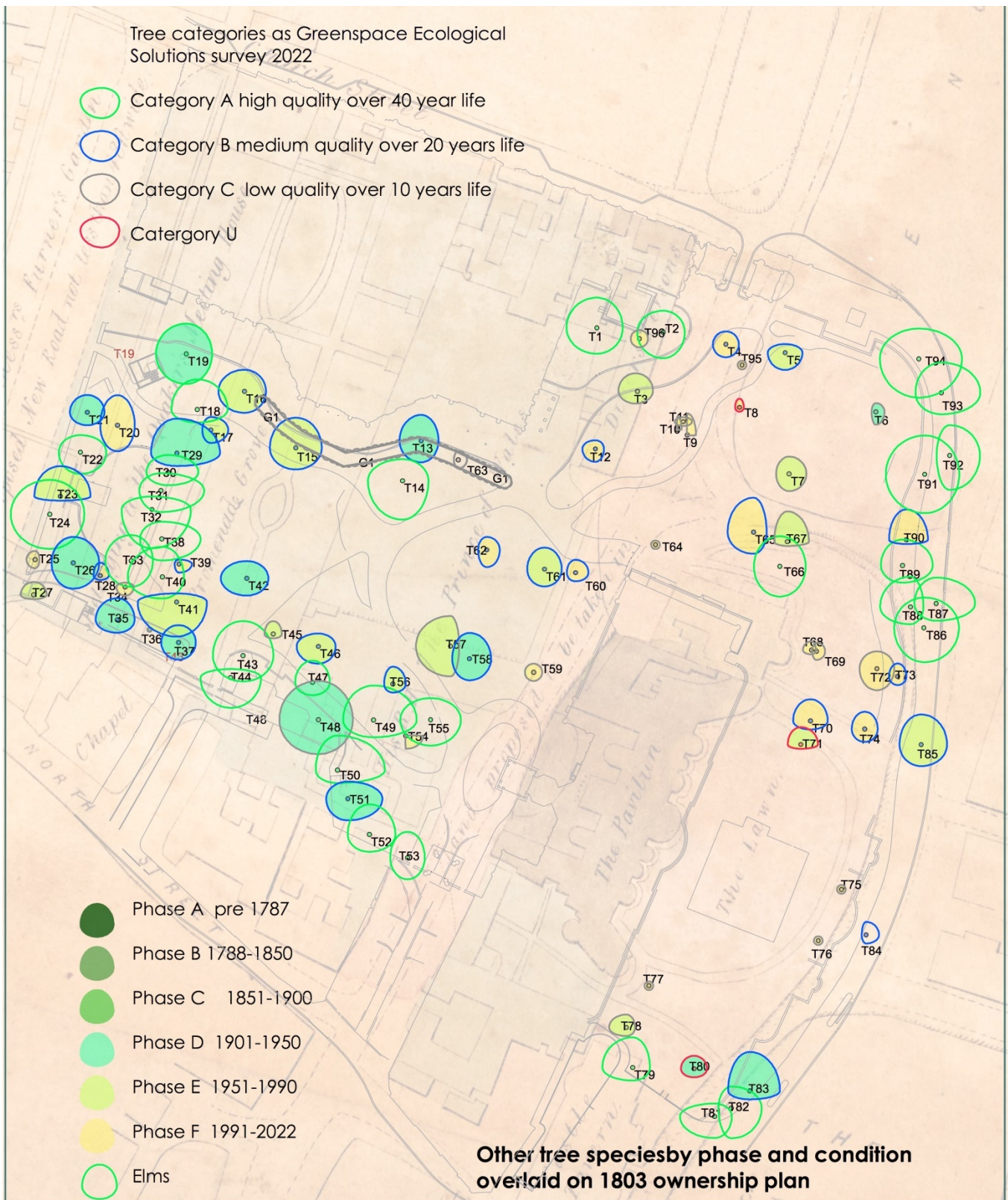


Figure 18 Other trees, shaded by estimated phase of planting overlaid on 1803 ownership plan. Other species are generally more recent than elms; limes are the second oldest and most prolific species but none seem to survive from the Nash scheme.

This overlay suggests that the elm avenue (Elm Grove) aligned on the Corn Exchange was sited in the Quaker burial ground west of the former Promenade Grove. Other interpretations are possible but bones have been found around the avenue. The oldest trees (eg T47 Brace Tree and T2 near the north gate) were in the grounds of earlier properties which were incorporated into Nash’s scheme as new land, recently acquired by the Prince.

23.10 PHASES OF TREE PLANTING, SURVIVAL AND SIGNIFICANCE

The following levels of significance relate to the ornamental landscape design phases as reflected in today's layout.

- A Exceptional significance: Fundamental to the design concept or to historic interest of garden.
 B Considerable significance: Essential parts or elements specific to the vocabulary of the design.
 C Some significance: of historic interest; contributes to design complexity.
 D Little significance or neutral.
 Int Intrusive. Damages the historic character.

Phase No., date, signif.	Activity	Tree phase and signif icance	TREES
1 1787 April-July B	Farmhouse at the edge of the town enlarged and rebuilt by Henry Holland as 'Marine Pavilion' in classical style. .	A Pre 1787 Significance A	Field (English) elm T47 could be a relic of the garden of the house on North Street (mapped 1779) on land owned by the Prince of Wales by 1803. Field elms T02 (near the north gate) and T84 (east boundary) also appear to date from the pre Nash period. Field Elms T02 and T84 are a similar size to T47. T02 could derive from former properties east of East Street. T84 could be a relic of the extension to the pavilion 1801-4 and its boundary shrubbery. Level of Survival: low – only three trees (all elm) pre 1787
2a 1801-04 B 2b 1804-08 A	Enlargement of Marine Pavilion by Holland & PF Robinson. Construction of stables (now Dome Concert Hall) and riding school (now Corn Exchange)	B 1788-1850 Significance A	A further three elms could date to this phase. Field elm T01 Dutch elms T43 Major purchase of elms in the 1820s may have been for the linear and group planting of elms shown in OS maps and photographs These plantings related to the assumed reinstated north south drive and were thus in conflict with the Nash views as they largely obscured the west and north elevations. See Figure 3 below Level of Survival: low – only two trees probably from this period and a total of five trees (all elm) pre 1850
3 Framework 1813-15 Planting 1816-21 Pavilion exterior 1815-22 A	Completion of the Regent's garden designed by John Nash, planting by William Aiton and laid out by John Furner during the transformation of the Royal Pavilion in Indian style		Of the tree species listed in the early 1800s the following are no longer present in the garden: Acacia (unless this is <i>Robinia pseudoacacia</i> or Locust tree), beech, sweet chestnut, cypress (probably), firs and pines including Scots pine <i>P sylvestris</i> and maritime pine (<i>P pinaster</i>), Liquidambar, oak (probably <i>Q robur</i>) and evergreen oaks (<i>Q cerris</i>), poplar. Of these, <i>Pinus sylvestris</i> <i>P. pinaster</i> <i>Liquidambar</i>, and possibly <i>Robinia pseudoacacia</i> are appropriate to Nash's mixed Regency shrubbery favouring contrasting colour and foliage and including evergreens. 13 species listed in the C19 remain, but mostly younger specimens.
4 1831-35 B Tree phase B 1788-1850	Layout simplified by Snart and Williams for William IV. New gateways. Straight approach drive reinstated replacing Nash's turning circle of		

Phase No., date, signif.	Activity	Tree phase and significance	TREES
	c.1815		
5 1850s? C	Gardens altered, demolition of structures William IV's South Gate demolished; replaced by 2 new archways. James Shrives' High Victorian scheme in existing framework. Prince's Place entrance opened	C 1851-1900 Significance B	Only another nine trees appear to date to the second half of the C19. Including five field elms, one Dutch elm and T14 the impressive <i>Ulmus glabra</i> 'Horizontalis' (Weeping Wych Elm), just south of the stables, known to have been planted in c1900; and one common lime. Comparison with 1874 and 1920 OS Figure 4 shows that many trees recorded as mature trees have been lost, notably mature elms west and north of the Pavilion, including the line along the north-south drive thought to have been reinstated c1830s. Many existing trees are in historic locations. See Figure 4 below Level of Survival: low
6 1870s-90s C Tree phase C			
7 Early 1920s B Tree phase D 1901-1950	Parks Superintendent Bertie MacLaren remodels boundaries of East and North-East Lawns reduced by 20' width with widening of the Steine Commemorative South gateway erected in Indian style.	D 1901-1950 E 1951-1990 Elm collection A, other trees B and C	The great majority of trees were planted in the 20 th century. 19 trees in phase D and 33 in phase E (54% of all trees). A greater variety of trees, becoming something of an arboretum but replanting of elms including new varieties such as four 'Lobel' (cloned in 1962 and released for sale in 1973, only moderate resistance) and one <i>Ulmus</i> 260 and several others Level of Survival: medium
8 1990s-early 2000s A Tree phase F 1991-2022	Partial restoration of Nash scheme Brighton Parks Dept advised by E Sussex County Council	F 1991-2022 Significance Elm collection A, other trees C	Trees were not included in the replanting plans of the 1990s but another 30 trees could date to this phase of great variety, with some elms and exotics such as <i>Trachycarpus</i> , also more common trees such as <i>Betula</i> and <i>Prunus</i> . Recent phases include donated trees, some of which are not thriving or are poorly located. Level of Survival: fair

The elm collection has national and international significance.

23.11 MAP ANALYSIS

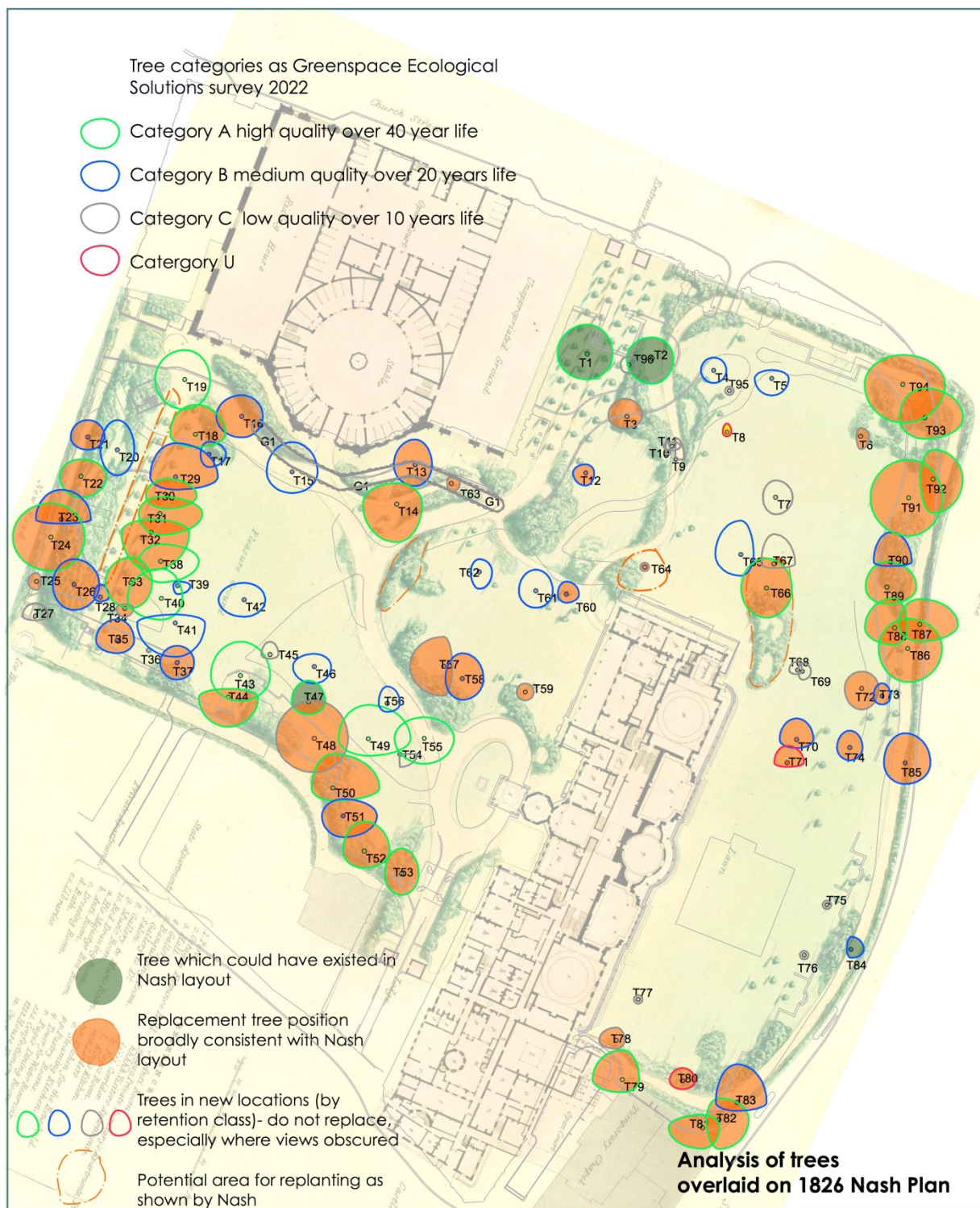


Figure 19 Map of existing trees overlaid on 1826 Nash Plan.

Although very few trees are likely to have been present in 1826, many later plantings broadly align with the Nash design. Some planting areas shown by Nash could be reinforced with new planting to frame views. Tree locations that are not consistent with the Nash design should be retained if they are of high amenity or other value, but should not be replaced when they fail.

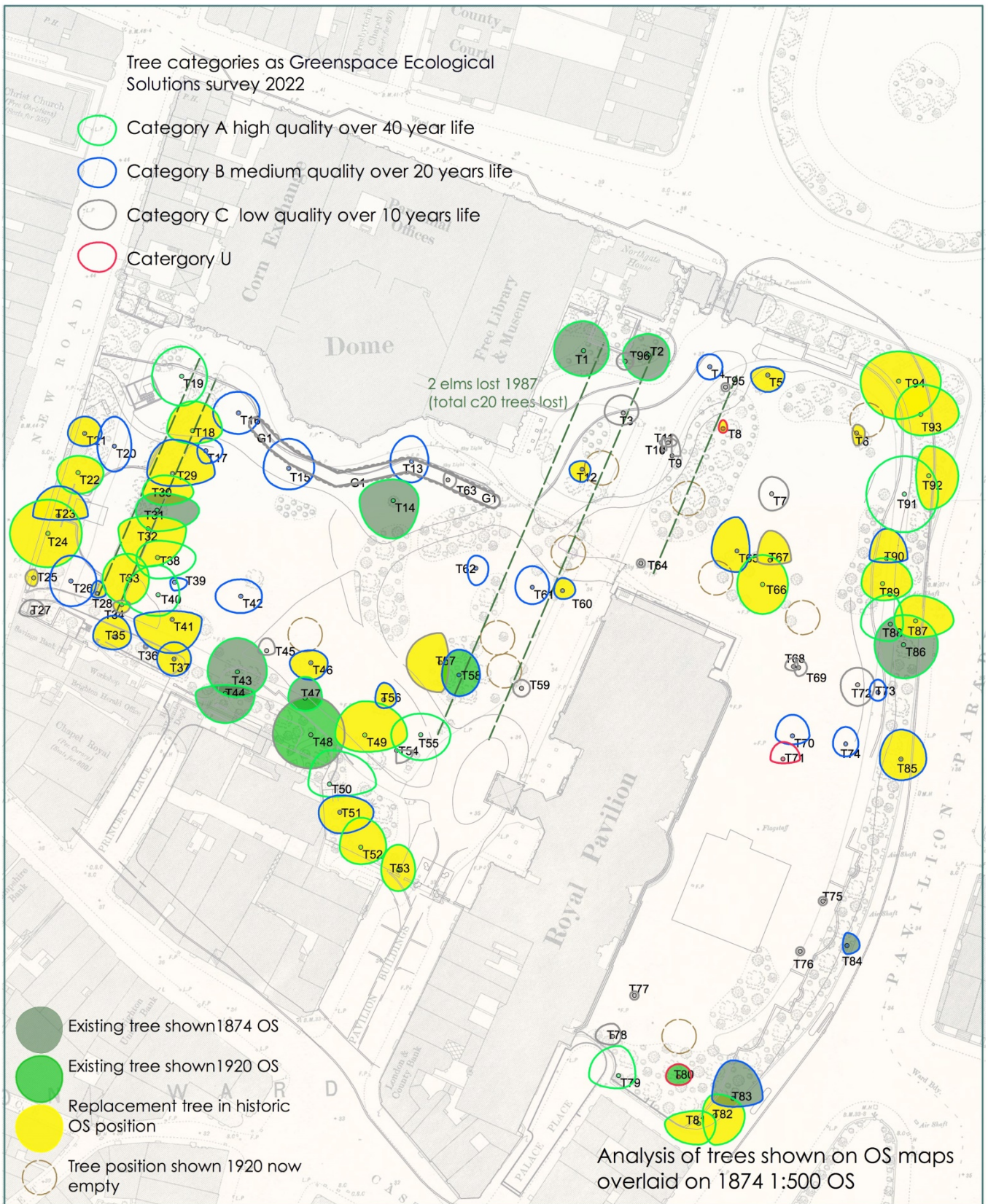


Figure 20 Map of current trees on OS maps (1874 and 1920s) overlaid on 1874 1:500 OS.

Dotted lines show former alignments of trees

Very few trees shown on the 1874 and 1920s OS survive.

Many of the trees which had been shown in 1920s and have been lost, indicated by dotted circles, relate to the mid-C19 layout rather than the Nash design and are not generally recommended for replacement

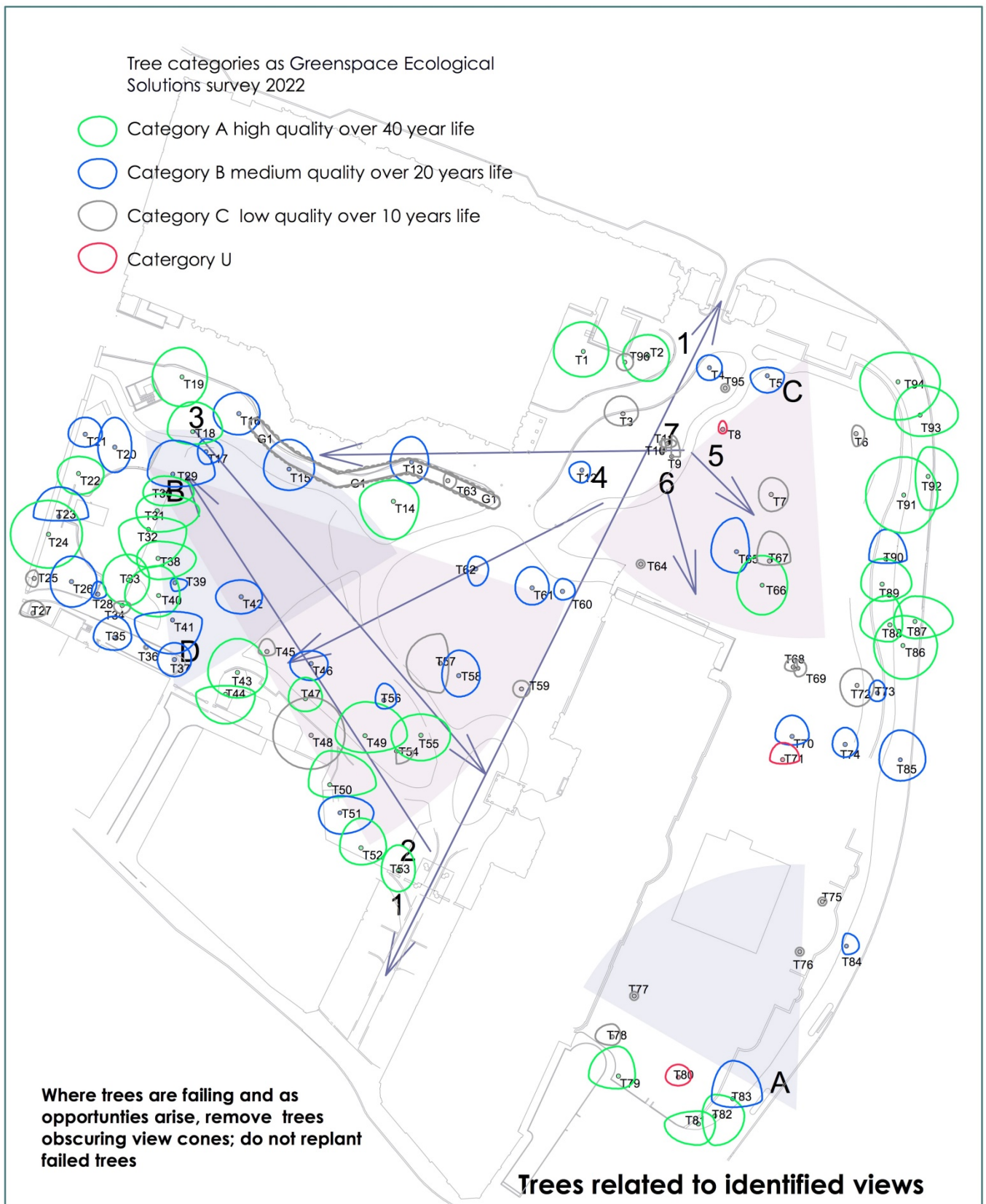


Figure 21 Map of current trees in relation to identified views.

Many of the more recent trees obscure the Nash views A-D, indicated by shaded view cones, and other numbered views. Depending on the condition and value of the trees, these views should be reopened as opportunities arise and kept clear.

New planting which frames views should refer to Nash Plan (Figure 3 above)

See also images of these views in the following pages.

23.12 TREES IN THE NASH VIEWS AND OTHER HISTORIC VIEWS

View A Steine (east) Front



The central island bed shown in the view was not shown on the ground plan published with the views (see front cover above). Nor was the path layout as shown above. There were groups of trees at either end of the facade.



The east lawn c1920, showing the group of elms to the north and boundary elms, with boundary balustrade, iron gates and pools were added in the 1920s by the Corporation in Indian style.



A similar view in 2022, largely free of trees but with some poor quality recent specimens.

View B: West front and carriage sweep to porte cochere, Nash Views

This is much as shown on the ground plan. This appears to show pre-existing mature trees plus younger trees in the island beds with mixed foliage, both broadleaf and conifers. This is consistent with the Forest Lawn style of planting, with a combination of evergreen and deciduous planting with the lawns sweeping up to the island beds.

A similar view in the early 20th century (below) showing remnants of lines of elms along the north-south drive (courtesy Peter Bourne)



View B: West front



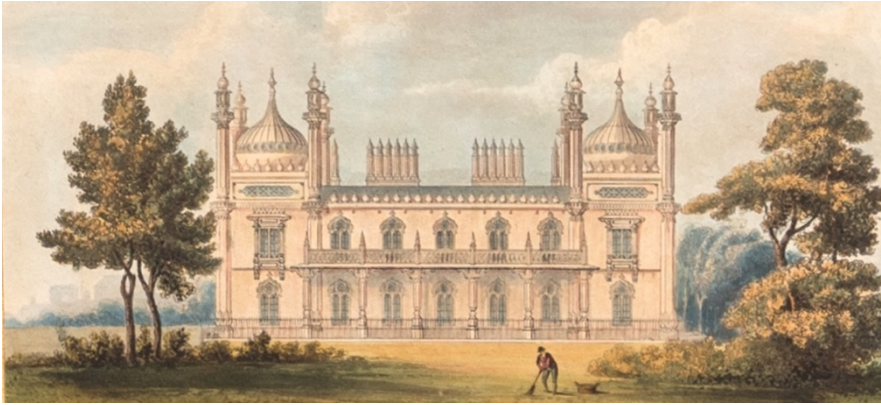
1914-18 photograph of west front showing old elm on the right, weeling elm on the left and other newer planting on the lawn (courtesy Peter Bourne)



1960s photograph of west front showing mature elms along north-south drive, shortly before their loss to DED and later the 1987 storm (courtesy Peter Bourne)



Nash View B, 2022, showing Nash beds and carriage turn reinstated in the 1990s.

View C: North Front and Entrance to Private Apartments, Nash Views.

This view is similar to the layout on the ground plan although the larger bed on the corner of the building on the left is not shown. The façade is framed by island beds with trees



Undated photograph (courtesy Peter Bourne) of north front showing group of early-mid 19th century elms obscuring the north front; all now lost to DED and storm damage, but one elm replacement on the left exists (T66)



A similar view in 2022; recent willow (T7), Turkey oak (T65) and hornbeam (T67) in front of mid twentieth century elm (T66) obscuring the façade



C1875 photograph showing group of elms outside north front (Regency Society)
View 1 along north south drive



View 1 looking south 1860s-1870 showing mature elms along drive(Regency Society)



View 1 looking north 1870s showing rows of mature elms lining drive (Regency Society)



View 1 looking north c 1904 showing mature elm trees planted along north-south drive (courtesy Peter Bourne)

View D: View of The Dome stables and elm walk or avenue (left)



This view is much as on the ground plan. The elm walk frames the left-hand side with an island bed to the right.



View D a similar view in September 2022; flowering *Koelreuteria paniculata* T15 in front of Dome; common lime T42 in foreground. Both intrude somewhat on the view, but both are high quality trees; retention is recommended in the short term

View 2 from south gate towards Dome



Repton 1808 design for the Pavilion; the 'after' image which retains three old elms; one of which is thought to be the Brace tree (T47) British Library, public domain *Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton ... by H. Repton. With the assistance of ... J. A. Repton and G. S. Repton. L.P.*



A similar view c1878 showing the same elms in winter (Regency Society)



A similar view 1878 showing the same elms in summer (Regency Society)



Felling an elm in the 1990s, believed to be one of the three depicted by Repton; it was affected by DED (Courtesy Peter Bourne)



View 2, looking west from south entrance over Western Lawns towards Promenade Grove, elm walk and Dome. Repton illustrated the north/south grove of trees in 1805 which was then absorbed into the west end of the Pavilion grounds. He showed the Prince's first magnificent stables and a riding house (now the Corn Exchange) aligned on the avenue now called Elm Grove.

23.13 OTHER NOTABLE TREES

T47 Brace tree



Brace Tree T47 shown in detail from Repton 1808 design for the Pavilion; the 'after' image which retains three old elms, one of which is thought to be the Brace tree (T47) (British Library, public domain *Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton ... by H. Repton. With the assistance of ... J. A. Repton and G. S. Repton. L.P.*)



T47 the Brace Tree in September 2022; believed to have been planted in 1776

T1 and T2



Field elm T2 in 1914-18, with extending limb, since removed (Courtesy Peter Bourne)



T1 and T2 in 2022

T14 weeping elm



T14 Weeping elm planted c 1900; photograph 1914-18 detail , with part of weeping elm shown (courtesy Peter Bourne)



T14 weeping elm with T13, a fine lime, behind, 2022

THE ELM AVENUE

The map overlays show that the Elm Grove avenue parallel to the west boundary of the garden was planted along the axis of the former Quaker burial ground. In doing so Nash followed a line suggested for an avenue by Repton in his abortive scheme of 1808 aligned on the former Riding House, now the Corn Exchange.



Above: the avenue viewed from the east, 2022, showing mixes species and ages



Looking south along the partial avenue, 2022; stump of Chichester elm, a vestige of the right (west) line in the foreground; two recent *Ulmus 'Lob-lel'* at far (south) end.

The largest tree in the centre of the line (T 31), a Dutch elm, is the oldest tree and probably dates to the early-mid C19.



Left: T33 Ulmus 'Lobel' in the avenue planted in 1982; it shows remarkably fast growth (around 40 mm girth per year) and typical dense vertically ascending branch structure, 2022

Right: Ulmus 'Lobel' T34 planted c2012. growing well despite dense shade, 2022

T84



Field Elm T84 now in the pavement, one of the oldest trees, with heavy crown reduction

23.14 SUMMARY OF ISSUES

1. Continuing threat of DED, an ongoing threat.
2. Climate Change. The effects of extreme weather events are a threat particularly to the oldest specimens from storms, and the youngest specimens from drought.
3. Lack of recent resistant elm clones
4. Increasing disease and climate risks to all species
5. Impact of heavy use
6. Trees of species or placement inconsistent with Regency design
7. Trees obstructing key views
8. Some trees have outgrown positions and compete with others
9. Donated trees do not always respect Regency design and Nash views
10. The positions shown on the OS 1874 and mature (elm) trees recently lost do not conform to the Nash views. Instead they reflect early changes, with planting along the reinstated north-south drive west of the Pavilion and against north front which has now been removed.

23.15 CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCES

Tree Ages (see caveat about dating methodology)

1. The earliest trees: very few trees survive that were part of the Nash layout of 1826, up to 5, all elm.
2. Three of these specimens are C18 in origin and predate Nash; two others are probably part of his scheme.
3. These five earliest specimens have the highest significance both as botanically and to the historic design.
4. Trees were planted in the 1830s for William IV including former elm along the now removed straight drive.
5. A major campaign from 1850 continued during into the early C20 as part of the borough-wide municipal planting in which many trees were planted, evident on historic images, most of which were elms.
6. Many of these trees planted after 1830 obscured the designed views of the Pavilion illustrated by Nash.
7. Nine surviving trees were probably planted between 1830 and 1900, all elm and lime.
8. Thus in total, 14 trees survive from before 1900 out of a dense population established by then which did not generally conform to Nash's scheme.
9. 85% of surviving trees were planted after 1900.
10. Most (66%) surviving trees were planted after c.1950.

Tree Palette

11. 13 species listed in the Nash planting lists (Appendix 6) are present.
12. 24 trees do not conform to the contemporary palette as they were not listed in 1817-29.

The Elm Collection

13. The elm collection is of national and international significance because of the high survival of specimens, including some of the earliest specimens in Brighton, and wide variety of species and varieties as its position and role a key element of the city-wide collection.

14. The city holds the only significant population of Elm in England, and some of the most notable individual Elms in Europe.
15. **Within the unique collection in Brighton and Hove the Pavilion Garden contains a highly significant collection both historically and botanically..**

23.16 RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall

1. Manage current specimens and replant to follow as closely as possible the Nash design which is the most significant phase. The layout has been partially recreated, in the vicinity of the Pavilion which forms the focus of his design. Tree conservation and planting should follow the Nash layout and views within operational requirements which cannot be modified to allow this.
2. Plan for resilience of the tree cover to reduce reliance on a single genus and thus use a greater proportion of other historically appropriate species and varieties, selecting those which are resilient to prevailing pathogens, climate warming and extreme weather events.
3. Where non-historic varieties are the only option for replacing historic varieties then they should be chosen to evoke the historic appearance.
4. Donated trees should only be accepted if they fit with the long term tree and view strategy.

Elms and Securing the Collection

5. Conserve the elm collection in situ as a high priority.
6. Maintain and manage the highly significant, oldest trees, which are species most susceptible to DED to prolong their lives as far as possible.
7. Supplement historic elm forms with resistant cultivars.
8. Continue to monitor as a high priority by experts the condition and health of the elms on a frequent basis. If DED or other issues are found undertake remedial works as soon as possible.
9. Replicate and conserve the genetic material of the historic elm collection, in situ and ex situ as a back-up in case of major losses on site, and to provide a scientific reference collection.
10. Replicate and conserve the genetic material of the earliest five elms, in particular the earliest three (T47, 02, 84) by vegetative propagation (cuttings). Analyse the genetic make-up to identify the origins and relationship between these specimens (i.e. all of similar origin or separate).
11. Replant specimens of these in the garden in positions conforming to the Nash design as long as this is a sustainable option and they remain resilient in the prevailing conditions.
12. Build on links with Plumpton College to propagate and take cuttings for gene bank in Tenerife.

Other Species

13. Limes should feature as replacements as they are the second most valuable tree to the history of the garden, are resilient to climate change threats and are susceptible to relatively few disease threats.
14. Use trees available in the Regency period and preferably from the planting lists (Appendix 6) as the basis of new planting, selecting species which are resilient to and sustainable in the local conditions.

15. Use other more resilient species/varieties as a last resort to diversify the palette where they produce the desired design effect.
16. Maintain and increase species diversity to enhance resilience; consider impact of diseases and changing climate. For forest scale trees, sycamore is resilient. Southern European species might be suitable such as sweet chestnut but this is susceptible to disease. With additional species, as far as possible evoke the visual forms of the species used by Nash.

Conifers

17. Plant conifers in beds and as occasional specimens in lawn to evoke Nash's scenes following soil improvement.
18. Use European larch, Scots pine, Spruce *Picea abies*, Juniperus *virginiana* *Pinus pinaster* (maritime pine).
19. Conifers in beds should not be allowed to grow beyond a state of immaturity in order to retain their specific form which contributed to Nash's intended Picturesque scenes.
20. *P. radiata* was not introduced until 1833 and two specimens in poor shape should not be replanted. Instead use the 1596 introduced *P. pinaster* (maritime pine) which was a feature of the Nash planting. 50 were purchased in 1824. Of the 7 specimens listed in the 1997 survey, some were described as excellent, as well as two Scots pines, *P. sylvestris*.⁵⁵

Views

21. Maintain and supplement planting consistent with Nash layout and views. Eg former group south east of T66.
22. Assess trees which obscure Nash views for their significance, health, resilience and visual or amenity value.
23. Trees which obscure views but are otherwise healthy and of high amenity value should be removed such as T7, T8, T67, T71, T57, especially if accompanied by reinforcement planting elsewhere.
24. Trees which obscure views but are otherwise healthy and of high amenity value, such as limes T42 or Pride of India T15 (the best example of this species on site), elms T49 and 55 could beneficially maintained in the short term but not replanted when they fail; this principle should be included in a long term tree management plan.

Plant Health

25. Phytosanitary measures are of the highest priority, particularly to ensure the perpetuation of the historic elm population specific to the garden. All new plant material should only be introduced after it is quarantined to be certain that it contains no pathogens.

⁵⁵ Royal Pavilion Garden Trees Survey November 1997; 1817-1829 plant list Appendix 6.